~~VIII. 4~~ 8.

1577.

~~VIII. 4. 8.~~
~~Pp.2.220-1~~
Sel. 3. 203

THE

Bouchet. Dmerus.

Firſte volume of the *Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande.*

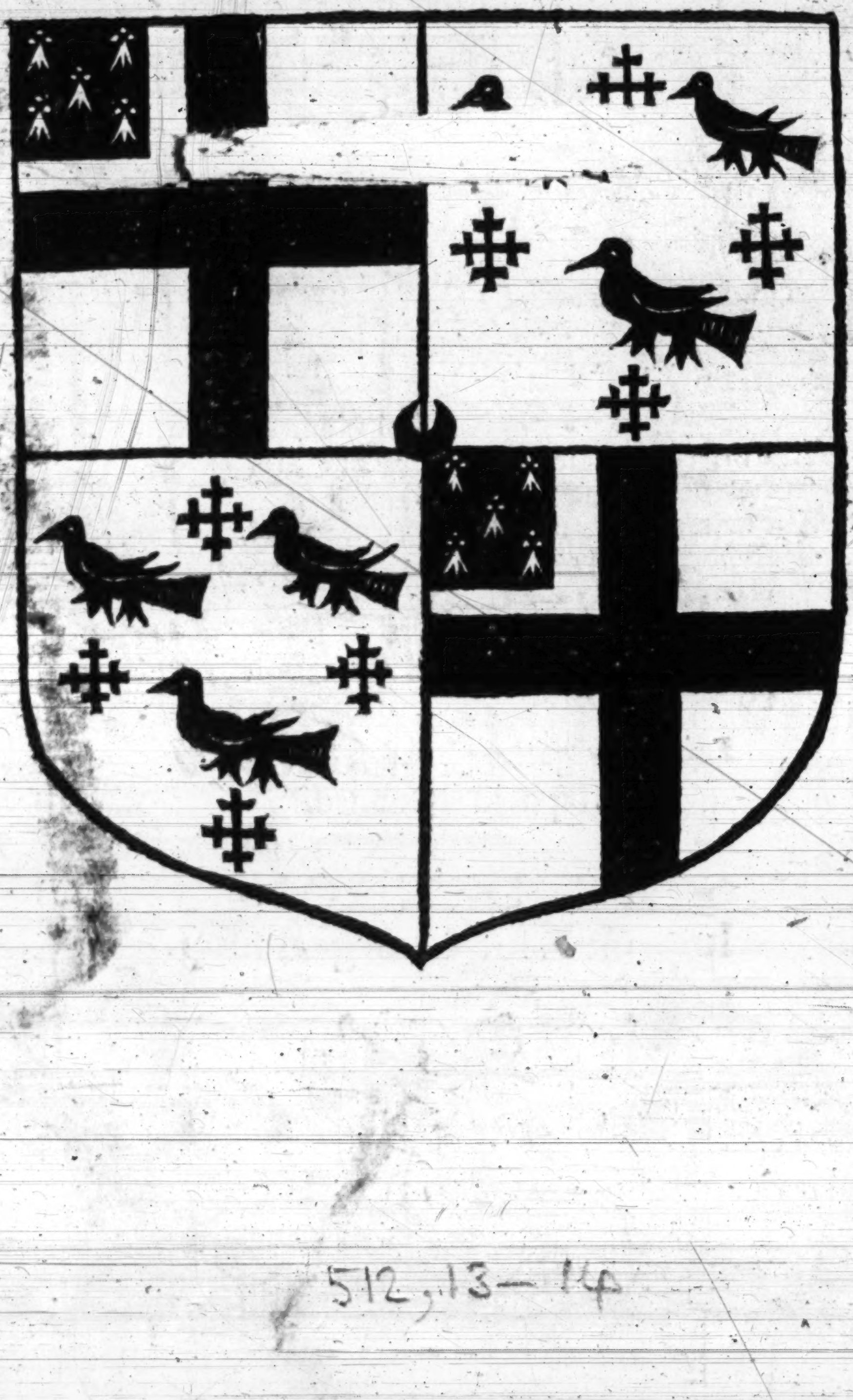
CONTEYNING,

The deſcription and Chronicles of England, from the firſt inhabiting vnto the conqueſt.
The deſcription and Chronicles of Scotland, from the firſt originall of the Scottes nation, till the yeare of our Lorde. 1571.
The deſcription and Chronicles of Yrelande, likewiſe from the firſte originall of that Nation, vntill the yeare. 1547.

Faithfully gathered and ſet forth, by
Raphaell Holinſhed.

AT LONDON,
Imprinted for George Biſhop.

God ſaue the Queene.



512, 13-14

¶ The names of the Authours from whome this *Hiſtorie of England is collected.*

A.

AElius Spartianus.
Aelius Lampridius.
Aſſerius Meneuenſis.
Alfridus Beuerlacenſis.
Aeneas Siluius Senenſis.
Auentinus.
Adam Merimowth, with additions.
Antoninus Archiepiſcopis Florentinus.
Albertus Crantz.
Alexander Neuill.
Arnoldus Ferronius.
Annius Viterbienſis.
Amianus Marcellinus.
Alliances genealogiques des Roys & Princes de France.
Annales D Aquitaine per Iean Bouchet.
Annales de Bourgoigne per Guilaume Paradin.
Annales de France per Nicol Giles.
Annales rerum Flandricarũ per Iacobum Meir.
Antonius Sabellicus.
Antonius Nebricenſis.
Aurea Hiſtoria.

B.

BIblia Sacra.
Beda venerabilis.
Beroſus.
Brian Tuke knight.
Blondus Forliuienſis.
Berdmondſey, a Regeſter booke belonging to that houſe.

C.

CAeſars Commentaries.
Cornelius Tacitus.
Chronica Chronicarum.
Chronica de Dunſtable, a booke of Annales belõging to the Abbey there.
Chronicon Io. Tilij.
Chronica de Eyton, an hiſtorie belonging to that colledge, although compiled by ſome Northernman, as ſome ſuppoſe named Otherborne.
Chronicles of S. Albon.
Chronica de Abingdon, a booke of Annales belongyng to that houſe.
Chronica de Teukesbury.
Claudianus.
Chronicon Genebrard.
Chroniques de Normandie.
Chroniques de Britaine.
Chronique de Flandres, publiſhed by Denis Sauage.
Continuation de Hiſtorie & Chronique de Flandres, by the ſame Sauage.
Couper.
Cuſpinianus.
Chronica Sancti Albani.
Caxtons Chronicles.
Carion with additions.
Crockeſden a regiſter booke belonging to a houſe of that name in Staffordſhire.

D.

DIodorus Siculus.
Dion Caſsius.
Dominicus Marius Niger.

E.

EDmerus.
Euſebius.
Eutropius.
Encomium Emmæ, an old Pamphlet written to hir conteyning much good matter for the vnderſtanding of the ſtate of this realme in hir time, wherein hir prayſe is not pretermitted, and ſo hath obteyned by reaſon thereof that title.
Enguerant de Monſtrellet.
Eulogium.
Edmond Campion.

F.

FAbian.
Froiſſart.
Franciſcus Tarapha.
Franciſcus Petrarcha.
Flauius Vopiſcus Siracuſanus.
Floriacenſis Vigorinenſis.

G.

GViciardini Franciſco. Guiciardini Ludouico.
Gildas Sapiens.
Galfridus Monemutenſis, aliàs Geffrey of Monmouth.
Giraldus Cambrenſis.
Guilielmus Malmeſburienſis.
Galfridus Vinſauf.
Guilielmus Nouoburgenſis.
Guilielmus Thorne.
Gualterus Hemmingford, aliàs Giſburnenſis.
Geruaſius Dorobernenſis.
Geruaſius Tilberienſis.
Guilielmus Gemeticenſis de ducibus Normaniæ.
Guilielmus Riſhanger.
Guilielmus Lambert.
Georgius Lillie.

Guilamme Paradin.

H.

HIginus.
Henricus Huntingtonenſis.
Humfrey Lhuyd.
Henricus Leiceſtrenſis.
Hector Boece. *Hiſtorie Daniou.*
Hiſtoira Eccleſiaſtica Magdeburgenſis.
Henricus Mutius.
Hiſtoria quadripartita ſeu quadrilogium.
Hardings Chronicle.
Halles Chronicles. *Henricus Bradſhaw.*
Henricus Marleburgenſis.
Herodianus.

I.

IOhannes Bale.
Iohannes Leland.
Iacobus Philippus Bergomas.
Iulius Capitolinus. *Iulius Solinus.*
Iohannes Pike with additions.
Iohannes Functius.
Iohn Price, knight. *Iohannes Textor.*
Iohannes Bodinus. *Iohannes Sleidan.*
Iohannes Euerſden a Monke of Bury.
Iohannes or rather Giouan Villani a Florentine.
Iohannes Baptiſta Egnatius. *Iohãnes Capgraue.*
Iohannes Fourden. *Iohannes Caius.*
Iacob de Voragine Biſhop of Nebio.
Iean de Bauge a Frenchman wrote a Pamphlet of the warres in Scotlande, during the time that Monſieur de Deſſe remayned there.
Iohn Foxe. *Iohannes Maior.*
Iohn Stow, by whoſe diligent collected Summarie, I haue ben not only ayded, but alſo by diuers rare monuments, ancient wryters, and neceſſarie regiſter Bookes of his, which he hath lente me out of his owne Librarie.
Ioſephus.

L.

LIber cõſtitutionum London.
Lucan. *Lelius Giraldus.*

M.

MArianus Scotus.
Matheus Paris.
Matheus VVeſtmonaſter. aliàs Flores hiſtoriarum.
Martin du Bellay, aliàs Monſieur de Langey.
Mamertinus in Panagericis.
Memoires de la Marche.

N.

NIcephorus. *Nennius.*
Nicholaus Treuet with additions.

O.

ORoſius Dorobernenſis.
Oſbernus Dorobernenſis.
Otho Phriſingenſis.

P.

PAuſanias. *Paulus Diaconus.*
Paulus Aemilius.
Ponticus Virunnius. *Pomponius Lætus.*
Philippe de Cumeins, aliàs Mõſieur de Argenton.
Polidor Vergil. *Paulus Iouius.*
Platina. *Philippe Melancton.*
Peucerus.
Pomponius Mela.

R.

ROgerus Houeden.
Ranulfus Higeden, aliàs Ceſtrenſis the author of Polichronicon. *Radulfus niger.*
Radulfus Cogheſhall.
Regiſter of the Garter.
Recordes of Battell Abbey.
Richardus Southwell. *Robert Greene.*
Radulfus de Diceto. *Robert Gaguin.*
Rodericus Archiepiſcopus Toletanus.
Recordes and rolles diuers.

S.

STrabo. *Suetonius.*
Sigebertus Gemblacenſis.
Sidon Apollinaris. *Simon Dunelmenſis.*
Sextus Aurelius Victor.

T.

TRebellius Pollio. *Thomas More knight.*
Thomas Spotte. *Thomas VValſingham.*
Titus Liuius Patauienſis.
Titus Liuius de Foroliuiſys de vita Henrici. 5.
Thomas Lanquet. *Thomas Couper.*
Taxtor a Monke of Berry. *Theuet.*
Thomas de la More. *Tripartita Hiſtoria.*

V.

VVlcatius Gallicanus.
Volfgangus Lazius.

VV.

VVHethamſteed, a learned man, ſometime Abbot of S. Albons, a Chronicler.
VVilliam Harriſon.
VVilliã Patten of the expeditiõ into Scotlãd. 1574.
VVilliam Procter of VViattes rebellion.

Beſides theſe diuers other Bookes and Treatiſes of Hiſtoricall mater I haue ſeene and peruſed, the names of the Authours beyng vtterly vnknowen.

FINIS.

AN HISTORICALL DEſcription of the Iſlande of Britayne, with a briefe rehearſall of the nature and qualities of the people of Englande, and of all ſuch commodities as are to be founde in the ſame.

In the firſt Booke of the Deſcription of Britayne, theſe Chapters are contayned that enſue.

1. Of the ſcituation and quantitie of the Iſle of Britayne.
2. Of the auncient names of this Iſlande.
3. What ſundry nations haue dwelled in this countrey.
4. Whether it be likely that euer there were any Gyants inhabiting in this Iſlande.
5. Of the generall language vſed ſometime in Brytaine.
6. Into howe many kingdomes at once this Iſle hath bene deuided.
7. Of the auncient religion vſed in Brytaine, from the firſt comming of Samothes, before the conuerſion of the ſame vnto the faith of Chriſt.
8. Of the number and names of ſuch Salt Iſlandes as lye diſperſed rounde about vpon the coaſt of Brytaine.
9. Of the ryſing and falles of ſuch ryuers and ſtreames as deſcende into the ſea, without alteration of their names, & firſt of thoſe that lye betweene the Thames and the Sauerne.
10. Of the Sauerne ſtreame, and ſuch falles of ryuers as go into the Sea betweene it and the Humber.
11. Of ſuch riuers as fall into the ſea, betwene Humber & the Thames.
12. Of the fower high waies ſometime made in Brytaine by the Princes of this lande.
13. Of the ayre and ſoyle of the country.
14. Of the generall conſtitution of the bodies of the Brytons.
15. How Brytaine grew at the firſt to be deuided into three porcions.
16. That notwithſtanding the former particion made by Brute, vnto his children, the ſouereinety of the whole Iſlande, remained ſtyll to the Prince of *Lhoegres* and his poſteritie after him.
17. Of the Wall ſometime builded for a particion betweene Englande and the Pictes.

To the Right Honorable, and his ſingular good Lord
and maiſter, S. William Brooke Knight, Lord warden of
the cinque Portes, and Baron of Cobham, all
increaſe of the feare and knowledge of God,
firme obedience towarde his Prince, infallible
loue to the common wealth, and commen-
dable renowme here in this worlde, and in
the worlde to come, lyfe
euerlaſting.

HAVING *had iuſt occaſion, Right Honourable, to remayne in London, during the tyme of Midſomer terme laſt paſſed, and being earneſtlye required of diuers my friends, to ſet downe ſome briefe diſcourſe of parcell of thoſe thinges, which I had obſerued in the reading of ſuch manifold antiquities as I had peruſed toward the furniture of a Chronologie, which I had then in hande, I was at the firſt very loth to yeelde to their deſires: firſt, for that I thought my ſelfe vnable for want of witte and iudgement, ſo ſodainly and with ſuch ſpeede to take ſuch a charge vppon me: ſecondly, bycauſe the dealing therin might prooue an impechement vnto mine owne Treatize: and finallye for that I had giuen ouer all ſtudy of hyſtories, as iudging the tyme ſpent about the ſame, to be an hinderaunce vnto my more neceſſarie dealings in that vocation & function whereunto I am called in the myniſtery. But when they were ſo importunate with me, that no reaſonable excuſe coulde ſerue to put by this trauaile, I condeſcended at the length vnto their yrkeſome ſute, promiſing that I woulde ſpende ſuch voyde time as I had to ſpare, whyleſt I ſhoulde be inforced to tarie in the citie, vpon ſome thing or other that ſhoulde ſtande in lieu of a deſcription of my Country. For their partes alſo they aſſured me of ſuch helpes as they coulde purchaſe, and thus with hope of good although, no gaie ſucceſſe, I went in hande withall, then almoſt as one leaning altogither vnto memorie, ſith my bookes and I were parted by fourtie myles in ſonder. In this order alſo I ſpent a part of Michaelmas and Hillarie termes inſuing, being inforced thereto I ſay by other buſineſſes which compelled me to keepe in the citie, and abſent my ſelfe from my charge, though in the meane ſeaſon I had ſome repaire vnto my librarie, but not ſo great as the dignitie of the matter required, & yet farre greater then the Printers haſte woulde ſuffer. One helpe, and none of the ſmalleſt that I obtayned herein was by ſuch commentaries as* Leland *had collected ſometime of the ſtate of Britaine, bookes vtterly mangled, defaced with wet, and weather, and finally imperfite through want of ſundrie volumes: ſecondly, I gate ſome knowledge of things by letters and pamphlettes, from ſundrie places and ſhires of Englande, but ſo diſcordaunt nowe and then amongeſt themſelues, eſpecially in the names and courſes of riuers and ſcituation of townes, that I had oft greater trouble to reconcile them, then to penne the whole diſcourſe of ſuch pointes as they contayned: the thirde ayde did grow by conference with diuers, eyther at the table or ſecretly alone, wherein I marked in what things the talkers did agree, and wherein they impugned eche other, chooſing in the end the former, and reiecting the later, as one deſirous to ſet forth the truth abſolutely, or ſuch things in deede as were moſt likely to be true. The laſt comfort aroſe by mine owne reading of ſuch writers as haue heretofore made mention of the condition of our country, in ſpeaking whereof, yf I ſhoulde make account of the ſucceſſe, and extraordinary comming by ſundrie treatizes not ſuppoſed to be extaunt, I ſhoulde but ſeeme to pronounce more then may well be ſayde with modeſtie, and ſay farder of my ſelfe then this Treatize can beare witneſſe of. Howbeit, I referre not this ſucceſſe wholly vnto my purpoſe in this Deſcription, but rather giue notice thereof to come to paſſe in the penning of my Chronologie, whoſe cromes as it were fell out very well in the framing of this Pamphlete. In the proceſſe therefore of this Booke, if your Honour regarde the ſubſtaunce of that which is here declared, I muſt needes confeſſe that it is none of mine: but if your Lordſhippe haue conſideration of the barbarous compoſition ſhewed herein,*

herein, that I may boldely clayme and chalenge for myne owne, ſith there is no man of any ſo ſlender skill, that will defraude me of that reproche, which is due vnto me, for the meere negligence, diſorder, and euill diſpoſition of matter, comprehended in the ſame. Certes I proteſt before God and your Honour, that I neuer made any choiſe of ſtile, or picked wordes, neither regarded to handle this Treatize in ſuch preciſe order and methode as many other woulde: thinking it ſufficient, truely & plainly to ſet forth ſuch things as I minded to intreate of, rather then with vaine affectation of eloquence to paint out a rotten ſepulchre, neither comendable in a writer nor profitable to the reader. How other affayres troubled me in the writing hereof many know, & peraduenture the ſlackeneſſe shewed herein can better teſtifie: but howſoeuer it be done, & whatſoeuer I haue done, I haue had an eſpeciall eye vnto the truth of things, & for the reaſt, I hope that this foule frizeled Treatize of mine, will prooue a ſpurre to others, better learned in more skilfull maner to handle the ſelfe ſame argument. As for faultes eſcaped herein as there are diuers, I muſt needes confeſſe, both in the penning and printing, ſo I haue to craue pardon of your Honour, & of all the learned readers. For ſuch was my shortneſſe of time allowed in the writing, & ſo great the ſpeede made in the Printing, that I could ſeldome with any deliberation peruſe, or almoſt with any iudgement deliberate exactly vpon ſuch notes as were to be inſerted. Sometimes in deede their leyſure gaue me libertie, but that I applyed in following my vocation, many times their expedition abridged my peruſall, and by this later it came to paſſe, that moſt of this booke was no ſooner penned then printed, neither well conceyued before it came to writing. But it is now to late to excuſe the maner of doing. It is poſſible that your Honour will miſlyke hereof, for that I haue not by myne owne trauaile and eyeſight viewed ſuch thinges, as I doe here intreate of. In deede I muſt needes confeſſe that except it were from the parish where I dwell, vnto your Honour in Kent, or out of London where I was borne, vnto Oxforde and Cambridge where I haue beene brought vp, I neuer trauailed 40. miles in all my lyfe, neuertheleſſe in my report of theſe thinges, I vſe their authorities, who haue performed in their perſons whatſoeuer is wanting in mine. It may be in like ſort that your Honour will take offence at my rashe and rechleſſe behauiour vſed in the compoſition of this volume, and much more that being ſcambled vp after this maner, I dare preſume to make tendoure of the protection thereof vnto your Lordships handes. But when I conſider the ſingular affectiō that your Ho. doth beare to thoſe that in any wiſe will trauaile to ſet forth ſuch things as lye hidden of their countries, without regarde of fine & eloquent handling, & therinto do weigh on mine owne behalfe my bounden duetie and gratefull minde to ſuch a one as hath ſo many and ſundrie wayes profited and preferred me, that otherwiſe can make no recompence, I can not but cut of all ſuch occaſion of doubt, and therevpon exhibite it, ſuch as it is, and ſo penned as it is vnto your Lordships tuition, vnto whome if it may ſeeme in any wyſe acceptable, I haue my whole deſire. And as I am the firſt that (notwithſtanding the great repugnauncie to be ſeene among our writers) hath taken vpon him ſo particularly to deſcribe this Iſle of Britaine, ſo I hope the learned and godly will beare withall and reforme with charity where I do treade amiſſe. As for the curious, & ſuch as can rather euill fauouredly eſſy then skilfully correct an errour, & ſooner carpe at another mans doings then publish any thing of their owne, keping themſelues cloſe with an obſcure admiration of learning & knowledge among the cōmon ſort) I force not what they ſay hereof, for whether it doe pleaſe or diſpeaſe them, all is one to me, ſith I referre my whole trauaile in the gratification of your Honour, & ſuch as are of experience to conſider of my trauaile, and the large ſcope of things purpoſed in this Treatize, of whome my ſeruice in this behalfe may be taken in good part, that I will repute for my full recompence, & large guerdon of my labours. The Almighty God preſerue your Lordship in cōtinuall health, wealth, and proſperitie, with my good Lady your wyfe, your Honours children, whome God hath indued with a ſingular towardneſſe vnto all vertue & learning, and the reſt of reformed familie vnto whome I wish farder increaſe of his holy ſpirit, vnderſtanding of his worde, augmentation of honour, & finally an earneſt zeale to follow his commaundements.

Your Lordſhips humble ſeruant,
and houſhold Chaplein. W. H.

¶ Faultes eſcaped. (description)

In the First Booke.

IN the firſt leafe columpne.1.& 23.lin,reade thorow the trade.
In the 3.leafe col.and 20.line,reade ſo a comeling.
In the 3.leafe col.4.and 43.lin,reade Gyants were.
In the 4.leafe co.1.lin 1.read S.Auguſtine therfore.
fol.5.col.3.lin 32.reade line in theſe dayes.
fol.6 lin 1.col.reade or Gwinhead.
ibid lin 23.col 1.reade limites of this.
ibid lin 25. reade conſiſted.
ibid lin 36.for Shropſhire reade Shrewesbury.
ibid col.2.lin 25.and 53. read extended themſelues.
ibid col.3.lin 45.read Suſſex in the ſouth.
ibid col.4.lin 25.put out yeares after 35.
fol 7.col 4.lin 26.reade eaſily.
fol 8.col 1.lin 29.reade put out alſo ſaying.
ibid col 4.line 49.for will I begin, reade woulde I begin.
fol 9.col 3.lin 33.for infinity reade infinite.
fol 10.col 2.lin 51.reade holde this opinion.
Ibid lin 54.reade they ſhall ſee.
ibid col 4.lin 49.reade thoſe 45.for thoſe fewe.
fol 11.col 1.lin.reade 25. errour of their founder.
ibid col 2.lin 19.reade pittes of errour.
ibid lin 20.put out(as) and reade welles in deede that holde no water.
Ibid col 3.lin 50.reade withſtande him there.
fol 13.col 1.lin 10.for Chicheſter reade Wincheſter.
fol 13.col 1.lin 38.reade and therby gathered.
fol 16.col 1.lin 10.reade themſelues lying neere hand, or within this Iſle alſo.
fol 17.col 2.lin,46. reade S.Ninians.
ibid lin 59. reade it ſeemeth hereby.
ibid col 3.lin 2.reade vnto Mona onely.
fol 18.col 1.lin 33. reade northeaſt and other alſo beyond them in like ſort ſubiect to Scotland.
fol 20.col 2.in the margent reade as I heare neere Cantorbury for about Gaunt.
ibid col 3.lin. 1.read Stoure whereof.
ibid.put out parentheſis in the margine.
ibid lin 39.reade diuided it ſelfe.
fol 24.col 1.lin 52.reade alſo to the point.
fol 26.col 1.lin 49.reade another great ſtreame.
ibid col 2.lin 16.for to a village,read and a village.
fol 27 where you reade Towz reade Towy.
ibid col 4.lin 26.reade into the mayne ſea.
fol 30.col 1.lin 40.for Dunrith reade Drurith.
ibid.col 2.lin 55.read Harleſwell.
ibid.lin 58.reade by north of Beltingham.
ibid.col 4.lin 6. for Tine reade Were.
fol 31.co 2.li 18.for Cockingham read Cottingham.
ibid col 3.lin 9. reade lyke in the next booke.
fol 32.col 3.lin 24.put in(to)in the ende of the line.
ibid lin 42.for Magey reade Maxey.
fol 33.col 3.lin 10.for Mores reade Meres.
ibid lin 18.for his place,reade this place.
fol 36.col 4.lin 28.reade forth by weſt of Marton.
fol 37.col 2.lin 52.read ſing of cattel,and put out the.
fol 39.col.1.lin.33.read hiſtory, & after him Bodinus.
fol 45. col 1.lin.11.reade in theſe dayes.
fol 47.co 4.li 32.read touching it, for touching by it.
ibid.lin 41.read wall was of ſtone.

In the ſeconde Booke.

FOl 74.col 3.lin 1.reade Leirceſter for Lewceſter.
fol 75.col.1.lin.18.reade quantitie thereof.
ibid.col 2.lin 22.reade gayles within.
fol 76.col 3. in the margine , reade howe thoſe men ſhoulde haue done,in the name note col 4.lin 1. tayler he.
fol.77.col 2.lin 32.and 33. put out (and the wight) for I miſtooke it.
ibid lin 43.for (in olde time)read alſo the weight.
fol 84.col 3.lin 26.for hope of recouery, reade hope of realeſe.
fol 85.col 3.lin.53.reade before the olde be expyred.
fol 85.col 1.lin 1.put out therefore,and reade I finde therefore.
ibid col 4.lin 49.for riuerets reade riuettes.
fol 87.col 1.li 19. for their ordinaunce reade the ſtore of ordinaunce.
ibid lin 27.reade that in ſome one barons houſe I haue.
ibid lin 33.reade done then trow you.
ibid.col 4.lin 9. 10. reade we had ſome alſo, for(a few.)
ibid lin 15. put out and betweene Alfrede (&) Etheldred.
fol 88.col 3.lin 17.reade being the more plenteous.
ibid lin 22.reade if place did ſerue therefore.
ibid col 4.lin 46.reade for theſe cauſes therefore.
fol 89.col 4.lin 58.for ſunt duo reade ſint duo.
fol 90.col 1. Canone 13. beſide the miſplacing of the point,lin 52.there is (n)to much in yͤ laſt word of the 56.line.
ibid col 2. lin 9. the whole line is peruerted for Siquis autem cum primario pugnauerit.
ibid lin 39.for aliquot reade aliquam.
ibid col 3.li 34.for Gemiſciſione read Genuſciſione.
fol 91.col 3.lin 19. for whereas reade thus.
ibid li 21.for behauiour whereby,read behauiour: and hereby.
ibid lin 22.reade defrauded and the.
ibid lin.33.reade euery man which.
ibid col 4.reade of Salop.Home
fol 92.col 1.lin 34.reade Cymbelline.
fol 93.col 1.lin 54.reade out of the hilles.
ibid lin 35. reade that at certaine times.
ibid lin 47. reade ſtraunge for ſtrong.
ibid lin 58.reade vertigerne.
ibid col 2.lin 18.for ſeconde Aye, read ſecond Axe.
ibid lin 44.reade doth it ſwell.
ibid col 3.line 37. reade into the earth,for into the grounde.
ibid 47 reade as one neere to S.Aſaphes.
fol 94.col.1. the 10. 11. and 12.lines are to much almoſt by euery worde, by meanes of an odde pamphlet of Tideſwell latewarde inſerted into the booke.
fol 96.col 2.lin 39.for goddeſſe reade gods.
fol 96. col 3.line 10. for harde Cantus reade hardie Canutus.
ibid col 4. verſ. 21. reade tantum & agendis.
fol 107.col 3.line 1.for drawne reade drawing.

¶ Of the ſcituation and quantitie of the Iſle of Britayne.

Cap.1.

How Britaine lyeth from the mayne.

BRITANIA, or Britaine, as we nowe terme it in our Engliſhe tongue, is an Iſle lying in the Ocean ſea, directly againſt that part of Fraunce, which conteyneth Picardie, Normandie, and therto the greateſt part of little Britaine, called in time paſt Armorica of the ſcituation thereof vpon the ſea coaſt, and before ſuch time as a companie of Britons (eyther led ouer by ſome of the Romayne Emperours, or flying thither from the tyrannie of ſuch as oppreſſed them here in this Iſlande) did ſettle themſelues there, & called it Britaine, after the name of their owne country, from whence they aduentured thither. It hath Irelande vpon the Weſt ſide, on the North the mayne ſea, euen vnto Thule and the Hyperboreans, and on the Eaſt ſide alſo the Germaine Ocean, by which we paſſe daily thorowe by the trade of merchandiſe, not only into ỹ low countries of Belgie, but alſo into Germanie, Frizelande, Denmarke, and Norway, carying from hence thither, and bringing from thence hither, all ſuch neceſſarie commodities as the ſeuerall Countries doe yeelde: thorow which meanes, and beſides common amitie cōſerued, traffike is maintayned, and the neceſſitie of eche party abundantly relieued.

The longitude and latitude of this Iſle.

It contayneth in longitude taken by the middeſt of the Region 19. degrees exactly: and in latitude 53. degrees, and 36. min. after the opinions of thoſe that haue diligently obſerued the ſame in our dayes, and the faithfull report of ſuch writers as haue left notice therof vnto vs, in their learned treatiſes to be perpetually remembred. Howbeit wheras ſome in ſetting downe of theſe two lines, haue ſeemed to vary about the placing of the ſame, eche of them diuerſly remembring the names of ſundrie Cities and townes, wheerby they affirme thē to haue their ſeueral courſes: for my part I haue thought good to proceede ſomewhat after another ſort, that is, by deuiding the lateſt and beſt Cardes eche way into two equall partes, (ſo neare as I can poſſibly bring the ſame to paſſe) whereby for the middle of latitude, I product Carleil and Newcaſtell vpon Tyne (whoſe lōgeſt day conſiſteth of 16. houres, 43. minuts) & for the longitude, Newbery, Warwicke, Sheffeld, Skiptō, &c. which dealing in mine opinion, is moſt eaſie & indifferent, and lykelieſt meane to come by the certayne ſtanding and ſcituation of our Iſlande.

Longeſt day.

The compaſſe of Britaine.

In lyke maner it hath in breadth from the Piere or poynt of Douer, vnto the fartheſt part of Cornewall weſtwardes 320. myles: from thence agayne vnto the poynt of Cathneſſe by the Iriſhe ſea, 800. Whereby Polidore and other doe gather that the circuite of the whole Iſlande of Britaine is 1720. myles, which is full 280. leſſe than Cæſar doth ſette downe, except there be ſome difference betweene the Romaine and Britiſhe myles, whereof heafter I maye make ſome farther conference.

The forme

The forme and facion of this Iſle is lyke vnto a Triangle, Baſtarde ſworde, Wedge, or Parteſant, being broadeſt in the South part, and gathering ſtill narrower and narrower, till it come to the fartheſt poynt of Cathneſſe Northwarde where it is narroweſt of all, and there endeth in maner of a Promontorie, which is not aboue 30. myles ouer, as dayly experience doth confirme.

The diſtance frō the mayne.

The ſhorteſt & moſt vſuall cut that we haue out of our Iſland to the maine, is from Douer (the fartheſt part of Kent eaſtward) vnto Calice in Picardie, where the bredth of the ſea is not aboue 30. myles. Which courſe as it is now frequented and vſed for the moſt cōmon & ſafe paſſage of ſuch as come into our cōutrie out of Fraunce and diuers other Realmes, ſo it hath not bene vnknowne of olde time vnto the Romaynes, who for the moſt part vſed theſe two hauens for their paſſage and repaſſage to and fro, although we finde that nowe and then, diuers of them came alſo from Bullen and landed at Sandwiche, or ſome other places of the coaſt, as to auoyde the force of the wynde and weather, that often moleſted them in theſe narrowe ſeas, beſt liked for their ſafegardes. Betweene the part of Hollande alſo, which lyeth nere the mouth of the Rhene, and this our Iſlande, are 900. furlonges, as Soſimus ſayeth, beſide diuers other writers, which being conuerted into Engliſhe myles, doe yeelde one hundred and twelue, and foure odde furlongs, whereby the iuſt diſtaunce of Britayne from that part of the mayne alſo, doth certainly appeare to be much leſſe than the common Mappes of our Countrie haue hitherto ſet downe.

Lib.4.

Of the auncient names of this Iſlande.

Cap.2.

IN the diligent peruſal of their treatiſes that haue written of the ſtate of this our Iſlande, I finde that at the firſt it ſeemed to be a percel of the Celtike kingdome, whereof Dis otherwyſe called Samothes, one of the ſonnes of Ia-

Dis, Samothes.

phet was the Saturne or originall beginner, and of him thenceforth for a long time called Samothea. Afterwarde in proceſſe of tyme when as deſire of rule began to take holde in the myndes of men, & ech Prince endeuored to enlarge his owne dominiōs: Albion the ſonne of Neptune ſurnamed Mareoticus (whoſe mother alſo was called Amphitrite) hearing of the commodities of the Countrie, and plentifulneſſe of ſoyle here, made a voyage ouer, & finding the thing not onely correſpondent vnto, but alſo farre ſurmounting the report that went of this Iſlande, it was not long after ere he inuaded yͤ ſame by force of armes, brought it to his ſubiection, and finally chaunged the name therof into Albion, whereby the former denomination after Samothes did fall into vtter forgetfulneſſe. And thus was this Iſland bereft at one time both of hir auncient name, and alſo of hir lawfull ſucceſſion of Princes deſcended of the lyne of Iaphet, vnder whome it had continued by the ſpace of 341. yeres and ix. Princes, as by the Hiſtorie folowing ſhall eaſily appeare.

Neptunus.
Amphitrite
Albion.

The firſt conqueſt of Britaine.

Britaine vnder the Celts 341. yeares.

To ſpeake ſomewhat alſo of Neptune, (ſith I haue made mention of him in this place) it ſhall not be impertinent. You ſhal vnderſtand therefore that for his excellent knowledge in the Arte of Nauigation, he was reputed the moſt ſkilful Prince that liued in his time. And therefore, and likewyſe for his courage and boldneſſe in aduenturing to and fro, he was after his deceaſe honoured as a god, and the protection of ſuch as trauayled by ſea committed to his charge. So rude alſo was yͤ making of ſhippes wherewith to ſayle in his tyme, that for lacke of better experience to calke and trimme the ſame after they were builded, they vſed to nayle them ouer with rawe hydes, and with ſuch a kinde of Nauie: firſt Samothes, and then Albion arriued in this Iſlande.

Neptune God of the ſea.

The maner of dreſſinge of ſhippes in olde time.

But to proceede, when the ſayde Albion had gouerned here in this Countrie by the ſpace of vij. yeares, it came to paſſe that both he and his brother Bergion were killed by Hercules at the mouth of Rhodanus, as the ſayd Hercules paſſed out of Spaine by the Celtes to go ouer into Italy, and vpō this occaſion (as I gather amōg the writers) not vnworthy to be remembred. It happened in tyme of Lucus king of the Celtes, that Leſtrigo and his iſſue (whō Oſyris his grandfather had placed ouer the Ianigenes) dyd exerciſe great tyrannie, not onely ouer his owne kingdome, but alſo in moleſtation of ſuch Princes as inhabited rounde about him in moſt intollerable maner. Moreouer he was not a little incouraged in theſe his doinges by Neptune his father, who truſted greatly to leaue his xxxiij. ſonnes ſettled in the mightieſt kingdomes of the worlde, as men of whom he had already conceyued this opinion, that if they had once gotten foote into any Region whatſoeuer, it woulde not be long ere they did by ſome meanes or other, not onelye eſtabliſhe their ſeates, but alſo increaſe their limites to the better maintenance of themſelues and their poſteritie for euermore. To be ſhort therefore, after the Gyantes, and great Princes, or mightie men of the world had conſpired and ſlaine the aforeſayd Oſyris: Hercules his ſonne, ſurnamed Libius, in the reuenge of his fathers death, proclaymed open warres agaynſt them all, and going from place to place, he ceaſed not to ſpoyle their kingdomes, and therewithall to kill them that fell into his handes. Finally, hauing among other ouercome the Lomnimi or Geriones in Spayne, and vnderſtanding that Leſtrigo & his ſonnes did yet remayne in Italie, he directed his voyage into thoſe parts, and taking the kingdome of the Celtes in his waye, he remayned for a ſeaſon with Lucus the king of that Countrie, where he alſo maried his daughter Galathea, and begat a ſonne by hir, calling him after his mothers name Galates, of whome in my Chronologie I haue ſpoken more at large. In the meane time Albion vnderſtanding howe Hercules intended to make warres agaynſt his brother Leſtrigo, he thought it good to ſtop him that ſyde, and therefore ſending for hys brother Bergion, out of the Orchades (where he alſo reygned as ſupreme Lorde and gouernour) they ioyned their powers, & ſayled ouer into Fraunce. Being arriued there, it was not long ere they met with Hercules and his armie, neare vnto the mouth of the riuer called Rhodanus, where happened a cruell conflicte betweene them, in which Hercules and hys men were lyke to haue loſt the daye, for that they were in maner weryed with lōg warres, and their munition ſore waſted in the laſt voiage that he had made for Spaine. Hereuppon Hercules perceyuing the courages of his ſouldiours ſomewhat to abate, & ſeeing the want of munition likely to be the cauſe of his fatall day and preſent ouerthrowe at hande, it came ſodenly into his mynde to will eche of them to defende himſelfe by throwing of ſtones at hys enimie, whereof there lay great ſtore then ſcattered in the place. The policie was no ſooner publiſhed than put in execution, whereby they ſo preuayled in thende, that Hercules wan the fielde, their enemies were put to flight, and Albion and his brother both ſlayne, and buried in that plot. Thus was Britaine ridde of a tyrant, Lucus king of the Celtes deliuered frō an vſurper (that daily incroched vpon him alſo euen in his owne kingdome on that ſide) and

Leſtri-

Leſtrigo.

Neptune had xxxiij. ſonnes.

Ianigenes. the poſterity of Noah lying in Italy.

Lomnimi. Geriones.

Galathea.

Galates.

Bergion.

Pomponius Lætus.

Albion ſlayne.

Leſtrigo greatly weakened by the ſlaughter of his brethren. Of this inuention of Hercules in lyke ſort it commeth, that Iupiter father vnto Hercules (who in déede was none other but Oſyris) is feygned to throw downe ſtones from heauen vpon Albion and Bergion, in the defence of Hercules his ſon: which came ſo thick vpon them as if great drops of raine or hayle ſhould haue deſcended from aboue, no man well knowing which waye to turne him from their violence, they came ſo faſt and with ſo great a ſtrength.

It rayned ſtones.

But to go forwarde, albeit that Albion and his power were thus diſcomfited and ſlayne, yet the name that he gaue vnto thys Iſlande dyed not, but ſtill remained vnto the time of Brute, who arriuing here in the 1127. before Chriſt, and 2840. after the creation, not onely chaunged it into Britayne (after it had bene called Albion, by the ſpace of 595. yeares) but to declare his ſoueraigntie ouer the reaſt of the Iſlandes alſo that are about the ſame, he called them all after the ſame maner, ſo that Albion was ſayde in tyme to be Britanniarum inſula maxima, that is, the greateſt of thoſe Iſles that bare the name of Britayne.

It is altogither impertinent to diſcuſſe whether Hercules came into thys Iſlande after the death of Albion, or not, althoughe that by an auncient monument ſéene of late, and the Cape of Hartland in the Weſt countrie, called Promontorium Herculis in olde tyme, diuers of our Brytiſhe wryters doe gather great likelyhoode that he ſhoulde alſo be here. But ſyth hys preſence or abſence maketh nothing wyth the alteration of the name of this our Region and Countrie, I paſſe it ouer as not incident to my purpoſe. Neyther will I ſpend any time in the determination, whether Brittayne hath bene ſometyme a percell of the mayne, althoughe it ſhoulde well ſéeme ſo to haue bene, bycauſe that before the generall floudde of Noah, we doe not reade of Iſlandes. As for the ſpéedie and timely inhabitation thereof, this is myne opinion, that it was inhabited ſhortly after the diuiſion of the earth. For I reade that when ech Captayne and his company had their portions aſſigned vnto them by Noah in the partition that he made of the whole earth among hys poſteritie, they neuer ceaſed to trauayle and ſearch out the vttermoſt boundes of the ſame, vntill they founde out their parts allotted, and had ſéene and vewed the limites thereof, euen vnto the very poles. It ſhall ſuffice therefore only to haue touched theſe things in this manner a farre of, and in returning to our purpoſe, to procéede with the reaſt concerning the denomination of our Iſland, which was knowen vnto moſt of the Grækes for a long time, by none other name than Albion, and to ſay the truth, euen vnto Alexanders daies: notwithſtanding that Brute, as I haue ſayde, had chaunged the ſame into Britayne, manye hundred yeares before.

Hercules in Britayne.

Promontorium Herculis.

Do. Marius Niger, cōment. de Britannia. Cap. 2.

Theophilus Antiochenus ad Autolicum.

After Brutus I doe not find that any man attempted to chaunge it agayne, vntill the tyme that one Valentinus a rebell, in the dayes of Valentinianus and Valens endeuored to reygne there, and thereuppon as Ierome ſayth, procured it to be called Valentia. The lyke alſo dyd Theodoſius in the remembraunce of the two aforeſayde Emperours, as Marcellinus ſaith, but as neyther of theſe toke anye holde among the common ſort, ſo it retayned ſtil the name of Britaine, vntill the reygne of Ecbert, who about the 800. yeare of grace, gaue forth an eſpeciall Edict, dated at Wyncheſter, that it ſhoulde be called Angles land, or Angellandt, for which in our time we doe pronounce it England. And this is all, right Honourable, that I haue to ſay, touching the ſeuerall names of this Iſlande, vtterly miſlyking in the meane ſeaſon their deuiſes, which make Hengiſt the only parent of the later denomination, whereas Ecbert, bicauſe his aunceſtours deſcended from the Angles (one of the ſeauen Nations that came wyth the Saxons into Britayne, for they were not all of one, but of diuers countries, as Angles, Saxons, Germaynes, Switchers, Norwegiens, &c. and all comprehended vnder yͤ name of Saxons, bicauſe of Hengiſt the Saxon & his cōpany that firſt aryued here before any of the other) and therto hauing now the monarchie & preheminēce in manner of this whole Iſlande, called the ſame after the name of his Countrie from whence his originall came, neyther Hengiſt, neyther any Quéene named Angla, neyther whatſoeuer deriuation ab angulo, as from a corner of the worlde bearing ſwaye, or hauing ought to doe at all in that behalfe.

Valentia.

In ſupplemento, Euſebij. lib 28.

Angellādt or Angles land.

Only Saxons arriued here at the firſt with Hengiſt.

What ſundry Nations haue inhabited in this Iſlande. Cap. 3.

AS fewe or no Nations can iuſtly boaſte themſelues to haue continued ſithence their countrie was firſt repleniſhed, wythout any myxture, more or leſſe, wyth other people, no more can this our Iſlande, whoſe manifolde commodities haue oft allured ſundry Princes and famous captaynes of the worlde to conquere and ſubdue the ſame vnto their owne ſubiection. Many ſorts of people there-

No Nation voide of myxture, more or leſſe.

Samotheans.

Chemminites.

Britaines

fore haue comen hither and ſettled thẽſelues here in thys Iſle, and firſt of all other a percell of the linage and poſteritie of Iapheth, brought in by Samothes in the 1910. after the creation of Adam. Howbeit in proceſſe of tyme, and after they had indifferently replenyſhed and furnyſhed this Iſlande with people (which was done in the ſpace of 335. yeares) Albion the Gyaunt afore mencioned repayred hither with a companye of his owne race proceeding from Cham, and not onely ſubdued the ſame to his owne dominion, but brought all ſuch in lyke ſort as he found here of the lyne of Iaphet, into miſerable ſeruitude and thraldome. After hym alſo, and wythin leſſe than ſixe hundred yeares came Brute with a great traine of the poſteritie of the diſperſed Troianes in 324. ſhyppes: who rendring the lyke curteſie vnto the Chemminites as they had done before vnto the ſeede of Iaphet, brought them alſo wholye vnder his rule and gouernaunce, and diuided the whole lande among ſuch Princes and Captaynes as he in his arriuall here had led out of Grecia with him.

Romaines.

From henceforth I doe not finde any ſound report of other natiõ, whatſoeuer that ſhuld aduenture hither to dwell, vntill the Romane Emperours ſubdued it to their dominion, ſauing of a fewe Galles, (and thoſe peraduenture of Belgie) who firſt comming ouer to robbe and pilfer vpon the coaſtes, did afterwarde plant themſelues for altogither neare vnto the ſea, and there buylded ſundry cities and townes which they named after thoſe of the maine, from whence they came vnto vs. But after the comming of the Romaynes, it is harde to ſay with how many ſortes of people we were dayly peſtered, almoſt in euery ſteede. For as they planted their forworne Legions in the moſt fertile places of the Realme, and where they might beſt lye for the ſafegarde of their conqueſtes: ſo their armies did commonly conſiſt of many ſortes of people, and were as I may call them, a confuſed mixture of all other cõtries. Howbeit, I thinke it beſt, bicauſe they did all beare the tytle of Romaynes, to retayne onely that name for them all, albeit they were wofull gueſtes to this our Iſlande: ſith that wyth them came in all maner of vice and vicious liuing, all ryot and exceſſe of behauior, which their Legions brought hyther from eche corner of their dominions, for there was no prouince vnder them from whence they had not ſeruitours.

Scottes Pictes.

How and when the Scottes ſhould arriue here out of Irelande, and from whence the Pictes ſhoulde come vnto vs, as yet it is vncertaine. For although their hiſtories doe carie great countenance of their antiquitie and continuance in this Iſlande: yet (to ſay freely what I thinke) I iudge them rather to haue ſtollẽ in hither, not much before the Saxons, than that they ſhould haue bene ſo long here, as from the one hundreth yeare after Chriſt. Reynulph Higden is of the opinion that the Pictes did come into this Iſland in the days of Seuerus, and that Fulgentius their captayne was brother to Martia, the mother of Baſſianus. He addeth furthermore howe the Pictes forſooke Baſſianus, and held with Carauſius, who gaue thẽ a portion of Scotlande to inhabite, and thus wryteth he. But if Herodian be well reade, you ſhal find that ỹ Pictes were ſettled in thys Iſle, before the time of Seuerus, & yet not ſo ſoone as that Tacitus can make any mention of thẽ in the cõqueſt that Agricola his father in law made of ỹ North parts of this Iſland. Neyther doe I reade of the Scots or Pictes before the time of Antoninus Verus, in the begynning of whoſe thirde yere (which concurred with the xvij. of Lucius king of Britaine) they inuaded thys South part of the Iſle, and were reduced to obedience by Trebellius the Legate. Certes the tyme of Samothes and Albion haue ſome likely limitation, and ſo we maye gather of the cõming in of Brute. The voyage that Cæſar made likewyſe is certainely knowne to fall out in the 54. before the birth of Chriſt. In lyke ſort that the Saxons arryued here in the 449. The Danes, and with them the Gothes, Vandales, Norwegians, &c. in the 791. Finally the Normans in 1066. And Flemminges in the tyme of Henry the firſt (although they came not in by conqueſt, but vppon their humble ſute had a place in Wales aſſigned them to inhabite in, by king Henry then reigning, after the drowning of their countrie) it is eaſie to be proued.

Li.4.ca.19.

But when the Pictes and Scottes ſhould enter, neither doe our hyſtories make any report, neyther their owne agree among thẽſelues by manye hundreth yeares. Wherefore as the tyme of their arriuall here is not to be founde out, ſo it ſhall ſuffice to gyue notice that they are but ſtrangers, and ſuch as by obſcure inuaſion haue neſtled in thys Iſlande.

Saxons.

The Saxons became firſt acquainted with thys Iſle, by meanes of the pyracie which they daily practiſed vpon our coaſtes (after they had once begunne to aduenture themſelues alſo vpon the ſeas, thereby to ſeeke out more wealth then was nowe to begotten in theſe weſt partes of the mayne, which they & their neighbors had alreadie ſpoyled in moſt lamentable and barbarous maner) howbeit they neuer durſt preſume to inhabite in this Iſland, vntill they were ſent for by Vortiger to ſerue him in his warres agaynſt ẏ Pictes & Scottes, after that the Romaines had giuen vs ouer, & left vs wholy to our owne defence & regiment. Being therefore comen in thrée bottomes or kéeles, & in ſhort time eſpying the ydle & negligent behauiour of ẏ Brytons and fertilitie of our ſoyle, they were not a little inflamed to make a full conqueſt of ſuch as they came to ayde and ſuccour. Hereupon alſo they fell by little and little to the winding in of greater nūbers of their countrymen with their wyues and children into this region, ſo that within a whyle they began to moleſt the homelings (for ſo I finde ẏ word Indigena, to be engliſhed in an old booke that I haue, wherin Aduena is tranſlated alſo an homeling) and ceaſed not from time to time to cōtinue their purpoſe, vntill they had gotten poſſeſſion of the whole, or at the leaſtwiſe the greateſt part of our cōtry, the Britons in the meane ſeaſon being driuen eyther into Wales & Cornewall, or altogither out of the Iſlande to ſéeke newe inhabitations.

Danes.

In like maner the Danes (the next nation that ſuccéeded) came at the firſt onely to pilfer & robbe vpon the frontiers of our Iſland, till that in the end being let in by the Welchmen or Brytons to reuenge them vpon the Saxons, they no leſſe plagued the one then the other, their friendes, then their aduerſaries, ſéeking by all meanes poſſible, to eſtabliſh themſelues in the ſure poſſeſſiō of Brytayne. But ſuch was their ſucceſſe, that they proſpered not long in their deuiſe, for ſo great was their lordlineſſe, their crueltie, and inſatiable deſire of riches, beſide their deteſtable abuſing of chaſt matrones, & young virgines (whoſe huſbandes and parentes were daily inforced to become their drudges and ſlaues whyleſt they ſate at home and fed like Drone bées of the ſwéet of their trauayle & labours) that God I ſay would not ſuffer thē to continue any while ouer vs, but when he ſaw his time he remooued their yoke, and gaue vs libertie, as it were to breath vs, thereby to ſée whether this his ſharpe ſcourge coulde haue mooued vs to repentaunce and amendement of our lewde and ſinnefull liues, or not. But whē no ſigne thereof appeared in our hearts, he called in an other nation to vexe vs, I meane the Normans, a people of whom it is worthily doubted, whether they were more harde and cruell to our countrymen then the Danes, or more heauye and intollerable to our Iſlande then the Saxons or Romaynes, yet ſuch was our lotte, in theſe dayes by the deuine appointed order, that we muſt néedes obey, ſuch as the Lorde dyd ſet ouer vs, & ſo much the rather, for that all power to reſiſt was vtterly taken from vs, and our armes made ſo weake and féeble, that they were not now able to remooue the importable loade of the Normanes from our ſurburdened ſhoulders. And this onely I ſay agayne, bycauſe we refuſed grace offred in time and woulde not heare when God by his Preachers did call vs ſo fauourably vnto him.

The Normans.

This we ſée howe from time to time this Iſlande hath not onely bene a praye, but as it were a common receptacle for ſtraungers, the naturall homelinges being ſtill cut ſhorter and ſhorter, as I ſayde before, till in the ende they came not onely to be driuen into a corner of this region, but in tyme alſo verie like vtterly to haue ben extinguiſhed. For had not king Edward ſurnamed the ſainct in his time after grieuous warres, made vppon them (wherein Earle Harald, ſonne to Godwine & after king of Englande was his generall) permitted the remnaunt of their women to ioyne in maryage with the Engliſhmen (when the moſt part of their huſbandes & male children were ſlayne with the ſworde) it coulde not haue bene otherwyſe choſen, but their whole race muſt néedes haue ſuſtayned the vttermoſt confuſion, and thereby the memorie of the Britons vtterly haue periſhed.

Whether it be likely that there were euer any Gyaunts inhabiting in this Iſle or not. Cap. 4.

BEſides theſe aforeſayde nations, which haue crept as you haue hearde into our Iſlande, we reade of ſundry Gyaunts that ſhoulde inhabite here, which report as it is not altogither incredible, ſith the poſterities of diuers princes were called by ẏ name: ſo vnto ſome mens eares it ſéemeth ſo ſtraunge a rehearſall, that for the ſame onely they ſuſpect the credite of our whole hyſtorie and reiect it as a fable, vnworthy to be read. For this cauſe therefore I haue nowe taken vpon me to make thys briefe diſcourſe inſuing, therby to proue, that the opiniō of Gyaunts is not altogither grounded vpon vayne & fabulous narrations, inuented only to delite the eares of the hearers with the report of marueilous things. But that there haue bene ſuch men in déede, as for their hugeneſſe of perſon haue reſembled rather * highe towers then mortall men, although their poſterities are now conſumed, and their monſtruous races vtterly worne out of knowledge.

* Eſay.30. verſ.25.

I doe not meane herein to diſpute, whether this name was giuen vnto them, rather for their tyrannie and oppreſſion of the people, then for their greateneſſe of bodie; or whether the worde Gygas dooeth onelye ſignifie Indigenas, or homelinges, borne in the lande or not; neyther whether all men were of like quantitie in ſtature and farre more greater in olde tyme then at this preſent they be, and yet abſolutely I denie neyther of theſe, ſith very probable reaſons may be brought for eche of thẽ, but eſpecially the laſt rehearſed, whoſe confirmation dependeth vpon the authorityes of ſundrie auncient writers, who make diuers of Noble race, equall to the Gyauntes in ſtrength, and manhoode, and yet doe not gyue the ſame name vnto them, bycauſe their quarels were iuſt, and commonly taken in hande, for defence of the oppreſſed. Example hereof, alſo we may take of Hercules and Antheus, whoſe wreſtling declareth that they were equall in ſtature & ſtomacke, ſuch alſo was the courage of Antheus, that being often ouercome, and as it were vtterly vanquiſhed by the ſayde Hercules, yet if he did eftſoones returne agayne into his kingdome, he furthwith recouered his force, returned & helde Hercules tacke, till he gate at the laſt betweene him & home, ſo cutting of the farder hope of the reſtoring of his army, and killing finally his aduerſarie in the field. The like doe our hiſtories report of Corineus and Gomagot, who fought a combate hande to hande, till one of them was ſlayne, & yet for all this no man reputeth Corineus for a Gyaunt. But ſith I ſaye it is not my purpoſe to ſtande vppon theſe pointes, I paſſe ouer to ſpeake any more of them, and where as alſo I might haue proceeded in ſuch order, that I ſhoulde firſt ſet downe by many circumſtances, whether any Gyauntes were, then whether they were of ſuch huge & incredible ſtature, as the authours doe remember, and finally whether any of them haue beene in this our Ylande or not, I proteſt playnly that my minde is not nowe bent to deale in any ſuch maner, but rather generally to confirme and by ſufficient authoritie that there haue bene mightye men of ſtature, and ſome of them alſo in Britaine, as by particular examples ſhalbe manifeſtly confirmed without ỹ obſeruation of any methode, or ſuch diuiſiõ in the rehearſal hereof as ſound order doth require.

Antheus.

Corineus.
Gomagot.

Moſes the Prophet of the Lord, writing of the ſtate of things before the floud hath theſe wordes in his booke of generations. In theſe daies ſaith he, there were Giaũts vpõ ỹ erth, Beroſus, alſo the Chalde, writeth that neere vnto Libanus there was a city called Denon (which I take to be Henoch, builded ſomtime by Cham) wherein Gyauntes dyd inhabit, who truſting to the ſtrength and hugeneſſe of their bodies, dyd verye great oppreſſion and miſchiefe in the worlde. The Hebrues called them generally by the name of Enach peraduenture of Henoch the ſonne of Cain, frõ whom that peſtilẽt race at the firſt deſcẽded.

Cap.6.
ver.4.

Anti.li.1.

And of theſe mõſters alſo ſome familiſes remained vnto the time of Moſes, in compariſon of whom the children of Iſraell confeſſed themſelues to be but Graſhoppers, which is one noble teſtimonie that the word Gygas or Enach is ſo well taken for a man of huge ſtature, as for an homeborne childe; wicked tyraunt, and oppreſſour of the people.

Nu.cap.13
verſ.33.&
34.

Furthermore, there is mention made alſo of Og, ſometyme king of Baſan, who was the laſt of the race of the Gyaunts, that was left in the lande of promiſe to be ouercome by the Iſraelites, whoſe bedde was afterwarde ſhewed for a woonder at Rabbath (a citie of the Ammonites) and conteyned 9. cubites in length and 4. in bredth, which cubites I take to be geometricall, that is, eache one ſixe of the ſmaller, as dyd thoſe alſo whereof the Arke was made, as our Diuines affirme.

Deut.3.
verſ.11.
Og of
Baſan.

In the firſt of Samuell you ſhall reade of Goliath a philiſtine, the weight of whoſe Taberde or iacke was of fiue hundreth ſicles, or ſo many ounces, that is, 312. pounde after the rate of a ſicle to an ounce, his ſpeare was like a weauers beame, the onelye head whereof weighed 600. ounces of yron, or 37. pounde and a halfe engliſh, his height alſo was meaſured at 6. cubites and an hande bredth, all which do importe that he was a notable Gyaunt, and a man of great ſtrength to weare ſuch an armour & beweld ſo heauy a launce.

Cap.17.
ver.4.5.6.
Goliah.

In the ſecond of Samuell, I finde report of 4. Gyaunts borne in Geth, of which the third was like vnto Goliath, & the fourth had 24. fingers and toes, whereby it is euident, that the generation of Gyaunts were not extinguiſhed in Paleſtine, vntill the tyme of Dauid, which was 2890. after the floude, nor vtterly conſumed in Og, as ſome of our expoſitours woulde haue it.

Cap.21.
ver.16.
17.&c.

Now to come vnto our chriſten writers, for although the authorities already alleged out of the worde, are ſufficient to confirme my purpoſe at the full, yet will I not let to ſet downe ſuch other notes as experience hath reuealed, onelye to the ende that the reader ſhall not thinke the name of Gyaunts, with their quantities, and other circumſtaunces, mentioned in the ſcriptures, rather to haue ſome miſticall interpretation, depending vppon them, then that the ſence of the text in this behalfe is to be taken ſimple as it lyeth.

S.Auguſtine

De ciuitate dei lib. 15. cap. 9.

Iohannes Boccatius.

S. Auguſtine noteth how he ſaw the tooth of a man, whereof he tooke good aduiſement & pronounced in the ende that it would haue made 100. of his owne, or any other mans that lyued in his tyme. The like hereof alſo doeth Iohn Bocaſe ſet downe, in the 48. Chapter of his fift booke, ſaying that in ẏ caue of a moũtayne, not farre from Drepanum, (a towne of Sicilia) the body of an excéeding high Gyaunt was diſcouered, thrée of whoſe téeth did weigh 100. ounces, which being conuerted into Engliſh poiſe, doth yéelde 8. pounde and 4. ounces, after twelue ounces to the pounde.

Mat. Weſtmon.

Iohannes Leland. Maſſeus. &c.

Geruaſius Tilberienſis.

The bodye of Pallas was founde in Italy, in the yeare of grace. 1038. and being meaſured it conteined 20. foote in lẽgth, this Pallas was cõpanion with Æneas. There was a carcaſe alſo laid bare in England vpõ the ſhore, (where the beating of the ſea had waſhed away ẏ yearth from the ſtone wherein it lay) & when it was taken vp, it conteined, 50. foote in meaſure, as our hiſtories doe reporte. The lyke was ſéene in Wales, in the yeare. 1087. of 14 foote. In Perth moreouer a village in Scotlande another was taken vp, which to this day they ſhewe in a Church, vnder the name of little Iohn, being alſo 14. foote in length as diuers doe affirme which haue beholden the ſame. In the yeare of grace. 1475. the bodye of Tulliola daughter vnto Cicero, was taken vp and found higher by not a fewe féete then the common ſorte of women liuing in thoſe dayes. Geruaſius Tilberienſis, hedde Marſhall to the King of Arles writeth, in his Chronicle dedicated to Otho. 4. howe that at Iſoretum, in the ſuburbes of Paris, he ſawe the bodye of a man that was twentye foote long, beſide the heade and necke, which was miſſing and not founde, the owner hauing peraduenture bene beheadded for ſome notable treſpaſſe committed in times paſt.

Thomas Eliot.

A carkaſſe was taken vp at Iuye Church nere Saliſburye but of late to ſpeake of, almoſt 14 foote long.

Leland.

In Gilleſland in Come Whitton paroche not far from the chappell of the More, ſixe miles by Eaſt from Carleill, a coffin of ſtone was founde, and therein the bones of a man, of more then incredible greatnes.

Richard Grafton.

Richarde Grafton, in his Manuell telleth of one whoſe ſhinne bone conteined ſixe foote, & his ſcul ſo great that it was able to receiue 5. peckes of wheate, wherefore by coniecturall ſymmetrye of theſe partes, his bodye muſt néedes be of 28. foote, or rather more, if it were diligently diſcuſſed.

Silueſter Gyraldus.

Conſtans fama Galorum.

The body of king Arthur being found in the yere 1189. was two foote higher than any man that came to behold ẏ ſame, finally the carcas of William conquerour was ſéene not many yeares ſince, in the Citie of Cane, twelue ynches longer, by ẏ iudgment of ſuch as ſaw it, thã any man which dwelled in the countrey. Al which teſtimonies I note togither bicauſe they procéede from Chriſtian writers, from whome nothing ſhoulde bée farther or more diſtant, then of ſet purpoſe to lie, & féede the world with Fables. Nowe it reſteth furthermore ẏ I ſet downe, what I haue read thereof in Pagane writers, who had alwayes great regarde of their credit, and ſo ought all men that dedicate any thing vnto poſteritie, leaſt in going about otherwiſe to reape renowme and praiſe, they doe procure vnto themſelues in the ende nothing elſe but méere contempt and infamy: for my part I will touch rare thinges, and ſuch as to my ſelfe doe ſéeme almoſt incredible: howbeit as I find them, ſo I note them, requiring your Honour in reading hereof, to let euerye Author beare hys owne burden, and euery Oxe his bundle.

In vita Sertorij de Antheo.

Plutarche telleth howe Sertorius being in Libia, néere vnto the ſtréetes of Maroco, cauſed the Sepulchre of Antheus, afore remembred to be opened, for hearing by common report that the ſaide Gyaunt lay buryed there, whoſe corps was 50. cubits long at the leaſt, he was ſo far of frõ crediting the ſame, that he would not beleue it, vntil he ſaw the coffin open wherein the bones of the aforeſaid prince did reſt. To be ſhort therefore, he cauſed his ſouldiers to caſt downe the hil made ſomtime ouer the tombe, and finding the bodie in the bottome, after the meaſure thereof taken, he ſawe it manifeſtly, to be 60. cubits in length, which were ten more then the people made accompt of.

Philoſtrate

Philoſtrate in Heroices ſayth, how he ſawe the body of a Gyant 30. cubits in length, alſo the carkaſſe of another of 22. and the thirde, of 12.

Lib. 7.

Plinie telleth of an Earthquake at Creta, which diſcouered the body of a Gyant, which was 46. cubits in length after the Romaine ſtanderde, and by dyuers ſuppoſed to be the bodye of Orion or Ætion.

Trallianus.

Trallianus writeth howe the Athenienſes digging on a time in the grounde to laye the foundatiõ of their new walles in the dayes of an Emperour, did finde the bones of Macroſyris in a coffin of harde ſtone, of 10. cubites in length after the accompt of the Romaine cubite, which was then a foote and an halfe & not much diffrence from halfe a yarde of our meaſure nowe in Englande. In the time of Hadriane themperour the body of a Gyaunt was takẽ vp at Meſſana conteining 20. foote in length, & hauing a double row of téeth, yet ſtanding whole in his chaps, In Dalmatia, manye graues were ſhaken open with an earthquake, in one of which aboue the reſt, a carcaſſe was found whoſe ribbe conteined 16. elles, after the Romaine meaſure, wherby ẏ whole body was iudged to be 64. ſith ẏ lōgeſt rib is cōmonly about ẏ fourth part of a man, as ſome Simmetriciēs affirme, Arrhian⁹ ſaith that in the time of Alexander the bodies of ẏ Aſianes were generally of huge ſtature, and commonly of 5. cubits, ſuch was the height of Porus of Inde, whome Alexander vanquiſhed and ouerthrew in battaile. Sudas ſpeaketh in like maner of Ganges, killed likewiſe by the ſayd prince, who farre excéeded Porus for he was 10. cubits lōg. But of al theſe this one example ſhall paſſe, which I doe reade alſo in Tralhanus & he ſetteth downe in forme and manner following.

A mouth of 16. foote wide.

In the daies of Tiberius themperor ſaith he a corps was left bare or layde open after an erthquake of which eche tooth cōteined 12. ynches euer at ẏ leſt, now foraſmuch as in ſuch as bée full mouthed eche chap hath 16. téeth at the leaſt, which is 32. in ẏ whole, néedes muſt the wydeneſſe of this mannes chappes be ſixetéene foote, and the opening of his lippes 10. A large mouth in mine opinion and not to féede with Ladies of my time, beſides that if occaſion ſerued, it was able to receiue the whole bodye of a man, I meane of ſuch as flouriſh in our daies. Whē this carcaſſe was thus founde, euery man marueyled at it and good cauſe why, a meſſenger alſo was ſente vnto Tiberius themperour to know his pleaſure, whether he wold haue the ſame brought ouer vnto Rome or not, but he forbade them, willing his Legate not to remoue the deade out of his reſting place, but rather to ſende him a tooth out of his head, which being done, he gaue the ſame to a cunning workeman, commanding him to ſhape a carcaſſe of light matter, after the proporcion of the tooth, that at the leaſt by ſuch meanes he might ſatiſfie his curious minde, and the fantaſies of ſuch as are delited with newes.

A cōterfecte made of a monſtrous carcaſſe by one tooth taken out of ẏ head.

This man was more fauorable to this mōſter then our papiſts were to the bodies of the dead who tare them in péeces to make money of thē.

To be ſhort whē the ymage was once made and ſet vp an end, it appeared rather an huge colloſſy then the true repreſentation of the carcaſſe of a man, and when it had ſtande in Rome vntill the peeple were wearye of it and thorowly ſatiſfied with the ſight thereof, he cauſed it to bée broken all to péeces, and the tooth ſent againe to the carcaſſe from whence it came, willing them moreouer to couer it diligently, & in any wiſe not to diſmēber the corps, nor from thenceforth to bée ſo hardie as to open the ſepulchre any more. I could rehearſe many mo examples of the bodies of ſuch men, out of Solinus, Sabellicus Cooper, and other, but theſe here ſhall ſuffiſe to proue my purpoſe with all. I might tell you in like ſorte of the ſtone which Turnus threwe at Æneas, which was ſuch as that 12. choſen and picked men

(*Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus.*)

were not able to ſturre and remoue out of the place, but I paſſe it ouer, & diuers of the like, concluding that theſe huge blockes were ordeined and created by God: firſt for a teſtimonie vnto vs, of his power and myght, ſecondly for a confirmation that hugeneſſe of bodye is not to be accompted, of as a part of our felicitie, ſith they which poſſeſſed ẏ ſame, were not onely tyrauntes, doltyſh, and euyll men, but alſo oftentimes ouercome euen by the weake and féeble. Finally they were ſuch in déede as in whome the Lorde delited not, according to the ſaying of the Prophet Baruch.

Vis vnita fortior eſt eadem diſperſa.

Ibi fuerunt gigantes nominati, illi qui ab initio fuerunt ſtatura magna, ſcientes bellum, hos non elegit dominus, neque illis viam diſciplinæ dedit, propterea perierunt, & quoniam nō habuerunt ſapientiam, interierunt propter ſuam inſipientiam. &c.

Cap. 3. 36.

There were the Gyants, famous from the beginning, that were of ſo great ſtature & ſo expert in warre. Thoſe did not the Lorde chooſe neither gaue he the way of knowledge vnto them. But they were deſtroied, becauſe they had no wiſedome, and periſhed through their owne fooliſhneſſe.

Of the generall Language vſed from time to time in Britaine.

Chap. 5.

Brytiſh.

What language came firſt wyth Samothes & afterwarde with Albion, & the Gyants of his cōpanie, it is hearde for me to determine, ſith nothing of ſound credit remayneth in writing which maye reſolue vs in the truth hereof, yet of ſo much are we certeine, that the ſpeach of ẏ auncient Britons, and of the Celtes had great affinitie one with another, ſo that they were either all one, or at the leaſt wyſe ſuch as eyther nation wyth ſmal helpe of interpreters might vnderſtand other, and readily diſcerne what the ſpeaker did meane.

Small difference betwene ẏ brittiſh & Celtike languages.

The Brittiſh tongue doth yet remayne in that part of the Iſlande, which is nowe called Wales, whether the Britons were driuē after the Saxons had made a full conqueſt of the other, which we nowe call Englande, although the priſtinate integritie therof be not a little

Brittiſh corrupted by the Latine and Saxon ſpeaches.

a little diminiſhed by mixture of the Latine & Saxon ſpeaches, howbeit, many poeſies and writings, (in making whereof that nation hath euermore excelled) are yet extant in my time, whereby ſome difference betwéene the aunciēt & preſent language, may eaſily be diſcerned, notwithſtanding that amōg all theſe there is nothing to be founde, which can ſet downe any ſounde teſtimonie of their owne originall, in remembraunce whereof, their Bardes & cunning men haue bene moſt ſlacke and negligent. It is a ſpeache in mine opiniō much ſauouring of that, which was ſometime vſed in Grecia, and learned by the reliques of the Troyanes, whyleſt they were captiue there, but how ſoeuer the matter ſtandeth, after it came once ouer into this Iſlande, ſure it is, that it could neuer be extinguiſhed for all the attēpts that the Romains, Saxons, Normans, and Engliſhmen coulde make againſt that nation, in any maner of wyſe.

The Britons deligent in petigrées.

Petigrées & genealogies alſo the Welche Brytons haue plentie in their owne tongue, inſomuch that many of them can readily deriue the ſame, eyther from Brute or ſome of his bande, euen vnto Æneas and other of the Troyanes, and ſo forth vnto Noah without any maner of ſtoppe, but as I know not what credite is to be giuen vnto them in this behalfe, ſo I dare not abſolutely impugne their aſſertions, ſith that in times paſt all nations (learning it no dout of the Hebrues) did very ſolennely preſerue the Cataloges of their diſcent, thereby eyther to ſhew themſelues of auncient and noble race, or elſe to be diſcended from ſome one of the goddes.

Latine.

Next vnto the Brittiſhe ſpeache, the latine tongue was brought in by the Romaines, whereof I will not ſay much, bycauſe there are few which be not ſkilfull in ẏ ſame. Howbeit as the ſpeache it ſelfe is eaſie and delectable, ſo hath it peruerted the names of the auncient ryuers, regions, and cities of Britayne in ſuch wyſe, that in theſe our dayes their olde Brittiſh denominations are quite growen out of memorie, and thoſe of the new latine, left as moſt incertayne. This remayneth alſo vnto my tyme, borowed from the Romaynes that all our déedes, euidences, charters, and writinges of recorde, are ſet downe in the latine tongue, and therevnto the copies and courtrolles, and proceſſes of courtes and léetes regiſtred in the ſame.

The Saxon tong.

The thirde language apparauntly knowen is the Scythian or highe Dutche, brought in at the firſt by the Saxons, an hard and rough kinde of ſpeach god wotte, when our nation was brought firſt into acquaintance withall, but now chaunged with vs into a farre more fine and eaſie kind of vtteraunce, and ſo poliſhed and helped with new and milder wordes that it is to be aduouched howe there is no one ſpeache vnder the ſonne ſpoken in our time, that hath or can haue more varietie of wordes, copie of phraſes, or figures or floures of eloquence, thē hath our Engliſhe tongue, although ſome haue affirmed vs rather to barke as dogs, then talke like men, becauſe the moſt of our wordes (as they doe in déede) incline vnto one ſyllable.

The Frēche tong.

After the Saxon tongue came the Normā or Frenche language, ouer into our countrey and therein were our lawes written for a lōg tyme, our children alſo were by an eſpeciall decrée taught firſt to ſpeake the ſame, and all to exile the Engliſhe and Brittiſhe ſpeaches out of the coūtry, but in vaine, for in the time of king Edwarde the firſt, and towarde the latter ende of his reigne, the Frenche it ſelfe ceaſed to be ſpoken generally, and then beganne the Engliſhe to recouer and growe in more eſtimation then before, notwithſtāding that amōg our artificers, ẏ moſt part of their implements & tooles reteine ſtil their French denominatiōs to theſe our daies, as the language it ſelf, is vſed likewiſe in ſūdry courts, bookes and matters of law, wherof here is no place to make any farder rehearſall. Afterward alſo, by the diligent trauelle of Geffray Chauſer, and John Gowre in the time of Richard the ſecond, & after thē of John Scogā, & John Lydgate monke of Berry, our tong was brought to an excellent paſſe, notwithſtanding that it neuer came, vnto the type of perfection, vntill the time of Quéene Elizabeth, wherein many excellent writers haue fully accompliſhed the ornature of the ſame, to their great prayſe and immortall commēdation. But as this excellencie of the Engliſh tongue is founde in one, and the ſouth part of this Iſlande, ſo in Wales the greateſt nōber as I ſayde retayne ſtill their owne auncient language, that of the North part of the ſayd countrey, being leſſe corrupted then the other, and therefore reputed for the better in their owne eſtimation and iudgement.

The Corniſh tōgue.

The Corniſh and Deuonſhire men, haue a ſpeach in like ſorte of their owne, and ſuch as hath in déede more affinity with the Armorican tongue, then I can well diſcuſſe of, yet in mine opiniō they are both but a corrupted kinde of Brittiſh, albeit ſo farre degenerating in theſe dayes, that if eyther of them do méete wyth a Welch man, they are not able at the firſt to vnderſtand one another, except here and there in ſome odde wordes, without the helpe of interpretours. And no marueile in mine opinion that the Brittiſh of Cornewall is thus corrupted, ſith the Welch tong that is ſpoken in the north and ſouth part of Wales, doth differ ſo much in it ſelfe as the Engliſh vſed in Scotlande, doth from that which is ſpoken among vs here in this ſide of the Iſlande, as I haue ſaide already.

Scottiſhe engliſh.

The Scottiſh engliſhe is much broader and leſſe pleaſaunt in vtterance, then ours, becauſe that nation hath not hitherto indeuoured to bring the ſame to any perfit order, and yet it is ſuch in maner, as Engliſhmen themſelues doe ſpeake, for the moſt part beyonde the Trent, whether the aforeſayde amendement of our language, hath not as yet very much extended it ſelfe.

Thus we ſée how that vnder the dominion of the kinge of Englande, and in the ſouth partes of the realme, we haue thrée ſeuerall tongues, that is to ſay, Engliſh, Bryttiſh, & Corniſh, and euen ſo many are in Scotland, if you accompt the Engliſhe ſpeach for one: notwithſtanding that for bredth and quantitie of the Region, it be ſomewhat leſſe to ſée to then the other. For in the North part of the Region, where the wilde Scottes, otherwyſe called the Redſhankes, or Rough footed Scottes (bycauſe they go bare footed & clad in mantels ouer their ſaffron ſhirtes after the Iriſhe maner) doe inhabite, they ſpeake good Iriſhe, whereby they ſhew their originall to haue in times paſt bene fetched out of Irelande.

The wilde Scottes.

Redſhāks. Rough footed Scots.

Iriſh ſpeche.

In the Iſles of the Orcades, or Orkeney, as they now call them, and ſuch coaſtes of Britaine as doe abutte vpon the ſame, the Gottiſh or Dainſh ſpeach is altogither in vſe, by reaſon as I take it, that the princes of Norway helde thoſe Iſlandes ſo long vnder their ſubiection, albeit they were otherwyſe reputed, rather to belong vnto Irelande, bycauſe that the very ſoyle of them is enemie to poyſon, as ſome write, although for my part I had neuer experience of the truth herof. And thus much haue I thought good to ſpeake of theſe fiue languages nowe vſually ſpoken within the limites of our Iſlande.

Into how many kingdomes the Iſle of Britaine hath bene deuided at once in olde time. Cap. 6.

Britaine at the firſt one entier kingdome.

IT is not to be doubted, but that at the firſt the whole Iſlande was ruled by one onely prince, and ſo continued from time to time, vntill ciuile diſcorde, grounded vpon ambitions deſire to reigne, cauſed the ſame to be gouerned by diuers. And this I meane ſo wel of the time before the comming of Brute, as after the extinction of his whole race and poſterity. Howbeit as it is incerteine, into how many regions it was ſeuered after the firſt particion, ſo it is moſt ſure that this latter diſturbed eſtate of regiment, continued in the ſame, not onely vntill the time of Cæſar, but alſo in maner vnto the dayes of Lucius, with whome the whole race of the Britons had an ende, and the Romaynes full poſſeſſiõ of this Iſlande, who gouerned it by Legates after the maner of a prouince. It ſhould ſeme alſo yͭ within a whyle after the time of Dunwallon (who rather brought thoſe 4. Princes that vſurped in his tyme to obedience, then extinguiſhed their titles, and ſuch partition as they had made of the Iſlande among thẽſelues) eche great citie had hir fréedome and ſeuerall kinde of regiment, proper vnto hir ſelfe, beſide a large circuite of the country appertinent vnto the ſame, wherin were ſundrye other cities alſo of leſſe name, which ought homage & all ſubiection vnto the greater ſorte. And to ſay truth hereof, it came to paſſe, that eache region, whereinto this Iſlande was than deuided, tooke his name of ſome one of theſe as many appeare by that of the Trinobantes, which was ſo called of Trinobantum the chiefe citie of that portion, whoſe Territories, contayned all Eſſex, Middleſex, and part of Hertforde ſhire, euen as the iuriſdictiõ of the Biſhop of London is now extẽded, for the ouerſight of ſuch things as belong vnto the Church. Eche of the gouernours alſo of theſe regions, called themſelues kings, and therevnto eyther of them dayly made warre vpon other, for the inlarging of their limites. But foraſmuch as I am not able to ſaye howe many dyd chalenge this authoritie at once, and howe long they reigned ouer their ſeuerall portions, I will paſſe ouer theſe auncient times, and come néerer vnto our owne, I meane the 600. yere of Chriſt, wherof we haue more certayne notice, & at which ſeaſon there is euident proofe, that there were 12. or 13. kinges reigning in this Iſlande.

wales deuided into thrée kingdomes.

We finde therefore for the firſt, howe that Wales had hir thrée ſeuerall kingdomes, although that portion of the Iſlande extended in thoſe dayes no farder thẽ about 200. miles in length, & one hundred in bredth, and was cut from Lhoegres by the riuers Sauerne & Dée, of which two ſtreames this doth fall into the Iriſh ſea at Cheſter, the other into the mayne Oceane, betwixt Somerſetſhire and Southwales, as their ſeuerall courſes doe witneſſe more at large.

In the beginning it was deuided into two kingdomes onely, that is to ſay, Venedotia, Gwinhed.

Gwinhed, and Demetia, for which we now vſe moſt commonlye the names of South and North Wales, but in proceſſe of tyme a thirde ſprange vp in the verye middeſt betwéene them both, which from thenceforth was called Powyſy, as ſhalbe ſhewed hereafter.

Venedotia. Angleſey. Arfon. Merioneth. Stradcluyd or Tegenia.

The firſt of theſe thrée, being called as I ſayd Northwales or Venedotia (or as Paulus, Iouius ſaith Malfabrene, for he deuideth wales alſo into thrée regions, of whiche he calleth yͤ firſt Dumbera, the ſeconde Berfrona, & the third Malfabrene) lyeth directly ouer againſt yͤ Iſle of Angleſey. It containeth 4. regions, of which the ſayde Iſland is the firſt, & whereof in the chapter inſuing I wil intreate more at large. The ſeconde is called Arfon, and ſituate betwéene two ryuers, the Segwy & the Conwy: The thirde is Merioneth, & as it is ſeuered from Arfon by the Conwy, ſo is it ſeparated from Tegenia, (otherwyſe called Stradcluyd & Igenia the fourth regiō) by the riuer Cluda. Finally the limits alſo of thys latter: are extended alſo, euen vnto the Dée it ſelfe, and of theſe 4. Regions, conſiſteth the kingdome of Venedotia, whereof in times paſt the region of the Canges was not the ſmalleſt portion.

Powiſy. Bangor.

The kingdome of Powiſy, laſt of all erected, as I ſayde, hath on the north ſide Gwinhed on the Eaſt (from Cheſter to Herefordе, or rather the Deane foreſt) Englande: on the ſouth and weſt the ryuer Wy, and very highe hilles, whereby it is notablye ſeuered from Southwales, the chiefe citie thereof being Shropſhyre, that nowe is inhabited with mére Engliſh, and where, in olde time the kinges of Powyſy dyd dwell and holde their pallaces. Vpon the limits of this kingdome, and not farre from Holt caſtell, vpon eache ſide of the riuer, as the chanell nowe runneth, ſtoode ſometime the famous Monaſtery of Bāgor, whyleſt the abated glory of the Britons, yet remayned vnextinguiſhed, & herin were 2100. monkes, of which, the learned ſort dyd preache the Goſpell, and the vnlearned laboured with their hands, therby to mainteyne themſelues, and to ſuſtaine their preachers. This Region was in lyke ſort deuided afterward in twaine, of which, the one was called Mailor or Mailroſſe, the other retayned ſtill hir olde denomination, & of theſe the firſt lay by ſouth, and the latter by north of the Sauerne, whereof let this ſuffice, ſith mine intent is not as nowe to make any preciſe deſcriptiō, of the particulars of Wales, but onely to ſhewe, howe thoſe regions laye, which ſometime were knowen to be gouerned in that countrey.

Demetia.

The third kingdome is Demetia, or Southwales, ſometime knowen for the region of the Syllures, whereunto I alſo am perſwaded, that the Ordolukes lay in the Eaſt part thereof, and extended their region, euen vnto the Sauerne: but howſoeuer that matter falleth out, Demetia hath the Sauerne on hir ſouth, the Iriſh ſea on hir weſt partes, on the eaſt the Sauerne only, and by North the land of Powyſy, whereof I ſpake of late.

Of this region alſo Caermarden, which the olde writers call Maridunum, was the chiefe pallace, vntill at the laſt thorowe forren and ciuill inuaſions of enimies, that the Princes thereof were conſtrayned to remoue theyr courts to Dinefar (which is in Cantermawr, and ſituate neuertheleſſe vppon the ſame ryuer Tewye whereon Cairmarden ſtandeth) where it is farre better defended with high hilles, thicke woodes, craggy rockes, and déepe mariſes. In this region alſo lyeth Pembroke ſhyre, whoſe fawcons haue béne in olde time very much regarded, and there in likewyſe is Milforde hauen, whereof the Welch wyſards doe dreame ſtraunge toyes, which they beléeue, ſhall one daye come to paſſe.

Pictland. Scotland. Pictes. Scottes.

That Scotlande had in theſe dayes two kingdomes, (beſides that of the Orchades) whereof the one conſiſted of the Pictes, & was called Pightland or Pictlande, the other of the Scottiſh race, & named Scotland: I hope no wiſe man will readily denie. The whole regiō or portion of the Iſle beyonde the Scottiſh ſea alſo was ſo diuided that yͤ Pictes lay on the Eaſt ſide, and the Scots, on the Weſt, eche of them being ſeuered from other, eyther by huge hilles or great lakes and riuers, that ran out of the South into the north betwéene them: Wherefore the caſe being ſo playne, I will ſay no more of theſe two but procéede in order wyth the rehearſall of the reſt of the particular kingdoms of this our ſouth part of yͤ Ile, limiting out yͤ ſame by ſhyres as they now lye, ſo nere as I cā, for otherwiſe it ſhalbe impoſſible for me to leaue certaine notice of the likelieſt quantities of theſe their ſeuerall portions.

Kēt Henghiſt.

The firſt of theſe kingdomes therfore was begonne in Kent by Henghiſt in the 456. of Chriſt, and thereof called the kingdome of Kent: and as the limites thereof extended it ſelf no farther then the ſayde countie (yͤ chiefe Citie whereof was Dorobernia or Canterbury) ſo it endured well nere by the ſpace of 400. yeares, before it was made an Earledome, and vnited by Inas vnto that of the Weſt Saxons, Athelſtane his ſonne, being yͤ firſt Earle or heretoche of the ſame. Walter

Lambert in his hyſtorie of Kent doth gather, by very probable coniectures, that this part of the Iſlande was firſt inhabited, by Samothes, and afterwarde by Albion; but howſoeuer that caſe ſtandeth, ſure it is that it hath bene the onely dore, whereby the Romaines and Saxons made their entrie vnto the conqueſt of the region. And as this cannot be denyed, ſo it was the onelye place by which the knowledge of Chriſt was firſt brought ouer vnto vs, whereby we became partakers of ſaluation, and from the darkneſſe of miſty errour, true conuerts vnto the light, & bright beames of the ſhining truth, to our eternall benefit, and endleſſe comforts hereafter.

Southſax. Ella. The ſecond Kingdome conteined only Suſſex & a part of Surrey, which Ella the Saxon firſt helde: who alſo erected his chiefe pallace at Chicheſter, whē he had deſtroied Andredſwalde in the 492. of Chriſt, and after it had continued by the ſpace of 232. yeares, it ceaſed being the very leaſt Kingdome of all the reſt, which were founded in this yle after the comming of the Saxons.

Eſtſex. Erkenwyn. The third regiment was of the Eaſt Saxons, or Trinobātes. This kingdome began vnder Erkenwyne, whoſe chiefe ſeate was in Londō (or Colcheſter) & cōteined whole Eſſex, & part of Herfordſhyre. It indured alſo much about the pricke of 303. yeres, & was diuided frō that of the Eaſt angles onely by the riuer Stour, as Houeden & other doe report, & ſo it continueth ſeperated from Suffolke euen vnto our times, although the ſayde riuer be growne very ſmall, and not of ſuch greatnes as it hath bene in times paſt, by reaſon that our Country men make ſmall accompt of riuers, thinking carriage made by horſe & cart to be the leſſe chargeable waye. But herein how far they are deceyued, I will elſewhere make manifeſt declaration.

Weſtſax. The fourth kingdome was of yͤ Weſt Saxons, and ſo called bycauſe it lay in the Weſt part of the realme, as that of Eſſex did in the Eaſt, of Suſſex and South. **Cerdyc.** It began in the yeare of grace 519. vnder Cerdyc, & indured vntil the comming of yͤ Normanes, including Wiltſhyre, Barkeſhyre, Dorſet, Southampton, Sūmerſetſhyre Gloſterſhyre, ſome part of Deuonſhyre (which the Brytons occupied not) Cornewal and the reſt of Surrey, as the beſt authours do ſet downe. The chiefe Citie of this kingdome alſo was Wincheſter, except my memory doe fayle me.

Brēnicia, alias Northumberland, Ida, The fift Kingdome beganne vnder Ida, in the 548. of Chriſt being called now Northūberland becauſe it laye by North of the riuer Humber, it conteined all that region which as it ſhoulde ſeeme, was in time paſt eyther wholly apperteining to yͤ Brigants, or whereof the ſayde Brigants, did poſſeſſe the greater part. The chiefe Citie of the ſame in like maner was Yorke, as Leyland and other doe ſet downe, who adde thereto that it extended frō the humber vnto the Scottiſh ſea.

Deira, Ella. Afterwarde in the yeare of grace 560. it was parted in twaine, vnder Adda, that yeelded vp all hys portion, which laye betweene humber and the Tine vnto his Brother Ella (according to their Fathers appointment) who called it Deira, or Southumberlande, but reteyning the reſt ſtil vnto his owne vſe, he diminiſhed not his title, but wrote himſelf as before king of al Northumberland. Howbeit after 91. yeres, it was reunited againe, & ſo continued vntill Alfrede vnited the whole to his kingdome, in the 331. after Ida, or 878. after the birth of Ieſus Chriſt our Sauiour.

Eaſtangles. Offa, a quo offelinge. The 7. kingdome, called of the Eaſt angles began at Norwitch in the 561. after Chriſt, vnder Offa, of whom they were lōg time after called Offelings. This included all Norfolke, Suffolke, Cābridgeſhyre, & Ely, & cōtinuing 228. yeres it flouriſhed only 35. yeres in perfite eſtate of Liberte, the reaſt being conſumed vnder the trybute and vaſſallage of the merciās, who had yͤ ſouereigntye therof, & helde it with great honour. Some take this region to be all one with that of the Icenes, but as yet for my part I cannot yeelde to their aſſertions, I meane it of Lelande, himſelfe, whoſe helpe I vſe altogither in theſe collections, albeit in this behalfe I am not reſolued, that he doth iudge aright.

Mertia. Creodda. The 8. and laſt was that of Mercia, which indured 291. yeares, and for greatneſſe of circuit, exceeded all the reaſt. It toke the name eyther of Mearc the Saxon word, becauſe the limits of moſt of the other kingdomes abutted vpō the ſame, or elſe for that the lawes of Mercia, were firſt vſed in that part of the Ilande. But as the later is but a meere coniecture of ſome, ſo it began vnder Creodda, in yͤ 585. and indured well nere 300. yeres, before it was vnited to that of the Weſt Saxons, by Alfrede, then reigning in the kingdome. Before him the Danes had gotten holde thereof, and placed one Ceolulphe an Ideote in the ſame, but as he was ſone reiected for his folly, ſo it was not long after ere the ſayde Alfrede annexed it to his kingdome.

Limits of Mercia. The limites of the Mertian dominiōs, conteined Lincolne, Northamptō, Cheſter, Darby, Nottingham, Stafford, Huntington Rutlande, Oxforde, Buckingham, Worceſter, Bedforde ſhyres, and the greateſt part of Shropſhyre (which the Welch occupied not) Lancaſter, Gloceſter, Hereford (alias Hurchforde)

forde) Warwike and Hertforde ſhyres, the reſt of whoſe territories were holden by ſuch princes of other kingdomes thorow force as bordered vpõ the ſame. And thus much haue I thought good to leaue in memorye of the aforeſaid kingdomes, not omitting in ẏ meane time ſomewhat here to remember of the diuiſion of the Iſland alſo into Prouinces, as the Romaines ſeuered it whiles they remayned in theſe parts. Which being done, I hope that I haue fullye diſcharged whatſoeuer is promiſed in the title of this Chapter.

Britãnia prima.

Valentia.

Britannia ſecunda.

Flauia Ceſarienſis.

Maxima Ceſarienſis.

The Romaines therefore hauing obteined the poſſeſſion of this Iſland, deuided the ſame at ẏ laſt into fiue Prouinces. The firſt whereof was named Britãnia prima, & conteined the eaſt part of England (as ſome doe gather) frõ ẏ Trent vnto ẏ Twede. The ſecond was called Valentia, & included the Weſt ſide as they note it, frõ Lirpole vnto Cokermouth. The thirde hight Britannia ſecunda, and was that portion of the Ile which laye Southwardes, betwéene the Trent and the Thames. The fourth was ſurnamed Flauia Ceſarienſis: and contayned all the countrey which remayned betwéene Douer & the Sauerne, I meane by ſouth of the Thames, and whereunto in lyke ſort, Cornewall and Wales were orderly aſſigned. The fift and laſt part was then named Maxima Ceſarienſis, now Scotland. The moſt barren of all the reaſt, & yet not vnſought out of the Romaines, bicauſe of the great plentie of fiſhe and foule, fine Alabaſtar and harde Marble, that are ingendred and to be had in the ſame, for furniture of houſholde and curious buylding, wherein they much delited.

Of the auncient Religion vſed in this Iſland, from the comming of Samothes vnto the conuerſion of the ſame vnto the faith of Chriſt.

Cap 8.

Samothes.

IT is not to be doubted, but at the firſt and ſo long as the poſteritie of Iaphet onelye, reigned in this Iſlande, that the true knowledge and forme of religion brought in by Samothes, was exerciſed among the Britains. And although perauenture in proceſſe of time, either thorow curioſitie, or negligence (ẏ onely corrupters of true pietie and godlyneſſe) it might a litile decay, yet when it was at the worſt, it farre excéeded the beſt of that which afterwarde came in with Albion, and his Chemminites, as maye be gathered by vewe of the ſuperſticious rites, which Cham and hys ſucceſſours dyd plant in other countries, yet to be found in Authors.

Magus.

What other learning Magus the ſonne of Samothes taught after his fathers death whẽ he alſo came to the kingdome, beſide thys which concerned the true honoring of God, I can not eaſily ſaye, but that it ſhoulde bée naturall Philoſophie, and Aſtrology (wherby his diſciples, gathered a kinde of foreknowledge of thinges to come) the verye vſe of the worde Magus, among the Perſians doth yeeld no incerteine teſtimony.

Sarron.

Samothei.
Semnothei.

In lyke maner, it ſhoulde ſéeme that Sarron ſonne vnto the ſayde Magus, diligentlye followed the ſteppes of hys father, & thereto opened Schooles of learning in ſundrie places, both among the Celtes and Britaines, whereby ſuch as were his Auditours, grewe to be called Sarronides, notwithſtanding, that aſwell the Sarronides as the Magi, (otherwiſe called Maguſei) & Druiydes, were generally called Samothei, or Semnothei, of Samothies ſtil among the Grecians, as Ariſtotle in his de magia, doth confeſſe, and calling them Galles, hée addeth thereunto that they firſt brought the knowledge of Letters, and good learning vnto the Gréekes.

Druiyus,

Druiyus the ſonne of Sarron (as a ſcholler of his fathers owne teaching) ſéemed to be exquiſite in all thinges, that pertayned vnto the deuine or humaine knowledge: and therfore I may ſafely pronounce, that he excelled not onely in the ſkill of Philoſophie: and the Quadriuialles, but alſo in the true Theologie, whereby the right ſeruice of God was kept & preſerued in puritie. He wrote moreouer ſundry precepts, and rules of religious doctrine, which among the Celtes were reſerued very religiouſly, and had in great eſtimation among ſuch as ſought vnto them.

Corrupters of religion.

Howe and in what order this Prince left the ſtate of religiõ, I meane for thoſe publike orders in adminiſtration of particular rites and ceremonies, as yet I do not reade: howbeit this is moſt certayne that after he dyed, the purity of his doctrine began ſomewhat to decaye, for ſuch is the nature of man that it wil not ſuffer any good thing long to remaine as it is left, but (either by additiõ or ſubſtraction of this or that, to or from the ſame) ſo to chop & chaunge withal, frõ time to time, that there is nothing of more difficulty, for ſuch as doe come after thẽ, then to find out the puritie of the originall and reſtore the ſame againe vnto hir former perfection.

Cæſar.

In the beginning this Druiyus did preach vnto his hearers, that the ſoule of man is immortall, that God is omnipotent, mercyfull as a father in ſhewing fauor vnto the godly, and iuſt as an vpright Iudge, in puniſhing of the wicked. That the ſecrets of mans hart

are

Strabo.li.4. Socion.lib. ſucceſſ. Cicero diuinat.1.

Plinius.lib. 16.cap.vltimo.

Oke honored wheron miſtle did grow, & ſo doe our ſorcerers euen to this day thinking ſome ſpirits to deale about the ſame for hidden treſure.

are not vnknowen, and only knowen to him, and that as the worlde and all that is therein had their beginning by him, at his owne will, ſo ſhall all things likewiſe haue an end, when he ſhal ſee his time. He taught them alſo howe to obſerue the courſes of ỹ heauens, and motions of the planetes, to finde out the true quantities of the celeſtiall bodyes, and thereto the compaſſe of the earth, and hidden natures of thinges contayned in the ſame. But alas this integritie continued not long among his ſucceſſours, for vnto the immortality of the ſoule, they added, that after death it went in to another bodye, the ſeconde or ſuccedent, being alwayes, eyther more noble, or more vile than the former, as the partie deſerued by his merites, whyleſt he liued here on earth. For ſaid they (of whō Pythagoras alſo had, and taught this errour,) if the ſoule appertayned at ỹ firſt to a king, & he in this eſtate did not leade his lyfe worthie of this calling, it ſhould after his deceaſe be ſhut vp in ỹ bodie of a ſlaue, begger, cocke, Owle, Dogge, Ape, Horſe, Aſſe, Worme, or Monſter, there to remaine as in a place of purgation & puniſhmēt, for a certaine periode of time. Beſide this, it ſhould peraduēture ſuſtaine often tranſlation from one bodie vnto another, according to the quantitie and qualitie of his doinges here on earth, till it ſhould finally be purified, and reſtored againe to an other humaine bodie, wherein if it behaued it ſelfe more orderly then at the firſt: after the next death, it ſhoulde be preferred, eyther to the bodie of a king, or other great eſtate. And thus they made a perpetuall circulation, or reuolution of our ſoules, much like vnto the continuall motion of the heauens, which neuer ſtande ſtil, nor long yeeld one repreſentatiō and figure. They brought in alſo the worſhipping of many goddes, and their ſeuerall ſacrifices, they honoured likewyſe the Oke, wheron the Miſtle groweth, and daily deuiſed infinitie other toyes, (for errour is neuer aſſured of hir owne doinges) wherof neyther Samothes, nor Sarron, Magus, nor Druiyus did leaue them any preſcription.

These things are partly touched by Cicero, Strabo, Plinie, Sotion, Laertius, Theophraſt, Ariſtotle, and partly alſo by Cæſar, and other authours of later time, who for the moſt part do cōfeſſe, ỹ the chiefe ſchoole of the Druydes was holden here in Britaine, whether the Druydes alſo themſelues, that dwelt amōg the Galles, woulde often reſorte to come by the more ſkill, and ſure vnderſtanding of the miſteries of that doctrine.

Eſtimation of the

Druiydes or Druyſh prieſtes.

Furthermore, in Britaine, and among the Galles, and to ſaye the truth, generally in all places where the Druyſh religion was frequented, ſuch was theſtimatiō of the Prieſtes of this profeſſion, that there was little or nothing done without their ſkilfull aduiſe, no not in ciuill cauſes, pertayning to the regiment of the common wealth and countrey. They had the charge alſo of all ſacrifices, publicke and priuate, they interpreted Oracles, preached of religion, and were neuer without great numbers of yong men, that hearde thē with great diligence, as they taught, frō time to time.

Immunity of the clergy greter vnder Idolatry, then vnder the goſpell.

Touching their perſons alſo, they were exempt from all temporal ſeruices, impoſitiōs, tributes, and exerciſe of the warres, which immunitie cauſed the greater companies of Schollers to flocke vnto thē, from all places & learne their trades. Of theſe likewiſe, ſome remayned with them ſeuen, eyght, tenne, or twelue yeares, ſtill learning the ſecretes of thoſe vnwritten myſteries by heart, which were to be had amongſt them, and commonly pronounced in verſes. And this policie, as I take it, they vſed onely to preſerue their religion from contempt, whereinto it might eaſye haue fallen, if any bookes thereof had happened into the hands of the commō ſorte. It helped alſo not a little in ỹ exerciſe of their memories, whereunto bookes are vtter enemies, inſomuch as he that was ſkilfull in the Druiyſh religion, would not let readily to rehearſe many hundredes of verſes, and not to fayle in one tytle, in the whole proceſſe of this his laborious repetition. But as they dealt in this order for matters of their religiō, ſo in ciuill affaires, hiſtorical Treatiſes, & ſetting downe of lawes, they vſed like order and letters almoſt with the Grecians, wherby it is eaſy to be ſeene, that they retayned this kinde of writing frō Druiyus (the originall founder of their religion) and that this yland hath not beene voyde of letters and learned men, euen ſith it was firſt inhabited.

Bardus.

Gene.4. verſ.21.

After the death of Druiyus, Bardus his ſonne, and fift king of the Celtes ſucceeded not onely ouer the ſayde kingdome, but alſo in his fathers vertues, whereby it is very likely, that the winding and wrapping vp of the ſayde Religion, after the afore remembred ſorte into Verſe, was firſt deuyſed by hym, for he was an excellent Poet, and no leſſe indued with a ſingular ſkill in the practiſe and ſpeculatiō of Muſicke, of which two many ſuppoſe him to be the very author and beginner, although vniuſtly, ſith both Poetry & Song, was in vſe before the floude, as was alſo the Harpe and Pype, which Iubal inuented and coulde neuer be performed without great ſkil in muſicke. But to proceede, as the chiefe eſtimation of the Druydes remained in the ende among the Britons only, for their knowledge in religion, ſo dyd the fame of the Bardes for their excellēt ſkill in muſike, and Heroicall kind of ſong, which at the firſt contayned only the high miſteries of their religion. There was little difference alſo betweene them and the Druydes, till they ſo farre degenerated from their firſt inſtitutiō, that they became to be minſtrels at feaſtes, droncken meetings, and abhominable ſacrifices of the Idols: where they ſang moſt commonly no diuinitie as before, but the noble actes of valiaunt princes and fabulous narratiōs, of the adulteries of the gods. Certes in my tyme this fonde vſage, and therto the very name of the Bardes, are not yet extinguiſhed amōg the Britons of Wales, where they call their Poetes & Muſicions Barthes, as they doe alſo in Irelande. There is moreouer an Iſlande appertinent to the region of Venedotia, wherinto the Bardes of old time vſed to reſorte, as out of the waye into a ſolitarie place, there to write and learne their ſonges by hearte, and meditate vppon ſuch matters, as belonged to their practiſes. And of theſe Lucane in his firſt booke writeth thus, among other the like ſayinges well towarde the latter ende alſo ſaying.

The Bardes degenerate.

Lucane. lib.1.

Vos quoq; qui fortes animas, belloq; peremptas
Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis euum,
Plurima ſecuri fudiſtis carmina Bardi.
Et vos barbaricos ritus, moremq; ſiniſtrum
Sacrorum Druydæ, poſitis recepiſtis ab armis.
Solis noſſe Deos, & cœli numina vobis,
Aut ſolis neſcire datum: nemora alta remotis
Incolitis lucis. Vobis authoribus, vmbræ
Non tacitas erebi ſedes, ditiſq; profundi
Pallida regna petunt, regit idem ſpiritus artus
Orbe alio. Longæ, canitis ſi cognita, vitæ
Mors media eſt. certe populi, quos deſpicit arctos,
Fœlices errore ſuo, quos ille timorum
Maximus haud vrget leti metus: inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæq; capaces
Mortis: & ignauum eſt redituræ parcere vitæ.

Thus we ſee as in a glaſſe the ſtate of religion, for a tyme after the firſt inhabitation of this Iſlande, but howe long it continued in ſuch ſoundneſſe, as the originall authors left it, in good ſoth I cā not ſay, yet this is moſt certaine, that after a time when Albion arriued here, the religion earſt imbraced, fell into great decaye, for whereas Iaphet and Samothes with their childrē taught nothing elſe then ſuch doctrine as they had learned of Noah: ſo Cham the great grandfather of this our Albion, and his diſciples vtterly renouncing to followe their ſteps, gaue their mindes wholly to ſeduce, and leade their hearers hedlong vnto all error. Wherby his poſteritie not only corrupted this our Iſlande, with moſt filthie trades and practiſes, but alſo all mankinde, generally where they became with vicious life, and moſt vngodly behauiour.

What doctrine Chā and his diſciples taught.

For from Cham and his ſucceſſours, proceeded at the firſt all ſorcery, witchcraft, and the execution of vnlawfull luſt, without reſpect of Sexe, age, conſanguinitie, or kinde: as braunches from an odious & abhominable roote, or ſtreames deriued from moſt filthye and ſtinking puddles. Howbeit, and notwithſtanding all theſe his manifolde lewdneſſes, ſuch was the folly of his Egiptians (where he firſt reigned and taught) that whileſt he lyued they alone had him in great eſtimation, (whereas other Nations contemned and abhorred him for his wickedneſſe, calling hym Chemeſenua, that is, the impudent, infamous and wicked Cham) and not onely builded a Citie vnto him which they called Chem Min, but alſo after his deth reputed him for a god, calling the higheſt of the ſeuen Planets after his name, as they dyd the next beneath it after Oſyris hys ſonne, whome they likewiſe honored vnder the name of Iupiter.

Chemeſenua. Chemmyn. Chā made a god.

Certes it was a cuſtome in Egypt of olde time, & generally in vſe, (whē any of their famous worthy Princes dyed) to aſcrybe ſome forme or other of the ſtarres vnto his perſō, to thend his name might neuer weare out of memory. And this they called their tranſlation in heauen, ſo that he which had any ſtarres or forme of ſtarres, dedicated vnto him, was properlye ſayde to haue place amonge the goddes. A toye much lyke to the Catalogue of Romiſhe ſaintes, (although the one was written in the celeſtiall orbes, the other in ſheepe ſkinnes, and verye brickle paper) but yet ſo eſteemed that euery Prince woulde oft hazard & attempt the vttermoſt aduentures, thereby to winne ſuch fame in his life, that after his death, he myght by merit haue ſuch place in heauen, among the ſhining ſtarres.

Tranſlatiō of mortall men, men into heauē how it began.

Thus wee ſee how Idolatry and honoring of the ſtarres was bredde and hatched at the firſt, which in proceſſe of tyme came alſo into Britaine, as dyd the names of Saturne, & Iupiter &c. as ſhall appeare hereafter. And here ſith I haue already ſomewhat digreſſed from my matter, I will go a little furder, & ſhewe forth the originall vſe of the worde Saturne, Iupiter, Hercules, &c. whereby your honor ſhall ſee yet more into the errours of the Gentiles, and not onely that, but one poynt alſo, of the roote of all the confuſion, that is to be found among the auncient hiſtories.

It was generallye vſed for a fewe yeres after the partition of the yearth, (which was made by Noah, in the 133. yere after floude,) that the beginners of ſuch kingdomes as were then erected ſhoulde be called Saturni. Hereby then it came to paſſe that Nimbrote was the Saturne of Babylon: Cham of Ægypt: and ſo forth other of other places.

which were properly called, Saturni, Ioues, Iunones, and Hercules.

Their eldeſt Sonnes alſo that ſucceeded them, were called Ioues, & their nephewes or ſonnes ſonnes, that reigned in ẏ thirde place Hercules, by which meanes it followed that euery kingdome had a Saturne, Iupiter & Hercules of hir owne, and not from anye other.

In lyke ſort they had ſuch another order among their daughters, whom they marryed as yet commonlye vnto their brethren (God himſelfe permitting the ſame vnto them for a time) as before the floude, to the ende the earth might be thorowly repleniſhed, and the ſooner furniſhed with inhabitantes, in euery part therof. The ſiſter therefore & wife of euery Saturne was called Rhea, but of Iupiter, Iuno, Iſis, or Io. Beyonde theſe alſo there was no latter Harolde that woulde indeuour to deriue the petigree of any Prince, or Potentate, but ſuppoſed his ducty to be ſufficiently perfourmed, when he had brought it orderly vnto ſome Saturne or other, whereat he might ceaſe, and ſhut vp all his trauelle. They had likewiſe this opinion grounded amongeſt them, that Heauen an Earth were onelye parentes vnto Saturne and Rhea, not knowing out of doubt, what they themſelues did meane, ſith theſe donominations, Heauen, Ogyges, *the Sunne*, Pater Deorum, & ſuch like, were onely aſcribed vnto Noah: as Terra, (*the Yearth*) Veſta Aretia, *the Moone*, Mater deorum and other the lyke were vnto Tydea his wife, ſo that hereby we ſee, how Saturne is reputed in euery Nation for theyr oldeſt god, or firſt Prince, Iupiter for the next, and Hercules for the thirde: & therefore ſith theſe names were diſperſed in the beginning ouer all, it is no marueyle that there is ſuch confuſion in auncient hiſtories, and the doings of one of them ſo mixed with another, that it is now impoſſible to diſtinguiſh them in ſunder. Thys haue I ſpoken, to the ende that all men maye ſee what gods the Paganes honored, and thereby what religion the poſterity of Cham, did bring ouer into Britaine. For vntill their cõming, it is not likely that any groſſe Idolatry or ſuperſticion, did enter in among vs, as deifying of mortall men, honoring of the Starres, and erectiõ of huge Images, beſide ſorcery, witchcraft, and ſuch lyke, whereof the Chemminites are worthilye called the Autors. Neyther were theſe errors any thing amended, by the cõming in of Brute, who no doubt added ſuch deuiſes vnto ẏ ſame, as he and his company had learned before in Grecia, from whence alſo he brought, Helenus, the ſonne of Priamus, a man of exceeding age, and made him his Prieſt and biſhop, thorowout the newe conqueſt, that he had achieued in Britaine.

Iſis, Io and Iuno all one.

Celum.
Ogyges.
Sol.
Paterdeorum.
Tydea.
Veſta.
Terra.
Luna.
Aretia.
Deorum mater.

From whence Brute, did learne his religion.

After Brute, Idolatry and ſuperſticiõ ſtill increaſed more & more among vs, inſomuch that beſide the Druiyſh and Bardike ceremonies, and thoſe alſo that came in with Albion and Brute: our countrymen eyther brought hither frõ abroad, or daily inuented at home, new religion, and rites, whereby it came to paſſe that in the ſtead of the only & immortal God (of whome Samothes and his poſteritie dyd preache in times paſt) now they honoured the ſayde Samothes himſelfe vnder the name of Dis: likewiſe Saturne, Iupiter, Mars, Minerua, Mercurie, Apollo, Diana, and diuers other. In lieu moreouer of ſheepe and oxen, they offred mankind alſo vnto ſome of them, killing their offendours, pryſoners, & oft ſuch ſtraungers as came from farre vnto them, by ſhutting vp great numbers of them togither in huge Images, made of wicker, or other matter: and then ſetting all on fire togither, they not onely conſumed the miſerable creatures to aſhes, but alſo reputed it to be the moſt acceptable ſacrifice that coulde be made vnto their Idols. Huge tẽples in like ſorte were builded vnto them, ſo that in the time of Lucius, when the light of ſaluatiõ began ſtrongly to ſhine in Britaine, thorowe the preaching of the Goſpell, the chriſtians diſcouered 25. Flamines or Idole churches, beſide three Arche Flamines, whoſe Prieſts were then as our Archebiſhops are nowe, in that they had ſuperiour charge of all the reſt, who were reputed as inferiours, and ſubiect to their iuriſdiction in caſes of religion, and ſuperſticious ceremonies.

Dis or Samothes, made a God.

Ptol. Lucenſis.

Hitherto you haue heard of the time, wherein Idolatrie reigned and blinded the heartes of ſuch as dwelled in this Ilande. Nowe let vs ſee the ſucceſſe of the Goſpell, after the death and paſſion of Ieſus Chriſt our Sauiour. And euen here will I beginne with an Allegation of Theodorete, wherevpon ſome repoſe great aſſurance (conceyuing yet more hope therein by the wordes of Sophronius) that Paule the Apoſtle ſhoulde preache the worde of ſaluatiõ here, after his deliuerie out of captiuitie, which fell as I doe reade in the 57. of Chriſt. But ſith I cãnot verifie ẏ ſame by the wordes of Theodorete, to be ſpoken more of Paule then Peter, or the reaſt, I will paſſe ouer this coniecture, and deale with other

Theodoret.
Sophronius.

ther things, whereof we haue more certeinty.

Ioſephus.

That one Ioſephus preached here in England, in the time of the Apoſtles, his ſepulchre yet in Aualon, nowe called Gleſſenburg or Glaſtenbury, and Epitaphe affixed thereunto is proofe ſufficient. Howbeit ſith theſe things are not of cõpetent force to perſwade all men, I wil adde in few, what I haue read elſewere of his arriual here. Firſt of al therfore you ſhall note that he came ouer into Britaine, about the 64. after Chriſt, when the perſecution began vnder Nero, at which time Phillip and diuers of the godly being in Fraunce (whether he came with other chriſtians, after they had ſowed the word of God in Scythia, by ẏ ſpace of nyne yares) ſeuered themſelues in ſunder to make the better ſhift for their owne ſafegarde, and yet not otherwyſe then that by their flight, the Goſpell myght haue furtheraunce. Hereby then it came to paſſe, that the ſayde Phillip vpõ good deliberation dyd ſende Ioſephus ouer, & with him Simon Zelotes to preach vnto the Britons, and miniſter the Sacramentes there according to the rites of the Churches of Aſia and Gréece, from whence they came not long before vnto the country of the Galles.

Phillip.

Freculphus To.2.lib.2. cap. 4.

Nennius.

Nicephorus lib.2. cap. 40.

And this is the effect in a litle rowme, of that which I haue reade at large in ſundrye writers, although it may well be gathered that diuers Britains were conuerted to the fayth before this ſixtiefoure of Chriſt. Howbeit wheras ſome write that they lyued, & dwelled in Britaine, it can not as yet take anye abſolute holde in my iudgement, but rather that they were Baptized and remayned, eyther in Rome, or elſewhere. And of this ſorte I ſuppoſe Claudia Ruffina the wyfe of Pudens to be one, who was a Brittiſh Lady in déede, and not only excellent in the Gréeke & Latine tongues, but alſo with hir huſbande highly commended by S.Paule, as one hauing had conuerſation and conference with them at Rome, from whence he dyd write hys ſeconde Epiſtle vnto Timothy. Of this Lady moreouer Marcial ſpeaketh in reioyſing that his Poeſies were read alſo in Britaine, and onely by hir meanes, who vſed to cull out the fineſt of his Epigrammes and ſende them to hir friends for tokens, ſaying, after this maner as himſelfe doth ſet it downe.

Claudia Ruffina a Brittiſh Ladye.

2.Tim.4.

Dicitur & noſtros cantare Britannia verſus.

Furthermore making mentiõ of hir, and hir iſſue he addeth theſe wordes.

Li.11.Epig. 54.

Claudia ceruleis cum ſit Rufina Britannis
Edita, cur Latiæ pectora plæbis habet,
Quale decus formę: Romanam credere matres
Italides poſſunt, Atthides eſſe ſuam.
Dy bene, quod ſancto peperit fęcunda marito,
Quot ſperat, generos, quotq́; puella Nurus
Sic placeat ſuperis, vt coniuge gaudeat vno.
Et ſemper natis gaudeat illa tribus.

The names of hir thrée children were Pudentiana, Praxedes, and Nouatus, who after the deth of Pudens their father (which befell him in Cappadocia,) dwelled with their mother in Umbria, where they ceaſed not from time to time to miniſter vnto the Saincts. But to leaue this impertinẽt diſcourſe, and procéede with my purpoſe.

I find in the Chronicles of Burton (vnder the yeare of grace 141. and time of Hadriane themperour) that nine Schollers or Clarkes of Grantha or Granta, nowe Cambridge, were Baptized in Britaine, & became Preachers of the Goſpell there, but whether Taurus Biſhop, or Elder ouer the congregatiõ at Yorke (who as Vincentius ſayth, was executed about this time for his fayth) were one of thẽ or not, as yet I doe not certeinly finde. Diuers other alſo imbraced the religion of Chriſt very zealouſly. Howbeit all this notwithſtanding, the glad tidings of the Goſpel had neuer frée & open paſſage here, vntill the time of Lucius, in which the very enemies of the worde, became the apparant meanes (cõtrarie to their owne mindes) to haue it ſet forth amongſt vs. For when Antoninus the emperour had giuen out a decrée, that the Druiyſh religion ſhoulde euery where be aboliſhed, Lucius the king (whoſe ſyrname is nowe periſhed) tooke aduiſe of his counſell what was beſt to be done, & wrought in this behalfe. And this dyd Lucius bycauſe he thought it impoſſible for man to lyue long without any religion at all. Finally finding his nobility and ſubiects vtter enemies to the Romaine deuotion (for ẏ they made ſo many gods as themſelues liſted & ſome to haue the regiment euen of their dyrt and dung) & therunto being pricked forwards by ſuch chriſtians, as were conuerſant about him, to chuſe the ſeruice of the true God, that liueth for euer, rather then the ſlauiſh ſeruitude of any pagaine Idole: he fully reſolued with himſelf in the ende, to receyue & imbrace the Goſpel. He ſent alſo two of his learned chriſtians and greateſt Philoſophers to Rome, vnto Eleutherus then Biſhop there in the 177. of Chriſt not to promiſe any ſubiectiõ to his ſée, which then was not required, but to ſaie with ſuch as were pricked in minde, Actes 2. verſ. 37. *Quid faciemus viri fratres.* I meane that they were ſent to be perfectly inſtructed, and with farder commiſſion, to make earneſt requeſt vnto hym and the congregation there, that a competent number of Preachers might be ſent ouer from thence, by whoſe diligent ad-

Lib. 10.cap. 17.

Taurinus.

This is cõtrarie to ẏ common talk of our Atheiſtes who ſay let vs liue here in welth, credite & authoritie vpon earth, & let God take heauẽ and his religion to himſelfe to do withall what he liſteth.

Lucius openeth his eares to good counſell, as one deſirous to ſerue God & not preferre the worlde.

niſe and trauayle, the foundation of the Goſpell might ſurely be layde ouer all his kingdome, according to his minde.

The purpoſe of Lucius opened vnto ẏ cōgregation at Rome by Eleutherus.

When Eleutherus vnderſtoode theſe things, he reioyced not a litle, for the great goodneſſe which the Lord had ſhewed vpō this our Iſle ⁊ countrie. Afterwardes calling the brethren togither, they agreed to ordayne, euen thoſe two for Byſhoppes, whome Lucius as you haue heard, had directed ouer vnto them. Finally making generall prayer vnto God and earneſt ſupplication for the good ſucceſſe of theſe men, they ſent them home agayne; with no ſmall charge, that they ſhould be diligent in their function, and carefull ouer the flocke committed to their cuſtody.

The firſt of theſe was called Eluanus a man borne in the Iſle of Aualon, and brought vp there vnder thoſe godly Paſtours and their Diſciples, whom Phillip ſent ouer at the firſt for the conuerſion of the Brytons. The other hight Medguinus, and was thereto ſurnamed Belga, bycauſe he was of ẏ towne of Welles, which then was called Belga. This man was trayned vp alſo in one ſchoole with Eluanus, both of them being ornaments to their hory ages, and men of ſuch grauititie and godlineſſe, that Eleutherus ſuppoſed none more worthy to ſupport this charge, then they: after whoſe comming home alſo, it was not long ere Lucius and all his houſholde with diuers of the nobility were Baptized, beſide infinity numbers of the common people, which daily reſorted vnto them and voluntarily renounced all their Idolatry and Paganiſme.

A zealous prince maketh feruēt ſubiects.

In the meane time Eleutherus hearing of the ſucceſſe of theſe learned Doctours ⁊ ſuppoſing with himſelf that they two only could not ſuffice to ſupporte ſo great a burden as ſhoulde concerne the conuerſion of the whole Iſlande. He directed ouer vnto them in the yeare inſuing Faganus, Dinaw (or Dinauus,) Aaron and diuers other godly Preachers, as fellow labourers to trauayle wyth them in the Vineyarde of the Lord. Theſe men therfore after their comming hyther, conſulted wyth the other, and forthwith they wholly conſented to make a diuiſion of thys Iſlande amongſt themſelues, appoynting what percel eche Preacher ſhold take, ẏ with the more profite and eaſe of the people, and ſomewhat leſſe traueyle for themſelues: the Doctrine of the Goſpell might be preached and receaued In this diſtribution alſo, they ordayned that there ſhould be one congregation at London, where they placed Theonus as chiefe Elder and Byſhop, for that preſent time. Another at Yorke whether they appoynted Theodoſius. And the thirde at Caerlheon vpon the ryuer Vſke, (which thrée cities had before time béene Archeflamines) to the end that the coūtries rounde about might haue indifferent acceſſe vnto thoſe places, and therewith all vnderſtande for certeintie, whether to reſort for reſolution, if after their conuerſion they ſhoulde happen to doubt of any thing.

Faganus.
Dinauus.
Aaron.

Radulphus de la noir alias. Niger

3. Chiefe Biſhops in Britain

Theonus.
Theodoſius

London.
Yorke.
Caerlheon

Britaine ẏ firſt Prouince that receyued ẏ Goſpell generally.

Thus became Britaine the firſt Prouince, that generally receyued the faith, and where the Goſpell was freely preached without inhibition of hir prince. Howbeit although that Lucius and hys princes and great numbers of his people imbraced the word with gréedineſſe, yet was not ẏ ſucceſſe therof, eyther ſo vniuerſal, that all men beléeued at the firſt: ẏ ſecurity ſo great, as that no perſecution was to be feared from the Romaine empyre after his deceaſe: or the procéeding of the king ſo ſeuere, as ẏ he inforced any man by publicke authoritie to forſake and relinquiſh his Paganiſme: but only this fréedom was enioyed, that who ſo woulde become a chriſtian in his time, might without feare of his lawes profeſſe the Goſpel, in whoſe teſtimonie, if néede had béene, I doubt not to affirme, but that he woulde haue ſhed alſo his bloude, as dyd his Nece Emerita, who beyng conſtant aboue the common ſort of women, refuſed not after his deceaſe by fire, to yéelde hir ſelfe to death as a ſwéete ſmelling ſacrifice in the noſtrels of the Lorde, beyonde the ſea in Fraunce.

Emerita néece vnto Lucius.

Lucius ſendeth againe to Rome.

The fayth of Chriſt being thus planted in this Iſlande in the 177. after Chriſt and Faganus and Dinaw with the reſt ſent ouer frō Rome, in the 178. as you haue heard: it came to paſſe in the thirde yeare of the Goſpell receyued, that Lucius did ſende agayne to Eleutherus the Byſhop, requiring that he might haue ſome briefe Epitome of the order of diſcipline then vſed in the Churche. For he well conſidered that as it auayleth little to plant a coſtly Vineyarde, except it afterwarde be cheriſhed, kept in good order, and ſuch things as annoy, daily remoued from the ſame: ſo after Baptiſme and entraunce into religion, it profiteth little to beare the name of chriſtians, except we doe walke continually in the ſpirite, ⁊ haue ſuch things as offende apparantly, corrected by ſeuere diſcipline. For otherwiſe it will come to paſſe, ẏ the wéedes of vice, and vicious liuing, will ſo quickly abounde in vs that they will in the ende choke vp the good ſéede ſowen in our mindes, ⁊ eyther inforce vs to returne vnto our former wickedneſſe with déeper ſecurity then before, or elſe to become méere Atheiſtes, which is a great deale worſe.

Ro.8.ver.1

For this cauſe therefore dyd Lucius ſende to Rome, the ſeconde tyme for a copie of ſuch politicke orders as were then vſed there, in their regiment of the Church. But Eleutherus conſidering wͭ himſelfe, how that al nations are not of like condition, & therfore thoſe conſtitutions that are beneficiall to one, may now and then be preiudiciall to another: and ſeeing alſo that beſide the worde no rites and orders can long continue, or be ſo perfect in all points, but that as time ſerueth, they wil requyre alteration: He thought it beſt not to lay any more vpon the neckes of the newe conuerts of Britaine as yet, then chriſt & his Apoſtles had already ſet downe vnto al men. In returning therefore his meſſengers, he ſent letters by them vnto Lucius and hys nobilitie, dated in the Conſulſhips of Commodus and Veſpronius, wherein he tolde them that Chriſt had left ſufficient order in ẏ ſcriptures for the gouernement of his Church already in his worde, and not for that only, but alſo for the regimẽt of his whole kingdome, if he woulde ſubmit himſelfe, to yeelde & follow that rule. The Epiſtle it ſelfe is partly extaunt, and partly periſhed, yet ſuch as it is, and as I haue faithfullye tranſlated it out of ſundry copies, I doe deliuer it euen here, to the ende I will not defraude the reader of anye thing that may turne to his commoditie, in the hyſtorie of our nation.

The wiſedome of Eleutherus

Epiſtle of Eleutherus vnto Lucius.

You requyre of vs the Romaine ordinãces and therto the ſtatutes of the Emperours to
,, be ſent ouer vnto you, and which you deſire
,, to practiſe and put in vre within your realme
,, and kingdome. The Romaine lawes & thoſe
,, of Emperours we may eftſoones reproue,
,, but thoſe of God, can neuer be founde fault
,, withall. You haue receyued of late thorowe
,, Gods mercy in the realme of Britaine the
law and fayth of Chriſt, you haue with you both volumes of the Scriptures: out of them therefore by Gods grace and the Counſel of your realme take you a law, and by that law thorowe Gods ſufferaunce rule your kingdome, for you are Gods Vicar in your owne realme, as the royall Prophete ſayth. The earth is the Lords, and all that is therin, the cõpaſſe of the world, & they that dwell therein. Agayne thou haſt loued truth and hated iniquitie, wherfore God, euen thy God hath anoynted thee with oyle of gladneſſe aboue thy fellowes. And agayne, according to the ſaying of the ſame Prophete. Oh God giue thy iudgement vnto the king, and thy iuſtice vnto the kings ſonne. The kings ſonnes are the chriſtian people and flocke of the realme, which are vnder your gouernance, and liue, & continue in peace within your kingdome. * The Goſpell ſaith, as the Henne gathereth hir chickens vnder hir winges, ſo doth the king hys people. Such as dwell in the kingdome of Britaine are yours, whom if they be deuided you ought to gather into concorde and peace, to call them to the fayth and lawe of Chriſt, and to hys ſacred Church: to cheariſh and mainteyne, to rule alſo and gouerne them, defending eache of them from ſuch as woulde doe them wrong, and keeping them from the malice of ſuch as be their enemies. * Wo vnto the natiõ whoſe king is a childe, & whoſe princes ryſe vp earely to banket & feede, which is ſpoken not of a prince, that is within age, but of a prince that is become a childe, thorowe folly, ſinne and vnſtedfaſtneſſe, of whome the Prophete ſaith, the bloudthyrſty and deceitful men ſhall not lyue forth halfe their dayes. * By feeding alſo I vnderſtande glouttonie, by glouttonie, luſt, and by luſt all wickedneſſe, and ſinne, according to the ſaying of Salomon the king. Wyſedome entreth not into a wicked mind, nor dwelleth wyth a man that is ſubiect vnto ſinne. A king hath hys name of ruling, and not of the poſſeſſion of his realme, you ſhalbe a king whyleſt you rule well, but if you doe other wyſe, the name of a king ſhall not remayne wyth you, but you ſhal vtterly forgo it, which God forbid. The Almyghty God graunt you ſo to rule the kingdome of Britaine, that you may reigne with hym for euer, whoſe Vicare (or Vicegerent) you are within your aforeſayd kingdome. Who with the ſonne and the holy Ghoſt. &c.

Pſal. 24.

Pſal. 45.

Pſal. 71.

Pſal. 55.

Hitherto out of the Epiſtle that Eleutherus ſent vnto Lucius, whereby many prety obſeruations are to be collected, if time and place, would ſerue to ſtande thereon.

After theſe dayes, alſo the number of ſuch as were ordeined to ſaluation, increaſed dayly more and more, wherby as in other places of the worlde, the worde of God had good ſucceſſe in Brytaine, in time of peace, and in heate of perſecutiõ, there were no ſmal number of Martyrs that ſuffered for the ſame, of which Albane, Amphibalus, Iulius and Aaron, are reputed to be the chiefe, because of theyr Noble parentage.

Albane.
Amphibalus.
Iulius.
Aaron.

There are which affirme our Lucius to renounce hys kingdome, and afterwarde become a Biſhop and Preacher of the Goſpell: but to thend theſe that holde his opinion may once vnderſtande the botome of their errors, I wyll ſet downe the matter at large whereby they may ſee (if they liſt to looke) how farre they haue bene deceiued.

I finde that Chlorus had by Helena thrée ſonnes, (beſide one daughter called Emerita) of which the name of the firſt is periſhed, the ſeconde was called Lucius, and the thyrde

Chlorus had thrée ſonnes, and a daughter by Helena.

Conſtantine, that afterwarde was Emperour of Rome, by the election of the Soldiers. Now it happened that Lucion by meanes of a quarrell, that grew betwéene him & this Elder brother did kill his ſaid brother, eyther by a fray, or by ſome other meanes, wherupon his father exiled him out of Briton, & apointed him from thenceforth to remayne in Fraunce. Lucion (or as ſome cal him alſo Lucius) being thus brought into worldly ſorrowe, had now good leiſure to meditate vpõ Heauen, who before in his proſperity peraduẽture, had neuer regard of hell. Finally he fel ſo far into ẏ cõſideratiõ of his eſtate, ẏ at the laſt he renounced his Paganiſme, and firſt became a chriſtian, then an Elder, and laſt of all a Byſhop in the Church of Chriſt. He erected alſo, a place of prayer wherin to ſerue the liuing God, which after ſundrye alterations, came in proceſſe of tyme, to be an Abbay, and is ſtill called euen to our time after Lucion or Lucius: the firſt founder thereof, and the originall beginner of anye ſuch houſe in thoſe partes.

Lucion becommeth a chriſtian.

Lucion a Biſhop.

In this alſo he & diuers other of hys friends, continued their times, in great contemplation and prayer, and from hence were tranſlated as occaſion ſerued, vnto ſondrye eccleſiaſticall promotiõs in the time of Conſtatine his brother, ſo that euen by this ſhort narration it is now eaſy to ſée that Lucius the kyng and Lucion the ſonne of Chlorus, were diſtinct perſons. Herevnto Hermãnus Schedelius, addeth alſo howe he went into Rhetia, and nere vnto the citie Auguſta, cõuerted the Curienſes, vnto ẏ fayth of Chriſt, & there likewiſe lyeth buryed in the ſame towne, where his feaſt is holden vpon the thirde daye of December, as may redily be confirmed. That Schedelius erreth not herin alſo, the aunciẽt monumẽts of the ſayde Abbaye, whereof he was the originall beginner, as I ſayde, doe yéelde ſufficient teſtimonye, beſide an Himne made in his commendation, intituled Gaude lucionũ &c. But for more of this you may reſort vnto Bouchet, in his firſt booke, & fiſt chapter of the Annales of Aquiteine, who maketh the king of Britaine Grandfather to this Luciõ. The ſaid Schedelius in like ſort ſetteth down, that his Siſter was Martyred in Trinecaſtell, nere vnto the place where the ſayde Lucion dwelled, wherby it appeareth in lyke ſorte, that ſhe was not ſiſter to Lucius kyng of Briteine, of which prince Alexander Necham in his moſt excellent treatiſe de ſapiencie Diuina ſetteth downe this Diſtichon.

Hermãnus. Schedeliꝰ.

Feſtum Lucionis.

John Bouchet.

Emerita martyred in Rhetia.

Prima Britannorum fidei lux lucius eſſe
Fertur, qui rexit Mœnia Brute tua.

But as eche Riuer the farder it runneth from the heade, the more it is increaſed, by ſmall riuelettes, and corrupted with filthie puddles, and ſtinking gutters, that diſcend into the ſame: ſo the puritye of the Goſpell, preached here in Briteine, in proceſſe of time became firſt of all to be corrupted with a new order of religion, and moſt execrable hereſy, both of them being firſt brought in at once, by Pelagius, of Wales, who hauing trauailed thorow Fraunce, Italy, Egypt, Syria, and the Eaſterlye regyons of the worlde: was there at the laſt made an Elder or Biſhop, by ſome of the Monkes, vnto whoſe profeſſion he had not long before addicted himſelfe. Finally returning home againe, he dyd not onely erect an houſe of his owne order, at Bangor in Wales, vpon the riuer Dée, but alſo ſowed the peſtiferus ſéede of his hereticall prauities, ouer all this Iſland, whereby he ſeduced great numbers of the Brytons, teaching them to preferre their owne merites, before ẏ frée mercy of God, in Ieſus Chriſt his ſon.

Hereſye, & Monaſticall life broght into Britaine at one tine by Pellagius.

Bangor.

Thus we ſée how newe deuiſes or orders of religion, and hereſie came in together. I coulde ſhew alſo what Cometes, and ſtrange ſignes appeared in Brytayne, much about the ſame time, the like of which with dyuers other, haue béene perceiued alſo from time to time, ſithence the death of Pelagius at the entrance of any newe kinde of religion into this Ile of Brytaine. But I paſſe them ouer, only for that I woulde not ſéeme in my tractation of Antiquities, to trouble my reader with the rehearſall of any newe inconueniences.

To procéede therefore with my purpoſe after theſe, there followed in lyke ſort, ſundrye other kindes of monaſticall life, as Anachorites, (or Ancres) Heremites, Cyrillines & Benedictines, albeit, that onely the heremiticall profeſſion was allowed of in Bryteine, vntill the comming of Benedict Biſcop, who erected the firſt houſe of Benedictines, that euer was hearde of in this Ile . They alſo bare his name, and were ſo well liked of all men, ẏ there were few or no blacke monks in this Ile, but of his order. So faſt alſo did theſe humaine deuiſes proſper after his time, that at their ſuppreſſion in England & Wales only, there were founde 440. religious houſes at the leaſt, whereunto if you adde of thoſe few ẏ are yet ſtanding in Scotland, you ſhal ſone ſée what nũbers of theſe dennes of ſpirituall robbers were mainteined here in Brytaine.

Anachorites.

Heremites.

Ciryllines.

Benedictines.

Monkes and Heremites only allowed of in Britaine.

The number of religious houſes in Englande at their diſſolution.

As touching Pelagius the firſt Heretike that euer was bredde in this Iſle (notably knowen) and parent of Monachiſme, it is certaine, that before his corruption and fall, he was taken for a man of ſinguler learning, déepe iudgement, and ſuch a one, as vppon whome for his great gift in teaching and ſtrictneſſe of lyfe, no ſmall péece of the hope & expectation of the people did depend. But what is wiſdome of the fleſh, without the feare and true knowledge of God, and what is learning except it be handemaide to veritye and ſounde iudgement. Wherfore euen of this man, wée maye ſée it verifyed that one Roger Bakon pronounced long after. Of the corruption of his time, when all things were meaſured by witte and worldlye pollicye, rather then by the ſcriptures or Guidans of the ſpirit. Better it is ſaith hée, to heare a rude and ſimple Ideote preach the truth, without apparatus of ſkill & learned eloquence, then a profound Clearke to ſet forth error, with great ſhewe of learning, & boaſt of filed vtterance. Theſe follies of Pelagius, were blaſed abroade about the 400. of Chriſt, & from thenceforth how his number of Monkes increaſed on the one ſide, & his doctrine on the other, there is almoſt no reader that is vnſkilfull & ignorant.

Roger Bacon his ſaying of ẏ preachers of his time who were ẏ beſt lawyers & the worſt Diuines.

This alſo is certaine, that within the ſpace of 200. yeres and odde, there were more then 2100. monkes gathered togither in his houſe, whoſe trades notwithſtanding the errors of founder, (who taught ſuch an eſtimation of merite and bodily exerciſe, as Paule calleth it) as therby he ſought not onely to impugne, but alſo preuent grace, which was in déede the originall occaſion of the erection of hys houſe) were yet farre better and more godly, then all thoſe religious orders, that were inuented of later time, wherein the profeſſours lyued to themſelues, their wombes and the licencious fruition of thoſe partes, that are beneath the belly. For theſe laboured cōtinuallye for their owne liuings, at vacant times from praier, and for the better maintenance, of ſuch as were their appoynted Preachers. Their liues alſo were correſpondent to their doctrine, ſo that herein onelye they ſéemed intollerable, in that they had confidence in their déedes, & that they had no warrant out of the worde for their ſuccor & defēce, but were ſuch a plant, as the heauenly father had not planted, and therefore no meruaile, though afterwarde they were rayſed by the rootes.

More thē 2100 monkes in the College or Abbay of Bangor

But as Pelagius and his adherentes, had a tyme to infecte the Church of Chriſt in the Britaine, ſo the lyuing GOD hath had a ſeaſon to purge the ſame, though not by a full reformation of doctrine, ſith Germanus, Lupus, Palladius, Patricius, and ſuch like leaning vnto the monaſticall trades, did not ſomuch cōdemne the generall errors of Pellagius, one way as maintayne the ſame, or as euill opiniōs another. For as Patricke ſéemed to like well of ẏ honoring of the dead, ſo Germanus being in Britaine erected a chappel to S. Albane, wherein Lupus prayed, as Palladius vpheld the ſtrickneſſe of life, in monaſticall profeſſion to the vttermoſt of his power. Wherfore God purged his houſe, rather by taking away ẏ wicked, and pompous ſcholemaiſters of errour, out of this lyfe: hoping that by ſuch meanes, his people woulde haue giuen eare to the godly that remained. But when thys hys practyſe coulde take no place, & the ſhéepe of his paſture woulde receiue no wholeſome admonition, it pleaſed his maieſtie, to let thē runne on headlong from one iniquitie to another, inſomuch that after the doctrine of Pelagius, it receiued that of Rome alſo, brought in by Auguſtine and his monkes, wherby it was to be ſéene, how they fell from the truth into hereſye, & from one hereſy ſtill into another, till at the laſt they were drowned altogither, in the pitte of error, digged vp by Antichriſt, as welles that holde no water, which notwithſtanding to their followers ſéemed to be moſt ſounde doctrine, and ciſternes of liuing water to ſuch as imbraced the ſame.

Germanus, Lupus, Palladius, Patricius.

Seuerus Sulpitius in vita patricij.

Auguſtine ẏ Monke.

This Auguſtine after his arriuall, conuerted the Saxons in déede from Paganiſme, but as the Prouerb ſayth, bringing them out of Goddes bleſſing into the warme ſunne, he alſo imbued them wyth no leſſe hurtfull ſuperſticion, then they did knowe before: for beſide the only name of Chriſt, and externall contempt of their priſtinate Idolatrye, he taught them nothing at all, but rather I ſay made an exchange, from groſſe to ſubtill trecherie, from open to ſecret Idolatry, and frō the name of Paganes, to the bare title of chriſtians, thinking this ſufficient for theyr ſoules health, and the ſtabliſhment of hys monachiſme, of which kynde of profeſſion, the holye Scriptures of God can in no wyſe allowe. But what cared he ſith he got the great fiſh for which he did caſt his hooke, & ſo great was the fiſhe that he caught in the end, that within the ſpace of 1000. yeres, & leſſe it deuoured the fourth parte and more, of the beſt ſoyle of the Iſlande, which was whollye beſtowed vpon his monkes, and other relygious broodes, ẏ were hatched ſince his time.

Auguſtine.

Whileſt theſe things were thus in hande, in the ſouth parte of Albion, the Meates, Pictes, and Caledoniens, which lye beyonde the Scottiſh ſea, receiued alſo the preaching of ſuch chriſtian elders, as aduentured thither daily, and not without great ſucceſſe, and increaſe of perfit godlyneſſe, in that parte of the Ile. Certes this proſperous attempt, paſſed all mens expectatiō, for that theſe nations were in thoſe dayes reputed wild ſauage, and more vnfaithfull and craftye, then well minded people, (as the wilde Iriſh are in my time)

Meates. Pictes, Caledonies

time) and ſuch were they to ſay the truth, in deede, as neyther the ſugred curteſye, nor ſharpe ſwordes of the Romaines, coulde reſtreyne from their naturall fury or bring to any order. For this cauſe alſo in thend yͤ Romaine Emperours did vtterly caſt them of as an vnprofitable, brutiſhe, and vntameable nation, & by an huge wall hereafter to be deſcribed, ſeparated that rude companye from the milde and ciuill portion.

Scotlande conuerted to yͤ fayth of Chriſt.

This conuerſion of the north parts, fell out in the firſt yeare before the warres that Seuerus had in thoſe quarters, and 170. after yͤ death of our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt. From thenceforth alſo the chriſtian religion contynued ſtill among them, by the diligent care of their Paſtors and Byſhops (after the vſe of the churches of the ſouth part of this Iſland) tyll the Romaine ſhepehearde ſought them out, and founde the meanes to pull them vnto him in like ſort with his long ſtaffe as he had done our countreymen, whereby in in the ende he aboliſhed the rites of the churches of Aſia there alſo, as Auguſtine had done already in England: and in ſtæde of the ſame did furniſh it vp, with thoſe of his pontificall Sie, although there was great contention, and no leſſe bloudſhed made amongſt them, before it coulde be brought to paſſe, as by the Hyſtories, of both nations yet extaunt is eaſye to be ſæne.

Palladius.

The firſt attempt of the Biſh. of Rome to bring Scotlande vnder hys obedience.

In the time of Cœleſtine Biſhop of Rome, one Palladius, a Grecian borne, (to whome Cyrill wrote hys Dialogue, de adoratione in ſpiritu) & ſometime diſciple to John the 24. Biſhop of Jeruſalem, came ouer from Rome into Brytaine, there to ſuppreſſe the Pellagien hereſye, which not a little moleſted the Orthodoxes of that Iland. And hauing done much good in the extinguiſhing of the aforeſayd opiniō there, he went at the laſt alſo into Scotlande, ſuppoſing no leſſe, but after he had trauailed ſomewhat in confutation of the Pelagiens in thoſe partes, he ſhoulde eaſilye perſwade that crooked nation to admit and receiue the rytes of the church of Rome, as he woulde faine haue done beforehande in the ſouth But as Faſtidius Biſhop of Londō, and his Suffragans reſiſted him here, ſo dyd the Scottiſh Prelates withſtande him here alſo, in this behalfe: howbeit becauſe of the authoritie of his commiſſion, grauitie of perſonage, & the great gift which he had in the vayne of pleaſaunt perſwaſion, (whereby he drewe the people after him, as Orpheus did the ſtones with his Harpe, and Hercules ſuch as hearde him by his tongue,) they had hym in great admiration, & are nowe contented (& the rather alſo for that he came frō Rome,) to take him for their chiefe Apoſtle, reconing from hys comming vnto them, as from the fayth receiued, which was in the 431. yeare of Chriſt, as the truth of theyr Hiſtory doth very well confirme.

Faſtidius Biſhop of London.

Palladius, accompted for the Apoſtle of yͤ Scottes.

Thus wee ſee what religion hath from time to time bæne receiued in this Iſlande, and howe and when the faith of Chriſt came firſt into our country. Howbeit as in proceſſe of time it was ouerſhadowed, and corrupted with the dreames, and fantaſticall imaginations of man, ſo it daily waxed worſe & worſe, till that it pleaſed God to reſtore the preaching of his Goſpell againe in our dayes, whereby the man of ſinne is nowe openly reuealed, and the puritye of the worde once agayne brought to light, to the vtter ouerthrowe of Sathan, and his Popiſh adherentes that honour him day and night.

Of the number and names of ſuch ſalt Iſlands, as lye diſperſed rounde about vppon the coaſt of Brytaine.

Cap.8.

There are nære vnto, or not verye farre from the coaſts of Brytaine many faire Iſlandes, whereof Irelande with hir neighbors, (not here hādled) ſæme to be the chiefe. But of yͤ reaſt, ſome are much larger or leſſe then other, diuers in lyke ſort enuironed continually with the ſalt ſea, (whereof I purpoſe onely to intreate, although not a few of them be Ilands but at the floude) & other finally be clipped partely by the freſh, and partly by the ſalt water, or by the freſhe alone, whereof I may ſpeake afterwarde.

Of theſe ſalt Iſlandes, (for ſo I call them that are enuyroned with the Ocean waues) ſome are fruitefull in Wood, Corne, Wildefoule, and paſture grounde for Cattel, albeit that manye of them be accounted barren becauſe they are only repleniſhed with conies & thoſe of ſundry collors, (cheriſhed of purpoſe by the owners, for their ſkinnes carcaſes, and prouyſion of houſholde,) wythout eyther man, or woman, otherwiſe inhabiting in them. Furthermore, the greateſt number of theſe Iſlandes, haue Townes and pariſhe Churches, within theyr ſeuerall precinctes, ſome mo, ſome leſſe: and beſide all thys, are ſo inriched with commodities, that they haue pleaſant hauens, freſhe ſpringes, great ſtore of fiſhe, and plentye of Cattell, whereby the inhabitants doe reape no ſmall aduantage. How many they are in nūber I cānot as yet determine, bycauſe myne informations are not ſo fully ſet down, as the promiſes of ſome on the ſide, & myne expectation on the other, did erted vnto. Howbeit, ÿ firſt of al there are certeine which lie néere togither, as it were by heaps & cluſters, I hope man will redily deny. Of theſe alſo thoſe called ÿ Neſiadæ, Inſulę Scylurum, Sileuſtræ, Syllanæ, nowe ÿ Sorlings, and Iſles of Silley, lying beyond Cornwall are one, and conteineth in number one hundred fourtye & ſeauen, (eche of them, bearing graſſe) beſides ſhelfes, and ſhallowes. In like ſort the company of the Hebrides are another which are ſayd to be 43. ſituate vpon the weſt ſide of this Iſland, betwéene Ireland and Scotland, and of which there are ſome, that repute Angleſey, Mona Cæſaris, & other lying betwéene them to be percell, in theyr corrupted iudgement. The thirde cluſter or bunche, conſiſteth of thoſe, that are called the Orchades, and theſe lye vpon the Northweſt point of Scotlande being 31. in number, as for the reaſt they lye ſcattered here and there, and yet not to be vntouched as theyr courſes ſhall come about.

Neſiadæ.
Inſulę.
Scylurum.
Sileuſtræ.
Syllanæ.
Sorlingæ
Sylley.
Hebrides.
Hebudes.
Meuanię.
Orchades.

There haue béene diuers that haue written of purpoſe, De inſulis Britanniæ, as Cæſar doth confeſſe. the lyke alſo maye be ſéene by Plutarche who nameth one Demetrius, a Brytaine that ſhoulde ſet forth an exact treatiſe of eche of them in order, but ſith thoſe bookes are now peryſhed, and the moſt of the ſayde Iſlandes remaine vtterly vnknowne, euen to our ownē ſelues. I meane God willyng to ſet downe ſo many of them with their commodities, as I doe either knowe by Leland, or am otherwyſe inſtructed of, by ſuch as are of credite. Herein alſo I will touch at large ſuch as are moſt famous, and brieflye paſſe ouer thoſe that are obſcure and vnknowen, making myne entraunce at the Thames mouth, and directing thys imagined courſe, (for I neuer ſailed it), by ÿ ſouth part of the Iland, into ÿ Weſt. Frō thence in lyke ſort, I will procéede into the North, & come about againe by the eaſt ſide into ÿ fall of the aforeſaid ſtreame, where I wil ſtrike ſayle, & ſafely be ſet a ſhoore, that haue often in this voyage wanted water, but oftner béene ſet a grounde, eſpeciallye on the Scottiſh ſide.

In beginning therfore, with ſuch as lye in the mouth of the aforeſayde Riuer, I muſt néedes paſſe by the Hoo, whiche is not an Ilande but (if I may giue ſuch péeces a new name) a bylande, bycauſe we may paſſe thyther from the maine Iſle, by an Iſthums or ſtrictlande, that is to ſay by lande, without anye veſſell, at the full Sea, or any horſe at the ebbe. It lyeth betwéene Clyffe and the midway, that goeth alōg by Rocheſter. Next vnto this we haue the Greane wherein is a towne of the ſame denomination, an Iſle ſuppoſed to be foure miles in length, and two in bredth. Then come we to Shepey, which conteineth ſeauen myles in length, and thrée in breadth, wherein is a caſtell called Quinborowe, and a Parke, beſide foure Townes, of which one is named Minſter, another Eaſtchurch, the thyrde Warden, & the fourth Leyden: the whole ſoyle being thorowly fed with ſhéepe, verye well wooded, and as I here belonging to the Lord Cheyney, as parcell of his his inheritaunce. It lyeth thirtéene myles by water from Rocheſter, but the Caſtle is fiftéene, and by ſouth thereof are two ſmall Iſlandes, whereof the one is called Elmeſy, and the more eaſterly Herteſye. In this alſo is a towne called Hertie, or Hartie, and all in the Lathe of Scraie, notwithſtanding that Hartie lieth in the hundred of Fauerſham, and Shepey retaineth one eſpecyall Baily of hir owne.

Hoo.

Greane.

Shepey.

Elmeſey.
Herteſey.

From hence we paſſe by the Reculuers, (or territorie belonging in tyme paſt to one Raculphus, who erected an houſe of religion, or ſome ſuch thing there,) vnto a litle Iſland, in the ſtoure mouth. Hereupon alſo the Thanet abutteth, which is rather a bylande then an yland. Beda noteth it in times paſt to haue contayned 600. families, which are all one with Hidelandes * Plowghlandes, Carrucates or Temewares. He addeth alſo ÿ it is deuided from our continent, by the riuer called Wantſume, which is about thrée furlongs brode, & to be paſſed ouer in two places onely.

Stureſey.
Thanet.

But whereas Polidore ſayeth, the Tenet is nyne myles in length & not much leſſe in bredth, it is nowe reconed that it hath not much aboue ſeuē myles from Nordtmuth to Sandwiche, & foure in bredth, frō the Stoure to Margate, or from the South to the North, the circuit of ÿ whole being 17. or 18. as Leylād alſo noteth. This Ilād hath no wood growing in it except it be forced, & yet otherwiſe it is very fruitfull, and beſide that, it wanteth fewe other commodities, the fineſt chalke is ſayde to be found there. Herin alſo dyd Auguſtine the Monke firſt arriue when he came to conuert the Saxons, & afterward in proceſſe of tyme, ſundry religious houſes were erected there, as in a ſoyle much bettered (as ÿ ſuperſticious ſuppoſed) by ſteps of that holy man & ſuch as came ouer with him. There are at this tyme 10. Pariſh churches at the leaſt in ÿ Iſle of Thanet, as S. Nicholas, Birchingtō S. Iohns, Wood, or Woodchurch, S. Peters, S. Laurēs, Mowntō or Monketon, Minſter, S. Gyles and all Saincts, wherof M. Lambert hath written at large in his deſcription of Kent, & placed the ſame in lath the of S. Auguſtine

* In Lincolneſhire the worde hyde or hidelandē, was neuer in vſe in olde time as in other places but for hide they vſed the word Carucate or cartwate, or Teme, and theſe were of no leſſe compaſſe then an hideland. Ex Hugone le blanc, Monacho petroburgenſi.

ſtine and hundred of Kingeſlow as may eaſily be ſeene to him that will peruſe it.

Rutupium,

Sometyme Rutupium (or as Beda calleth it Reptaceſter) ſtoode alſo in this Iſlande, but now thorowe alteration of the chanell of the Dour, it is ſhut quite out and annexed to the maine. It is called in theſe daies Richeborow and as it ſhoulde ſeeme buylded vpon an indifferent ſoyle, or highe grounde. The large brickes alſo yet to be ſeene there, in the ruinous walles, declare eyther the Romayne or the old Brittiſh workemanſhip. But as time decayeth all things, ſo Rutupium is now become deſolate, & out of the duſt therof Sandwiche producted, which ſtandeth a full mile from the place, where Reptaceſter ſtoode.

The olde writers affirme, how Ethelbert the firſt chriſtian king of Kent, did holde his pallace in this towne, and yet none of his coyne hath hitherto beene founde there, as is dayly that of the Romaynes, whereof many peeces of ſiluer and gold, ſo wel as of braſſe, copper, and other mettal haue often bene ſhewed vnto me. It ſhoulde appeare in lyke ſorte that of this place, all the whole coaſt of Kent therabout, was called Littus Rutupinum, which ſome doe not a little confirme by theſe wordes of Lucane, to be red in his ſixt booke, ſoone after the beginning.

Aut vaga cum Tethis, Rutupinaq; littora feruent,
Vnda Calidonios fallit turbata Brittannos.

The laſt verſe of one copie and firſt of another.

Or when the wādering Seas or Kentiſh coaſts doe worke, and Calidons of Brittiſhe bloude, the troubled waues beguyle. Meaning in like ſorte by the latter the coaſte neere Andredeſwalde, which in time paſt was called Littus Calidonium of that wood or foreſt, as Leland alſo confirmeth. But as it is not my minde to deale any thing curiouſly in theſe by matters, ſo in returning againe to my purpoſe, & taking my iorney toward the Wight, I muſt needs paſſe by Seleſey, which ſometime as it ſhould ſeeme hath ben a noble yland, but now a Bylād or Penninſula, wherin the chiefe See of the Byſhop of Chicheſter was holden by the ſpace of 329. yeres, & vnder 20. Biſhops.

Seleſey.

Thorne.

Next vnto this, we come vnto thoſe that lye betweene the Wight and the mayne lande, of which the moſt eaſterly is called Thorne, & to ſay truth, ẏ very leaſt of al that are to be founde in that knotte. Being paſt the Thorne we touched vpon the Haling, which is bigger then the Thorne, and wherein one towne is ſcituate of the ſame denominatiō beſide another, whoſe name I remember not. By weſt alſo of the Haling lieth the Port (the greateſt of the three already mencioned) & in this ſtandeth Portſmouth and Kingſteed, whereof alſo our Lelande, ſayeth thus. Port Iſle is cut frō the ſhore by an arme of the mainehauen, which breaketh out about three myles aboue Portſmouth & goeth vp two myles or more by moriſhe grounde to a place called Portbridge, which is two myles frō Portſmouth. Thē breaketh there out another Creeke frō the maine ſea, about Auant hauen, which gulleth vp almoſt to Portbridge, and thence is the ground diſſeuered, ſo that Portſmouth ſtādeth in a corner of this Iſle, which Iſland is in length ſixe myles, and three myles in bredth, very good for graſſe & corne, not without ſome wood, and here and there incloſure. Beſide this there is alſo another Iſlād north northweſt of port yle, which is now ſo worne and waſhed awaye with the working of the ſea, that at the ſpring tides it is wholly couered with water, and thereby made vnprofitable. Finally being paſt all theſe, & in compaſſing this goulfe, we come by an other, which lyeth North of Hirſt caſtell, and ſoutheaſt of Kaie hauen, whereof I finde nothing worthy to be noted, ſauing that it wanteth wood as Ptolomie affirmeth in hys Geographicall tables of all thoſe Iſlands, which enuironne our Albion.

Haling.

Port.

Wight.
Guidh.

The Wight it ſelfe is called in latine Vectis, but in the Bryttiſh ſpeach Guidh, that is to ſay eeſe or eaſie to be ſeene. It lieth diſtāt from the ſouth ſhore of Britaine (where it is fardeſt of) by fiue myles & a halfe, but where it commeth neereſt, not paſſing a thouſande paces, and this at the cut ouer betwene Hirſt caſtell and a place called Whetwell chine, as the inhabitauntes doe report. It contayneth in length twentie myles, and in bredth tenne, it hath alſo the North poole eleuated by 50. degrees and 27. minutes, & is onely 18. degrees in diſtaunce, and 50. odde minutes, from the Weſt point as experience hath confirmed, contrarie to the deſcription of Ptolomie, and ſuch as followe his aſſertions in the ſame. In forme, it repreſenteth almoſt an egge, and ſo well is it inhabited with meere Engliſh at this preſent, that there are thirtie ſixe Townes, Villages and Caſtels to be founde therin, beſide 27. Pariſh churches, of which 15. or 16. haue their Parſons, the reaſt eyther ſuch poore Vicares or Curates, as the liuings left are able to ſuſtayne. The names of the Pariſhes in the Wight are theſe.

1. Newport, a chap.		8. Nighton.	p.
2. Cairſbroſie.	v.	9. Brading.	v.
3. Northwood.		10. Newchurch.	v.
4. Arrium.	v.	11. S. Helene.	v.
5. Goddeſhill.	v.	12. Yauerland.	p.
6. Whytwell.		13. Calborne.	p.
7. S. Laurence.	p.	14. Bonechurch.	p.
		15. Motteſton,	

P. ſignifieth Parſonages, V. Vicarages

15. Motteſton.	p.	21. Chale.	p.
16. Yarmouth.	p.	22. Kingſton.	p.
17. Thorley.	v.	23. Shorwell.	p.
18. Shalflete.	v.	24. Gatrombe.	p.
19. Whippinghã.	p.	25. Broſie.	
20. Wootton.	p.	26. Bryrſton.	p.
		27. Benſted.	p.

It belongeth for temporall Iuriſdiction to the countie of Hamſhire, but in ſpirituall caſes, it yeeldeth obediẽce to the See of Chicheſter, whereof it is a Deanerie. As for the ſoyle of the whole Iſland, it is very fruitful, for notwithſtanding that the ſhore of it ſelfe be very full of rockes and craggy cliffes, yet there wanteth no plentie of cattell, corne, paſture, medow grounde, wildefoule, fiſh, freſh riuers, and pleaſant wooddes, wherby the inhabitants may lyue in eaſe and welfare. It was firſt ruled by a ſeuerall king, and afterwarde wonne from the Britons by Veſpaſian the Legate, at ſuch tyme as he made a voyage into the Weſt country. In proceſſe of tyme alſo it was gotten frõ the Romaines by Ceadwalla, who killed Aruald that reigned there, and reſerued the ſouereingtie of that Iſle to himſelfe, and his ſucceſſours. After Ceadwalla, Woolfride the Parricide was the firſt Saxon Prince, that aduentured into the Wight, whether he was driuen by Kenwalch of the Weſtſaxons, who made great warres vpon him, and in the ende compelled hym to flye into this place for ſuccour, as did alſo king Iohn, in the rebellious ſturre of his Barons, practiſed by the clargie: the ſayd Iſlãd being as then in poſſeſſiõ of the Fortes as ſome doe write that haue handled it of purpoſe. The firſt Earle of this Iſlande that I doe read of, was one Baldwijne de Beroun who maryed for his ſeconde wife, the daughter of William le Groſſe Earle of Awmarle, but he dying without iſſue by this Lady, ſhe was maryed yͤ ſecond time to Earle Mawndeuile, and thirdlye to William de Fortes, who finyſhed Skipton Caſtell, which hys wyues father had begunne about the time of king Richard yͤ firſt. Hereby it came to paſſe alſo, yͭ the Fortes were Erles of Awmarle, Wight, and Deuonſhyre a long time, till the Lady Elizabeth Fortes ſole heire to all thoſe poſſeſſions came to age, with whõ king Edward the thirde ſo preuayled thorow money and fayre wordes, that he gate the poſſeſſion of the Wight wholly into his handes. After we be paſt the Wight, we go forwarde and come vnto Poole hauen, wherein is an Iſle, called Brunt Keyſi, in which was ſometime a Pariſhe church, and yet a chappell at this preſent as I here. There are alſo two other Iſles but I know not their names.

Brunt keyſi.

Portland.

Wee haue after wee are paſſed by theſe another Iſle, alſo vpõ the coaſt named Portland not farre from Waymouth a prety fertile peece though wout woode, of 10. myles in circuite, now well inhabited, but much better heretofore, & yet are there about 80. houſholdes in it. There is alſo but one ſtreete of houſes therin, the reaſt are diſperſed, howbeit they belong all to one Pariſhe Church, whereas in time paſt there were two within the compaſſe of the ſame. There is alſo a Caſtell of the kings, who is Lord of the Iſle, although the biſhop of Wincheſter be patrone of the Church, the perſonage whereof is the faireſt houſe in al the peece. The people there are excellent ſlingers of ſtones, which feate they vſe for the defence of their Iſlande, and yet otherwiſe very couetous. And wheras in tyme paſt they lyued onely by fiſhing, now they fall to tillage, their fire bote is brought out of the wight, and other places, yet do they burne much cowdung, dryed in the ſonne: for there is I ſay no wood in yͤ Iſle, except a few elmes that be about the church. There would ſome growe there, no doubt if they were willing to plant it, although the ſoyle lye very bleake & open. It is not long ſince this was vnited to the mayne, and likely ere long to be cut of againe. Being paſt thys we rayſe another, alſo in the mouth of the Gowy, betwene Colſforde & Lime, of which for the ſmalneſſe thereof I make no great accompt. Wherfore giuing ouer to intreate anye farder of it I caſt about to Gerſey, and Gerneſey, which Iſles with their appurtenaunces appertayned in tymes paſt to the Dukes of Normandye, but now they remayne to our Queene, as percell of Hamſhyre and belonging to hir Crowne, by meanes of a compoſition made, betweene king Iohn of England, & the king of Fraunce, when the Dominions of the ſaid Prince began ſo faſt to decreaſe, as Thomas Sulmo ſayth.

Gerſey.
Garneſey.

Of theſe two, Gerſey is the greateſt, as an Iſlãd hauing 30. miles in cõpas, as moſt men doe cõiecture. There are likewiſe in the ſame twelue Pariſh Churches, wyth a Colledge, which hath a Deane and Prebendes. It is diſtaunt from Gerneſey full 21. myles, or thereaboutes. In this latter alſo, there haue bene in times paſt, fiue religious houſes and nyne Caſtelles, howbeit in theſe dayes there is but one Pariſh church left ſtanding in the ſame. There are alſo certayne other ſmall Iſlands, which Henry the ſecond in his Donation calleth Inſuletas (beſide very many rocks) wherof one called S.Heleries (wherein ſometyme was a Monaſtery) is faſt vpon Gerſey, another is named yͤ Cornet, which hath a Caſtell

Gerſey.

Gerneſey.

S.Herell.

Cornet,

Serke.

not paſſing an arrow ſhote frõ Gerſey. The Serke alſo is betwéene both, which is is ſixe myles about, and hath another annexed to it by an Iſthmus or Stricklande, wherein was a religious houſe, and therewith all great ſtore of conyes.

Brehoc.
Gytho.
Herme,

Burho als. the Iſle of Rattes.

Alderney.

There is alſo the Brehoc, the Gytho, and the Herme, which latter is foure myles in compaſſe, and therein was ſometyme a Chanonry, that afterwarde was conuerted into an houſe of Franciſcanes. There are two other likewyſe néere vnto that of S. Helerie of whoſe nãmes I haue no notice. There is alſo the rockye, Iſle, of Burho, but nowe the Iſle of Rattes (ſo called of the huge plentie of Rattes that are founde there, though otherwiſe it be repleniſhed with infinite ſtore of Conyes, betwéene whome and the Rattes, as I coniecture thoſe which we call Turkie conies are oftentimes produced among thoſe few houſes that are to be ſéene in thys Iland. Beſide this there is moreouer the Iſle of Alderney a very pretie Plot, about ſeuen miles in compaſſe, wherein a Prieſt not long ſince did finde a coffin of ſtone, in which lay yͤ body of and huge Gyaunt, whoſe fore téeth were ſo bygge as a mans fiſt, as Lelande doth report.

Certes this to me is no marueſle at al, ſith I haue read of greater, and mencioned them already in the beginning of thys booke. Such a one, alſo haue they in Spayne, whereunto they go in pilgrimage as vnto S. Chriſtophers tooth, but it was one of his eye téeth, if Lodouicus Viues ſay true, who went hither to offer vnto yͤ ſame. S. Auguſt. writeth in like ſorte, of ſuch another found vpõ the coſt of Vtica, and thereby not onely gathered that all men were not onely farre greater then they be now, but alſo the Giaunts farre excéeding the huge ſtature of the hygheſt of them all. Homere complayneth that men in hys time were but Dwarfes in compariſon of ſuch as lyued in the warres of Troy. Sée his fift Iliade, where he ſpeaketh of Diomedes & how he threw a ſtone at Æneas, (which 14. men of his time were not able to ſturre) & therewith did hit hym on the thighe & ouerthrowe him. Virgile alſo noteth no leſſe, but Iuuenall briefly comprehendeth all thys in his 15. Satyra, where he ſayth.

Iliad 5. & 7.

Virgilius Æn. 12.

Saxa inclinatis per humum quæſita lacertis
Incipiunt torquere, domeſtica ſeditione
Tela, nec hunc lapidem, quali ſe Turnus, & Aiax,
Et quo Tytides percuſſit pondere coxam
Aeneæ: ſed quem valeant emittere dextræ
Illis diſſimiles, & noſtro tempore natæ.
Nam genus hoc viuo iam decreſcebat Homero.
Terra malos homines nunc educat, atq; puſillos.
Ergo Deus quicunq; aſpexit, ridet, & odit.

But to returne agayne vnto the Iſle of Alderney frõ whence I haue digreſſed. Herein alſo is a pretie towne with a Pariſh church, great plentie of Corne, Cattell, Conyes, and wildefoule, whereby the inhabitauntes doe reape much gayne and commoditie, onelye wood is theyr want, which they otherwyſe ſupply. The language alſo of ſuch as dwel in theſe Iſles, is Frenche, but the attire of thoſe yͭ liued in Gerneſey & Gerſey, vntil the time of King Henry the eyght, was al after the Iriſh guyſe. The Iſle of Gerneſey alſo was ſore ſpoyled by the Frenche 1371. & left ſo deſolate that onely one caſtell remained therein vntouched.

Bruchſey.

Beyonde thys and néere vnto the coaſt of Englande (for theſe doe lye about the verye middeſt of the Brittiſh ſea) we haue one Iſlande called the Bruch or the Bruchſey, lying about two myles from Poole, whether men ſayle from the Fromouth, & wherin is nought elſe, but an olde Chappell, without other houſing.

Next to this alſo are certaine rocks, which ſome take for Iſles, as Illeſtõ rocke nere vnto Peritorie, Horeſtan Iſle a myle from Peritorie by South, Blacke rocke Iſle, Southeaſt from Perytorie toward Teygnemouth, and alſo Cheſter, otherwyſe called Plegymudham: but howe (to ſaye truth) or where this latter lieth, I cãnot make report, as yet, & ſith Leland noteth them togither, I thinke it not my part to make ſeparation of them.

Mount Iſlande.

S. Nicholas Iſlande.

Greefe.
Inis Prnyin

From hence the next Iſle is called Mount Iſland, otherwiſe Mowtland, ſcituate ouer againſt Lough, about two myles from the ſhore, and well néere, thrée myles in compaſſe. This Iſland hath no inhabitants, but onely the Warrenner & his dogge, who looketh vnto the Conies there: notwithſtanding that vpõ the coaſt therof in time of the yere, great ſtore of Pylchardes is taken, and caryed from thence into many places of our coũtrey. It hath alſo a freſh Well comming out of the rockes, which is worthy to be noted in ſo ſmall a cõpaſſe of ground. Moreouer in the mouth of the créeke that leadeth vnto Lough, or Loow, as ſome call it, there is an other little Iſlande of about eight Acres of grounde called S. Nicholas Iſle, and midwaye betwéene Falmouth, and Dudman, (a certayne Promontorie) is ſuch another named the Grefe, wherein is great ſtore of Gulles & ſea foule. As for Inis Prynin, it lyeth within the Baye about thrée myles from Lizardes, & contayneth not aboue two Acres of groũd, from

Mount. S. Michaell.

S. Clements.

from which Pelwyn is not farre diſtaunt, & wherein is a poore fiſher towne and a fayre Welſpring, whereof as yet no writer hath made mention. After theſe (omitting Pendinant in yͤ point of Falmouth hauẽ) we came at laſt to ſaint Michaels mount, whereof I find this deſcription readye to my handes in Leland. The compaſſe of the roote of the Mount of ſaint Michael is not much more then halfe a myle, and of this the South part is paſturable and breedeth Conyes, the reſidue high and rocky. In the North ſide thereof alſo is a Garden, with certayne houſes and ſhoppes for fiſhermen. Furthermore, the way to the Mountaine lieth at the North ſide, and is frequented from halfe ebbe to halfe floud, the entraunce beginning at the foote of the Hyll, & ſo aſcending by ſteps and greces weſtward, firſt, and then Eaſtward to the vtterward of the Church. Within the ſame ward alſo is a Court ſtrongly walled, wherin on the ſouthſide is a Chappell of S. Michaell, and in the Eaſtſide another of our Lady. Many times a man maye come to the hill on foote. On the North Northweſt ſide hereof alſo, is a Piere for botes and ſhips, and in the baye betwixt the Mount & Penſantz are ſeene at the lowe water marke, diuers rootes and ſtubbes of trees, beſide hewen ſtone, ſometimes of dores and windowes, which are perceyued in the inner part of the Bay, and import that there hath not onely beene buylding, but alſo firme ground there, whereas the Salt water doth now rule & beare the maſtery. Beyond this is an other litle Iſle, called S. Clemẽts Iſle, of a Chappell there dedicated to that Saint. It hath a litle beyond it, Mowſhole, which is not touched in any Card. As for Mowſhole it ſelf it is a towne of the maine, called in Corniſh port Enis, that is, portus inſule, & in tinne workes neere vnto the ſame, there hath bene founde of late, ſpeare heddes, battaile axes, & ſwords of Copper, wrapped vp in linnen and ſcarſely hurt with ruſt or other hinderance. Certes the ſea hath won very much in this corner of our Iſlande, but chiefly betweene Mowſhole Penſardes.

King Athelſtane hauing ſubdued the Syllane Iſles, builded a Colledge of Prieſts at S. Burien, in perfourmance of his vowe, made whẽ he enterpriſed this voyage, for his ſafe returne.

Hauing thus paſſed ouer very neere all ſuch Iſles, as lye vppon the ſouth coaſt of Brytaine, and nowe being come vnto the weſt part of our coũtry, a ſodeyne Pirry catcheth holde of vs (as it did before, when we went to Gerſy) and caryeth vs yet more weſterlye amõg the flattes of Sylly. Such force doth the ſoutheaſt winde often ſhowe vpon poore traueylers in thoſe parties, as the ſouth & ſouthweſt, doth vpon ſtraungers againſt the Brytiſh coaſt, that are not ſkilfull of our rodes, and herborowes. Howbeit ſuch was our ſucceſſe in this voyage, that we feared no rocks, (more then did king Athelſtane, when he ſubdued thẽ) nor any tempeſt of weather in thoſe partes, that coulde annoy our paſſage. Peruſing therefore the perilles whereinto we were pitifully plonged: we founde the Syllane Ilandes (places often robbed by the Frenchmen and Spanyardes) to lye diſtaunt from the poynt of Cornewall, about three or foure houres ſayling, or twentie Englyſhe miles, as ſome men doe account it. There are of theſe as I ſayde, to the number of one hundreth forty ſeauen in ſight, whereof eche one is greater or leſſe then other, and moſt of them ſometime inhabited, howbeit, there are twentie of them, which for their greatneſſe & commodities, exceede all the reaſt. Therto (if you reſpect their poſition) they are ſcituate in manner of a circle, or ring, hauing an huge lake, or portion of the ſea in the middeſt of them, which is not without perill, to ſuch as with ſmall aduiſement enter into the ſame. Certes it paſſeth my cunning, either to name or to deſcrybe all theſe one hundreth fourtie ſeauen, according to their eſtate, neither haue I had any information of them, more then I haue gathered by Leyland, or gotten out of a Mappe of their deſcriptiõ, which I had, ſometyme of Reynolde Wolfe: wherefore omitting as it were all the ragges, and ſuch as are not worthy to haue any time ſpent about their particular deſcriptions, I will only touch the greateſt and thoſe that ly togither, (as I ſaid) in maner of a roundell.

S. Maries Iſle.

Agnus Iſle.

Annot.

The firſt and greateſt of theſe therefore, called S. Maries Iſle, is about fiue miles ouer, or nyne myles in compaſſe. Therein alſo is a pariſhe Church, and a poore Towne belonging thereto, of threeſcore houſholdes, beſide a caſtel, plẽtie of Corne, Conies, wilde Swannes, Puffens, Gulles, Cranes, & other kindes of Foule, in great abundãce. This fertile Iſlãd being thus viewed, we ſailed ſouthwards by the norman rocke, & S. Maries ſounde vnto Agnus Iſle, which is ſixe myles ouer, & hath in lyke ſorte one Towne or Pariſhe within the ſame of fiue or ſixe houſholdes, beſide no ſmall ſtore of Hogs, & Conies, of ſundry colours, very profitable to theyr owners. It is not long ſince this Iſle was left deſolate, for whẽ yͤ inhabitãts therof, returned frõ a feaſt holden in S. Maries Iſle, they were al drowned and not one perſon left a liue. There are alſo two other ſmall Iſlandes, betweene this & the Annot, wherof I finde nothing worthy relation, for as both of them ioyned together are not comparable, to the ſayde Annot for greatneſſe and circuite, ſo they want both Hogges and Connies, whereof Annot hath

great

Minwiſand.
Smithy ſounde.
Suartigan.
Rouſuian.
Rouſuiar.
Cregwin.

great plentie. There is moreouer the Minwiſand, from whence we paſſe by the Smithy ſound, (leauing three little Iſlandes on the left hande, vnto the Suartigan Iſlande, then to Rouſuian, Rouſuiar, and the Cregwin, which ſeauen are for ẏ moſt part, repleniſhed with Conies only, and wilde Garlike, but voyde of woode, and other commodities, ſauyng of a ſhort kinde of graſſe, or here or there ſome firzes whereon their Conies doe feede.

Moncarthat.
Inis Welſeck.
Suethiall.
Rat Iſland.
Anwall.
Brier.

Leauing therefore theſe deſert peeces, wee incline a little towarde the northweſt, where we ſtumble or runne vppon, Moncarthat, Inis Welſeck, & Suethial. We came in like ſort vnto Ratte Iſlande (wherein are ſo many monſtrous Rattes, that if horſes, or other beaſts, happen to come thither, or be left there by negligence, they are ſure to be deuoured and eaten vp, without all hope of recouerye) the Anwall and the Brier, Iſlandes in lyke ſorte voyde of all good furniture, Conies only excepted, & that the Brier (wherein is a village, Caſtell, & pariſh Church) bringeth forth no leſſe ſtore of Hogges, and wyldefoule, then Ratte Iſland doth of Rats, whereof I greatly marueyle.

Ruſco.
Inis widdõ.
Round. Iſlande.
S. Lides.
Notho.
Auing.
Tyan.
S. Martines
Knolworth.
Sniuilliuer.
Menwethã
Vollis. 1.
Surwihe.
Vollis. 2.
Arthurs Iſle
Guiuiliuer.
Nenech.
Gothrois.
wilde ſwine in Sylley.

By north of the Brier, lyeth the Ruſco, which hath a Labell or Bylande ſtretching out toward the ſouthweſt, called Inis widdon. This Ruſco is verye neere ſo great as that of S. Maries. It hath moreouer an hold, & a Pariſh within it, beſide great ſtore of Conies and wildefoule, whereof they make much gayne in due tyme of the yeare. Next vnto thys wee come to the Rounde Iſland, then to S. Lides Iſland, (wherin is a Pariſh church, dedicated to that ſaint) the Notho, the Auing, (one of the being ſituate by ſouth of another) and the Tyan, which later is a great Iſlande, furnyſhed with a Pariſh Church, & no ſmall plentye of Conies as I here. After the Tyan we come to S. Martines Iſle, betwixt which & S. Maries, are tenne other, ſmaller, which reach out of the northeaſt into the ſouthweſt, as Knolworth Sniuilliuer, Menwetham, Vollis. 1. Surwihe, Vollis. 2. Arthurs Iſland, Guiuiliuer, Nenech and Gothrois, whoſe qualities are dyuers: howbeit as no one of theſe, is to be accounted great in compariſon of the other, ſo they al yeelde a ſhort graſſe, meete for ſheepe and Conies, as doe alſo the reaſt. In the greater Iſles likewiſe, (whoſe names are commonlye ſuch as thoſe of the Townes, or Churches ſtanding in the ſame) there are as I here ſundrye lakes, and thoſe neuer without great plentye of wildefoule, ſo that the Iſles of Sylly, are ſuppoſed to be no leſſe beneficiall to their Lordes, then anye other whatſoeuer, within the compaſſe of our Iſle, or neere vnto our coaſtes. In ſome of them alſo are wilde ſwine. And as theſe Iſles are ſuppoſed to be a notable ſafegard to the coaſt of Corinewall, ſo in dyuers of them great ſtore of tinne, is to be founde. There is in like maner ſuch plenty of fiſhe taken among theſe ſame, that beſide the feeding of their ſwine wyth all, a man ſhall haue more there for a peny, then in London for ten Grotes: Howbeit their chiefe cõmodity is made by Reigh, which they dry and cutte in peeces, and carying it ouer into litle Britayne, they exchange it there, for Salt, Canuas, readye Money, or other Marchaundiſe which they doe ſtande in neede of. A like trade haue ſome of them alſo, with Buckehorne or dryed Whityng, as I here: but ſith the Authour of this report, did not flatly auouch it, I paſſe ouer that fiſhe as not in ſeaſon at this time. Thus haue we viewed the richeſt and moſt wealthy Iſles of Sylley, frõ whence we muſt direct our courſe eaſtwardes, vnto the mouth of the Sauerne, & then go backe againe vnto the weſt poynt of Wales, cõtinuing ſtill our voyage along vpon the weſt coaſt of Brytaine, till we come to the Soluey where at the kingdomes part, and from which forth on we muſt touch ſuch Iſlandes, as lye vpon the weſt and northſhore, till we be come againe vnto the Scottiſh ſea, and to our owne dominions.

Helenus.
Priamus.
Pendinas.

From the poynt of Cornewall therefore, or Promõtory of Helenus, (ſo called, as ſome think, becauſe Helenus the ſon of Priamꝰ lyeth buried there, except ẏ ſea haue waſhed away his ſepulchre) vntill we come vnto the mouth of Sauerne, we haue none Iſlandes at all that I do knowe or here of, but one lytle Byland, Cape or Peninſula, which is not to be reconed of in this place. And yet ſith I haue made mention of it, you ſhall vnderſtande, that it is called Pendinas, and beſide ẏ the compaſſe thereof is not aboue a myle, this is to be remembred farder how there ſtãdeth a Pharos or light therein, for ſhippes which ſayle by thoſe coaſts in the night. There is alſo at the very poynt of the ſayde Pendinas, a chappell of S. Nicholas, beſide the church of S. Ia, an Iriſh woman Sainct. It belõged of late to the Lorde Brooke, but nowe as I geſſe the Lorde Mountioy enioyeth it. There is alſo a Blockhouſe, and a peere in the eaſt ſide thereof, but the peere is ſore choked with ſande, as is the whole ſhore furthemore frõ S. Ies vnto S. Carantokes, inſomuch that the greateſt parte of thys Bylande is nowe couered with ſandes, which the ſea caſteth vp, & this calamity hath indured little aboue fiftie yeares.

There are alſo two Rockes neere vnto Tredwy, and another not farre from Tintagell, all which many of the common ſort doe repute and take for Iſles: wherefore as one deſirous to note all, I thinke it not beſt that theſe ſhould be omitted, but to procéede. Whē we be come farder, I meane vnto ẏ Sauerne mouth, we méete the two Holmes, of which one is called Stepholme, and the other Flatholme, of theyr formes.

It ſhoulde ſéeme by ſome that they are not worthy to be placed among Iſlands: yet other ſome are of the opinion, that they are not altogyther ſo baſe, as to bée reputed amongſt flattes or rockes: but whatſoeuer they be, this is ſure that they oft annoye ſuch Paſſengers and Marchauntes as paſſe, and repaſſe vpon that riuer. Neyther doe I reade of any other Iſles which lye by eaſt of theſe ſame onely the Barri and Dunwen: the firſt, of which is ſo called of one Barroc, a religious man as Gyraldus ſaith. And here in is a rock, ſtanding at the very entraunce of the clyffe, which hath a little rift or chine vpon the ſide, wher vnto if a mā do lay his eare, he ſhal here a noyſe, as if ſmithes did worke at the forge, ſometimes blowing wyth theyr Bellowes, & ſometimes ſtriking and clinking with Hammers, whereof many men haue great wonder and marueyle. It is about a mile in compaſſe, ſcituate ouer againſt Aberbarry, and hath a chappel in it.

Barri.

Barri, is a flight ſhot from the ſhore.

Dunwen.

Dunwen, is ſo called of a Churche dedicated to a Welch woman ſaint, called Dunwen, that ſtandeth there. It lyeth more then two miles from Henroſſer, ryght againſt Neuen, and hath within it two fayre mylles, and great ſtore of conies, and if the ſande increaſe ſo faſt herafter as it hath done of late about it, it will be vnyted to the mayne, within a ſhort ſeaſon. Beyond theſe & toward the coaſt of Southwales, lye two other Iſlandes, larger in quantitie, then the Holmes, of which the one is called Caldee or Inis Pyr. It hath a Pariſhe Church wyth a ſpire ſtéeple, and a prety towne belonging to the county of Pembroke, and iuriſdiction of S. Dauid in Wales. Lelande ſuppoſeth the ruines that are founde therein, to haue béene of an olde priorye ſometimes called Lille, which was a celle belonging to the Monaſterye of S. Dogmaell, but of this I can ſaye nothing. The other hyght Londy, wherein is alſo a village or towne, and of thys Iſlande the Parſon of the ſayde towne, is not onelye the captaine, but hath thereto weife, diſtreſſe, and all other commodities belonging to the ſame. It is little aboue ſixteene myles, from the coaſt of wales, and yet it ſerueth as I am informed Lord and king in Deuonſhyre. Moreouer in thys Iſlande is great plentie of ſhéepe, but more of conies, and therewithall of very fine and ſhort graſſe, for their better fode and paſtureage. And albeit that there be not ſcaſlie fourtie houſholdes in the whole, yet the inhabitants there with huge ſtones (alreadye prouided) may kéepe of thouſandes of theyr enemies, bicauſe it is not poſſible for any aduerſaries to aſſayle them, but onelye at one place, and wyth a moſt daungerous entrance.

Caldee.

Londy.

Scalmey the greater and the leſſe lye northweſt of Milforde hauen a good way. They belong both to the king, but are not inhabited, bicauſe they be ſo often ſpoiled with pirates, Schoncold Iſle ioineth vnto great Scalmey, & is bygger then it, onely a paſſage for ſhippes parteth them wherby they are ſuppoſed to be one, Leland noteth thē to lie in Milford hauē.

Schalmey.

Schoncold.

Limen as Ptolomy calleth it, is ſcituate ouer againſt S. Dauides in wales, whereunto we muſt nedes come, after we be paſt another litle one, which ſomemen do call Greſsholme. In a late Mappe I finde this Limen to be called in Engliſhe Ramſey: Lelande alſo confirmeth the ſame; and I cannot learne more thereof, then that it is much greater than any of the other laſt mencioned, (ſithence I deſcribed the holmes) and for temporall iuriſdiction, a member of Penbrokſhire, as it is vnto S. Dauides, for matters concerning ẏ church. Lelande in his Commentaries of Englande Lib. 8. ſayeth that it contayned thrée Iſlettes, where of the Biſhop of S. Dauids is owner of the greateſt, but ẏ Chanter of S. Dauids clayneth the ſecond, as the Archedeacon of Cairmaiden doth the thirde. And in theſe is very excellent paſture for ſhéepe, and horſes, but not for other horned beaſts, which lacke their vpper téeth, by nature (whoſe ſubſtaunce is cōuerted into the nouriſhmēt of their hornes) and therefore cannot byte ſo low. Next vnto this Iſle we came to Mawr, an Iſland in the mouth of Mawr, ſcant a bow ſhote ouer, and enuironned at the low water with freſh, but at the high ſalt, & here alſo is excellent catching of Heringes.

Limen or Ramſey.

Greſsholm.

Mawr.

After this proceeding on ſtil with our courſe, we fetched a compaſſe, going out of the north towarde the weſt, and then turning againe (as the coaſt of the country leadeth) vntill we ſayled full ſouth, leauing the ſhore ſtill on our right hande, vntyll we came vnto a couple of yles, which lye vpō the mouth of the Soch, one of them being diſtaunt, as we geſſed a myle from the other, and neyther of them of anye greatneſſe, almoſt worthy to remembred. The firſt that we came vnto is called Tudſal and therin is a Church, but without any Pariſhioners, except they be ſhéepe and Conies. The quantitie therof alſo is not much aboue,

Tedſall.

Penthlin.

Bardeſey.

ſixe acres of grounde, meaſured by the pole. The next is Penthlin, or Myrach, ſcituate in maner betwixt Tudſall, or Tuidall and the ſhore, & herin is very good paſture for horſes, whereof as I take it that name is giuen vnto it. Next vnto them, we come vnto Bardeſey, an Iſlande lying ouer againſt the Southweſt poynt or Promontorie of Northwales, and whether the reaſt of the Monkes of Bangor dyd flye to ſaue themſelues, when their fellowes were ſlayne by the Saxon Princes in the quarell of Auguſtine the monke, and the Citie of Caerleon or Cheſter, raced to the grounde. Ptolomie calleth this Iſland, Lymnos, the Britons Enlhi, and therein alſo is a pariſh church, as the report goeth. Frõ hence we caſt about gathering ſtill towarde the Northeaſt, till we came to Caer Ierienchod a notable rocke ſituate ouer againſt ẏ mouth of the Leuenni, wherin ſtandeth a ſtrong hold or fortreſſe, or elſe ſome Towne or Village. Certes we could no well diſcerne whether of both it was, becauſe the winde blew harde at Southweſt, the morning was miſtie and our mariners doubting ſome flats to be couched not farre from thence, haſted away vnto Angleſey, whether we went a pace, wyth a redy winde, euen at our owne deſire.

Angleſey cut from wales by working of the ſea.

Angleſey.

This Iſlande (which Tacitus miſtaketh, no doubt for Mona Ceſaris) is ſcituate about two myles from the ſhore of Northwales. Paulus Iouius geſſeth that it was in time paſt ioyned to the continent, or maine of our Iſle, and only cut of by working of the Oceane, as Sicilia peraduenture was frõ Italy by the violence of the Leuant: thereby alſo as he ſayth the inhabitants were conſtrayned at the firſt to make a bridge ouer into the ſame, till the breach waxed ſo great, that no ſuch paſſage could any longer be mainteyned, but as theſe things doe eyther not touche my purpoſe at all, or make ſmally with the preſent deſcription of this Iſle: ſo (in comming to my matter) Angleſey is founde to be full ſo great as the Wight, & nothing inferiour, but rather ſurmounting it, as that alſo which Cæſar calleth Mona in fruitefulneſſe of ſoile by manye an hundred folde. In olde time it was reputed and taken for the common granerie to Wales, as Sicilia was to Italy for their prouiſion of Corne. In lyke maner the Welchmen themſelues called it the mother of theyr country, for giuing their mindes wholly to paſturage, as the moſt eaſie and leſſe chargeable trade, they vtterly neglected tyllage, as men that leaned wholly to the fertilitie of this Ilande for their Corne, from whence they neuer fayled to receyue cõtinuall abundaunce. It contayned moreouer ſo manye townes welneere, as there be daies in a yere, which ſome conuerting into Cantredes haue accompted but for three, as Gyraldus ſayeth. Howbeit as there haue beene I ſay 363. townes in Angleſey, ſo now a great part of ẏ reconning is vtterly ſhronke, & ſo farre gone to decay, ẏ the very ruines of theẽ are vnneth to be ſeene: and yet it ſeemeth to be meetely wel inhabited. Lelande noting the ſmalneſſe of our hundredes in compariſon to that they were in tyme paſt, addeth ſo farre as I remember that there are ſixe of them in Angleſey, as Menay, Maltraith, Liuon, Talbelliõ, Torkalm, and Tindaithei: hereunto Lhoid ſaith alſo how it belonged in olde time, vnto the kingdome of Guinhed or Northwales, & that therin at a towne called Aberfraw, being on the Southweſt ſide of the Iſle, the kinges of Gwinhed helde euermore their pallaces, whereby it came to paſſe, that the kinges of northwales, were for a lõg time, called kings of Aberfraw, as ẏ Welchmẽ named ẏ kings of England kinges of London, till better inſtruction dyd bring them farder knowledge.

There are in Angleſey many townes and villages, whoſe names as yet I can not orderly attayne vnto: wherefore I will content my ſelfe with the rehearſall of ſo many as we viewed in ſayling about the coaſtes, and otherwyſe hearde report of by ſuch as I haue talked with all. Beginning therefore at the mouth of the Geſni (which ryſeth at Northeaſt aboue Gefni or Geuenni, 20. myles at ẏ leaſt into the land) we paſſed firſt by Hundwyn, then by Newborow, Port Hayton, Beaumarrais, Penmõ, Eliã, Almwoch, Burric (wherby runneth a rill into a creke) Cornew, Holyhed, (ſtanding in the promontorie) Gwifen, Aberfraw, and Cair Gadwaladar, of all which, the two latter ſtande, as it were in a nuke, betweene the Geuenni water, & the Fraw, wherupõ Aberfraw is ſcituate. Within the Iland, we hard only of Gefni afore mẽtioned, of Griſtial ſtãding vpõ ẏ ſame water of Tefri, of Lanerchimedh, Lachtenfarwy & Bodedrin, but of all theſe the chiefe is nowe Beaumarais, which was buylded ſometyme by king Edward the firſt, and therewithall a ſtrong Caſtell about the yeare 1295. to kepe that lande in quiet. There are alſo as Leland ſayth 31. Pariſhe churches beſide 69. chappelles, that is 100. in all: but hereof I can ſay litle, for lacke of full inſtruction. In tymes paſt, the people of this Iſle vſed not to ſeuerall their groundes, but now they digge ſtony hillockes and with the ſtones thereof they make rude walles, much lyke to thoſe of Deuonſhyre, ſith they want hedges, fire bote, and houſebote, or to ſaye at one worde, timber & trees. As for wine, it is ſo plentifull & good cheape there moſt commonly as in London, thorowe the great recourſe of marchaunts frō France, Spaine, and Italy vnto the aforeſayde Iſlande. The fleſhe likewyſe of ſuch Cattell as is bredde there, is moſt delicate, by reaſon of their excellent paſture, & ſo much was it eſteemed by the Romaines in tyme paſt, ÿ Colſumella did not onely commende & preferre them before thoſe of Liguria, but the emperours thēſelues alſo cauſed there prouiſion to be made for nete out of Angleſey to feede vppon at their owne tables as the moſt excellent beefe. It taketh the name of Angles & Eye, which is to meane the Iſle of Engliſhmen, bycauſe they wan it in the conquerours tyme, vnder the leading of Hugh Earle of Cheſter, & Hugh of Shrewsbury. The Welchmē cal it Tiremone, and herein likewyſe is a Promontorie or Bylande, called Holly hed, (which hath in tyme paſt bene named Cair kyby, of Kyby a monke, that dwelled in that place) frō whence the readyeſt paſſage is commonly had out of Northwales to get ouer into Irelande. The Britons named it Enylſnach, or holy Iſle of the number of carkaſes of holy men, which they ſuppoſe to haue beene buryed there. But herein I marueyle not a little what women had offended, that they myght not come thither, or at the leaſt wyſe returne from thence without ſome notable reproche. And nowe to conclude with the deſcription of the whole Iſlande, this I will adde moreouer vnto hir cōmodities, that as there are the beſt milſtones of white, redde, blewe, and greene greetes, (eſpecially in Tindaithin,) ſo there is great gaines to begotten by fiſhing, rounde about this Iſle, if the people there coulde vſe the trade: but they want both cunning and diligence to take that matter in hande. And as for temporall regimēt it apperteyneth to the countye of Cairnaruon, ſo in ſpirituall caſes it belongeth to the Byſhopricke of Bangor. This is finally to be noted moreouer of Angleſey, that ſundry earthen pottes are often founde there of dead mens bones conuerted into aſhes, ſet with the mouthes downeward contrarie to the vſe of other nations, which turned the brimmes vpwardes, whereof let this ſuffice.

oly head, or Cair kby.

nilſnach, oly Iſle.

Hauing thus deſcrybed Angleſey, it reaſteth to report furthermore, how that in our circuite about the ſame, we mette with other little Iſlettes, of which one lyeth Northweſt therof almoſt ouer againſt Butricke mouth, or the fall of the water, that paſſeth by Biſtricke. The Britons called it Ynis Ader, that is to ſay, the Iſle of Birdes in olde time, but now it hight Ynis Moil, or Ynis Rhomaid, that is ÿ Iſle of Porpaſſes. It hath to name likewiſe Yſteriſd, and Adros. Being paſt this, we came to the ſecond lying by North eaſt, ouer againſt the Whitary point, called Ynis Lygod: that is to ſay, the Iſle of Myſe; and of theſe two this latter is the ſmalleſt, neyther of thē both beyng of anye greatneſſe to ſpeake of. Ynis Seriall or Preſtholme lieth ouer againſt Penmon, or the point called the hed of Mon, where I founde a towne (as I tolde you) of the ſame denominatiō. Ptolomy nameth not this Iſlande, whereof I maruayle. It is parcell of Flintſhyre, and of the iuriſdiction of S. Apſah, and in fertilitie of ſoyle, and breede of Cattell, nothing inferiour vnto Angleſey his mother: although that for quantitie of groūd it come infinitely ſhort thereof, & be nothing cōparable vnto it. The laſt Iſland vpon ÿ coaſt of Wales, hauing now left Angleſey, is called Credine, & although it lye not properly within the compaſſe of my deſcription, yet I will not let to touch it by the waye, ſith the cauſey thither from Denbighlande, is commonly ouerflowed. It is partly made an Iſland by the Conwey & partly by the ſea. But to proceede, when we had viewed this place, we paſſed forth without finding any mo Iſles to my remembraunce, vntill we came to the Cape of Iſle Bree, or Hilbery & poynt of Wyrale, which is an Iſlande at the full ſea, a quarter of a myle from the lande, and foure fadams deepe, as ſhippes boyes haue oft ſounded; but at a lowe water, a man may go ouer on the ſande. The Ile of it ſelf is very ſandy a mile in compaſſe, & well ſtored with Conies, thither alſo went a ſort of ſuperſticious fooles in tymes paſt, in pylgrimage, to our Ladye of Hilbery by whoſe offrings a Cell of Monkes there, which belonged to Cheſter, were cheriſhed and maintayned.

Adar.
Moil.
Rhomaid.

Yſteriſd.
Adros.
Lygod.

Seriall.
Preſtholne

Credine.

Hilbery.

The next Iſland vppon the coaſt of England is man, which the Welchmen doe commonly call Manaw. It lieth vnder 53. degrees of Latitude, and 30. minuts, and hath in longitude 16. degrees and 40. minutes, abutting on the North ſide vpō S. Nimans in Scotland, Furneſſels on the Eaſt, Preſtholme & Angleſey on the South, and Vlſther in Ireland on the Weſt. It is greater then Angleſey by a thirde part, and there are two riuers in the ſame, whoſe heddes doe ioyne ſo neere, that they doe ſeeme in maner to part the Iſle in twaine. Some of our auncient writers call it Eubonia and other Meuania, howbeit after Beda and the Scottiſh hiſtories, the Meuaniæ are thoſe Iſles which we now call the Hebrides or Hebudes (whereof William Malſmebery Lib. 2. de regibus, will haue Angleſey to be one) wherefore it ſeemeth that a number of our

Man is ſuppoſed to be the firſt, as thie tha is the laſt, of the Hebrides, and Hector Boethus noteth a difference betweene them of 300. miles.

Eubonia.
Meuania.

our late writers aſcrybing the ſayde name vnto Mona, haue not béene a little deceaued. In this Iſlande were ſome time 1300. families, of which 960. were in the Weſt halfe, & the reaſt in the other. But nowe throwe ioyning houſe to houſe, and lande to land, (a cõmon plague & canker, which wil eate vp al, if prouiſion be not made in tyme to withſtande this miſchiefe) that number is halfe diminiſhed, and yet many of the riche inhabiters want roume & wote not howe & where to beſtow themſelues, to their quiet contentatiõs. Certes this impedimẽt groweth not be reaſon that men were greater in body, then they haue béene in tyme paſt, but onlye for yͤ their inſatiable deſire of inlarging their priuate poſſeſſions increaſeth ſtill vpon them, & will doe more, except they be reſtrayned: but to returne to our purpoſe. The kings of Scotlande had this Iſlande vnder their dominiõ, almoſt from their firſt arriual in this Iſland, and as Beda ſayeth till Edwine king of the Northumbers wanne it from them and vnited it to his kingdome. Hereof alſo I coulde bring better teſtimonie, for we finde that the kings of Scotlande, did not only giue lawes to ſuch as dwelled there, but alſo from tyme to tyme, appoint ſuch Byſhoppes as ſhoulde exerciſe Eccleſiaſtical Iuriſdictiõ in yͤ ſame. Finally how, after ſundry ſales bargains and cõtracts of Matrimony for I reade yͤ Williã Scroupe the kings Vicechamberleyne, did buy this Iſle and crowne therof of the Lord Williã Montacute Earle of Sarũ) it came vnto yͤ aunceſtours of the Earles of Darby, who haue béene cõmonly ſayd to be kings of Man, the hyſtorie folowing as I ſuppoſe ſhal more at large declare. Gyraldus noteth how there was contention ſometyme betwéene the kings of Englande, and Irelande, for the ryght of this Iſlande, but in the ende when by a cõprimiſe the tryall of the matter was referred to the liues or deathes of ſuch venemous Wormes as ſhoulde be brought into the ſame, and it was founde, that they dyed not at all, as the lyke doe in Irelande, ſentence paſſed with the kyng of Englande, and ſo he retayned the Iſlande. But howſoeuer this matter ſtandeth, & whether any ſuch thing was done at all or not, ſure it is that the people of the ſayde Iſle, were much giuen to Witchcraft, and Sorcerie (which they learned of the Scottes a people greatly bent to that horrible practiſe) inſomuch that their women woulde oftentimes ſell winde to the mariners incloſed vnder certayne knots of thréede, with this iniunction, that they which bought the ſame, ſhoulde for a great gale vndoe manye, and for the leſſe a ſmaller number. The ſtature of the men & alſo fertilitie of this Iſlande are much commended & for the latter ſuppoſed verye néere to be equall with that of Angleſey, in all commodities.

Cronica Tinemuthi.

Tal men in Man.

There are alſo theſe townes therin, as they come now to my remẽbrance, Ruſhen Dunglaſſe, Holme towne S.Brids, Bala Cury (yͤ byſhops houſe) S.Mich. S.Andrew, kirk chriſt, kirk Louel. S.Machees, kirke Santã, Pala ſalla, kirk S. Mary, kirk Cõcane, kirk Malu, & Home. But of all theſe Ruſhen with yͤ caſtel is the ſtrõgeſt. It is alſo in recompẽce of the common want of woode, indued wyth ſundry prety waters, as firſt of all the burne that ryſſeth in northſide of warehill botomes, & branching out by ſouthweſt of kirke Santan, it ſéemeth to cut of a great part of the eaſtſide thereof, from the reſidue of that Iſland. From thoſe hylles alſo (but of the ſouth halfe) commeth the Home and Homey, by a towne of the ſame name, in the verry mouth whereof, lieth the Pile, afore mencioned. They haue alſo the Bala paſſing by Bala cury, on the weſtſide, and the Rame on the north, whoſe fall is named Rameſey hauen as I doe reade in Chronicles.

Riuers.

There are moreouer ſundry great hylles therein, as that wherupõ S.Mathees ſtandeth, in the northeaſt parte of the Iſle, a parcell whereof commeth flat ſouth, betwéene kirke Louell, and kirke Mary, yéelding out of their botomes the water Bala, whereof I ſpake before. Beſide theſe and well toward the ſouth part of the Iſle, I finde the warehilles, which are extended almoſt, from the weſt coaſt ouertwhart vnto the burne ſtreame. It hath alſo ſundrye hauens, as Ramſey hauen, by north, Laxam hauen, by eaſt, Port Iris, by ſouthweſt, Port Home, and Port Michell, by weſt. In lyke ſort there are diuers Iſlettes annexed to the ſame, as the Calf of man on the ſouth, the Pile on the weſt, and finallye S.Michelles Iſle, in the Gulf called Ranoths way, in the eaſt. Moreouer the ſhéepe of thys countrye are excéeding huge, wel woolled, and their tayles of ſuch greatneſſe as is almoſt incredible. In lyke ſorte their hogges are in maner monſtruous. They haue furthermore great ſtore of Barnacles, bréeding vpõ their coaſts, (but yet not ſo great ſtore as in Ireland) and thoſe (as there alſo) of olde ſhippes, Ores, Maſtes, and ſuch putryfied pytched ſtufe, as by wrecke hath happened to corrupt vpon that ſhore. Howbeit neyther the inhabytantes of thys Iſle, nor yet of Ireland can redily ſaye whether they be fiſh or fleſhe, for although the religious there vſed to eate thẽ as fiſhe, yet elſewhere, ſome haue béene trowbled, for eating them in times prohibited, as Heretikes, and Lollardes.

Hilles.

Hauens.

Calf of mã

The pyle.

S.Michelles Iſle.

Shéepe.

Hogges.

Barnacles

Barnacles neyther fiſhe, nor fleſhe.

There

Biſhop of Man.

Patrone of Man.

There hath ſometime béene, and yet is a Byſhop of this Iſle, who at the firſt was called Epiſcopus Sodorenſis, when yͤ iuriſdiction of all yͤ Hebrides belõged vnto him. Wheras now he yͭ is Byſhop there, is but a Biſhops ſhadow, for albeit yͭ he beare yͤ name of Byſhop of Man, yet haue yͤ Earles of Darby, as it is ſuppoſed, al yͤ profite of his Sée, (ſauing that they allowe him a little ſomewhat for a flouriſh) notwithſtãding that they be hys patrons and haue hys nomination to that Sée. It is ſubiect to the Byſhoppe of Yorke alſo, for ſpirituall Iuriſdiction, & in time of Henry the ſeconde had a king, as Houeden ſaith, whoſe name was Cuthrede vnto whome Vinianus yͤ Cardinall came as Legate. 1177. but ſith I can neyther come by the names, nor ſucceſſions of thoſe Princes that reigned there, I ſurceſſe to ſpeake any more of them, and alſo of the Iſle it ſelfe, whereof this may ſuffiſe.

Wauay.

Fouldra.
Fola.
Roa.

Rauenglaſſe.

After we haue in thus wiſe deſcribed the Iſle of Man, with hyr commodities, we returned eaſtwardes backe againe vnto yͤ point of Ramſhed, where we founde to the number of ſixe Iſlettes of one ſorte and other, whereof the firſt greateſt and moſt eaſterly, is named the Wauay. It runneth out in length, as wée geſſed about fiue myles from the ſouth into yͤ north, and betwéene the ſame and the maine lande lie two little ones, whoſe names I find not in anye writer ſo farre, as I remember. The fourth is called yͤ Fouldra, and being ſcituate ſoutheaſt of the firſt, it hath a pretty pile or blockhouſe therin, which the inhabitaunts name the Pile of Fouldray. By eaſt thereof in lyke ſort lye the Fola and the Roa, plottes of no great compaſſe, and yet of al theſe ſixe, the firſt and Fowldra are the fayreſt and moſt fruitefull. From hence we went by Rauenglaſſe point, where lieth an Iſland of the ſame denomination, as Reginalde Wolſe hath noted in his great Carde, not yet finiſhed, nor lykely to be publiſhed. He noteth alſo two other Iſlettes, betwéene the ſame & the mayne lande, but Lelande ſpeaketh nothing of them, (to my remembrance,) neyther anye other Carde, as yet ſet forth of England: and thus much of the Iſlands that lie vpon our ſhore.

Trick.
S. Mary Iſle.

15. Miles betwéene Cantyre & the coaſt of Deſmond.

Hauing ſo exactlye as to me is poſſible, ſet downe the names & poſitions of ſuch Iſles as are to be found vpõ the coaſtes of yͤ Quéenes maieſties dominions. Nowe it reſteth yͭ we procéede orderly wyth thoſe yͭ are ſéene to lye vpõ the coſt of Scotland, that is to ſay, in the Iriſh, the Deucalidon & the Germaines ſeas: But before we come at theſe, there are diuers other to be touched, which are ſcituate betwéene the nuke of Galloway, & the Frith of Solue, whoſe names I find not as yet ſet downe by any writer, neyther is their number greate. Wherefore ſith I may not doe in this their deſcriptiõ what I would, I muſt be contented to doe therein what I may, and to ridde my hands of the one, that I may the ſooner come vnto, and be dealing with the other. The firſt of theſe therefore, lyeth ouer agaynſt Dundrenaw, ſomwhat towarde the mouth of the ſtreame, that goeth vnto Clankaire. The ſecond is ſcituate in yͤ Dée, wherein Trief Caſtell ſtandeth: by weſt whereof lyeth S. Mary Iſle, which is ouer againſt Whitherne, or as we nowe call it Witherne, of which in our Engliſhe hyſtories we haue oft mention vnder the name of Candida Caſa, whereof the learned are not ignoraunt. Beyonds theſe are two other lying togither, as it were in the mouth of the loweſt docke, & from thence we paſſed directly rounde about, the aforeſayde nuke, vnto Dumbritton fyrth, where we finde alſo nine or tenne Iſlandes, of dyuers quantities, whereof Ailze, or Aliza, is the firſt, & wherein is great plentye of the Soland foule, Cinuary the ſecond, Bure the thirde, Marnoch the fourth, Pladua the fift, Lanlach the ſixt, Arren or Botha, the ſeauenth, Sanday the eyght, and Olr the ninth: but of all theſe, one or two are only accounted famous, that is Arren the greateſt of all, wherin ſtandeth a towne of the ſame name, and Bure the next, in which Roſa is ſcituate: the reaſt are eyther vtterly barren, or not very commodious, except for fowle to ſuch as owe the ſame. By this time alſo are we come to the poynt of Cantyre, which is not paſſing fiftene or ſixtene myles, diſtaunt from the coaſt of Irelande, ſo that next vnto theſe afore remẽbred (and when we haue fetched in the aforeſaid poynt) we come vnto the Hebrides, which are reconned to be thrée and fourtie, in number, beſides the flattes and ſhallowes as I haue earſt affirmed in the beginning of thys chapter.

Of theſe aforeſayd Iſlands, I finde dyuers to be 30. myles, ſome twelue other more or leſſe quantity, but Sky Mula Iona, & Ila, are the greateſt, as ſhall appeare hereafter. Certes it is impoſſible for me, being a méere Engliſhman voyde of helpe & of ſmall reading, to diſcuſſe the controuerſies that are mooued among the learned, touching the Meuaniæ & the Hebrides, wherefore ſith I am not able to deale ſo déepely with that matter, I will firſt ſhewe what Iſlandes doe lye vpon the weſt coaſtes of Scotlande betwéene Cantyre and Andermouth heade, giuing out onelye the names of the leaſt (ſith I know nothing els of their commodities and greatneſſe) and then proceeding with the reaſt as they doe lie in order. Firſt of all therefore and ouer againſt Hiltan, (for I will go by the ſhore) we haue Baray, then Ogay, S. Machare, and hys neighbour, Langa, Suinnay, Dunqu, Corſey Leawing, Cewil, Nawell, Caerbery, Liſmore, & Muke, which lyeth at the very point, of Andermouth, ouer againſt Mere, fourtene in all. From hence going weſtwarde, wee come to the Terry and the Coll, and then entring in among the reaſt, by Carndeburge, Ulwaye, or Oronſay, Colanſay, & Iona minor we come at the laſt to Scarbo, Corebricken, Howell, al which thus mencioned, of the leaſt are counted ẏ greateſt, & yet there are ſundry other, of whoſe names I haue no knowledge. In thys tracte alſo, there are yet three to intreate of, as Ila, Iona & Mula, of which the firſt is one of the moſt, that hath not bene leaſt accounted of. It is not much aboue 30 myles in length, & twenty in breadth, & yet it is an exceding riche plot of grounde very plenteous of corne, but more ful of mettals, which were eaſie to be obteyned, if either the people were induſtrious, or the ſoyle yeeldable of woode to fine and trye out the ſame.

Ila.

Iona.

Iona was ſometime called Columkill, in fame and eſtimation, nothing inferiour to any of the other, although in length it excede little aboue twentie myles, and in breadth, 10. for by reaſon of a famous Abbie ſomtime buylded there by Fergus the ſeconde, it hath bene countenaunced out by the ſepulchres of ſo many kings, as deceaſed in Scotlād, after the ſayde Fergus, vntil the tyme of Malcolme Cammor, who by buylding another Abbey, at Dunfermeling, gaue occaſion to hys ſucceſſours to be interred there.

Mula.

Mula is a ryght noble Iſle, repleniſhed wyth dyuers and ſundry townes, and caſtels, as are alſo the other two, albeit their names at thys tyme be not at hand & ready. This yet is worth the noting in this Ilande aboue all the reſt, that it hath a pleaſant ſpring, ariſing two myles in diſtaunce from the ſhore, wherin are certayne lyttle egges founde, much like vnto indifferent Pearles, both for colour and bryghtneſſe, and thereto full of thicke humour, which egges being carried by violence of ẏ freſh water, vnto the ſalt, are there within the ſpace of 12. houres conuerted into great ſhelles, which I take to be the mother pearle except I be deceyued. And thus much briefly of the ſeauen and twentye greateſt Iſles, lying within the aforeſayde compaſſe, being driuen of force to omitte the leſſer onely, for that I neyther fynd theyr names, among the Scottiſhe writers, neyther to ſaye the truth directlye vnderſtande howe manye be flattes, and howe manye be couered with graſſe. To procede therefore by north of Andermouth we haue Egge, Ron, Cānay, Flad, Trantneſſe, (where is a caſtell,) Trant, Altauecke, another Flad, Rona, and Scalpa, beſide ſundrye ſmaller, whoſe names I doe not knowe, & all theſe doe enuyron the greateſt of all, called Sky, in which are dyuers townes, as Aye, S. Johns, Dunwegen, and S. Nicholas, beſide other, and thereunto ſundry lakes, and freſhe ſtreames, and thoſe not withoute great abundaunce of Samon and ſundry other fiſhe, whereby the inhabitaunts of thoſe partes doe reape no ſmall aduauntage. Furthermore & by weſt of theſe lye diuers other percels alſo of this number, of which, if you looke to here an orderly reporte you ſhall vnderſtande that I will beginne at the moſt ſoutherly of them, and ſo procede, with eche one in order, ſo well as my knowledg doth ſerue me. Firſt of al therfore, there are foure little Ilandes, of which one called Erth, another Scail are ẏ greateſt. Next vnto theſe and directly towarde the north lyeth Baway, then S. Peters Iſle, in the eaſt ſide, whereof are three ſmall ones, whoſe names I haue not yet learned. Next of al is the Euſt or Hirtha, which ſeemeth by certaine riuers, to be deuided into four partes, of which the the firſt hath a towne called S. Columbanes in ẏ north ſide thereof, ẏ ſecond another dedicated to S. Mary, & the fourth (for I find nothing of ẏ third) one named after S. Patricke, by weſt wherof, lyeth yet a leſſe, not greatly frequēted of any. By north of this alſo are 3. other, of lyke quantity, and then followeth Lewis, ſcituate in the Deucalidon ſea, ouer againſt the Roſſe, and called Thule, by Tacitus, wherein are many lakes, and very prettye Villages, as lake Erwyn, lake Unſalſago: but of townes, S. Clements, Stoye, Noys, S. Colombane, Radmach &c. About thys are alſo diuers other Iſles, of leſſe quātitye found, as Scalpay, Ilen, Schent, Barray the more, Barraye the leſſe, S. Kylder, & other of ſmaller reputation, wherof the moſt parte are voyde of culture and inhabitantes, and therefore not worthye to be remembred here. This finallye is left to be ſayd of theſe Iſles, that albeit Lewiſſa, be the greateſt of them, and conteyning threeſcore myles, in length, and thirtie in breadth, yet Hirtha, or Hirth, is the moſt famous, for the ſheepe which are there bredde, and is therefore called Shepy of the wylde Iryſhe. Certes, the ſtature of theſe ſheepe is greater and higher, thē of any fallowe deere, their tailes hanging downe to the grounde, and their hornes longer & thicker then thoſe of any Bugle. Unto thys

Skye.

Erth.
Scaill.
Baway.
S. Peters Iſle.
Hirth or Euſt.

Lewis, called Thule by Tacitus with no better authoritie then he named Angleſey Mona.

thys Iſlande alſo in the Moneth of Iune, (when the ſeas be moſt calme) there commeth a Prieſt out of Lewiſſa, & minyſtreth the ſacramēt of Baptiſme to all ſuch childrē as haue béene borne there, and the Iſlandes about ſith that moneth in the yeare paſſed. This being done, and his appointed number of Maſſes ſaide, he receyueth the tythes of all theyr commodities, and then returneth home againe the ſame way he came.

Rona.

Rona the laſt of the Hebrides, is dyſtant, as I ſaide, about fouretie mile from the Orchades, and one hundredth and thirtye, from the Promontorye of Dungiſbe. The coaſt of thys Iſle is dayly repleniſhed with Seale, and Porpaſſe, which are eyther ſo tame, or ſo fierce, that they abaſh not at the ſight of ſuch as looke vpon them, neyther make they any haſte to flye out of theyr preſence. Aboue the Hirth alſo is another Iſlande, though not inhabited, wherin is a certeine kind of wilde beaſte, not much different frō the figure of a ſhéepe, but ſo wilde that it will not eaſilye be tamed. For theyr grynning alſo they are reputed to be a kynde of baſtarde Tyger. As for theyr heaire it is betwéene the wooll of a ſhéepe, and heaire of a goate, ſomewhat reſembling eche, ſhacked, and yet abſolutely like vnto neyther of both.

The Shotland Iſles

There are alſo other Iſles, an hundreth myles beyond the Orchades, towarde eaſt northeaſt, and ſubiect to ſcotlande, wherin is neyther corne, nor anye vſe of fleſh, although they haue ſtore of ſundrye ſortes of cattell amongſt them. But in ſtead of bread, they drie a kinde of fiſhe, which they beate in morters to powder, and bake it in theyr Ouens, vntill it be hearde and drye. Theyr fewell alſo is of ſuch bones as the fiſhe yéeldeth that is taken on theyr coaſtes, and yet they lyue as themſelues ſuppoſe in much felicitie, thinking it a great péece of theyr happyneſſe to bée ſo farre diſtaunt from the wicked auarice, & cruell dealings of the world. As for theyr ryches and commodities, they al conſiſt in the ſkinnes of beſtes, as of Oxē, Shéepe, Gotes, Marternes, and ſuch like, wherof they make great reconing. Herin alſo they are lyke vnto ẏ Hirthiens, in ẏ at one time of the yeare, there commeth a prieſt vnto them, out of the Orchades (vnto which Iuriſdiction they doe belong) who Baptiſeth all ſuch children, as haue bene borne among them, ſith he laſt arriued: and hauing afterward remained there for a few dayes, he taketh his tythes of them (which they prouide & pay with great ſcrupuloſitie in fiſhe, for of other commodities pay they none) and then returneth home againe, not without boaſt of his troubleſome voyage, except he watch his time. In theſe Iſles alſo is great plẽty of fine Amber to be had, which is produced by the working of the ſea, vpon thoſe coaſtes: howbeit, after what name theſe Iſles be called particulerly and how many there be of them in all, the Scottes themſelues are eyther ignoraunt, or not ſo diligent, as to make any conſtant mention.

Orchades.

The Orchades, lie partly in the Germaine, and partly in the Calidon ſeas, ouer agaynſt the poynt of Dunghiſby, beyng in number, thirtie one of name, & belonging to ẏ crowne of Scotlande, as are the reaſt whereof here tofore I haue made report, ſince we croſſed ouer the mouth of the Soluete ſtreame, to come into this countrye. Certes the people of theſe Iſlands are of goodly ſtature, tall, verye comelye, healthfull, of long lyfe, great ſtrength, and moſt whyte coulour: and yet they féede moſt vpon fiſhe onely, ſith the cold is ſo extréeme in thoſe parts, that the ground bringeth forth but ſmal ſtore of Wheate, & in maner very litle or no fewell at al, to warme them in the winter. Otes they haue verye plentifull, but greater ſtore of Barly, wherof they make a nappye kinde of drinke, and ſuch in déede, as will verye readilye cauſe a ſtrãger to forget himſelf. Howbeit this may be vnto vs, a in lieu of a myracle, ẏ although theyr drinke be neuer ſo ſtrong, & they themſelues ſo immeaſurable drinkers (as none are more) yet it ſhal not eaſily be ſéene, that there is any drunckarde among them, either frantike, or madde mā, dolt, or natural foole, méete to were a cockeſcomb. In like ſort they want venemous beaſtes, chiefly ſuch as doe delyte in hotter ſoile. Theyr Ewes alſo are ſo full of increaſe, that ſome doe vſuallye bring forth two, thrée, or foure lambes at once, whereby they account our anelings (which are ſuch as bring forth but one at once) rather to be barren then kept for any gaine. As for wyld and tame fowles, they haue ſuch plentie of them, that the people there account them rather a burthen to theyr ſoyle, then a benefite to their tables. There is alſo a Biſhop of the Orchades, who hath his Sie, in Pomonia the chiefe of al the Iſlands, wherin alſo are two ſtrong caſtelles, and ſuch hath béen the ſuperſticion of the people here, that there is almoſt no one of them, that hath not one church at the leaſt dedicated to the mother of Chriſt. Finallye there is little vſe of Phiſicke in theſe quarters, leſſe ſtore of Eles, and leaſt of frogges. As for ẏ horſes that are bred amongſt them, they are commonlye not much greater then Aſſes, and yet to labour and trauaile, a man ſhall finde very fewe elſewhere, able to come néere, much leſſe to matche with them, in holding out their labours.

From the Orchades vntill we come ſouthwardes to the Scarre, which lyeth in Buquham neſſe, I finde no mention of any Iſle ſcituate vpon that coaſt, neyther greatly from thence, vntill we come at the forth, that leadeth vp to Sterling, wherein we paſſe by ſeuen or eyght ſuch as they be, of which the firſt called the May, the ſeconde Baas and Garwy, the third doe ſéeme to be inhabited. From theſe alſo holding on our courſe towarde England, we paſſe by another yle, wherin Faux caſtell ſtandeth, and this ſo farre as my ſkill ſerueth is the laſt Iſland of the Scottiſh ſide, in compaſſing whereof I am not able to diſcerne, whether their flattes and ſhallowes, number of Iſlandes without name, confuſion of ſcituation, lacke of true deſcriptiō, or mine owne ignoraunce hath troubled me moſt. No marueyle therefore that I haue béene ſo oft on ground, among them. But moſt ioyful am I yͭ am come home againe: & although not by yͤ Thames mouth into my natiue citie (whiche taketh his name of Troye) yet into yͤ Engliſhe dominion where good entertaynement is much more franke and copious, and better harborow, wherein to reſt my wery bones, & eaſily refreſhe my wetherbeaten carkaſe.

Lindeſ-farne or holy Iland

Farne.

Puffins.

S. Cuthbertes foules.

Litle England.

Merſey.

Foulneſſe.

The firſt Iſland therfore, which commeth to our ſight, after we paſſed Barwyc, is that which was ſometime called Lindefarne, but now Holly Iſlande, and contayneth 8. myles a place much honoured among our Monaſticall writers, bycauſe diuers monkes & Heremites dyd ſpende theyr times therein. There was alſo the Byſhoppes Sée of Lindefarne, for a long ſeaſon, which afterwarde was trāſlated to Dunelme or Durham. Next vnto this is the Iſle of Farne, and herein is a place of defence ſo farre as I remember, & ſo great ſtore of Egges layed there by diuers kindes of Wildfoule in time of the yere, that a man ſhall hardly runne for a wager on the plaine groūd without the breach of many before his race be finiſhed. About Farne alſo lie certayne yles greater then Farne it ſelf, but voyde of inhabitaunts & in theſe alſo is great ſtore of Puffins, graie as Duckes, and without couloured fethers, ſauing that they haue a white ring round about their neckes. There is moreouer another Birde, which the people call ſaint Cuthbertes foules, a very tame and gentle creature, and eaſie to be taken. After this we came to the Cocket Iſlād, ſo called bycauſe it lyeth ouer agaynſt the fall of cocke water. And here is a vayne of meane ſeacole, which the people digge out of the ſhore at the low water. And from thence vntill we came vnto the coſt of Norfolke I ſaw no mo Iſlands. Being therefore paſt S. Edmonds point, we ſaw a litle Iſle ouer againſt the fall of the water that commeth frō Holkham, and likewyſe an other ouer againſt the Clay, before we came at Waburne hope: the thirde alſo in Yarmouth ryuer ouer agaynſt Bradwell a towne in low or little England, wherof alſo I muſt néedes ſay ſomewhat, bycauſe it is in maner an Iſland, and as I geſſe eyther hath béene or may be one, for the brodeſt place of the Strictlande that leadeth to the ſame, it little aboue a quarter of a myle, which againſt the raging waues of the ſea, can make but ſmal reſiſtence. Litle England or low Englande therefore is about 8. miles in length and foure in bredth, very well repleniſhed with townes, as Friſtan, Burgh caſtel, Olton, Flixtō, Leſtoft, Guntō, Blundſton, Corton, Lownd, Aſheby, Horton, Belton, Bradwel, & Gorleſton, and beſide this it is very fruitfull and indued with all commodities. Going forwarde from hence, by the Eſton neſſe (almoſt an Iſlande,) I ſawe a ſmall percell cut from the maine in Orforde hauen, yͤ Langerſtone in Orwell mouth, two péeces or Iſlettes at Cattywade Bridge, thē caſting about vnto yͤ Colne, we beholde Merſey which is a pretie Iſlande, well furniſhed with wood. It was ſomtime a great receptacle for the Danes, when they inuaded Englande, howbeit at this preſent it hath beſide two decaied Blackhouſes, two Pariſh churches of wich one is called Eaſt Merſey, the other weſt Merſey & both vnder the Archdeacon of Colcheſter as percell of his iuriſdictiō. Fowlneſſe is an Iſle voyde of wood, & yet wel repleniſhed with very good graſſe for nette and ſhéepe, whereof the inhabitaunts haue great plentie: there is alſo a Pariſh church, and albeit that it ſtande ſomewhat diſtaunt from the ſhore, yet at a dead low water a man ryde thereto if he be ſkilfull of the Cawſie.

Ouſey.

Northey.

Ramſey.

Key.

In Maldon water are in lyke ſorte thrée Iſlands, enuironned with the ſalt ſtreames, as S. Oſithes, Northey and another (after a merſhe) that beareth no name ſo far as I remember. On the right hand alſo as we went toward the ſea againe, we ſaw Ramſey Iſle, or rather a Peninſula or Bylande, and likewyſe the Key, in which is a Chappell of S. Peter. And then coaſting vpō the mouth of yͤ Bourne, we ſaw yͤ Wallot Iſle & his mates, wherof two lye by Eaſt of Wallot, and the forth is Foulneſſe, excepte I be deceyued, for here my memorye fayleth me, on the one ſide and information on the other, I meane cōcerning yͤ placing of foulneſſe. But to procéede, after this and being entered into the Thames mouth, I finde no Iſlande of anye name, except you accompt Rochford hundred for one, whereof I haue no mind to entreate, more then of Crowland, Merſland, Ely, and the reaſt, that are framed by the Ouze and Auon (two noble riuers her after to be deſcribed) ſith I touch only thoſe that are enuironned with the ſea, or ſaltwater rounde about, as wée maye ſée in the Canway Iſles, which ſome doe liken to an Ipocraſe bag, ſome to a vice, ſkrew, or wide ſléeue, bycauſe they are very ſmall at the eaſt end, and large at weſt. The ſalte rilles alſo that croſſe the ſame doe ſo ſeperate the one of them frō the other, that they reſemble the ſlope courſe of the cutting part of a ſkrew or gimlet, in very perfite maner, if a man doe imagine himſelfe to looke downe from the top of the maſt vppon them. Betwéene theſe, moreouer and the Leighe towne lyeth another little Iſle, whoſe name is to me vnknowen. Certes I woulde haue gone to lande and viewed theſe percelles as they lay, but foraſmuch as a Perry of winde (ſcarſe cōparable to the makrell gale wherof Iohn Aneld, one of the beſt ſeamē that england euer bredde, was wont to talke) caught holde of our ſayles, and caryed vs forth the right way toward London, I coulde not tary to ſée what thinges were hereabouts. This much therefore of our Ilandes, and ſo much may well ſuffice.

Canway.

Of the riſyng and falles of ſuch ryuers and ſtreames, as deſcende into the ſea without alteration of their names, and firſt of thoſe that lye betwéene the Thames and the Sauerne. Cap. 9.

Hauing as you haue ſéene attempted to ſet downe a full diſcourſe of all the Ilandes, that are ſcituate vppon the coaſt of Britayne, and finding the ſucceſſe not correſpondent to myne intent; it hath cauſed me ſomewhat to reſtrayne my purpoſe in this deſcription of our riuers. For whereas I intended at the firſt to haue written at large of the number, ſcituation, names, quantities, Townes, Villages, Caſtles, Mountaynes, Freſh waters, Plaſhes, or Lakes, Salt waters, and other commodities of the aforeſayd Iſles, myne expectation of information from all partes of Englande, was ſo deceyued in the ende, that I was fayne at laſt, onelye to leane to that which I knewe my ſelfe eyther by reading or ſuch other helpe as I had already purchaſed and gotten of the ſame. And euen ſo it happeneth alſo in this my tractatiō of waters, of whoſe heads, courſes, lēgth, bredth, depth of Chanell (for burden) ebbes, flowinges, and falles, I had thought to haue made a perfect deſcriptiō. But now for want of inſtruction, which hath béene largelye promiſed, and ſlackly perfourmed, and other ſodayne and iniurious denyall of helpe voluntarily offred, without occaſion gyuen on my part, I muſt néedes content my ſelf with ſuch obſeruations as I haue eyther obtayned by myne owne experience, or gathered frō tyme to tyme out of other mens writings: wherby the full diſcourſe of the whole is vtterly cut of, and in ſtéede of the ſame a mangled rehearſall of the reſidue, ſet downe and left in memorie. Wherefore I beſéech your Honour to pardon this imperfection and rudeneſſe of my labour, which notwithſtanding is not altogither in vayne, ſith my errors may proue a ſpurre vnto the better ſkilled, eyther to correct, or inlarge where occaſion ſerueth, or at the leaſt wiſe to take in hande a more abſolute péece of worke as better direction ſhall encorage them thereto. The entraunce and beginning of euery thing is the hardeſt, and hée that beginneth well hath atchieued halfe hys purpoſe. The Iſe my Lorde is broken, and from henceforth it wil be more eaſie for ſuch as ſhall come after to wade through with the reaſt, ſith facile eſt inuētis addere, and to conioyne and finiſhe, is not ſo great a matter in building, as to attempt and laye the foundation or platforme of any noble péece of workmanſhippe, though it be but rudely handled. But to my purpoſe as I began at ỹ Thames in my deſcription of Ilandes, ſo will I now do the like with that of riuers: making mine entrie at the ſayde ryuer it ſelfe, which hath his heade or beginning out of the ſide of an hyll, ſtanding in the playnes of Cotteſwolde, about one mile from Tetbury nére vnto the Foſſe (an hygh waye ſo called of olde) where it was ſometyme named Iſis or the Ouſe, although dyuers doe ignorauntlye call it the Thames, euen there, rather of a fooliſhe cuſtome then of anye ſkill, bycauſe they eyther neglect or vtterly are ignoraunt, how it was named at the firſt. From hence it runneth directly toward the eaſt, where it méeteth with the Cyrne or Churne, (a brooke called in latin Corinium) whereof Cyrneceſter towne by which it commeth doth take the name. From hence it haſteth to Créekelade (alias Crekanford) Lechlade, Radcotebridge, Newbridge, & Enſham (receiuing by the way an infinit ſort of ſmall ſtreames, brokes, beckes, waters, & rundelles) & here on this ſide of the towne deuiding it ſelfe into two courſes, of which the one goeth ſtraight to Botley, and Hinkſey, the other by Godſtow, a village not farre of. This latter ſpreadeth it ſelfe alſo for a whyle

Thameſis.

Corinium.

Charwell.

Some write that the maine ſtreame was brought thither which ran before betwene Anderſey and Culenham

If Oxford it ſelfe be not to bee called Ouſeford thereof.

Pontium.

S. Mary ouer Rhee.

Kenet.

Thetis.

Cole.

Brene.

Darwent.

into ſundry ſmaller braunches, which runne not farre ere they be reunited, and then beclipping ſundry pleaſaunt meadowes, it paſſeth at length by Oxeforde, where it meeteth with the Charwell, and a little from whence the originall braunches doe ioyne agayne and go togither by Abbandune (or Abington, as we call it,) although no part of it at the firſt came ſo neere the Towne as it doth now, till a braunch thereof was led thyther from the mayne ſtreame, through the induſtrie of the monkes as (beſide the teſtimonie of olde recordes thereof yet extant to be ſeene) by the decay of Dorcheſter it ſelf, ſomtime the commõ thorowfare from Wales, and the Weſt countrey to London, which inſued vpon this fact, is eaſie to bee ſeene. From hence it goeth to Dorcheſter and ſo to Thame, where ioyning with a riuer of the ſame denomination, it loſeth the name of Iſis or Ouſe, (whereof Ouſeney at Oxeforde is produced) and frõ thenceforth is called Thameſis. From Thame it goeth to Wallingforde and ſo to Reading, which ſome of the number of Bridges there doe call Pontium, albeit that the Engliſhe name doe proceede rather from Rhe, or Ree the Saxon word for a water courſe or riuer which may be ſeene in Oueree or Sutherey, for ouer the Ree or South of the Rhe as the ſkilfull can coniecture. But howſoeuer that matter ſtandeth after it hath paſſed by Reading, and there receyued the Kenet, which commeth from the hilles that lye Weſt of Marleborough, and then the Thetis, commonly called the Tyde that commeth from the Thetiſforde: it hyeth to Sudlington, or Maydenheade, and ſo to Wyndleſhore (or Windſore) Eaton & then to Chertſey, where Erkenwalde Biſhoppe of London, ſomtime buylded a religious Houſe, as I doe reade. From Chertſeye it haſteth dyrectlye vnto Stanes, and receyuing an other ſtreame by the waye, called the Cole, (whereupon Colbrooke ſtandeth) it goeth by Kingſtone Shene Sion, and Brentforde, where it meeteth the Brane or the Brene, another Brooke diſcending from Edgeworth whoſe name ſignifieth a Frogge, in the Brittiſh ſpeache. Vppon thys alſo Sir Iohn Thimme, had ſometyme a ſtately houſe wyth marueylous prouiſion to incloſe and retayne ſuch fiſhe as ſhoulde come about the ſame. From Brentforde it paſſeth by Mortlach, Putney, Fulham, Batterſey, Chelſey, Lambeth, and ſo to London. Finallye going from thence vnto the ſea, it taketh the Lee in this by the waye vpon the Coaſt of Eſſex, and the Darnt vpõ Kentſide, which riſeth neere to Tanrige, and commeth by Shoreham, vnto Derntforde, whereunto the Cray falleth. And laſt of all the Mydway a notable ryuer, (in mine opinion) which watereth all the South, and Southweſt part of Kent, and whoſe deſcription is not to be omitted in his place.

Cray.

Samons.

Rocheſter Shrimpes & Weſterne Flounders the beſt.

Carpes a fiſhe late brought into England, and later into the Thames.

Thus we ſee the whole tract and courſe of ẏ Thames by whoſe head and fall, it is euident that the length therof is at the leaſt, one hundreth and eighty miles, if it be meaſured by ẏ iourneyes of the land. And as it is in courſe, the longeſt of the three famous riuers of thys Iſle, ſo it is nothing inferiour vnto them, in abundance of all kinde of fiſhe, whereof it is harde to ſay, which of them haue eyther moſt plentie, or greateſt varietie, if the circumſtãces be duely weighed. What ſhould I ſpeake of the fat and ſweete Samons, dayly taken in this ſtreame, & that in ſuch plentye, as no ryuer in Europa, is able to exceede it, but what ſtore alſo of Barbelles, Troutes, Cheuins, Pearches, Smelts, Breames, Roches, Daces, Gudgins, Flounders, Shrimps, Eles, &c. are commõly to be had therein, I referre me to them, that knowe the ſame by experience. And albeit it ſeemeth from time to time, to be as it were defrauded in ſundrye wiſe, of theſe hir large commodities, by the inſaciable auarice of ẏ fiſhermen, yet this famous ryuer cõplayneth of no wante, but the more it loſeth at one tyme, the more it yeeldeth at another. Onely in Carpes it ſeemeth to bee ſcant, ſith it is not long ſince that kynde of fiſhe was brought ouer into Englande, and but of late to ſpeake of, into this ſtreame by the violent rage of ſundry Landfloudes, that brake open the heades and dammes of dyuers Gentlemens pondes, by which meanes it became pertaker alſo of this ſaid commoditie, whereof earſt it had no portion that I coulde euer heare of.

South weſt, and north eaſt Moones, make full ſea at Londen: as the full and chaunge doth higheſt tydes, which we commonly call ſpring tides.

The iuſt diſtaunce, betwene one tyde, & another.

Furthermore the ſayde riuer floweth and filleth all his channels twyſe in the daye and night, that is in euery 12. houres once, & thys ebbing and flowing, holdeth on for the ſpace of ſeauentye miles, within the mayne lande: the ſtreame or tyde, being alwayes hygheſt at Londõ, when the Moone doth exactly touch the northeaſt and ſouth or weſt pointes, of the heauens, of which one is viſible, the other vnder the earth, and not ſubiect to our ſight.

Theſe tydes alſo differ in their tymes eche one comming latter then other, by ſo manye mynutes as paſſe ere the reuolucion and naturall courſe of the heauens doe reduce, and bring about the ſayde Plannet, vnto thoſe hir former places: whereby the common difference betweene one tyde and another, is founde to conſiſt of twentye foure mynutes, which wãteth but twelue of an whole houre, in 24 as experience doth confirme.

The ſtreame of: checked in hir entrãce into the nd.

This order of flowing likewiſe is parpetuall, except rough winds doe happen to checke the ſtreame in hir comming, or elſe ſome other occaſion, put by the ordinary courſe of the Northen ſeas, which fyll the ſayde ryuer by their naturall returne and flowing. And that both theſe doe happen eft among, I referre me to ſuch as haue not ſildome obſerued it. For ſometime the huge wind kepeth back a great part of the floudde, whereby the tyde is differred (though neuer altogyther put by) and ſometyme there happen thrée or foure tydes in one naturall daye, whereof the vnſkilful do deſcant many things. I would here make mencion of ſundry bridges placed ouer this noble ſtreame, of which that of London is moſt chiefly to be cõmended, for it is manner a continuall Stréete, well repleniſhed with large and ſtatelye houſes on both ſides, & ſcituate vpon twentie Arches, whereof eche one is made of excellent frée ſquared ſtone, euery of theym being thréeſcore fote in height, and full twentie in diſtaunce one from another.

London bridge.

2000. Wherries vpon the thames and 3000. poore men maintained by ý ſame whoſe gains come in moſt plẽtifuly in the terme time

In lyke maner I coulde intreat of the infinite number of ſwannes dayly to be ſéene vpon thys riuer, the two thouſand Whirries and ſmall bots, whereby thrée thouſand poore watermen are maintained, through the cariage and recariage, of ſuch perſons as paſſe, or repaſſe, from tyme to tyme vppon the ſame: beſide thoſe huge tyde botes, tiltbotes & barges, which eyther carry paſſengers, or bryng neceſſary prouiſion, from all quarters of Oxefordſhyre, Barkeſhyre, Buckinghamſhyre, Bedfordeſhyre, Herforde ſhyre, Mydellſex, Eſſex, Surry and Kent, vnto the Citie of London. But forſomuch as theſe thynges are to be repeated againe in the particuler diſcription of London, annexed to thys Carde. I ſuceſſe at this tyme to ſpeake any more of them as alſo of the ryuer it ſelf, wherefore let thys ſuffyſe.

Midway.

Dunus.

Frethus.

Theiſe.

Grane alias Cranus.

Next vnto the Thames we haue the midway water, which falleth into the mayne ſea at Shepey. It ariſeth Warde forreſt in Suſſex, and when it is come ſo farre as Whethelin towne, it méeteth a little by north thereof, with the Done, which deſcendeth from waterdon forreſt, and from whence they go on togyther, as one by Aſhehirſt, where hauing receyued alſo the ſeconde brooke, it haſteth to Pẽſherſt, & there carrieth with all the Eden, that commeth from Lingfielde parke. After thys it goeth into the South eaſt parte of Kent, and taketh with it the Frith or Firth, on the north weſt ſyde, and an other lyttle ſtreame that commeth from the hylles, betwéene Peuenbury and Horſemon, on the ſouth eſt. From thence alſo & not farre from Palling it receiueth the Theiſe (a pretye ſtreame that ariſeth about Theiſe Hirſt) and afterwarde the Gran or crane, which hauing hys heade not farre from Cranbrooke, and méeting with ſundry other reuellettes by the way, whereof one braunche of Theiſe is the laſt, (for it parteth at the Twiſt, and includeth a prety Iſlande) doth ioyne with the ſaid Medway, a litle aboue Palding, & then with the Lowſe. Finally at Maidſtone, it méeteth wyth another brooke, whoſe name I knowe not, and then paſſeth by Allington, Dutton, Newhide, Halling, Cuckeſtane, Roſcheſter, Chattham, Gillingham, Vpchurch, Kingſferry, and falleth into the maine ſea, betwene Shepey and the Grane.

Some ſaye that it is called mydway water becauſe it falleth into the ſea mydway, betwéene the north foreland and London: yet ſome not hauing anye ſuch conſideration, doe name it the Medow ſtreame, whereof I thought good alſo to leaue this ſhort admonition.

Sturius.

Nailburne water alſo as I heare about Cantwarbiry, but I wote not wherabout.

Wantſome.

After the Midway whoſe diſcription I haue partely gathered out of the Leland, and partly out of Maiſter Lamberts perambulatõ of Kẽt, we haue ý Stoure that riſeth at Kingeſwoode which is fourtéene or fiftéene myles, frõ Canterbury. This riuer paſſeth by Aſheforde, Wie, Nackington, Canterbury, Fordiſh, Standiſh, and Sturemouth, where it receyueth another ryuer, which hath 3. branches, wherof one called Bredge goeth by Biſhips bourne, the other named Wyham, beginneth about Adham, and the thirde (nameleſſe) rũneth by Staple to Wingham. Afterwarde our Stoure or Sture parteth it ſelfe in twaine, and in ſuch wyſe that one arme thereof goeth towarde the North, and is called (when it commeth at the ſea) the Northmouth of Stoure, the other runneth Southeaſt warde vp to Rycheborow & ſo to Sandwiche, from whence it goeth Northeaſt agayne & falleth into the ſea. The iſſue of this latter tract is called the hauen of Sandwiche and peraduenture the ſtreame that commeth downe thither, after the diuiſiõ of the Stoure, may be the ſame, which Beda calleth Wantſome, but as I cãnot vndo this knot at will, ſo this is certaine, that the Stoure on the one ſide, and peraduenture, the Wantſome on the other parteth & cutteth the Tenet from the maine lande of Kent, wherby it is left for an Iland and ſo repleniſhed with townes, as I haue notified before, in ý chapter that ſpeaketh of our Ilandes.

There are other little Brookes, which fall into the Stoure of which Lelande ſpeaketh, as Fiſhpoole becke, that aryſeth in Stonehirſtwood and meeteth with it foure myles from Canterbury: an other beginneth at Chiſclet, ⁊ goeth into the Stoure gut, which ſometime incloſed Thanet, as Leylande ſaieth, the thirde iſſueth out of the grounde at Northburne (where Eadbert of Kent ſome time paſt held his pallace ⁊) runneth to Sādwich hauen, as the ſayde Author reporteth, ⁊ the fourth called Bridge water that ryſeth by S. Marie Burne church, ⁊ meeteth with Canterbury water at Stourmouth: alſo Wyham that ryſeth aboue Wyham, and falleth into Bredge water at Dudmyll, or Wenderton: but ſith they are eyther obſcure or nameleſſe ⁊ thereto not reſeruing there names till they come at the ſea, I paſſe them ouer as not to be touched here. From hence vnto Douer I finde no ſtreame by reaſon of the Clyffes, that enuironne the ſayde coaſt: howbeit vpon the South ſide of Douer there is a pretie freſh ryuer, whoſe head aryſeth at Erwell, not paſſing foure myles from the ſea, and of ſome is called Dour, which in the Brittiſhe tongue is a common name for all waters. And thereof alſo it is lykely that the towne and Caſtell of Douer dyd ſometyme take the name. From hence we go towarde the Camber, (omitting paraduenture here and there ſundrye ſmall Creekes, ⁊ Beckes, by the way) whereabouts the Rother, a noble riuer falleth into yͤ ſea. This Rother hath his head in Suſſex not far from Argas hill neere to Waterden forreſt, and from thence directeth his courſe vnto Rotherfield. After this it goeth to Ethlingham or Hitchingham, and ſo forth by Newendon vnto Matthamferry, where it deuided it ſelfe in ſuch wiſe, that one braunche thereof goeth to Appledour (where it meeteth wͭ the Bily that ryſeth about Bilſington) the other by Iden, ſo that it includeth a fine percell of grounde called Oxney, which in times paſt was reputed as a percell of Suſſex, but now vpon ſome occaſion or other, it is annexed vnto Kent. From hence alſo growing into ſome greatneſſe, it runneth to Rie, where it meeteth finally with the Becke, which commeth from Beckley, ſo that the plot wherein Rye ſtandeth, is in maner a Bylande or Peninſula, as experience doth confirme. Lelande and moſt men are of the opinion that this ryuer ſhoulde be called the Limene, howbeit in our time it is knowen by none other name, then the Rother or Appledour water, whereof let this ſuffice.

Dour.

Parentheſis

Rother.

Bily.

Becke.

Limenas.

Being thus croſſed ouer to the Weſt ſide of Rye hauen, and in viewing the iſſues that fal into the ſame, I meete firſt of all with a water that groweth of two brookes, which come downe by one Chanell into the eaſt ſide of the mouth of the ſayde Port. The firſt therefore that falleth into it, deſcendeth from Beckley or thereabouts, as I take it, the next runneth along by Peſemarſh, and ſoone after ioyning withall, they holde on as one, till they fall into the ſame at the Weſterly ſide of Rye. The third ſtreame commeth from the North, and as it mounteth vp not farre from Munfield, ſo it runneth betweene Seſcamb and Waclington neere vnto Bread, taking another rill with all that ryſeth as I heare not very farre from Weſtfield. There is likewyſe a fourth that groweth of two heades, betweene Iclingham and Pet, ⁊ going by Winchelſey it meeteth withall about Rye hauen, ſo that Winchelſey ſtandeth enuironned on three partes with water, and the ſtreames of theſe two that I haue laſt rehearſed.

The water that falleth into the Ocean, a myle by Southweſt of Haſtinges or therabouts, is called Æſtus or Aſten, and riſing not farre from Penhirſt, it meeteth with the ſea, as I heare by Eaſt of Hollington. Buluerhithe is but a creeke as I remember ſerued with no backewater, and ſo I heare of Codding or olde hauen, wherfore I meane not to touche them.

Æſtus.

Buluerehithe.

Into Peuenſey hauen diuers waters doe reſort, ⁊ of theſe that which entereth into the ſame on the Eaſt ſide ryſeth out from two heades, whereof the moſt eaſterly is called Aſhe, the next vnto it the Burne, and vniting themſelues not farre from Aſheburne, they continue their courſe vnder the name and title of Aſheburne water as I reade. The ſeconde that commeth thereinto ryſeth alſo of two heades, wherof the one is ſo many miles from Borham, the other not farre from the Parke eaſt of Hellingſtowne, and both of thē cōcurring Southweſt of Hirſtmowſen, they direct their courſe toward Peuēſey (beneath which they meete wyth an other ryſing at Foyngton) and thence go in one chanell for a myle or more, tyll they fall togither into the Peuenſey hauen.

Peuenſey.

Aſhe

Burne.

The Cuckmer iſſueth out at ſeuerall places, and hereof the more eaſterly braunch cōmeth from Warbleton ward, the other from Biſhoppes wood, and meeting beneath Halling they runne in one bottome by Micham Arlington, Wellington, olde Frithſtan and ſo into the ſea.

Cucomar

Unto the water that cōmeth out at Newhauen ſundry Brookes ⁊ Riuerettes doe reſorte, but the chiefe head ryſeth towarde the Weſt ſomewhat betweene Etchinforde and Shepley as I here. The firſt water therfore

that

Iſis ni fallor.

Sturewell.

Plimus.

that falleth into the ſame on the eaſt ſide, iſſueth out of the grounde about Wertwood, & running from thence by Langhtõ and Ripe, on the Weſt ſide, it falleth into the aforeſayd ryuer beneath Forle and Glyme, or thrée myles lower then Lewys, if the other buttal lyke you not. The next hervnto hath his head in Argas hill, the thirde deſcendeth frõ Athedon forreſt, and ioyning with the laſt mentioned, they croſſe the maine ryuer a little beneath Iſefield. The fourth water commeth from Athedon forreſt by Horſted Caines (or Muſeſtate Caines) and falleth into the ſame, lykewyſe Eaſt of Linfield. Certes I am deceyued if this ryuer be not called Iſis, after it is paſt Iſefield. The fift ryſeth about Storuelgate, and méeteth alſo wyth the maine ſtreame aboue Linfield, & theſe are knowen to lye vpon the right hande as we rowed vp the ryuer. On the other ſide are onely two, whereof the firſt hath his originall néere vnto Wenefield, and holding on his courſe towarde the Eaſt, it méeteth with his maiſter betwéene Newicke and Iſefield, or Ifield as ſome reade it. The laſt of all commeth from Plimodune or Plumpton, and hauing met in like ſort with the maine riuer about Barcham, it runneth forth with it, and the reſt in one chanell by Barcham, Hamſey, Malling, Lewys, Piddingburne, and ſo forth into the maine ſea.

Sora.

Bimarus.

The next ryuer that we came vnto Weſt of Brighthemſton is the Sore, which notwithſtanding I finde to be called Brember water, in the auncient Mappe of Marton Colledge in Oxforde: but in ſuch ſorte (as I take it) as the Rother is called Appledour ſtreame, bycauſe of the ſayd towne that ſtandeth therevpon. But to procéede, it is a pleaſaunt water, and thereto if you conſider the ſcituation of his armes, and braunches from the higher groundes, very much reſembling a fower ſtringed whip. Wherabout the head of this riuer is, or which of theſe braunches may ſafely be called Sora, from the riſing, in good ſooth I can not ſay, for after we had paſſed nyne or tenne myles thereon vp into the lande, ſodainly the croſſe waters ſtopped vs, ſo that we were inforced to turne either eaſt or weſt, for direcly forth ryght we had no way to go. The firſt arme on the ryght hand as we went, ryſeth out of a Parke by South of Alborne, and going on for a certayne ſpace toward the Northweſt, it turneth ſouthward betwéene Shermonbury and Twinham, and ſoone after méeteth with yͤ Bymar, not much South from Shermonbury, whence they run togither almoſt two myles, till they fall into the Sore. That on the Weſt ſide deſcendeth from about Billingeſhirſt, & going towarde the eaſt, it croſſeth wͭ the fourth (which ryſeth a little by Weſt of Thacam) eaſt from Pulborow, and ſo they run as one into the Sore; that after this cõfluence haſteth it ſelf ſouthwarde by Brember, Burleis, the Combes, and ere long into the Ocean.

Aruntus.

The Aron (of which beſide Arundel towne the Caſtell and the valey, wherin it runneth is called Vallis Aruntina, or Arundale in Engliſh) is a goodly water and thereto increaſed with no ſmall number of excellent & pleaſaunt brookes. It ſpringeth vp of two heades, whereof one deſcendeth from the North not farre from Gretham, & going by Lis, méeteth with the next ſtreame, as I geſſe about Dourſford houſe. The ſecond riſeth by Weſt from the hilles that lye towarde the ryſing of the ſunne from Eaſtmaine and runneth by Peterfield. The thirde commeth from Beryton warde and ioyneth with the ſecond betwéene Peterfield and Dourſforde, after which cõfluence they go togither in one chanell ſtill toward the Eaſt, (taking a rill with them that commeth betwéene Fernehirſt and S. Lukes Chappell, ſouthweſt of Linchemere & meting with it Eaſt of Loddeſworth as I doe reade, and lykewyſe ſundrye other in one Chanell beneath Sopham) to Waltham, Bury, Houghton, Stoke, Arundell, Cortington forde, Climping (all on the Weſt ſide,) and ſo into the ſea. Hauing thus deſcribed the weſt ſide of Arun, let vs doe the lyke with the other in ſuch ſorte as we beſt may. The firſt riuer that we come vnto therfore on the Eaſt ſide, and alſo the ſeconde riſe at ſundry places in S. Leonards forreſt, and ioyning a lyttle aboue Horſham, they mete with the thirde, which commeth from Iſfeld Parke, not verye farre from Slinfeld. The fourth hath two heads, whereof one ryſeth in Witley Parke, the other by weſt, néere vnto Heſelmére chappell, and méeting by weſt of Dourſfeld, they vnyte themſelues with the chanell, growing by the confluence that I ſpake of beneath Slinfeld, a little aboue Billingeſhirſt. The laſt water commeth from the hilles aboue Linchemére, and runneth weſt and South, and paſſing betwene Billingſhirſt and Stopham it commeth vnto the channell laſt mencioned, & ſo into the Arun, beneath Stopham, without anye farder increaſe, at the leaſt that I doe here of.

Burne.

Burne hath his iſſue in a Parke, néere Aldingburne (or rather a litle aboue yͤ ſame toward the North, as I haue ſince béene informed,) and running by the bottomes toward the ſouth, it falleth into the ſea betwéene north Berſtete and Fleſham.

Eryn. Eryn riſeth of ſundry heddes, by eaſt of Erynley and directing his courſe toward the ſunne ryſing, it pennisulateth Seleſey, and falleth into the Ocean betwéene Seleſey towne on the ſouthweſt & Pagham at north weſt.

Delus. Del ſpringeth about Benderton, & thence running betwéene midle Lauaunt and Eaſt Lauaunt, it goeth by weſt of Weſt Hampnet, by eaſt of Chicheſter, or Weſt of Rumbaldeſoowne, and afterwarde by Fiſhburne, where it méeteth with a ril comming North weſt from Funtingdon (a little beneath the towne) and then running thus in one ſtreame towarde the ſea, it méeteth with another rillet comming by Northe of Boſham and ſo into Auant gulf by Eaſt of Thorney Iſland.

Racunus. The Racon riſeth by eaſt of Racton or Racodunum and cōming by Chidham, it falleth into the ſea, Northeſt of Thorney aforeſayde.

Emill. The Emill commeth firſt betwéene Racton and Stanſted then downe to Emilſworth or Emmeſworth, and ſo vnto the Ocean, ſeparating Suſſex from Hāpſhyre almoſt from the very head.

Hauing in this maner paſſed along the coaſtes of Suſſex. The next water that I remēber, ryſeth by eaſt of the forreſt of Eſtbyry, from whence it goeth by Southwyke, Weſt Burhunt, Farham, and ſo into the gulfe almoſt full South.

Badunus. forté. Forten. Oſterpole. Then come we to Bedenham Créeke (ſo called of a village ſtanding thereby,) the mouth whereof lyeth almoſt directly agaynſt Porcheſter Caſtell, which is ſcituate about 3. miles by water from Porteſmouth towne, as Lelande doth report. Then go we within halfe a myle farder to Forten Créeke, which eyther gyueth or taketh name of a village harde by. After this we come to Oſterpoole Lake, a great Créeke, which goeth vp by weſt into the land, and lyeth not far from a rounde tower of ſtone, from whence alſo there goeth a chaine, to another Tower on the eaſt ſide directly ouer againſt it, whereby the entraunce of great veſſels into that part maye be at pleaſure reſtrayned.

Tichefield. From hence wée goe further to Tichefeld water, that riſeth about Eſtmaine park, ten or twelue myles by northeaſt or there about from Tichfeld. From Eſtmaine it goeth (parting the forreſtes of Waltham, and Caſtbery by the waye) to Wicham or Wicomb, a prety market towne and large thorowfare, where alſo the water ſeperateth it ſelfe into two armelettes, and goyng vnder two bridges of wóode, commeth ere long agayne vnto one Chanell. From hence it goeth thrée or foure myles farder, to a bridge of tymber by Maiſter Writhoſeleyes houſe, (leauing Tichfelde towne on the right ſide) & a little beneath runneth vnder Ware bridg whether the ſea floweth as hir natural courſe inforceth. Finally within a mile of this bridge it goeth into the water of Hampton hauen, wherunto diuers ſtreames reſort as you ſhal heare hereafter.

Hamelriſh. After this we come to Hamble hauen, or Hamelriſh créeke, whoſe fall is betwéene S. Andrewes caſtell, and Hoke. It riſeth about Shidford in waltham forreſt, and when it is paſt Croke bridge, it méeteth with another brooke, which riſeth not farre frō Biſhoppes Waltham, out of ſundry ſpringes in the high way, to Wincheſter, from whence it paſſeth as I ſayde by Biſhoppes Waltham, then to Budeley or Botley, and ſo ioyning with the Hamble, they runne togither by Prowlingſworth, Upton, Bruſill, Hamble towne, and ſo into the ſea.

South-hampton. Now come we to the hauē of ſouth Hampton, which I will briefely deſcribe ſo neare as I can poſſibly. The bredth or entry of the mouth herof, as I take it, is by eſtimatiō two miles from ſhore to ſhore. At the weſt poynt therof alſo is a ſtrong caſtell lately builded which is rightly named Caldſhore, but now Calwſhot, I wote not by what occaſion. On yͤ eaſt ſide thereof alſo, is a place called Hoke (afore mētioned) or Hamell hoke, wherin are not aboue thrée or foure fiſhers houſes, not worthy to be remembred. This hauen ſhooteth vp on the weſt ſide by the ſpace of ſeauen miles, vntill it come to Hamptō towne, ſtanding on the other ſide, where it is by eſtimation a mile from lande to lande. Thence it goeth vp further about thrée myles to Redbridge ſtill ebbing and flowing thither, and one myle farther, ſo farre as my memorye doeth ſerue mée. Nowe it reſteth that I deſcribe the Alreſforde ſtreame, which I will procéede withall in this order following.

Alreſford. The Alreſforde beginneth of diuers faire ſprings, about a mile or more fro Alreſford, or Alforde as it is now called, & ſoone after reſorting to one bottome, they becomee a brode lake, which for the moſt part is called Alford pond. Afterwarde returning againe to a narrowe chanell, it goeth thorow a ſtone bridge at the ende of Alforde towne, (leauing the towne it ſelfe on the left hand) toward Hichingſtocke thrée myles of, but ere it commeth there, it receiueth two rylles in one bottome, wherof one commeth frō the Forreſt in maner at hande, and by northweſt of olde Alreſforde, the other from Browne Candiuer, that goeth by Northenton, Swarewotton, Aber-ſtone.&c. vntill we méete with the ſayd water beneath Alſorde towne. Being paſt Ichinſtocke, it commeth by Auington to Elſon village, and to Worthy, where it beginneth to braunch, and eche arme to part it ſelfe into other, that reſorte to Hyde and the lower ſoyles by Eaſt of Wincheſter, there ſeruing ỷ ſtréetes, the cloſe of S. Maries, Wolueſey, and the new Colledge very plentifully wyth their water. But in this meane while the great ſtreame commeth from Worthy to the eaſt bridg, & ſo to S. Elizabeth Colledge, where it doth alſo parte in twayne, enuironing the ſayd houſe in moſt dilectable maner. After this it goeth towarde S. Croſſes, leauing it a quarter of a mile on the right hand: then to Twiford (a myle lower) where it gathereth agayne into one bottome, and goeth ſixe miles farder to Wodmill, taking the Otter brooke withall, on the eaſt ſide, and ſo into the ſalt créeke that leadeth downe to the hauen.

Otter.

On the other ſide of Southampton, there reſorteth into this hauen alſo, both the Teſte and the Stockebridge water in one bottome, whereof I finde thys large deſcription inſuing.

Stocke.

The very head of the Stocke water, is ſuppoſed to bée ſomewhere about Baſing ſtoke, or Church Hockley; and going from thence betwene Ouerton & Steuenton, it commeth at laſt by Lauerſtocke and Whitchurch, and ſone after receyuing a brooke, by Northweſt called the Bourne (diſcending from S. Mary Bburne, ſoutheaſt from Horſeburne) it procéedeth by Long paroch and the Woodde, till it méete with the Cranburne, on the eaſt ſide (a prety riueret ryſing about Michelney, and going by Fullington, Barton, and to Cranburne) thence to Horwell in one bottome, beneth which it méeteth with the Andeuer water, that is increaſed ere it come there by another brooke, whoſe name I doe not knowe. This Andeuer ſtreame, ryſeth in Culhāſhire forreſt, not far by north from Andeuer towne & going to vpper Clatford, ere it touch there it receyueth the Rill of which I ſpake before, which ryſing alſo néere vnto Anport, goeth to Monkeſton, to Abbateſham, the Andeuer, and both as I ſaid vnto the Teſt beneth Horwel, whereof I ſpake euen nowe. Theſe ſtreames being thus brought into one botom it rūneth toward the South, vnder ſtockbridge, & ſone after diuiding it ſelfe in twayne, one braunch thereof goeth by Houghton, & a litle beneath méeteth wyth a Ryll, that commeth from by Weſt of S. Annes hyll, and goeth by Eaſt of vpper Wallop, Weſt of nether Wallop, by Bucholt Forreſt, Broughton, and called as I haue béene informed ỷ Gallop, but nowe it is named Wallop. The other arme runneth thorowe the Parke, by North weſt of Kings Somburne, and vniting themſelues agayne, they go forth by Motteſhunt, and the receyue the Teſt, a prety water ryſing in Clarendun Parke, that goeth by Weſt Deane, and Eaſt Deane, ſo to Motteſhunt, and finally to the aforeſayde water, which from thenceforth is called the Teſte, euen vnto the Sea. But to procéede. After this confluence, it taketh the gate to Kimb bridge, then to Rumſey, Longbridge, and beneath the ſame receiueth a concourſe of two rilles whereof the one commeth from Sherefielde, the other from the newe Forreſt, and ioyning in Wadely Park, they beate vppon the Teſte, not very farre from Hurſeling. From thence the Teſt goeth vnder a pretye bridge, before it come at Redbridge, from whence it is not long ere it fall into the hauen.

Bourne.

Walopius

Teſte.

The next riuer that runneth into this port, ſpringeth in the new Forreſt, and commeth thereinto about Eling, not paſſing one mile, by weſt of the fall of Teſt. From hence caſting about againe into the maine ſea, and leauing Calde ſhore Caſtle on the ryght hande, wée directed our courſe towarde the Southweſt, vnto Beaulieu hauen wherinto the Miney deſcendeth.

Eling.

The Miney ryſeth not farre from Mineyſtéede a Village in the north part of the newe Forreſt, and going by Beaulieu, it falleth into the ſea ſouthweſt, as I take it, of Exbury, a Village ſtanding vpon the ſhore.

Miney.

Beyng paſt the Miney, wée croſſed the Limen, whoſe heade is in the very heart of the newe Forreſt, and running South weſt of Lindhyrſt and the Parke, it goeth by Eaſt of Brokenhirſt Weſt of Bulder, and finally into the Sea South and by Eaſt of Lemington.

Limen.

The next fall that we paſſed by is nameleſſe, except it be called Bure, & as it deſcendeth from the newe Forreſt, ſo the next vnto it hight Mile, as I haue hearde in Engliſhe. Certes the head thereof, is alſo in the ſouthweſt part of the ſaid Forreſt, and the fall not far from Milforde bridge, beyonde the which I find a narrow going or ſtrickland leading from the poynte to Hirſt Caſtle, which ſtandeth into the Sea, as if it hung by a thred frō the mayne of the Iſlande, ready to be waſhed away, by the continuall and dayly beating of the waues.

Bure.

Milis.

The next riuer that we came vnto of any name is the Auon, which ryſeth by northeaſt, and not far from Wolfe hall, in Wiltſhire. The firſt notable bridge that it rūneth vnto,

Auon.

is at Uphauen, thẽce foure myles farder, it goeth to little Ambreſbury, and there is another bridge, from thẽce to Woodford village, ſtanding at the right hand bank, and Newtõ vilage on the left. The Biſhops of Sarum had a proper Manour place at Woodforde, which Biſhoppe Sharton pulled downe altogither, bicauſe it was ſomewhat in ruine. Thence it goeth to Fiſhertõ bridge, to Cranebridge old Saliſbury, new Saliſbury, & finally to Harnham, which is a ſtately bridge of ſtone, of ſixe arches at the leaſt. There is at the weſt ende of the ſayde bridge, a little Iſland, that lyeth betwixt this and another bridge, of foure pretty arches, and vnder this latter rũneth a good round ſtreame, which as I take it, is a brãch of Auon, that breaketh out a little aboue, and ſoone after it reuniteth it ſelfe agayne: or elſe that Wilton water hath there his entry into the Auon, which I cannot yet determine. Frõ Harneham bridge it goeth to Downton, that is about foure miles, and ſo much in like ſort from thence to Fordingbridge, to Kingwood bridge fiue miles, to Chriſtes church Twinham fiue myles, and ſtrayght into the ſea.

Poole.

The next fall that we come vnto is Poole, from whoſe mouth vpon the ſhore, by South weſt in a bay of thrée miles of, is a poore fiſher towne, called Sandwiche, where we ſawe a péere and a little freſh brooke. The very vtter part of ſaint Adelmes poynt, is fiue miles from Sandwich. In another bay lyeth weſt Lylleworth, where as I heare is ſome profitable herborow for ſhips. The towne of Poole is from Winburne about foure miles, and it ſtandeth almoſt as an Iſle in the hauen. The hauen it ſelfe alſo if a man ſhoulde meaſure it by the circuite, wanteth little of twenty mile, as I did gueſſe by the view.

Wey.

Cheſill.

Waiemouth, or as ſome doe call it Wylemouth, is coũted twenty meles from Poole, & yͤ head of this riuer riſeth not full foure miles aboue the hauen, by northweſt at Uphil in the ſide of a great hill. There is a little barre of ſande at the hauen mouth, & a great arme of yͤ ſea runneth vp by the right hand, and ſcant a mile aboue the hauen mouth on the ſhore, is a right goodly and warlike caſtle made, which hath one open barbicane. This arme rũneth vp alſo farder by a myle as in a baye, to a point of land wher a paſſage is into Portlãd, by a little courſe of pibble ſande. It goeth vp alſo from the ſayd paſſage vnto Abbateſbiry about ſeuen miles of, where a little freſhe rõdell reſorteth to the ſea. And ſomwhat aboue this, is the head or point of the Cheſill lying northweſt, which ſtretcheth vp from thẽce about ſeuẽ miles, as a maine narrow bank, by a right line vnto the ſoutheſt, and there abutteth vpõ Portlande ſcant a quarter of a mile aboue yͤ Newcaſtle there. The nature of this banke is ſuch, that ſo oft as the wind bloweth vehemently at ſoutheaſt, ſo often the ſea beateth in and loſing the banke ſoketh thorowe it: ſo that if this winde ſhould blow from that corner anye long tyme togyther, Portlande ſhoulde be left an Iſlande as it hath beene before. But as the ſoutheſt winde doth appaire this banke, ſo a northweſt doth barre it vp againe. It is prety to note of the Townelet of Waimouth which lieth ſtreight againſt Milton on the other ſide, and of this place where the water of the hauen is but of ſmal bredth, that a rope is cõmonly tied frõ one ſide of the ſhore to an other, whereby the ferry men doe guide their botes without any helpe of Ores. But to procéede wyth our purpoſe. Into the mouth of this riuer doe ſhips often come for ſuccour, & being paſt the ſame, we méete with yͤ fal of a water néere to ſ. Catherins chapple as we ſailed by yͤ Shingle, which came down frõ Litton by Chilcomb, and thence we went to Bruteport water that ariſeth halfe a mile or more aboue Bemiſter, from whence it goeth to Parnham, Netherbury, Melplaſh, & ſo to Bruteport, & afterwarde into yͤ ſea, taking in ſundry waters wͭ al by the way, whereof in my next treatiſe God willing I meane as of diuers other to make a particuler rehearſall. Leuing the Brudeport, we paſſed by Stantõ Gabriell, & beholding Charemouth Beacon a far of, we directed our courſe toward yͤ ſame, but ere we came there, we behelde the fall of Chare, which is a pretye water. It ryſeth about thrée miles aboue Charemouth by north in a parke of the kinges called Marſhewood.

Chare.

Buddle.

Next vnto this is the Buddle, which cõmeth about thrée miles by north of Lyme from the hilles, fléeting vpon rocky ſoyle, and ſo falleth into the ſea.

Axe.

Beyond this is the Axe whoſe iſſue at thys preſent is harde vnder the rootes of Winter cliffes, and the poyntes thereof beyng almoſt a myle in ſunder, the moſt weſterlye of them called Berewood, lyeth within halfe a mile of Seton, but the other toward the eaſt, is called Whitecliffe, wherof I haue ſpoken already. This riuer riſeth a mile northeſt frõ Bemiſter a market Towne, in Dorſet ſhyre, at a place called Axe knoll, (longing to Sir Giles Strangwaies) in a moore hanging on the ſide of an hill. And from thence it runneth to the ruines of an old Abbay called Fordes, about foure or fiue miles from thence, (where it ſéemeth to bée a particion betwéene Sommerſetſhyre and Deuon) then vnto Axe Minſter in Deuonſhyre, and ſo thorowe the Towne it ſelfe, wherein a great ſlaughter was made of Danes in Athelſtanes tyme, at Brunesdon fielde or rather Brunnedon as I read, and whereof I finde thys annotation, in an olde French Chronicle.

„ In the time of Athelſtane, ỹ greateſt Nauie
„ that euer aduentured into thys Iſlande, arri-
„ ued at Seton in Deuonſhyre, beyng replen-
„ ſhed with Aliens that ſought the conqueſt
„ of this Iſland, but Athelſtane mette & encoũ-
„ tred with them in the fielde, where he ouer-
„ threwe 6000. of his aforeſayde enimyes.
„ Not one of them alſo that remayned alyue,
„ eſcaped from the battell wythout ſome dead-
„ lye or very grieuous wound. In this conflicte
„ moreouer were ſlaine fiue kings, which were
„ enterred in the Church yard of Are minſter,
„ and of the part of the king of Englande were
„ kylled eyght Earles of the chiefe of hys no-
„ bilitye, and they alſo buryed in the Church-
„ yarde aforeſayde. Hereunto it addeth howe
„ the Byſhop of Shyreburne was in like ſort
„ ſlaine in thys battell, that began at Brune-
„ dune neere to Colyton, and indured euen to
„ Are minſter, which then was called Brun-
„ bery or Brunburg. The ſame day that this
„ thyng happened the ſunne loſt hys light, and
„ ſo continued without any bryghtneſſe, vntyll
„ the ſetting of that Planet, though otherwyſe
„ the ſeaſon was cleere and nothing clowdye.

But to procéede after our riuer hath paſſed thorow Areminſter towne, it goeth to ỹ bridg thereby (where ſone after it receiueth the the Artey, ſometyme a raging water) and finally to Are mouth Towne, frõ whence after it hath as it were played it ſelfe, in the pleaſant botomes, by the ſpace of a quarter of a myle, it goeth vnder White cliffe and ſo into the ſea, where it is called Arebaye, and thus is that ryuer deſcribed.

tey.

As for the hauen which in times paſt as I haue hearde, hath béene at Sidmouth (ſo called of Sidde a ryllet that runeth therto) and likewyſe at Seton. I paſſe it ouer, ſith nowe there is none at al. Yet hath there bene ſometyme a notable one, albeit that at this preſent betwene the two poyntes of the olde hauen, there lyeth a mightie barre of pibble ſtones, in the verye mouth of it, and the ryuer Are is driuẽ to the very eaſt point of ỹ hauẽ called White clyffe. Therat alſo a very little gull goeth into the ſea, whether ſmall fiſherbotes doe oft reſort for ſuccour. The men of Seton beganne of late to ſtake and make a maine wall within the hauen to haue chaunged the courſe of the Are, and (almoſt in the myddle of the old hauen) to haue trenched thorow the Cheſill, therby to haue let out the Are, & to haue taken in the maine ſea, but I here of none effect that this attempt dyd come vnto.

de.

on.

Coly.

From Seton weſtwarde lyeth Colyton, about two myles by weſt Northweſt, whereof ryſeth the ryuer Coly, which goyng by the aforeſaide towne, paſſeth by Colecomb parke, and afterwarde falleth betwéene Are brydge and Are mouth towne into the Are riuer.

Otterey.

Leauing the Coly we come ſone after to Ottery hauen, whoſe heade riſeth at Ottery fiue myles aboue Mohuns Ottery or Ottery Flemming flat North. From hence it goeth to Vpoter, Mohuns Ottery, Hunitõ, Veniton bridge, S. Mary Otterey, Newton bridge Ottermouth and ſo into the ſea. On the weſt ſide of this hauen is Budeley almoſt directly againſt Otterton. It is eaſie to be ſéene alſo, that within leſſe then. 100. yeares, ſhips did vſe this hauẽ, but now it is barred vp. Some call it Budeley hauen of Budeley towne, other Salterne port, of a little creke comming out of the mayne hauen vnto Salterne village, that hath in time paſt béene a towne of greater eſtimation.

Ex.

From Otterey mouth we ſailed vp to Exmouth ſo called of the riuer Exe, which moũteth in Exmore, at a place called Execroſſe thrée myles by Northeaſt, and from thence goeth by Exford where it is a rill or ſmall water: then to Tiuerton twelue miles from the head, thence to Therberton Cowley, and next of al to Exceſter receauing in the meane time the Simõs bath water, which riſeth by Northweſt of Simons bath bridge (fower myles from Exford:) and is in Sommer time ſo ſhalowe that a man maye eaſily paſſe ouer it, but in winter it rageth oft, and is very déepe and daungerous. As touching the hauen alſo I remember well that there lieth vpon the very Weſt point of the ſame a barren ſande and in the Weſt Northweſt goeth a little creke a mile or thereabout into the land which ſome call Kentõ creke. I haue herd that the Burgeſes of Exceſter indeuoured to make the hauen to come vp to Exceſter it ſelfe, but whether they brought it to paſſe or no as yet I doe not know, this is certaine that in times paſt the ſhippes came vp no nearer then Apſham, which is a prety townelet on the ſhore fower myles vpper into the hauen.

Simmiſg Bath.

Kenton.

Teigne.

Beyonde Exceſter hauen mouth 4. myles or there about I came to the Teigne mouth which ebbeth and floweth ſo farre as Newton. The head of this riuer is 20. myles from the ſea, and it riſeth in Dartmore at a place by northweſt called Teigne head. Frõ thence alſo it goeth to Iagford bridge, Clifford bridg Bridford bridge, Chidley bridge, Teigne bridge, Newton buſhelles, beneath which it

Leman.

receaueth

Aller.

receaueth the Leman water, and alſo Aller brooke, which riſeth thrée miles of, as Leland hath ſet down, who writeth moreouer of this hauen in ſort as followeth. The very vtter weſt point of the land, at yͤ mouth of Teigne is called the Neſſe, and is a very high redde cliffe. The eaſt part of the hauen is named the poles, a lowe ſandie grounde eyther caſt vp by the ſpuing of the ſand out of yͤ Teigne, or elſe throwen vp from the ſhore by the rage of winde and water. This ſande occupyeth now a great quantitie of the ground betwene the hauen where the ſand riſeth, and Teigne mouth towne, which towne ſurnamed Regis, hath in time paſt béene ſore defaced by the Danes, and of late time by the Frenche.

Tor.

Were.

water hed

Neſſe creke.

Gaunſton

From Teigne mouth we came to Tor bay, wherof the weſt point is called Byry, and the eaſt Perritory, betwene which is litle aboue foure miles. From Torre baie alſo to Dartmouth is ſixe myles where (ſayth Leland) I marked diuers thinges. Firſt of all vpon the eaſt ſide of the hauen a great hilly point, called Downeſend & betwixt Downeſende, and a pointlet named Wereford, is a litle baye. Were it ſelfe in like ſorte is not full a myle from Downeſend vpwarde into the hauen. Kingeſwere towne ſtandeth out as another pointlet, and betwixt it & Wereford is the ſecond bay. Somwhat moreouer aboue Kingeſwere towne goeth a litle Creke vp into the land from the maine ſtreame of the hauen called water head, & this is a very fitte place for veſſells to be made in. In like ſort half a mile beyond this into yͤ land ward, goeth another longer crééke, & aboue that alſo a greater thē either of theſe called Gawnſtō, whoſe hed is here not half a mile frō yͤ maine ſea, by the compaſſing thereof as it runneth in Tor bay.

Dart or Darmour.

Humberton.

Old mil créke.

The riuer of Dart, commeth out of Dartmore fiftene miles aboue Totneſſe, in a very large plot, and ſuch another wild moriſh and forreſtye grounde as Exmore is. Of it ſelfe moreouer this water is very ſwift, & thorow occaſion of Tinworkes whereby it paſſeth, it carieth much ſand to Totneſſe bridge, and ſo choketh the depth of the riuer downeward, that the hauen it ſelfe is almoſt ſpoiled by the ſame. The mariners of Dartmouth accompt this to be about a kenning frō Plimmouth. In the valley alſo betwéene Cornewoorthy & Aſhepremptō, runneth a brooke called Humberton or Herburne. This water commeth out of a Welſpring, & ſo running about two myles, it paſſeth thorow a ſtone bridge called Roſt, two myles from Totneſſe. Frō thence moreouer, after it hath gone other two miles it commeth to Bow bridge, and there falleth into a ſaltwater crééke, which gathereth into the lande out of the hauen of Dartmouth. This crééke at the head breaketh for a little way into two armes, whereof the one goeth vp to Bow bridge, and receyueth Humberton water (as I ſaide) yͤ other toward Cornewoorthy frō whence vnto Dartmouth, is about foure myles. Finally about halfe a mile aboue Dartmouth towne, there is another Crééke going out of the maine ſtreame called Olde mill crééke, ſo farre as I can learne by the rumor of the countrey.

Saltcomb

Arme.

Awne.

Palme.

About ſeuen myles by weſt ſouthweſt frō Dartmouth lyeth Saltcomb hauen, ſomewhat barred: & not much aboue the heade of it is Arme hauen, the backewater whereof commeth vnder Puy & Armington bridges, and ſo vnto the ſea at this place, which is full of flattes and rockes, ſo that no ſhippe commeth thither in any tempeſt, except it be forced thereto, thorowe the vttermoſt extremitie and deſperate hazarde of the fearefull mariners. King Phillip of Caſtile loſt two ſhippes here in the dayes of king Henry the ſeuenth, when he was dryuen to lande in the Weſt coūtrey by rage of weather. Vnto Armouth alſo commeth the Awne water, after it hath paſſed by Eaſt Brenton and Gare bridges, and not farre from the fall of this, lyeth the Pawlme mouth ſo called of a ryuer whych cōmeth thither frō Le bridg to Palme bridg, & falleth into the ſea, about 4. miles by ſouth eaſt, frō the maine ſtreame of Plimmouth.

Plim.

Milbay creke.

Stone houſe creke.

Caine creke.

Shilſton.

Budocks

Tamartaue.

Torrey

Taue.

Being come to the Plimmoth, I finde that the mouth of the goulfe wherin the ſhips of this towne doe ride, is walled on eche ſide and chained ouer in yͤ time of neceſſitie. On yͤ ſouth ſide of the hauē alſo is a blockhouſe vpō a rocky hill, & vpō the eaſt ſide of this & Thamar hauen, lyeth the Mill baye creke, yͤ ſtone creke, Caine Crééke, Shilſtō crééke (which is two myles of length and wheron ſtandeth a Mill) Buddocks crééke, and laſt of al, Tamertaue crééke, ſo called bycauſe of the concourſe of the Taue & Tamar waters there. Torrey brooke falleth lykewyſe into Plym, but wher aboutes as now, I haue forgotten. Finally vpon the weſt ſide of the hauen, is a notable crééke alſo entering into the lande a myle or more from the hauen, which being viewed, I went and behelde Thamar hauen on the weſt ſide wherof, I noted theſe crekes.

Thamar.

Firſt of all about two myles aboue Aſhe I ſawe the principall arme of Thamar it ſelfe. Certes it riſeth about thrée myles by Northeaſt from Hartland, & goeth vp into the land about tenne myles from that place: thence it haſteth to Calſtock bridge, whether it almoſt continually ebbeth and floweth, verye great veſſels cōming likewyſe within a mike therof vnto Mylcham, which is not aboue thrée myles from Tauiſtocke as I reade. Betwixt Thamar ſtreame, and Aſhe: I marked farder more ſayeth Lelande other thrée créekes alſo deſcending, which brake vp into the lande, whereof the firſt lyeth by Northweſt, the ſeconde weſt northweſt, the thirde plaine weſt, entering into the country aboue half a mile, and ſcarſely a myle lower, I peruſed in like maner the Liuer créeke, that goeth vp to S. Germains ward. This créeke lyeth 3. myles from the maine ſtreame of Thamar hauen, and riſing in an hill aboue Launſton, it goeth thorow the towne within the walles. In the botome alſo of the Suburbe, is an other named Aterey, which ryſeth eleuen myles of by weſt towarde Bodmin, wherinto runneth a Rill comming thorow a wood before it maketh a confluens with the firſt, in deſcending towarde the hauen. Then breaketh in an other créeke called S. Johns, or S. Anthonies Rode, and at the very mouth about S. Nicholas Iſle falleth in the laſt, which goeth vp to Milbrooke, two myles into the lande from the maine hauen. From hence we ſayled farder towarde the weſt (leauing ſalt Aſhe and Seton rillets) and came to the mouth of a riuer called Low, wherein Samons are often founde, & yet is it drie commonly at halfe ebbe. On eche ſyde of the entrye thereof ſtandeth alſo a towne, whereof the one is called eaſt Low the other weſt Low, and this is a pretie market towne. A bridge finally of twelue arches doth leade from the one to the other.

cha.

iner
ke.

Atercy.

Johns
S. An-
thonies
de.

Low.

The next fall after we be paſt one little nameleſſe créeke, that lyeth by the waye, is Poulpyr water, whereinto commeth a little brooke. Then méete we with Fawey hauen, whoſe riuer ryſeth at Fawy More (about two myles from Camilforde by South, and ſixtene miles from Fawy towne) in a very quaue mire on the ſide of an Hill. Frō hence it goeth to Drainesbridge, to Clobhā bridge, Lergen bridge, New bridge, Reſprin bridge, and Loſtwithiell bridge, where it méeteth with a little brooke, and néere thereunto parteth it ſelfe in twaine. Of theſe two armes therefore one goeth to a bridge of ſtone, the other to another of timber, & ſoone after ioyning againe, the maine riuer goeth to Saint Gwinnowes, from thẽce alſo the point of S. Gwinnowes wood, which is about half a mile from thence, except my memorie doe fayle me. Here goeth in a Salt créeke halfe a mile on the eaſt ſide of the hauen, and at the heade of it, is a bridge called Lerine bridge. The créeke it ſelf in like maner bearing the ſame denomination. From Lerine créeke, to S. Caracs pill, or créeke, is about halfe a mile and lower on the eaſt ſide of the ſayd hauen, it goeth vp alſo not aboue a mile & an half into the lande. From Caracs créeke to Poulmorland a myle, and this likewiſe goeth vp ſcant a quarter of a mile into the land, yet at the heade it parteth it ſelfe in twaine. From Poulmoreland to Bodnecke village halfe a mile where the paſſage and repaſſage is commonly to Fawey. From Bodnecke to Pelene point (where a créeke goeth vp not fully 1000. paces into the lande) a mile, thence to Poulruan, a quarter of a mile, and at this Poulruan is a tower of force, marching again ẏ tower on Fawey ſide, betwene which, as I doe here, a chaine hath ſome times bene ſtretched, & likely inough for the hauẽ there is hardly two bowſhotte ouer. The very point of lande at the eaſt ſide of the mouth of this Hauen, is called Pontus croſſe, but nowe Panuche croſſe. It ſhal not be amiſſe in this place ſomewhat to intreate of the towne of Fawy, which is called in Corniſh Cōwhath, and being ſcituate on the Northſide of the hauen, is ſet hanging on a maine rocky hill being in length about one quarter of a mile, except my memory deceyue me.

olpyr.

Faw.

Lerinus.

In ẏ myddle of this créke was a cell of S. Cyret in an Iſlet longing ſometime to Mountegew a priory.

Cōwhath.

¶ The renowne of Fawy roſe by ẏ wars vnder King Edward ẏ firſt, Edward the third, & Henry the fifth, partly by feates of armes & partly by plaine pyracy. Finally ẏ townesmẽ féeling themſelues ſomewhat at eaſe & ſtrong in their purſes, they fell to marchandize, and ſo they proſpered in this their newe deuiſe, that as they traueiled into al places, ſo marchauntes from all countries made reſort to them, whereby within a while they grew to be excéeding riche. The ſhippes of Fawy ſayling on a time by Rhy and Winchelſey in ẏ time of king Edward the third, refuſed ſtoutly to vale any bonet there, although warning was giuen them ſo to do by the Portgreues or rules of thoſe townes. Herevpon the Rie and Winchelſie men, made out vppon them with cut and long taile: but ſo hardly were they intertained by the Fawy Pyrates (I ſhould ſaie aduenturers) that they were driuen home againe with no ſmall loſſe and hinderaunce. Such fauour found the Fawy men alſo immediately vpon this bickering, that in token of their victory ouer their winching aduerſaries, and riding Ripiers, as they called them in mockery, they altered their armes and compounded for newe, wherein the ſcutchion of Rie and Winchelſey is quartered, with theirs & beſide this ẏ Foiens were called the gallantes of Fawy, whereof they not a litle reioyced, and more peraduenture then for ſome greater booty. And thus much of

Gallantes of Fey or Fawy.

Auſtell broke.

Falwy towne wherin we ſee what great ſucceſſe often commeth of witteleſſe and raſhe aduetures. But to returne againe to our purpoſe from whence we haue digreſſed and as hauing ſome deſire to finiſhe vp this our voyage, we wil leaue the Falmouth and go forward on our iourney. Being therefore paſſe this hauen, we come to Pennarth which is 2. myles by weſt therof, and ſcituate on the eaſt ſide of Trewardith Baie, called by Leland Arctoum or Vrctoũ Promontoria except his writings do deceiue me. Frõ hence we came to the blacke head, then to Pentoren a myle farder, and here iſſueth out a pretye ryuer that commeth by Saint Auſtelles, about two myles and an halfe from thence, which runneth vnder Auſtell bridge & vnder the Weſt ſide of the hill whereon the poore towne of S. Auſtelles ſtãdeth. Thence we ſailed to Chappell land, then to Dudman, to Pennare, and Saint Antonies point, which is three myles from Pennar point, where we make our entrance into the Falamouth hauen, whoſe deſcription I borowe of Leland and worde for worde will here inſert the ſame.

Fala.

Leuine.

Milor.

Reſtronget.

S. Feokes.

S. Caye.

Trury creke.

Moran.

The very point (ſaith he) of the hauẽ mouth (being an hill whereon the Kyng hath buylded a caſtell) is called Pendinant. It is about a myle in compaſſe, almoſt enuironned with the ſea, and where the ſea couereth not, the ground is ſo low that it were a ſmall maſtry to make Pendinant an Iland. Furthermore there lieth a cape or foreland within the hauẽ a myle and an halfe, and betwixt this and M. Killigrewes houſe, one great arme of the hauen rũneth vp to Penrine towne, which is 3. miles from the very entry of Falemouth hauen, and two good myles from Penfuſis. Moreouer there is Leuine Priſelo betwixte S. Budocus and Pendinas, which were a good hauen but for the barre of ſande, but to proceede. The firſt creke or arme that caſteth on the Northweſt ſide of Falemouth hauen goeth vp to Perin, and at thende it breaketh into two armes, whereof the leſſe runneth to Glaſenith i. viridis indꝰ, yͤ grene neſt, or wagmeer at Penrin: the other to ſaint Gluuias the pariſhe Church of Penrine. In like ſorte out of eche ſide of Penrine creke, breaketh an arme or euer it come to Penrine. This I vnderſtande alſo that ſtakes and foundations of ſtone haue beene ſet in the creke at Penrine a litle lower then the wharfe where it breaketh into armes: but howſoeuer this ſtandeth betwixte the point of Treſuſis and the point of Reſtronget is Milor creke, which goeth vp a myle into the land and by the churche is a good rode for ſhippes. The nexte creke beyonde the point of Reſtronget wood is called Reſtronget which goyng two myles vp into the maine breaketh into two armes. In lyke order betwixte Reſtronget and the creke of Trury be two crekes one called S. Feokes, the other Sainct Caie, nexte vnto which is Trury creke that goeth vp about two myles crekyng from the principall ſtreame, & breaketh withĩn half a myle of Trury, caſting in a braunche Weſtward euen harde by Newham wood. This creke of Trury is deuided into two partes before the towne of Trury, and eche of them hauing a brooke comming downe and a bridge, the towne of Trury ſtandeth betwixte them both. In like ſorte Kenwen ſtreate is ſeuered frõ the ſaid towne with this arme, and Clements ſtreete by eaſt with the other. Out of the body alſo of Trury creke breaketh another eaſtwarde a myle from Trury, and goeth vp a myle and an halfe to Treſilian bridge of ſtone. At the very entry and mouth of this creke is a rode of ſhippes called Maples rode and here faught not long ſince. 18. ſhippes of Spaniſhe marchauntes with 4. ſhippes of warre of Depe, but the Spanierdes draue the Frenchemen all into this harborowe. A myle and an halfe aboue the mouth of Trury creke, is another named Lhan Moran of S. Morans church at hãd. This creke goeth vp a quarter of a mile from the maine ſtreame into the hauen, as the maine ſtreame goeth vp two myles aboue Moran creke ebbing and flowing: and a quarter of a myle higher is the towne of Tregowy where we found a bridge of ſtone vpon the Fala ryuer. Fala it ſelfe riſeth a myle or more weſt of Roche hyll & goeth by Graund pount where I ſawe a bridge of ſtone.

S.Iuſtus.

S.Mawes.

This Graund pount is four miles frõ Roche hill and two litle myles from Tregowy, betwixt which the Fala taketh his courſe. Frõ Tregowy to paſſe downe by the body of the hauen of Falamouth to the mouth of Lanyhorne pill or creke, on the ſouth ſide of the hauen is a myle, and as I remember it goeth vp halfe a myle from the principall ſtreame of the hauen. From Lanyhorne pill alſo is a place or point of ſande about a myle way of 40. acres or thereabout (as a Peninſula) called Ardeue rauter. As for the water or creke that rũneth into the ſouth ſoutheaſt part, it is but a little thing of halfe a myle vp into the land, and the creke that hemmeth in this Peninſula, of both doth ſeeme to be the greater. From the mouth of the Weſt creke of this Peninſula, to S. Iuſtes creke is foure miles or more. In like maner from S. Iuſtes pill or creke (for both ſignifie one thing) to Sainct Mawes creke is a myle and a halfe, and the point betweene them both is called Pendinas.

The creke of Saint Mawes goeth vp a two myles by eaſt northeaſt into the land, and beſides that it ebbeth and floweth ſo far, there is a mylle driuen with a freſhe creke that reſorteth to the ſame. Halfe a mile from the head of this downewarde to the hauen, is a creke in manner of a poole, whereon is a myll alſo that grindeth with the tyde. And a myle beneath that on the ſouth ſide entreth a creke (about halfe a myle into the countrey) which is barred from the maine ſea by a ſmall ſandye banke, and another myle yet lower, is a another litle crekelet: but howe ſoeuer theſe crekes doe runne, certaine it is that ẏ bankes of them that belong to Fala are marueilouſly well woodded, and hitherto Leland, whoſe wordes I dare not alter for feare of corruption and alteration of his iudgement. Being paſt Falmouth hauen, therfore (as it were a quarter of a myle beyonde Arwennach Maſter Killegrewes place which ſtandeth on the brimme or ſhore within Falmouth) we came to a litle hauen which ranne vp betwéene two hilles, but it was barred, wherefore we could not learne whether it were ſerued with any backe freſhe water or not. From hence we went by Polwitherall creke (parted into two armes) then to ẏ Polpenrith whereunto a reueret falleth that riſeth not farre from thẽce, and ſo goeth to the maine ſtreame of ẏ hauen at the laſt, whether the creke reſorteth about thrée myles and more from the mouth of the hauen, and into which the water that goeth vnder Gare and Mogun bridges, doe fall in one botome as Lelande hath reported. Vnto this hauen alſo repayreth the Penkeſtell, the Callous ẏ Cheilow, & the Gilling, although this latter lyeth againſt Saint Mawnons on the hether ſide hard without the hauen mouth if I haue done aright. For ſo motheatẽ, mouldye, and rotten are thoſe bookes of Leland which I haue, and beſide that, his annotatiõs are ſuch and ſo confounded as no man can in maner picke out any ſence from them by a leafe together, wherfore I thinke that he diſperſed & made his notes intricate of ſet purpoſe, or elſe he was loth that any man ſhould eaſily come by that knowledge by readyng, which he with his great charge and no leſſe trauelle attained vnto by experience.

Polwitherall.
Polpenrith.
wike.
Gare.
Mogun.
Penkeſtel.
Callous.
Cheylow.
Gilling.

Lopole.

Lopole is two myles in length, and betwixt it and the maine Ocean is but a barre of ſand that ones in thrée or foure yeares, what by weight of the freſhe water and working of the Sea breaketh out, at which time it maketh a woonderfull noyſe, but ſoone after the mouth of it is barred vp againe. At all other times the ſuperfluity of the water of Lopole (which is full of Trout and Ele) draineth out thorow the ſandy barre into the open Sea. Certes if this barre coulde alwayes be kept open, it would make a goodly hauen, vp vnto Hayleſton towne, where coynage of tinne is alſo vſed, as at Trury and Loſtwithiell, for the Quéenes aduauntage. From this place I doe not remember that I founde any more falles or hauens, tyll we paſſed rounde about the cape, and came vnto the Haile, which is a pretye riuer, riſing from foure principall heds or brokes, whereof one ſpringeth by ſouth another by ſouthweſt, the thirde by ſoutheaſt, and the fourth by Northeaſt. Alſo we ſaw S. Perins créeke, Crantocke and Rialton, of Heyles Leland ſpeaketh ſomewhat in his collections out of the life of S. Breaca, where he noteth that it is ſpoyled by ſand comming from the Tinne workes. The next great fall of water & greateſt of all that is to be founde on the North ſide of Cornwall, is at Paddeſtow, whether ẏ Alaune reſorteth. Of ſome it is nowe called Dunmere, but in olde time it hight commonly Alaunus. Into this ſtreame runne diuers other as the Carneſey (by eaſt) thrée myles lower then Woodbridge: ẏ Laine (which riſeth two myles aboue S. Eſſe by northeaſt, and falleth into Alaune likewiſe about Woodbridge) the Bodmin water, beſide another that commeth from ſouthweſt, and goeth in Alane two myles beneath this confluence on the ſame ſide aboue Woodbridge: and finallye the laſt which deſcendeth out of the hilles from ſoutheaſt, and ioyneth with the ſaid riuer two myles aboue Padſtow, as I doe finde by reading. In one place Leland ſaith how he cannot well tell whereabout this riuer doth iſſue out of the grounde, but in another he ſayth thus of it. The Alane is euidently ſéene to paſſe thorow Wood or Wadbridge at lowe water, and the firſt bridge of name that it runneth vnder is called Helham, the next, Dunmere bridge, & the third Wadbridge, which is foure myles lower, and the loweſt in déede, that is to be founde on this ſtreame. From Padſtow alſo they ſaile full well vnto Waterford in Ireland. There are likewiſe two Rockes which lye in the eaſt ſide of the hauen, ſecretely hidden at full Sea, as two pads in the ſtraw, whereof I thinke it taketh the name. Leland ſuppoſeth this ryuer to be the ſame Camblan, where Arthur fought his laſt and fatall conflict: for to this daie men that doe eare the grounde there, doe oft plowe vp bones of a large ſize, and great ſtore of armour, or els it may be (as I rather coniecture) that the Romanes had ſome field (or Caſtra) thereabout, for not long ſince and in the remembraunce of man, a braſſe pot ful of Romane coyne was found there, as I haue

Haile.
Sperin.
Crantock.
Rialton.
Alaunus
Dunmerus.
Carneſey.
Lains.
Locus
bulonis.

Depe-hatch.
Cunilus.
Taw.
Turrege.

oftẽ herde. Next vnto this is the Deepe hatch & the the Cunilus alias Portiſſec & Portguin waters, and vpon the Northſide of this creke ſtandeth Tintagell or Dundagiell caſtell, almoſt enuironned in manner of an Iſland. After this and being paſt Tredwy, we come vnto the Taw mouth, whoſe heade riſeth in Exmore ſoutheaſt from Barſtable, which is a towne fiue myles diſtaunt from the hauens mouth. It receueth alſo yͤ water of Turrege, which riſeth 3. miles by northeaſt frõ Hartland in a moore euen hard by yͤ principall hed of Thamar. This Thurege commeth firſt to Kiſſington bridge, thence to Pulford bridge, Wadforde bridge, Deepeforde bridge, the South and weſt bridges of Thorington, to Budford bridge, (which hath 24. arches, and an olde chappel builded thereon vnto the virgin Mary, at the farder end) then two miles lower it falleth into the Thaue, and finallye into the Sauerne ſea, by the hauen mouth.

Mineus.
Durus.
Iuel.
Shirburn
Milbrooke.
Cokar.
Axe.
Stowey.
Auon. 3.

The entrie of the hauen of Thaw is barred wyth ſande and very daungerous, and from the pointe of the hauen mouthe to cutte ouer to Hartey point, is about ſixe or ſeuen miles, a pretie brooke alſo falleth into the ſaid hauen, from the hilles aboue Barſtable, by Eaſt, & going by the Priory. But to proceede from hence we goe to the Minheued or Mine mouth, whoſe backwater entreth into it, after it be come from Minheued and Portloch. Then came we to Dour or Dournſteir fall, whither commeth a rill, next of all to Clyſte Chappell, where the people honoured an Image of our Ladye with much ſuperſtition, thence two myles to Orcharde, to Comb three myles, and next of all vnto the Iuel, a famous ryuer, which deſcendeth by Bradfielde then by Clyſton (within a quarter of a myle whereof the Shireburn & the Milbrooke waters doe meete, of which the firſt ryſeth in Blackmoore, the other three myle from thence in Milbrooke parke) from Clyſton to Euill a proper market towne in Somerſetſhyre, thre myles or thereabout from Shireburn: from Euell to Ilcheſter by the bridge three myles (taking withall the Cokar, that ryſeth weſt of Cokar, and after three myles gate falleth into the Iuell) frõ Ilcheſter to Michelborowe, leauing Athelney ſomewhat diſtaunt on the left ſide, then to Lamburne, to Bridge north, Bridge water, and after a time into the Sauerne mouth. Certes it is thought to ryſe in Milbery parke, or ſomewhere elſe not farre from Shireburne, but the chiefe heade thereof commeth from Coſkomb. When we are paſt this we come vnto the Axe, which runneth by Axe towne, and ſo continueth his courſe braunching in thende, and leauing a fayre Iſlande as it were in the very fal, partly enuironned wͭ the maine ſea, & partly wyth this riuer. There is moreouer a towne eaſt of this Iſland called in old time Cherin, but now Uphil. Next vnto this is the Stowey mouth ſerued with a backewater, called Stowey, which ryſeth in the hylles not farre of, and after it hath touched at Stow, it falleth into the ſea, which is ſeuẽ miles frõ that place. There are two brookes furthermore that fal into the ſea, after they haue paſſed betweene Stow and S. Andrewes, & the thirde runneth not farre from Willington, ryſing by South, but ſithence they are onely tryfling rilles and nameleſſe, I thinke it not good to ſtande any longer about them. Thus are we come at laſt vnto the Auon, which not farre from his originall, doth enuironne and almoſt make an Iſland of the towne of Malmeſbyry, from thence it goeth vnder Maleforde and Caſway bridges, to Choppenham, Bradford, Bath, Briſtow (flowing two miles aboue that citie) and ſoone after into the Sauerne, from whence it neuer returneth without mixture of Salt water. In this ſort haue I finiſhed one part of my Deſcription of the ryuers & ſtreames falling into the ſea, which ſhould haue beene a far more perfite, and exact peece of worke, if I had beene ſo vprightlye dealt withall in mine informations as I ment to deale preciſely in ſetting downe the ſame, but ſith the matter is ſo fallen out, that I cannot doe as I woulde herein, I muſt be contented to performe what I maye, hoping in time to peruſe and poliſhe it againe that nowe is left rude and without any diligence ſhewed, or order vſed at all therein.

Of the Sauerne ſtreame and ſuch falles of ryuers as go into the ſea, betweene it and the Humber. Cap. 10.

Sauerne.

Habren,
peraduenture for
Aber, &c.
called at
the fall
Lelande.

THE Sauerne deuideth Englande or that part of the Iſland, which ſometime was called Lhoegres from Cambria, ſo called of Camber, the ſecond ſonne of Brute, as our hyſtories doe report. But nowe it height Wales of the Germaine worde Walſhe, wherby that nation doth vſe to call all ſtrangers without reſpect of countrie. It tooke the name of a certaine Lady, called Habren, baſe daughter of Locrinus begotten vpon Eſtrildes daughter to Humber king of Scythia, that ſometime inuaded this Iſlande and was ouerthrowne here, in the dayes of this Locrinus as ſhall be ſhewed at hande. For after the death of Locrinus, it came to paſſe that Guendolena his wyfe ruled the kingdome in the noneage of hir ſonne, and then getting the ſaide Eſtrildis and Habren hir daughter into hir handes, ſhe drowned thē both in this ryuer. And in perpetual remembrance of hir huſbandes diſloyaltie towardes hir, ſhe cauſed the ſtreame to be called Habren of the young Ladye, for which the Romaines in proceſſe of tyme for readineſſe, & mildeneſſe of pronounciation wrate Sabrina, and we at this time doe pronounce the Sauerne.

Of the drowning of the ſayde Abren alſo I finde theſe verſes inſuing.

In fluuium præcipitatur Abren,
Nomen Abren, fluuio de virgine, nomen eidem
Nomine corrupto deinde Sabrina datur.

But to returne to our Sauerne, it ſpringeth from the high mountaines of ſouth Wales, called in Welche Plim Limmon in latine Plimmonij, in Engliſhe the Blacke mountaines, & out of the ſame head with the Wye, where it hath in Latitude as ſome geſſe 52. degrées and 10. minutes, and in longitude 15. and 50. From hence it ronneth to Cair Lews (famous in name, but in déede a poore throwfaire from Mahencliffe) then to Landilas, to Newton (or Trenewith) to Arwiſtle, to Leueden, then within a myle of Mountegomery to the Welche poole, thence wythin half a mile of Pontſbery Colledge to Shroſbury, and ſo to bridge North, receyuing ſundry brookes and waters by the way, of which the Cerlon or Serlo ſéemeth to be the greateſt, and whereby the chanell thereof is not a little increaſed. From Bridgenorth it enclineth toward yͤ ſouth vnto Worceſter, whereabout it receyueth other ſtreames, as the Teme on the Weſt halfe a myle beneath Worceſter, not farre from Powike Milles. And another in the Eaſt, comming frō Stafforde, and ſo holding one towarde Gloceſter, méeteth with the Auon not farre from Theokeſbyry, and from whence they come both as one to Gloceſter, as mine informacion doth ſerue me. Here gathering agayne ſomewhat toward the weſt, it paſſeth by weſt of Deane, where it meteth with the Wy, which is none of the leaſt famous of all thoſe that mixe thēſelues wyth Sauerne. Being alſo greatlye enlarged with the Wylow or Wilinghe (another great ſtreate ſtreame increaſed by the Geuenni, and another) it goeth vnto the Holmes, where after it hath mette in the meane ſeaſon with ſundry other brookes, it falleth into the maine ſea, betwéene Wales and Cornewall, which is and ſhalbe called the Sauerne ſea, ſo long as Sauerne ryuer doth hold and kéepe hir name. But as the ſaid ſtreame in length of courſe bounty of water and depth of chanell commeth farre behinde the Thames, ſo for other commodities as trade of marchandiſe, plentie of cariage, and ſtore of all kinde of fiſh, as Samon, Trouts, Breames, Pikerell, Tenche, Perche, &c. it is nothing at al inferiour or ſecond to the ſame. Finally there is nothing to be diſcōmended in this ryuer, but the openeſſe thereof in manie places to the weather, wherby ſundry perils oft ouer take ſuch as fiſh or ſaile in ſmall veſſels on the ſame.

Cerlon.
Teme.
Auon.
Wy.
Wiluge.

The Sauerne being thus deſcribed (I hope ſufficiently for one that hath ſo ſmall information & knowledge of the ſame) it reſteth that I go forwarde with the names of thoſe that lye vppon the coaſt of Southwales, making my entrie at the ferry, ouer betwéene Auſt in Gloceſterſhyre, to a village on the farder banke of Sauerne, not farre frō Terendacus Chappell, in the mouth of the riuer Wy, which ferry is about thrée myles ouer (ſayth Leland) or elſe my memorie doth faile me.

Wy mouth

This ryuer Guy or Wy beginneth as I ſayde before on the ſide of the hilles, where the Sauerne doth ariſe, and paſſing thorowe Wencelande, doeth fall into the Sauerne beneath Chepſto at the aforeſayde place.

Guy alias wy.

Lelande writing of this ryuer ſayeth thus, the Wy goeth thorowe all Herefordſhyre by Bradwarden Caſtell (belonging to Syr Richarde Vehan) & ſo to Hereforde eaſt, thence eyght myles to Roſſe a market towne in Herefordſhyre, and in this ryuer be Umbers otherwyſe called graylinges.

Umber a fiſhe onely in the wy.

Next vnto this is the Aberwiſh, or Wyſke whereon Caerleon ſtandeth ſometime, called Cheſter. This riuer ryſeth in the blacke mountaines, tenne myles aboue Brechnock towarde Cairmardine, and runneth thorow the great and litle foreſt of Brechnoch, then it goeth by Redwin bridge, to Breckenock, Penkithly, Creghoell, Abergeuenni, Uſke, Carleon, Newporte, and ſo vnto the ſea, taking withall the Ebowith. This Ebowith is a riuelet ryſing flat North, in a mountaine of high Wenſlande, and going ſtreight from thence into Diffrin Serowy vale, it falleth into the Uſke or Wiſke, a myle and a halfe beneath Newporte, from whence likewyſe it is vnto the hauen mouth of Wiſke about half a mile more. But to procede withour Wiſke, Certes this riuer is famous and vpon ſome partes of the lower bankes eſpecially about Carleon is much Romaine Coyne found, of all maner of ſortes, as men eare and digge the grounde. Furthermore this ſtreame is one of the greateſt in Southwales and huge ſhips might well come to the towne of Carleon, as they did in the time of the Romaines if Newport bridge were not a let vnto them.

wiſke.
Ebowith.

Neuertheleſſe bigge botes come thereto. It is eyght Welche or twelue Engliſhe myles from Chepſtow or Strigull, and of ſome thought to be in Bace Wencelande, though other be of the contrarie opinion. But howſoeuer the matter ſtandeth, this ryuer is taken to be the bounds of Brechnockſhyre, as Renni is to midle Wenceland and Glamorganſhyre.

Remenei, or Remni.

Riſca.

The next riuer vnto Vſke or Wiſke is called Remenei or Remni, whoſe heade is thrée or foure myles aboue Eggluis Tider Vap Hoell (otherwyſe called Fanum Theodori, or the Church of Theodorus) whence come manye ſprings, & taking one botome, the water is called Kayach. It is alſo augmented with the Riſca broke, comming vnto it out of a Paroche called Eggluis Ilan, and then altogither named Riſca. Thence running thorowe Bedwes Paroche, it is called Renmy or Remeny and ſo continueth vntill it come at the Sauerne. The fall therof alſo is not aboue ſixe myles from the ryuer Wiſke. Although that for ſhippes it be nothing commodious. It is more ouer a limite betwéene the Silures and Glamorganſhyre.

Taffe.

Lhay.

Rodeney vaur, Rodeny vehan.

From the mouth of Renni, to the mouth of Taffe are two myles. Thys ryuer is the greateſt in all Glamorganſhyre, and the citie Taffe it ſelfe of good countenaunce, ſith it is endued with the Cathedrall ſea of a Biſhop. The head of this water cometh downe from Wooddy hilles, and often bringeth ſuch logges and bodyes of trées withal frõ thence, that they fruſh the bridge in péeces, but for asmuch as it is made of tymber, it is repayred with leſſe coſt, whereas if it were of harde ſtone all the countrie thereabouts would not be able to amende it. Into this ſtreame alſo falleth Lhay, which deſcendeth (but more eaſterly) from the ſame hilles and it méeteth with all beneath Landaffe, that ſtandeth almoſt euen at the verye confluence, and thus ſayeth Lhoyd, but Lelande noteth it otherwyſe. In like ſorte the Taffe receyueth the Rodney Vaur, and Rodeney Vehan, in one botome, which ſpring in the Lordſhip of Glin Rodeney within two miles togither. Of theſe alſo the Rodeney Vaur ryſeth by Northweſt in a great high rocke, called Driſſiog. Rodeney Vehan iſſueth a myle aboue caſtell Noſe (by northweſt alſo) but néerer towarde Myſken Lordſhip, ſo that the Rodney Vaur head and ſtreame lieth more weſt vp into Wales. As for Caſtell Noſe, it is but a highe ſtonye Cragge in the toppe of a hil: but to procéede. Rodeney Vaur runneth vnder a bridge of wood a myle from Penriſe, then to Ponte Kemmeis two myles lower, and a little beneath is the confluence. There be alſo two ſmall bridges on Rodeney Vehan of wood, whereof the firſt is agaynſt Penriſe thrée quarters of a myle of, the other a little aboue the confluẽce right againſt the bridg on Rodney Vaur. There is a bridg of wood alſo vpõ the whole ſtreame two myles beneath the ſayde confluence, called Pont Newith, and a quarter of a mile from the place where it goeth into Taffe.

Lhay.

Thawan.

Scylley.

Barry.

This Iſle went 50. yeres agon for 10. li.

Com kydy

Colhow.

Alen.

Ogur.

Kenſike.

Auon.

Neth.

From Taffe to Lay mouth or Ele ryuer a mile, from Lhay mouth (or rather Penarth, that ſtandeth on the Weſt poynt of it) to the mouth of Thawan ryuer (from whence is a cõmon paſſage ouer vnto Minehened in Somerſetſhyre of ſeuentene myles) are about ſeuen Welche myles, which are counted after this maner. A myle and a halfe aboue Thawan is Scylley Hauenet, (a pretie ſuccour for ſhippes) whoſe heade is in Wenno paroche two myles & a halfe from the ſhore. From Scilley mouth to Aber Barry a mile, and thither commeth a little ryll of freſh water into Sauerne, whoſe head is ſcant a myle of in playne grounde by Northeaſt, & right againſt the fall of this becke lyeth Barry Iſlande a ſlight ſhotte from the ſhore at the full ſea. Halfe a myle aboue Aber Barry is the mouth of Come kydy, which ryſeth flat north frõ the place where it goeth into yͤ Sauerne & ſerueth oft for herbor vnto ſea farers. Thẽce to the mouth of Thawan are 3. myles, wherunto ſhippes may come at will. Two myles aboue Thawan is Colhow, whether a little rill reſorteth from LauIltuit, thence to the mouth of Alen foure myles, that is a myle to S. Dynothes Caſtell, and thrée myles furder. The Alen riſeth by northeaſt vp into the lande at a place, called Lhes Brolmith, or Skyrpton, about foure myles aboue the plot where it commeth by it ſelfe into Sauerne. From thence to the mouth of Ogur alias Gur thrée miles. Then come they in proceſſe of tyme vnto the Kenſike or Colbroke ryuer which is no great thing, ſith it ryſeth not aboue 3. myles frõ the ſhore. From Kenſike to Aber Auon two myles, and herein doe ſhips moleſted with weather oftentimes ſéeke herborow. It commeth of two armes, whereof that which lyeth Northeaſt is called Auon Vaur, the other that lyeth Northweſt Auon Vehã. They méete togither at Lhanuoy Hẽgle, about two myles aboue Aber Auon village, which is two myles alſo from the ſea. From hence to the Neth is about two miles and a halfe, thereon come ſhiplettes almoſt to the towne of Neth frõ the Sauerne. From the mouth of Neth vnto the mouth of Crimline becke is two miles, and being paſſed auy.

Lochar.

andres.

endraith
aur Ve-
ith Ve-

ſed the ſame we come vnto the Tauy, which deſcendeth from the aforeſayd hilles and falleth into the Sea by Eaſt of Swanſey. Beyng paſt this wée come vnto the Lichwr, or Lochar mouth and then glyding by the Wormes head, we paſſed to the Wandreſmouth, whereof I finde this deſcription following in Lelande. Both Vendraith, Vaur & Vẽdraith Vehan, ryſe in a péece of Carmardineſhyre, called Iſſekenen, that is to ſay, the lowe quarter about Kennen ryuer, and betwixt the heades of theſe two hilles, is another hill, wherein be ſtones of a gréeniſh coulour, whereof the inhabitauntes make theyr Lime. The name of the hyll that Vendraith Vaur ryſeth in, is called Mennith Vaur, and therein is a poole as in a moriſh ground, named Lhintegowen, where yͤ principall ſpring is, & thys hyll is eight or nyne myles frõ Kidwelli. The hyll that Vendraith Vehan ſpringeth out of, is called Mennith Vehan, & thys water commeth by Kydwelly towne. But about thrée or foure myles, eare it come thyther, it receyueth a brooke, called Treſgyrth the courſe wherof is little aboue a myle from the place where it goeth into Vendraith, and yet it hath foure or fiue tucking milles and thrée Corne milles vppon it. At the heade of this brooke is an hole in the hilles ſide, where men often enter and walke in a large ſpace. And as for the brooke it ſelfe, it is one of the moſt plentifull and commodious that is to be founde in Wales. All along the ſides alſo of Vendraith Vaur, you ſhall finde great plentye of Seacoles. There is a great hole by heade of Vendraith Vehan, where men vſe to enter into vaultes of great compaſſe, and it is ſayde, that they may go one way vnder the grounde to Wormes head, and another waye to Cairkennen caſtell, which is thrée myles or more vnto the lande. But how true theſe things are it is not in me to determine, yet this is certaine, that there is very good Hawking at the Heron in Vendraith Vehã. There are dyuers printes of the paſſage of certaine Wormes alſo in the Caue, at the head of Vẽdraith Vehan, as the inhabitants doe fable, but I neuer heard of any man that ſaw any Worme there, and yet it is beléeued that many Wormes are there.

wy, or
owy.

Being paſt this, we came to the Abertowy or mouth of the Towy. This riuer ryſeth in the mountaines of Elinith foure myles by ſouth from Lintiue in a moriſh grounde, 24. miles from Carmardyn and in a forreſt called Biſhops forreſt midway betwixt Landwybreuy & Landanuery caſtell. For fiſh this is much better in mine opinion, thẽ the Taw or Taffe, whoſe head breadeth no fiſhe, but if any be caſt into it, they turne vp their bellies and die out of hande. Into this riuer alſo falleth one called Guthrike, not farre frõ Landonuery towne, which is two and twentye myle frõ the head of Towy. In like ſort the Kenen ryuer falleth into the Towy about Landilouaur, which is two miles higher vpõ Towy, thẽ Dinefur caſtel & the whole courſe of this water is not aboue thrée myles. The Brane (another ryuer alſo) after it hath run from the head by the ſpace of 12 myles doth come hard by the foote of Landonuery caſtel, and taking with it the Euery, they fall togither into the Towy, a little beneath the Caſtell. Thys Euery runneth through the middeſt of Landanuery towne. Beneath Lãdanuery in like ſorte another brooke called Marleis, falleth into the Towy, and foure myles beneath the ſame two other, of which the one is called Nonneis. Foure miles alſo from Abermarleis or the place where Towy & Marleis doe méete (towarde Carmardine) runneth the riuer Duleſſe, which ſoone after falleth alſo into Towy. Furthermore 2. miles beneath the fall of Duleſſe, there is another, and thrée or foure myles beyonde this, is the ſeconde Duleſſe, & eache of them after other fall into the ſaide ryuer, but this latter about Driſlan Caſtell, as Lelande hath deſcrybed thẽ. Procéeding yet further ſtill toward Carmardine, our ſayde ſtreame goeth by Landiſtupham Caſtell, and alſo into the ſea, about thrée myles beyonde Driſlan Caſtell. Alſo he confeſſeth moreouer, that he ſawe the fall of Cothey, a fayre ryuer, into the ſayd ſtreame, & this was within foure myles of Carmardine, wherof I ſpake before. The Cothey riſeth thrée myles frõ Landanbreui vnder the hulke of Blaine Icorne, which is a narrowe paſſage, and therein marueylous heapes of ſtones.

Guthryc.

Kenen.

Brane.

Euery.

Nonneis.

Cothey.

The next riuer we came vnto vpon the coſt is called Taue, whoſe head runneth alſo from the blacke mountaines at a place thrée miles from Cardigan called Preſſelen, thence it goeth by Saint Clares, and as it haſteth toward the ſea, it taketh the ryuer Gowe with it, which riſeth at Blaincowen two myles or more aboue the bridge. Then the Duddery ryuer, and Barthkinni ſtreame, Venny & Morlais. Next of all come we to Milford hauen, wherunto two ryuers direct their courſe from the Northeaſt called Dugledu or the two ſwordes and betwéene them both is a ril which they cal alſo Cultlell (that is to ſay) the knyfe, wereof riſeth a merry tale of a welchman that lying in this place abrode all night in the colde weather, he was demaunded of his hoſteſſe (where he did breake his faſte the

Taue.

Gowe.

Duddery.

Barthkinni.

Morlais.

Dugledu,

Cultlell.

next morrowe) at what Inne he laye in the night precedent, bycauſe he came ſo ſoone to hir houſe ere any of hir maydes were vp. Oh good hoſteſſe (quod he) be contented I laye to night in a daungerous eſtate for I ſlepte betweene two ſwordes with a long knife at my hart, meaning in deede that he lay betweene theſe two ryuers, and his breaſt towards the South neere to the heade of Cultlell. But to paſſe ouer theſe teſtes, here Leland ſpeaketh of a ryuer called Gwyly, but where it ryſeth or falleth he maketh no certaine report: wherfore it is requiſite that I proceede according to my purpoſe. Beyng therfore paſte this hauen and point of Demetia in caſting aboute the coaſte we come to Saint Dewies, or S. Dauyds land, which I reade to be ſeperated from the reſt of the countrey much after this manner, although I graunt that there maye be and are diuers other litle creekes, betwixt Newgale and Saint Dauys head, & betwixt S. Dauys and Fyſchard, beſide thoſe that are here mencioned out of a Regiſter of that houſe.

Gwyly.

S. Dewy or Dauid all one.

As we turne therefore from Milford, S. Dauys land beginneth at Newgall, a creeke ſerued with a backe freſhe water. Howbeit there is a Baye before this creeke betwixt it and Milford. From hence about foure miles is Saluache creeke, otherwiſe called Sauerach, whether ſome freſhe water reſorteth: yͤ mouth alſo thereof is a good reſcue for Balingers as it (I meane the regiſter) ſayth. Thence go we to Portclais 3. myles where is a litle portlet, whether the Alen that commeth thorowe Sainte Dewies cloſe doth runne.

Newgall.

Saluach.

Portclais.
Alen.

It lyeth a myle ſouthweſt frõ S. Dewies, Saint Stinans Chappell alſo is betweene Portclais, and Portmaw. The next is Porte Maw, where I founde a great eſtuary into the lande. The Pendwy halfe a mile from yͤ: Land Vchan is 3. myles frõ Pendwy, where is a ſalt creeke, then to Tredine three myles, where is another creeke to Langunda, foure miles, and another creeke is there in like ſort where fyſher men catche Herring. Here alſo the Gwerne riuer deuideth Peñbidiane from Fiſcherdine Kemmeis land. Frõ Langunda to Fiſchard at the Gwerne mouth 4. myles, & here is a portlet or hauenet alſo for ſhippes. and thus much of Saint Dauids lande. Beſides this alſo Leland in a third booke talketh of Linnes and Pooles, but for as much as my purpoſe is not to ſpeake of Lakes & Lhinnes, I paſſe them ouer as haſting to the Teify, in latine Tibius, which is the nexte ryuer that ſerueth for my purpoſe.

Portmaw
Maw.
Pendwy.
Lanuchã.
Tredine.
Langũda.
Fiſchard.
Gwerne.

The Teyfy therfore is a right noble ryuer, as anye in Wales, fraught with delicate Samons, and herein onely of all the ryuers in Englande is the Caſtor or Beuer to bee founde. It aryſeth foure myles from Stratfleur out of a Poole called Lhintiue, lying on the Weſt ſide of the blacke mountaines (as the Sauerne doth ſpring out from by eaſt of them) & holding on with the ordinary courſe, it commeth at laſte to Stradfleur, where it meeteth with a brooket called the Fleure or Flere. Frõ hence it proceedeth on vnto Tregaron, Bruy, Landſur, Glydois, Budhair, Emlin, Kilgarran, & ſo to Cardigon, which ſtandeth on the farder ſide as we go towarde the foreſaid ryuer from by ſouth. Certes this ryuer which we nowe diſcribe, goeth in manner plaine Weſt, till we come within ſyxe myles of Cairmardine, and then returneth toward the North, ſo goyng on till it come at Abertiwy, or Aberteify, as it is moſt cõmonly called. It deuideth Pembrooke from Cardigan or Cereticanſhere, as Leland ſetteth it downe.

Teify.

Caſtor in Englande.

Fleur.

Beyng paſte the Telwe or Teify we came to Aberayron, ſo called of the ryuer Ayron which there falleth into the Maine, 3. myles beneath Lanclere. It ryſeth alſo in a mountaine, percel of the blacke hilles, by a chappel called Blaine Penial, belonging to Landwy Breui, but it is in Cardigon ſhire ouer Tiue and aboute three or foure myles from Tiue banckes. Next vnto this as I remember we paſſed by Aberarth where was a pretye ſtreamelet & ſome ſlender harborow. And thẽ we came to another water which falleth into yͤ ſea beneath Kilkhide (neither of them being of any great length from their heades) and ſo vnto Aberyſtwith which yſſueth in a marſhe called Blaine Wythe (ſo farre as I remember) and runneth about 13. or 14. myles tyll it come at laſt into the ſea. It taketh withal by the waye alſo firſt the Meleuen and then the Rhedhol, a ryuer nothing inferiour vnto Yſtwith it ſelfe, with whome it maketh his confluence aboue Badarne, and in a large botome goeth ſoone after into the ſea.

Ayron.

Arth.

Ris.

yſtwith.

Meleuen.

Redol.

Hence we went vnto the Wy whoſe heade commeth from the ſouth part of Snowdony by Mowdheuy Mathan laſth, and in this his courſe moreouer he ſeemeth to parte Northe Wales and South Wales in ſonder. It is called in latine Deuus, in Welſhe Dyfy, but how it came to be called Wy in good ſoothe it is not found. It receyueth alſo the Alen which cõmeth from the vpper part of Cormeryſtwith in Cardigonſhyre, out of the blaine, and taketh alſo with it the Clardwyn, a brooke yſſuing about a myle from Cragnawlin and as it holdeth on the courſe it receyueth the

Wy.

Clardwy which ſpringeth vp halfe a myle from the Clardue head (another gullet likewiſe falling from ẏ Rocky hilles into Clardwy) and ſo goyng together foure miles farder they fall into the Allen. Finally after all theſe haue as it were played together in one or moe bottomes among the pleaſant Meadowes and lower groundes, by the ſpace of ſixe myles, vnder ẏ name of Alen, they beate at the laſt vpon the Wy and accompany him directly vnto the Ocean.

After this we paſſed by Aberho, ſo named of the Riuer Ho, that falleth therein to the ſea and commeth thether from ẏ Alpes or hilles of Snowdony. From hence we ſayled by Abermawr or mouth of Mawr, which commeth in like ſorte from Snowdony, and taketh diuers Ryuers with him whoſe names I doe not know. Then vnto ẏ Artro a brooke deſcending from thoſe hilles alſo, and falling into the ſea a myle aboue the Harleche. Next of al we behold the Gleſſe Linne that parteth Caernaruon from Merionneth ſhyre, and ſo came vnto Traith Vehan, betwixte which two, and Traith Mawr rūneth a litle brooke thorowe the wharfe of Traith Mawr at the low water as I read. Theſe 2 Traiths are ẏ mouthes of two faire ſtreames, whereof the moſt Southerly is called Mawy, the other Ferles, eche of them I ſaye deriuing his originall water from Snowdony, as diuers other brookes haue done already before them. Of theſe alſo ẏ firſt paſſeth by diuers lakes, although I doe not well knowe the names of anye one of them. From Traithmawr to Chrychet are three myles, where alſo is a little rill ſerued with ſundrye waters. Then come we vnto the Erke, a pretye brooke diſcending frō Madryn hilles. Then caſting about toward the ſouth (as the coaſt lyeth) we ſawe the Aberſoch or mouth of the Soch ryuer vppon our right handes, in the mouthe whereof lye two Iſlandes, of which the more Northerly is called Tudfall and the other Penryn as Leland did obſerue. After this, goyng about by the point we come to Daron Ryuer, wherevppon ſtandeth Aberdaron a quarter of a mile frō the ſhore betwixt Aberdarō and Vortigernes vale, where the compaſſe of the ſea gathereth in a heade and entreth at both endes: Thē come we to Venni brooke which runneth by Treuenni, and is about 12. myles of from Aberdaron. Then iij. miles of to Eglwis Epiſtle, whether commeth a little brooke or rill from Gwortheren Rocke, which ſome call Vortigernes Vale. From hence alſo 3. myles further, we come to Lhanhelerion and then foure myles to Clunock, and finally to Clunock Vaur Arnon, where is a little rillet, & a myle or more farder is another that goeth to the mayne ſea. Here in following Lelande as I doe for the moſt part in all this Treatize where he keepeth any order at all (for his notes, are ſo diſperſed in his Comētaries ẏ one of them is ſometimes is 6.8.or 20.leaues from another, and many of them penned after a contrarye ſort) I finde theſe wordes. There is a brooke beyonde Aberleuenni goyng by it ſelfe into the ſea: there be alſo two brookes betweene Gurnwy or Gwyrfay and Skeuerneck, as Golaid and Semare Poole: Sowther creeke alſo is the verye pointe of Abermenley, by which notes as I finde not what he ſaith, ſo the remembraunce of them may helpe better againſt the next publication of this booke: to proceede therefore in ſuch order as I may.

Mawr.
rtro.
Mawy.
eries,
richet.
rke.
och.
aron.
euenni.

Golaide.
Semerpoole.
Sother.
Menley.

Leuenni is a great brooke ryſing 4. mile aboue the place, where it falleth into the ſea, Leuen brooke cōmeth into the ſea two miles aboue Skeuernocke: Skeuernocke a little brooke ſixe myles aboue Aberſaint. And Gurnay commeth thorowe pontnewith bridge, and after into Meney at South Crock, two myles of Cladwant brooke, and ryſing three myles from thence it commeth thorow the towne bridge of Carnaruon and goeth by it ſelfe into Meney arme, ſo that Carnaruon ſtandeth betweene two riuers. Botes alſo do come to Cadwan. The name of Abermeney is not paſſing a myle aboue Carnaruon, and yet ſome cal it Meney, til you come to Poultell. Then come we to Cair Arfon or Cairnaruon, Gwiniwith mirith (or horſe brooke) two myles from Moylethon, and it ryſeth at a well ſo called full a myle from thence. Moylethon is a bowe ſhotte from Aberpowle, frō whence ferry botes go to the Termone or Angleſy. Aberpowle runneth three myles into the lande, and hath his head foure myles beyonde Bangor in Meney ſhore: and here is a little comming in for botes bending into the Meney. Aber Gegeyne commeth out of a mountaine a myle aboue, and Bangar (thorow which a rillet called Torronnē hath his courſe) almoſt a myle aboue it. Aber Ogwine is two miles aboue ẏ. It ryſeth at Tale linne Ogwine poole fiue myles aboue Bangor in the eaſt ſide of Withow. Aber Auon is two myles aboue Aberogwene, and it ryſeth in a Poole called Lin man Auon three myles of. Auon Lan var Vehan ryſeth in a mountaine thereby, and goeth into the ſea 2. miles aboue Duegeuelth. Auon Duegeuelth is three myles aboue Conwey, which ryſing in the mountaines a myle of, goeth by it ſelfe into Meney ſalt arme. On the ſaide ſhore alſo lyeth Penmaine, and this brooke doth runne

Leuen.
Skeuernocke.
Cladwant
Coute.
Gegyne.
Torronnen.
Ogwine.
Auon.
Lanuar Vehan.
Duegeuelth.

betwixte Penmaine Maur, and Penmaine Uchan. It ryſeth about 3. myles from Penmaclon hilles which lye aboute 60. myles from Conwey abbaie nowe diſſolued. On the Northe and Weſt of this ryuer ſtandeth the towne of Conwey, which taketh his name therof. This riuer receaueth yͤ Lhigwy a pretty ſtreame that commeth from by weſt & ioineth with al a little aboue the Riſt but on the Weſt bancke. The Lighwy alſo taketh another with him that commeth from by ſouth. After this we come to the Gele whereon Abergele ſtandeth, and it runneth thorowe the Cangeſythen vnto the Roſe or Ros and next of all to the mouth of a great hauen; wherinto the Clude which cōmeth from the ſouth, and the Elwy that deſcendeth from yͤ Weſt, doe emptie their chanelles, & betwixte which two the pontificall ſea of Bangor is ſcituate verye pleaſantly and not farre of from the point. Into Elwy runneth the Alode deſcending from Lhin Alode eyght myles from Denbighe and goyng by Lhan Sannan, it falleth into the Elwy in Lhan Heueth pariſh which is ſixe myles aboue Saint Aſaph. Lelād calleth it Aleth. Into Clude alſo runneth Clue Doch foure miles lower by water then Ruthine towne: on the Weſt ſide likewyſe the Ustrate, that commeth within halfe a myle by ſouth of Denbighe and goeth into Clude almoſt againſt Denbighe towne. Frō hence to my remembraunce, and before we come to Aber Dée or the mouth of the Dée I finde no Riuer of any countenaunce, wherefore I will haſt forth to the deſcription of that ſtreame. It ryſeth of ſundy heades ſouthweſt from Lintegy or Lin Tegnis, in the countie of Penthlin wherevnto within a while they reſort and direct their courſes, and there ioyning in one Channell, it commeth almoſt by Bala a poore market towne. Then going ſtil by the ſide of Pale it paſſeth to Berwin, where it méeteth with a rill, afterwardes to Corwen a little by Southweſt wherof, it receaueth the Alwyn a noble ſtreame which commeth from the Northweſt out of a Lyn lying on the other ſyde of yͤ ſame hilles wherin the Alode riſeth, and not onely taketh ſundery ryuerets and rilles withall as it goeth, but alſo runneth with great ſwiftneſſe tyll it be ioyned with the ſame. From Corwen it goeth to Gellon, and a fewe myles beneath Gellon it méeteth with the Kyriog, then the Wrexham rill, and finally the Alyn whoſe crinkeling ſtreames diſcende from a Lin in the Stradlin hilles, and goyng firſt Northeaſt vnto Molo or Gwidgrue, thē ſouthward vnto Cargurle, and finally againe into the Northeaſt, it ſtayeth not tyll it come at the Dée, where it méeteth about halfe a myle or more frō the Holit with the aforeſaide riuer. Hauing therfore receiued this water it continueth the courſe vnto Cheſter it ſelfe, and frō thence into the Iryſh ſea as experience hath cōfirmed. What other ryuers do fal into this ſtreame it ſhal be ſhewed in the ſecond booke. In yͤ meane time hauing a good gale of wind blowing from the South weſt, we came to Lyr poole whether the Wyuer on the ſouthe about Frodſham & the Merſey on the north, doe fall, in thunburdening of their channels. Wiuer water runneth among the Wiches, and Marſey departeth Cheſter and Lancaſhyre in ſunder.

Lighwy.
Gele.
Cluda.
Elwy.
Alere.
Clue doch
Ustrate.
Dea.
Alwyn.
Kyriog.
Alun.

From hence alſo we go by Wegam, or Dugeles: and nexte of all vnto the Ribell, which almoſt doth enuyronne Preſton in Anderneſſe. It ryſeth in Rybbes dale about Salley Aabbye, and from thence goeth to Salley and a lyttle beneath Salley it receiueth the Calder that cōmeth by Whaley, and then the Oder. After thys, we come to the Wire, which ryſeth eyght or tenne miles from Garſton, out of the Hylles on the ryght hande, and commeth by gréene Hawghe a pretye Caſtell, belonging to the Earles of Darby, and more then halfe a myle of to Garſton in Anderneſſe. It ebbeth and floweth alſo, thrée myles beneath Garſtone, and at the Chappell of Alhallowes (tenne myles frō Garſton) it goeth into the Sea. After thys we come to Coker that maketh no great courſe ere we come to the Sandes, by Cockerham Vyllage, where they make Salt out of the Sandes, by often wetting, and dreauing the water from thence into a Pyt, they ſéeth it, as at the Wiche. &c. Then to Cowder ryll, & ſo to the Lane or Lune, that giueth name to Lancaſter, where much Romaine money is founde.

Of thys ryuer you ſhall reade more in the ſeconde Booke. Next vnto it alſo is the Kery, halfe a mile beyond Warton, where the rich Kitſon was borne. It ryſeth out of the hylles not farre of, and falleth into the ſalte water at Luneſandes. From thence we come to Bythe water, which ryſeth not farre from Bytham Towne and Parke, in the Hilles whereabout are great numbers of goates. It is a prettye ryuer, and by all lykelyhoode reſorteth vnto Ken ſands. Ken ryſeth at Kenmore, in a Poole of a myle compaſſe, verye well ſtored wyth fyſhe, the head whereof (as all the Barromy of Kendal) is in Weſtmerlande. It is alſo eyght myles from Kendall, in the waye to Perith, and the courſe thereof is to Newbridge, Barley, Staueley hamlet, Bowſtone, Burne ſyde bridges, to Kendall, Leuen bridge. &c. into the ſea, receiuing the Sprout ryuer into it, a myle aboue Fremegate bridge. Next vnto this is yͤ Charte whether a freſhe water commeth, as doth another to Conny heade ſandes.

Then come wée to Dudden or Dodon hauen, whether a freſhe brooke alſo reſorteth, & foure myles from hence was Furneſſe Abbay vp into the mountaines. Then ſayled we to the Eſke, whereunto commeth a brooke from Croſmere, then to the Calder ſerued alſo wyth a backe freſhe water: then (going about by S. Bées) to the Wy or Ferne, to to Deruent, the Lug or Luy, and finallye to Soluey, which parteth England & Scotland.

Hauing thus gone thorowe the ryuers of Englande, nowe it reſteth that wée procéede with thoſe which are to bée founde vppon the Scottyſhe ſhoore, in ſuch order as we beſt maye, vntill we haue fetched a compaſſe about the ſame, and come vnto Barwijcke, whence afterwarde it ſhall be eaſye for vs to make repaire vnto the Thames, from which we did ſet forwarde in the beginning of oure voiage.

Eſke.

The fyrſte ryuer that I mette wythall on the Scottiſh coaſt, is the Eſke, after I came paſte the Soluey which hath his heade in the Crewote Hylles runneth by Kirkinton, and falleth into the Sea at Borow on the ſands. Thys Eſke hauing receiued the Ewys falleth into the Soluey fyrſt at Atterith. After thys I paſſed ouer a lyttle créeke from Kyrthell, and ſo to Anand, whereof the valleye Anandale doth ſéeme to take yͤ name. There is alſo the Nyde, wheref commeth Nidſdale, the Ken, the Dée, the Craie, and the Bladnecke, and al theſe beſides dyuers other ſmal rylles of leſſe name doe lye vpon the ſouth coaſt of Galloway. On the north ſide alſo we haue the Ruan, the Arde, the Caſſile Dune, the Burwin, the Cluide, (whereupon ſometyme ſtoode the famous citie of Alcluyde, and whereinto runneth the Carath) the Hamell, the Dourgleſſe, and the Lame. From hence in lyke manner, wée came vnto the Lewind mouth, wherunto the Blake on the ſouthweſt and the Lomunde lake, with his fleting Iles and fiſh without finnes, (yet very holeſome) doth ſéeme to make hys iſſue. Thys lake of Lomund in calme wheather, ryſeth ſometimes ſo high and ſwelleth with ſuch terrible Willowes, that it cauſeth the beſt Marriners of Scotlande to abyde the leyſure of this water, before they dare aduenture to hoyſe vp ſayles, on hie. The like is ſéene in windye weather, but much more perillous: There are certeine Iles alſo in the ſame, which moue and remoue, oftentymes by force of the water, but one of them eſpeciallye, which otherwyſe is very fruitefull for paſturage of Cattel. Next vnto this is the Leue, the Rage the Longe, the Goyle, & the Yeke, which for the excéeding greatneſſe of theire, heades are called lakes. Then haue we the Robinſey, the forelande, the Tarbat, the Lean, and the Abyr, whereunto the Spanſey, the Loyne, the Louth, the Arke, and the Zefe doe fall, there is alſo the Sell, the Zord the Dwyn, the Newiſſe, the Orne, the Lang, the Orun, the Hew, the Brun, the Kell, the Dowr, the Faro, yͤ Neſſe, the Herre, the Con, yͤ Glaſſe the Maur, the Vrdall, the Fers (that cõmeth out of the Caldell) the Fairſoke which two latter lye a lyttle by weſt of the Orchades, and are properly called ryuers, bicauſe they iſſue onely from ſpringes, but moſt of the other lakes, bicauſe they come from Linnes, & and huge pooles, or ſuch lowe bottomes, fedde with ſpringes, as ſéeme to haue no acceſſe, but onelye receſſe of waters, wherof there be many in Scotlande. But to procéede hauyng once paſt Dungiſby heade in Cathneſſe, we ſhall ere long come to yͤ mouth of the Wiſle, a pretty ſtreame, comming by ſouth of the Mountaynes called the Maydens pappes. Then to the Browre, the Clyn, the Twyn, (wherunto runneth thrée ryuers, the Shyn, the Sillan, & Carew) the Neſſe which beſide the plenty of Samon founde therein is neuer frozen, nor ſuffereth yſe to remaine there, that is caſt into the poole. From thence wée come vnto the Narding, the Fynderne, the Spaie, (which receiueth the Vine,) yͤ Fitch, the Buliche, the Arrian, the Leuin, and the Boghe, from whence we ſayle, vntill we come about the Buquhan head, and ſo to the Downe, and Dée: which two ſtreames bring forth the greateſt Samons, that are to be had in Scotland, and moſt plentye of the ſame. Then to the North Eſke where into the Eſmond runneth aboue Brechin, the Southe Eſke, then the Louen and the Tawe, which is the fyneſt Ryuer for water that is in all Scotland, and whereunto moſt Ryuers and lakes doe runne. As Farlake, Yrth, Goure, Loiche, Cannach, Lynell, Loyon, Irewer, Erne, and diuers other beſides ſmall ryllets which I did neuer loke vppon. Then is there the lake Londors vppon whoſe mouth Saint Androwes doth ſtande, the Lake Lewin vnto whoſe ſtreame two other Lakes haue recouſe in Fiſland, and then the Fyrth or Fortha, which ſome doe call the Scotiſhe ſea, and with the Ryuer laſte mencioned (I meane that commeth from Londors) includeth all Fife, the ſaide Fortha beyng full of Oyſters and all kindes of huge fyſhe that vſe

Leue.
Long.
Goyle.
Yeke.
Robinſey.
Forlan.
Tarbat.
Lean.
Abyr.
Arke.
Zefe.
Sell.
Zord.
Dwyn.
Newiſſe.
Orne.
Lang.
Orun.
Hew.
Brun.
Kile.
Dowr,
Faro.
Neſſe.
Herre.
Con.
Glaſſe.
Maur.
Vrdall.
Feſſe.
Calder.
wiſle.
Browre.
Clyn.
Twine.
Shin
Syllan.
Carew.
Neſſe.
Narding.
Spaie.
Downe.
Dée.
Eſke.

to lye in the deepe. How many waters runne into the Fyrth,it is not in my power iuſtlye to declare,yet are there both Ryuers, Rilles, and Lakes that fall into the ſame,as Clack, Alon,Dune,Kery,Cambell, Cumer, Tere, Man, Torkeſon, Roſhan, Muſhell, Blene, and dyuers other which I call by theſe names,partly after information, and partly of ſuch townes as are neere vnto their heds. Finally when we are paſſe the Hay then are we come vnto the Twede and ſoone after into England againe.

Clack.
Alon.
Dune.
Kery.
Cambell.
Cumer.
Tere.
Man.
Torkeſan.
Roſham.
Muſſell.
Blene.
Twede.

The Twede is a noble riuer and the limes or bounde betweene England and Scotland, whereby thoſe two kingdomes are nowe diuided in ſunder. It riſeth about Drimlar in Euſdale (or rather out of a faire Wel as Leland ſaith ſtanding in the moſſe of an hill called Airſtane,or Hareſtan in Twede dale 10. miles from Pibble) and ſo comming by Pibble, Lander,Drybiwgh,Ielſe, Warke, Norham and Hagarſtone , it falleth into the ſea beneath Barwyc as I heare: Thus ſaith Leland,but I not contented with this ſo ſhorte a diſcourſe of ſo long a Ryuer and briefe deſcription of ſo faire a ſtreame,wil adde ſomewhat more of the ſame concerning his race on the Engliſhe ſide , and rehearſall of ſuche Ryuers as fall into the ſame. Cōming therfore to Ridam, it receyueth betweene that & Carham a becke which deſcendeth from the hilles that lye by Weſt of Windram. Going alſo from Rydam by Longbridgeham (on the Scottiſhe ſide)and to Carham, it haſteth immediately to Warke caſtell on the Engliſhe , and by Spylaw on the other ſide, then to Cornewall,Cald ſtreame, and Tillemouth where it receiueth ſundry waters in one botome which is called the Till, & whoſe deſcription inſueth here at hand. Certes there is no head of any Ryuer that is named Till, but the yſſue of the fardeſt water that commeth hereinto, ryſeth not farre from ẏ head of Aſwaie in the Cheuiote hilles , where it is called Bromis. From thence it goeth to Hartſide Ingram Brantō,Crawley,Hedgeley,Beuely , Bewyc , and Bewyc,beneath which it receiueth one water comming from Redham by Weſt and ſone after a ſecond deſcending from the Middletons,and ſo they go as one with the Bromiſhe , by Chatton to Fowbrey(where they croſſe the third water falling downe by North from Howborne by Heſel bridg) thence to Woller,there alſo taking in a rill that riſeth about Middleton hal, & runneth by Hardley, Whereley, and ẏ reſt aforeremembred,wherby the water of Bromis is not a little increaſed , and after this latter confluence beneath Woller , no more called Bromis but the Till,vntill it come at the Twede. The Till paſſing therefore by Weteland and Dedington,meeteth ſone after with a fayre ſtreame comming from by Southweſt , which moſt men call the Bowbent or Bobent.It riſeth on the Weſt ſide of the Cocklaw hill,and from thence haſteth to Hattons beneath the which it ioyneth from by ſoutheaſt with the Hellerborne , and then goeth to Pudſton,Downeham, Kilham, and a little by North of Newton Kyrke , and betweene it and Weſt Newton,it taketh in another water cōming from the Cheuiote hils by Heth poole,and from thenceforth runneth on without any farder increaſe, by Copland Euart and ſo into the Till. The Till for his part in lyke ſorte after this confluence goeth to Broneridge , Fodcaſtell , Eatall caſtell Heaton and North of Tilmouthe into the Twede, or by Weſt of Weſeil,excepte my memorie doe faile me. After this alſo our aforeſaid water of Twede deſcendeth to Grotehughe, the Newbiggins , Norham caſtell, Foord,Lungridge, and croſſing the Whitaker on the other ſide from Scotland beneath Cawmill,it runneth to Ordo, to Barwicke and ſo into the Ocean,leauing ſo much Engliſhe ground on the Northweſt ripe as lyeth in manner of a triangle betweene Cawmilles,Barwijc and Lammeton , which is two myles and an halfe euery waye, or not much more excepte I be deceiued. Beyng paſt this noble ſtreame,we came by a rill that deſcendeth from Bowſden by Barington. Then by the ſecond which ariſeth betweene Middleton and Detcham and runneth by Eſkill and the Roſſe. Next of all to Warnemouth of whoſe back water I read as foloweth. The Warne or Gwerne ryſeth Southweſt of Crokelaw, and goyng by Warneford, Bradford,Spindleſtone, and Budill, it leaueth Newton on the right hand,and ſo falleth into the Ocean after it hath runne almoſt nine myles from the heade within the lande. From Warnemouth,we ſayled by Bamborow caſtell, and came at laſt to a fall betweene Bedwell and Newton : The firſt water that ſerueth this iſſue,riſeth aboue Carleton from the foote of an hill which ſeemeth to part the head of this & that of Warne in ſunder. It runneth alſo by Carleton,Tonley,Dorford,Brunton and Tuggell,and finally into the ſea as to his courſe appertaineth. From this water we went by Dunſtanbugh vnto the Aile or Alne mouth which is ſerued with a pretty riueret called Alne, the heade whereof riſeth in the hilles weſt of Alnham towne. From thence alſo it runneth by Ryle,Kyle,Eſlington, and Whittingham where it croſſeth a rill comming

Tyll.
Bromis.
Bobent.
Whitaker.
Warne.
Aile,or Alne.

ming from by ſouth, and beneath the ſame, the ſecond that deſcendeth from Eirchild at Brone, & likewyſe the thirde that riſeth at Newton and runneth by Edlingham caſtell and Lemmaton, (all on the Southeaſt ſide or right hande,) and ſo paſſeth on farder till it méete with the fourth comming from aboue Shipley from by North, after which confluence it goeth to Alnewijc and then to Dennijc, receyuing there a rillet from by South and a rill from by Northe, and thence goyng on to Bilton, betwéene Ailmouth towne and Woddon, it ſwepeth into the Ocean.

Cocket.
Uſwaie.
Ridley.
Yardop.

The Cocket is a goodly ryuer, the head alſo thereof is in the rootes of Kemblespeth hils, from whence it goeth to Whiteſide, & there méeting wyth the Uſwaye (which deſcendeth from the North,) it goeth a little farder to Linbridge, & there receyueth the Ridley by ſouth weſt. It ioineth alſo ere long with the Rydlande, which commeth in north, by Bilſtone, and then hyeth to Sharpeton, to Harbotle, where it croſſeth the Yardop water, by ſouth, then to Woodhouſe, to Bickerton, to Toſſons, Newton, and running a pace towarde Whitton Towre, it taketh a Brooke with all that commeth in northweſt of Alneham, néere Elihaw, and goeth by Skarnewood, Ouer nether Trewhet, Snitter, and Thorton, and ſone after uniteth it ſelf with the Cocket, from whence they go together to Rethbury, or Whitton Towre, to Haly, to Brinkehorne, Welden, Elihaw, Felton, (receiuing thereabout the Fareſley brooke, that goeth by wintring by ſouth eaſt; & Sheldike water, that goeth by Haſon, to Brainſaughe by north) & from thence to Worricke caſtell, and ſo into the Sea.

Lune.

There is furthermore a litle fall, betwéene Hawkeſlaw & Dunrith, which ryſeth about Stokes wood, goeth by eaſt Cheuington, and Whittington caſtell, & afterwarde into the Ocean. The Lune is a pretye brooke ryſing weſt of Eſpley, frō whence it goeth to Tritlington, Ugham, Linton, and ere long in the Sea.

Wanſbeck.
Font, alias Pont.

Wanſbecke is farre greater then the Lune. It iſſueth vp weſt and by north, of weſt Whelpington, thence it runneth to kyrke Whelpington, Wallington, Middleton, and Angerton. Here it méeteth with a water running frō about Farnelaw, by ẏ grange, and Hartborne on the north, and then goyng from Angerton, it runneth by Moſeden to Mitforth, and there in lyke maner croſſeth ẏ Font, which iſſuing out of the ground about new Biggin, goeth by Nonney kyrke, Witton caſtel, Stanton, Nunriding, Newton, & ſo into ẏ Wanſbecke, which runneth in lyke maner from Mitforde to Morpheth caſtell, (within two myles whereof, it ebbeth & floweth) the newe Chappell, Bottle caſtel, Shepwaſhe, and ſo into the ſea, thrée myles from the next hauen which is called Blithe.

Blithe.

Blithe water ryſeth about kirke Heaton, and goeth by Belſe, Ogle, and receyuing the broket that cōmeth by the Diſſingtons and Barwijc on the hill, it runneth by Harford, Bedlington, Cowpon, and at Blithes nuke, into the déepe Ocean.

Hartley.

Hartley ſtreamelet ryſeth in Wéteſlade parioche, goeth by Halliwell, and at Hartley towne yéeldeth to the Sea.

north. Tine
Shele.
Reade.
Shillington.
3. Burnes

The Tine ryſeth of two heades, whereof ẏ called north Tine, is the firſt that followeth to be deſcribed. It ſpringeth vp aboue Belkirke in the hylles, and thence goeth to Butterhawghe, (where it receiueth the Shele) thence to Cragſheles, Leapeliſh, Shilburne, Yarro, Smalburne, Elis, Greneſted Heſlaſide, Billingham, and at Reaſomouth, taketh in the Reade, and in the meane time ſundrye other rilles, comming from by north & ſouth, whereof I haue no knowledge, neyther anye regarde to write, bycauſe they are obſure, ſmal, and without denominations. After this confluence it paſſeth to Léehall, to Carehouſe (croſſing Shillingtō rill by weſt) another alſo beneath thys on the ſame ſide, made by the confluence of Workes burne, and Myddle burne, at Koſeburne, beſyde ẏ thyrd aboue, & Symons burne beneath Shepechaſe, then to S. Oſmondes, to Wall, to Ackam, and ſo into ſouth Tine, beneath Accam, & northweſt as I doe wene of Hexam.

Tine. S.
Eſgyll.
Uent
Gilders-becke.
Knarr.

The South Tine ariſeth in the Cheuiote hilles, and eare it hath gone farre from the head it méeteth with Eſgyll on the eaſt, and another rill on the Weſt, and ſo going by the houſes toward Awſten moore, it ioyneth with Schud from by weſt, and ſone after with the Uent from by Eaſt aboue Lowbiere. From Lowbier it goeth to Whitehalton, to Kyrke Haugh (croſſing ẏ gilders Becke) to Thornhope, where it is inlarged wyth a water on eache ſide, to Williams Stone, and almoſt at Knareſdale, taketh in the Knare, and then runneth withall to Fetherſtone angle. At Fetherſtone angle lykewiſe it méeteth wyth harley water, by South weſt, another a lytle beneath from ſoutheaſt, and thence when it commeth to Bylleſter caſtell, it caryeth another with all from by weſt, after which confluence it goeth to Harltweſell, Unthanke, Wilmoteſwijc, receiuing one ryl by ẏ way, and another there from the ſouth, as it doth the thyrd from Bradly hall by north, and the Alon by the ſouth, whereby his greatneſſe

Derwent.

is not a little augmented. From Willymotſwiſc, it goeth to Lées, Haddonbridge, Woodhall, Owmers, Wherneby, Coſtely, and ſo by Warden (ſoone after receyuing the North Tine) thē to Herham, & Dilſtan, croſſing two waters by the waye, whereof one commeth from by ſouth, another lower then the ſame from Riſing ouer againſt Burell. From Dilſtā it goeth to Eltingham, Prudo, Willam (and there it méeteth furthermore with a beck that goeth betwéene Benwell and Redhoughe) then to Repon, Blaydon, and next of all with the Derwent, from by ſouth which riſeth alſo about Kneden of two heades, and goyng by Acton Aſperſheles Berneford ſide, Ebcheſter, Blackehall, and Willington, finally falleth into the Tine beneath Redhughe and before it come to Newcaſtell, from whence alſo the Tine goeth by Felim, Hedburne, Iello, Sheles and ſo into the ſea.

Were.
Burdop.
Wallop.
Kellop.
Walcrop.
Bedburne
Pidding-broke.
Pilis.

The Were riſeth of thrée heades, in Kelloppeſlaw hill, whereof the moſt ſoutherly is called Burdop, the middlemoſt Wallop and the Northerlieſt Kellop, which vniting themſelues about S. Iohns Chappell, or a little by Weſt thereof, their confluence runneth thorow Stanhope parke, by eaſt Yare, and ſo to Froſterley. Here it receiueth thrée rilles frō the North in Weredale, whereof one commeth in by Stanhop, another weſt of Woodcroſt Hall, and the third at Froſterley afore mencioned, Howbeit a little beneath theſe, I finde yet a fourth on the ſouthe ſide, which deſcendeth from ſouthweſt by Bolliop, Byſhopſley, Milhouſes, and Landew, as I haue béene informed. Beyng therefore vnited al wͭ the Were, this ſtreame goeth on to Walſingham there taking in the Walcropburne, beſide another at Bradley, the thyrde at Harpley Hall, (and theſe on the Northſide,) and the fourth betwéene Witton and Witō caſtel called Bedburne cōming by Hamſterley wherby this riuer doth now waxe very great. Going therefore frō hence, it haſteth to Byſhops Aklande, Newfield, and Willington. But néere vnto this place alſo and ſomewhat beneath Sunderland, the Were croſſeth one broke from ſoutheaſt by Het & Cordale, and two other from by northweſt in one botome, whereof the firſt commeth from Aſhe by Langley, ẏ other from Beare parke, and ſo méeting beneath Kelley with the other they fall both as one into the Were betwéene Sunderland, and Burnall. From hence our Ryuer goeth to Howghwell, Shirkeley, olde Dureſme (and there taking in the Pidding broke by Northeaſt) it goeth to Dureſme, Finkeley Harbarhouſe, Lumley Caſtell, (where it méeteth with the Pilis, whoſe heds are vnited betwéene Pelton and Whitwell) and from thence to Lampton, the Bedwiks, Vfferton, Furd, and ſo into the ſea betwéene Sunderland and Munkermouth.

Beyng thus paſſed the Tine, and ere we come at the mouth of the Theſe almoſt by 2. myles, we méete with a prettye fall, which groweth by a Ryuer that is increaſed with two waters, whereof one riſeth by northweſt at Moretōs, and goeth by Stotfeld and Clarton, the other at Dawlton: goyng by Brereton, Owtham, and Grettam, finally ioyning within two miles of the ſea, they make a pretty portlet but I know not of what ſecurity.

Theſis.
Hude.
Lune.
Arnegill.
Skirke-with.
Bander.
Kere croſe
Skerne.

The Theſe riſeth in the blacke lowes, aboue two myles flat weſt of the ſoutherlye head of Were called Burdop, and thēce runneth thorow Tildale forreſt: and taking in the Langdon water from northweſt it runneth to Durtpit chappell, to New Biggin, & ſo to Middleton. Here it receyueth by weſt of eche of theſe a Rill comming from by North, (of which the laſt is called Hude) & likewiſe the Lune by ſouthweſt, that riſeth at thrée ſeuerall places, whereof the firſt is in the borders of Weſtmerland and there called Arnegyll becke, the ſecond more ſoutherly, named Lune becke, and the thirde by ſouth, at Bandor Skath hill, and méeting all aboue Arnegill houſe, they runne together in one botome to Lathekyrke bridge, and then into the Theſe. Hauing therefore mette with theſe, it runneth to Mickelton (and there taking in the Skirkwith water) it goeth Rumbald kirke (croſſing there alſo one Rill and the Bander broke) and then goyng to Morewood hagge, & Morewood parke, til it come to Bernards caſtle. Here alſo it receyueth a water cōmyng eaſt of Kere croſſe, frō the ſpittle in Stāmore by Crag almoſt ſouthweſt, and being vnited wͭ the Theſe, it goth by Stratford, Egleſdon, Rokeſby, Thorpe, Wickliffe, Ouington, and betwene Barfurth, & Gainfurth: meteth with another Rill, that commeth from Langley foreſt, betwene Raby caſtle and Standorpe. But to procéede, the Theſe beyng paſt Ramforth, it runneth betwene Pérſore & Cliffe, and in the way to Croftes bridge, taketh in ẏ Skerne a pretye water which riſeth about Trimdon, and goeth by Fiſhburne, Bradbury, Preſton and Darlington: and finally méeting with the Cocke becke, it falleth into the Theſe beneath Stapleton, before it come at Croftes bridge. From thence it runneth to Sockburne, nether Dunſley, Midleton row, Newſham, Yarne (croſſing a broke frō Leuen bridge) to Barwicke Preſton, Thorne Abbaie and Arſham, which ſtandeth on the

South

Southeaſt ſide of the riuer betwene the falles of two waters: wherof one deſcendeth from weſt Hartburne, the other from Stillington. From Arſham finally it goeth to Bellazis Midleburgh, and ſo into the ſea.

Next of all we come vnto the high Cliffe water, which riſing aboue Hutton, goeth by Giſborow, & there receiueth another ſtream comming from by ſouth eaſt, and then continuyng in his courſe, it is not long ere it fal into the ſea.

The next is the Scaling water, which deſcendeth from Scaling towne, from whence we come to the Molemouth, not farre from whoſe hed ſtandeth Molgraue caſtle: then to Sandford creke, & next of all to Eſke mouth, which riſeth aboue Danby wood, and ſo goeth to Caſtleton, there méeting by the way with another Rill comming from about Weſterdale by Danby, and ſo they goe on together by Armar and Thwatecaſtle (till they ioyne with another water aboue Glaſdale chappel) thence to new Biggin, taking yet another broke with them, running from Goodlande warde, (and likewiſe the Ibur) and ſo goe on without any further increaſe by Buſworth, ere long into the ſea.

There is alſo a creke on eche ſide of Robin Whoods bay, of whoſe names and courſes, I haue no ſkil ſauing that Fillingale the towne doth ſtand betwene them both.

There is another not farre from Scarborow, on the North ſide called the Harwood broke. It runneth thorow Harwoode Dale by Cloughton, Buniſton, and ſoone after méeting with another Rill on the ſouthweſt, they runne as one into the Ocean ſea.

From Scarborow to Bridlington by Flãborow hed, we met with no more falles. This water therfore that we ſaw at Bridlington, riſeth at Duggleby, from whence it goeth to Kirby, Helperthorpe, Butterwyke, Boithorp, Foxhole, (where it falleth into the ground & riſeth vp againe at Rudſton) Thorpe, Cathorpe, Bridlington, and ſo into the Ocean.

Being come about yͤ Spurne hed, I méete ere long with a riuer that riſeth ſhort of Witherſey, and goeth by Fodringham, and Wiſted: from thence, to another that commeth by Roſſe, Halſham, Carmingham: then to the third, which riſeth aboue Humbleton, and goeth to Eſterwyke, Heddon, and ſo into the Humber. The 4. ſpringeth ſhort of Sprotteley, goeth by Wytton, and falleth into the water of Humber at Merflete, as I heare.

The next of all is the Hull water, which I will deſcribe alſo here, and then croſſe ouer vnto the ſoutherly ſhore. The furdeſt head of Hull water riſeth at Kilham, from whence it goeth to Lewthorpe creke, and ſo to Fodringham, a little beneath which it méeteth with ſondry waters, wherof one falleth in on the North eaſt ſide, comming from about Liſſet, the ſecond on the Northweſt banke frõ Naſferton: the third from Emmeſwell & Kirkeburne, (for it hath two heds, which ioyne beneath little Dryfeld) and the 4. which falleth into the ſame: ſo that theſe two latter runne vnto yͤ maine riuer both in one chanell, as experience hath confirmed. From hence then our Hull goeth to Ratteſey to Goodalehouſe, & thẽ taking in a water from Horneſie Mere, it goeth on thorowe Beuerley medowes, by Warron, Stoneferry, Hull, and finally into the Humber. Of the Rill that falleth into this water from South netherwyke by Skyrlow, and the two Rilles that come from Cockingham and Woluerton, I ſaye no more, ſith it is inough to name them in their order.

¶Of ſuch Riuers as fall into the Sea, betweene Humber to the Thames.

Cap.xj.

THere is no ryuer called Humber from the heade, wherfore that which we now call Humber, hath the ſame denomination no hygher then the confluence of Trent with the Ouze, as beſide Leland, ſundry auncyent writers haue noted before vs both. Certes it is a noble arme of yͤ ſea, & although it be properly to be called Ouze, euen to the Nuke beneth Ancolme, yet are we contented to cal it Humber, of Humbrus a King of yͤ Scithiens, who inuaded this Iſle in yͤ time of Locrinus, thinking to make himſelfe the Monarch of yͤ ſame. But as God hath frõ time to time ſingularly prouyded of the benefite of Briteine, ſo in this buſines it came to paſſe, that Humber was put to flight, his men ſlaine, & furthermore whileſt he attempted to ſaue hymſelfe by haſting to hys ſhippes, ſuch was the preſſe of his nobilitye that followed him into his owne veſſell, and the rage of weather, which haſtened on his fatall daye, that both he & they were drowned in that arme: And thys is the onelye cauſe wherefore it hath béene called Humber, as our wryters ſaye, and whereof I finde theſe verſes.

Humber.

Dum fugit obſtat ei flumen, ſubmergitur illic,
Deque ſuo tribuit nomine nomen aquæ.

Thys ryuer in olde time parted Lhoegres or England from Albania, which was yͤ portion of Albanactus, the yongeſt ſon of Brute. But ſithence that time yͤ limits of Lhoegres haue bene ſo inlarged, firſt by yͤ proweſſe of yͤ Romains, then by yͤ conqueſts of Engliſh, yͤ at thys preſent day yͤ Twede on the one ſide, and the Solwe on the other, are taken for the principall boundes, betwéene vs and thoſe of Scotlãd. In deſcribing therfore of the Humber, I muſt néede deſcribe the Ouze, & in laying forth the courſe of the Ouze, I ſhal hard eſcape the noting of thoſe ſtreames at large, that fall into the ſame: howbeit ſith I haue of purpoſe appointed a chapter for theſe and the lyke, the next booke, I will here onely ſpeake of the Ouze, and ſay thereof as followeth.

Vre alias Ouze, or Iſis.

The Vre therefore ryſeth in the fardeſt partes of all Richmondeſhyre, among the Coterine hilles, in a moſſe, towarde the weſt fourtéene myles beyonde Mydleham. Being therefore iſſued out of the grounde, it goeth to Holbecke, Hardraw, Hawſhouſe, Butterſide, Aſkebridge (which Lelãd calleth the Aſcaran, and ſayth therof & the Bainham, that they are but obſcure bridges) thẽ to Aſkarth, thorowe Wanleſſe Parke, Wenſeley bridg, (made two hundred yeares ſince, by Alwyn, Parſon of Winſlaw) New parke, Spennithorne, Danby, Geruiſe Abbay, Clifton and Maſham. When it is come to Maſham, it receyueth the Burne, by ſouth weſt (as it dyd the Wile, from very déepe ſcarry rockes, before at Aſkaran) and dyuers other wild rilles not worthy to be remẽbred. From Maſham, it haſteth vnto Tanfielde (taking in by the waye, a ryll by Southweſt) then to another Tanfielde, to Newton hall, and northbridge at the hither ende of Rippon, and ſo to Huickes bridge. But ere it come there it méeteth with yͤ Skel, which being incorporate with yͤ ſame, they run as one to Thorpe, then to Alborow & ſone after receyueth yͤ Swale. Here ſayth Lelande, I am brought into no little ſtreight, what to coniecture of the méeting of Iſis & Vre, for ſome ſay yͤ the Iſis & the Vre doe, méete at Borowbridge, which to me doth ſeme to be very vnlikely, ſith Iſurium taketh his denominatiõ of Iſis & Vro; for it is often ſéene that the leſſe ryuers doe mingle their names with yͤ greater, as in the Thameſis & other is eaſie to be found. Neyther is there any more menciõ of the Vre after his paſſage vnder Borowbrige, but onelye of Iſis & the Ouze in theſe dayes, although in olde tyme it helde vnto Yorke it ſelfe, which of the Vre is truely called Vrewyc, (or Yorke ſhorte) or elſe my perſwaſion doth fayle me. I haue red alſo Ewerwyc and Yorwijc. But to procéede, & leaue this ſuperfluous diſcourſe. Frõ Borowbridge, yͤ Ouze goeth to Aldbrough (& receiuing yͤ Swale by yͤ way) to Aldworke, taking in Vſburne water, frõ the ſouthweſt then to Linton vpon Ouze, to Newton vpõ Ouze, & to Munketun, méeting wͭ the Nydde ere long, and ſo going withall to the Readhouſes, to Popleton, Clifton, Yorke (where it croſſeth the Foſſe) to Fouleſworth, Middlethorp, Acaſter, & Acaſter, Kelſlete, Welehall, Bareleby, Selby, Turmonhall, Skurthall, Hokelathe, Hoke, Sandhall, Redneſſe, Whitegifte, Vſlet, Blacketoft, Foreflete, Brownflete, & ſo into Humber. And thus do I deſcribe the Ouze. Nowe beyng entred into yͤ Humber ſtreame, toward yͤ ſea againe, I wil begin with the Ancolme, and ſo go along vpon the coaſt of Lincolneſhire tyll I come to Boſton in ſuch order as inſueth.

Burne.

Wile.

Skell.

Swale.

Foſſe.

Ancholme.

Ancolme, a goodlye water ryſeth Eaſt of Mercate Raſing, & frõ thence goeth by middle Raſing. Then receiuing a ſhort ryll from by ſouth, it runneth on vnder two bridges, by the waye, till it come to Wingall, north eaſt, where alſo it méeteth with another brooke, frõ Vſſelby that commeth thither, by Vreſby, and ſouth Kelſey. After this confluence alſo it goeth by Cadney (taking in the two rylles in one botome, that deſcende from Howſham, and north Leyſey,) and thence to Newſted, Glanford, Wardeley, Thorneham, Appleby, Horſlow, north Ferriby, and ſo into the ſea.

Beyng paſt Ancolme, we go about the Neſſe and ſo to the fall of the water, which commeth from Keleby, by Cotham Abbaye, Nerſham Abbaie, Thorneton, & leaning Coxhyll by weſt, it falleth into the Ocean. The next is the fall of another brooke comming from Fleting all along by Stallingburne. Thẽ croſſed we Grymſby gullet which iſſuing aboue Ereby cõmeth to Laſeby, the two Cotes, and then into the ſea. After thys wée paſſed by a nother Portelet, whoſe backwater, deſcendeth from Waleſby by Aſheby, Briggeſley, Wathe, and Towney, and finally to the next iſſue, before we came at Saltflete which braunching at the laſt, leaueth a prety Iſlande wherein Comſholme Village ſtandeth. This water ryſeth ſhort as I here of Tathewel, frõ whence it goeth to Rathby, Hallington, Eſſington, Lowth, Kidirington Auingham, & then braunching aboue North Somerton, one arme méeteth with the ſea, by Grauethorp, yͤ other by north of ſomercote.

Saltflet.

Saltflet water hath but a ſhort courſe for riſing among the Cockeringtons, it cõmeth to the ſea, at Saltflete hauen, howbeit the next vnto it is of a longer race, for it ryſeth as I take it in Cawthorpe paroche, and deſcendeth by Legburne, the Carletons, the weſt myddle and eaſt Saltfletes, and ſo into the Oceane. The water that ryſeth aboue Ormeſby & Orby, goeth to Cawſby, Swaby Abbaie, Clathorpe, Belew, Tattle, Witherne, Stane, and north eaſt of Thetilthorpe into the maine ſea.

Maplethorpe water ryſeth at Thareſthorp and going by Markeley, Folethorpe, & Truthorpe, it is not long ere it méete wyth the Germain Ocean, then come we to ẏ iſſue ẏ commeth frō aboue Hotoft, & thence to Mumby chappel, whether ẏ water cōming frō Clarby, Willowby, and Slouthby (and wherinto another ryll falleth) doth runne, as there to doe homage vnto their Lorde, & Soueraigne. As for Ingolde mil créeke, I paſſe it ouer, and come ſtreight to another water, deſcending from Burge by Skegnes. From hence I go to the iſſue of a faire brooke, which as I heare, doth riſe at Tetforde, and thence goeth by Somerby, Bagenderby Aſhwardby Sawſthorpe, Partney, Aſheby, ẏ Stepings, Thorpe Croft, and ſo into the Sea. As for Wainflete water, it commeth from the eaſt ſea, and goeth betwéene S. Maries and Alhallowes by Wainflete town, and treading the pathe of his predeceſſors, empiteth hys chanell to the maintenaunce of the Sea.

Now come I to the courſe of the Wytham, a famous riuer, wherof goeth the bye word, frequented of old, and alſo of Ancolme, which I before deſcribed.

Ancolme ele, and Wytham pike,
Search all England, and find not the like.

Lelande calleth it Lindis, diuers the Rhe, and I haue read all theſe names my ſelfe, except my memory do faile me. It riſeth amōg the Wickhams, in the edge of Lincolnſhire, and as I take it in Southwickā paroche, frō whence it goeth to Colſterworth, Eaſton, Kirkeſtoke Paunton, and Paunton, Houghton, and at Grantham taketh in a Rill from by ſouthweſt, as I here. From Grantham it runneth to Man, Thorpe, Bolton, & Barneſton, where croſſing a becke from Northeaſt, it proceedeth farther ſouthweſtwarde by Mereſton, toward Faſton, (there alſo taking in a brooke that riſeth about Denton, and goeth by Sydbrooke,) it haſteth to Dodington, Clapale, Barmeby, Beckingham, Stapleford, Ballingham, Thurſby, and beneth Amburgh, croſſeth a water that commeth from Stogilthorpe by Somerton caſtle. After this confluence alſo, our Wytham goeth ſtil forth on his way, to the Hickhams, Boltha̅, Bracebridge, and Lincolne it ſelfe. But ere it come there, it maketh certain pooles (wherof one is called Swan poole) and ſone after deuiding it ſelfe into armes, they runne both thorough the lower part of Lincolne, eche of them hauing a bridge of ſtone ouer it, thereby to paſſe through the principall ſtréete: and as the bigger arme is well able to beare their fiſher botes, ſo the leſſer is not without his ſeuerall commodities. At Lincolne alſo this noble riuer méeteth, with the Foſſe dike, whereby in great floudes, veſſelles may come from the Trentes ſide to Lincoln. For betwéene Torkſey where it beginneth, & Lincoln citie where it endeth, are not aboue vij. miles, as Lelande hath remembred. Biſhop Atwater began to clenſe this ditch, thinking to bring great veſſels frō Trent to Lincoln in his time, but ſith he died before it was performed, there hath no man bene ſince ſo well minded as to proſecute his purpoſe. The courſe moreouer of this our ſtreame followyng, from Lincoln to Boſtō, is 50. miles by water, but if you mind to ferry, you ſhall haue but 24. For there are 4. common places where men are ferried ouer, as Short ferry 5. miles from Lincolne: Taterſall fery, 8. miles frō Short fery: Dogdike fery a mile, Langreth fery, 5. miles, and ſo many finally to Boſton.

Foſſe dike.

But to go forward with the courſe of Lindis, when it is paſt Lincolne, it goeth by Shepewaſh, Waſſingburg, Fiſkerton, and ſone after taketh in ſundry riuers in one chanell, wherby his greatneſſe is very much increaſed. Frō this confluence it goeth to Bardolfe, and there receiuing a Rill (deſcendyng from betwene Sotby and Randby, and goyng by Hatton) it ſlideth forth by Tupham to Taterſall caſtle, taking vp there in like ſort thre ſmall Rilles by the way, wherof I haue ſmall notice as yet, and therfore I referre thē vnto the next Treatize, wherin God willing many things ſhal be more plainly ſet downe, that are here but obſcurely touched, and ſome errors corrected, that for want of informatiō, in due tyme haue ſpedily paſſed my handes. Finally, being paſt Taterſall, and Dogdike fery, the Wytham goeth toward Boſton, & thence into the ſea. Thus haue I briefly diſpatched this noble riuer, now let vs ſée what we may do with the Wiland, whoſe deſcription ſhall be ſet downe euen as it was deliuered me, with onely one note added out of Leland, and another had of Chriſtopher Saxton of Wakefield, by whoſe frendly helpe I haue filed many things in this that were erſt but roughly handled, and more then rudely forged.

Being paſſed Boſton Hauen, we come ſtreight waye to the fall of Wyland. Thys ſtreame ryſeth about Sibbertoft, and running betwéene Boſworth and Howthorpe, it goeth to Fédingworth, Merſon, Bubberhā, Truſſell, Herborowe, (receyuing there the Bray, which cūmeth frō Braybrooke caſtle) to Bowton, Weſton, Wiland, Aſhely, Medburne, Rokingham, and Calwcot, (where a riueret called lyttle Eye méeteth wythall, comming from eaſt Norton by Alerſtone,

Wyland.

Bray.

Warke.

Brooke water.

Whitnell.

New drene.

South.

Writhlake.

Shepes eye.

Stoke, Faſton, and by ſtocke. From Cawcot it goeth to Gritto, Harringworth, Seton, Wauerley, Duddington, Colly weſton, Eſton, and there ioyneth with the thirde called Warke, not farre from Betton, which commeth from Lye by Preſton, Wing, Lindon, Luffenham &c. Thence it goeth on by Tinwell, to Stanforde (croſſing the Brooke water, and Whitenelbecke, both in one bottom) and from Stanforde by Talington, Marſey to Mercate Deping, Crowland (where it almoſt méeteth with ÿ Auon then to Spalding, Waplãd, and ſo into the ſea. Leland writing of this Wpland, addeth theſe words which I will not omitte, ſith in mine opinion they are worthy to be noted, for better conſideratiõ to be had in the ſayd water and his courſe. The Wyland ſayth he, goyng by Crowlande, at Newdrene diuideth it ſelfe into two brãches, of which one goeth vp to Spalding called Newdrene, and ſo into the ſea at Foſſedike Stowe: the other named ÿ South into Wiſbeche. Thys latter alſo parteth it ſelfe to two myles from Crowlande, and ſendeth a ryll called Writhlake by Thorney, where it méeteth wyth an arme of the Nene, that cõmeth from Peter borow, and holdeth courſe with ÿ brode ſtreame, till it be come to Murho, ſixe myles from Wyſbech, where it falleth into the ſouth. Out of the ſouth in lyke ſort falleth another arme called Shéepes eye, and at Hopelode (which is fourtéene myles, from Linne) did fal into the ſea. But now the courſe of that ſtreame is ceaſed, wherupõ the inhabitants ſuſtaine many grieuous floudes, bycauſe the mouth is ſtaunched, by which it had acceſſe before into the ſea: hetherto Leland. Of the courſe of this ryuer alſo from Stanford, I note thys furthermore out of another writing in my time. Beyng paſt Staunton (ſaith he) it goeth by Burghley Vffington, Callingtõ, Magey, Deping, eaſt Déeping, and comming to Waldram hall, it braunchethe into two armes, wherof that which goeth to Singleſole, receyueth the the Nene out of Cambridge ſhyre, and then going by Dowesdale, Trekenhole, and wynding at laſt to Wiſbiche, it goeth by Liuerington, S. Maries, and ſo into the ſea. The other arme haſteth to Crowland, Clowthouſe Bretherhouſe, Pikale, Cowbecke and Spalding. Here alſo it receiueth ÿ Baſtõ dreane, Longtoft dreane, Déeping dreane, & thence goeth by Wickham into the ſea, taking with all on the right hand ſondry other dreanes, and thus farre he.

Next of all when we are paſt theſe, we come to another fall of water into ÿ Waſh, which deſcendeth directly from Whaplade dreane to Whaplade towne in Hollande: but becauſe it is a water of ſmall importãce, I paſſe from thence, as haſting to the Nene, of both, the more noble riuer. The next therfore to be deſcribed is the Auon, otherwyſe called Nene, which the author deſcribeth after this maner. The Nene beginneth 4. miles aboue Northampton in Nene Mere, where it riſeth out of two heades, which ioyne about Northampton. Of this riuer the city & countrie beareth the name, although we now pronoũce Hãpton for Auondune, which error is cõmitted alſo in ſouth Auondune, as we may eaſily ſée. In another place Lelãd deſcribeth ÿ ſaid riuer after this maner. The Auõ riſeth in Nene mere field, and goyng by Dundale and Peterborow, it deuideth it ſelfe into thre armes, wherof one goeth to Horney, another to Wiſbich, the third to Ramſey: and afterward beyng vnited againe, they fall into the ſea not very farre from Linne. Finally, the diſcent of theſe waters, leaue here a great ſort of Ilandes, wherof Ely, Crowland, and Merſland, are the chiefe: Hetherto Lelande. Howbeit, becauſe neither of theſe deſcriptiõs touch the courſe of this riuer at the full, I wil ſet downe the third, which ſhal ſupply whatſoeuer the other do want. The Auon therefore ariſing in Nenemere field, is encreaſed with many Rilles before it come at Northampton, and one aboue Kings thorpe, from whẽce it goeth to Dallington, & ſo to Northamptõ, where it receiueth the Wedon, and here I will ſtay, till I haue deſcribed this riuer. The Wedon therfore riſeth at Fauleſſe in maiſter Knightlies pooles and in Badby plaſhes alſo, are certaine ſprings that reſort vnto this ſtreame. Fauleſſe pooles, are a mile from Chareton, where the head of Chare ryuer is ÿ rũneth to Banbery. There is but an hill called Albery hil betwene ÿ heds of theſe two riuers. From the ſaid hill therefore, the Wedon directeth his courſe to Badby Newenham, Euerton, Wedon, betwixt which and Floretowne, it receiueth the Florus (a prety water riſing of foure heds, wherof the one is at Dauentry, another at Watford, the third, at long Buck, the fourth aboue Whilton) and then paſſeth on to Heyford, Kiſlingbury, Vpton, and ſo to Northampton, where it falleth into the Auon, receiuing finally by the way, the Bugbroke water at Heyford, Patſhall water nere Kiſlingbery, and finally, Preſton water beneath Vpton, which running from Preſtõ by Wotton, méeteth at the laſt with Milton Rill, and ſo fal into Auon. Now to reſume the tractation of our Auon. Frõ Northampton therfore, it runneth by Houghton, great Billing, Whitſtone, Dodington and

Auon.

Nene.

Vedunu

Florus.

Bugius.

Willingborow, where we muſt ſtay a while, for betwene Willingborow and Highã Ferries, it receiueth a prety water comming frõ about Kilmarſhe, which goyng by Ardingworth, Daiſborow, Ruſheton, Newtõ, Gaddington, Boughton, Warketon, Ketteryng, Berton, and Burton, méeteth there wyth Rothewel water, which runneth weſt of Kettering to Hiſham, the greater Haridon, and then into the Auon. Beyng therfore paſt Burton, our maine ſtreame goeth to Highã Ferris, Artleborow, Ringſted, Woodford, and (méeting therby with Cranford Rill) to Thrarſton, north wherof it ioyneth alſo with the Ocley water, that commeth frõ Sudborowe and Lowicke, to olde Umkles, Waden ho, Pilketon, Coke, (where it taketh in the Liteden Becke) and ſo to Dundell Cotterſtocke, Tanſoner, and betwene Cothering and Warmington, receyueth the Corby water, which riſing at Corby, goeth by Weldon, Denethap, Bulwich, Bletherwyc. Fineſhed, Arethorpe, Newton, Cothering, & ſo into the Auon. After this, the ſaid Auon goeth to Elton, Maſſington, Perwell, Sutton, Caſtor, Allertõ, and ſo to Peterborow, where it deuideth it ſelfe into ſondry armes, & thoſe into ſeuerall braunches amõg the Fennes & medowes, not poſſible almoſt to be numbred, before it méete with the ſea on the oneſide of the countrey, & fal into the Ouze on the other.

Kilis.

Rother.

Ocley.

Corby.

The Ouze, which Leland calleth the third Iſis, falleth into the ſea betwene Merſland and Downeham. The chief hed of this riuer ariſeth nere vnto Stanes, from whence it cõmeth to Brackley (ſometyme a noble towne in Northampton ſhire, but now ſcarcely a good village) and there taking in on the left hande one water comming from the parke betwene Syſam and Aſtwell (which runneth by Whitfield and Tinweſton) and another on the right frõ Imley, it goeth on by Weſtbyry, Fulwell, Water ſtretford, Buckinghã and Berton, beneath which towne the Eryn falleth into it, whereof I finde this ſhort diſcription to be inſerted here. The Eryn riſeth not farre from Hardwyc in Northamptonſhire, from hence it goeth by Heth, Erinford, Godderington, Twyford, Steple cladõ, and ere it come at Padbiry, méeteth with the Garan broke deſcending from Garanburg, and ſo they go together by Padbiry till they fall into the Ouze, which carieth them after the confluence, to Thorneton bridge (where they croſſe another fall of water commyng from Whitlewood foreſt by Luffeld, Lécamſted and Foſcot) and ſo to Beachamptõ, Culuerton, Stony ſtratford and Woluertõ. Here the Ouze méeteth with a water (called as Lelande coniectureth, yͤ Uere or Were,) on the left hand as you go downeward that cõmeth betwene Wedon and Werenham in Northamptonſhire & goeth by Towceſter, and Alderton, and not farre from Woluertõ and Hauerſham, into yͤ foreſaid Ouze, which goeth alſo frõ hence to Newporte paganell, where in like ſort I muſt ſtay a while till I haue deſcribed another water, named the Clée, by whoſe iſſue the ſayd ſtreame is not a little increaſed. This riuer riſeth in the very confines betwene Buckinghã and Bedfordſhires, not far from Whippeſnade, and goyng on toward the northweſt, by Eaton and Layton, it commeth to Linchelade, where it entreth wholy into Buckinghamſhire, and ſo goeth on by Hammond, Brickle, Fenny ſtratford, Simpſon, Walton and Middletõ, beneath which it receiueth the Saw from aboue Halcot, & ſo goeth on till it méete with yͤ Ouze néere vnto Newport, as I haue ſaid. Being vnited therefore we ſet forward from the ſayde towne, and followe thys noble ryuer, to Lathbirye, Thuringham, Filgraue, Lawndon, Newington, Bradfelde on the one ſide, and Turuey on the other, till it come at length to Bedforde, after many windleſſes, & then méeteth with another ſtreame, which is increaſed with ſo manye waters, that I was inforced to ſtaye here alſo, and viewe theyr ſeuerall courſes, from the higheſt ſteple in Bedforde, whence (or peraduenture otherwyſe) I noted the ſame as followeth. Certes on the eaſt ſide where I beganne thys ſpeculation, I ſawe one that came from Potton, and mette withal néere Beeliſwade: another that grewe of two waters, whereof one deſcended frõ Baldocke, the other frõ Hitchin, which ioyned beneath Arleſey, and thence went to Langforde and Edworth. The third which I behelde had in lyke ſort two heades, whereof one is not farre from Woode ende, the other from Woburne (or Howburne) & ioyning about Flitwijc, they go to Flytton, (where they receiue Antill Broke) and ſo by Chiphil, and Chickſande, they come to Shafforde, from whence taking the aforeſayde Langford water with them, they go forth by Beeliſwade, Sandy, Blumham, & néere vnto Themiſford are vnited wͭ the Ouze, & now to our purpoſe againe. After this yͤ Ouze, goeth by Berkeforde, to Winteringhã, (méetyng there with the Wareſley becke) and ſo runneth to S. Neotes (or S. Neves) to Parſton, Offordes, Godmancheſter, Huntingdon, Wilton, S. Iues, Hollywell, and Erith, receyuing in the meane tyme the Stow, nere vnto little Parton, and likewiſe the Olſen, & the Emmer, in one chanell a litle by weſt of

Iſis.3.

ila.

melus.

rin.

aran.

Uerus.

Cle alias Claius.

Saw.

Theſe riſe not far frõ Michelborow, and one of thẽ in Higham parke.

Verus or yͤ Were,

Stoucus.

Helenus.
Elmerus.

Huntingdon. Finallye the maine ſtreame ſpeading abroade into the Fennes, I cannot tell into howe many braunches, neyther how manye Iſlettes, are inforced by the ſame, but thys is certeine, that after it hath thus delited it ſelfe with raunging a while about the pleaſant bottomes and lower groundes, it méeteth with the Granta, frō whence it goeth with a ſwift courſe, vnto Downehā. Betwen it alſo and the Auō, are large ſundry Mores, or plaſhes by ſouthweſt of Peterborow whereof Whittleley méere, and Ramſey méere, (whereinto the Riuell falleth, that commeth from aboue Broughton, Wyſton, and great Riuelley) are ſayde to be greateſt. Of all the ryuers that runne into this ſtreame, that called Granta is the moſt noble and excellent, which I will deſcribe euen in his place, notwithſtanding that I had earſt appoynted it vnto my ſeconde booke, but foraſmuch as a deſcription of Ouze and Granta, were delyuered me togyther, I will for his ſake that gaue them me, not ſeperate thē nowe in ſunder. The very fardeſt heade and originall of thys ryuer is in Henham, a large Parke belonging to the Earle of Suſſex, wherin as the Towneſmen ſay, are foure ſprings that run foure ſundry wayes into the maine Sea. Lelande ſought not the courſe of thys water, aboue Newport ponde, & therefore in his Comentaries vpō the ſong of ẏ ſwan, he writeth thereofafter this maner inſuing. But here before I enter into his diſcourſe, I muſt giue you warning, how D. Iohn Caius the learned Phiſition, and ſome other are of the opiniō, that this ryuer comming from Newport, is properlye to bée called the Rhée, but I may not ſo eaſily diſcent frō Leland, whoſe iudgement in my mynde is by a great deale the more likely, harken therefore what he ſayth.

Riuelus.

Granta.

The heade of Grantha or Granta, is in ẏ pond at Newport, a towne of the eaſt Saxons, which going in a bottome beſide ẏ ſame, receyueth a pretye ryll, which in the myddeſt thereof dooth driue a mil and deſcendeth from Wicken Bonhaunt, that ſtandeth not far from thence. Being paſt Newport, it goeth a long in the lower grounde vntill it come to Broke Waldē, weſt of Chipping Waldē, (now Saffron walden) harde by the Lorde Awdleis place, where of late the ryght honorable Lorde Philip Earle of Surrey, with his houſholde dyd ſoiourne, and ſometyme ſtoode an Abbaie, of Benedictine Monkes, before theyr generall ſuppreſſion. From Awdley end it goeth to Littleburie, the leſſe and greater Cheſterfordes, Icaldune, Hincſtone, Seoſton or Sawſon, and néere vnto Shalforde receyueth the Babren that commeth by Linton, Abbington, Badrenham, and Stapleforde: and ſo going forwarde it commeth at the laſt to Trompington, which is a myle from Cambridge. But ere it come altogyther to Trompington, it méeteth wyth the Barrington water, as Leland calleth it, but other ẏ Rhée, (a cōmon name to all waters in the Saxon ſpeache,) whereof I finde thys deſcription, to be touched by the waye. The Rhée ryſeth ſhort of Aſhwell, in Hertforde ſhyre, and paſſing vnder the brigde betwéene Gylden Mordon and Downton, and leauing Tadlow on the weſt ſide (as I remēber) it goeth toward Crawdē, Malton, Barrington, Haſelingfeld, and ſo into Granta, taking ſundry Rylles with him from ſouth, & ſouthweſt, as Wendy water ſouth weſt of Crawden, Whaddō broke ſouthweſt of Orwel, Mildred becke ſouthweſt of Malton, and finally ẏ which goeth by Fulmere & Foxton, & falleth into the ſame betwéene Barringtō, and Harleſton, or Harſon as they call it.

Babren.

Rée.

Nowe to procéede with our Granta, from Trompingtō on the one ſide, and Granteſter on the other, it haſteth to Cambridgewarde, taking the Burne with it by the way, which deſcendeth from a caſtell of the ſame denomination, wherein the Picotes, & Peuerelles ſometime did inhabite. Thence it goeth by ſundrye Colledges in Cambridge, as the Quéenes Colledge, the Kings Colledge, Clare Hall, Trinity Colledge, S. Iohns &c. vnto the high bridge of Cābridge, & betwene the towne and the Caſtell to Cheſterton, and receyuing by & by the Doure, or Sture, (at whoſe bridge, ẏ moſt famous Mart in Englande is yearely holden & kept. Frō Cheſtertō it goeth to Ditton, Miltō, & ere long méeting with two rylles (from Botteſham and Wilberhā, in one bottome) it rūneth to Horningſey and water Beche: and finallye here ioyning with the Bulbecke water, it goeth by Denny, and ſo forth into the Ouze, fiftéene myles from Cambridge, as Leland hath ſet downe. And thus much of the thirde Iſis or Ouze, out of the aforeſayde Authour, whereunto I haue not onelye added ſomewhat of mine owne Experience, but alſo of other mens notes, whoſe diligent obſeruation of the courſe of thys ryuer, hath not a little helped mée in the diſcription of the ſame. Nowe it reſteth that we come nerer vnto the coaſt of Norfolke, and ſet forth ſuch waters as we paſſe by vppon the ſame, wherin I will deale ſo preciſelye as I maye, and ſo farre will I trauaile therein as I hope ſhall content euen the curious reader, or if any fault be made, it ſhall not be ſo great, but that after ſome trauayle in the finding, it ſhall with eaſe

Sturus.

Bulbecke.

eaſe be corrected.

The firſt ryuer yͤ therfore we come vnto after we be paſt the confluence of Granta, & the Ouze, and within the iuriſdiction of Norfolke, is called the Burne. This ſtreame ryſeth not very farre from Burne Bradfeld aboue the greater Wheltham, and from thence it goeth to Nawnton, Bury, Farncham Martin, Farneham Alhallowes, Farncham Genoueſa, Hengraue, Flemton, Lackeforde, Iclingham, and to Myldenhall, a litle beneath which it méeteth with the Dale water, that ſpringeth not farre from Catilege, and going by Aſheby, Moulton, (a benefice as the report goeth not very well prouided for) to Kenforde, Kenet, Bradingham, Frekenham, it falleth at the laſt not farre from Iſelham into the Burne, from whence they go togither as one into the Ouze. With yͤ Burne alſo there ioyneth a water comming from about Lydgate, a little beneath Iſelham, and not very farre from Mildenhall.

nus.

The Dune heade and ryſing of Wauenhey are not much in ſunder, for as it is ſuppoſed they are both not farre diſtaunt from the bridge betwéene Lopham and Ford, wherby yͤ one runneth eaſt & the other weſt, as I haue béene enformed. The Dune goeth firſt of all by Feltham, then to Hopton, and to Kinets hall, where it méeteth with a water, cōming out of a lake ſhorte of Banham (goyng by Quiddenham, Herling, Gaſthorpe) and ſo forth on both in one chanell, they runne to Ewſton. Here they méete in lyke ſort, wyth another deſcending from two heads, whereof the one is néere vnto Pakenham, the other to Taueſtocke, as I here. Certes theſe heads ioyne aboue Ileſworth, not farre from Stow Langtoft, from whēce they go to Yxworth, Thorp, Berdwel, Hunnington, Fakenham, and ſo into the Dune at Ewſton as I ſayde. Frō hence alſo they haſtē vnto Downeham, which of this riuer doth ſéeme to borowe his name. South rée ryl, I paſſe ouer as not worthy the deſcription, bicauſe it is ſo ſmall.

adunus
rè.

Next vnto thys ryuer on the ſouth ſide is the Braden, or Bradunus, which ryſeth at Bradenham, and goeth by Necton, north Peckenham, ſouth Peckenham, Kirſingham Bedney, Langforde, Igbor, Munforde, north olde, Stockebridge, Ferdham, Helgy, and ſo into the Ouze.

us.

The néereſt vnto thys is another which riſeth about Lukeham, and from thence commeth to Lexham, Maſſingham, Newton, the caſtel acre, Acres, Nerboe, Pentney, Wrōgey, Roungthon, Weſtchurch, & ſo to Linne; as ſo doth alſo another by north of this which commeth from the eaſt hylles by Congeham, Grymſton, Bawſey, Gaywod, whereof let this ſuffiſe, and now giue eare to the reaſt ſith I am paſt the Ouze.

ngunus.

Riſing.
Ingell.

Beyng paſt the mouth or fall of the Ouze, we méete next of al with the riſing chaſe water which deſcendeth from two heds, & alſo yͤ Ingel that commeth from about Snetſham. From hence we go by the point of S. Edmōd, and ſo hold on our courſe, till we come vnto the Burne, which falleth into the ſea by ſouth from Waterden, and goyng betwéene the Crakes to Burnham thorp, and Burnham Norton, it ſtriketh at the laſt into the ſea, eaſt of Burnham Norton, a mile at yͤ leſt, except my coniecture doe faile me. The Glow or Glowy, riſeth not farre from Baconſthorp, in the hundred of Tunſted, and goyng by and by into Holt hūdred, it paſſeth by Hunworth, Thornage, Glawnſford, Blackney, Clare, and ſo in the ſea receiuing there at hand alſo a Rill by eaſt, which deſcendeth from the hils lying betwene Killing town and Wayburne.

Glouius.

Wantſume

The Wantſume riſeth in Northfolke at Galeſend in Holt hundred, from whence it goeth to Taterſend, Dowmton, Skelthorpe, Farncham, Penſthorpe, Rieburg, Ellingham, and Billingeſford. And here it receyueth two waters in one bottom, of which the firſt goeth by Stanfeld and Betcley, the other, by Wandling and Greſſonhall, and ſo run on eche his owne way, till they méete at Houndlington, ſouthweſt of Billingeſforde with the Wantſume. From hence they go altogether to Below, Iyng, Weſton, and Moreton, but ere it come to Moreton, it méeteth with the Yowke, which (iſſuyng about Yerham) goeth by Matteſhall and Barrow. After this the ſayd Wantſume goeth on by Ringland, and ſo to Norwich the pontificall ſée of the Biſhop, to whom that iuriſdictiō appertaineth. Beneath Norwich alſo it receyueth two waters in one chanell, which I wil ſeuerally deſcribe according to their courſes, noting their confluēce to be at Birxley, within two myles of Norwich, except myne annotation deceiue me. The firſt of theſe hath two heds, whereof one moūteth by ſouth weſt of Whinborow, goeth by Gerneſton, & is the very Hiere or Yare that drowneth the name of Wantſume, ſo ſone as he méeteth with al. The other hed riſeth at Wode in Mitforde hundred, and (after confluence with the Hiere at Caſton) goyng by Brandon, Bixton, Berford, Erleham, Cringlefeld (not farre from Birxly as I ſayd) doth méete with his companion, which is the ſecond to be deſcribed as followeth. It hath two heads alſo that méete northweſt of Therſtane, and hereof the one

Yocus.
Hierus
Gerne.

commeth from Findon hal, by Wrenninghã from about Wotton, by Hemnal, Fretton, Stretton, and Caſborow, till they ioyne at Therſton, as I gaue notice aforehand. From Therſton therfore they go together in one to Newton, Shoteſham, Dunſton, Caſtor, Arminghale, Bixeley, Lakenham and Trowſe, and then fall into the Wantſume beneath Norwich which hereafter is named Hiere. The Hiere Yare or Gare therfore proceding in his voiage, as it wer to ſalute his grãdame the Oceane, goeth from thence by Paſwyc, Surlingham, Claxton and Yardley: and here it méeteth agayne with another Riueret deſcending from about Shoteſham, to Thirſtane, Shedgraue, Hockingham, and ſo into Gare or Yare, wherof Yardley the town receyueth denomination. After this it goeth to Frethorpe, and aboue Burghe caſtle méeteth with the Wauen hey, and ſo into the ſea. Into this riuer alſo falleth the Bure, which riſing at a towne of the ſame name, paſſeth by Milton, Bureſdune, Corpeſtey, Marington, Blekeling, Bure, Aleſham, Bramptõ, Burtõ, Horſted, Wrexhã bridge, Horning, Raneworth (and beneath Baſtewyc receyueth the Thurine which riſeth aboue Roleſby) then to Oby, Clypſby, (there alſo receiuing another from Filby) Rimham, Caſtor, and by Yarmouth into the Ocean. The Wauenhey afore mencioned, riſeth on the South ſide of Bruſingham, and is a limite betwene Northfolke and Suffolke, goyng therfore by Dis, Starton, not farre from Oxe, it méeteth with the Eie whiche riſeth nere Ockolde, or betwéene it and Brailworthe, and goeth on by Brome, Oxe, and ſo into the Wauency. From thẽce alſo our Wauency, runneth by Sylam, Brodiſh, Nedam, Harleſton, Rednam, Alborow, Flixton, Bungey, Shéepemedow, Barſham, Beckles, Alby, and at Whiteacre as I here it parteth in twaine, or elſe receyuing Milforde water, which is the moſt likely, it goeth along by Somerley, Hormingfléete, S. Olaues, (there receyuing the Friſtan broke, out of low or little Englande) Friſtan and Burge caſtell, where it méeteth wyth the Hiere, and from thenceforth accompanieth it as I ſayd vnto the ſea.

Wauen.

Thurinus

Wauen.

Fritha.

Willingham water commeth by Henſted Einſted, or Emſtate, and falleth into the ſea by ſouth of Keſland.

Emus.

The Cokell ryſeth ſouth ſouth weſt, of Cokeley Towne, in Blythe hundred, and néere vnto Haſtelworth, it méeteth with the ryll, that commeth from Wiſſet, and ſo going on togither by Wenhaſton, and Blibotowe, it falleth into the ſea at an hauen, betwéene Roydon, and Walderſwicke. A little ryll runneth alſo thereinto from Eſton, by Sowolde, and another from Dunwiche, by Walderſwijke, and hereby it wanteth lyttle that Eſton Neſſe, is not cut of and made a prety Iſlande.

Cokelus.

The Forde ryſeth at Poxford, and going by Forderley, and Theberton, it falleth at laſt into the Myſméere créeke.

Forda.

Into the Oreforde hauen, falleth one water comming from Alborowe warde, by a narrowe paſſage, frõ the north into the ſouth. By weſt whereof (when we are paſt a lyttle Iſle) it receyueth the ſeconde, deſcending frõ betwéene Talingſton, and Framingham, in Plomes hundred: which comming at laſt to Marleforde, méeteth wyth a ryll ſouth weſt of Farncham called the Gleme, (that commeth by Rendelſham, the Gleinhams) and ſo paſſing forth, it taketh another wyth all at Snapeſbridge, comming from Carleton, by Saxmundham, Sterneſfelde, and Snape. Then going to Iken (where it méeteth wyth the thirde ryll at the weſt ſide) it fetcheth a compaſſe by Sudburne eaſt of Orforde, and ſo into the hauen. Next vnto thys by weſt of Orforde, there runneth vp another créeke by Butley, whereinto the waters comming frõ Celleſforde, and from the Ike, doe runne both in one botome, and thus much of Orforde hauen.

Orus.

Fromus.

Gleme.

Iken, or Ike.

The Deue ryſeth in Debenham, in the hundred of Herteſméere, and from thence goeth to Pickeforde, Winſton, Cretingham, Lethringham, Wickham, hitherto ſtill créeping towarde the ſouth: but then going in maner full ſouth, it runneth néere vnto Aſhe, Rendleſham, Ufforde, Melton, and Woodebridge, beneth which, it receiueth on the weſt ſide, a water cõming of two heades, whereof one is by north from Otley, and the other by ſouth from Henly, which ioyning weſt of Merteleſham, go vnto the ſayde towne, and ſo into the Deue, eaſt of Merteleſham, aboueſayd. From thence the Deue goeth by Waldringfielde and Henley, and méeteing ſoone after with Brightwell broke, it haſteth into ẏ maine ſea, leauing Badwſey on the eaſt where the fall therof is called Bawdſey hauen.

Deua.

Clarus fons

Ure ryſeth not farre from Bacton, in Herteſméere hundred, and thence deſcendeth into Stowe hundred by Cippyng Neweton, Dagworth, Stowe, (beneath whiche it méeteth with a water comming from Rattleſden, by one houſe,) and ſo goyng on to Nedeham, (thorowe Boſméere and Claydon hundredes) to Blakenham, Bramforde, Ypſwiche, (receyuing beneath Stoke, which lyeth ouer againſt Ypſwiche, the Chatſham water,

Urus.

water, that goeth by Welſted, & ſo into ỹ Tre, at the mouth whereof is a marueilous déepe large pitte, whereof ſome Marryners ſaye that they coulde neuer fynde the bottome, and therefore calling it a Well, and ioyning the name of the ryuer withall, it commeth to paſſe that ỹ hauen there, is called Trewel, for which in theſe dayes we doe pronounce it Orwell. Into thys Hauen alſo the Sture or Stoure, hath ready paſſage, which remaineth in thys treatize next of all to be deſcribed.

urus.

The Sture or Stoure, parteth Eſſex from Suffolke, as Houeden ſaith, and experience cõfirmeth. It ariſeth in Suffolk, out of a lake néere vnto a towne called Stourméere. For albeit there come two rylles vnto the ſame, whereof the one deſcendeth from Thyrlo, the Wratinges and Ketton, the other from Horſhed parke, by Hauerill &c. Yet in ſomer tyme they are often drye, ſo that they cannot be ſayde to be parpetuall heads, vnto the aforeſayde ryuer. The Stoure therefore ryſeth at Stoure mare, which is a poole contayning twentie acres of ground at the leaſt, the one ſide whereof is full of Alders, the other of réede, wherein the great ſtore of fiſhe there bredde, is not a little ſuccoured. From thys méere, alſo it goeth to Bathorne brydge, to Stocke clare, Cawndiſh, Pentlo, Milforde, Foxerth, Bureſley, Sudbury, Bures, Boxſted, Stoke Naylande, Lanham, Dedham, Strotforde, eaſt Barforde, Brampton, and to Catwade brydge, where it falleth into the ſea, receiuyng in the meane time ſundry brokes and rylles not here omytted at all. For on Eſſex ſide, it hath one from Hemſted, which goeth by Bumſted, and Birdbroke: another ryſing ſhorte of Foxerth, that runneth by water Beauchamp, Brundon, and falleth into the ſame at Badlington, weſt of Sudbury: and the thirde that glydeth by Horkeſley, and méeteth withal weſt of Borſted. On the north or vpon Suffolke ſide, it receyueth one deſcending frõ Catiledge, by Bradley, Thurlow, Wratting, Kiddington, and at Hauerell falleth into this Sture. The ſeconde deſcendeth from Poſling field, & ioyneth therewith eaſt of Clare. The thyrde aryſeth of two heades, whereof one commeth from Wickham broke, the other from Chedbar in Riſby hundred, and ioyning about Stanfield, it goeth by Hawton, Somerton, Borſted, Stanſted, and north of Foxerth, falleth into Stour. The fourth iſſueth from betwéene the Wallingfelds, and goeth by Edwardſtone, Borſted, Alington, Polſted, Stoke, and ſo at ſouth Borſted falleth into the ſame. The fift ryſeth North Weſt of Cockefielde, and goeth to Cockefielde, Lancham, Brimſley, Bilding, and receyuing Kettle Baſton water ſouthweſt of Chelſworth (and likewiſe the Breton that commeth from Bretenham, by Hitcheham, & Bilſeton ſtreat on the ſouth eaſt of the ſame towne) it goeth in by Nedging, Aldham, & Hadley, Laiham, Shelly, Higham, and ſo into the Sture. The ſixt is a lyttle ryll deſcending ſouthweſt from Chappell. The ſeuenth ryſeth betwéene Chappel, & Bentley, and going betwéene Tatingſton, and Whetſtede, Holbroke, and Sutton, it falleth at length into Stoure, and frõ thence is neuer hard of.

Kettle baſton.

As for Ocley Drill, that ryſeth betwéene Ocley, and Wikes Parkes, and goeth vnder Ramſey brydge, and ſo into the Stoure, on Eſſex ſide, weſt of Harwiche, and eaſt of Ree Iſle, I paſſe it ouer becauſe it is but a ril and not of any greatneſſe, although I ſéeke to remember manye tymes, euen the very ſmalleſt.

Ocley.

Next vnto this, we come to another that runneth South of Beamont, by Moſſe, and falleth into the Sea about the middeſt of the Bay, betwixt Harwich and the Naze.

Moſa.

Betwixt the Naze alſo and the mouth of Colne, is another Ryll which riſeth at little Bentley, and thence goeth to Tendryng thorpe, thorow Clacton parke by great Holland, and eaſt of little Holland, into the déepe ſea.

Claco.

The Colne hath thrée heds, whereof one is at Ouington that goeth by Tilbery, and eaſt of Peldam, falleth into the chiefe head, which ryſeth about Redgewell in Eſſex, frõ whence it goeth to Peldam Henningham. &c. The third falleth in South of Peldam into Colne, and being once mette all in one chanell: the Colne goeth as I ſayde, to Hedinghã Halſted, Erles Colne, Wakes Colne, Fordon, Bardfold, Colcheſter, and ſo into the ſea at Brickleſey. It ſéemeth here, that when ỹ ſea entreth betwéene the points of Bradwell and S. Anthonies, it deuydeth it ſelfe into two armes, wherof one goeth toward Colcheſter the other toward Maldon. Into the Colne or Colunus (whereof Lelande thinketh Colcheſter to take hys name, and not a Colonia Romanorum) doe run many ſalt créekes beneth Fingering ho, whoſe names ſith I doe not knowe, nor whether they be ſerued with any backwaters or not, I gyue ouer to intreat any farther of theyr poſitions. Into that of Malden runneth many faire waters, wherof I will ſay ſo much as I knowe to be true by experience.

Colunus.

There is a prety water that beginneth nere vnto Owinbache or Wimbech church in Eſſex (the very limits of Dunmow Deanery) which runneth directly frō thence vnto Radwinter, (a parcell of your Lordſhips poſſeſſyons in thoſe parts) and within thrée quarters of a mile of the aforeſaid church. By the way alſo it is increaſed with ſundry prety ſprings whereof Pantwell is the chiefe, and to ſay the truth, hath manye a leaſing fathered on the ſame: there is likewiſe another in a paſture belonging to the graunge, now belongyng to Henry Browns Eſquier, ſoiournyng thereupon. The third, commeth out of the yarde of one of your Lordſhips Manour there, called Radwinter hall. The fourth, frō John Cockſwettes houſe, named the Rotherwell, which running vnder Rothers bridge, méeteth with yͤ Owin, on the northweſt ende of Ferraunts meade, ſoutheaſt of Radwinter church, whereof I. haue the charge by your honors fauorable prefermēt.

Froſhwell.

The next is named Froſhwel, and of this Spring doth the whole Hundred beare the name, and alſo the Ryuer it ſelfe whereinto it falleth (from by north) ſo far as I remember. Certes, all theſe ſauing yͤ firſt and ſecond, are within your Lordſhips towne aforeſayd. The ſtreame therfore running frō hence (and now called Froſhwell, of Froſhe, which ſignifieth a frog) haſteth immediately vnto olde Sandford, then thorow new Sandforde parke, and afterward with full ſtreame to Shalford, Bocking, Stiſted, Paſwyke, and ſo to blackwater, where the name of Froſhwel ceaſeth, the water being from henceforth as I here, called Blackwater, vntyll it come to Maldon. From Blackwater therefore it goeth to Corall, Caſterforde, Braxſted and Wickham, where it méeteth wyth the Barus, and ſo goyng togyther, deſcende to Heybridge, and finally into the ſaltwater aforeſayde.

Barus.

As for the Barus, it ryſeth in a ſtately parke of Eſſex called Bardfeld, belonging to the crowne, from whence it goeth to olde Salyng, Braintrée (receyuing a ryllet by waye comming from Raine, blacke Notley, white Notley, Falkeburne, Wittham, and falleth into the blacke water beneath Braxſted, on the ſouth.

Chelmer.

Beſide thys, the ſayde ryuer receyueth alſo the Chelme or Chelmer, which aryſeth in Wymbeche aforeſayde, where it hath two heads: whereof the one is not farre from Brodockes (where Thomas Wiſeman Eſquier dwelleth) the other nigh vnto a farme called Highams, and ioyning ere long in one Chanell, they hye them toward Tharſted, meting in the way alſo with a Ryll commyng from Boyton ende. Beyng paſt Tharſted, it goeth by Tiltey, and ſoone after receyueth one Ril which ryſeth on the north ſide of Lindſell, and falleth into yͤ Chelmer by north eaſt at Tiltey aforeſayde, and another comming from ſouthweſt, and ryſing ſoutheaſt from Lindſel at moche Eiſton. From thence then holding on ſtyll wyth the courſe, it goeth to Moche Dunmowe, little Dunmow, Felſted, Lies, both Waltams, Springfield, & ſo to Chelmereſforde. Here vppon the ſouth ſide I finde the iſſue of a water that riſeth 5. miles or thereaboutes, ſouth and by weſt of the ſayde towne, from whence it goeth to Munaſing Butteſbury (there receiuyng a Rill from by weſt) to Ingat ſtone, Marget Inge, Wilforde bridge Writtle bridge, and ſo to Chelmereſforde, (croſſing alſo yͤ ſecond water that deſcendeth from Roxforde ſouthweſt of Writtle by the way) whereof let this ſuffice.

Lindis.

Roxforde.

From hence the Chelmer goeth direcly towarde Maldon by Badow, Owting, Woodhamwater, Byly, and ſo to Blackwater northweſt of Maldon, receyuing neuertheleſſe ere it come fullye thither a becke alſo that goeth frō Lée parke, to little Lées, great Lées, Hatfield, Peuerell, Owting, and ſo into Blackwater (whereof I ſpake before) as Maldon waters, doth a ryll from by ſouth ouer againſt S. Oſithes, and alſo another by Bradwell.

Lée.

Burne.

The Burne, ryſeth ſomewhere about Ronwell, and thence goeth to Hull bridge, ſouth Fambridge, Kirkeſhot fery, and ſo to Foulneſſe: & as this is the ſhort courſe of that ryuer, ſo it braunceth, and the ſouth arme thereof receiueth a water comming from Haukewell, to great Stanbridge, and beneth Pakeſham, doth méete by South, wyth the ſayde arme, and ſo finiſhe vp his courſe, as we doe our voyage alſo about the coaſt of Englande.

Thus haue I finiſhed the deſcription of ſuch ryuers and ſtreames as fall into the Ocean according to my purpoſe, although not in ſo preciſe an order and maner of handling, as I might, if information promyſed had bene accordingly performed: howbeit, thys wyll I ſay of that which is already done, that from the hauen of Southampton, by ſouth vnto the Twede, that parteth England and ſcotland, by north (if you go backward contrary to the courſe of my deſcription) you ſhall finde it ſo exacte, as beſide a fewe bye ryuers to be touched hereafter, you ſhall not néede to vſe any further aduiſe for the finding and falles of yͤ aforeſayd ſtreames. For ſuch hath béene my helpe and conference wyth other men about theſe, that I dare pronounce them to be perfite and exact. In the reaſt I followed Leland in maner worde for worde, what he hath ſayd therefore of them, that haue I examplyfied & publiſhed herein. Such was his dealing alſo in hys bookes, that he ſought not to be curious and preciſe in thoſe deſcriptions that hée made, but thought it ſufficient to ſay ſomewhat, and more of thinges then any mã had done before hym. In the next booke therfore, I will in thrée chapiters run ouer theſe matters agayne, and as I haue already borowed ſomewhat of the ſame, in ſettyng downe ſuch braunches as fal into the mayne ſtreames at large, ſo will I there agayne remember ſuch great riuers as I haue here eyther omitted, or not ſo orderly handled as their dignities do require. In reading therefore of the one, refuſe not I beſéeche your honor withall, to haue conference with the other, for what this wanteth, that other ſhall ſupply, and ẏ which is briefly touched in this, ſhal there be opened at large, the onely occaſion of this deuiſion growyng vpon hope of inſtruction to come in tyme, whereof when I had moſt néede, and the lefe vnder the preſſe, I was left deſtitute and without hope of all reliefe. It is poſſible, that ſome curious head may finde carpyng worke inough in ẏ courſes of theſe ſtreames, but if ſuch a one wyll enterpriſe the lyke, and try what one man can doe by reading onely, (for I ſayled about my country within the compaſſe of my ſtudy) & therunto remember how many wais, through many mens iudgementes, and what number of occaſions may ſerue here and there, to inforce the writer to miſtake his Pamphlets, quarters, townes, entraunces, &c. I doe not doubt but it woulde trouble his brayn, although now peraduẽture in table talke, he can find many things, as he doth that ſitteth at home among Ladies and Gentlewomen, and will talke and take order for matters abroad that are to be done in the field, where he neuer ſhewed his face. Unto the learned therfore, I yeld correctiõ of mine errors onely, and as I confeſſe that ſome vnknowne vnto me, may and haue eſcaped my handes, ſo by their gentle and brotherly admonition, they ſhall be the ſooner amended. Furthermore, this I haue alſo to remember that in the courſes of our ſtreames, I regard not ſo much to name ẏ very town or church, as the limites of the paroche, and therfore if I ſay it goeth by ſuch a towne, I thinke my duety diſcharged, if I hitte vpon any part or parcel of the paroche. This alſo hath not a little troubled me, I meane the euill writing of the names of many townes and villages, of which I haue noted ſome one man in the deſcription of a riuer to write it two or thrée maner of wayes, whereby I was inforced to chuſe one (at aduenture moſt commonly) that ſéemed the likelieſt in myne opinion & iudgement: but inough of this and theſe things for this preſent.

¶ *Of the foure hyghe wayes ſometyme made in Brytaine, by the Princes of thys Lande.*

Chap. 12.

THere are, which indeuoring to bring all things to their Saxon Originall, doe affirme that this diuiſiõ of waies whereof we now intreate, ſhould apparteine to ſuch Princes of that Nation, as reigned here, ſith the Romaines gaue vs ouer. But how weake their coniectures are in this behalfe, the antiquity of theſe ſtréetes it ſelfe ſhal eaſily declare, whereof ſome percelles after a ſorte are alſo ſet downe by Antoninus, and thoſe that haue written of the ſeuerall iourneyes from hence to Rome, although peraduenture not in ſo directe an order, as they were at the firſt eſtabliſhed. For my parte if it were not that I deſire to be ſhort in this behalfe, I could with ſuch notes as I haue already collected for that purpoſe, make a large confutation of diuers of theyr opinions cõcerning theſe paſſages, but ſith I haue ſpent more time in ẏ tractatiõ of the riuers, then was allotted vnto me, I will omit at this time to diſcourſe of theſe things as I would, and ſay what I may for the better knowledg of their courſes, procéeding therein as followeth.

First of all, I finde that Dunwallon king of Britayne, about 483. yeares before ẏ birth of our ſauior Ieſus Chriſt, ſeing the ſubiectes of his Realme, to be in ſundry wyſe oppreſſed by théeues and robbers, as they traueiled to and fro, and being willing (ſo much as in him laye) to redreſſe theſe inconueniences, cauſed his whole kingdome to be ſurueyed, and then commaunding foure principall wayes to be made, which ſhoulde leade ſuch as traueyled into all partes thereof, from ſea to ſea, he gaue ſundry large priuileges vnto the ſame, whereby they became ſafe, and verye much frequented. And as he had regarde herein, to the ſecuritie of hys Subiectes, ſo he made ſharp lawes, grounded vpõ Iuſtice, for ẏ ſuppreſſion of ſuch wicked mẽbers as did offer violence to any trauayler, that ſhould be met wythal or found within the limites of thoſe paſſages. How by what partes of this Iſland theſe wayes were conueighed at the firſt, it is not ſo wholy left in memory, but that ſome queſtion is moued among the learned, concerning theyr auncient courſes, howbeit ſuch is the ſhadowe remaining hitherto of theyr extenſions, that if not at this preſent perfectly yet hereafter it is not impoſſible but that they maye be founde out, and left certaine vnto poſteritye. It ſéemeth by Galfride, that the ſayd Dunwallon did limite out thoſe wayes by dooles and markes, which beyng in ſhort tyme altered by the auarice of ſuch irreligious perſons as dwelt nere and incroched vpon the ſame (a fault yet iuſtly to bée found almoſt in euery place) and queſtiō moued for their boundes before Bellinus hys ſonne, he to auayde all further controuerſie that might from thenceforth inſue, cauſed the ſame to be paued with hard ſtone, of 18. foote in bredth, and 10. foote in depth, and in the botome thereof huge flint ſtones alſo to be pitched, leſt the earth in tyme ſhould ſwalow vp his workmanſhip, & the higher ground ouergrow their riſing creſts. He indued thē alſo wͭ larger priuiledges thē before, proteſting that if any man whoſoeuer ſhoulde preſume to infringe his peace, & violate the lawes of hys kingdome in anye maner of wiſe néere vnto or vpon thoſe wayes, he ſhould ſuffer ſuch puniſhmēt without all hope to eſcape (by frendſhip or mercy (as by ẏ ſtatutes of his realme lately prouided in thoſe caſes, are due vnto ẏ offenders: The names of theſe foure wayes are the Foſſe, the Gwethelin, or Watling, the Ermyng, and the Ikenild.

Foſſe.

The Foſſe goeth not directly, but ſlopewiſe ouer the greateſt part of this Iſland, begynnyng at Dotneſſe or Totneſſe in Deuōſhire, where Brute ſometymes landed (or as Ranulphus ſayeth) which is more likely at the point of Cornwall though the eldeſt writers do ſéeme to note the contrary. From hence it goeth thorow the middle of Deuonſhire and Somerſetſhire, and commeth to Briſtow, from whence it runneth manifeſtly to Sudbery market, Tetbury, and ſo forth holdeth on as you go almoſt to ẏ midde way betwene Glouceſter and Cirneceſter (where the wood faileth, and the Champeigne country appeareth toward Cotteſwald) ſtreight as a lyne vntill you come to Cirneceſter it ſelf. Some hold opinion that the way which lyeth from Cirneceſter to Bathe, ſhoulde be the very Foſſe, and that betwixt Cirneceſter & Glouceſter, to be another of the 4. wayes made by the Britons: but auncient report grounded vpon great likelyhoode, and confirmed alſo by ſome experience, iudgeth that moſt of the wayes croſſed eche other in this part of the realme, and of this mynd is Leland alſo, who learned it of an Abbote of Cirneceſter that ſhewed great likelyhoode in ſome recordes therof: but to procéede. From Cirneceſter, it goeth by Chepingnorton to Couentrey, Leirceſter, Newarke, and ſo to Lincolne ouerthwart the Watling ſtreate, where by generall conſent of all the writers (except Alfrede of Beuerley, who extendeth it vnto Catheneſſe in Scotland) it is ſayde to haue an ende.

Watling ſtréete.

The Watling ſtréete beginneth at Douer in Kent, and ſo ſtretcheth thorow the middeſt of Kent vnto London, and ſo forth (peraduenture by the midſt of ẏ city) vnto Verolamium or Werlamceſter, now S. Albons, where in ẏ yeare of grace 1531 the courſe thereof was found by a mā that digged for grauel wherewith to mende the highway. It was in this place 18. foote brode, and about 10. foote déepe, and ſtoned in the botome as afore, and peraduenture alſo on the toppe, but theſe are gone, and the reſt remayneth equall in moſt places with the fields. The yelow grauell alſo that was brought thether in cartes 2000. yeares paſſed, remayned there ſo freſh and ſo ſtrōg, as if it had bene digged out of ẏ natural place where it grew not many yeares before. Frō hence it goeth hard by Margate, leauyng it on the weſt ſide, and a little by ſouth of this place, where the Priory ſtoode, is a long thorow fare vpon the ſayd ſtréete, méetely well builded (for low houſing) on both ſides. After this, it not onely becommeth a bound vnto Leiceſterſhire toward Lugby, but alſo paſſeth from Caſtleford to Stamforde, and ſo forth by the weſt of Marton, which is a myle from Torkeſey.

Here by the waye I muſt touche the opinion of a traueyler of my tyme, who noteth the ſayde ſtreate to go another waye, inſomuch that he would haue it to croſſe the third Auon, betwixt Newton and Dowbridge, & ſo go on to Binforde bridge, Wibtoft, the highe croſſe, and thence to Atherſton vpon Ancre. Certes it maye be, that the Foſſe had his courſe by the countrye in ſuch ſort as hée deſcribeth, but that ẏ Watling ſtreat ſhould paſſe by Atherſtō, I can not as yet be perſuaded. Neuertheleſſe his coniecture is not to be miſliked, ſith it is not vnlikelye that thrée ſeuerall wayes myght méete at Alderwaye (a towne vpon Tame, beneath Salters bridge) for I do not doubt that the ſayd towne, dyd take his name of all thrée wayes, as Aldermary churche in London, did of all thrée Maryes vnto whome it hath béene dedicated, but that the Watling ſtreate ſhoulde be one of them, the compaſſe of his paſſage will in no wiſe permit. And thus much haue I thought good to note by the waye, nowe to returne agayne to Leland, and other mens collections. The next tydings that we here of the Watlyng ſtreate is, that it goeth thorowe the Parke at Pomfret, as the common voyce of the country confirmeth: thēce it paſſeth haſtily ouer Caſtelford bridg, to Aberford, (which is fiue myles from thence, & where are moſt manifeſt tokens of thys waye and his broad creſt) to Yorke, to Witherby, & then to Borowbrig, where on the left hand therof ſtood certain monumentes, or Pyramides of ſtone, ſometyme placed there by the Romaines. Theſe ſtones (ſayth Leland) ſtande 8 myles weſt from Bowis, & almoſt weſt from Richmonde a little thorowe fare called mayden caſtel ſcituate vpon the ſide of this ſtreat, and here is one of thoſe Pyramides or great rounde heapes, which is thrée ſcore foote cōpaſſe in the bottome. There are other alſo of leſſe quantities, and on the very top of eche of them are ſharp ſtones of a yard in length, but the greateſt of all is eightéene foote hyghe at the leaſt, from the grounde to the verye head. He addeth moreouer howe they ſtande on an hyll: in the edge of Stanes moore, and are as boundes betwéene Richmonde ſhyre, and Weſtmerland. But to procéed this ſtreat lying a myle from Gilling, and two myles from Richmonde commeth on from Borowbrigge, to Catericke eightéene myles, that is twelue to Leuing, and ſixe to Catericke, then eleuen myles to Gretey, or Gritto, fyue myles to Bottles, eight myles to Burghe on Stanes moore, foure myles from Appleby, & fiue to Browham, where the ſayde ſtreate commeth thorowe Winfoll parke, and ouer the bridge, on Eymouth and Loder, and leauing Perith, a quarter of a myle or more, on the weſt ſide of it, goeth to Carleil ſeuentéene myles from Browham, which hath béene ſome notable thing. Hetherto it appeareth euidently, but going from hence into Scotlande, I heare no more of it, vntill I come to Cathneſſe, which is two hundred and thirtye myles or thereabouts, out of Englande.

rming
réete.

The Erming ſtreate, which ſome call the Lelme, ſtretcheth out of the eaſt, as they ſaye into the ſoutheaſt, ẏ is, from Meneuia or S. Dauids in Wales vnto Southāpton, wherby it is ſomewhat lykely in déede that theſe two wayes, I meane the Foſſe, and the Erning, ſhoulde méete about Cirneceſter, as it commeth from Gloceſter, according to the opinion conceyued of them in that countrye. Of thys way I finde no more written, and therefore I can ſaye no more of it, except I ſhoulde indeuour to dryue awaye the tyme, in alleadging what other men ſaye thereof, whoſe mindes doe ſo farre diſagrée one from another, as they doe all from a truth, and therefore I gyue them ouer, as not delighting in ſuch dealing.

enilde.

The Ikenild or Rikenild, begā ſomewhere in the ſouth, and ſo held on toward Cirneceſter, then to Worceſter, Wicomb, Brimmicham, Lichfield, Darby, Cheſterfield, and croſſing the Watlingſtréete ſome where in Yorkeſhire, ſtretched forth in the ende vnto ẏ mouth ẏ of Tine, where it ended at ẏ maine ſea, as moſt men doe confeſſe. I take it to be called the Ikenild, becauſe it paſſed thorow the kingdome of the Icenes: for albeit that Lelande and other followyng him doe ſeme to place the Icenes in Norfolke & Suffolke, yet in myne opinion that cannot wel be done, ſith it is manifeſt by Tacitus, that they laye nere vnto the Sylures, and as I geſſe, eyther in Stafford and Worceſter, or in both, except my coniecture do fayl me. The author of the booke entituled Eulogium hiſtoriarum, doth call this ſtréete the Lelme: but as herein he is deceyued, ſo haue I delt withal ſo faythfully as I may among ſuch diuerſitie of opinions, yet not deniyng but that there is much confuſion in the names and courſes of theſe two latter, the diſcuſſing wherof, I muſt leaue to other men ẏ be better lerned then I.

Of the ayre and ſoyle of Britaine.

Chap. 13.

The ayre for the moſt part thorowout the Iſland is ſuch, as by reaſon in maner of continuall cloudes, is reputed to be groſſe & nothing ſo pleaſant as that is of the mayne. Howbeit as they which affirme theſe things, haue onely reſpect to the impediment or hinderaunce of the ſunne beames, by the interpoſitiō of the cloudes & oft ingroſſed ayre: ſo experience teacheth vs that it is no leſſe pure, holſome, and commodious, then is that of other countries, and as Cæſar hymſelfe hereto addeth, much more temperate in ſommer, then that of the Galles, from whome he aduentured hither. Neyther is theyr any thing found in the ayre of our Regiō, that is not vſually ſéene amongſt other nations lying beyond the ſeas. Wherfore, we muſt nedes cōfeſſe, that the ſcituation of our Iſland for benefite of the heauens is nothing inferiour to that of any country of the maine, where ſo euer it lie vnder the open firmament.

The ſoyle of Brytaine is ſuch, as by the teſtimonies and reportes, both of the olde & newe writers, and experience alſo of ſuch as nowe inhabite the ſame, is verye fruitefull, but yet more inclined to the féeding & graſing of the cattell, then profitable for tyllage, & bearing of corn, by reaſon wherof the country is wonderfully repleniſhed wyth Neat, & al kind of cattell: and ſuch ſtore is there alſo of the ſame in euery place, that ẏ fourth part of the land is ſcarcely manured for the prouiſion and maintenāce of grayne. Certes, this fruitfulnes was not vnknowen vnto the Britons long before Cæſars time, which was the cauſe wherefore our predeceſſors liuyng in thoſe dayes in maner neglected Tillage, and lyued by féedyng and graſing onely. The graſiers themſelues alſo then dwelled in moueable villages by companies, whoſe cuſtom was to deuide the ground amongſt them, and eche one not to depart from the place where his lot lay, till by eating vp of the country about him, he was inforced to remoue further and ſeke for better paſture, and this was the brittiſh cuſtome at the firſt. It hath bene cõmonly reported that the ground of Wales is neyther ſo fruitful as that of England, neither the ſoyle of Scotland ſo bountifull as that of Wales, which is true if it be taken for the moſt part: otherwiſe, there is ſo good grounde in ſome partes of Wales, as is in England, albeit yͤ beſt of Scotland be ſcarcely comparable to the beſt of eyther of both. Howbeit as the bounty of the Scottiſh doth fayle in ſome reſpect, ſo doeth it ſurmoũt in other, God and nature hauyng not appointed all countries to yeld forth lyke commodities.

Plenty of riuers.

There are alſo in this Iſland great plenty of freſh riuers & ſtreames, as you haue heard already, and theſe thorowly fraught wyth all kyndes of delicate fiſh, accuſtomed to be foũd in riuers.

Hilles.

The whole Iſle likewyſe, is very full of hilles, of which ſome, though not very many, are of exceedyng heigth, and diuers extendyng themſelues very farre from the beginnyng as wée may ſée by Shooters hill, which riſing eaſt of London, & not very far from the Thames runneth along the ſouth ſide of the Iſland weſtward, vntill it come to Cornwall. Lyke vnto theſe alſo are the crowdõ hils, which from the peke do run into the borders of Scotlande. What ſhoulde I ſpeake of the cheuiot hils which run xx. miles in length: of the blacke mountains in Wales which go from to miles at the leſt in length, of the Grames in Scotlande, and of our Chiltren, which are 18. myles at the leſt, from one end of them to the other, of all which, ſome are very well repleniſhed with wood; notwithſtandyng that the moſt part yelde a ſwéete ſhort graſſe, profitable for ſheep, wherin albeit that they of Scotland doe ſomewhat come behind vs, yet their outward defect is inwardly recompẽſed not onely with plenty of quarries, (and thoſe of ſondry kindes of marble hard ſtone, and fine alabaſter) but alſo rich mines of mettal, as ſhalbe ſhewed hereafter.

Windes.

In this Iſlande likewyſe the wyndes are commonly more ſtronge and fierce, then in anye other places of the maine, and that is often ſéene vpon the naked hilles, which are not garded with trées to beare it of.

Building.

That grieuous incõuenience alſo inforceth our Nobility, gentry, and comminaltie, to build their houſes in the valeis, leauing the high groundes vnto their corne and cattell, leaſt the cold and ſtormy blaſtes of winter ſhould bréede thẽ greater anoyance, wheras in other Regions eche one deſireth to ſet his houſe aloft on the hyll, not onely to be ſene a farre of, and caſt forth their beames of ſtately & curious workemãſhip into euery quarter of the country, but alſo (in whote habitations) for coldneſſe ſake of the ayre, ſith the heate is neuer ſo vehement on the hill top as in the valey, becauſe the reuerberation of the ſunne beame, eyther reacheth not ſo farre as the higheſt, or elſe becõmeth not ſo ſtrong, when it is reflected to the lower mountayne.

Husbãdry amended.

But to leaue our Buyldinges, vnto the purpoſed place (which notwithſtanding haue verye muche increaſed, I meane for curioſitye and coſte, in Englande, Wales, and Scotland, within theſe fewe yeares) and to returne to the ſoyle againe. Certainelye it is euen now in theſe our dayes growne to bée muche more fruitefull, then it hath bene in times paſt. The cauſe is for that our countreimen are growne to be more paynefull, ſkilful and carefull thorowe recompence of gayne, then heretofore they haue béene, inſomuch that my Synchroni or time felowes, can reap at thys preſent great commoditye in a lyttle roume, whereas of late yeares, a great compaſſe hath yéelded but ſmall profite, and thys onely thorowe the ydle and negligent occupatiõ of ſuch, as manured and had the ſame in occupying. I myght ſette downe examples out of all the partes of thys Iſlande, that is to ſay, manye out of Englande, moe out of Scotlande, but moſt of all out of Wales, in which two laſt rehearſed, verye little other foode and lyuelyhoode was wont to be looked for beſide fleſhe more then the ſoyle of it ſelfe, and the cow gaue, the people in yͤ meane tyme lyuing idelly, diſſolutely & by picking and ſtealing one frõ another, all which vices are nowe for the moſt part relinquiſhed, ſo that ech nation manureth hir owne with triple commoditie, to that it was before tyme.

Pasture.

The paſture of thys Iſlande is accordyng to the nature & ſcituation of the ſoyle, whereby in moſt places it is plentifull, verye fine batable, and ſuch as eyther fatteth our cattel with ſpéede, or yéeldeth great abundaunce of mylke and creame, whereof the yellowest butter, and fineſt chéeſe are made. But where the blewe claye aboundeth (which hardelye drinketh vppe the winters water in long ſeaſon) there the graſſe is ſpeary, rough, and very apte for buſhes, by which occaſion, it becommeth nothing ſo profitable to the owner. The beſt paſture ground of all Englande, is in Wales, and of all the paſture in Wales, that of Cardigan is the chiefe. I ſpeake of that which is to be founde in the mountaines there, where the hundreth part of the graſſe growing is not eaten, but ſuffered to rotte on the grounde, whereby the ſoyle becommeth matted, and dyuers Bogges and quicke mores made wyth all in long continuance, bycauſe all the cattle in the countrey are not able to eate it downe.

Medowes

Our medowes are either bottomes (whereof we haue great ſtore, and thoſe very large bycauſe our ſoyle is hilly) or elſe lande meades. The firſt of them, are yearely and often ouerflowen by the ryſing of ſuch ſtreames as paſſe thorowe the ſame, or violent falles of lande waters, that dyſcende from the hylles about them. The other are ſeldome or neuer ouerflowen, & that is the cauſe wherefore their graſſe is ſhorter than that of the bottomes, and yet is it farre more fine, wholſome, and batable, ſith the haye of our lowe meaddowes is not onely full of ſandy cinder, which breedeth ſundry diſeaſes in our cattell, but alſo more rowty, foggy, & full of flagges, and therefore not ſo profitable, for ſteuer and forrage as yͤ higher meades be. The difference furthermore in theyr commodities is great, for whereas in our lande meddowes we haue not often aboue one good loade of haye in an acre of grounde, in lowe meaddowes, we haue ſometimes three, but commonly aboue two, as experience hath oft confirmed.

Corne.

The yeelde of our corne grounde, is alſo much after thys rate following, thorowe out the lande (if you pleaſe to make an eſtimate thereof by the acre) in common and indyfferent yeares, wherin eche acre of Whete well tilled and dreſſed will yeeld commonly twentie buſhelles, an acre of Barlie 32. buſhels, of Otes and ſuch lyke, fiue quarters, which proportion is notwythſtanding oft abated, towarde the north, as it is often ſurmounted in the ſouth. Of mixed corne, as peaſon, and beanes, ſowē togither, Tares & Otes (which they call bulmong,) Rie and Wheate, here is no place to ſpeake, yet theyr yeelde is neuertheleſſe much after this proportiō, as I haue often marked.

ttell.

Meal and diſnege.

Wine.

The cattel which we breede are commonly ſuch as for greatneſſe of bone, ſweeteneſſe of fleſh, & other benefits to be reaped by yͤ ſame, giue place vnto none other, as may appeare firſt by our Oxen, whoſe largeneſſe, height, weight, tallow, hides, and hornes are ſuch, as none of any other nation, do cōmonly or may eaſily excede them. Our ſheepe likewiſe for good taſte of fleſhe, quantitie of lymmes, fineſſe of fleece, & abundance of increaſe, (for in many places they bring forth two or three at an eaning) giue no place vnto any, more then do our Goates, who in like ſort do follow the ſame order, and our Deare come not behind. As for our Conies, I haue ſeene thē ſo fat in ſome ſoiles, eſpecially about Meal & Diſnege that the greace of one being weighed, hath peyſed very neare ſixe or 7. ounces, all which benefites we firſt referre to the grace & goodneſſe of God, and next of all vnto the bountye of our ſoyle, which he hath ſo plentifullye indued with ſo ample & large cōmodities. But as I meane to intreate of theſe thinges more largly hereafter, ſo will I touch in this place one benefite which our country wanteth, and that is wyne, the fault whereof is not in our ſoyle, but the negligence of our country men (eſpecially of the ſouth parts) who doe not inure the ſame to this commoditie, which by reaſon of long diſcontinuance, is nowe become vnapt to beare any Grapes, eyther in the fielde or ſeuerall vineyardes: Yet of late time ſome haue aſſayed to deale for wine, but ſithe that lyquor when it commeth to the drynking hath beene founde more harde then that which is brought from beyonde the ſea, and the coſt of planting and keeping thereof ſo chargeable, that they maye buye it farre better cheape from other Countries: they haue gyuen ouer theyr enterpryſes, wythout any conſideration, that as in all other thinges, ſo neither the grounde it ſelfe in the begynning, nor ſucceſſe of their trauaile can anſwere their expectation at the firſt, vntyll ſuch time as the ſoyle be brought as it were into acquaintance with this commoditie, and that prouiſion maye bee made, for the more eaſineſſe of charge, to be employed vpon the ſame. If it be true that where wine doth laſt and indure well, there it will grow no worſe. I muſe not a little wherefore the planting of vines ſhoulde be neglected in England. That this liquor might haue growne in this Iſland heretofore: firſt the charter that Probus themperour gaue equally to vs, the Galles and Spaniardes is one ſufficient teſtimony. And that it dyd growe here, the olde notes of tythes for wine, that yet remaine in the accomptes of ſome Perſons and Vycars in Kent, beſides the recordes of ſundrye ſutes, commenced in diuers eccleſiaſticall courtes, both in Kent and Surrey: alſo the incloſed percelles almoſt in euery Abbaye, yet called the vyneyardes, maye bee a notable proofe. Wherefore our ſoyle is not to be blamed, as though our nightes were ſo exceeding ſhort, that the moone which is Lady of moyſture, & chiefe riper of this liquor, cannot in any wiſe ſhine long ynough vpō the ſame, a very merry toy, & fable worthy to be ſuppreſſed.

Wad and Madder ſometime in Englande.

The time hath béene that Wad and Madder, haue béene (next vnto our Tin & Wolles) the chief commodities & Marchaundize of this realme.

Rape oyle.

I fynde alſo that Rape oyle hath béene made within this lande, but nowe our ſoyle wyll beare neither of theſe, not for that the grounde is not able ſo to doe, but that we are neclygent and careleſſe of our owne profit, as men rather willing to buye the ſame of others thē take any paine to plant thē here at home.

Flaxe.

The like I may ſay of flaxe, which by lawe ought to be ſowen in euery country towne in Englande, more or leſſe, but I ſée no ſucceſſe of ẏ good & wholſome eſtatute, ſith it is rather contempteouſly reiected then otherwiſe dutifully kept.

Number. Alteratiō. Diſpenſation. Example of ſuperiours.

Some ſay that our great numbers of lawes, whereby it is impoſſible for any man to auoyde theyr tranſgreſſion, is one great cauſe of our negligence in this behalfe. Other affirme that the often alteration of our ordinaunces do bréed this general cōtempt of al good lwas, which after Ariſtotle doth ſeme to carye ſome reaſon withall. But very many let not to ſaye, that facility in diſpenſatiō with them, and manifeſt breche of the ſame in the Superiours, are ẏ greateſt cauſes why the inferiours regarde no good order, beyng alwayes ready to offende without any ſuch facultie one way, as they are to preſume vpon the example of the higher powers another. But as in theſe thinges I haue no ſkyl, ſo ſome wiſhe that fewer licences for the priuate commoditie, but of a fewe, were graunted: & this they ſay, not that they denie ẏ execution of the prerogatiue royall, but woulde wyth all theyr hearts that it might be made a grieuous offence, for any man by féed fryndeſhip or otherwiſe, to procure oughtes of the Prince, (who is not acquainted wyth the botome of the eſtate of common things) that may bée preiudiciall to the weale publike of his country.

Erthes.

If it were requiſite that I ſhould ſpeake of the ſundry kinds of mowlde, as ẏ cledgy or clay, whereof are ſundry ſorts, red, blew, black & white: alſo the red or white ſandy, the lomye, roſelly, grauelly, chalky or blacke: I could ſay that there are ſo many diuers vaines in Brytaine, as elſe where in any quarter of lyke quantitie in ẏ world. Howbeit this I muſt néedes cōfeſſe that the ſandy and cledgy doe beare the greateſt ſway, but ẏ clay moſt of all, as hath béene, and yet is alwaies ſéene and felt thorowe plenty & dearth of corne. For if this latter doe yéelde hir full increaſe, then is there generall plenty, whereas if it fayle then haue we ſcarcity, according to the olde rude verſe, ſet downe of England, but to be vnderſtanded of the whole Ilande, as experience doth confirme.

When the ſande doth ſerue the clay,
Then may we ſing well away;
But when the clay doth ſerue the ſand
Then is it mery with England.

Valles.

I might here intreate alſo of the famous vales in Englande, of which one is called the Vale of white horſe, another of Eueſham, noted to be twelue or thirtéene miles in compaſſe, the third of Ailesbury ẏ goeth by Tame the roote of Chilterne hils, & ſo to Donſtable, Newport pauell, ſtony Stratford, Buckingham, Birſtane parke, &c. And likewiſe of the fourth of Whithart, or Blackemore, in Dorſetſhire, and alſo the Marſhwood vale, but forasmuch as I knowe not well their ſeuerall limites, I giue ouer to go any farder in their deſcription at this time.

Fennes.

In like ſort it ſhould not be amyſſe to ſpeake of our fennes & other pleaſant bottomes, which are not onely indued with excellent ryuers & great ſtore of fine fodder, for neat and horſes in time of ẏ yere, (whereby they are excéeding benificiall vnto their owners) but alſo of no ſmall compaſſe & quantity in grounde. For ſome of our Fennes are well knowen to be eyther 10, 12, 16, 20, or 30 miles in length, that of the Gyrwis yet paſſing al the reaſt, which is ful 60. as I haue often read.

Commons

Finally I might diſcourſe in like order of the large commons, laide out heretofore by the Lordes of the ſoyles for ẏ benefite of ſuch poore, as inhabite within ẏ compaſſes of their manours, but as the tractatiō of them belongeth rather to the ſeconde booke, ſo I meane not at thys preſent to deale wythall, reſeruing the ſame wholly vnto the due place whileſt I go forwarde with the reaſt.

Of the generall conſtitution of the bodyes of the Brytanies. Cap. 14.

THoſe that are bredde in this Iſlande are men for the moſt part of a good complexion, tall of ſtature, ſtrong in body, white of coulour, and thereto of great boldeneſſe and courage in ẏ warres. For ſuch hath béene the eſtimation of engliſh ſouldiers from time to time, ſince our Iſle hath béene knowne vnto the Romaines, that whereſoeuer they haue ſerued in forrein countries, the chiefe brunts of ſeruice haue béene reſerued for them. Of their conqueſtes and bloudy battailes wonne in Fraunce, Germany, and Scotlande, our hiſtories are full: and where they haue béene ouercome, the victors themſelues confeſſed their victories to haue ben ſo dearely bought, that they woulde not gladly couete to ouercome

come often, after ſuch difficult maner. In martiall proweſſe, there is little or no difference betwene Engliſhmen and Scottes, for albeit that the Scottes haue béene often and very grieuouſly ouercome by the force of our nation, it hath not béene for want of manhood on their partes, but through ẏ mercy of God ſhewed on vs, and his iuſtice vpon them, ſith they alwaies haue begun the quarels and offred vs mére iniurie with great deſpite and crueltie. Leland noting ſomewhat of the cõſtitution of our bodies, ſayeth theſe wordes, the Britaines are whyte in coulour, & ſtrong of body, as people inhabiting néere the north, and farre from the Equinoctiall line; where contrariewyſe ſuch as dwell towarde the courſe of the ſunne, are leſſe of ſtature, weaker of body, more fearfull by nature, blacker in coulour, and ſome ſo blacke in déede as anye Crow or Rauen, thus ſayeth he. Howbeit, as theſe men doe come behinde vs in conſtitution of bodie, ſo in Pregnancie of witte, nimbleneſſe of lymmes, and pollitike inuentions, they generally excéede vs: notwithſtãding that otherwiſe theſe giftes of theirs doe often degenerate, into mére ſubtiltie, inſtabilitie, vnfaithfulneſſe and crueltie. We therfore dwelling néere the North, are commonly taken by forrein Hyſtoriographers and others, to be men of great ſtrength and little policie, much courage and ſmall ſhift: & thus doth Comineus burden vs after a ſort in hys hiſtory. But thanked be God, that all the wit of his countrymen coulde neuer compaſſe to doe ſo much in Britaine, as the ſtrength and courage of our Engliſhmen, (not without great wiſedome, and forecaſt) haue brought to paſſe in Fraunce. Certes in accuſing our wiſedome in this ſorte, he doth in mine opinion increaſe our commendation, for if it be a vertue to deale vprightly with ſingleneſſe of minde: ſincerely and plainly, without any ſuſpicious fetches in all our dealinges, then are our countreymen to be accompted vertuous. But if it be a vice to coulour craftineſſe, ſubtile practiſes, doubleneſſe and hollow behauiour, with a cloke of pollicie, amitie and wiſedome, then are Comineus and his companie to be reputed vicious. How theſe latter pointes take holde in Italy, I meane not to diſcuſſe, how they are daily practized in many places of the maine, and he accompted moſt wyſe and pollitike, that can moſt of all diſſemble, here is no place iuſtly to determine, (neyther woulde I wiſhe my countrymen to learne any ſuch wiſedome) but that a king of Fraunce, coulde ſay, Qui neſcit diſsimulare, neſcit regnare, their owne hyſtories are teſtimonies ſufficient. But to procéede with our purpoſe. With vs ſome doe liue an hundred yeares, very many vnto fower ſcore: as for thrée ſcore, it is taken but for our enteraunce into age, ſo that in Britain, no man is ſayde to were old til he draw vnto thre ſcore. Theſe two are alſo noted in vs (as thinges appartayning to the firme conſtitutions of our bodies) that there hath not béene ſéene in any Region ſo many carcaſſes of the dead to remaine from time to time without corruption as in Britain: and that after death by ſlaughter or otherwyſe ſuch as remayne vnburied by foure or fiue dayes togither are eaſie to be knowen and diſcerned by their friendes and kinred, wheras Tacitus and other complaine of ſundry nations, ſaying, that their bodies are tam fluidæ ſubſtantiæ, that within certaine houres the wife ſhall hardely knowe hir huſbande, the mother hir ſonne, or one friende another, after their liues be ended. I might here adde ſomewhat alſo of the meane ſtature generally of our women, whoſe beautie commonly excéedeth the faireſt of thoſe of the maine, their comlynes of perſon and good proportion of limmes, moſt of theirs ẏ come ouer vnto vs from beyonde the ſea. I coulde make report likewyſe of the naturall vices & vertues of all thoſe ẏ are borne within thys Iſlande, but as the tractation thereof craueth a better head then mine to ſet it forth, ſo I will giue place to other men, that liſt to take the ſame in hand. Thus much therfore of the conſtitutions of our bodies, and ſo much may ſuffice.

on armis
ingenio
ncuntur
gli.

How Britayne grew at the firſt to be deuided into three portions.

Chap. 1.

After the commyng of Brutus into this Iſland (which was as you haue red in the aforeſayd treatize, about the yere of ẏ world, 2840 or 1127 before ẏ incarnation of Chriſt) he made a general ſuruey of the whole Iſlãd from ſide to ſide, by ſuch meanes to view and ſearch out not onely the limites and boundes of his dominions, but alſo what commodities this new atchieued conqueſt might yeld vnto hys people. Further more, findyng out at the laſt alſo a couenable place wherein to erect a citie, he began there euen ẏ very ſame, which at this day is called London, namyng it Trenouanton, in remembraunce of olde Troye, from whence hys aunceſters procéeded, & for which the Romaines pronounced afterward Trinobantum, although the Welchmen doe call it ſtill Trenewith. This city was builded as ſome write, much about the tenth yeare of his raigne, ſo ẏ he lyued not aboue 15. yeares after he had finiſhed yͤ ſame. But of yͤ reſt of hys other actes attempted and done, before or after the erection of this city, I finde no certayne report, more then that when he had raigned in this Iſland after his arriuall by the ſpace of 24. yeares, he finiſhed his dayes at Trenouanton aforeſayde, beyng in hys young and floriſhyng age, where at his carcaſe was honorably interred. As for the maner of hys death, I finde as yet no mention therof among ſuch writers as are extant. I meane whether it grew vnto him by defect of nature, or force of grieuous woundes receyued in hys warres agaynſt ſuch as withſtood him from tyme to tyme in this Iſlande, and therefore I can ſay nothing of that matter. Herein onely all agrée, that duryng the tyme of his languiſhing paynes, he made a diſpoſition of his whole kyngdome, deuiding it into thrée partes or portions, according to the nūber of his ſonnes then liuing, whereof the oldeſt excéeded not 28. yeres of age, as my coniecture giueth me. To the eldeſt therefore, whoſe name was Locrine, he gaue the greateſt and beſt Region of all the reſt, whiche of hym to this day is called Lhoegres among the Britons, but in our language Englande, of ſuch Engliſh Saxons as made conqueſt of the ſame. This portiō alſo is included on the ſouth with the Brittiſh ſea, on the eaſt wyth the Germaine Ocean, on the north wyth the Humber, and on the weſt with the Iriſh ſea, and the riuers Dée and Sauerne, wherof in the general deſcription of this Iſland, I haue ſpoken more at large. To Camber his ſecōd ſonne, he aſſigned all that lyeth beyonde the Sauerne and Dée towarde the weſt, (whiche parcel in theſe dayes conteineth Southwales and Northwales) with ſondry Iſlandes adiacent to the ſame, the whole beyng in maner cut of and ſeperated from England or Loegria by the ſaid ſtreames, wherby it ſéemeth almoſt Peninſula, or a bye land, if you reſpect the ſmall hilly portion of ground that lyeth indifferently betwene their maine courſes or ſuch branches at the leaſt as run and fall into them. The Welchmen or Brytons call it by the auncient name ſtill vnto this day, but we Engliſhmen terme it Wales, which denomination we haue from the Saxons, who in time paſt did vſe the word Walſhe in ſuch ſort as we do ſtraunge: for as we cal all thoſe ſtraungers that are not of our nation, ſo dyd they name them Walſhe which were not of their countrey. The third and laſt part of the Iſland he allotted vnto Albanacte hys youngeſt ſonne (for he had but thrée in all, as I haue ſayd before) whoſe portion ſéemed for circuite to be more large, then that of Camber, and in maner equall in greatneſſe wyth the dominions of Locrinus: But if you haue regard to the ſeuerall commodities that are to be reaped by eche, you ſhal find them to be not much diſcrepaunt or differing one from another: for what ſo euer the firſt and ſecond haue in plenty of corne, fine graſſe, and large cattell. This latter wanteth not in excéedyng ſtore of fiſhe, rich mettall, quarries of ſtone, and aboundaunce of wylde foule: ſo that in myne opinion, there coulde not be a more equall particion then this made by Brute, and after the aforeſayd maner. This later parcel at the firſt, toke the name of Albanactus, who called it Albania. But now a ſmall portion onely of the Region (beyng vnder the regiment of a Duke) reteyneth the ſayd denomination, the reaſt beyng called Scotlande, of certayne Scottes that came ouer from Ireland to inhabite in thoſe quarters. It is deuided from Loegres alſo by the Humber, ſo that Albania as Brute left it, conteyned all the north part of the Iſland that is to be foūd beyond the aforeſayd ſtreame, vnto the point of Catheneſſe. To conclude, Brute hauyng deuided hys kingdome after this maner, and therin contentyng himſelfe as it were wyth the general title of the whole, it was not lōg after ere he ended his life, and being ſolemnly interred at his new city by his thrée children, they parted eche from other, and toke poſſeſſion of their prouinces. But Scotland after two yeres fell agayn into the handes of Locrinus as to the chiefe Lord, by the death of his brother Albanact, who was ſlayne by Humber kyng of the Scithiēs, and left none iſſue behynde hym to ſuccéede hym in that kyngdome.

Locrine.

Loegria.

Camber.
Cambria.

Albanact,

Albania.

Locrine king alſo of Scotland.

That notwithſtanding the former diuiſion made by Brute vnto his children, the ſoueraigntie of the whole Iſlande remained ſtill to the prince of Lhoegres and his poſteritie after him.

Chap. xvj.

IT is poſſible that ſome of the Scottiſh nation reading the former chapter will take offence with me for meaning yͤ the principalitie of the North partes of this Iſle, hath alwayes belonged to the kinges of Lhoegres. For whoſe more ample ſatiſfaction in this behalfe, I will here ſet downe therfore a diſcourſe therof at large, written by diuers, and nowe finally brought into one Treatiſe, ſufficient as I thinke to ſatiſfie the reaſonable, although not halfe ynough peraduenture to content a wrangling minde, ſith there is or at the leaſt wyſe hath béene nothing more odious amōg ſome, then to heare that the king of

The Scottes alwayes deſirous to ſhake o the engliſh ſubiection, haue often made cruell and odious attemptes to do, but in vayne,

of England hath oughtes to dœ in Scotland. How their Hiſtoriographers haue attempted to ſhape a coloured excuſe to auoyde ſo manifeſt a tytle, all men maye ſœ that reade their bookes indifferently, whereunto I doe referre them. For my part there is little or nothing of myne herein, more then onely the collection of a number of fragmentes togither, wherein chiefly I haue vſed the helpe of Nicholas Adams, who wrate thereof of ſet purpoſe to king Edward the ſixt, as Leland dyd the lyke to king Henry the eyght, John Harding vnto Edwarde the fourth, beſide thrœ other, whereof the firſt dedicated hys Treatiſe to Henry the fourth, the ſeconde to Edwarde the thirde, and the thirde to Edwarde the firſt, as their writinges yet extant doe abundantly beare witneſſe. The tytle alſo that Lelande giueth his booke, which I haue had written with his owne hands, beginneth in this maner. Theſe remembraunces following
„ are found in Chronicles authorized remaining
„ in diuers monaſteries both in England
„ and Scotlande, by which it is euidently
„ knowen & ſhewed, that the kinges of England
„ haue had, and nowe ought to haue the
„ ſoueraignetie ouer Scotlande, wyth the homage
„ and fealtie of the kings their reigning
„ from time to time. Herevnto you haue heard
„ already what diuiſiō Brute made of this Iſlande not long before his death, whereof eche of his childrē ſo ſone as he was enterred toke ſeiſure and poſſeſſion. Howbeit after two yeres it happened that Albanact was ſlayne, wherevpon Locrinus and Camber rayſed their powers reuenged his death, and finally the ſayde Locrinus, made an entraunce vpō Albania, ſeyzed it into his owne handes (as excheated wholly vnto himſelfe) without yelding any part therof vnto his brother Camber, who made no clayme nor title vnto any portion of the ſame. Herby then ſayth Adams it euidently appeareth that the entier ſeigniorie ouer Albania conſiſted in Locrinus, according to which example lyke lawe among brethren euer ſince hath continued, in preferring the eldeſt brother to the onely benefite of the collaterall aſſencion from the youngeſt, aſwell in Scotlande as in England vnto this daye.

Ebranke the lineall heire from the bodie of this Locrine, that is to ſay the ſonne of Mempris, ſonne of Madan, ſonne of the ſame Locrine, buylded in Albania the caſtle of Maydens nowe called Edenbrough: and the Caſtle of Alcluith or Alclude, now called Dunbriton, as the Scottiſh Hector Boethius confeſſeth: wherby it moſt euidently appeareth that our Ebranke was then thereof ſeaſed.

This Ebranke reigned in the ſaide ſtate ouer thē a long time, after whoſe death Albania as annexed to the empire of the Britaine, deſcended to the onely king of Britons, vntill the diſcent to the two ſiſters ſonnes, Morgan and Conedage, lineall heires from the ſayde Ebranke, who brotherly vpō the firſt example deuided yͤ realme. Morgā had Lhoegres, and Conedage had Albania: but ſhortly after Morgan the elder brother pondering in hys hed, the loue to his brother with the loue to a kingdome, excluded nature & gaue place to ambition, and therupō denouncing warre, death miſerably ended hys life (as the rewarde of his vntruth) wherby Conedage obtayned the whole Empire of all Britaine, in which ſtate he remayned during his naturall lyfe.

From him the ſame lineally deſcended to the onelye king of Britons; vntill after the reigne of Gorbodian, who had iſſue two ſons, Ferres, and Porres: This Porres requyring lyke diuiſion of the lande, affirming the former particions to be rather of lawe then fauour, was by the handes of his elder brother, both of his lyfe and hoped kingdome bereued at once: whereupon their vnnaturall mother vſing hir natural malice, for the deth of hir one ſonne, without regard of the loſing of both, miſerably ſlew the other.

Cloten by all writers aſwell Scottiſhe as other, was the next inheritour to the whole Empire, but lacking power (the only meane in thoſe dayes to obtayne right) he was contented to deuide the ſame among thrœ of his kinſmen, ſo that Scater had Albania. But after the death this Cloten his ſonne Dunwallo Mulmutius made warre vpon theſe thrœ kinges, and at laſt ouercame them, and ſo recouered the whole dominion, in token of which victorie, he cauſed himſelfe to be crowned with a crowne of gold, the very firſt that was worne among the kinges of this nation. This Dunwallo erected temples, wherein the people ſhoulde aſſemble for Prayer, to which temples he gaue benefite of Sanctuarie: he made the lawe for wager of battaile, in caſes of murder and felonie, whereby a thœfe that lyued and made his art of fighting, ſhoulde for his purgation fight wyth the true man, which he had robbed: but he belœued that the Goddes (for then they ſuppoſed many) would by myracle aſſigne victorie to the innocent partie. The priuileges of which firſt lawe & benefite of the latter, aſwell in Scotlande as in Englande, be enioyed to this day few cauſes by late poſitiue lawes among vs excepted, wherein the benefite of wager of battaile is expelled: by which obedience to hys lawes, it doth manifeſtly appeare, that thys Dunuallo was then ſeaſed of Albania nowe called Scotland: This Dunuallo reigned in thys eſtate ouer them many yeares. Beline & Brenne the ſonnes of this Dunuallo, dyd after theyr fathers death, fauourably deuide the land betwéene them: ſo that Beline had Logres, and Brenne had Albania: but for that this Brenne (a ſubiect) without the conſent of his elder brother and Lord, aduentured to marry with the daughter of the king of Denmarke: Beline ſeaſed Albania into his owne handes, and thereuppon cauſed the notable wayes priuileged by Dunuallons Lawes to be newly wrought by mens handes, which for the length was from the furder part of Cornewall, vnto the the ſea by North Cathnes in Scotland: & for religion in thoſe daies, he cōſtituted miniſters called Archeflamines in their functions moſt like the authoritie of Biſhoppes at this daye, the one of which remained at Ebranke now called Yorke, and whoſe power extēded to ẏ vttermoſt bondes of Albany, wherby lykewyſe appeareth that it was then within his dominion. After his death the whole Iſle was enioyed by the onlye kings of Britaine, vntill the tyme of Vigenius and Perydurus lineall heires from the ſayde Belyne who fauourably made particion, ſo that Vigenius had all the land from Humber ſouth, and Perydurus from thence North all Albania. This Vigenius died, and Perydurus furuiued, and thereby obtayned the whole, from whome the ſame quietly diſcended, and was by his poſteritie accordingly enioyed, vnto the reigne of king Coell, of that name the firſt. In hys tyme an obſcure nation by moſt writers ſuppoſed Scithians, paſſed by ſeas from Irelande, and arriued in that part of Britaine called Albania: againſt whome this Coell aſſembled his power, and being entred Albania to expell the, one Fergus in the night diſguiſed, entered the tent of this Coell, and in his bed traiterouſly ſlew him. This Fergus was therefore in reward of ſuch vertue made there King, whereupon they ſat downe in that part, with their wiues and children, and called it Scotlande, and themſelues Scottes: from the beginning of the worlde, foure thouſande and ſixe hundred and ſeuentéene yeares, which by iuſt computacion and confeſſion of all their owne wryters, is ſixe hundred yeares lacking tenne, after that Brutus had reigned ouer ẏ whole Iland, the ſame land being enioyed by him and his poſteritie before their comming, during two and fiftie diſcentes of the kinges of Britaine. Certes this intruſion into a land ſo many hundred yeares before inhabited, and

After the Scottiſhe accompt.

by ſo many diſcēts of kings quietly enioyed, is the beſt tytle that all their owne writers alledge for them. This Fergus hereupō immediately did deuyde Albania alſo amōg his Capitaines and their people: whereby it moſt euidently appeareth that there were no people of that nation inhabiting there before, in proofe wherof, the ſame particion ſhall followe.

Out of Hector B thus lib.

The landes of Cathnes lying againſt Orknay, betwéene Dummeſbey and the Water of Thane, was giuen vnto one Cornath, a capitaine and his people. The landes betwéene the Water of Thane and Nes, nowe called Roſſe, lying in bredth from Cromart to the mouth of the water of Lochte, were giuen to Lutorke, another Capitaine and his people. The landes betwéene Spay and Nes, from the Almaine ſeas to the Ireland Seas, now called Murray land, were giuē to one Warroche and his people. The lande of Thalia now called Boyn Aynze, Bogewall, Gariot, Formartine, and Bowguhan, were giuen to one Thalis and his people. The landes of Marr Badezenoche, & Lochquhaber, were giuen to Martache and his people. The lands of Lorne and Kintier, with the hilles & mountaynes thereof, lying from Mar to the Irelande ſeas, were giuen to Capitaine Nonaunce and his people. The landes of Athole were giuen to Atholus, another capitaine & his people. The landes of Strabraun, and Brawdawane lying West from Dunkell, were giuen to Creones and Epidithes two Captaynes. The landes of Argile, were giuen to Argathelus a Capitaine. The landes of Linnor & Clidiſdale, were allotted to Lolgona a captaine. The landes of Siluria now called Kile, Carrike and Cunyngham, were giuen to Silurche another Capitaine. The landes of Brigance nowe called Gallowaie, were giuen to the compaignie called Brigandes, which as their beſt menne, were appointed to dwell next the Britons, who afterwarde expulſed the Britons from Annandale in Albany, whereby it is confeſſed to be before inhabited by Britons. The reſidue of the lande now called Scotland, that is to ſay: Meirnis, Angus, Steremōde, Gowry, Strahern, Pirth, Fiffe, Striueling, Callender, Calderwoode, Lougthian, Mers, Teuedale, with other the remenent Dales, and the Sheriſdome, of Berwicke were then enioyed by a nacion mingeled in marriage wyth Britons, and in their obedience whoſe capitaine called Berynger, buylded the caſtle & towne of Berwicke vpon Twede, and theſe people were called Pictes, vppon whome by the death of this Coell, theſe Scottes had opor-

tunitie

cauſe to vſe warre, wherof they ceaſed not, vntill ſuch time as it pleaſed God to appoint an other Coil king of Britōs, agaynſt whoſe name, albeit they hoped for a like victory to ỹ firſt, yet he preuayled and ceaſed not his war, vntill theſe Scottes were vtterly expulſed out of all the boundes of Britayne, in which they neuer dared to reenter, vntill the troubleſome raigne of Sicill kyng of Britones, which was the xij. king after this Coil. During all which tyme the countrey was reenhabited by the Britons. But then the Scots turning the ciuill diſcord of this realme, betwene this Sycill and his brother Blede to their beſt auauntage, arriued agayne in Albania, & there made one Reuther theyr king.

Upon this their new arriuall, new warre was made vpon them by this Sicill kyng of Britons, in which warre Reuther their new kyng dyed, and Thereus ſuccéeded agaynſt whom the warre of Britones ceaſed not, vntill he fréely ſubmitted himſelfe vnto the ſaid Sicill king of Britones at Ebranke, that is Yorke, where ſhortly after the tenth yeare of his raigne he dyed. Fynnane brother of Joſine ſucceded by their election to the kingdom of Scottes, who ſhortly after compelled by the warres of the ſame Sicill, declared hymſelfe ſubiect, and for the better aſſuraunce of his fayth and obeiſaunce to the kyng of Britons, deliuered his ſonne Durſtus into the handes of this Sicill: who fanteſiyng ỹ child and hopyng by his owne ſucceſſion to alter their ſubtiltie (I will not ſay duplicitie) maried hym in the ende to Agaſia hys owne daughter.

This Durſtus was their next kyng, but for that he had maried a Britton woman, (thoughe ſhe was a kynges daughter) the ſcots hated hym for the ſame cauſe, for which they ought rather to haue liked hym the better, and therfore not onely traiterouſly ſlewe hym: but further to declare the ende of theyr malice, diſhenherited as much as in them was, the iſſues of the ſame Durſtus and Agaſia. Herupon new warre ſprong betwene them and vs, which ceaſed not vntill they were contented to receyue Edeir to theyr kyng, the next in bloude then liuyng, diſcended from Durſtus and Agaſia, and thereby the bloud of Britons of the parte of the mother, was reſtored to the crowne of Albania, ſo that nature whoſe law is immutable, cauſed this band of loue to hold. For ſhortly after this Edeir attended vpon Caſſibelane king of Britons, for the repulſe of Iulius Cæſar, as their owne author Boetius confeſſeth. Who cōmaūded the ſame as his ſubiect, but Iulius Cæſar after his third arriual by treaſon of Androgeus, preuayled againſt the Britons: and thereupon purſued this Edeir into ſcotland, and as hymſelfe ſayth in his Commentaries, ſubdued all the Iſle of Britayne: which, thoughe the liuyng Scottes denye it, their dead writers confeſſe that he came beyond Callender wode, and caſt downe Camelon, the principall city of Pichtes, and in token of this victory not farre from Carron, builded a round Temple of ſtone, which remayned in ſome perfection vnto the raign of our king Edwarde called the firſt after the Conqueſt, by whome it was ſubuerted, but the monumēt therof remayneth to thys day.

Marius the ſon of Aruiragus, being king of all Britaine, in his tyme one Rodericke a Scythian, with a great rable of néedy ſouldiours, came to the water of Frithe in Scotland, which is an arme of the ſea, deuidyng Pentland from Fiffe, againſt whome thys Marius aſſembled a power, by whiche he ſlew this Rodericke, and diſcomfited his people in Weſtmerland: but to thoſe that remained in lyfe, he gaue the countrey of Cathenes in Scotlande, which proueth it to be within hys owne dominion.

Coill the ſonne of this Marius, had iſſue Lucius, counted the firſt chriſtiā king of this nacion: he conuerted the thrée Archflamines of this land into Biſhoprikes, and ordeyned biſhops vnto eche of them: the firſt remained at London, and his power extended from the fartheſt part of Cornewall, to Humber water, the ſecond remayned at Yorke, and hys power ſtretched from Humber to ỹ fartheſt part of all Scotland. The third remayned at Caerleō vpō the riuer of Wiſke in Glamorgan in Wales, and his power extended frō Seuerne thorough all Wales. Some write that he made but two, & turned their names to Archbiſhops, the one to remayne at Canterbury, the other at Yorke: yet they confeſſe that he of Yorke had iuriſdiction through all Scotland, eyther of which is ſufficient to proue ſcotlād to be then vnder his dominion.

Seuerus by birth a Romaine, but in bloud a Briton, and the lineall heire of the body of Androgius, ſon of Lud, and Nephwe of Caſſibelaine, was ſhortly after Emperour and king of Britons, in whoſe tyme the people to whom his aunceſter Marius gaue the land of Cathenes in Scotland, conſpired wyth the Scottes and receyued them from the Iſles into Scotland. But hereupon this Seuerus came into Scotland, and méetyng with their fayth and falſe hartes together, droue them all out of the mayne lande into Iſles, the vttermoſt bondes of all great Britayne. But notwithſtanding this glorious victory, the

Britons conſidering their ſeruitude to the Romaines, impoſed by treaſon of Androgeus, aunceſter to this Seuerus began to hate hym, whome yet they had no tyme to loue, & who in their defence and ſuretie, had ſlayne of the Scottes and their confederates in one battaile xxx. thouſandes: but ſuch was the conſideration of the common ſort in thoſe dayes, whoſe malice no tyme could deminiſhe, nor iuſt deſert appeaſe.

Antoninus Baſſianus born of a Britō womā, and Geta borne by a Romayn woman, were the ſonnes of this Seuerus, who after the death of their father, by the contrary voyces of their people, contended for the crown. Few Britones helde with Baſſianus, fewer Romaynes with Geta: but the greater number with neither of both. In the ende Geta was ſlayne, and Baſſianus remayned Emperor, againſt whom Carauſius rebelled, who gaue vnto the Scottes, Pichtes, and Scithians, the countrey of Cathenes in Scotland, which they after inhabited, wherby appeareth hys ſeiſon therof.

Coil diſcended of the bloude of auncient kinges of this land, was ſhortly after kyng of the Britons, whoſe onely daughter & heire called Helene, was maried vnto Conſtantius a Romaine, who daunted the rebellion of all partes of great Britayne, and after the death of this Coil, was in ẏ right of his wife kyng thereof, and raigned in his ſtate ouer them 13. or 14. yeares.

Conſtantine the ſonne of thys Conſtance, and Helen, was next King of Britons by the ryght of hys mother, who paſſing to Rome, to receyue the Empyre thereof, deputed one Octauius king of wales, & Duke of the Gwiſſes, (which ſome expounde to be afterwarde called weſt Saxons) to haue the gouernemēt of thys dominion. But abuſing the kinges innocent goodneſſe, thys Octauius defrauded thys truſte, and tooke vppon himſelfe the Crowne, for which traytorye albeit he was once vanquiſhed by Leonine Traheron, vncle to Conſtantine: yet after the death of thys Traheron, he preuayled agayne and reigned ouer all Britteygne. Conſtantine beyng nowe Emperour, ſent to Maximius his kinſeman hether to deſtroy the ſame Octauius, whom in ſingular battail diſcomfited Octauius, whereupon thys Maximius, aſwel by the conſent of great Conſtātine, as by the election of all the Brytons, for that he was a Bryton in bloude, was made King of Bryteigne. This Maximius made war vpon the Scottes and Scythians wythin al Bryteygne, and ceaſſed not vntill he had ſlayne Eugenius theyr King, & expulſed and dryuen them out of the whole bounds of Britteygne. Finally he inhabited al Scotland with Britons, no man, woman nor child of the Scottiſh natiō, ſuffred to remain within it, which as theyr Hector Boecius ſaith, was for theyr rebellion, a rebelliō properly could it not be, except they had beene ſubiectes. He ſuffered the Pichtes alſo to remaine his ſubiects, who made ſolemne othes to hym after, neuer to erect any peculiar King of theyr owne natiō, but to remaine vnder the olde Empyre, of the onely kyng of Brytons.

About xlv. yeres after this (beyng long time after the death of this Maximius) wyth the helpe of Gowan or Gouan and Melga, the Scottes newly arriued in Albania, and there created one Fergus the ſecond of that name to be their kyng. But becauſe they were before baniſhed the continent land, they crowned him kyng of their auenture in Argile, in the fatall chaire of Marble, the yeare of our Lord, CCCC. xxij. as they write.

Maximian ſonne of Leonine Traheron, brother to kyng Coil, and vncle to Helene, was by lineall ſucceſſion next kyng of Britons: But to appeaſe ẏ malice of Dionothus king of Wales, who alſo claimed ẏ kingdō, he maried Othilia eldeſt daughter of Dionothus, and afterward aſſembled a great power of Britons, and entered Albania, inuading Galloway, Mers, Annandale, Pentlande, Carrike, Kyll, and Cuningham, and in battaile ſlew both this Fergus then kyng of Scottes, and Durſtus the king of Pichtes, & exiled all their people, out of the continent land: wherupon the few number of Scottes then remaynyng on liue, went to Argila, and made Eugenius their kyng.

When this Maximian had thus obteyned quietnes in Britain, he departed wt hys coſin Conā Meridocke into Armorica, where they ſubdued the kyng, and depopulated the countrey, which he gaue to Conan his coſin, to be afterward inhabited by Britons, by the name of Britayne the leſſe: and hereof this realme tooke name of Britayne the greate, which name by conſent of foreine writers, it kepeth vnto this day.

After the death of Maximian, diſſention beyng betwene the nobles of great Britayne, the Scottes ſwarmed together again, and came to the wall of Adrian, where thys realme being deuided in many factions, they ouercame one. And hereupon their Hector Boetius, (as an henne that for laying of one egge, will make a great cakelyng) ſolemnly triumphing of a conqueſt before the victory, alleageth that herebye the Britons were made tributaries to the Scottes, and yet he confeſſeth that they wonne no more land, by that ſuppoſed conqueſt, but the ſame porcion betwene them and Humber, which in the old partitions before, was annexed to Albania. It is hard to be beleued, that ſuch a broken nacion as the Scottes at that tyme were returning from baniſhment within foure yeres before, and ſince in battaile loſing both theyr kinges, and the great number of theyr beſt men, to be thus able to make a conqueſt of great Britayne, & very vnlikely if they had cõquered it, they woulde haue left the whote ſunne of the Eaſt partes, to dwell in the cold ſnow of Scotlãd. Incredible it is, that if they had cõquered it, they would not haue deputed officers in it, as in caſes of conqueſt behoueth. And it is beyonde all beliefe, that great Britayne or any other countrey, ſhoulde be won without the comming of any enimy into it, as they did not, but taried at the ſame wall of Adrian. But what néede I ſpeake of theſe defences, when the ſame Boetius ſcantly truſteth his owne beliefe in this tale. For he ſayeth that Galfride and ſundry other autentike writers, diuerſlye vary frõ this part of his ſtory, wherein his owne thought accuſeth his conſcience of vntruth: Herein alſo, he further forgetting how it behoueth a lyer to be myndefull of his aſſertion in the fourth chapter next followyng, wholly bewrayeth hymſelfe, ſaying that the confederate kinges of Scottes and Pictes, vpon ciuill warres betwene the Britons which then was folowyng, hoped ſhortly to enioy all the lande of great Britayne, from beyond Humber vnto the freſh ſea, which hope had bene vayne, and not leſſe then voyde, if it had bene their owne by any conqueſt before.

Conſtantine of little Britayne, deſcended from Conan king thereof, coſine of Brutes bloud to thys Maximian, & his nereſt heyre was next king of Britayne, he immediately purſued the Scots with warres, & ſhortly in battaile ſlue their kyng Dongard, in the firſt yeare of his raygne, whereby he recouered Scotlande out of their handes, and tooke all the holdes thereof into hys owne cuſtody.

Vortiger ſhortly after obteined the crowne of Britayne, againſt whome the Scottes newly rebelled: for ẏ repreſſing wherof (miſtruſting the Britons, to hate hym for ſundry cauſes, as one that to auoyd the ſmoke, doth oft fall into ẏ fire) receyued Hengeſt a Sarõ, and a greate number of his coũtrimen, with whom & a few Britons, he entered ſcotland and ouercame them, whereupon they tooke the Iſles, which are theyr common refuge. He gaue alſo much of Scotlande, as Galloway, Pentland, Mers and Annandale, with ſundry other landes to thys Hengeſt and his people to inhabite, which they did accordingly. But when thys Hengeſt in proceſſe of tyme, thirſted after the whole Kingdome, he was baniſhed, and yet afterwarde beyng reſtored, he conſpired with the ſcottes againſt Aurilambroſe the ſonne of Conſtantine, the iuſt inheritour of this whole dominion. But his vntruth and theirs both were recompenſed togither, for hée was taken priſoner by Eldulph de Samor a noble man of Brytayne, and his heade for his traitory, ſtriken of at the cõmandement of Aurilambros. In the fielde the ſcottes were vanquiſhed: but Occa the ſonne of Hengeſt was receiued to mercye, to whome and his people this Aurilambroſe gaue the countrye of Galloway in ſcotlande, for which they became his Subiectes: And hereby appeareth that Scotland was then againe in his handes.

Some thinke the Seymors to come from this man by lineal diſcẽt.

Vter called alſo Pendragon, brother to Aurilambros was next king of ẏ Britons, againſt whome, theſe ſworne Saxons newe foreſworne ſubiectes (confederate wyth the Scottes) newely rebelled: but by his power aſſembled againſt thẽ in Galloway in Scotlande, they were diſcomfited, and Albania againe recouered into his handes.

Arthur the ſonne of this Vter begotten before the marriage, but lawfully borne, in matrimony ſuccéeded next to ẏ crowne of great Britayne, whoſe noble actes, though manye vulgare fables haue rather feigned, then commended: yet al the ſcottiſh writers confeſſe, that he ſubdued great Britayne, & made it tributary to him, & ouercame the Saxons then ſcattered as farre as Cathenes in ſcotland: and in all theſe warres againſt them, he had the ſeruice and obeyſance of ſcottes and Pictes. But at the laſt ſettyng their féete in the guilfull paths of their predeceſſours, they rebelled, & beſieged the city of Yorke, Howel king of the leſſe Britayne, coſin to king Arthur, being therin. But he with an hoſte came thither and dyſcomfited the Scottes, chaſed them into a marſhe, and beſieged them there ſo lõg, that they were almoſt famiſhed: vntyll the biſhoppes, Abbotes, and men of religion (for as much as they were chriſtened people) beſought hym to take thẽ to his mercy and grace, and to graunt them a portion of the ſame countrey to dwell in vnder euerlaſting ſubiection. Vppon this he tooke them to hys grace, homage and fealtie: and when they were ſworne hys ſubiectes and liegemẽ: he ordeyned his kinſmã Anguiſan to be their king & gouernor, Vrian king of Iſlãd, & Murefrẽce king of Orkney. He made an Archbiſhoppe of Yorke alſo, whoſe authoritie extended through all Scotland.

Finally, the ſaid kyng Arthur holding his royall feaſt at Cairleon, had there all ẏ kings that were ſubiectes vnto hym, among the which, Anguſian the ſayd king of Scots did his due ſeruice for the realme of Scotlande, and bare kyng Arthurs ſworde afore hym.

Malgo ſhortly after ſucceeded in the whole kingdõ of great Britaine, who vpon new reſiſtaunce, newly ſubdued Ireland, Iſlande, the Orchads, Norway & Denmarke, & made Ethelfrede a Saxon king of Bernicia, that is, Northumberland, Louthian, and much other land of Scotland, which Ethelfrede by the ſword obteyned at the handes of the wilfull inhabitantes, and continued true ſubiect to this Malgo.

Cadwan ſucceeded in the kingdom of great Britayne, who in defence of his ſubiectes the ſcottes, made warre vppon this Ethelfrede, but at the laſt they agreed, and Cadwan vpõ their rebellion gaue all Scotland vnto this Ethelfrede, which he therupon ſubdued and enioyed: but afterward in the raigne of Cadwallo that next ſucceeded in great Britaine, he rebelled, whereupon the ſame Cadwallo came into Scotland, and vpon his treaſon reſeized the country into his owne handes, and hauyng with hym all the Viceroyes of Saxõs which then inhabited here as hys ſubiectes, in ſinguler battaile ſlew the ſame Ethelfrede.

Oſwald was ſhortly after by Cadwallõs gift made kyng of Bernicia, and he as ſubiect to Cadwallo, and by his commaundemẽt diſcomfited the Scottes and Pictes, and ſubdued all Scotland. Oſwy the brother of thys Oſwald, was by the lyke gift of Cadwallo, made next kyng of Bernicia, and he by lyke commaundement newely ſubdued the ſcots and Pictes, and held them in that obeyſaunce to this Cadwallo, during xxviij. yeres. Thus Cadwallo reigned in the whole monarchy of great Britayne, hauing all the vij. kynges therof, as well Saxõs as others his ſubiects: for albeit the number of Saxons from tyme to tyme greatly increaſed, yet were they alwayes either at the firſt expelled, or els made tributary to the onely kinges of Britons for the tyme being, as all their owne writers confeſſe.

Cadwallader was next kyng of the whole great Britayne, he raigned xij. yeres ouer al the kinges thereof, in great peace and tranquillitie: & then vpon the lamentable death of hys ſubiectes, which dyed of ſundry diſeaſes innumerably, he departed into litle Britaine. His ſonne and coſin Iuor and Iue, being expulſed out of england alſo by the Saxones, went into Wales, where among the Britõs they and their poſteritie remayned Princes. Vpon this great alteracion, & warres being through the whole dominion betwene Britons and Saxons, the Scottes thought tyme to ſlip the coller of obedience, and thereupon entred in league with Charles then kyng of Fraunce eſtabliſhing it, in this wyſe.

1. The iniury of Engliſhmen done to any of theſe people, ſhall be perpetually holden common to both.

2. When Frenchmen be inuaded by Engliſhmen, the Scottes ſhall ſend their army in defence of Fraunce, ſo that they be ſupported with mony and victuals of Fraunce.

3. When Scottes be inuaded by Engliſhmen, the Frenchmen ſhall come vpon theyr owne expences, to their ſupport.

4. None of theſe people ſhall take peace or truce with Engliſhmen, without the aduiſe of other. &c.

Nicholas Adams.

Many diſputable opinions may be had of warre, without the prayſing of it, as onely admittible by inforced neceſſitie, and to bee vſed for peace ſake onely, where here ẏ Scots ſought warre for the loue of warre only. For their league giueth no benefite to thẽſelues, either in free traffique of their owne commodities, or benefite of the French, or other priuiledge to the people of both: what diſcõmoditie riſeth by looſing the entercourſe and exchãge of our cõmodities (being in neceſſaries more aboundant then Fraunce,) ẏ ſcots feele and we perfectly know. What ruine of theyr townes, deſtruction of countries, ſlaughter of both peoples, haue by reaſon of this bloudy league chaunced, the hiſtories be lamentable to reade, & horrible among chriſtian men to be remembred: but God gaue the increaſe accordyng to their ſeede, for as they did hereby ſowe diſſention, ſo did they ſhortly after reape a bloudy ſlaughter. For Alpine theyr kyng poſſeſſing a light mynde that would be loſt with a little wynde, hoped by this league ſhortly to ſubdue all great Britayne, and to that ende not onely rebelled in his own kingdome, but alſo vſurped vpon the kingdome of Pictes, wherupon Edwine king of england, made one Brudeus king of Pictes, whom he ſent into Scotlãd with a great power, where in battail he tooke this Alpine king of Scots priſoner, and diſcomfited his people: and this Alpine beyng their king found ſubiect and rebell, his hed was ſtrikẽ of at a place in Scotland, which thereof is to this day called Paſalpine, that is to ſay, the hed of Alpine. And this was the firſt effecte of theyr Frenche league.

Oſbright king of england, with Ella hys

ſubiect, and a great number of Britons and Saxons ſhortly after, for that the Scots had of thẽſelues elected a new king, entred Scotland, and ceaſſed not his warre againſt them, vntil their king and people fled into the Iles, with whom at the laſt vpon their ſubmiſſion, peace was made in this wyſe.

„ The water of Frith ſhalbe March betwene
„ Scots and engliſhmẽ in the eaſt partes, and
„ ſhalbe named the ſcottiſh ſea.
„ The water of Cluide to Dunbriton, ſhal be
„ March in the weſt partes betwene the Scots
„ and Britones. This caſtle was before called
„ Alcluide and now Dunbriton, that is to ſay,
„ the caſtle of Britons. So the Britons had all the landes frõ Sterlyng to the Ireland ſeas, and from the water of Frithe and Cluide, to Cumber, with all ẏ ſtrengthes and commodities therof, and the engliſhmen had ẏ lands betwéene Sterlyng and Northumberlande. Thus was Cluide March, betwene ſcots and Britones on the one ſide, and the water of Frithe named the Scottiſh ſea, Marche betwene them and engliſhmẽ on the other ſide, and Sterlyng common March to thrée people, Britons, Engliſhmen, and Scottes, and king Oſbright had the Caſtle of Sterlyng, where firſt he cauſed to be coyned Sterlyng mony. The Engliſh mẽ alſo builded a bridge of ſtone, for paſſage ouer the water of Frith, in the middes wherof they made a croſſe, vnder which were written theſe verſes.

I am free March, as paſſengers may ken,
To Scottes, to Britons, and to Engliſhmen.

Not many yeres after this, Hinguar & Hubba, two Danes, with a great number of people, arriued in Scotland, and ſlew Conſtantine, whom Oſbright had before made kyng: whereupon Edulfe or Ethelwulfe then kyng of englãd, aſſembled his power againſt Hinguar and Hubba, & in one battaile ſlue them both, but ſuch of their people as woulde remayne and become chriſtians, he ſuffered to tary, the reſt he baniſhed or put to death. &c.

Rome.

This Ethelwulf graunted the Peter péce, of which albeit Peter and Paule had little néede and leſſe right: yet the payment therof continued in this realm euer after vntil now of late yeres, but the Scottes euer ſince vnto this day, haue, and yet do pay it, by reaſon of that graunt, which proueth them to be then vnder his obeyſaunce.

Alurede or Alfrede ſuccéeded in the kyngdome of England, and reigned nobly ouer the whole monarchie of great Britayne: He made lawes, that perſons excommunicated ſhould be diſabled to ſue or clayme any propertie, which law Gregour whom this Alurede had made king of Scottes obeyed, and the ſame law as well in Scotland as in England is holden to this day, which alſo proueth hym to be high lord of Scotland.

Thys Alurede conſtreyned Gregour king of Scots alſo, to breake the league with Fraunce, for generally he concluded wyth hym, and ſerued hym in all his warres, as well agaynſt Danes as others, not reſeruing or making any exceptiõ of the former league with Fraunce.

The ſayd Alurede, after the death of Gregour, had the lyke ſeruice and obeyſaunce of Donald king of Scottes wyth fiue thouſand horſemen, againſt one Gurmonde a Dane that then infeſted the realme, and this Donald dyed in this faith and obeiſaunce wyth Alurede.

Edward the firſt of that name called Chifod ſonne of this Alurede ſuccéeded next kyng of englãd, againſt whom Sithrike a Dane & the Scottes conſpired: but they were ſubdued, and Conſtantine their kyng brought to obeiſance. He held the realme of ſcotland alſo of kyng Edwarde, and thys doth Marian their owne country man a Scotte confeſſe: beſide Roger Houeden, & Williã of Malmeſbury.

In the yere of our Lord 923. the ſame king Edward was Preſident and gouernor of all the people of England, Cumberland, Scots, Danes and Britones.

King Athelſtane in like ſort cõquered ſcotland, and as he lay in his tentes beſide Yorke whyleſt the warres laſted, the king of Scots fayned hymſelfe to be a minſtrel, and harped before him onely to eſpy his ordinaunce & his people. But beyng as their writers confeſſe, corrupted with money, he ſold his faythe & falſe hart together to the Danes, and ayded them againſt king Athelſtane at ſondry times. Howbeit he met ẘall their vntruthes at Broningfield in the weſt countrey, as is mentioned in the 9. chapter of the firſt booke of thys deſcription, where hée diſcomfited the Danes, and ſlew Malcolme deputie in that behalfe to the king of Scottes: in which battaile, the Scottes confeſſe themſelues to haue loſt more people then were remembred in any age before. Then Athelſtane folowing hys good lucke, went throughout all ſcotland and wholy ſubdued it, and being in poſſeſſion therof, gaue land there lying in Annãdale by his déede, the copy wherof doth followe.

I kyng Athelſtane, giues vnto Paulan, Oddam and Roddam, als good and als faire, as euer they mine were, and therto witnes Mauld my wyfe.

By which courſe wordes, not onely appeareth ẏ plaine ſimplicitie of mens doinges in thoſe dayes: but alſo a ful proofe that he was then ſeiſed of Scotlande.

At the laſt alſo he receyued homage of Malcolme king of Scottes, but for that he coulde not be reſtored to his whole kingdome, he entered into Religion, and there ſhortely after dyed.

Then Athelſtane for his better aſſuraunce of that countrey there after, thought it beſt to haue two ſtringes to the bowe of their obedience, and therefore not onelye conſtituted one Malcolme to be their king, but alſo appointed one Indulph, ſonne of Conſtantine the thirde, to be called prince of Scotlande, to whome he gaue much of Scotlande: and for this, Malcolme did homage to Athelſtane.

Edmund brother of Athelſtane ſucceeded next king of Englande to whome this Indulph then kyng of Scottes not only dyd homage, but alſo ſerued him wyth ten thouſand Scottes, for the expulſion of the Danes out of the realme of Englande.

Some referre this to an Edward.

Edred or Eldred, brother to thys Edmund ſucceeded next king of Englande, he not onelye receyued the homage of Iriſe then kyng of Scottes, but alſo the homage of all the Barons of Scotlande.

Edgar the ſonne of Edmund, brother of Athelſtane being nowe of full age, was next kyng of England: he reigned onely ouer the whole Monarchie of great Britaine, and receyued homage of Keneth king of Scots for the kingdome of Scotlande, and made Malcolme prince thereof.

Thys Edgar gaue vnto the ſame Keneth the countrey of Louthian in Scotland, which was before ſeiſed into the hands of Oſbright king of England for their rebellion, as is before declared. He enioined this Keneth their king alſo once in euery yere at certaine principall feaſtes (whereat the king dyd vſe to weare his crowne) to repaire vnto him into Englande for the making of lawes, which in thoſe daies was done by ẏ noble mē or peres according to the order of France at this day, To thich end he allowed alſo ſundry lodgings in England, to him & his ſucceſſours, whereat to lye & refreſhe themſelues in their iourneyes, and finally a peece of ground lying beſide the newe palace of Weſtminſter, vppon which this Keneth buylded a houſe, that by him and his poſteritie was enioyed vntill the reigne of king Henry the ſeconde, in whoſe tyme vpon the rebelliō of William thē king of Scottes, it was reſumed into the king of Englands handes. The houſe is decayed, but the grounde where it ſtoode is called Scotlande to this day.

Moreouer Edgar made this lawe, that no man ſhoulde ſucceede to his patrimonie or inheritaunce holden by knightes ſeruice, vntill he accompliſhed the age of one and twentie yeares, bycauſe by intendement vnder that age, he ſhoulde not be able in perſon to ſerue hys king and countrey according to the tenour of his deede and the cōdition of his purchaſe. This lawe was receyued by the ſame Keneth in Scotlande, and aſwell there as in Englande is obſerued to this day, which prooueth alſo that Scotlande was then vnder hys obeyſaunce.

In the yeare of our Lorde 974. Kinalde king of Scottes, & Malcolin king of Cumberland, Macon king of Man, and the Iſles, Duuenall bing of ſouthwales, Siferth and Howell kings of the reſt of wales, Iacob or Iames of Galloway, and Iukill of weſtmerlande, did homage to king Edgar at Cheſter. And on the morow going by water to ẏ monaſtery of ſ. Iohns to ſeruice and returning home againe, ẏ ſaid Edgar ſitting in a barge & ſtiering the ſame vpon the water of Dee, made the ſayd kings to rowe ẏ barge, ſaying that his ſucceſſors might well be ioyefull to haue the prerogatiue of ſo great honour, and the ſuperioritie of ſo many mightie princes to be ſubiect vnto their monarchie.

Edward the ſonne of this Edgar was next king of Englande, in whoſe tyme this Keneth kyng of Scots cauſed Malcolme prince of Scotlande to be poyſoned, wherupon king Edwarde made warre agaynſt him, which ceaſſed not vntill this Keneth ſubmitted himſelfe, and offered to receyue him for prince of Scotlande whome king Edward woulde appoint: herevpon Edwarde proclaymed one Malcolme to be prince of Scotlande, who immediately came into Englande and there dyd homage vnto the ſame king Edwarde.

Ethelred brother of thys Edwarde ſucceeded next ouer Englande, againſt whome Swayn kyng of Denmarke conſpired with this laſt Malcolme then king of Scots: But ſhortly after this Malcolme ſorowfully ſubmitted himſelf into the defence of Ethelred, who conſidering how that which coulde not be amended muſt only be repented, benignelye receyued him, by helpe of whoſe ſeruice at laſt Ethelred recouered hys realme againe out of the handes of Swayn, and reigned ouer the whole Monarchy eyght & thirtie yeares.

Edmund ſurnamed Ironſide ſonne of this Ethelred was next king England, in whoſe tyme Canutus a Dane inuaded the realme with much crueltie, but at laſt he marryed wt Emme ſometime wyfe vnto Ethelred and mother of this Edmund: which Emme as arbitratrix betweene hir naturall loue to the one and matrimoniall duetie to the other, procured ſuch amitie betwéene them in the ende, that Edmond was contented to deuide the realme with Canutus, & kéeping to himſelfe all England on this ſide Humber, gaue all the reaſt beyond Humber with the ſeignorie of Scotlande to this Canutus: wherupon Malcolme then king of Scottes after a little cuſtomable reſiſtence, dyd homage to the ſame Canutus for kingdome of Scotlãd; and thus the ſayde Canutus helde the ſame ouer of this Edmond king of Englande by the lyke ſeruices.

This Canutus in memorie of his victorie and glorie of his ſeignorie ouer the Scottes, commaunded this Malcolme their king, to buylde a Church in Buchquhan in Scotland (where a fielde betwéene him and them was fought) to be dedicate to Olauus patrone of Norway and Denmark, which Church was by the ſame Malcolme accordingly perfourmed.

Edwarde called the confeſſour ſonne of Etheldred and brother to Edmond Ironſide was afterward king of england. He toke frõ Malcolme king of Scottes his lyfe and hys kingdome, and made Malcolme ſonne to the king of Cumbrelande and Northumbreland king of Scottes, who dyd him homage and fealtie.

Thys Edwarde peruſed the olde lawes of the realme, and ſomewhat added to ſome of them, as to the lawe of Edgar for the wardſhippe of the landes vntyll the heire ſhoulde accompliſhe the age of one & twentie yeares, he added that the marryage of ſuch heire, ſhoulde alſo belong to the Lorde of whom the ſame lande was holden.

Alſo that euery woman marrying a frée man, ſhoulde notwithſtanding ſhe had no children by that huſbande, enioye the thirde part of his inheritaunce during hir lyfe, with many other lawes which the ſame Malcolme king of Scottes obeyed. And which aſwel by them in Scotlande as by vs in Englande be obſerued to this day, and directly proueth the whole to be then vnder his obeyſaunce.

By reaſon of this law Malcolme the ſonne of Duncane next inheritour to the crowne of Scotlande being within age, was by the nobles of Scotlande deliuered as warde to the cuſtodie of this king Edwarde, during whoſe minoritie one Makebeth a Scot trayterouſly vſurped the crowne of Scotland, agaynſt whom this king Edward made warre in which the ſaid Makebeth was ouercome and ſlayne, wher vpon ẏ ſaid Malcolme was crowned king of Scottes at Stone, in the viij. yere of the reigne of this king Edward.

Thys Malcolme by tenour of the ſayde newe lawe of wardſhip was marryed vnto Margaret the daughter of Edward, ſonne of Edmond Ironſide and Agatha, by the diſpoſition of the ſame king Edward, and at his ful age dyd homage to this king Edward for the kingdome of Scotland.

Moreouer Edwarde of Englande, hauing no iſſue of his body, and miſtruſting that Harolde the ſonne of Godwyn deſcended of the daughter of Harolde Harefote the Dane woulde vſurpe the crowne, if he ſhould leaue it to his coſin Edgar Edling (being thẽ within age) and partly by the peticion of his ſubiectes, who before had ſworne neuer to receiue any kings ouer them of the Daniſh nation, did by his ſubſtãcial wil in writing as all our clergy writers affirme, deuiſe the crown of great Britaine vnto William then duke of Normandie and to his heires; conſtituting him his heire teſtamentarie. Alſo there was proximite in bloude betwéene thẽ for Emme daughter of Richarde duke of Normandye was wife vnto Etheldred; on whom he begat Alured and this Edward: and this William was ſonne of Robert, ſonne of Richarde, brother of the whole bloud to the ſame Emme & whereby appeareth that this William was heire by tytle and not by conqueſt, albeit that partly to extinguiſh the miſtruſt of other tytles and partely for the glory of hys victory, he chalenged in the ende, the name of a conquerour; & hath bene ſo written euer ſithens his arriuall.

This king William called the conquerour ſuppoſed not his conqueſt perfite, tyll he had lykewyſe ſubdued ẏ Scots, wherfore to bring the Scottes to iuſt obeyſaunce after hys Coronation as heire teſtamentary to Edward the Confeſſour, he entred Scotland, where after a litle reſiſtance made by the Scottes, the ſayde Malcolme then their king did homage to hym at Abirnethy in Scotlande for the kingdome of Scotlande, as to hys ſuperiour alſo by meane of conqueſt.

Willyam ſurnamed Rufus ſonne of thys William called the conquerour, ſuccéeded next to the crowne of England, to whom the ſayde Malcolme king of Scottes dyd like homage for the kingdome of Scotland. But afterwarde he rebelled and was by this William Rufus ſlayne in the fielde, where vpon the Scottiſhmen dyd choſe one Donald or Dunwal to be theyr kyng. But this Williã Rufus depoſed hym and created Dunkane ſonne of Malcolme to be theyr king, who dyd like homage to him: finally this Duncã was ſlayne by the Scottes & Dunwall reſtored, who once agayne by this Wylliam Rufus was depoſed, and Edgar ſonne of Malcolme & brother to the laſt Malcolme, was by him made theyr king, who dyd lyke homage for Scotlande to this William Rufus.

Henry called Beauclerke the ſon of William, called the conquerour, after the death of his brother William Rufus, ſucceeded to the crowne of England, to whome the ſame Edgar kyng of Scottes dyd homage for Scotland. This Henry Beauclerke married Mawde the daughter of Malcolme king of Scottes, and by hir had iſſue Mawde afterwarde empreſſe. Alexandre the ſonne of Malcolme brother to this Mawde, was next king of Scottes, he dyd lyke homage for the kingdome of Scotlande to this Henry the firſt.

Mawde called the empreſſe daughter and heire to this Henry Beauclerke and Mawde hys wyfe, receiued homage of Dauid brother to hir and to this Alexandre next king of Scottes, before all the temporall men of Englande for the kyngdome of Scotlande.

Thys Mawde the empreſſe gaue vnto Dauid in the marriage, Mawd the daughter and heire of *Voldoſius* earle of Huntingdon & Northumberlande. And herein their euaſion appeareth, by which they allege that their kinges homages were made for the earledome of Huntingdon: for this Dauid was ẏ firſt that of their kinges was Earle of Huntingdon, which was ſince all the homages of their kinges before recited, and at the time of thys marryage, and long after the ſayde Alexander his brother was king of Scots: doing the homage aforeſayde to Henry Bewclerke.

In the yeare of our Lorde 1136. and firſte yeare of the reigne of king Stephen, the ſaid Dauid king of Scottes, being required to doe his homage, refuſed it, for as much as he had done homage to Mawde the empreſſe before tyme, notwithſtanding the ſonne of the ſayde Dauid dyd homage to king Stephane.

Henry called Fitz emprice, the ſon of Mawd the emprice daughter of Mawde, daughter of Malcolme king of Scottes, was next king of England. He receyued homage for Scotland of Malcolme, ſonne of Henry, ſonne of the ſayd Dauyd their laſt king, which Malcolme after thys homage, attended vpon the ſame kyng Henry in his warres agaynſt Lewys then king of Fraunce: whereby appeareth that their Frenche league was neuer renued after the laſt diuiſiō of their countrey by Oſbright king of Englande. But after theſe warres finiſhed with the Frenche king, this Malcolme being againe in Scotlande rebelled: whereuppon king Henry immediately ſeized Huntingdon, and Northumberland into hys owne handes by confiſcation, & made warres vpon him in Scotland, during which the ſame Malcolme dyed without iſſue of hys bodie.

William brother of thys Malcolme was next kyng of Scottes, he wyth all the nobles of Scotland, (which could not be now for any earledome) did homage to the ſonne of thys king Henry the ſecond, wyth a reſeruation of the duetie to king Henry the ſeconde, hys father: alſo the earledome of Huntingdon was as ye haue hearde before thys, forfaited by Malcolme his brother, and neuer after reſtored to the crowne of Scotlande.

Thys William king of Scottes, did afterwarde attend vpon the ſame king Henry the ſeconde in his warres in Normandie againſt the Frenche kyng, notwithſtanding their Frenche league, and then dyd him homage for Scotlande, and thereupon was licenſed to depart home in Scotlande, where immediately he moued cruell warre in Northumberlande againſt the ſame king Henry being yet in Normandy. But God tooke the defence of king Henries parte, and deliuered the ſame William kyng of Scottes into the handes of a fewe Engliſhmen, who brought him priſoner to kyng Henry into Normandie, in the tenth yeare of hys reigne. But at the laſt at the ſuite of Dauid his brother, Richarde Biſhop of ſ. Andrewes and other Biſhoppes and Lordes, he was put to this fine for the amendement of his treſpaſſe, to paye tenne thouſande pounde ſterling, and to ſurrender all hys tytle of the earledome of Huntingdō, Cumberland, and Northumberland, into the handes of thys kyng Henry: which he did in all thinges accordingly, ſealing hys charters therof with the great ſeale of Scotlande and ſignettes of hys nobilitie, wherein it was alſo compriſed that hée and his ſucceſſours, ſhould hold the realme of Scotland of the king of Englande and his ſucceſſours for euer. And herevpon he once again dyd homage to the ſame king Henry, which nowe coulde not be for the earledome of Huntingdon, the ryght wherof was alrealdie by hym ſurrēdred. And for the better aſſurāce of this faith alſo, the ſtrengthes of Berwick, Edenbrough, Roxbrough and Striueling were deliuered into the handes of our king Henry of Englande which their owne writers confeſſe: but *Hector Boetius* ſaieth that this treſpaſſe was amended by fine of twentie thouſande poundes ſterling, & that the earledome of Huntingdon, Cumberland, and Northumberlande were deliuered as Morgage into the handes of king Henry vntill other tenne thouſande poundes ſterling ſhould be to him payd, but though that were true, yet proueth he not the that money was payde, nor the lande otherwiſe redeemed, or euer after came to any Scottiſhe kinges handes. And thus it appeareth that the earledome of Huntingdō was neuer occaſion of the homages of the Scottiſhe kinges to the kinges of Englande eyther before this tyme or after.

This was done 1175. Moreouer I red this note hereof gathered out of Robertus Montanus that liued in theſe, and was as I take it cōfeſſor to king Henry. The king of Scots doth homage to king Henry for ẏ kingdome of Scotlande and is ſent home againe, hys Biſhops alſo did promiſe to doe the lyke, to the Archebiſhoppe of Yorke, and to acknowledge themſelues to be of his prouince & iuriſdictiō. By vertue alſo of this compoſition the ſayde Robert ſayth, that Rex Angliæ dabat honores, Epiſcopatus, Abbatias & alias dignitates in Scotia, vel ſaltem eius conſilio dabantur, that is, the king of England gaue, Honors, Biſhopricks, Abbateſhips, & other dignities in Scotland, or at the leaſtwyſe they were not giuen without his aduiſe and counſell.

At this tyme Alexander biſhop of Rome (ſuppoſed to haue general iuriſdiction eccleſiaſticall thorough Chriſtendome) conferred the whole clergy of Scotland, accordyng to the olde lawes, vnder the iuriſdiction of the Archbiſhop of Yorke.

In the yeare of our Lord 1185. in the month of Auguſt at Cairleil. Roulande Talnaſte lord of Galway, did homage and fealty to the ſaid king Henry with all that held of hym.

In the 22. yeare of the raigne of king Henry the 2. Gilbert ſonne of Ferguſe prince of Galway, did homage and fealtie to the ſayd king Henry, and left Duncan his ſonne in hoſtage for conſeruation of peace.

Richard ſurnamed Cœur de Lyon, ſonne of this Henry was next king of england, to whō the ſame William king of Scottes dyd homage at Caunterbury for the kyngdome of Scotland.

This king Richard was taken priſoner by the Duke of Oſtrich, for whoſe redemptiō the whole realme was taxed at great ſummes of money, vnto the which this William king of Scots (as a ſubiect) was contributory, and payed two M. markes ſterlyng.

In the yere of our Lord 1199 Iohn kyng of england ſent to William king of Scottes to come & do his homage, which William came to Lincolne in the moneth of December the ſame yeare, and did his homage there vpon an hill in the preſence of Hubert, Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, and of all the people there aſſembled, and there was ſworne vpon the croſſe of the ſaid Hubert: Alſo he graunted by his charter confirmed, that he ſhould haue the mariage of Alexander hys ſonne, as hys liegeman, alwayes to hold of the king of england: promiſing moreouer that he the ſayde king William & his ſonne Alexander ſhould kepe and hold faith and allegeance to Henry ſonne of the ſayd king Iohn, as to their chiefe Lord againſt all māner of men.

Alſo where as William king of Scots had put Iohn Biſhoppe of ſ. Andrewe out of his Biſhopricke, Pope Clemente wrote to Henry kyng of englande, that he ſhoulde moue and induce the ſame William, and if neede were requyre by hys Royall power compell hym to leaue his rancour agaynſt ẏ ſayd Biſhop and ſuffer him to haue, and occupye his ſayde Biſhopricke againe.

In the yeare of our Lorde 1216. and fiue and twenty of ẏ reign of king Henry, ſonne to king Iohn, the ſame king Henry and the Queene were at Yorke at ẏ feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe for the ſolemnization of a marryage made in the feaſt of ſ. Stephane the Martir the ſame yeare, betweene Alexander king of Scottes, & Margarete the kings daughter, and there the ſayde Alexander dyd homage to Henry king of Englande.

In Buls of diuers Popes were admonitions geuē to the kings of Scottes, that they ſhould obſerue & truly keepe all ſuch appointments, as had ben made betweene the kings of england and Scotland. And that the kings of Scotland ſhould holde the realme of Scotlande of the kings of englande vpon payne of curſe and interditing.

After the deathe of Alexander kyng of Scottes, Alexander his ſonne beyng nyne yeres of age, was by the lawes of Edgar, in warde to king Henry the 3. and by the nobles of Scotland brought to Yorke, and there deliuered to him. During whoſe minoritie king Henry gouerned Scotland, and to ſubdue a commocion in this realme, vſed the ayde of v. M. Scottiſhmen, but king Henry dyed during the nonage of this Alexander, whereby he receiued not his homage, which by reaſon and law was reſpited vntil his full age of xxi. yeares.

Edward the firſt after the conqueſt, ſonne of this Henry, was next king of england, immediately after whoſe coronation, Alexāder king of Scottes, being then of ful age did homage to him for Scotlande at Weſtminſter, ſwearing as all the reſt did after this maner.

I.D.N. king of Scottes ſhalbe true and faithfull vnto you Lorde E. by the grace of God king of England, the noble and ſuperior lord of the kingdome of Scotland, and vnto you I make my fidelitie for the ſame kingdome, the which I hold and claime to hold of you. And I ſhall beare you my faith and fidelitie of lyfe and limme, and worldly honour againſt all mē, faithfully I ſhall knowledge and ſhall doe you ſeruice due vnto you of the kingdom of Scotland aforeſayde, as God me ſo helpe and theſe holy Euangelies.

This Alexander king of Scottes died, leauing one only daughter called Margaret for his heire, who before had maried Hanygo, ſonne to Magnus king of Norway, which daughter alſo ſhortly after died, leauyng one onely daughter her heire, of the age of two yeares, whoſe cuſtody and mariage by the lawes of king Edgar, and Edward the confeſſour, belonged to Edward the firſt: wherupon the nobles of Scotland were cōmaūded by our king Edward to ſend into Norway, to conuey this yong Queene into England to him, whom he entended to haue maried to his ſōne Edward: and ſo to haue made a perfite vnion betweene bothe Realmes. Hereuppon their nobles at that tyme conſidering the ſame tranquillitie, that many of them haue ſithens refuſed, ſtoode not vpon ſhiftes and delayes of minoritie nor contēpt, but moſt gladly conſented, and therupon ſent two noble men of Scotlande into Norway, for hir to be brought to this king Edwarde, but ſhe died before their comming thither, & therefore they required nothing but to enioye the lawful liberties that they had quietly poſſeſſed in the laſt king Alexander his tyme.

After the death of this Margaret, the Scots were deſtitute of any heire to the crown from this Alexander their laſt king, at which time this Edwarde diſcended from the bodye of Mawde daughter of Malcolme ſometyme king of Scottes, beyng then in the greateſt broile of his warres with Fraunce, mynded not to take the poſſeſſion of that kingdome in his own right, but was contented to eſtabliſh Balioll to be king therof, the weake title betwene him, Bruſe, & Haſtings, being by the humble peticion of all the realme of Scotland committed to the determination of this king Edward, wherin by autentique writing they confeſſed the ſuperioritie of the realme, to remaine in king Edward, ſealed with the ſeales of iiij. Biſhops vij. earles, and xij. barons of Scotland, & which ſhortly after was by the whole aſſent of yͤ three eſtates of Scotland, in their ſolemne Parliament confeſſed and enacted accordingly, as moſt euidently doth appeare.

The Balioll in this wiſe made kyng of Scotlād, did immediately make hys homage and fealty at Newcaſtle vpon ſaint Steuens day (as did likewiſe all the Lordes of Scotland, eche one ſetting his hand to the compoſition in writing) to king Edward of England for the kingdom of Scotland: but ſhortly after defrauding the benigne goodneſſe of this king Edward, he rebelled, and did very much hurt in englande: Hereupon king Edward inuaded Scotland, ſeazed into his hāds the greater part of the countrey, and tooke all the ſtrengthes thereof, whereuppon Baliol king of Scottes came vnto king Edwards at Mauntroſſe in Scotland with a white wād in his hand, and there reſigned the crowne of Scotland, with all his right, title, and intereſt to the ſame, into the handes of this kyng Edward, and therfore made his Charter in writyng, dated and ſealed the fourth yeare of his raigne. All the nobles and gentlemen of Scotlande alſo repayred to Barwike, and did homage & fealtie to king Edwarde, there becōmyng his ſubiectes. For the better aſſurance of whoſe othes alſo, king Edward kept all the ſtrengths & holdes of Scotland in his owne handes, and hereupon all their lawes, proceſſe, all iudgement, all giftes of aſſices and others, paſſed vnder the name and autoritie of king Edwarde. Lelande touchyng the ſame rehearſall, writeth thereof in this maner.

In the yere of our lord 1295. the ſame John king of Scottes, contrary to his faith and aleageaunce, rebelled againſt king Edward, and came into england, and burnt and ſlew without all modeſty and mercy. Whereupon king Edwarde with a great hoſte went to Newcaſtle vppon Tine, paſſed the water of Tweede, and beſieged Barwike, and gote it. Alſo he wan the caſtell of Dunbar, & there were ſlaine at this brunt 15700. Scots. Then he proceeded further, and gate the Caſtle of Rokeſborow, and the caſtle of Edēborough, Striuelin and Gedworth, and his people herried all the lande.

In the meane ſeaſon, yͤ ſayd king John of Scots conſidering yͭ he was not of power to wͭſtand yͤ ſaid king Edward ſent his letters and beſought him of treatie and peace, which king Edward benignly graunted, and ſent to him againe that he ſhould come to the towne of Brethin, and bring thither the great lordes of Scotland wͭ him. The king of england ſet thither Antony Beke, biſhop of Durhā, with his royall power to conclude the ſaide treatice: and there it was agreed that yͤ ſaid John and all the Scottes ſhould vtterly ſubmitte thēſelues to the kings will, & to the end yͭ ſaid ſubmiſſiō ſhould be performed accordingly, yͤ king of Scottes laid his ſonne in hoſtage and pledge. There alſo he made his letters ſealed with the common ſeale of Scotland, by the which he knowledging his ſimplenes & great offence done to his lord king Edward of englande, by his full power & free will, yelded vp all the lande of Scotland, with all the people & homage of the ſame. Then ẏ ſaid king Edward went forth to ſee the mountaines, and vnderſtandyng that all was in quyete and peace, he turned to ẏ Abbey of Stone of Chanons regular, where he tooke the ſtone called the Regall of Scotland, vpō which the kings of Scotland were wont to ſitte, at the time of their coronations for a throne, and ſent it to the Abbey of Weſtminſter, cōmaundyng to make a chaire thereof for the prieſtes that ſhould ſing maſſe at the high altare: which chaire was made, and ſtandeth yet there at this day.

In the yere of our Lord 1296. the king held his Parliament at Barwike: and there he tooke homage ſingularly of all the lordes and nobles of Scotland. And for a perpetuall memory of the ſame, they made their letters patentes ſealed with their ſeales, & thē the king of england made William Warreine earle of Surrey and Southſare, Lord Warden of Scotland, Hugh of Creſſingham treaſorer, and William Ormeſby iuſtice of Scotland, and forthwith ſent king John to the tower of London, and John Comyn, and the earle Badenauth, the erle of Bohan & other lordes into england to diuers places on this ſyde of the Trent.

And after that in the yere of our lord, 1297 at the feaſt of Chriſtmas, the kyng called before him the ſayd John king of Scottes, although he had committed hym to warde: and ſaide that he would burne or deſtroy their caſtels, townes & landes, if he were not recompenſed for hys coſtes & damages ſuſtained in the warres, but king John & the other that were in warde, aunſwered that they had nothing, ſith their liues, their deathes, and goods were in his handes. The king vpon that aunſwer moued with pity, graunted them theyr lyues, ſo that they would doe their homage & make their othe ſolemnly at the high altar (in the church of the Abbey of Weſtminſter) vpon the Euchariſt, that they and euery of thē ſhould holde and kepe true fayth, obedience, and allegiaunce to the ſaid king Edward and his heires kinges of englande for euer. And where the ſaid king of Scots ſaw the kinges banner of england diſplayed; he and all hys ſhould draw there vnto. And that neyther he nor any of his from thenceforth ſhould beare armes againſt the king of england or any of his blood. Finally, the king rewarding wyth great giftes the ſayd king John & his lordes, ſuffered them to departe. But they went into Scotland alway imagining (notwithſtãding this their ſubmiſſiō) how they might oppreſſe king Edward and diſturbe his realme. The Scottes ſent alſo to the king of Fraunce for ſuccour and helpe; who ſent them ſhippes to Barwike furniſhed with men of armes, the king of england then beyng in Flaunders.

In the yeare of our lord 1298. the king wēt into Scotland with a great hoſt, and ẏ Scots alſo aſſembled in great number, but the king faught with them at Fawkirke on S. Mary Magdalenes daye, where were ſlayne lx. M. Scots, and William Walleys that was their captayne fled, who beyng taken afterward, was hanged, drawen, and quartered at London.

After this the Scottes rebelled agayne, and all ẏ lordes of Scotland choſe Robert Bruis to be king, except only John Cōmyn earle of Carrike, who would not conſent thereto because of his othe made to ẏ king of england. Wherefore Robert Bruis * ſlewe hym at Dumfriſe, and the ſame Robert Bruis was crowned at Schone Abbay. Hereupon the king of england aſſembled a great hoſte, and rode through all Scotland, and diſcomfited Robert Bruis, and ſlue viij. M. Scottes, and tooke the moſt part of all the lordes of Scotlande, putting the temporall lordes to death becauſe they were forſworne.

This was done, vpon the 19. of Jan. 1306.

Edward borne at Carnaruan ſonne of this Edward, was next king of England, who frō the beginning of his reigne enioyed Scotlād peaceably, doing in all thinges as is aboue ſayde of king Edwarde his father, vntill towarde the latter ende of his reigne, about which time thys Robert Bruſe conſpired againſt him & with the helpe of a few forſworn Scottes, forſwore himſelfe king of Scottes. Hereupon this Edward with Thomas earle of Lancaſter and many other Lords made warre vpō him about the feaſt of Mary magdalene, the ſayde Bruſe and hys partakers being already accurſed by the Pope for breaking the truce that he had eſtabliſhed betwixt thē. But being infortunate in his firſt warres againſt him, he ſuffered Edwarde the ſonne Baliol to proclaime himſelf king of Scottes, and neuertheleſſe helde forth his warres againſt Bruſe, before the ending of which he dyed, as I reade.

Edwarde borne at Windſore ſonne of Edward ẏ ſecond was next king of england at ẏ age of fiftene yeares, in whoſe minoritie the Scots practiſed with Iſabell mother to this Edwarde and wyth Roger Mortymer earle of the Marche to haue their homages releaſed, whoſe good will therin they obtayned, ſo that for the ſame releaſe they ſhoulde pay to thys king Edward thirtie thouſand poundes ſterling in thrée yeares next following, that is to ſay, tenne thouſand pounde ſterling yearely. But bicauſe the nobilitie ⁊ commons of this realme woulde not by parliament conſent vnto it their king being within age, the ſame releaſe procéeded not, albeit the Scottes ceaſed not their practiſes with thys Quéene and Earle. But before thoſe thrée yeres in which their money (if ȳ bargaine had taken place) ſhoulde haue béene payed were expired, our king Edwarde inuaded Scotlande and ceaſed not the warre vntill Dauid the ſonne of Robert le Bruſe then by their election king of ſcotlande abſolutelye ſubmytted hymſelfe vnto hym. But for that the ſayde Dauid Bruſe had before by practiſe of the Quéene and the Earle of Marche, marryed Iane the ſiſter of this king Edward: he moued by naturall zeale to his ſiſter, was contented to giue the realme of ſcotlande to this Dauid Bruſe, ⁊ to the heires that ſhoulde be begotten of the body of the ſayde Iane (ſauing the reuerſion and meane homages to this king Edwarde and to his owne children) wherewith the ſame Dauid Bruſe was right well contented, and therevpon immediatly made his homage for ſcotlande vnto him.

Howbeit ſhortly after cauſeleſſe conceyuing cauſe of diſpleaſure, this Dauid procured to diſolue this ſame eſtate taily, and therevpon not onely rebelled in ſcotlande, but alſo inuaded englande, whyleſt king Edwarde was occupyed about hys warres in France. But this Dauid was not onely expelled englãd in thend, but alſo thinking no place a ſufficient defence to his vntrueth, of his owne accorde fled out of ſcotlãd: wherby the cõtreis of Annandale, Gallaway, Mars, Teuydale, Twedale, and Ethrike were ſeaſed into the king of englandes handes, and new Marches ſet betwéene englande and ſcotland at Cockburnes pathe and Sowtry hedge, which whẽ this Dauid wẽt about to recouer againe, his power was diſcomãted, and himſelf by a few engliſhmen taken and brought into englande where he remayned pryſoner eleuen yeres.

Duryng thys tyme, kyng Edwarde enioyed Scotlande peaceably, and then at the contemplacion and wery ſute of his ſorowfull ſiſter wyfe of this Dauid, he was contented once againe to reſtore him to the kingdome of Scotlande, wherevpon it was concluded, that for this rebellion Dauid ſhoulde paye to king Edward the ſomme of one hundred thouſande markes ſterling, and thereto deſtroy all his holdes and fortreſſes ſtanding agaynſt the engliſh borders, ⁊ further aſſure the crowne of ſcotland to the children of this kyng Edward for lacke of heire of his owne bodye, all which thinges he dyd accordingly. And for the better aſſurance of his obeiſance alſo, he afterward deliuered into the hãds of king Edward ſundry noble men of ſcotlãd in this behalf as his pledges. And this is the effect of the hiſtory of Dauid, touching his dealings: now let vs ſée what was done by Edwarde Bailioll, whereof our Chronicles doe make report as followeth.

In ȳ yere of our lord 1326. Edward ȳ third king of england was crowned at Weſtminſter, and in the 5. yere of his reigne Edward Bailiol right heire to ȳ kingdome of ſcotlãd came in ⁊ claymed it as due to him. Sundry lordes and gentlemen alſo, which had title to diuers landes there, either by themſelues, or by their wiues did ȳ like, wherupõ the ſayde Bailiol ⁊ they went into ſcotland by ſea, and landing at Kinghorne with 3000. Engliſhmen, diſcomfited 10000. Scottes, and ſlewe 1200. and thẽ went forth to Dunfermeline, where the ſcots aſſembled againſt them with 40000. men, and in the feaſt of ſ. Laurence, at a place called Gaſtmore (or otherwyſe Gladmore) were ſlaine v. Erles, xij. Barõs, a hundred and thrée ſcore knightes, two M. men of armes, and many other, in all xl. M. and there were ſlaine on the engliſh part but xij. perſons only.

In the eight yere of the raign of kyng Edward, he aſſembled a great hoſte and came to Barwike vpon Twéede, ⁊ laid ſiege thereto To him alſo came Edward Bailiol king of ſcots, ŵ a great power to ſtrength ⁊ aide him againſt the ſcottes who came out of ſcotland in foure battailes well armed and arayed.

Edwarde kyng of england, and Edwarde king of ſcottes, apparelled their people either of them in foure battailes: and vppon Halidon hyll, beſide Barwike, met theſe two hoſtes, and there were diſcomfited of ȳ ſcots, xxv. M. and vij. C. whereof were ſlayne viij. erles, a thouſand and thrée hundred knightes and gentlemen. This victory done, the kyng returned to Barwike, and the towne wyth the caſtell were yelded vp vnto him.

In the eyght yeare of the reigne of king Edward of englande, Edward Bailiol kyng of ſcottes came to Newcaſtell vpon tine and dyd homage.

In the yeare of our Lorde 1346. Dauid Bruys by exhortacion of the king of France rebelled, and came into england with a great hoſte vnto Neuilles croſſe: But the Archbiſhoppe of Yorke with diuers temporall men, fought wt him and the ſaid king of ſcots was takē, and William earle Duglas & Morriſe earle of Strathorne were brought to Londō, & many other Lordes ſlayne, which wyth Dauid dyd homage to Edward king of england.

And in the thirtie yere of the kings reigne, and the yeare of our Lorde 1355. the ſcottes wanne the towne of Barwicke, but not the Caſtell. Hereupon the king came thither wt a great hoſte, and anone the towne was yéelden without any reſiſtance.

Edwarde Baikol, conſidering that God dyd ſo many marueylous & gracious thinges for kyng Edwarde, at his owne will gaue vp the crowne and the realme of ſcotland to king Edwarde of england at Rokeſborough, by his letters patents.

And anon after the king of england, in preſence of all his Lordes ſpirituall and temporall, let crowne himſelfe kyng there of the realme of ſcotlande, and ordayned all thinges to hys intent, and ſo came ouer in englande.

Richarde the ſonne of Edward, called the blacke prince, ſonne of this kyng Edward, was next king of Englande, who for that the ſayde Jane, the wyfe of the ſayde king Dauyd of Scotland was deceaſed without iſſue, and being enformed how the Scottes deuiſed to their vttermoſt power to breake the limitacion of this inheritance touching yͤ crowne of ſcotland, made forthwith war againſt thē, wherin he brent Edēbrough, ſpoyled all their countrey, tooke all their holdes, and maintayned continually warre againſt them vnto his death, which was Anno domi. M.CCC. xcix.

Henry the fourth of that name was next kyng of englande, he continued theſe warres begun againſt them by king Richard, & ceaſſed not vntyll Robert king of ſcots (the third of yͤ name) reſigned hys crowne by appointment of this kyng Henry, and deliuered hys ſonne James beyng then of the age of nyne yeares, into his handes to remayne at his cuſtodie, wardſhip and diſpoſition, as of his ſuperiour Lord, according to the olde lawes of king Edwarde the confeſſour. All this was done Anno dom. M. CCCC.iiij. which was within fiue yeares after the death of kyng Richarde: This Henry the fourth reigned in this ſtate ouer them fourtéene years.

Henry the fift of that name ſonne to thys king Henry the fourth was next king of england. He made warres againſt yͤ french king, in all which this James then king of ſcottes attended vpon him as vpon his ſuperior lord, with a conuenient number of ſcots, notwithſtanding their league with fraunce. But this Henry reigned but nine yeares, whereby the homage of this James their king (hauing not fully accompliſhed the age of one and twentye yeares) was by reaſon and lawe reſpited. Finallye the ſayd James wyth dyuers other lordes attended vpon the corpes of the ſayde ſaide Henry vnto Weſtminſter, as to his dutie appertayned.

Henry the ſixt, the ſonne of this Henry the fift, was next king of englande to whome the ſeignorie of ſcotlande and cuſtodye of thys James by right lawe and reaſon diſcended, marryed the ſame James king of ſcottes to Jane daughter of John earle of Sommerſet, at ſ. Mary ouer Iſe in ſouthwarke, and tooke for the value of thys marryage, the ſumme of one hundreth thouſand markes ſterling.

This James king of ſcottes at his full age, did homage to the ſame king Henry the ſixt, for the kingdome of ſcotland at Wyndſore, in the moneth of January.

Since which tyme vnto the dayes of king Henry the ſeauenth, graundfather to our ſouereigne lord that now is, albeit this realme hath béene moleſted with diuerſitie of titles, in which vnméete tyme neither lawe nor reaſon admit preſcription to the preiudice of any ryght: yet did king Edwarde the fourth next king of englande by preparation of warre againſt the ſcottes in the latter ende of hys reigne, ſufficiently by al lawes induce to the continuaunce of his claime to the ſame ſuperioritie ouer them.

After whoſe death, vnto the beginning of the reigne of our ſouereigne lorde king Henry the eight, excéeded not the number of xxvij yeares, about which tyme the impediment of our clayme of the ſcottes part, chaunced by the nonage of James their laſt king, which ſo continued the ſpace of one & twentie yeres. And like as his minoritie was by all law and reaſon an impediment to himſelf to make homage, ſo was the ſame by like reaſō an impediment to yͤ king of this realme to demaunde any, ſo that the whole time of intermiſſion of our claime in the time of the ſayde king Henry the eyght, is deduced vnto the number of thirtéene yeres, & thus much for this matter.

Of the wall ſometime buylded for a particion betweene Englande and the Pictes.

Cap.17.

Hauing hitherto diſcourſed vpon the title of the kings of england, vnto the ſcottiſh kingdome. I haue nowe thought good to adde hereunto the deſcription of the wall that was in times paſt, a limite vnto both the ſayde regions, & therefore to be touched in this firſt booke as generallye appertinent vnto the eſtate

ſtate, of the whole Iſlande.

The firſt beginner of the Pictes wal

The firſt author and beginner therefore of this wall was Hadriane the emperour, who as Ælius Spartianus ſayth, erected the ſame of foure ſcore miles in length, to deuide the barbarous Brytons from the more ciuile ſort, which thē were generally called by the name of Romaines.

The finiſher of the wall.

After hys tyme Seuerus the emperour cōming againe into this Iſle, (where he had ſerued before in repreſſion of the tumultes here begun, after ẏ death of Lucius) amongſt other thinges he finiſhed the wall that Hadriane had begunne and extended it euen vnto the the weſt ſea, that earſt went no farder then foure ſcore myles, from the eaſt part of the Ocean, as I haue noted already. It is worthy ẏ noting how that in thys voyage he loſt 50000. men in the ſcottiſh ſide, by one occaſion and other, which hinderaunce ſo incenſed him, that he determined vtterlye to extinguiſh theyr memory from vnder heauen, and had ſo done in deede, if his life had indured but vntill another yeare. Sextus Aurelius writing of Seuerus, addeth howe that the percell of the wall, which was left by Hadriane, and finiſhed by this prince, conteyned two & thirtye miles, whereby the bredth of this Iſland there, and leugth of the wall conteyneth onlye 112. miles, as maye be gathered by hys wordes, but chiefly for the length of the wall Spartianus who touchting by it among other thinges ſaieth of Seuerus as followeth, Brittaniam (quod maximum eius imperij decus eſt) muro per tranſuerſam inſulam ducto, vtrinq; ad finē Oceani muniuit, that is, he fortified Brytaine (which is one of the chiefe acts recorded of his time) with a wall made ouerthwart the Iſle, that reached on both ſides euen to the very Ocean.

The wall goeth n[illegible] ſtreight [illegible] a line but in and out in many places.

The ſtuffe of the wal

Two other wals.

A ramp

The cou of the from we to eaſt.

That this wal of ſtone alſo, the ruines therof which haue miniſtred much matter to ſuch as dwell nere therunto in their buildinges is triall ſufficient. Hereby in lyke ſorte it commeth to paſſe, that where the ſoile about it is leaſt inhabited, there is moſt mention of the ſayde wall, which was wroughte of ſquared ſtone, as vnto this day may euidently be confirmed. Howbeit this Wall was not the onelye partition betwene theſe two kingdomes, ſith Iulius Capitolinus in vita Antonini Pij doth write of another that Lollius Vrbicus did make beyond the ſame, of Turffe, which neuertheleſſe was often throwen downe by the Scottes, and eftſoones repayred againe vntill it was geuen ouer and relinquiſhed altogether. The like mudde wal hath bene ſeene alſo within the wall about an arrow ſhot from that of ſtone, but how farre it went, as yet I cannot finde, this onely remayneth certaine, that the wall made by Hadrian and Seuerus was ditched with a notable ditch, and a rampire made theron in ſuch wiſe, that the ſcottiſh aduerſary had much adoe to enter & ſcale the ſame in his aſſaults. Betwixt Thirlewal, and the Northe Tine, are alſo in the waſte groundes, manye parcelles of that walle yet ſtanding, wherof the common people doe babble many thinges. Beginning therefore with the courſe thereof, from the weſt ſea, I finde that it runneth frō Bolneſſe to Burgh, about foure miles, and likewiſe from thence within halfe a mile of Caerleil, and leſſe on the north ſide, and beneath the confluence of the Peder and the Eden. From hence it goeth to Terreby a village about a myle from Caerleil, then thorow the Barrony of Linſtocke, and Gilleſland, on the north ſide of the riuer Irding or Arding, & a quarter of a mile from the Abbey of Leuercoſt. Then 3. myles aboue Leuercoſt, and aboue the confluence of Arding, and the Pultroſe becke (which deuideth Gilleſland in Cumberlande, from ſouth Tindale in Northūberland) it goeth to Thirlwall caſtle, thē to the Wall towne, next of all ouer the riuer to Swenſheld, Carraw (peraduenture Cairuoren) tower, to Walwyc, and ſo ouer ſouth Tine, to Cockely tower, Portgate, Halton ſheles, Wincheſter, Rutcheſter, Heddon, Walhottle, Denton, and to Newcaſtle, where it is thought that ſ. Nicholas churche ſtandeth on the ſame. Howbeit, Leland ſayth, that it goeth within a myle of Newcaſtle, and thē crooketh vp toward Tinmouth vnto Walleſende, ſo called becauſe the aforeſaid wall did ende at the ſame place. And thus much I read of the Pictiſh wal. As for the Romaine coyne that is often found in the courſe thereof, the curious brickes about the ſame nere vnto Carleil, beſide the excellent Cornellines and other coſtlye ſtones already entailled for Seales oftentymes takē vp in thoſe quarters, I paſſe thē ouer as not incidēt to my purpoſe. In like maner I wold gladly alſo haue ſet downe the courſe of Offaes ditch: but foraſmuch as ẏ tractatiō therof is not to be referred to this place, becauſe it is not a thing generall to ẏ whole Iſland, I omitte to ſpeake of that alſo. Yet thus much will I note here by the reporte of one (who ſaith how he did tread it out) that he followed it from the Dee to Ryrnaburgh hill thorow Treuelach forreſt, by eaſt af Crekith, Cauch hil, Mountgomery caſtle, the new caſtle and Diſcoid, & hauing brought it hitherto, either loſt it, or ſought after it no further, & ſo much of ſuch thinges as concerne the generall eſtate of the whole Iſland.

The

The ſecond Booke, of the hyſtoricall deſcription of Britaine, conteining theſe chapters followyng.

1. Of riuers and waters that loſe their names before they come at the ſea, & firſt of thoſe betwene the Thames and Sauerne.
2. Of ſuch riuers as fall into the greater afore mentioned betwene Sauerne, & the Humber.
3. Of thoſe that fall into the mayne riuers, betwene Humber and the Thames.
4. Of the particion of Englande into ſhyres and counties.
5. Of the number of Byſhopricks in Englande.
6. Of our Vniuerſities.
7. Of cities & townes.
8. Of caſtels & holdes.
9. Of pallaces belõging to the prince.
10. Of the manner of buylding and furniture of our houſes.
11. Of fayres and markets.
12. Of armour & munition.
13. Of the nauy of Englande.
14. Of Bathes & hote Welles.
15. Of parkes and warrens.
16. Of woodes & mariſes.
17. Of antiquities foũd.
18. Of the marueyles of England.

Of ryuers and waters that loſe their names before they come at the ſea.

Cap. 1.

I Haue in the former Treatiſe made report of moſt of the greateſt riuers in Englande, wherewyth our ſeafaring men are very well acquainted, not only by reaſon of their notable iſſues into the Oceã, but alſo for the oftẽ herborow & paſſage, which they haue by diuers of them, farre vp into the countrey. Nowe therefore will I procéede, with the deſcriptiõ of ſuch as are yet in parte vntouched, and whereby the chanels and courſes of the firſt are not a litle increaſed. In tractation whereof I will not omitte to reiterate the deſcription of thoſe maine riuers, that are not already perfitely ſet downe, neyther the inſertion of ſuch as earſt I had no knowledge of. And as I firſt beganne with the Thames in that booke, ſo will I nowe make mine entraunce with ſuch riuers as fall into the ſame, not letting any one eſcape, wherin a man in the Winter ſeaſon may wet hys horſe foote vp vnto the footelockes.

How and where this riuer iſſueth out of the grounde, I haue before ſet downe, noting the place to be within a myle of Tetbury, whereof ſome doe vtterly miſlike, bycauſe that ryll in ſommer drowthes is oft ſo drie, that there is litle or no water at all ſéene running in the ſame. For this cauſe therefore many affirme the very head of Iſis to come from the poole aboue Kemble. Other confounde it with the head of the Cyrne or Chyrne, called in latine Corinium, that riſeth aboue Coberley. For my part I followe Lelande, as he doeth the Monke of Malmeſbury, that wrate the hyſtorie entituled Eulogium hiſtoriarum, who ſearched the ſame of ſet purpoſe, and pronounced wyth Lelande, although that at this preſent that courſe be very ſmal, and choked vp as I doe here with mowldes. Procéeding therefore from the hed, it firſt of all receyueth the Kemble water called the Coue, which ryſeth aboue Kemble towne, goeth by Kemble it ſelfe vnto Poole and Somerford, & accompanyeth ỹ Thames vnto Canes, Aſhtõ Canes & Howſtõ, vntil they méete with the Chirne, the next of all to be deſcribed.

Couns.

The Chyrne is a faire water, ryſing out of the grounde aboue Coberley. From whence it runneth to Cowley, Cowleſburne, Randcome, and ſo into the Iſis on the left ſide aboue Crekelade. Theſe their waters beyng thus vnited & brought into one chanell, within a little ſpace of the head of Iſis, it runneth by Crekelade, beneath which towne it receyueth the Rhe, deſcending from Elcombe, Eſcot, Redburne, Widhil, and at the fall into Iſis, or not farre of ioyneth with another that runneth weſt of Purton by Bradẽ forreſt. &c.

Coriniu

Rhe.

Next of all our Iſis méeteth with the Amney on the left hande, which comming from aboue Holly roode Amney, runneth by Downe Amney, and finally into the Iſis a litle aboue Iſey. In lyke ſorte I reade of another that méeteth withall on the right hand aboue Iſey alſo, which ſo farre as I can call to remembraunce, commeth from about Dryfield and falleth ſo into our Iſis, that they runne as one vntill they come at the Colne, although not ſo nakedly and without help, but that in this voyage, the maine ſtreame doth croſſe one water that deſcendeth from Swindon, & going alſo by Stratton toward Heuingham, is it ſelfe increaſed with two rilles by the way, whereof one commeth from Liddenton by Wambrey, as I haue bene informed.

Amney.

The Colne is a fayre riuer ryſing by north néere to Witchington, and from thence goeth to Shiptons, Compton Abdale, Wittenton, Yarneworth, Colnedeanes, and Colne Rogers, Winſton, Bybery, Colne Alens, Quenington, Faireford, and weſt of Lechelade into the riuer Iſis, which hereabout on the ſouthſide alſo taketh in another, whereof I finde this remembraunce. The Iſis being once

Colneſus.

once paſt Seuingham, croſſeth a broke from ſoutheaſt that mounteth about Aſhebyry and receyuing a ryll from by weſt, (that commeth from Hinton) beneath Shrineham, it afterward ſo deuideth it ſelfe, that the armes therof include Ingleſham, and by reaſon that it falleth into the Iſis at two ſeuerall places, there is a pleaſant Iſlande produced, wherof let thys ſuffiſe.

Lecus.

Beyng paſt Lechelade a mile, it runneth to S. Johns bridge, & thereabout méeteth wyth ẏ Leche, on the left hande. This broke wherof Lechlade taketh the name (a towne whervnto one péece of an olde Uniuerſity is aſcribed, which it dyd neuer poſſeſſe, more then Crekelade did the other) ryſeth eaſt of Hāpnet, frō whence it goeth to Northlech, Eſtēton, Anleſworth, eaſt Leche, ſouth Thorpe, Farendon and ſo into the Iſis. From hence thys famous water goeth by Bēſkot toward Radcote bridge, (taking in the rill that riſeth in an odde péece of Barkeſhyre, and runneth by Langford) & being paſt ẏ ſaid bridge, (now notable thorowe a conſpiracye, made there ſometimes by ſundrye Barons againſt the eſtate) it is not long eare it croſſe two other waters, both of thē deſcending from another odde parcell of the ſaide countie, whereof I haue this note gyuen me for my further information. There are two falles of water into Iſis, beneath Radcote bridge, whereof the one commeth from Shilton, in Barkeſhire by Areſcote, blacke Burton and Clarrefield. The other alſo riſeth in the ſame piece and runneth by Briſenorton vnto Bampton, and there receyuyng an armelet from the firſt that break of at Blackeburton, it is not long ere they fall into Iſis, and leaue a pretye Iland. After theſe confluences, the main courſe of the ſtreame, haſteth by Shifford to Newbridge, where it ioyneth with the Winruſh.

Winruſh.

The Winruſh ryſeth aboue Shyeburne, in Gloceſterſhyre, frō whence it goeth to Winruſh, and comming by Barringtō, Burford, Widbroke, Swinbeck caſtel, Witney, Duckington, Cockthorpe, Stanlake, it méeteth wyth the Iſis weſt by ſouth of Northmore. From hence it goeth beneath Stantō, Hartingcourt and Enſham, betwéene which and Caſſenton, it receyueth as Lelande calleth it the Bruerne water.

Bruerus

It ryſeth aboue Limington, and going to Norton in the Marſhe, and thorowe a patche of Worceſter ſhire vnto Euenlode, betwene it and the foure ſhyre ſtones, it taketh in a rill called Come, comming by the Long and the little Comptons. After this alſo it goeth by Bradwell, Odington, and ſo to Bleddenton, aboue which towne, it taketh in the Kolriche water, that iſſueth at two heades, in ẏ hilles that lie by weſt of little Kolrichē, and ioyne aboue Kenkeham, and Church hill. From thēce alſo it goeth vnto Bruerne, Shiptō vnderwood, Aſcot, Short hamton, Chorlebury, Cornebury parke, Stonfielde, Longcombe, and ſouth eaſt of Woodſtocke parke, taketh in the Enis, that riſeth aboue Emſtone, and goeth to Cyddington, Glympton, Wotton, wher it is increaſed wyth a rill (that runneth thether frō Steple Barton, by the Béechin trée) Woodſtocke, Blaydon, ſo that after this confluence, the ſayde Enys runneth to Caſſentō and ſo into the Iſis, which goeth frō hence to Oxforde, and there receiueth the Charwell, now preſently to be deſcribed.

Comus.

Kolriche.

Enis.

Charwell.

The heade of Charwell is in northampton ſhyre, where it ryſeth out of a little poole, by Charleton village, ſeauen miles aboue Banberye northeaſt, and there it iſſueth ſo faſt at the verye ſurge, that it groweth into a pretye ſtreame, in maner out of hand. Sone after alſo it taketh in taketh in a rillet called ẏ Bure, which falleth into it, about Otmere ſide, but foraſmuch as it ryſeth by Binceſter, ẏ whole courſe thereof is aboue foure myles, and therefore cannot be great. A friende of myne proſecuiting the reaſt of this deſcription reporteth thereof as followeth.

Bure.
Culen.

Before the Charwell commeth into Oxforde ſhyre, it receiueth the Culen, which falleth into the ſame, a lyttle aboue Edgecote, & ſo dyſcēding toward Wardington, it méeteth with another comming from by northweſt, betwéene Wardington & Cropredy. At Banburye alſo it méeteth wyth the Come (which falleth from Fenny Cōton by Farneboro, and afterwards going by Kings Sutton, not farre from Ayne, it receiueth the diſcharge of dyuers ryllettes, in one bottome before it come at Clifton. The ſayde water therefore ingendred of ſo many brokelettes, conſiſteth chiefly of two, whereof the moſt ſoutherly called Oke, commeth from Oke Norton, by Witchington or Wiggington, and the Berfords, and carying a few blind rilles withal, doth méete with the other that falleth from by northweſt into the ſame, within a myle of Charwell. That other as I coniecture, is increaſed of thrée waters, whereof eache one hath his ſeuerall name, the firſt of them therfore, height Tudo, which comming betwéene Epwell and the Lée by Toddington, ioyneth about Broughton with the ſeconde that runneth from Hornetō, named Ornus, as I geſſe. The laſt falleth into the Tude or Tudelake, beneath Broughton and for that it riſeth not far from Sotteſwel in Warwijcſhyre, ſome are of the opinion, that it is to be called Sot-

Come.

Ocus.

Tudo.

Ornus.

Sotbroke.
Soterus.

Sowar.
Burus.

broke. The next water that méeteth with our Charwell beneath Clifton commeth from about Croughton, and after this is the Sowar or Swere, that riſeth north of Michael Tew, & runneth by nether Wotton. The laſt of all is the rey alias Bure, whoſe hed is not farre aboue Burceſter, alias Binceſter, & Burnceſter: & frō whence it goeth by Burceſter to Merton, Charleton, Fencote, Addington, Noke, Iſlip, and ſo into Charwell, that holdeth on hys courſe after this augmentation of the waters, betwene Wode and Water Eton, to Marſton, and the eaſt bridge of Oxford by Magdalene colledge, and ſo beneath the ſouthbridge into our aforeſayd Iſis.

Middeſt of England whereabouts.
Ocus.
Arun.

In deſcrybing this ryuer, this one thyng right honourable is come vnto my mynde, touchyng the centre and nauell as it were of England. Certes, there is an hilly plotte of ground in Helledon paroche, not farre from Danbery, where a man may ſtand & behold the heds of thrée notable ryuers, whoſe waters, and thoſe of ſuch as fall into them, do aboundantly ſerue the greateſt parte of England, on this ſide of the Humber: the firſt of theſe waters is the Charwel, already deſcribed. The ſecond is the Leme that goeth weſtward into the fourth Auon: and the third is the head of the Nene or fift Auon it ſelfe, of whoſe courſes there is no Carde but doth make ſufficient mention, and therefore your honour may behold in the ſame how they do coaſt the country, and alſo meaſure by compaſſes how this plot lyeth in reſpect of all the reſt, contrary to common iudgement, which maketh Northampton to be the midſt of our countrey. But to go forward with my deſcription of the Ouze, which beyng paſt Oxford goeth to Iſly, Kennington, Sanforde, Rodleye, Newnham, and ſo tō Abington, without increaſe, where it receyueth the Oche, otherwyſe called the Coche, a little beneth S. Helenes, which runneth thither of two brockets as I take it, whereof one cōmeth from Compton, out of the vale and weſt of the hill of the White horſe, the other from Kinges Letcombe and Wantage in Barkſhire, and in one chanell entreth into the ſame, vpō the right ſide of his courſe. From Abington likewyſe (taking the Arun withall ſouthweſt of Suttō courtney) it goeth by Appleford, long Wittenham, Clifton, Wittenham the leſſe, and beneth Dorcheſter, taketh in the Tame water, from whence the Iſis loſeth the preheminence of the whole denomination of this ryuer, and is contented to imparte the ſame with the Tame, ſo that by the coniunction of theſe two waters, Thameſis is produced, & that name continued euen vnto the ſea.

Thame.
Blauius.

Thame ryuer ryſeth in the eaſterly partes of Chilterne hils, towards Penley parke, at a towne called Tring weſt of the ſaide park, which is vij. myles from the ſtone bridge, that is betwene Querendon and Aylesburye (after the courſe of the water) as Lelād hath ſet downe. Running therfore by long Merſtō and Puttenham, Hucket and Bearton, it receyueth ſone after a Ryll that commeth by Querēdon from Hardwicke, and ere long an other on the other ſide that riſeth aboue Wyndouer in the Chilterne, and paſſyng by Halton, Weſton, Turrill, Broughton, and Aylesbury, it falleth into the Tame, weſt of the ſayd towne, except my memory doe faile me. From this confluence, then the Tame goeth by Ethorpe, the Winchingtons, Coddington, Cherſley, Notley Abbey, and commyng almoſt to Tame, it receyueth one water from ſoutheaſt aboue the ſayd towne, and another alſo from the ſame quarter beneath the towne, ſo that Tame ſtandeth enuironed vpon thrée ſides, with thrée ſeuerall waters, as may be eaſily ſene. The firſt of theſe commeth from the Chilterne eaſt of Below or Bledlow, from whence it goeth to Hinton, Horſenden, Kingſey, Towſey, and ſo into the Tame. The other deſcendeth alſo from the Chilterne, and goyng by Chinner, Crowell, Siddenham, and Tame parke, it falleth in the end into Tame water, and then they procéede together as one, by Shabbington, Rycote parke, Dracote, Waterſtoke, Milton, Cuddeſdon, and Chiſelton. Here alſo it taketh in another water from by eaſt, whoſe hed commeth from Chilterne hils, not farre from Stocking church, in the way from Oxford to London. From whence it runneth to Weſton (and méetyng beneth Curham with Watlington ryll) it goeth on to Chalgraue, Stadham, and ſo into the Thame. Frō hence our ſtreame of Thame runneth to Newentō, Draton, Dorcheſter (ſometyme a Byſhops ſée and a noble city) and ſo into the Thames, which haſteth in lyke ſorte to Benſington, Crowmarſhe or Wallingford, where it receyueth the Blaue, deſcendyng from Blaueburg, now Blewbery as I learn. Thus haue I brought the Thames vnto Wallingforde, ſituate in the vale of white horſe that rūneth a long therby. Frō hēce it goeth by Newenham, Northſtoke, Southſtoke, Goring, Baſilden, Pangburne, where it méeteth with a water that commeth from about Hamſtede Norrys, runneth by Frizelham, Buckleburry, Stanford, Bradfeld, Tidmarſh, & Pangburne. After which confluence it goeth on betwene Mapledorham and Purley to Cauerſham, and Cauerſham manour, and a little beneath receyueth the Benet that commeth therinto from Readyng.

Cenethus.

The Benet ryſeth aboue Ouerton, v. or vj. myles weſt of Marleborow, or Marlingſborow as ſome call it, and then goyng by Fyfeld, Clatford, Manlon, and Preſhute, vnto Marlebury, it holdeth on in lyke order to Ramſbury, and northweſt of little Cote, taketh in a water by north deſcending from yͤ hils aboue Alburne chaſe, weſt of Alburne town. Thence it rūneth to little cote, Charnham ſtréete, and beneth Charnham ſtréete, it croſſeth the Bedwin, which (taking yͤ Chalkburn ril withal) cōmeth frō great Bedwyne, & at Hūgerford alſo, two other in one botom ſomewhat beneth the towne. From hence it goeth to Auington, Kinbury, Hamſted marſhall, Euburne, Newbery, and beneath thys towne, taketh in the Lamburne water that cōmeth by Ilbiry, Egerſton, the Sheffords, Weſtford, Boxford, Donington Caſtle, and Shaw. From Newbery it goeth to Thatchā, Wolhampton, Aldermaſton, a little aboue which village, it receyueth the Alburne, an other broke increaſed wͭ ſundry rilles, & thus goyng on to Padworth, Oſton, and Michael, it commeth at laſt to Readyng, where as I ſayd it ioyneth with the Thames, and ſo they go forward as one by Sonning to Shiplake, and there on the eaſt ſide receyue the Loddon that commeth downe thither from the ſouth, as by his courſe appeareth.

Bedwyne.
Chalkeburne.

Lamburne

Alburnus.

Lodunus.

The Loddon ryſeth in Hamſhire betwéene weſt Shirburne, and Wootton, towarde the ſouthweſt, afterwarde directyng his courſe toward the northweſt, thorowe the vine, it paſſeth at the laſt by Bramley, and thorow a piece of Wiltſhire to Stradfield, Swallowfield, Arberfield, Loddon bridge, leauyng a patch of Wiltſhire on the right hande, as I haue bene informed. This Loddon not farre from Turges towne, receyueth two waters in one boteme, whereof the weſterly called Baſingwater, commeth from Baſingſtoke, and thorow a parke vnto the aforeſaid place. The other deſcendeth of two heds, from Mapledour well, and goeth by Skewes Newenham, Rotherwyke, and ere it come at Hartly, ioyneth with the Baſing water, from whēce they goe togyther to Turges, where they méete with the Loddon, as I haue ſayd alredy. The next ſtreame toward the ſouth is called Ditford broke. It ryſeth not farre from Upton, goeth by Eruell and beneath Wharnborow caſtle, receyueth the Ikell (cōmyng from a parke of the ſame denomination) frō whence they go togither by Maddingley vnto Swalowfield, and ſo into the Loddon. In this voyage alſo, the Loddon meteth with the Elwy or Eluey that commeth from Aldershare, not farre by weſt of Euerſley; and about Eluetham, likewyſe with another cōming from Dogmansfield, named yͤ Douke, and alſo the third not inferior to the reſt, rōnyng from Erſin, whoſe head is in Surrey, and goyng by Aſhe, becommeth a limite, firſt betwene Surrey & Hamſhire, then betwene Hamſhire and Barkeſhire, and paſſyng by Aſhe, Erynley, blackewater, Yerley, & Finchamſted, it ioyneth at laſt with the Ditford, before it come at Swalowfield. To conclude therfore with our Loddon, hauyng receiued all theſe waters, and after the laſt confluence with thē now beyng come to Loddon bridge, it paſſeth on by a part of Wiltſhire to Twiforde, then to Wargraue, and ſo into the Thames that now is merueilouſly increaſed and grown vnto triple greatneſſe to that it was at Oxford. Being therfore paſt Shiplake and Wargraue, it runneth by Horſependen or Hardyng, then to Henley vpon Thames, where ſometyme a great rill voydeth it ſelfe in the ſame. Then to Remēham, Greneland (goyng all this way from Shiplake iuſt north, and now turnyng eaſtwards agayne) by Medenham, Hurley, Byſham, Marlow the greater, Marlow the leſſe, it meteth with a broke ſone after that conſiſteth of the water of two rilles, whereof the one called the Uſe, ryſeth about weſt Wickham out of one of the Chiltern hils, and goeth frō thence to eaſt Wickham or high Wickham, a prety market towne. The other named Higden, deſcendeth alſo from thoſe mountaynes, but a myle beneath weſt Wickham, and ioyning both in one at yͤ laſt in the weſt ende of eaſtwickham town, they go togyther to Woburn, Hedſor, and ſo into yͤ Thames. Some call it the Tide and that word do I vſe in my former treatiſe, but to procéede. After this confluence, our Thames goeth on by Cowkham, Topley, Maydenhead (aliâs Sudlington) Bray, Dorney, Clure, new Windſore, (takyng in neuertheleſſe, at Eaton by yͤ way, the Burne which riſeth out of a Moore, and commeth thither by Burneham) olde Windſor, Wrayborow, and a little by eaſt therof, doth croſſe the Cole, whereof I finde this ſhort deſcription enſuyng.

This vadum.

Ikelus.

Elucius.

Ducin.

Eryn.

Uſa.

Higden.

The Cole riſeth néere vnto Flamſted, frō whence it goeth to Redburn, S. Mighels, S. Albons, Aldēham, Watford, and ſo by More to Richemanſworth, where there is a confluence of thrée waters, of which this Cole is the firſt. The ſecond called Gadus, riſeth not farre from Aſheridge, an houſe or pallace belongyng to the prince. From whence it runneth to great Gaddeſden, Hemſted, betwene

Colus, aliâs Uere and Uertume.

Gadus.

kinges Langley, and Abbots Langley, then to Hanters, and Caſhew bridges; and ſo to Richmanſworth, receyuing by the way a rill commyng from Albury by northweſt, to Northchurch, Barkehamſted, and beneath Hemſtede ioyning with the ſame. The laſt commeth in at northweſt from aboue Cheſham, by Cheſham it ſelfe, then by Cheſham Boys, Latimers, Mawdlens, Cheynies, Sarret and Richemanſworthe, and ſo going on all in one Chanell, vnder the name of Cole, it rũneth to Vxbridge, where it taketh in the Miſſenden water, from northweſt, which riſing aboue Miſſenden the greater, goeth by Miſſenden the leſſe, Hagmondeſham (now Hammerſhã) the Wache, Chalfhunt Gyles, Chalfhunt S. Peters, Denham, and then into the Cole aboue Vxbridge as I ſayd. Sone after this our Cole doth parte it ſelfe into two braunches, neuer to ioyne agayne before they come at the Thames, for the greater of them goeth thorow the goodly medowes ſtreight to Colbroke, the other vnto two milles, a myle and a halfe eaſt of Colbroke in the way to London, leauyng an Iſlande betwene them of no ſmall ſize and quantitie.

indeles.

Beyng paſt the Cole, we come to the fal of the Windeles, which riſeth by northweſt nere vnto Bagſhot, frõ whence it goeth to Windleſham, Chobham, and méetyng wyth a Brocket commyng weſtward from Biſley, they run togyther toward Cherteſey, where when they haue met with a ſmall rill riſyng north of Sonnyng hill in Windleſour great parke, it falleth into the Thames on yͤ north eaſt ſide of Cherteſey. When we were come beyonde this water, it was not long ere we came vnto another on the ſame ſide, that fell into the Thames betwene Shepperton on the one ſide, and Oteland on the other, and is called the Waye.

Veius.

The Weie or the Waye riſing by weſt, cõmeth from Olſted, and ſone after taking the Hedley broke with all (which riſeth in Walmere forreſt, and goeth by Hedley & Frenſham) haſteth by Bentley, Farnham, Alton, Wayberley, Elſted, and ſo to Pepper Harrow, where it ioyneth with the Thureſby water, which commeth not farre of from a village of the ſame denomination. From hence alſo it goeth to Godalmyng, and then toward Shawford, but ere it come there, it croſſeth Cranly becke, which riſing ſomewhere about yͤ edge of Suſſex ſhort of Ridgewyc, goeth by Vachery parke, Knoll, Cranly, Bramley, Wonarſhe, & ſo into the Way. From hence then our ryuer goeth to Shawford (and ſone after méeting with the Abbinger water that commeth by Shere, Albiry, and the chappell on the hill) it procéedeth to Guldeford, thence to Stoke, Sutton in the parke, Send, Wokyng, and at Newarke parke ſide, taketh in a broke that ryſeth of two heds, whereof one doth ſpring betwene two hils north of Pepper harrow, and ſo rũneth thorow Henley parke, the other aboue Purbright, and afterward ioynyng in one, they go forth vnto Newarke, and being there vnited, after the confluence it goeth to Purford court, to Wyſſer, Wayfrede, Oteland, and ſo into the Thames.

Thureſby.

Crawley.

Abbinger.

Molis.

Frõ Oteland the Thames goeth by Walton, Sunbury, weſt Moulſey, Hampton, and ere it come at Hampton courte on the north ſide, and eaſt Moulſey on the other, it taketh in the Moule water, which gyueth name vnto the two townes that ſtande on eche ſide of the place, where it falleth into our ſtreame. It ryſeth in Word forreſt, & going by Burſtow, it méeteth afterward with another gullet, conteynyng a ſmall courſe from two ſeuerall heds, whereof one is alſo in the forreſt aforenamed, the other rũneth from Bebuſh wode, and comming by Ifeld, méeteth with the firſt aboue Horley, and ſo run on in one chanell, I ſay, till they ioyne with the Moule water, whereof I ſpake before. After this confluence in lyke ſorte, it is not long ere the Moule take in another from by North, which commeth from about Meſham on the one ſide, and another on the other runnyng by Ocley and Capell, and whereinto alſo a braunch or rill commeth from a wood on the northweſt part. Finally, beyng thus encreaſed with theſe many rilles, it goeth by eaſt Becheworth, weſt Becheworth, and ouer agaynſt the Swalow on the ſide of Drake hil, takyng in another that commeth thither frõ Wotton by Darkyng and Milton, it rũneth to Mickleham, Letherhed, Stoke, Cobham, Aſhire parke, eaſt Moulſey, and ſo into the Thames, which after this coniunction goeth on to Kingſton, and there alſo méeteth wyth another beck, riſing at Ewell ſouth of Nonſuch. Certes, this rill goeth from Ewell by yͤ olde parke, then to Mauldon, and ſo to Kingſton towne. The Thames in lyke maner beyng paſt Kingſton, goeth by Tuddington, Peterſham, Twickenham, Richmond, and Shene, where it receyueth a water on the northweſt ſide, which commyng from about Harrow on the hill, and by weſt of the ſame, goeth by Hayes, Harlington, Felthan, and Thiſtleworth into the Thames.

Brane.

The next fall of water is at Sion, nere vnto new Brainford, ſo that it iſſueth into the Thames betwene them both. This water is called Brane, that is in the Brittiſh tong (as Leland ſaith a frogge. It riſeth about Edgeworth, and commeth from thence by Kingeſbiry, Twifford, Periuall, Hanwell, and Auſterley. Thence we followed our riuer to old Brētford, Mortlach, Cheſwyc, Barnelmes, Fulham and Putney, beneth which townes it croſſed a becke from Wandleſworth, that ryſeth at Woodmans turne, and goyng by Caſthalton, méeteth another comming from Croydon by Bedington, and ſo goyng on to Mitcham, Marton Abbey & Wandleſworth, it is not long ere it fall into the Thames.

Mariburn

Next vnto this is the Maryburne rill on the other ſide, which commeth in by Saynt James, ſo that by this tyme we haue eyther brought the Thames, or the Thames conueighed vs to London, where we reſted for a ſeaſon to take viewe of the ſeuerall tydes there, of which ech one differeth frō other, by 24. minuts, that is 48. in an whole day, as I haue noted afore, except the wether alter thē. Beyng paſt London, and in the way toward the ſea: the firſt water that it méeteth withal, is on Kent ſide, weſt of Grenewich, whoſe hed is in Bromley pariſh, and goyng from thence to Lewiſham, it taketh in a water frō by eaſt, & ſo directeth hys courſe forth right vnto the Thames.

Lée.

The next water that it méeteth withall, is on Eſſex ſide, almoſt agaynſt Woolwiche, and that is the Lée, whoſe hed riſeth ſhorte of Kempton in Hertfordſhire, 4. myles ſouth eaſt of Luton, and goyng thorowe a péece of Brokehall park (leauing Woodhall park, on the north, and Hatfield on the ſouth, with an other park adioyning) it goeth toward Hartford towne.

Marran.

But ere it come ther, it receiueth a water (peraduenture the Marran) riſing at northweſt in Brodewater hundred frō aboue Welwin, northeaſt of Digeſwell, & going to Hartingfeld bury, wher the ſaid cōfluence is within one mile of the towne.

Beane.

Beneth Hatfield alſo it receyueth the Beane (as I geſſe) commyng from Borwood by Benington, Aſton, Watton, and Stapleford, and a little lower, the third arme of increaſe from aboue Ware, which deſcēdeth frō two heds: whereof the greateſt commeth from Barkeway in Edwinſter hundred, the other from Sandon in Oddeſey hundred, and after they be met beneth little Hornemeade, they goe togither by Pulcherchurche, or Puckriche, Stonden, Thunderydge, Wadeſmill, Benghoo and ſo into the Lée, which from hence runneth on tyll it come at Ware, and ſo to Amwell, where on the north ſide it receiueth the water that commeth from little Hadhā, thorow a péece of Singleſhall parke, then by great Hadham, and ſo from Widford to the aforeſayde towne. From hence alſo they go as one to olde Stanſtede called le veil, braunchyng in ſuch wyſe ere it come there, that it runneth thorow the towne in ſundry places. Thence it goeth forth to Abbots Stāſted, beneath which it méeteth wyth the Stoure, weſt as I remember, of Roydon.

Sturus.

This Sture riſeth at Wenden lootes, from whence it goeth to Langley, Clauering, Berden Manhuden, & Byrcheanger (where it receyueth a ryll commyng from Elſinghā & Stanſted Mountfitchet.) Thence it hyeth on to biſhoppes Stourford, Sabrichworth, and beneath this town, croſſeth with another frō the eaſt ſide of Elſingham, that goeth to Hatfield Brodock, Shiryng, Harlo, and ſo into the Stoure, and from whence they goe togither to Eſtwyc, Parmedon, and next into the Lée. Theſe thinges beyng thus performed, the Lée runneth on beneth Hoddeſdon, Broxburne, Wormley, where a water breaketh out by weſt of the maine ſtreame, a mile lower then Wormely it ſelfe, but yet within the paroche, and is called Wormeley locke. It runneth alſo by Cheſton Nunry, and out of this a little beneath the ſayde houſe, breaketh an arme called the Shirelake, bicauſe it deuideth Eaſtſexe and Hartford ſhires in ſunder, and in the length of one medow called Frithey, this lake rūneth not but at great floudes, and méeteth againe with a ſuccor of ditchwater, at a place called Hockeſditch, half a myle from his firſt breakyng out, and half myle lower at Marſh point, ioyneth agayne with the ſtreame from whence it came before. Thence commeth the firſt arme to S. Mauly bridge (the firſt bridge weſtward vpō that ryuer) vppon Waltham cauſey, and halfe a myle lower then Mauly bridge at the corner of Ramney meade, it méeteth with the kinges ſtreame, and principal courſe of Luy or Lée, as it is commonly called. The ſecond principall arme breaketh out of the kynges ſtreame at Hallyfielde halfe a myle lower then Cheſton Nunnery, and ſo to the fullyng mill and two bridges by weſt of the kynges ſtreame, whereinto it falleth about a ſtones caſt lower at a place called Malkinſhelf, except I was wrong informed. Cheſton and Harfordſhire men ſay, do ſay that the kings ſtreame at Waltham, doth part Hartfordſhire and Eſſex, but the Eſſex men by forreſt charter do plead their liberties to holde vnto S. Maulies bridge. On the eaſt ſide alſo of ye kinges ſtreame breaketh out but one principall arme at Halifield, thrée quarters of a myle aboue Waltham, and ſo goeth to the corne myll in Waltham, and then to ye kings ſtreame agayne, a little beneath the kynges bridge. From hence the Lée runneth on till it come to Stretforde Langthorne, where it braunchеth partly of it ſelfe, and partly by mans induſtry for mils. Howbeit herein the dealyng of Alfrede ſometyme king of England, was not of ſmalleſt force, who vnderſtandyng the Danes to be gotten vp wyth their ſhips into the countrey, there to kil and ſlay, by the conduct of this ryuer: he in the meane tyme before they could returne, dyd ſo mightely weaken the mayne chanell by drawyng great numbers of trenches from the ſame, that when they purpoſed to come back, there was nothyng ſo much water left as the ſhips dyd draw, wherfore being ſet on ground, they were ſone fired, and the aduerſaries ouercome. Finally beyng paſt Weſtham, it is not long ere it fal into ẏ Thames. One thyng I read more of this riuer before the conqueſt, that is, how Edward the firſt, & ſonne of Alfrede, builded Hartford towne vpon it, in the yeare of grace 912. at which tyme alſo he had Wittham a town in Eſſex in hande as hys ſiſter called Aelflede repayred Oxford and London, and all this 4. yeres before the buildyng of Maldon. But concernyng our ryuer it is noted, that he buylded Hertford or Herudford betwene 3. waters, that is, the Lée, the Beneſuth, and Memmaran, but how theſe waters are diſtinguiſhed in theſe dayes, as yet I cannot tell. It is poſſible, that the Bene may be the ſame which commeth by Beningtō, and Bengho, which if it be ſo, then muſt the Memmarran be the ſame that deſcendeth from Whitwel, for not farre from thence is Branfield, which might in tyme paſt right well be called Marranfield, for of lyke inuerſion of names I could ſhew many examples.

lfrede.

Rodon or Rodunus.

Beyng paſt the Lée (whoſe chanell is begun to be purged 1576. with further hope to bring the ſame to the north ſide of London) we come vnto the Rodon, vpon Eſſex ſide in lyke maner, and not very farre (for 4. miles is the moſt) from the fall of the Lée. This water ryſeth at little Canfielde, from whence it goeth to great Canfield, high Rodyng, Eythorpe Roding, Ledon Rodyng, White Rodyng, Beauchampe Roding, Fifeld, Shelley, high Ongar, and Cheppyng Ongar, where the Lauer falleth into it, that ariſeth betwixt Matchyng and high Lauer, and takyng another rill withall commyng from aboue Northweld at Cheping Ongar, they ioyne I ſay with the Rodō, after which confluēce, Leland coniectureth that ẏ ſtreame is called Iuel: for my part, I wote not what to ſay of it, but hereof I am ſure that ẏ whole courſe beyng paſt Ongar, it goeth to Stanſted riuers, Theydon mounte, Heybridge, Chigwell, Woodford bridge, Ilforde bridge, Barkyng and ſo into the Thames.

Lauer.

Iuclus.

Darwent.

The Darwent méeteth with our ſayde Thames vpon Kentes ſide, two myles and more beneth Erith. It riſeth at Tanridge, or thereaboutes, as I haue bene informed by Chriſtofer Sartons Card late made of the ſame, and all the ſeuerall ſhyres of England at the infinite charges of ſir Thomas Sackforde knight, and maiſter of the requeſtes, whoſe zeale vnto his countrey herein I cannot but remember, and ſo much the rather, for that he meaneth to imitate Ortelius, and ſomewhat beſide this hath holpen me in the names of the townes, by which theſe ryuers doe run. Would to God hys plats were once finiſhed. But to procéede. The Darwent I ſay, riſing at Tanridge, goeth on by Titſey toward Braſted, and receiuyng on eche ſide of that towne (and ſeueral bankes) a riuer or rill, it goeth on to Nockhold, Shorehā, Kinſford, Horton, Darnehith, Dartford or Derwentford, and there takyng in the Cray on the left hand that commeth from Orpington by Mary Cray, Powles Cray, North Cray, and Crayforde, it is not long ere it fall into the Thames.

Cray.

The next water that falleth into the Thames, is weſt of the Wauay Iſles, a rill of no great fame, neyther long courſe, for riſing about Coringham, it runneth not many miles eaſt & by ſouth, ere it fall into ẏ mouth of this riuer, which I doe now deſcribe.

Medeuius. This riuer is deſcribed already, but here with more diligence, better helpe, and after their opinion that accompt it not to fall into the ſea but into ẏ Thames.

The chiefe hed of this ſtreame, ryſeth in Word forreſt, ſouthweſt of Eaſtgreneſted, & goyng by Hartfield and Whetelin, it receiueth a rill from the ſecond hed, that commeth in from ſouth eaſt, and eyther from the north ſide of Argas hill, or at the leſt wiſe out of the ſouth part of Waterdon forreſt, as Sarton hath ſet it downe. After this confluence it is not long ere it take in another by weſt, from Colwden warde, and the third aboue Penſherſt, growing frō two heds, wherof one is in Wingfield parke, the other weſt of Crawherſt: and ioynyng aboue Edenbridge, it doth fall into the Midway beneth Heuer towne, & Chiddingſtone. From Penhirſt our mayne ſtream haſteth to Ligh, Tunbridge, & Twidley, and beneth the towne, it croſſeth a water from North, whereof one hed is at the More, another at Wrotcham, the thirde at weſt Peckham, and likewyſe an other from ſouth eaſt, that runneth eaſt of Capell. Next after this it receiueth the Theſe, whoſe forked hed is at Tiſehirſt, which deſcendyng downe toward the north, taketh in not far frō Scotny

Garunus.
Cranus.

a broke out of the northſide of Waterdē foreſt, whoſe name I find not except it be the Dour. After this confluence our ryuer goeth to Goldhirſt, and commyng to the Twiſt, it braunccheth in ſuch wyſe that one parte of it runneth into Midwaye, another into the Garan or rather Cranebroke, if my coniecture be any thyng. The Garan as Leland calleth it, or the Crane as I do take it, riſeth nere to Cranebroke, and goyng by Siſſinghirſt, it receyueth ere long one water that commeth by Fretingdon, and another that runneth from great Charde by Smerdon & Hedcorn, croſſing two rils by the way from by north, Hedcorne it ſelfe ſtanding betwene thē both. Finally, the Garan or Crane méetyng with the Midway ſouth of Yallyng, they on ẏ one ſide, and the Theſe on the other, leaue a prety Iſland in the midſt, of foure miles in lēgth and two miles in bredth, wherin is ſome hilly ſoyle, but neyther towne nor village, ſo far as I remember. From Yalling forward, the Midway goeth to weſt Farlegh, eaſt Farlegh, and ere it come at Maidſtone, it entertayneth a rill that riſeth ſhort of Ienham, & goeth by Ledes and Otterinden. Being paſt Maidſtone, the Midway runneth by Allington, Snodland, Hallyng, Cuckſtane, Rocheſter, Chatham, Gillingham, Upchurch, and ſone after braunching, it embraceth ẏ Grene at hys fall, as his two heds do Aſhdon foreſt, that lyeth betwene them both. I would haue ſpoken of one creke that cōmeth in at Cliffe, and another that runneth downe from Halſto by S. Maries, but ſithe I underſtand not with what backewaters they be ſerued, I let them paſſe as not ſkilfull of their courſes. And thus much of the riuers that fal into the Thames, wherin I haue done what I may, but not what I would for myne owne ſatiſfaction, till I came from the hed to Lechelade.

Auon.

Being paſſed the Thames and hauing as I thinke ſufficiently in my former treatiſe deſcribed all ſuch waters as are to be found betwéene the Stoure in Kent, & Auon in Wiltſhire, it reſteth that I procéede with this ryuer, and here ſupply many thinges that I before omitted, although not by mine owne ouerſight ſo much as by the abuſe of ſuch as ſhoulde haue better preſerued the pamphlets to be inſerted. Certes this Auon is a goodly riuer ryſing as I ſayde before néere unto Wolfe hall, although he that will ſéeke more ſcrupulouſlye for the head in déede, muſt looke for the ſame about the borders of the foreſt of Sauernake (that is Soure oke) which lieth as if it wer embraced betwene ẏ firſt armes therof, as I haue bene enformed. Theſe heds alſo do make a confluence by eaſt of Martinſhall hill, and weſt of Wootton. From whence it goeth to Milton, Powſey, Manningfield Abbey, Manningfielde croſſe, & beneth Newington taketh in one rill weſt from Rudborow, and another a little lower that riſeth alſo weſt of Alcanninges, and runneth into the ſame by Patney, Merden, Wilford, Charleſton, and Ruſtiſal. Beyng therfore paſt Newington, it goeth to Uphauen (wherof Leland ſpeaketh) to Cheſilbury, Cumpton, Ablington, little Almſbury, Darntford, Woodford, olde Saliſbury, and ſo to newe Saliſburye, where it receiueth one notable riuer from by northweſt, and another frō north eaſt, which two I wyll firſt deſcribe, leauyng the Auon at Saliſbury. The firſt of theſe is called the Wilugh, and riſeth among the Deuerels, and runnyng thence by hill Deuerell, & Deuerell long bridge, it goeth toward byſhops ſtraw, taking in one rill by weſt, and another from Upton by Werminſter at northweſt. From biſhops ſtraw it goeth to Nortō, Upton, Badhampton, Steplyngford, and Stapleford, where it méeteth with the Winterbury water from by north, deſcending from Maddenton by Winterburne. From Stapleford it haſteth to Wiſhford, Newtō, Chilhampton, Wilton, and thither cōmeth a water unto it from ſouthweſt, which ryſeth of two heds aboue Ouerdonet. After this it goeth by Wordcaſtle, to Tiſbury, and there receiueth a water on eche ſide, whereof one cōmeth from Funthill, the other from two iſſues (of which one riſeth at Auſty, the other at Swalodiſe) and ſo kepyng on ſtill with his courſe, our Wilugh runneth next next of all by Sutton. Thence it goeth to Fouant, Boberſtocke, Southburcombe, Wilton, (where it taketh in the Fomington or Nadder water) Weſtharnam Saliſbury and Eaſtharnam, and this is the race of Wilugh. The other is a naked arme or ſtreame without any braunches. It riſeth aboue Collingburne Kingſton in the hils, and thence goeth to Collingburne, the Tidworthes (wherof ẏ more ſoutherly is in Wiltſhire) Shipton, Cholterton, Newton, Toney, Idmerſon, Porton, the Winterburnes, Lauerſtock, and ſo into Auō eaſt of Sariſbury. And thus is the confluence made of the aforeſayd waters, with thys our ſecond Auon, whereinto another water falleth (called Becquithes broke) a myle beneth Harneham bridge, whoſe head is fiue miles from Sarum, and thrée myles aboue Becquithes bridge, as Lelande doth remember, who noteth the Chalkeburne water to haue hys due recourſe alſo, at thys place into the aforeſayde riuer. Certes it is a pretye broke, and riſeth ſixe miles from Shafteſbury,

Wilugh.

Nadder becke.

Becquith broke.

Chalkeburne.

bury, and in the way toward Saliſbury in a botom on the right hand, whence it commeth by Knightõ and Fennyſtratford, to Honington, that is about 12. myles from the hed, and about two myles and an halfe from Honington beneth Odſtocke, goeth into the Auon, a mile lower then Harnham bridge, except he forget himſelfe. This Harneham whereof I now entreate, was ſometime a prety village before the erection of new Saliſbury, & had a church of S. Martine belongyng vnto it, but now in ſteade of this church there is onely a barne ſtandyng in a very low meade on the northſide of S. Mighels hoſpitall. The cauſe of the relinquiſhyng of it was the moiſtneſſe of the ſoile, very oft ouerflowen. And whereas the kinges high way lay ſometyme thorough Wilton, licence was obteyned of the kyng & biſhop of Saliſbury, to remoue that paſſage vnto new Saliſbury alſo, & vpõ this occaſion was the maine bridge made ouer Auon at Harneham.

Thrée Townes decayed by chaunging of one way.

By this exchaunge of the way alſo olde Saliſbury fel into vtter decay, and Wilton which was before the hed towne of the ſhire, and furniſhed with 12. paroche churches, grew to be but a poore village, and of ſmall reputation. Howbeit, this was not the onelye cauſe of the ruine of olde Saliſbury, ſith I read of two other, whereof the firſt was a ſalue vnto the latter, as I take it. For where as it was giuen out that the towneſmen wanted water in olde Saliſbury, it is flat otherwiſe, ſithe that hill is very plentifully ſerued with ſpringes and wels of very ſwéete water. The truth of yͤ matter therfore is this. In the tyme of ciuill warres, the ſouldiors of the caſtle and Chanons of olde Sarum fell at oddes, in ſo much that after often brawles, they fell at laſt to ſad blowes.

An holy conflict.

It happened therfore in a Rogation wéeke that the clergy goyng in ſolemne proceſſion, a cõtrouerſie fell betwene them about certayne walkes and limites, which the one ſide claymed and the other denied. Such alſo was the whote entertainement on eche part, that at the laſt the Caſtellanes eſpying their tyme, gate betwene the clergy and the towne, and ſo coyled them as they returned homeward, yͭ they feared any more to gange about their bounds for yͤ yere. Hereupon the people miſſing their belly chere (for they were wont to haue bãketting at euery ſtatiõ, a thing practiſed by the religious in old tyme wherewith to linke in the cõmons vnto them) they conceyued forthwith a deadly hatred againſt the Caſtellanes, but not beyng able to cope with them by force of armes, they conſulted with their biſhop, and he with them ſo effectually, that it was not long ere they, I meane the Chanons, began a church vpõ a péece of their owne ground, pretending to ſerue God there in better ſafetie, and with farre more quietneſſe then they could do before.

New Saliſbury begunne.

The people alſo ſeyng the diligence of the chanons, and reputyng their harmes for their owne inconuenience, were as earneſt on the other ſide to be nere vnto theſe prelates, and therfore euery man brought hys houſe vnto that place, & thus became old Sarum in few yeres vtterly deſolate, and new Saliſbury rayſed vp in ſtede therof, to the great decay alſo of Harnham and Wilton, whereof I ſpake of late. Nowe to returne agayne from whence I thus digreſſed. Our Auon therefore departyng from Sariſbury, goeth by Burtforde, Longford, and taking in the waters afore mencioned by the way, it goeth by Stanley, Dunketon, Craiforde, Burgate, Fordyng bridge, Ringwod, Auon, Chriſtes church, and finally into the ſea.

Sturus.

But ere it come all there, and a little beneth Chriſts church, it croſſeth the Stoure, or Sture, a very faire ſtream, whoſe courſe is ſuch as may not be lefte vntouched. It ryſeth of ſixe heds, wherof thre lie on the north ſide of the Parke at Sturton within the pale, the other ryſe without the parke, and of this riuer the towne and Barony of Sturton doth take his name as I geſſe, for except my memory do to much faile me, the lord Sturton giueth the ſixe heds of the ſaid water in hys armes, but to procéede. After theſe braunches are conioyned in one botome, it goeth to long Layme mill, Stiltõ, Milton, and beneth Gillingham receyueth a water that deſcendeth from Mere. Thence yͤ Sture goeth to Bugley, Stoure, Weſtouer bridge, Stourprouoſt, and ere long taketh in the Cale water, from Pen that commeth downe by Wickhampton, to Moreland, and ſo to Stapleford, vij. miles from Wickhampton, paſſing in the ſayd voyage, by Wine Caunton, and the fiue bridges.

Cale.

Lidden.
Deuilis.

After this cõfluence, it runneth to Hinton Maries, & ſone after croſſeth the Lidden and deuiliſh waters all in one chanell, whereof the firſt ryſeth in Blackmore vale, and goeth to biſhops Caũdell: the ſecond in the hils ſouth of Pulham, and ſo runneth to Lidlinch: the third water iſſueth nere Ibberton, and goyng by Fifehed to Lidlington, and there méetyng wyth the Lidden, they receiue the blackewater aboue Baggeburne, and ſo go into the Stour.

Iber.
Black-water.

After this the Stoure runneth on to Stoureton minſter, Fitleford, Hammond (and ſone after takyng in one water that commeth frõ Hargraue by weſt Orcharde, and a ſeconde frõ Funtmill, it goth on to Chele, Ankeford, Handford, Durweſton, Knightõ, Brianſton, Blandford, Carleton, and croſſing ere long a rill that riſeth about Tarrent, and goeth to Launſton, Munketon, Caunſton, Tarrant, it procéedeth forth by Shepwijc, and by and by receyuing an other brooke on the right hand (that riſeth about Strickeland, and goeth by Quarleſton, Whitchurch, Anderſtō & Winterburne) it haſteth forward to Stourminſter, Berforde lake, Alen bridge, Winburne, aliâs Twinburne minſter, whether commeth a water called Alen (from Knoltō, Wikehāpton, Eſtambridge, Hinton, Barnſley) which hath two heds, wherof one ryſeth ſhort of Woodcotes, and eaſt of Farneham, named Terig, the other at Munketon aboue S.Giles Winburne, and goyng thence to ſ. Gyles Aſheley, it taketh in the Horton beck, as the Horton doth the Cranburne. Finally, méetyng with the Terig aboue Knoltō, they run on vnder the name of Alen to the Stour, which goeth to the Canfordes, Preſton, Kingſton, Perley, and Polneſt. But ere it come at Polneſt, it taketh in two brookes in one bottom, wherof one commeth frō Woodland parke by Holt parke and Holt, another from aboue vpper Winburne, by Edmondeſham, Vertwood, and Mannington, & ioyning about S. Leonardes, they go to Hornbridge, and ſo into Stoure. After which confluence, the ſayd Stoure runneth by Iuor bridge, and ſo into Auon, leauyng Chriſtes church aboue the méetyng of the ſayde waters, as I haue ſayd before.

This ſtoure aboundeth with pike, perche, roche, dace, Gudgeon and eles.

Burne.

Hauyng in this manner paſſed Chriſtes church hed, we come to the fall of the Burn, which is a little brooke runnyng frō Stourefield heath, without braunches, and not touched in my former voiage for want of knowledge, and information therof in tyme.

When we had left the Burne behynde vs, we entred Pole hauen, now far better known vnto me then it was at the firſt. Goyng therfore into the ſame, betwene the north and the ſouth pointes, to ſée what waters wer there, we left Brunkeſey Iſland and the caſtle on the left hand within the ſaid pointes, and paſſing about by Pole, and leauing that Creke, becauſe it hath no freſh, we came by Holton and Keſworth, where we beheld two falles, of which one was called the north, the other the ſouth waters. The north ſtreame hight Piddle as I heare. It riſeth about Alton, and goeth from thére to Piddle trentch hed Piddle hinton, Walterſtow, and ere it come at Birſtā, receiueth Deuils brooke that cōmeth thither from Brugham, and Melcombe by Deuliſh town. Thence it goeth to Tow piddle, Aſhe piddle, Turners piddle (takyng in ere it come there, a water that runneth from Helton by Middleton, Milburne and Biere) then to Hide, and ſo into Pole hauen, and of this water Marianus Scotus ſpeaketh, except I be deceyued. The ſouth water is properly called Frome for Frame. It riſeth nere vnto Euerſhot, and going down by Fromequintain, Chelmington, and Catſtocke, it receyueth there a rill from beſide Rowſham, and Wraxehall. After this it goeth on to Chilfrome, and thence to Maden Newtō, where it méeteth with the Owke, that riſeth eyther two miles aboue Hokeparke at Kenforde, or in the great ponde within Hoke parke, and goyng by the Collardes, falleth into the Frome about Maden Newton, and ſo go as one from thēce to Fromevauchirch, Crokewey, Frampton, and Muckilford, and receiueth nere vnto the ſame a rill frō aboue Vpſidlyng by S. Nicholas Sidlyng, and Grimſton. From hence it goeth on by Stratton & Bradford Peuerell, and beneath this Bradford, it croſſeth the Silley, aliâs Mintern and Cherne brookes both in one chanell: whereof the firſt riſeth in vpper Cherne pariſh, the other at Minterne, and méeting aboue middle Cherne, they go by nether Cherne, Forſton, Godmanſton, and aboue Charneminſter into Frome. In yͤ meane time alſo our Frome brauncheth and leaueth an Iſlande aboue Charneminſter, and ioyning agayne néere Dorcheſter, it goeth by Dorcheſter, & Forthington, but ere it come at Beckington, it méeteth with an other Becke that runneth thereinto from Winterburne, Stapleton, Martinſtow, Heringſtow, Caine and Stafford, and from thence goeth without any further increaſe as yet to Beckington, Kinghton, Tinkleton, Morton, Wooll, Bindon, Stoke, and beneath Stoke, receiueth yͤ iſſue of the Luckeforde lake, from whence alſo it paſſeth by Eaſtholme, Warham, and ſo into the Bay. From this fall, we went about the arme point by Slepe, where we ſaw a little creke, then by Owre, where we behelde an other, and then commyng againe toward the entraunce by S. Helens, and Furley caſtell, we went abroade into the maine, and founde our ſelues at liberty.

Piddle.

Deuils.

Frome.

Ocus.

Silley.

Mintern.
Cherne.

Luckford.

When we were paſt Pole hauen, we left the handfaſt point, the Peuerell point, S. Adelmes chappell, and came at laſt to Lughport hauen, wherby and alſo the Luckeforde lake, all this portion of ground laſt remembred, is left in maner of a byland or peninſula, and called the Iſle of Burbecke, wherin is good ſtore of alam. In lyke ſort goyng ſtill weſterly, we came to Sutton pointes, where is a créeke. Then vnto Way or Wilemouth, by kinges Welcombe, whereinto when we were entred, we ſaw thrée falles, whereof the firſt and greateſt commeth from Vpwey by Bradwey, and Radypoll, receiuyng afterward the ſecond that ran from eaſt Chekerell, and likewiſe the third that maketh the grounde betwene Weymouth and Smalmouth paſſage almoſt an Iſlande. Goyng by Portland and the point therof, called ẏ Raſe, we ſayled along by the Shingle, till we came by S. Katherines chappel, where we ſaw the fal of a water that came downe from Blackden Beaconward, by Porteſham and Abboteſbury. Thence we went to another that fell into the ſea, néere Byrton, and deſcended from Litton by Chilcombe, then vnto the Bride or Brute porte, a prety hauen and the ryuer it ſelfe ſerued with ſondry waters. It riſeth as I ſayd before, halfe a myle or more aboue Bemiſter, and ſo goeth from Bemiſter to Netherbury by Parneham, then to Melplaſhe, and to Briteport, where it taketh in two waters from by eaſt in one chanel, of which one ryſeth eaſt of Nettlecourt, and goeth by Poreſtoke, and Milton, the other at Aſkerwell, & runneth by Longlether. From hence alſo our Bride goyng toward the ſea, taketh the Simen on the weſt that commeth by Simenſburge into the ſame, the whole ſtreame ſoone after fallyng into the ſea, and leauyng a prety hauenet.

Bride.

Nature hath ſet the mouth of this ryuer in maner betwixt two hils, ſo that a little coſt ſhould make a hauen there.

Simen.

Chare.

The next porte is the Chare, ſerued wyth two rilles in one confluence, beneath Charemouth. The chiefe hed of this riuer is as Leland ſayth in Marſhewoode parke, and commeth downe by Whitchurch: the other runneth by weſt of Wootton, and méetyng beneth Charemouth towne, as I ſaid, doth fall into the ſea.

Buddle.

Then came we to the Cobbe, and beheld the Lime water, which the towneſmen call the Buddle, and is alredy deſcribed vnder ẏ ſame denomination. Certes, there is no hauē here that I coulde ſée, but a quarter of a mile by weſt ſouthweſt of ẏ towne, is a great and coſtly Iutty in the ſea for ſuccour of ſhippes. The towne is diſtaunt from Colyton, about 5. miles, and here we ended our voyage from the Auon, which conteyneth the whole coſt of Dorceſter, or Dorcetſhire, ſo that next we muſt enter into Somerſet Countie, and ſée what waters are there.

Are.

The firſt water that we méete withall in Somerſetſhire is ẏ Are, which riſeth as you haue heard, not far from Bemiſter, and to ſay it more preciſely nere vnto Cheddington in Dorſetſhire, from whence it runneth to Moſterne, Feborow, Claxton, Weyforde bridge, Winſham fourde, and receiuing one rill from the eaſt by Hawkechurch, and ſoone after another comming from northweſt by Churchſtoke, from Wainbroke, it goeth to Areminſter, beneath which it croſſeth the Yare, that commeth from about Buckland, by Whitſtaunton, Yarecomb, Long bridge, Stockeland, Kilmington bridge (where it receiueth a brooke from by ſouth, that runneth by Dalwod) and ſo into the Are. From hence our Are goth to Drake, Muſbury, Cullyford, but ere it come altogither at Culliford, it meteth wͭ a water ẏ riſeth aboue Cotlei, & goeth frō thēce by Widworthy, Cullitō, & there receiuing a rill alſo procéedeth on after ẏ cōfluence aboue Culliford bridge into the Are, & frō thence hold on together into ẏ maine ſea.

Yare alias Artey.

By weſt of Bereworth point lieth a creke ſerued ſo farre as I remember, with a freſhe water that commeth from the hils ſouth of Soutley to Branſcombe.

Sid.

Sidmouth hauen is the next, and thither cōmeth a freſhwater by S. Maries from the ſayd hils that goeth from S. Maries aforeſaid, to Sidbury, and betwene Saltcombe & Sidmouth into the maine ſea.

Autri alias Otterey.

Tale.

By weſt of Auterton point alſo lyeth another hauen, and thither commeth a prety riueret, whoſe hed is in the Hackpendon hils, and commeth downe firſt by Vpauter, then by a parke ſide to mohuns Auter, Munketō, Honnyton, Buckewell, and north of Autry receiueth a rill called Tale, that riſeth north weſt of Brodembury in a woode, and from whence it runneth by Pehembury, Winnitō, and making a confluence with the other, they go as one betwene Cadde and Autry, to Herford, Luton, Collaton, Auterton, Budeley and ſo into the ſea. This riuer is afore deſcribed vnder the name of Otterey, as Leland left it vnto me: now will I caſt about the Start point that I may come to Exe.

Exe.

Barley.

Done alias Doue ſtroke.

The Exe riſeth in Exemore in Somerſet ſhire (as I ſaid before out of Leland) and goeth from thence to Exeford, Winſforde, and Exton where it receiueth a water comming from Cutcombe by north. After this confluence it goeth on toward the ſouth, til it méete with a prety brooke, riſing northeaſt of Whettel (goyng by Brunton regis) increaſed at the leſt with thrée rilles which come all from by north. These beyng once met, this water rūneth on by weſt of the beacon that beareth ẏ name of Haddon, and ſoone after taketh in the Barle that receiueth in like ſort ẏ Done at Hawkebridge, and from hence goeth by Dauerton, and Combe, and then doth méete with the Exe, almoſt in the very confines betwene Dorſet and Somerſet ſhires. Beyng paſt this coniunction our Exe, paſſeth betwene Bruſhford and Murbath, and then to

Exe

Woodburn.

Lomund or Simming.

Columb.

Cride.
Forten.

Cliuus.

Ken.

Exe bridge, where it taketh in as I heare a water by Weaſt, from Eaſt Anſtye, and after thys likewyſe another on eche ſide, whereof one commeth from Dixforde and Baunton, the other called Woodburne, ſomewhat by eaſt of Okeforde. From theſe meetinges it goeth to Caue & thorough ẏ foreſt and woddes to Hatherland and Waſhfields vntill it come to Tiuerton, and here it receiueth the Lomund water, that ryſeth aboue Athebrittle, and commeth downe by Hockworthy vpper Loman, and ſo to Tiuerton that ſtandeth almoſt euen in the very cōfluēce. Some cal this Lomūd the Simming brooke or Simminges bathe. After this our Exe, goeth to Bickley, Theuerten (takyng in a rill by weſt) nether Exe, Bramford, beneath which it ioyneth with the Columbe, that riſeth of one heade, northeaſt of Clary Haydon, and of another ſouth of Shildō, and meeting beneath Columbe ſtocke, goeth by Columbe and Bradſeld, and there croſſing a rill that commeth by Aſhforde, it runneth ſouth to Woode, More haies, Columbton, Brandnicke, Beare, Columbe Iohn, Horham, and ioyning as I ſayde wyth the Exe at Braford it paſſeth vnder but one bridge, ere it meete wyth another water by weſt, growyng of the Forten and Cryde waters, except it bee ſo that I doe iudge amiſſe. The Cride riſeth aboue Wolleſworthy, and neere vnto Vpton, after it is paſt Dewriſh, croſſeth a rill from beteewne Puggill and Stockley by Stocke engliſh, &c. From hence it goeth to Fulford where it meeteth with the Forten, whereof one braunche commeth by Caldbrook, the other from S. Mary Tedburne, and ioyning aboue Crediton, the chanell goeth on to the Cride (which ere long alſo receiueth another from by north, cōming by Stockley & Combe) then betwene Haine and Newton Sires to Pines and ſo into the Exe which ſtayeth not vntill it come to Exceſter. From Exceſter it runneth to Were there takyng in a rill from by weſt, and another lower by Exminſter, next of all vnto Toppeſham, beneath which towne the Cliue entereth therinto, which riſing about Plymtree goeth by Clift Haydon, Clift Laurence, Brode Clift, Honiton, Soutō, biſhops Clift, S. Mary Clyft, Clyſt S. George, & then into the Exe, that runneth forward by Notwel Court, Limſtō and Ponderham caſtle. Here as I here, it taketh in the Ken (or Kenton brooke, as Leland calleth it) commyng from Holcombe Parke, by Dunſdike, Shillingford, Kenford, Ken, Kenton, and ſo into Exe hauen, at whoſe mouth lye certaine rockes, which they call the chekeſtones, except I be deceiued.

The next fal, whereof Leland ſayth nothing at all, commeth by Aſhecombe and Duliſh, and hath hys hed in the hils therby.

Teigne.

Crokerne.

Bouy.

Eidis.

Leman.

Aller.

The Teigne mouth is the next fall that we came vnto, and it is a goodly port. The hed of this water is alredy touched in my firſt boke to be in Dartmore among the Gidley hilles. From whence it goeth to Gydley towne, Teignton drue, where it receyueth the Crokerne commyng from by north, and likewiſe another weſt of Fulford parke. Thē it goeth to Dufford, Bridſforde, Kirſlow, Chidley, Knighton, and beneath the bridge there receyueth the Bouy whoſe courſe is to north Bouy, Lilley, and Bouytracy. Thence it runneth to kinges Teingneton, taking in Eidis a brooke beneath Preſton that cōmeth from Edeford by the way, and whē it is paſt this confluence, at Kings Teigneton, it croſſeth the Leman which commeth from Saddleton rocke by Beckington, and Newton Buſhels, and ſone after the Aller that riſeth betwene Danbury and Warog well, afterward fallyng into the ſea by biſhops Teignton, ſouth of Teignemouth towne.

From hence we goe ſtill ſouthwardes (as we haue done long alredy by ſouthweſt) by Worthſtone, and finding three or foure ſmal crekes betwene Worthſtone rocke and the Biry point, we go furder to Mewſtone rock, and ſo into Dartmouth hauen, whereinto ſundry waters haue their direct courſes.

Aſheburn

Buckfaſtlich.

Hartburn.

The riuer of Darnt commeth out of Dartmore, xv. myles aboue Totneſſe (as I ſaid before) from whence it goeth to Bucklande Hole, and ſoone after taking in the Aſheburn water on the one ſide that runneth frō Saddleton rocke by north, and the Buckfaſtlich that commeth from north weſt, it runneth to Staunton, Darington, Hemſton, and there alſo croſſing a rill on eche ſide, paſſeth forth to Totneſſe, Bowden, and aboue Gabriell Stoke, meeteth with the Hartburne that rūneth vnder Roſt bridge, two miles aboue Totneſſe, or as an other ſayeth, by Ratter, Harberton, Paineſford, and Aſprempton into Darnt, which ere long alſo commeth to Cornworthy, Greneway, Ditſham, Darntmouth, betwene the Caſtels, and ſo into the ſea.

From hence we went by Stokeflēming to another water, which commeth from blacke Auton, then to the ſecond that falleth in eaſt of Slapton, and ſo coaſting out of this bay by the Start point, we ſaile almoſt directly weſt, till we come to Saltcombe hauē. Certes this port hath very little freſh water cōmyng vnto it, yet the hed of ſuch as it is, ryſeth

ſeth nere Buckland, and goeth to Dodbrooke, which ſtandeth betwene two créekes. Thece it hieth to Charelton, where it taketh in a ril whoſe hed commeth from ſouth and north of Shereford. Finally, it hath another créeke that runneth vp by Ilton, and the laſt of all that falleth in north of Portlemouth, whoſe hed is ſo nere the bay laſt afore remembred, that it maketh it a ſory peninſula, as I haue heard it ſayd.

wne.

Then come we to the Awne, whoſe hed is in the hils farre aboue Brent towne, from whence it goeth to Dixford wood, Loddewel, Hache, Aunton, Thorleſton, and ſo into the ſea ouer againſt a rocke called S. Mighels borow.

rme.

Arme riſeth aboue Harford, thence to Stoford, Iuy bridge, Armington bridge, Fléete, Orchardton and Ownewell.

alme.

Palme goeth by Cornewood, Slade, Stratley, Palmeton, Collaton, and Newton ferry.

lim.

Being paſt theſe Portlets, then next of all we come to Plimmouth hauen, a very buſie péece to deſcribe, becauſe of the numbers of waters that reſort vnto it, & ſmall helpe that I haue for the knowledge of their courſes, yet wil I doe what I may in this, as in the reſt, and ſo much I hope by Gods grace to performe, as ſhall ſuffice my purpoſe in this behalfe.

lim,

toure
liâs Cat=
vater.

Taue or
Tauy.

The Plimme or Plym, is the very ſame water that gyueth name vnto Plimpton towne. It ryſeth in the hilles weſt of Cornewood, and commeth downe a ſhort courſe of thrée miles to Newenham after it bée iſſued out of the ground. From Newenham alſo it runneth to Plimpton, and ſone after into the Stour, which Stour aryſeth northweſt of Shepiſtour, and goeth from thence to Memchurch, Hele, Shane Bickley, & ſo to Eforde where taking in the Plym, it runneth downe as one vnder the name of Plymme, vntill it go paſt Plymmouth and fall into the hauen South eſt of Plymmouth aforeſayde. Plymmouth it ſelf ſtandeth betwéene two créekes, not ſerued wyth anye backewater, therefore paſſing ouer theſe two, wée enter into the Thamar that diſchargeth it ſelfe into the aforeſaid hauē, going therfore vp that ſtreame which for the moſt part parteth Deuonſhire from Cornewall, the firſt riueret that I met withall on the eſt ſide is called Tauy, the hed wherof is amõg the mountaines foure miles aboue Péters Tauy, beneath which it méeteth with another water from by weſt, ſo that theſe two waters include Marye Tauye, betwéene them though nothing néere the confluence. From hence the Taue or Tauy runneth to Tauiſtocke, aboue which it taketh in a rill from by weſt, and another aboue north Buckland whoſe head is in Dartmore, and commeth thereunto by Sandforde and Harrow bridge. From hence it goeth into Thamer, by north Buckland, Monks Buckland, Beare, and Tamerton Folly. Hauing thus diſpatched the Tauy. The next that falleth in on the eſt ſide vpwardes is the Lidde, which ryſing in the hilles aboue Lidforde, runneth downe by Curryton and Siddenham, and ſo to Lidſtone, aboue which it receyueth the Truſhell brooke, which riſing north eaſt of Brediſton, goeth by Truſholton to Ibaine, where it receyueth a rill that commeth by Bradwood from Germanſwyc, and after the confluence runneth to Liſton, and frõ thence into the Thamar. The next aboue this is the Corewater, this riſeth ſomewhere about Elwell or Helwell, and goyng by Wirginſton, runneth on by S. Giles without any increaſe vntill it come to Thamar. Next of all it taketh in two brookes not much diſtant in ſunder, whereof the one commeth in by Glamtõ, the other from Holſworthy, and both eaſt of Tamerton, which ſtandeth on the further banke, and other ſide of the Thamar, & weſt northweſt of Tedcote, except the quarter deceiue me.

Lidde.

Truſhell.

Core.

Thamar.

Certes, the Thamar it ſelfe riſeth in Somerſetſhire, about thrée miles northeaſt of Hartlande, and in maner ſo croſſeth ouer the whole weſt country betwene ſea and ſea, that it leaueth Cornewall, a bylande or peninſula. Being therfore deſcended from the hed, by a tract of vj. myles, it commeth to Denborow, Pancraſe well, Bridge Reuel, Tamerton, Tetcote, Luffencote, Boyton, & Wirrington, where it méeteth wyth a water on the weſt ſide called Artey, that riſeth ſhort of Iacobſtow. Two miles in like ſort from this confluence, we met with the Kenſey, whoſe hed is ſhort of Warpeſton, by ſouth eaſt, frõ whence it goeth by Treneglos, Tremone, Treſmure, Trewen, Launſton, and ſo into the Thamar that runneth frõ hence by Lowwhitton vnto Bradſton, and goyng on toward Dunterton, taketh in a rill from ſouth Pitherwyc, and by Leſant. Beneath Dunterton alſo it croſſeth the Enian. This ryuer riſeth at Dauidſton, and directeth his race by S. Clethir, Lancaſt, and Trelaſk firſt, and then vnder ſundry bridges, vntill it méete wᵗ the Thamar. From hence alſo the Thamar goeth by Siddenham to Calſtocke bridge, Calſtocke towne, Cliſton, Cargrene (thereaboutes takyng in a créeke aboue Landilip) and runnyng on from thence, haſteth toward Saltaſhe, where it receiueth the Liuer water. The head of Liuer is about Bromwelly hill,

Artey.

Kenſey.

Enian.

Liuer.

hill, from whence it goeth on to North hill, Lekenhorne, South hill, and taking in a rill by eaſt (from aboue Bellington) it runneth on to Newton, Pillaton, Wottō, Bloſſiemmyng, S. Erne, and beneth this village croſſeth a rillet that runneth thither from Bicton by Quithiocke, S. Germaines and Sheuiocke. But to procéede after the confluence, it goeth betwéene Erly & Fro Martine caſtle, and ſone after takyng in a ril from by north, that paſſeth weſt of ſ. Steuens, it is not long ere it fall into the Thamar, which after this (receiuyng the Milbroke créeke) goeth on by Edgecoumb, and betwene ſ. Mighels Iſle and Ridden pointe into the maine ſea. And thus haue I finiſhed the deſcriptiō of Plimmouth water, and all ſuch falles as are betwéene Mewſton rocke on the eaſt ſide, & the Rāme hed on the other.

Sutton.

After this we procéeded on with our iourney toward the weſt, and paſſing by Longſtone, we came ſone after to Sothan baie, where we croſſed the Seton water, whoſe hed is about Liſcard, and his courſe by Mynheniet, Chafrench, Tregowike, Sutton, and ſo into the ſea.

Low.

Then came we to Lowe, and goyng in betwéene it and Mount Iſle, we finde that it had a braunched courſe, and thereto the confluence aboue Lowe. The chiefe heade ryſeth in yͤ hils, as it were two miles aboue Gaine, and goyng by that towne, it ceaſeth not to continue his courſe, eaſt of Duloe, til it come a little aboue Low, where it croſſeth and ioyneth with the Brodoke water that runneth frō Brodokes by Trewargo, & ſo into yͤ ſea. Nexte vnto theſe are two other rils before we come at Faw, or Fawy, whereof in my former treatiſe, I made ſome ſmall intreaty.

Fawy.

Glyn.

Lerinus.

Foy or Fawy riuer riſeth in Fawy more, on ſide of an hill, from whence it runneth by certayne bridges, till it méete with the Glin water weſt of Glyn towne, which riſing aboue Temple, and meting with a rill that cōmeth in from S. Neotes, doth fall into Fawy a mile and more aboue Reſprin from by eaſt. After this confluēce then, it goeth to Reſprin bridge, Leſtermē caſtle, Loſtwithiel bridge, Pill, ſ. Kingtons, ſ. Winnow, and Golant, and here alſo receiueth the Lerine water out of a parke, that taketh his way into the main ſtreame by Byconke, Tethe, and the fining houſe. Beyng thus vnited, it procéedeth vnto Fawy towne, taking in a rill or créeke from aboue it on the one ſide, and another beneath it ſouth of Halling on the other, of which two this latter is the longeſt of courſe, ſith it runneth thrée good myles before it come at the Foy, and thus much had I to adde vnto the deſcription of the ſayd Fawy conteined in my former treatiſe. I might haue touched the créeke that lyeth betwéene Bnaueland & blackbottle pointes ere I came at Foye or Fawy, but ſith it is ſerued only with the ſalt, I make ſmall account to ſpeake of it. But to procéede, entering finally into the baie commonly called Trewardith baie, which lyeth into the land betwene the Canuaſſe and the blacke head pointe, we ſawe the fall of two ſmall brokes, not one very far diſtant from another. The firſt of them entring weſt of Trewardith, the other eaſt of ſ. Blayes and both directly agaynſt Curwarder rocke, except I miſtake my compaſſe. Neyther of thē are of any great courſe, and the longeſt not full thrée miles and an halfe, wherefore ſith they are neither braunched nor of any great quantity, what ſhould I make long harueſt of a little corne, and ſpende more tyme then may well be ſpared about them.

Auſtell.

Chare.

When we wer paſt the blackhed, we came to Auſtell broke, which is increaſed with a water that commeth from aboue Mewan, & within a myle after the confluence they fall into the ſea at Pentoren, from whence we went by the black rocke, and about the Dudman pointe, till we came to Chare hales, where falleth in a pretty water, whoſe hed is two miles aboue ſ. Tues. Thēce we went by here & there a méere ſalt créeke, til we paſſed yͤ gray rocke, in Gwindrauth baie, & ſ. Anthonies point, where Leland maketh his accōpt to enter into Falamouth hauē, to the former deſcription wherof, I wil adde another here, wherby the firſt ſhal be more plain and eaſie.

Fala.

The Fala riſeth a little by north of Peneuenton towne, and goyng weſtwarde til it come downwardes toward ſ. Dioniſe, it goeth frō thence to Melader, ſ. Steuens Grampont, Goldon, Crede, Cornely, Tregue, Moran, Tregūnan, it falleth into the hauen with a good indifferent force, and this is the courſe of Fala. But leſt I ſhould ſeme to omit thoſe créekes that are betwene this and S. Antonies point, I will go a little backe again, and fetch in ſo many of them as come now to my remēbraunce. Entring therefore into yͤ port, we haue a créeke that runneth vp by ſ. Antonies toward ſ. Gereus, then another that goeth into the lande by eaſt of ſ. Maries caſtle, with a forked hed paſſing in the meane time, by a great rocke, that lieth in the very midſt of the hauen, in maner of the thirde poynts of a Triangle, betwéene S. Maryes caſtle and pendinant. Thence we caſt about by the ſayde caſtle, and came by another créeke, that falleth in by eaſt, then the ſecond aboue ſ. Iuſtus, the third at Ardenora, the fourth at Rilan, Kſtan, and hauing as it wer viſited all theſe in order, we come backe againe about by Tregonnian, and then goyng vpward betwene it and Caluerne, til we come to Fentangolan, we founde the confluence of two great créekes beneath S. Clementes, wherof one hath a freſh water comming down by ſ. Merther, ẏ other another frõ Truro, increſed wt ſundry brãches, though not one of thẽ of any greatneſſe, and therfore vnworthy to be handled. Polewhole ſtandeth vpon the hed almoſt of the moſt eaſterly of them. S. Kenwen and Truro ſtand aboue the confluence of other two. The fourth falleth in by weſt, frõ certaine hils: as for the fift and ſixt, as they be little créekes and no freſh, ſo haue I leſſe language and talke to ſpend about them. Of ſ. Caie, and ſ. Frokes créekes, I ſpake inough before, the towne of ſ. Feoke ſtandyng betwen thẽ both. That alſo called after ẏ ſaint, riſing aboue Perãnarwothill, and comming thence by Kyrklo, falleth into Falamouth, northeaſt of Milor, which ſtandeth vpon the point betwene it & Milor créeke. Milor créek (for Lelãd did kepe no order in their deſcription) is next Reſtronguet. Some cal it Milor poole, from whence we went by Trefuſis point, and there found an other great fall frõ Perin, which beyng braunched in the toppe hath Perin towne almoſt in the very confluence. Thus leauyng Fala hauen, as more troubleſome for me to deſcribe, then profitable for ſeafaring men without good aduiſe to enter into, we left the rocke on our left hand, and came ſtreight ſouthweſt to Helforde hauen, whoſe water commeth downe from Wréeke (where is a confluence of two ſmall rilles whereof that ryll conſiſteth) by Mawgan and Trelawarren, and then it receyueth a rill on the north ripe from Conſtantine, after whoſe confluence, it goeth a maine vntill it come to the Oceane. Beneath thys alſo is another rill commyng from ſ. Martins, by whoſe courſe, and another duct againſt it on the weſt ſide that falleth into ẏ ſea by Winniton, all Menage is left almoſt in maner of an Iſland. From hence we go ſouth to ẏ Manacle point, then ſouthweſt to Lyſard, and ſo north and by weſt to Predannacke pointes, beyonde which we méete with the fall of the ſaid water, that riſeth in the edge of Menage and goeth into ẏ ſea by Melian on the north, and Winniton on the ſouth. By north alſo of Winniton, is the Cury water that ryſeth ſhort of Magan, and toucheth with the Ocean ſouth of Pengwenian point.

From hence we ſayled to the Lowmouth which ſome call Lopole, becauſe it is narower at the fall into the ſea, then it is betwéene the ſea and Halſton. It riſeth aboue ſ. Sethians, and commyng downe by Wendron, it haſteth to Halſton or Helſton, from whence onely it is called Low, but betwene Helſton & the hed, men call it commonly Cohor. Here Leland omittyng a great number of waters betwene this and the landes end, and ſo forth about the point vnto the Haile, as you may ſée in my former treatiſe, I thinke it good ſo far as to me is poſſible, to ſupply his want in this place, although I confeſſe that I cannot do it ſo exactly as I would. Beyng therefore paſſed the Low, I came to another water that deſcẽdeth without any increaſe from Crowan by Symney, whoſe whole courſe is not aboue 3. myles in all. Then goyng by the Cuddan point, we entred the mountes Bay, and goyng ſtreight north (leauing ſaint Mighels mount a little vpon the left hand) we came to the Lyd, which riſing ſhort of Tewidnacke, deſcendeth by Ludgeuan, and ſo into the ſea. Certes the courſe of theſe waters can not be long, ſith in this very place, the bredth of lãd is not aboue foure miles, and not more then fiue at the very landes ende. There is alſo a rill eaſt of Korugy, and Guluall, and another weſt of the ſame hard at hand, and likewiſe the third eaſt of Penſantz: and not a ful quarter of a myle from the ſecond, ſouthweſt of Penſantz, alſo lieth the fourth that cõmeth from Sancrete warde by Newlyn, from whence goyng ſouthweſt out of the Baye by Mouſhole Iſle, that lyeth ſouth of Mouſhole towne, we come to a water that entreth into the Ocean betwixt Remels and Lamorley point. Truly the one hed therof commeth frõ by weſt of Sancrete, the other by from weſt of an hill that ſtandeth betwene them both, and ioynyng aboue Remels, it is not long ere they ſalute their grandame. After this and before we come at Roſecaſtle, there are two other créekes, wherof one is called Boſkenny that riſeth ſouth of ſ. Buriens, and an other ſomewhat longer then the firſt that iſſueth by weſt of the aforeſayd towne, wherein is to be noted, that our cardes made heretofore doe appoint ſ. Buriens to be at the very landes ende of Cornewall, but experience now teacheth vs that it commeth not néere the lands end by thrée miles. This latter rill alſo is the laſt that I do read of on the ſouth ſide, and likewyſe on the weſt, and north tyll we haue ſayled to ſ. Ies baye, which is full x. myles from the landes ende, or Breſan Iſle eaſtward, and rather more if you reckon to the fall of the Haile, which lieth in the very midſt and higheſt part of the bay of the ſame. The ſoile alſo is very hilly there, as for ſ. Ies towne, it is almoſt (as I ſayd) a byland, and yet

.Caie.
.Feoks.
Milor.
Hayle.
Cury.
Lo.

Cohor.
Symney.
Breſan Iſle.

yet is it well watred with ſundry rilles that come from thoſe hils vnto the ſame.

Haile. **Clowart.**

The Haile riſeth in ſuch maner, and from ſo many heds, as I haue before deſcribed out of Leland. Howbeit, I will adde ſomewhat more vnto it for the benefite of my readers. Certes, the chiefe hed of Haile riſeth by weſt of Godalſin hils, and goyng downe toward ſ. Erthes, it receyueth the ſecond and beſt of the other thrée rilles from Godalſin towne: Finally, commyng to ſ. Erthes, and ſo vnto the maine bay, it taketh in the Clowart water from Guymer, ſouth of Phelacke which hath two heds, the ſayd village ſtandyng directly betwixt them both.

Caine.

The Caine ryſeth ſoutheaſt of Caineburn towne, a myle and more, from whence it goeth without encreaſe by weſt of Gwethian, and ſo into the ſea weſt of Mara Darway.

Loggem. **S. Pirās créeke.** **Crantock.** **Padſtowe.**

From hence we coaſted about the point, and left the bay till we came to a water that ryſeth of two heds from thoſe hils that lye by ſouth of the ſame: one of them alſo runneth by ſ. Tini, another by Redrenth, and méetyng within a myle they fall into the Oceane, beneath Luggam or Tuggan. A myle and a halfe from this fall we come vnto an other ſmall rill, and likewyſe two other créekes betwixt which the towne of ſ. Agnes ſtādeth, and likewyſe the fourth halfe a mile beyond the moſt eaſterly of theſe, whoſe head is almoſt thrée myles within the land, in a town called ſ. Alyn. There going by the Manrock, and weſt of ſ. Piran in the Sande, we finde a courſe of thrée myles and more from the hed, and hauyng a forcked braunch, the partes do méete at weſt aboue ſ. Kybbard, and ſo go into the ſea. I take this to be ſ. Piranes créeke, for the next is Carantocke pill or créeke, whoſe hed is at Guſwarth, from whence it goeth to Trerice, and ſoone after takyng in a rill, from by weſt it runneth into the ſea eaſt of ſ. Carantokes. Beyonde this is an other créeke that ryſeth aboue little ſ. Colan, and goeth by leſſe ſ. Columb, and eaſt & by north hereof, commeth down one more, whoſe hed is almoſt ſouth of the nine ſtones, and goyng from thence to great ſ. Columbes, it paſſeth by Lanherne, and ſo into the ſea. S. Merons créeke is but a little one, ryſing weſt of Padſtow, and fallyng in almoſt ouer againſt the Gull rocke. Then turning betwene the point and the blacke rock, we entred into Padſtow hauen, whoſe waters remayne next of all to be deſcribed.

Alen. **Enyam.** **Carneſy** **Layne.** **Pethrik.** **Minner.** **Dunmer**

The Alane ryſeth flat eaſt from the hauen mouth of Padſtow, well néere eight or nyne myles, about Dauidſton, néere vnto which the Enyam alſo iſſueth, that runneth into the Thamar. Goyng therfore from hence, it paſſeth to Camelford, ſ. Aduen, ſ. Bernarde, (both Corniſh ſaintes) and ſoone after receyueth a rill at northeaſt deſcending frō Rowters hil. Thence it goeth to Bliſeland, & Helham, the firſt bridge of name that ſtandeth vpon Alyn. Ere long alſo it taketh in one rill by ſouth from Bodman, another from ſ. Laurence, the third by weſt of this, and the fourth that commeth by Wethiell, no one of them excedyng the courſe of thrée miles, and all by ſouth. From hence it goeth towarde Igleſale warde, and there receyueth a water on the eaſt ſide, which cōmeth about two miles from aboue ſ. Teath, by Michelſton, ſ. Tuchoe, ſ. Maben (mo Corniſh patrones) and finally ſouth of Igleſall, méeteth with the Alen that goeth from thence by ſ. Breaca to Woodbridge. Here about I finde that into our Aleyn or Alen, there ſhould fall two riuerets, wherof the one is called Carnſey, the other Layne, and commyng in the end to the full notice of the matter, I ſée them to iſſue on ſeuerall ſides beneth Woodbridge almoſt directly the one againſt ỹ other. That which deſcendeth from northweſt, and riſeth about ſ. Kew, is named Carneſey as I heare, the other that commeth in on the ſouthweſt banke hight Laine, and noted by Leland to riſe two miles aboue ſ. Eſſe, but how ſo euer this matter ſtandeth, there are two other créekes on eche ſide alſo beneth theſe as Pethrike créek, and Minner créeke, ſo called of two Corniſh ſaintes (for that ſoyle bred many) wherewith I finiſh the deſcription of Alen, or as ſome call it Dunmere, and other Padſtow water.

Tredwy

Beyng paſt Padſtow hauen, and after we had gone thrée myles, we came to Portgwin a poore fiſher towne, where I finde a broke and a péere. Then I came to Portiſſec two myles further, and founde there a broke a péere, and ſome ſuccour for fiſher botes. Next of all vnto a broke that ran from ſouth eaſt, directly north into the Sauern ſea, and within halfe a myle of the ſame lay a great black rocke lyke an Iſlande. From this water to Treuenni is about a myle, where the paroch church is dedicated to ſ. Symphorian, and in which paroch alſo Tintagel caſtle ſtandeth, which is a thyng inexpugnable for the ſituation, and would be made with little reparations one of the ſtrongeſt things in England. For it ſtandeth on a great high terrible crag enuironned with the ſea. There is a chappell yet ſtandyng in the dungeon thereof, dedicated to ſ. Ulet. Tintagell towne and Treuenni are not a myle in ſunder. The next créeke is called Boſynny, which is a myle frō Tintagell, and to the ſame Tredwy water reſorteth,

teth, and ſo they goe to the ſea betwixt two hils, whereof that on the one ſide lyeth out like an arme or cape, and maketh the faſhion of an hauenet or peere, whether ſhiplets ſome tyme doe reſort for ſuccour. A Frier of late dayes toke vpõ him to make an hauen at this place, but in vayne. There lie alſo two black rocks as Ilets, at the weſt northweſt point, or ſide of this creeke, the one (ſauyng that a little gut doth part them) ioyning with the other, and in theſe by all likelyhode is great ſtore of gulles. I can not tell whether this be the water that runneth by Boſcaſtle or not, but if it be not, then haue I this deſcription of the latter.

oſcaſtle.

Boſcaſtle creeke that lyeth eaſt of Tintagel, is but a ſmall thyng running at the moſt not aboue two myles into the land, yet it paſſeth by foure townes, whereof the firſt is called Leſneth, the ſeconde S. Iuliet, the third, Minſter, and the fourth Boſcaſtle or Buchcaſtle as ſome men doe pronounce it.

Bede.

Launcels.

In Bede bay, I find the Bedewater, whoſe chiefe hed is not farre from Norton. Thence runnyng to Stratton, it receiueth the Launcels rill before it come at Norham. And here alſo it croſſeth another whoſe hed is eaſt of S. Mary wyke, from whence it runneth by Wolſton and Whaleſborow, and thence into the ſea betwene Efford and Plough hyll. And thus much of yͤ waters that lie betwene the poynt of Cornwall, and the Hartland hed vpon the northſide of Cornwall. Now let vs do the lyke with thoſe that remayne of Deuonſhire, wherof the ſaid Hartland is the very firſt point in this our poeticall voiage. Hauing therfore brought Hartland point on our backs, we come next of all to Barſtable bar, and ſo into the Hauen, wherinto two principall ſtreames do perpetually vnburden their chanels.

Ocus.

Tanridge.

Buckland.

Langtree.

Were or Ware.

The firſt and more weſterly of theſe is called Ocus, whoſe hed is not farre weſt of the hed of Darnt, & both in Darntmore. Riſing therefore in the aforeſayd place, it runneth northweſt to Snorton, and ſo to Okehampton, beneath which towne it meeteth with another water commyng from ſoutheaſt, and riſeth not much weſt from the hed of Taw. From hence it goeth to Stowe Erborne, Munke Okington, and Iddeſley, where it taketh in the Tanrige a very prety ſtreamelet, whoſe iſſue is not full a mile by eaſt from the hed of Thamar. Commyng therfore by weſt and eaſt Putforde, Bulworthy, Bockington, Newton, and Shebbor, it receiueth a forked rill that runneth from eche ſide of Bradworthy by Sutcombe, Treborow, Milton, and ſo to Thornebiry, where meetyng with another forked water (wherof one head commyng from Dunſland, ioyneth with the other north of Cockebiry) it goeth with ſpede into the Tanrige water. After this confluẽce it runneth on to Sheepewaſh (by weſt wherof falleth in the Bucklãd water frõ by north) thence to high Hainton, and ſo Haytherley, north wherof it taketh in a rill frõ by ſouth, and endeth his race at Iddeſley, by ioynyng with the Oke. Hence then the Ocus haſteth to Dowland, and betwene it and Doulton, receiueth one rill from by eaſt, as it doth another betwene Doulton and Marton frõ by weſt, and ſo proceeding on with his courſe, it commeth eaſt of Torrington the leſſe, and taking in a water at eaſt, that runneth from three heds (by Wolly parke) betwene which Combe and Roughborow are ſituate, it deſcendeth to Torrington the more, and meting with the Langtree water on the one ſide, and the Ware broke on the other, it proceedeth to Bediford, croſſing a rill by the way that commeth vnto it betwene Annary and Litham. From Bedſford bridge it goeth without any increaſe to Weſtley, Norham, Apledour, and ſo into the hauen.

Taw.

Bowmill.

Moulebray.

Bray.

The Taw of both is the more noble water, and hath moſt rils deſcendyng into hys chanell. Howbeit by theſe two is all the hart of Deuonſhire well watered on the northſide of yͤ Moores. The Tawy riſeth directly at ſouthweſt of Throwley, and north of the head of Darnt. From thence alſo it runneth to Sele, South Taueton, Cockatre, Bathe, Northtaueton, Aſheridge, Colridge, and ſoone after receiueth the Bowmill creeke, whereof one hed riſeth at Bow, the other at Mill, and meting beneth biſhops Morchard, they fall into the Taue north of Nimeth Rowland, as I haue bene informed. From hence then it runneth by Edgeforth, to Chimligh, by ſouth wherof, it meeteth with a ril comming down of two heds from about Rakenford, by Wetheridge and Chawley. Thence it goeth to Burrington, and Chiltenholtwood, and there taketh in the Moulebray water conſiſting of two in one chanell, wherof the Mol doth ryſe aboue north Moulton, and cõmyng to Moulton, receiueth another rill running frõ Molland, and ſoone after the ſecond that growing by two brokes (yͤ hed of one beyng at Knawſton, and of the other weſt of Crokeham, and both vniting themſelues beneath Mariſton) doth fal into the ſame ere long alſo, and ſo go togyther till it croſſe the Bray, which (beyng the ſecond of the two that maketh the Moulbray) riſeth at Bray, commeth by Buckland and ſouth of Holtwood doth make his confluence with Taw. Beyng paſt the woode, it goeth on to Brightley hall, Tauerton, Taueſtocke, and Berſtable, ſometyme a pretye walled towne with foure gates, but nowe a little thyng and ſuch in deede, as that the ſuburbes thereof, are greater then it ſelfe. I ſuppoſe that the name of this towne in the Brittiſh ſpeache, was Abertaw, becauſe it ſtoode toward the mouth of Taw, and Berdneiſe pronounced ſhort as I geſſe, for Aberneſſe. As for Staple it is an addition for a market, and therfore hath nothyng to doe in the proper name of the towne. King Athelſtane is taken here for the chiefe priuileger of the towne, this is alſo worthy to be noted hereof, that the houſes there are of ſtone, as moſt are in all the good townes thereabout.

Doneham.

But to proceede with our purpoſe. Beneath this Towne there falleth in a water that hath one head nere about Challacombe, and another at eaſt Downe, whereof this deſcendyng by Stoke ryuer, and the other by Sherwell, they vnite themſelues within three myles of Berſtaple. Soone after alſo it taketh in another that deſcendeth from Bittenden by Aſheford, and the laſt of all eaſt of S.Anthonies Chappell, named the Doneham, becauſe one hed is at weſt Done, and the other at Ham, both of them meetyng weſt of Aſhe. And thus is Taue deſcribed, which is no great water nor quick ſtreame, as may appeare in Low water mark at Berſtable, & yet is it a prety riueret. This alſo is worthy to be noted therof, that it receiueth no brooke from by weſt, whereof I would ſomewhat meruaile, if Taurige were not at hand.

Paradine.

Orus.

The bredth of Deuonſhire & Cornewal.

Beyng paſt the Taue, Cride bay and Bugpoint aliâs Bagpoint, we go by More baye, Moreſtone, aliâs Mortſtone, and then toward the northeaſt, till we come by a creekelet to Ilfare combe, & ſo to Combe marton, whereat (I meane eche of them) are ſundry creekes of ſaltwater, but not ſerued with any freſh, that I as yet do heare of. Marry there is betwene Martinbowe and Trenſowe, a creeke that hath a backewater, which deſcendeth frõ Parracombe (ſo farre as I call to mynd named Parradine beck) but the greteſt of all is betwene Linton and Conniſbery called Ore, which riſeth in Somerſetſhire in Exmore, (eaſt of Hore oke, more then a myle) and goyng by Owre, falleth into the ſea betweene Linton & Conniſbery, ſo that the whole race therof, amoũteth in & out to an 8. miles as I haue heard reported. Thus haue I finiſhed ẏ diſcourſe of the waters of Deuõſhire, whoſe bredth in this place from hence ouerthwart to the checkeſtones in the mouth of Exe, on the ſouth ſide of the Iſle, is 38. miles or vnder 40. and ſo much likewyſe is it frõ Plimmouth to Hartlãd point, but the brodeſt part there commeth to 36. miles, where as the broadeſt part of Cornewall doth want two myles of 40.

Loch.

Durus.

Vacetus.

Williton. Doddington.

Beyng paſt the aforeſayde limites of the counties we came to Portloch bay, whether commeth a water named Loche that deſcendeth from Stokepero, Lucham and Portloch without increaſe. Thence to Dunſteir brooke, which runneth from about Wootton, and Courtney by Tunbercombe and Dunſteir, then to another that commeth weſt of Olde Cliffe, leauyng a parke on the weſt ſide, next of all to Watchet water, whereof one hed cõmeth from the Quantock hils ſouth of Bickualer by weſtquantocke head, and almoſt at Doniford, receyueth the Williton becke, thẽ to eaſt Quantocke brooke (omitting a creket) & next of all to Doddingtõ water, ẏ goeth by Holford, Alforton, & afterward into the ſea.

From hence we go by Botteſall pointe, to Stert pointe, where two noble riuers doe make their confluence, which I will ſeuerally deſcribe, as to my purpoſe appertayneth.

Iuelus.

The ſeuen ſiſters.

Cade.

Parret.

The firſt of theſe is called the Iuell. It ryſeth aboue Oburne, and at Shirburne receyueth a water whereof Lelãd ſaith thus. There are ſeuen ſpringes in an hill called the ſeuen ſiſters, northeſt frõ Shireburn, which gather into one botom, & come into ẏ Mere. Another brooke likewiſe cõmeth by Heydõ frõ Puſcãdell, three myles from thence by flat eaſt, betwixt the parke and the Mere fall ſo great as the ſtreame of the Mere, and ioyning at the lower mill of Shireburne, with the Mere water, it is not long ere it fall into the Euill. Thence our Euill goeth on toward Glaſen Bradford, and ere it come there, taketh in a forked rill from by ſouth, deſcending from about weſt Chelbury and Chetnall in Dorſetſhire, beneth which towne ẏ other hed falleth into the ſame, ſo that they run forth by Bearhaggard & Thornford (til they meet with the Iuel) & ſo to Clifton, Euil, Trent, Mutforde, Aſhinton, and eaſt of Limminton it meeteth with the Cade that runneth from Parlington, by north Cadbiry, and ſoone after croſſing a rill alſo from by eaſt, that cõmeth frõ Blackeford by Compton, it haſteth to ſouth Cadbiry, Sparkford, Queenes Camel, weſt Camell, & ſo into Iuell, which runneth on to Kimmington, Ilcheſter, Ilbridge, long Sutton, and ere it come at Langport, taketh in two famous waters in one chanell, next of all to be remembred before I go any further. The firſt of all theſe riſeth ſoutheaſt betwene the Parets (where it is called Parret water) and goeth to Crokehorne, and at Meriot taketh in a brooke from the eaſt, which cõſiſteth of two courſes vnited at Bowbridge, whereof the one deſcendeth from Pen by Haſilbury, the other from aboue the thrée Chenocks, as I doe vnderſtand. From hence alſo they goe as one with the Parret water, toward ſouth Pederton (takyng in at eaſt a becke cōming from Hamden hil) thence to Pederton, Lambrooke, Thorney bridge, & Muchelney where it méeteth with the ſeconde called Il or Ilus, whoſe hed is aboue Chellington, & comming down frō thēce by Cadworth, before it come at Dunniet, it taketh in a ril that runneth by Chaſcomb and Knoll. Thence leauing Ilminſter on the eaſt ſide, it méeteth with another from by Eaſt, deſcendyng from aboute Whitlakington. Then it goeth to Pokington (where it croſſeth yͤ Ilton water by weſt) next to Ilbruers, and there it ioyneth with a rillet that riſeth by weſt at Staple, and runneth by Bicknell and Abbots Ily, and after this confluence goeth on toward Langport. And here after ſome mens opinion, the Iuell looſeth hys name, and is called Parret, but this coniecture cannot holde, ſithe in the olde writers it is called Iuell, till it fall into the ſea. Neuertheleſſe, how ſo euer this matter ſtandeth, beyng paſt Langport, it goeth by Awber toward ſ. Antonica, where it méeteth with the Tone next of all to be deſcribed. The Tone iſſueth at Clatworthy, and goeth by weſt of Wiuelſcombe, to Stawley, Kitford, Runton, Wellington and Bradford, beneath which it taketh in a faire water commyng from Sanford Combe, Elworthy, Brunte Rafe, Miluerton, Oke and Hilfarens. After this confluence alſo it runneth to Helebridge and there below meteth with one water that runneth by Hawſe, Hethforde and Norton, then another frō Crokeham by biſhops Slediard, and the third and fourth at Tawnton, that deſcendeth from Kingſton by north, and another by ſouth that ryſeth about Pidminſter, and thus is the Tone increaſed, which goeth from Taunton to Riſton, Creche, Northcurry, Ling, and ſo by Anthony into yͤ Iuell, that after this confluence méeteth ere long with the Chare, a prety riuer that commeth by eaſt from Northborow, by Carletō, Badcare, Litecare, Somerton, Higham Audry more, Audry, and Michelſborow. From whence goyng on betwene Quéenes moore and North moore, it receyueth one brooke called Peder from by ſouthweſt, that runneth thorough Pederton parke and Northmoore, and likewyſe another that paſſeth by Durley, ere it dee come at Bridgewater. From Bridgewater it goeth by Chilton directly northweſt, and then turnyng flat weſt, it goeth northwardes towards the ſea, takyng in two waters by the way, whereof one runneth by Corpole and Cannington, and beareth yͤ name of Camington, the other by Siddington and Comage, and then receyuyng the Brier before it come at Start point, they fal as one into the Ocean, whereof let this ſuffice for the deſcription of the Iuel, whoſe ſtreame doth water al the weſt part of Somerſetſhire and leaue it very fruitfull.

ton.

ne.

hare or
re.

der.

Cāmingtō
Brier.

The Brier, Bruer, or Bréer, ryſeth of two waters, whereof one is in Selwood foreſt, and commeth downe by Bruecombe, Bruham, and Bruton. The other which Lelād nameth Mellos, is northeaſt of Staffordell towne, & goyng by the ſame, it runneth by Redlinche, to Wike where it meteth with the other hed, and thence go on as one to Awnſford, Alford (where it taketh in a water called Dulis frō by north that ryſeth nere Dolting, and commeth by Euerchurch parke) then to the Lidfordes, Baſborow wood, the Tor hil, Pont perilous bridg (wherinto they fable that Arthur beyng wounded to death did throw Calybur hys ſword) by Glaſſenbury and ſo into the Méere. Beſide this riuer there are two other alſo that fall into the ſaid Méere, whereof the one called Soway commeth from Créechurch parke, & Pulton by Hartlack bridge, the other named Cos or the Coſcombe water, from aboue Shepton, Mallet (which eaſt of Wyke taketh in a water commyng from Welles) by Wyke, Gedney, and ſo into the Méere. Finally, returning all into one chanell it runneth to Burtlehouſe, and ſone after deuiding it ſelfe, one arme goeth by Baſtian aliâs Brent bridge, to High bridge, leauyng Hunteſpill a market towne by South weſt, the other by Marke to Rokes bridge, Hebbes paſſage, and ſo into the ſea, leauing a faire Iſland wherin beſide Brentmarſh are 7. or 8. townes, whereof Vphill is none, which is contrary to my former aſſertion, and herein therfore not onely the ſame, but alſo an other errour in the name of this riuer is worthy to be redreſſed, beſide a third touching the courſe of the ſaid Are, which brauncheth not ſo low, but rather runneth into the braunche of Brier that lyeth moſt eaſterly, as experience by the eie of him that of ſet purpoſe hath of late ridden to view it, doth manifeſtly confirme. Now as touching the water that commeth from Wels, which falleth as I ſaid into yͤ Coſcomb water on the right hand of the Cawſey. You ſhall vnderſtand that as many ſprings are in Wels, ſo the chiefe of them is named Andres well, which ryſeth in a medow plat not farre from the eaſt ende of the cathedrall church, and afterward goeth into the Coſcomb, in ſuch place as I haue noted.

Brier.

Lelād wryteth yͤ firſt Brieuelus & the ſeconde Mellodun᷑ or yͤ Milton water.

Dulis.

Soway.

Cos.

Milton. Golaſer.

Leland ſpeaketh of the Milton and Golaſer waters, which ſhould fall likewyſe into the Brier, but whether thoſe be they wherof the one ryſeth aboue Staffordell, and in the diſcent runneth by Shipton, Pitcomb, and ſo to Awnſford on the one ſide, as the other doth riſe betwene Batcomb and Upton noble on the other halfe: or vnto whether of them eyther of theſe names are ſeuerally to be attributed, as yet I do not read.

Axe.2. The Cheder broke, driueth.12. milles within a quarter of a myle of his heade.

The ſecond Axe iſſueth out of Owky hole, from whence it goeth by Owky towne, afterward meeting with the Chederbrook that commeth from the Cheder rocks, it runneth by Were, Ratcliffe, and after a little compaſſe into the northeaſt braunch of the aforeſayde riuer laſt deſcribed, betwene Rokes bridge and Hebbes paſſage, as I haue bene informed.

Bane.

From the fall of Axe we come to an other called Bane, northeſt of Woodſpring, whoſe hed is about Banwel parke, or els in Smaldon wood. Then to another, and to the third, called Artro, which riſeth about Litton, and goyng by the Artryes, Abbey, Perrybridge (receyuyng a rill ere it come thether from by ſouth) beneth Cungeſbiry, or as I learne betwene Kingſton and Laurens Wike it meeteth with the ſea.

Artro.

Sotteſpill.

Sotteſpill water ryſeth betwene Cheueley and Naileſey, howbeit it hath no encreaſe before it come into the ſea at Sotteſpill, more then the next vnto it, which is named Cleueden water, of a certaine towne neere to the fall therof. It ryſeth ſoutheaſt of Barrow, goeth by Burton Naileſey, and ſo vnto Cleuedon.

Cleueden

Auon.3.

The Auon commonly called the third Auon is a goodly water, and growen to be very famous by ſondry occaſions, to be particularly touched in our deſcriptiõ of Briſtowe. It ryſeth in the very edge of Tetbury, and goeth by long Newtõ to Brokenton, Whitchurch, and Malmſbury, where it receiueth two waters, that is to ſay, one from by weſt cõming by Foxley, and Bromicham, which rũneth ſo neere to the Auon in the weſt ſuburbe of Malmeſbury, that the towne thereby is almoſt made an Iland. Another from Okeſey parke by Hankerton, Charleton, and Gareſden. After this confluence it haſteth to Cole parke, then goeth it toward the ſoutheaſt, till it meete with a water comming from ſouth weſt (betwene Hullauington and Bradfield) by Aſton: and ſoone after with another at the northſide from Bynall by Wootton Baſſet (thorow the parke to Gretenham, and Idouer bridges) and after yͤ confluẽce to Dauntſey, Segar, Sutton, Chriſtmalford, Auon, Calwaies houſe, & then to weſt Tetherton. Beneth this towne alſo it taketh in a water increaſed by two brokes, wherof one cõming from Cleue by Hilmarton, Whitley houſe and Bramble, (and there receiuyng another that commeth by Calne) paſſeth on by Stanley into the Auon, which from thẽceforth goeth to Chippenham, Rowdon, Lekham, and then receiuing Coſham water, goeth to Lacocke, Melſham, and ere it come at Whaddon, croſſeth two other in one chanell, wherof one riſeth about Brumham houſe, and goeth to Sene, the other about the Diuizes, and frõ thence runneth to Potterne wood, Crekewood, Worton, Maſton, Bucklington, and ioyning with the other aboue Litleton, they run by Semmington, and north of Whaddon aforeſayd into the maine ſtreame, wherof I now intreat. From hence our Auon runneth to Stauerton, and ſouth weſt of that towne meeteth with the Were that cõmeth from Upton by Dilton, Broke parke (there croſſing a ril from Weſtbiry vnder yͤ plane) then to north Bradley, Trubridge, and ſo into Auon that goeth from thence to Bradford, and within a myle or there about, before it come at Freſhford, it meteth with yͤ Frome, whoſe deſcription doth inſue.

Coſham.

Were.

Weſtbyry vnder th plaine me- uer with- out a th or twain

Frome.

The Frome ryſeth in the eaſt part of Mẽdip hils, and from thence rũneth by Aſtwije, yͤ Cole pits, Lye vnder Mendippe, Whateley, Elmeſbridge, and ſoone after taketh in the Nonney water, comming from Nonney caſtle, thẽce to Walles & Orcharley bridge, where it receiueth a prety broke deſcending from Frome Selwoode weſt of Brackley, increaſed with ſundry rils, wherof two come out of Selwood forreſt (and one of them from the Fratry) another out of Long lead parke, from Horningſham, and the fourth from Coſſey. Hence our Frome goeth to Lullington, Beckington, Farley caſtle, Borde and Freſh foord, and taking in the Silling broke falleth into the Auon beneath Bradford, and eaſt of Freſhford. From thence goyng beneath Stoke, it receyueth on the left hande a water commyng from ſouthweſt, increaſed by ſundry brokes, whereof one commeth frõ Camelet by Litleton, and Dankerton, the other frem Stone Eſton, Midſommer Norton, by Welſton, Rodſtocke, Wrigleton, Foſcot, and Wellow (and there takyng in a rill from Phillips Norton, it goeth) by Clauerton to Hampton, & there it meeteth wyth another water commyng from Barthforde, whoſe hed is at Littleton, from whence it rũneth by weſt Kineton to Caſtle comb (where it ioyneth with a rill riſing by north from Litleton drue) and thence commeth ſouth to

Nonney.

Silling.

Slaughtenford, Haſelbury, Box, Baithford, and ſo into the Auon, which turnyng playne weſt haſteth to Baithwyke, and (méeting wͭ another in his paſſage from Coldaſton) to Bathe the Tiuertons and Coſton. Here alſo it taketh in a rill by the way from Markeſbiry by Wilmerton and Newton, and then goyng on to Sawford, it méeteth with one rill ſoone after weſt of Northſtocke, called Swinford, and another by Bittō, from Durhain by Wike, and ſo procéedeth ſtil holding on his way to Cainſham, where it croſſeth the Chute, which iſſueth at Winford, and goeth by biſhops Chue to Penford, and there receiueth the Clue commyng from Cluton, and from thence to Chute, and ſo into Auon. The Auon likewyſe after all theſe confluences goeth to Briſelton, and ſo to Briſtow, beneath which it receyueth a rill on eche ſide, (whereof one commeth from aboute Stoke lodge in Glouceſter ſhire, beyng a faire water and running by Acton, Framptō, Hambroch, Stapleton, and thorow Briſtow, the other by ſouth from Dundrey hill & towne, by Biſport and Bedminſter) and ſo diſcending yet lower, goeth to Rawneham paſſage & Clyfton, then by S. Vincentes rocke and Laie, next of all to Crocampill, and finally into the ſea, whether all waters by nature do reſort.

Swinford

Swinford
arteth
Somerſet
nd Gloce=
terſhyres
n ſunder.

Beſide this water, Leland maketh mention of Alderley brook, which in ſome auncient recordes is alſo called Auon, and runneth by Barkeley. In like maner he talketh of Douresley becke, whoſe principal hed is in Douresley towne, howbeit he ſaith no thing of it more, then that it ſerueth ſundry tucking lucking milles, & goeth by Tortworth or foure miles further, before it come at the Sauern. Finally, making mention of an excellent quarrey of hard ſtone about Douresley, he telleth of the Tortworth becke that runneth within a flight ſhot of Barkeley towne, and falleth on the left hande into Sauerne marches, taking with all the Alderley or Auon, except I miſtake his meanyng, which may ſoone be done among his confuſed notes.

lderley.
Douresley.
Torworth

Of the Sauerne, and ſuch riuers as fall into the ſame, as alſo of other, whereby the reſt afore mencioned, are increaſed before we come to the Humber.

Chap. 2.

THe Sauerne ſpringeth from the hyghe mountaines of ſouthwales, as I haue before remembred, and runnyng frō thence, the firſt water that it receiueth of any name, is called Dulas, which commeth therinto on the ſouth ſide, & ſouth weſt of Lan Idlos. It riſeth as it ſhould ſéeme of diuers heds in the edge of Radnorſhire, and taking in ſundry ſmall rils, it méeteth at the laſt with yͤ Brueham brooke, and ſo they go togither till they fal into the Sauerne. Beneth lan Idlos likewiſe it taketh in the Clewdoghe from north weſt, produced by the influence of foure prety brookes, wherof one is called Bacho, another Dungum (commyng out of lin Glaſlin) the third Lhoid riſing in lin Begilin, & the moſt ſoutherly Bigga. After which confluēce our Sauerne procéedeth on by Berhlaid toward Landyman, taking in by the way on the eaſt ſide the Couine, thence to Cairfuſe caſtle, where it méeteth with the Carnon and the Taran both in one chanell, and going not far from the aforeſaid fortreſſe. After this it croſſeth the Hawes, on the north halfe beneth Aberhawes, next of all the Duleſſe, that riſeth in the edge of Radnorſhire, and meteth with it before it come at Newton, otherwiſe called Trenewith, as I finde in Brittiſhe language. Being paſt Newton, it runneth forth by Landilouarne, and ſo forth on till it come to the fall of the Mule, whoſe hed is in yͤ edge of Radnor alſo, and therto his paſſage by Kery and Lanmereywyg. After this alſo it procéedeth further till it méete with the Kenlet or the Camalet (which taketh in alſo yͤ Tate or Tadbrokewater, ryſing out of the hilles a myle from Biſhops towne) the whole courſe therof beyng about ſeuen miles from the hed as I haue often heard. Of this alſo I find two deſcriptions, wherof one I borow out of Leland, who ſaith that it is a prety brooke runnyng in the vale by Mountgomery, and commyng within halfe a myle of the place where Chirbiry priory ſtood, it falleth into yͤ ſauern, about a mile from thence. Of the rils ſaith he that run from the hils thorow Mountgomery, which are a myle from the Sauern ſhore, & likewiſe of the Lan Idlos brooke that meteth with all within foure miles of the hed, I ſpeake not but thinke it ſufficient to touche thoſe of ſome eſtimation, onely leauing yͤ reſt to ſuch as may hereafter deale with thinges more particulerly, as time and trauaile may reueale the truth vnto them, and hitherto Lelande whoſe wordes I dare not alter. But another noteth this Camalet or Kenlet to run by More, Liddiom, Sned, Churchſtocke, Chirbury, Walcote and Winſbiry, and ſo into the Sauerne. From hence then, and after this confluence it goeth on by Fordon, Leighton and Landbreuy toward Meluerley, & there it méeteth with ſundry waters in one chanell, wherof the one called the Tanet, is a very prety water (wherinto the Pe-

Dulas.
Brucham.
Clewdogh
Bacho.
Dungum.
Lhoid.
Bigga.
Couine.
Carnon.
Taran.
Hawes.
Duleſſe.
Mule.
Kenlet.
Camalet.
Tate.
Laindlos.
Tanet.

Peuery or Murnewy Auerney.

Mordaunt

Simons becke.

Bederiche.

Mele.

Haberley.

uercy or Murnewy doth fall, which deſcẽdeth from the hils by weſt of Matrafall not farre from Lhan Filin) the other Auerny, and ioyning beneath Abertannoth or aboue Lannamonach nere vnto the ditch of Offa, it is not lõng ere they meete with the Mordant brooke, and there looſe their names ſo ſoone as they ioyne and mixe their waters with it. The hed of yͤ Mordant iſſueth out of Lanuerdan hils, where diuers ſay that the paroche church of croſſe Oſwald or Oſweſter ſometimes ſtood. Certes, Oſweſter is 13. miles northweſt frõ Shrewſbury, and conteyneth a myle within the walles. It hath in like ſort foure ſuburbs or great ſtreetes, of whiche one is called Stratlan, another Wulliho, the third Beterich (wherin are 140. barnes ſtandyng on a row belonging to the citizens or burgeſſes) and the fourth named the black gate ſtreete, in which are 30. barnes mainteyned for corn and hay. There is alſo a brooke running thorough the towne by the croſſe, comming frõ Simons well, a bowe ſhot without the wall, and goyng vnder yͤ ſame betwene Thorowgate and Newgate, it runneth alſo vnder the blacke gate. There is an other in lyke ſorte ouer whoſe courſe the Badertikes or Beterich gate ſtandeth, and therfore called Bederich brooke. The third paſſeth by the Willigate or Newgate, and theſe fall altogether with the croſſe brooke, a myle lower by ſouth into the Mordant that runneth (as I ſayd) by Oſweſter. From hence alſo it goeth to Mordant towne, and betweene Landbreuy & Meluerley doth fall into the Sauerne. After this our principall ſtreame goeth to Sheauerdon caſtle, Mountford, and Bicton chappell, and here it receiueth a water on the left hande, that riſeth of two heds, whereof one is aboue Merton, the other at Elliſmere, and ioynyng betweene Woodhouſes and Bagley, the confluence runneth on by Radnall, Haltõ, Teddeſmer, Roiton, Baſchurch, Walford, Grafton, Mitton, and ſo into the Sauerne. From hence it runneth to Fitz, Eton, or Leyton, Barwijc, Upper Roſſall, Shelton, and ſo to Shrewſbury, where it croſſeth the Mele water, whoſe head as I heare, is ſayd to bee in Weſton.

The Mele therfore riſing at Weſton, goeth by Brocton, Worthen, Aſton Pigot, Weſtley, Aſterley, and at Lea it meeteth with the Haberley water, that cõmeth down by Ponteſford and Aunſton. After this confluence alſo it runneth to Newenham, and Crokemele (there taking in a ril on yͤ other ſide that deſcendeth by Weſtbury & Stretton) & thence goyng on to Hanwood, Noball, Pulley, Bracemele and Shrewſbury, it falleth as I ſayd, into the open Sauerne. From hence our Sauerne haſteth to Uffington, Preſton, and betweene Chilton and Brampton taketh in the Terne, a faire ſtream and worthy to be well handled if it lay in me to performe it. This riuer riſeth in a Mere beſide Welbridge park, neere vnto Tern Mere village in Staffordſhire. Frõ whence it runneth by the parkes ſide to Knighton, Norton, Betton, and at Draiton Hales croſſeth with a water commyng from aboute Adbaſton, (where M. Brodocke dwelleth) and runneth by Chippenham and Aimming: ſo that the Terne on the one ſide, and this brooke on the other, do incloſe a great part of Bloreheth, where a noble battaile was ſoetime purpoſed betweene king Henry the vj. and yͤ Duke of Yorke, but it wanted execution. But to proceede after this confluence, it runneth to Draiton Hales, Ternehill bridge, & ere long takyng in a ril from Sandford by Blechley, it goeth to Stoke Allerton, Peplaw, and Eaton, where it croſſeth with a brooke that ryſeth about Brinton, and goyng by Higham, Morton, the great Mere, Forton, Pilſon, Pickſtocke, Keinton, Tibberton and Bolas, it ioyneth with the ſaid Terne not far from Water Upton. Thence paſſing to Crogenton, it meteth with another brooke, that commeth from Chaltwen Aſton, by Newporte, Longford, Aldney, and ſo thorow the Wilde moore to Kineſley and Sleepe, and finally into the Terne, which haſteth from thence to Eſton bridge, and nere vnto Walcote taketh in the Roden. This water riſeth at Halton in Cumber meere lake, and cominyng to Oeuerley croſſeth a rill from Cowlemere by Leniall. Thence it goeth to Horton, and (ioyning with another rill beneth Nonnelay that commeth from Midle) runneth on to Wen, Aſton (there croſſing a rill beneth Lacon hall from Prees ward) and ſo to Lee, Beſforde, Stanton, Morton, Shabree, Paynton, Rodẽ, Rodington, and then into Terne that runneth from thence by Charlton, Upton, Norton, Barwijc, Accham, & ſo into yͤ Sauerne two miles beneath Shrewſbery as I weene. Thus haue I deſcribed the Terne in ſuche wyſe as my ſimple ſkill is able to performe. Now it reſteth that I proceede on as I may, with the Sauerne ſtreame with which after this former confluence it goth vnto Rorater, Brampton, Eaton vpon Sauerne, Draiton (where it ioyneth with the Euerne that rũneth from Frodeſleyward, by Withiall & Pitchford) Creſſedge, Garneſton, Leighton, and betweene the two Bildaſſes croſſeth the Rhe or Wenlocke water, and ſo goeth on to Browſley and Hord parke, where it vniteth

it

Terne.

Roden.

Euerne.

Wenlocke or Rhe.

it ſelfe with another brooke to be deſcribed in this place whileſt the Sauerne reſt, and recreate it ſelfe here among the pleaſaunt bottomes.

This water ryſeth aboue Longcaſtle, and ere it haue run any great diſtaunce from the hed, it meeteth with a rill commyng by Shiriffe Hales, and Staunton. Thence it goeth on to Hatton, Royton, & there croſſing another from Woodhouſes, cõmyng by Haughton and Euelin, it proceedeth to Beckebiry and Higford, and not omitting here to croſſe ẏ Worſe that runneth vnto it out of Snowdon pole, it paſſeth forth to Badger, Acleton, Ringleford, and ſo into Sauerne, ſomewhat aboue Bridgenorth except myne information deceiue me. From Bridgenorth our Sauerne deſcendeth to Woodbury, Quatford, and there taking in the Marbrooke beneath Eaton (that riſeth aboue Collaton, and goeth by Mortil and Undertõ) it runneth by Didmanſton, Hempton, Aueley, and beneath in the way to Bargate, croſſeth with a brooke commyng from Upton parke, by Chetton, Billingſley, and Highley, which beyng admitted, it holdeth on to Areley, Cyarnewood parke, Hawbache, and Dowleſſe. Here alſo it meeteth with the Dowleſſe water, a pretye brooke iſſuyng out of Cle hils in Shropſhire, which are 3. myles from Ludlow, and running thorow Clebiry park in Wire foreſt, and takyng with all the Lempe, doth fall into the Sauerne not very far from Bewdley. But to proceede. From Bewdley our Sauerne haſteth directly to Ribford, Areley and Redſton, and here it meeteth with a water called Stoure, deſcending from Cley, or out of the pondes of Hales owen in Worceſter ſhire, where it receyueth one rill from ẏ left hand, and an other from the right, and then goeth on to Sturbridge (taking in there the third water ere long running from Sturton caſtle) then to Kinuer Whittenton, Ouerley and Kydormiſter, aboue which it croſſeth one brookelet that commeth thyther by churche hill, and another beneath it that runneth by Belborow, betwixt which two waters lyeth an odde peece of Staffordſhire included, and alſo the Cle hill. From hence the aforeſayde Sauerne haſteth by Redſton to Shrawley, and aboue this towne receiueth the Aſteley water, as beneath the ſame it doth an other. From Witley thẽ it goeth on to Holt caſtle, and ſo to Grimley, taking in therabout with the Dour, and Sulway waters, whereof this riſeth at Chadſwyc, and runneth by Stoke priory, & Droitwiche, the other aboue Chaddeſley, and commeth by Dourdale. After this it goeth forth vnto Worceſter, in olde tyme called Cair Brangon, or Cair Frangon, where it meeteth with the Tiber, or Tibertõ water on the right hand aboue that city, and beneath it neere vnto Powyc with ẏ Temde, whoſe deſcription ſhall be ſet downe before I proceede or goe any further wyth the Sauerne.

orſebeck

arbrok.

uleſſe.

empe.

toure.

tley.

our.

ulwaye.

Tiber.

The Temde or as ſome name it ẏ Tame, riſeth vp in Radnorſhire out of the Melẽnith hils, and ſoone after hys iſſue, meeting with a water from Withal, it runneth to Begeldy, Lanuerwaterden, and ſo to Knighton, which is v. or vj. miles as I heare from hys originall. From Knighton it goeth ouer the ditch of Offa vnto Standiſh, and croſſyng a rill that commeth from betwene the parkes, named Clude (and is a bound of Radnorſhire) it goeth to Buckton, Walford, and Lanuardẽ, where it meeteth with the Bardwell or Berfield, and the Clun both in one chanell, of which I find theſe deſcriptions here followyng worde for worde in Lelande. The Bardwell or Barfield riſeth aboue new chappel, in the honour of Clun, hard by the ditche of Offa, and goeth by Bucknell. The Clun iſſueth out of the ground betweene Lhan Vehan and Maiſton, and going on by Bucton, Cluncaſtle, Clundon, Purſlaw, and Clunbiry, it croſſeth with a brooke that runneth along by Kempton and Brampton. Thence goyng forth by Clunbury, Brome, Abcot and Marlow, it meeteth with the Bardwell, and ſo into the Temde, not very farre from Temderton. I ſuppoſe that Lelãd calleth the Bardewell by the name of Owke, but I will not abide by it becauſe I am not ſure of it. After theſe confluences therfore our Temde, goeth by Trippleton, Dounton, Burrington, and Broomefield, where it meeteth with the Oney, which is an indifferent ſtreame, and increaſed with ſundry waters, wherof I ſay as followeth. The firſt of all is called the Bow. It riſeth as I learne in the hilles betweene Hillington and Shelue, and from thence cõmeth down by Lindley and Hardwyc, where it croſſeth the Warren that iſſueth out of the ground about Rotly chappell, and runneth by Adſton and Wentnor. After the confluence alſo goyng on by Choulton and Cheynies, it taketh in the Queney and Strabrooke both in one chanell, wherof the firſt riſeth at Lebotwood, and commeth downe by the Strettons till it paſſe by Fellanton. The ſeconde mounteth about Longuill, & goeth by Ruſhebury, Newhall, Harton, and Alcaſter, from whence it is not long ere it fal into the Queny, and ſo by Stratford into the Oney, which hath borne that name ſithens the confluence of the Bow and Warrẽ at Hardwyc, wher-

Temde.

Clude.

Berfielde.

Clun.

Owke.

Oney.

Bow.

Warren.

Quency &
Strabrok.

of I ſpake before. Finally, the Oney which ſome call the Somergill beyng thus increaſed, it runneth on to Hawford chappel, Newtō, Oneybury, Bromefield, & ſo into Temde, and next of all to Ludlow. The Temde beyng thus brought to Ludlow, méeteth with yͤ Corue which commeth thorowe Cornedale frō aboue Brocton by Morehouſes, Shipton, Hungerford, and a little beneath takyng in a ril that commeth by Tugford, and Brancoſt caſtle, goeth on to Corſham caſtle, and there croſſing another from ſ. Margarets Clée, it hyeth to Stanton Lacy, and ſo likewyſe to Ludlow. From Ludlow in lyke ſort it goeth to Ludford, the Aſhefordes, little Hereford, Burrington and at Burford vniteth it ſelfe with the Ladwich that commeth beneth Milburne ſtoke, from betwéene Browne, Cléehill, and Stittertons hill, to Middelton, Henley, Ladwich, Conam, and ſo into Temde, which beneth Temdbury receyueth another rill on the other ſide, and the ſecond on yͤ left hand called Rhe, that commeth from aboue Ricton, Staterton, Hounde, Nene, Clebiry, Knighton, and then into the Temde. From hence the Temd goeth by Aſhā, Lingridge, Shelley Welch, Clifton, Whitburne (and croſſing a water that commeth from yͤ Sapies) to Knightwyc and Bradwaies. Here about againe it intertaineth a rill that deſcendeth from aboute Kidbury on the right hand, and goeth by Collomathern, Credeley, Aufrike, and ſo into Temd, and then procéedyng forwarde the ſaid ſtreame, renneth to Braunforde, & ere long (taking in the Langherne that ryſeth about Martley, and paſſeth by Kengewyc) it goeth to Powyc, and ſo into the Sauerne before it come at Wickeceſter. Thus haue I brought all ſuch ſtreames before me that fall into the Sauerne, from the hed, vntill I come to Powyc, wherof as you may eaſily perceiue the Temde, is the moſt excellent. Now it reſteth that I procéed with the reſt of the diſcourſe intended concernyng this our riuer. Certes, frō Powyc mils which are about halfe a myle beneath Worceſter, yͤ Sauerne runneth on to Kempſey and Cleueld, whence after it hath croſſed a brooke commyng from Cowley, it haſteth firſt to Stoke, and ſo to Vpton, but ere it come there, it drowneth another fall deſcendyng from Maluerne hilles by Blackemore parke, and ſoone after the third growyng by two braunches, whereof one commeth alſo from Maluerne hils by little Maluerne and Welland, the other from Elderford by Pendock and Longdon. After theſe confluences in lyke ſort, it runneth to Buſhelley, & Tewkeſbiry, where it receiueth the Auon, that followeth next of all in order to be deſcribed, before I procéed any further in my diſcourſe of Sauerne.

Somergil.

Corue.

Ladwiche.

Rhe.

Langherne.

The Auon riſeth at Nauesby in the borders of Northhampton ſhire, a little ſide hād of Gilleſborow, and foote of the hils whereon Nauebey ſtandeth, and euē out of the church yard of the ſayde village. From hence it goeth to Welford, Stauuorde, Lilburne, Clifton, and Rugby, by north wherof it croſſeth a water called Swift, which commeth from aboue Kymcote, to Lutterworth, Browne ouer and Colſford. From thence alſo it goeth to Newbold, Wolſton, Ruington, & betwene the Stonlies taketh in the Sow. This Sowe is a prety water cōming from aboue Calendon to Whitley, & ſoone after méeting with a riueret from Couentry, which ſome doe call Shirburne water, it goeth thence to Bagginton where it taketh in a rill called Kynel, as I haue red from Kenellworth, frō whence it runneth to Stonley, and ſo into the Auon. After this confluence the Auon procedeth on to Stonley Abdey, Aſhehow, Miluerton, Edmonds cote, and a pace to Warwijc. But ere it come there, it méeteth from ſouth eaſt with two waters in one chanell, wherof the leaſt commeth to Marton from biſhops Itchington, by Herburbiry and Thorpe, where it croſſeth a rill from Southam. The other is called Leame, or Lime that deſcendeth from about Helladon, or néere vnto Cateſby in Northampton ſhire, and goyng by Duēcote, Braunſton, Lemington and Merton, it ioyneth with the other, and then go from thence together vnder the name of Leame, to Hunnington, Cobbington, and ſo into the Auon as I gaue notice before. At Warwycke alſo the Auon taketh in a water runnyng northweſt from Greue parke. Thence it goeth on to Bereford, and there croſſing another from Shirburne, it paſſeth forth to biſhops Hampton, meting finally with the third, frō Kineton that runneth by Walton and Charlcote. After this laſt reherſed confluence, it haſteth to Stretford vpon Auon, and thē to Luddington ward, where it taketh in the Stoure that riſeth aboue Cherington, and whoſe courſe from thence is ſuch, as that beyng once paſt the head, it goeth by Weſton, and ere long croſſing a water from Campden, hangyng Aſton, and Todnam, it runneth to Barcheſton, Aldermaſton, Clifford, and ſo into the Auon. From hence then the ſayd Auon goeth to Luddington, Burton, Bitford, and Cleue, and beyng parted from the ſaid towne, ere it come at Sawford, it receiueth the Arrow or Aur, which riſing in the blacke hils in Worceſter ſhire, commeth by Alchurche, Beley parke,

Auon. 4.

Swiuethus.

Souus.

Kynell.

Leme.

Stour.

Arrow.

parke, Ypſley, Studley, & thẽ taking in another ril called Alne, out of Fecknam foreſt, & going by Cowghtõ park, it haſteth to Alceſter, Arrow, Ragley, Wheteley, Bouington, Stãdford, & ſo into Auõ, which after this cõiunctiõ goeth to Uffentõ, & thẽ to Coueſholm: But ere it come there it receyueth two waters in one Chanell, whereof the firſt ryſeth about Willerſey, ẏ other neere to Buckland, and ioyning beneath Badſey, they fall into Auon, vnder the name of Pludor broke before it come to Coueſholme. Beyng paſt Coueſholme it croſſeth ẏ Uincell, which ryſing out of the hilles ſomewhere about Sudley, runneth two myles farther to Winchelcome, and Gretton, and taking in a ryll by the waye from Hayles, proceedeth on (going within one quarter of a myle of Hayles Abbaie) to Tuddington, or Doddington, beneath which when it hath croſſed another rill that commeth from Stanwaie, it goeth to Warmington, Sedgeborow, and receyuing there the laſt on the ryght hande alſo (as all aboue rehearſed) it falleth into the Auon, whẽ it is come by Hinton, vnto a towne called Hamptõ, or as ſome do write it Ampton. After this confluence the Auon goeth to Charlton, to Crapthorne (and there taking in a rill on the left hand) to Fladbyry wike, & almoſt at Perſore bridge, meeteth with a braunched water that commeth by Piddle, whereof one heade is at Alberton, an other at Pidle. Frõ Perſore it goeth to Birlingham, and ſoone after carrying a broke withall diſcending from Fakenham, by Bradley, Himbleton, Huddenton, Crowley, Churchehill, Pibletõ, Beſſeforde and Deſſeforde, it fleeteth to Eckington, Bredon, Twining, Mitton, & Tewkeſbiry, where it ioyneth with the Sauerne.

Alne.
Pludor.
Vincelus.
Pidle.

Now to reſume the courſe of the Sauerne, you ſhall vnderſtande that from Tewkeſbiry it goeth to Derehirſt, thẽ how paſſage, and ſoone after receyuing the Chiltenham water that commeth thither by Bodenton, Sawton, & Nortõ, it runneth to Aſhelworth, Sainthirſt, & here it parteth it ſelf till it come to Gloceſter, where it vniteth it ſelf againe. But in the meane time ẏ eaſterly braũch receyueth a forked chanell, whereof one heade is not farre from Leke hãpton, the other about Witcõb, frõ whẽce it goeth to Brockworth. The other braunche or arme, taketh in the Leaden that cõmeth down by Preſtõ, Dimmock, Pantley vper Leadon, Leadon court and there taking in one rill, that commeth from Linton by Areknoll, and another beneath it frõ Tainton by Rudforde, it falleth into the ſayde braunche on the right ſide, before it come at Gloceſter. The Sauerne therefore being paſt Gloceſter, it meeteth wyth a little ryll on the ryght hande, and thence holdyng on his courſe by Elmore, Minſterworth Longney to Framilode, it receyueth ere it come at this latter the Strowd broke, which riſing not farre from Syde, goeth by Maſſade, Edgeworth Frampton Strowde, and receyuing there a water that commeth from Panneſwijc Lodge, by Pitteſcombe on the one ſide, and another from Radbridge on the other, it proſequteth hys voyage to Stone houſe, Eſſington, whyte Myſen, and ſo toward Framilode where the ſayde Strowde doth fall into the Sauerne. After the fall of Strowde, the Sauerne goeth from thence to Newenham, and Arlingham, and ſoone after receyuing a water on eche ſide, whereof one commeth from Uley by Cham and Chambridge, the other by Blackney and Catcombe, it goeth forth tyll it meete with another water, on eche ſyde, whereof that on thengliſhe halfe is forked, ſo that one heade thereof is to be founde about Borwell, the other at Horton, and meeting aboue Tortworthy, they runne by Stone and Barkeley Caſtell, and ſo into the Sauerne. That on ẏ welch halfe is named Newarne, which commeth from the forreſt of Deane, and ſo into the Sauerne.

Chilus.
Leden.
Strowd.
Newarne.

The next ryuer that falleth into the ſayde ſtreame is the Wie, or Guy, whoſe deſcription I haue not ſo exactly as I would wiſh, & therfore I muſt be contented to ſet it down as I may, the like alſo muſt I doe wͭ the reſt of thoſe of wales, becauſe mine information faileth me, without all hope of redreſſe.

Wy or Guy.

The Guy therefore ryſeth out of ẏ blacke mountaines of wales, in Radnor ſhire & cõming by Lhãgerik, & Riadargoy it receiueth one ryll from northeaſt by ſ. Harmon, & another from the weſt called Darnoll. Thence it goeth to Lhanuthel, and in the way betwixte Riadar and Lanuthell, it ioyneth wyth the Elland (whoſe heade is neere to Comeryſtwith) & taketh likewiſe into him the Clardwen that deuideth for a ſeaſon Radnor ſhire from Brecknoch. From Lhanuthel it goeth weſt of Diſſart, where it receyueth ẏ Jthan, a riuer riſing aboue Lhanbiſter, and from whence it runneth to Landwy, and Lanbaderne vawr. Beneath this alſo it croſſeth a water on eche ſide, wherof that on the ryght hand conſiſteth of the Duleſſe, and the Cluedoch, after their confluence, other the hight Lomaron whoſe heade is aboue Lanſhangle. After theſe confluences, it runneth on crinkeling in ſtraunge maner, till it come to Diſſart, (taking in the Hawy on the left ſide ere it come there) and then into ẏ Wy, which

Darnol.
Elland.
Clardwẽ.
Jthan.
Dulesse.
Cluedoch.
Lomaron.
Hawy.

Irwon.
Weuery.
Duleſſe.
Comarch.
Duleſſe.
Dehon.
Edwy.
Machauy.
Leuenni,

directeth his courſe to Bealt, aliâs Lhanuear where it receyueth the Yrwon, a notable ſtreame, and inlarged by ſondry faire waters, as the Weuerey, the Dulas, and the Comarch on the one ſide, and likewiſe an other Doleſſe, beſide ſondry ſmall rils on the other. After this our Irwon goeth to Lhanuareth where it croſſeth the Dehon on the one ſide, then to Aberedwy, and there receyueth the Edwy on the other, and after that the Machawey that runneth by Caſtle pain, and ſo going on méeteth in proceſſe of tyme with the Leuēni, wherof Leland in his commentaryes, doth write as here inſueth.

Euer.
Euery.
Brennich.
Trufrin.
Duleſſe.
Lug.
wadel.
Oney.
Pinſel.
Kenbroke
Fromey.
Actō alias Loden.
Treſke.
Gaynar.
Garran.

The Leuenni, otherwiſe called the Euer or Euery, is a faire ſtreame riſing in Welche Talgarth hard by Blain Leuenni, among the Atterill hilles, from whence it goeth to Brecknock Mere, which is two miles long, and a myle brode, and where mē fiſh in Vniligneis or botes of one péece, as they doe in Lhin Seuathan, which is foure myles from Brechnoch. Finally bringing great ſtore of Red ſande withall, and there with the Brennich water (that hath his originall iſſue at Mennith gader, and is encreaſed with the Truffrin) it falleth into ẏ Wie aboue Gleſſebury thrée miles from Haie, at a place that of the onclye fall of this broke is named Aberleuenni. Being come to Haie (a pretye towne where much Romaine coine is found, which the people call Iewes money) it méeteth with the Duleſſe that cōmeth alſo from the Atterell by Kerſop, and from thence goeth to Clifford caſtel, the Whitneies, Winferton, Letton, Bradwarden, Brobery, Monington, Byforde, Bridgeſalers, Eaton, Brynton and Hereforde, where it méeteth with a water ryſing ſhorte of Wormeſley, and goeth by Maunſell, Lacy, Brinſop, Credonell, Stretton and Huntington, and ſone after into the Wye, beſide a little ryll that runneth betwene them both euen into Hereforde towne. From hence in lyke ſorte the Wye haſteth to Rotheras church, Hamptō, and Mordeford, where it taketh in ſundrye waters in one chanell, of which the Lug or Luy is the principall, and next of all to be deſcribed before I go any furder with ẏ courſe of the Wye, whereinto it diſchargeth the chanell. It ryſeth as I reade, harde by Meleninth neare to a chappell of our Ladye of Pylale, from whence it goeth to Kineton, Titley, Stanbach, Staunton, Pembridge, Arrellande, Storbach, Euington, Bryarley, beneath which it croſſeth the Wadele, comming from new Radnor, Harton, olde Radnor, Naſh, and hereabout méeting with an other running by Weſton hall, to Monacht, Fulbroke, Preſton (a market towne) and ſo to Byton, where ioyning with ẏ Wadel, they run on as one to ouer Lée, Ailminſter, Kingeſlande, Eiton, and Leon Minſter (or Lemiſter) taking in the Oney by the waye, before we come at the towne. At Lemiſter it ſelfe in like ſort thrée waters doe méete, and almoſt enuironne the towne, that is to ſay, the Lug, the Pinfulley or Pinſell (a ryueret ryſing at Kingeſlande two myles from Lemiſter) and the Kenbroke, which commeth out of the blacke mountaines. From Lemiſter the Lug or Luy goeth on to Eton, and there taketh in a rill beneath Hampton, whereof one heade is betwéene Hatfield and Buckleton, an other neare vnto Marſton, & méeting both at Humber. From Hampton it goeth to Wellington, Morton, Sutton, Shelwyc, Lugwardine, & Longward, where it croſſeth the Fromey or frome a pretie water, and worthy to be remembred. It ryſeth aboue Wolferelaw, from whence it commeth downe to Bromeyarde, Auenbury, Froms caſtell, Stretton vpon Frome, and there taking in a water (called Acton, or Loden as I take it) comming from aboue Byſhoppes Grendon, by Pencomb, Cowarne, Stoke Lacy, Cowarne, and Engleton, it (I meane Frome) goeth on to Yarkeley, Dornington, and Longwarde, and ſo into the Lug, which runneth forthwith to Mordford or Morthford, & ſo into the Wye, vnto whoſe deſcription I nowe returne agayne. Being come therefore vnto Mordforde, it goeth to Hamlacy, Ballinghā, Capull regis (where it receÿueth a water called Treſke, from Berche by Treſke) Fawley, Brokanton, Howe capull, Inkeſton, Foy, Brampton, Bridſtowe, Wilton Caſtell, the Roſſe (and there a rill from Biſhoppes Opton by Budhall,) Wereferde, Ham, Glewſton, Godderiche, (here in lyke ſort méeting with another that commeth from Ecleſwall, by Peniard Caſtell and Coughton) to Welche Bicknor, Engliſhe Bicknor, Hunteſham & Whitchurch, where it taketh in Gaynar water that cōmeth from Birche, by Lanwarne, Michaell church, and at Langarran croſſing the Garran broke, that ryſeth in Gregwood ſixe myles from Monemouth by Norweſt, theſe two doe runne as one, to Marſton, Whitchurch and ſo into the Wye, which goeth from thence to Dixton and Monemouth, where I will ſtay a whyle till I haue deſcribed the Mone, next of all to be remembred here.

Mona.

The Mona ryſeth in the forreſt of Hene, twentie myles from Monemouth by weſt in Eiriſlande, and going by Creſwell, or Craſwall,

wall, after it hath runne a good diſtaunce frõ the head, it receyueth the Elkon on the one ſide, and the Eſkill or Yeſgill on the other: but firſt of all this laſt remembred that commeth thither by Lanthengle., Eſkill and the olde Court. As for the other it commeth frõ aboue Knedoch by Landuehans churche, and this is all that I can ſay of theſe two. After theſe confluences therfore, the Mona goeth to Cluedoch, & taking in the Hodny that rũneth by fine Capell, Lantony abbay, Stãton, Michaell churche, it haſteth on to Walderſton, Landſillo, and then ioyneth wyth the Dour, that ryſeth a little aboue Dourſton, which is ſixe miles aboue Dour abbay, ſo that it runneth thorow the Gilden dale, by Peterchurch, Fowchurche, Norhampton, Newcourt, Dour, and beneath Dour taketh in the Duleſſe, from Lanuethengle, by Harleſwas caſtell on the one ſide, and eare long the Wormeſbecke from aboue Keuernal by Didley, Deuerox, Workebridge and Kenderchurch on the other, and ſo running all in one chanell vnto Mona, that riuer goeth on to Kinech churche, Griſmonde, Cardway, Skenfrith, Warnethall, Perthire and ſo to Monemouth, where it méeteth wyth the Wye.

Elkon.
Eſkill.
Hodney.
Dour.
Duleſſe.
wormeſ=
ecke.

The Guy or Wye therfore being increaſed with thus many brookes and waters, paſſeth on from hence, and going toward Landogo, it méeteth with yͤ Trolly becke, whoſe head is aboue Lannam ferry and goeth from thence by Lhantellio, Lanthangell, Gracedieu, Diggeſtow, Wonaſtow, Troy and ſo into Wye, that runneth alſo by Wies wood chaſe, taking in there the Elwy that cõmeth from aboue Landelwy by Langowen, Lanniſſen, Penclaſe, Trilegh, and Langogo, where méeting with the aforeſayde ſtreame, the Wye directeth his courſe from thence by Tinterne abbay, Chepſtowe and ſo into the ſea, leauing the Treacle (a Chappell ſtanding on a rocke) on the left hande betwéene it and Sauerne, ouer againſt the point that lyeth ſouth of Bettesly. Next vnto the Wye, I finde a rill of no great courſe, comming downe from Mounton chappell, by a place of the biſhops of Landaffe. Thence paſſing by Charſton rocke, and the point whereon Trinitie chappell ſtandeth, I come vnto the fall of Trogy, which ryſeh ſhort of Trogy caſtell, & runneth towarde the ſea, by Landuair, Dewſton, Calycot and ſo into the Ocean.

Trolly.
Elwy.
Trogy.

The next fall is of a water that commeth from aboue Penho by Sainct Brides, north and by weſt of Denny Iſlande, which lieth midway betwene that Fall & Porſhot point, and before I touche at Goldcleffe point, I croſſe another fall of a freſhe brooke, whoſe heade is aboue Landueigo, and courſe by Lhanbed, Langſton, Lhanwarne, & thorowe the more to Wilſton.

Denny I=
lande in yͤ
middeſt of
he Sa=
erne.

The Vſke or Wiſke, in latin Oſca riſeth in ſuch ſort as I haue already deſcribed, & running in proceſſe of tyme, by Trecaſtell, it taketh in the Craie brooke, on the right hande before it come to Kidburne chappell. Going alſo frõ thence toward Deuinock, it croſſeth the Senney on the ſame ſide, (which riſeth aboue capel Senney) next of all the Camblas, and at Abbraine the Brane, or the Bremich whoſe head is thrée miles from Brecknock, and running by Lanthengle, it méeteth I ſay with the Vſke, about Mayſter Awbries Maner. Beneath Aber Yſter, it receyueth the Yſter, which riſeth aboue Martir Kinoch and commeth by Battell chappell, and goyng fromthence by Lanſpythed, and Newton, it runneth in the ende to Brecknocke, where it taketh in the Hodney on the one ſide, whoſe head is in Blaine Hodney, and commyng downe from thence by Defrune chappell, Lanthãgle, & Landinilog it méeteth with the Vſke at Breknocke townes ende, which of the fall of this water, was ſometime called Aberhodni, as I haue béene informed: on the other halfe likewiſe it receyueth yͤ Tertarith that ryſeth among the Bane hylles, fyue myles from Brecknoch and commeth likewiſe into the very ſubburbes of yͤ towne beneath Trenewith, or newe Troy wherby it taketh the courſe.

Vſke.
Craie.
Senny.
Camblas.
Brane.
Yſter.
Hodney.
Tertarith.

After theſe confluẽces, the Vſke procéedeth on towarde Aberkinurike, or the fall of a water whoſe heade is in the rootes of Menuchdenny hil, and paſſage by Cantreffe. Thence it goeth by Lanhamlaghe, Penkethley caſtell, Lanſanfreid Landetty, Langonider, & ſoone after receyuing the Riangall (which riſeth about the hill whereon Dynas Caſtell ſtandeth, and runneth by Lanyhangle and Tretoure) it paſſeth betwéene Langattocke and Cerigkhowell, to Langroyny, and there croſſeth the Groyny brooke, that diſcendeth from Monegather Arthur hill, by Peter Church, as I finde. When the Vſke is paſt this brooke, it taketh in thrée other ſhort rils, from by ſouth with in a little diſtance, whereof the firſt hight Cledoch Vaur, the ſeconde Fydan, & the thirde Cledochvehan. Of theſe alſo the laſt falleth in néere to Lanwenarth. From hence the Vſke runneth to Abergeuenni towne, where it méeteth with the Geuenni water from by north (that riſeth ſhort of Bettus Chappell) & ſo goeth on to Hardwijc, beneath which it croſſeth thrée nameles

Kynuricke
Riangall.
Groyni.
Cledoch=
vaur.
Fidan.
Cledoch=
vehan.
Geuenni.

rilles

Seuenni.

Birthin.

Cairuſke ſtandeth on one ſide of Vſe, and Carliō on the other, but Cair vſke by diuers miles farder into the land.

rilles on the right hande before it come at Lanhangle vpon Vſke, of whoſe courſes I know not any more then that they are not of any length nor the chanel of ſufficient greatnes ſeuerally to entreate of. Betwéene Kemmeys and Troſtrey it méeteth with ſuch an other rill that commeth downe by Bettus Newith. Thence it goeth to Cair Vſke or Brenbigei, but eare it come there, it receyueth the Birthin on the right hande, which is a pretie water deſcending from two heades, wherof the firſt is north weſt of Manyhylot, as the other is of Lanyhangle & Pentmorell. Next vnto this it ioyneth with the Elwy aboue Lanbadocke, whoſe heade is Eaſt of Penclaſe, and running weſtwardes by Penclaſe, Lanniſſen, Langowen (and beneath Landewy taking in a broket from Ragland caſtell, that commeth downe thither by Raglande parke) it bendeth ſouthweſt vntill it come at the Vſke, which crinckling toward the South méeteth with thrée rilles before it come to Marthey chappell, wherof the firſt lyeth on the right hande, and the other on the left. Frō Marthelly it haſteth to Kemmeys, and eare it come at Carleon, taketh in two waters on the ryght hande, of which the firſt commeth downe betwéene Landgwy & Landgweth, & by Lhan Henoch, without any farder increaſe: but the other is a more beautifull ſtreame, called Auon, and thus deſcribed as I finde it among my pamphlettes.

Auon.

The Auon ryſeth in the hilles that ſéeme to part Monemouth and Breckenock ſhires in ſunder, and running downe from thence by Capell Newith and Triuethin, it receyueth a water from by ſouth almoſt of equall courſe, & from that quarter of the countrie and in proceſſe of time, another little one frō the ſame ſide, eare it come to Lanyhangle, from whence it goeth to Gwennocke & Penroſe, and ſo in Vſe before it go by Carleon. Being paſt Carlſon it runneth to Cryndy, where M. Harbert dwelleth, and there carying another brooke withall, that deſcendeth by Henlis and Bettus chappell, it runneth furth to Newport (in Welch caſtel Newith) and from thence into the ſea taking the Ebowith water withall, whoſe race I deſcribed in my firſt booke, but hauing nowe more intelligence of his courſe, I will ones againe deale with it in this manner as I reade it. The Ebowith riſeth in yͤ very edge of Monemouth ſhyre, aboue Blainegwent, and comming downe by Lanheleth and Tumberlow hyll (croſſing a ryll, from North eaſt by the way) it taketh in therabout yͤ Serowy, that runneth by Treſtrent, and is of leſſe race hitherto, then the Ebowith, and frō that ſame quarter. After this confluence it goeth to Riſley, Rocheſton caſtell, next of all thorowe a parke, and ſo to Grenefeld caſtell, and is not long ere it fall into the ſea, being the laſt iſſue that I doe finde in the county, which beareth the name of Monemouth, & was in olde time a part of the region of the Silures.

Ebowith.

Serowy.

Remeney.

The Remeney or as ſome corruptly call it the Nonney is a goodly water, and from the head a march betwéene Monemouth & Glamorgan ſhires. It receyueth no water on the eaſt ſide, but on the weſt diuers ſmal beckes, whereof thrée are betwéene the riſing & Brathetere chappell, the fourth commeth in by Capel Gledis, the fift from betwéene the Faldray and Lanvabor, the ſixt and ſeuenth before it come to Bedwas, and the eyght ouer againſt Bedwas it ſelfe, from chappell Martin: after which confluences it runneth on by Maghan, Keuen, Mabley and Romeney, and ere long croſſing a becke at North eaſt, that commeth by Lanyſſen, and Rathe it falleth ſoone after into the Sauerne, Sea, but ſée more of this in my former Treatize.

Taffe vaur.

Taffe vehan.

Cunnon or Kenon.

Rodney.

Cledungh.

The Taffe riſeth among the woody hilles, that lye weſt, and by north of Menuchdeny hill, and going downe to Capell Nanty, it taketh in a ryllet from by weſt, & afterward another from by eaſt, comming by Morlais caſtell, called Taffe vehan (as the former is named Taffe vaur) ſo that Menuch hill doth lye betwéene theſe two heades, and therto is an hill of no ſmal height and greatneſſe. Being ioyned they go on to Martyr Tidvill as one, & ſo procéede til they méete with Cunnō, (or rather Kenon, tenne myles from Clauth conſtable, a faire Brooke running to Aberdare, and after that with the Rodney, before deſcribed) whereinto the Cledungh falleth, a myle from Ketgowghe & an halfe, on yͤ weſt ſide, after which confluence it haſteth to the ſea without any farder increaſe, by Caſtell Coche, Whitchurche, Landaffe, and Cardiffe, as I geſſe.

Lay.

Dunelais.

Methcoid.

Pedware.

The Lay ryſeth in the hylles aboue Lantriſſent (for all the regyon is very hillye.) From whence comming by Lantriſſent, it runneth by Coſt Marchan parke, Lambeder ſ. Brides, Lhannihangel, Leckwith, Lādolwgh, Cogampyll, and ſo into the ſea, without anye manner increaſe by anye rylles at all ſauing the Dunelais, which ryſeth foure myles from his fall, eaſt northeaſt, & méeteth withall a little more then a quarter of a myle from Pont Velim Vaur, and likewiſe by weſt, the Methcoide that commeth from Glinne Rodeney, and wherein to the Pedware diſchargeth that ſmall water gathered in his chanell.

ie. arry.

Leauing the Laie which ſome call Elaye, and paſſing the Pennarth baie, that lyeth betweene the Pennarth and the Lauerocke pointes, we left Scilley Iſlet (which lyeth in the mouth of Scilley hauen before deſcribed) and came vnto the Barry whoſe heade is aboue wrinſton caſtell, and from whence hee runneth by Deinſpowis, Cadorton, Barry and ſo into the ſea.

hawan. ensan.

Thawan is the next ſtreame (ſauing Come Kidy touched afore) nowe to be deſcribed. It ryſeth of two headlettes aboue Lanſannan, and thence goeth to Cowbridge, Lanblethian, Landoghe, Beanpeere, Flymſton, Gylſton, and betweene the eaſt and the weſt Aberthawan into the Sauerne Sea. But ere it come all there it receyueth a broke called Kenſan, or Karnſan, or Kenſer, on the Eaſtſyde, whoſe heade is eaſt of Bolſton, and commyng by Charnelhoyde, Lhancaruan, and Lhancadle, it falleth into the former aboue eyther of the Thawans, Lelande ſayth, that Kenſan hath two heades whereof the more Northerly called Brane, lieth in Luenlithan, & runneth ſeauen myles before it meete wyth the other. Leauyng this water we ſayled on, caſting about the naſhe point, omytting two or three waters whereof I haue made mencion in my former treatiſe by the way, becauſe I haue nothing more to adde vnto their deſcriptions, except it be that the Colhow taketh in a rill frõ Lan Iltruit, of whoſe courſe (to ſaye the truth) I haue no manner knowledge.

gur. enny. arrow, euenne, orug

Kenſig. Margan. Auon.

The Ogur or Gur, which ſome falſely call Ogmur, is a welfaire ſtreame, (as we were wont to ſaye in our olde engliſhe) whoſe head is in the ſame hilles, where the Rodeneis are to be founde, but much more weſterlye, and running a long courſe ere it come to any village, it goeth at the length beneth Languineuere, to S. Brides vpon Ogur, then to newe caſtell, and Marthermaure, beneath which it meeteth the Wenny, halfe a mile from Ogor caſtell on the eaſt banke. It ryſeth fiue or ſixe miles from this place, among the hilles, and comming downe at laſt by Lanharne, it croſſeth a ryll ere long from northeaſt, and the confluence paſſeth forth by Coitchurch, Ogor caſtell, and ſo into the Ogor. Lelande wryting of the waters that fall into thys Ogor ſayth thus. Into the Ogur alſo reſorteth the Garrow two myles aboue Lanſanfride bridge, deſcending from Blaingarow. It taketh furthermore ſayeth hee another called Leuenny ryſing in the Paroch of Glin Corug, at Northweſt, and then running two myles lower, vniteth it ſelfe with the Corug broke, a little ſhort thing & worthie no longer ſpeach. From this confluence the Leuenni goeth ſeuen myles farder eare it meete with the Ogor on the weſt ſide, at Lanſanfride, two myles aboue Penbowt, and ſo farre Lelande. Next vnto the Ogur is the Kenſig water, that commeth downe by the Pyle and Kenſige caſtell, and being paſt the ſame we croſſe the Margan rill, where Sir Edwarde Manxell dwelt, and ſo vnto Auon, which hauing two heades as is ſaid, the more eaſterly of them commeth downe by Hauodaport chappell, the other by Glin Corug, Michaell church, Aber Auon, and ſo into the ſea. From hence we went along by the Cole pittes to the mouth of the Neth.

Neth. Nethuehã. Neth Vaur. Traugarth. Meltay. Hepſay. Duleſſe. Cledoch.

The Neth is a faire water, ryſing of fiue heades, whereof the more eaſterlye named Nethvehan riſeth not farre from the head of the Kennon, and comming downe to Aberpirgwin, it recieueth Nethvaur, a litle aboue the towne, which riſing not farre ſoutheaſt of the head of Tauy, receiueth yͤ Traugarth, the Meltay and the Hepſay (all which are accompted, as members of his heade) in one chanell about a myle or more before it ioyne with Nethvehan. After theſe confluences, the maine ſtreame runneth in and out by ſundry myles till it mette with the Duleſſe, whoſe head is aboue Chappel Brenaunt. Thence it goeth to Cadox towne, or betweene it and Lanniltyde, then to Nethtowne, and beneath the ſame receiuing the Cledoch, that rũneth by Kelebebilch, and alſo Neth abbay where M. Crumwell dwelleth, it goeth on by Coitfranke forreſt, Nethwood, Bryton ferry and ſo into the ſea.

Tauy. Coilus. Torche. Ilſton.

The Tauy (for I paſſe ouer the Crimline becke, bicauſe I want his deſcription) riſeth in the thickeſt of the blacke mountaines, and comming downe weſt of Callwen chappell, it receyueth on the eaſt banke a ryll, named Coiell, that runneth thither by Coielburne chappell, and beyng thus vnited the chanell paſſeth forth by Iſtraguiles, and then meeting with the Turche, or Torche water that commeth from the foote of the blacke mountaine, it runneth to Langoge, Lanſamled, S. Iohns, Swanſey, and ſo into the Baie. Being paſt this we come by another litle fal, whoſe water runneth three or foure myles, ere it come into Swanſey Baie, but without name. Thence going about by Oyſtermout caſtell & Mumbles point, we go forth toward the ſouthweſt, by Pennarth point, tyll wee come to Ilſton water, whoſe head is not far within the lande, and yet a rill or two doth fall into the ſame. Then caſtyng about by Oxwiche point, wee go onwarde there by and ſayling flat north by the Holme, and S.

Lochar.
Amone.
Commwilly.
Moꝛlais.
Lhu.
Burray.
Lheddy.
Duleſſe.
wandꝛes.

Bennettes chappell and then Noꝛth eaſt by Whitfoꝛde point, we went at length to the Lochar, oꝛ Loghoꝛ, oꝛ as Lhoyd nameth it the Lychwꝛ. It ryſeth aboue Gwenwy chappell, from whence it goeth to Landbea, and aboue Bettus receiueth a rill named Amone that entereth thereinto frõ noꝛtheaſt. Being paſt Bettus it paſſeth by Laneddy, Arthelas bꝛidge, and ouer againſt Landilo Talabout, it croſſeth from by weſt the Combwily and afterwarde the Moꝛlais aboue Langnarche on the ſame ſide. Then comming to Loghoꝛ caſtell, it taketh in on the eaſt ſide, the Lhu whoſe courſe is not aboue fiue myles, and thence loſing the name of Lochar, it is called Burray as I geſſe vntill it come to the ſea. From this water we paſſed by Bachannis Iſle, to the Aberlheddy water, whoſe heade being aboue Pꝛenacrois, it paſſeth by Lhanelthey & thence into the ſea. Then went we to the Duleſſe, thence by the Pembꝛay and Calicoit pointes, till we came about to the Wandꝛes oꝛ Vendꝛaith mouth, whoſe deſcription is ſufficiently ſet downe in the foꝛmer Treatiƶe, and therfoꝛe but in vaine to be repeated here, except I might adde ſomewhat thereunto therby to make it moꝛe perfite.

Towy.
Trauſnãt
Tothe.
Peſcotter.
Bꝛane.
Gutherijc.
Duleſſe.
Moꝛlais.
Modewy.
Cledoch.
Sawthy.
Duleſſe.2.
Duleſſe.3.
Cothy.
Turche.
Rauelthy.
Gwily.

The Towy ryſing in ſuch ſoꝛte and place as I haue ſayde, parteth Bꝛecknocke from Cardigon ſhyꝛe, foꝛ a certaine ſeaſon, till it come by the water of Trauſnant (that falleth thereinto from by eaſt,) vnto Pylin Capell, and ſo to Iſtrodeſine where it méeteth with the Tothée that commeth thether from Lhinuerwin where it ryſeth and ſo thoꝛowe Reſcoth foꝛreſt, till it vnite it ſelfe with the Peſcotter, which moũting out of the ground in thedge of Cardigan ſhyꝛe, runneth along as a limite and marche vnto the ſame, till it ioyne with the Tothée, & both come togither beneath Iſtrodeſine into Towy. After this confluence it cõmeth to Lhanuair Awbꝛey, Lonyhowell and Landonuery, and here it receyueth two waters in one chanell, whereof the firſt is called Bꝛane, the other Gutherijc (which lyeth moꝛe ſoutherly of the two) & fall as I ſayd into Towy beneath Landonverey, which rũneth on till it méete with the firſt Duleſſe that goeth by Lanurdy, then with the Marlais, & theſe on the Noꝛthweſt. But a litle lower it taketh in many waters in one chanell beneath Langadocke, called Modewy from by eaſt, whereof I haue thys aduertiſement. The Modewy oꝛ as ſome pꝛonounce it Motheuy, ryſeth of two heades, which ioyning aboue Lanyhangle, ẏ ſtreame runneth on till it mette with the Cledoch on the left hande, pꝛocéeding alſo farder toward Langadocke, it receiueth not far from thence the Sawthey whoſe two heades deſcende frõ the blacke mountaines oꝛ eaſt edge of Carmardineſhyꝛe, as mine infoꝛmation leadeth me. After this confluence the ſeconde Duleſſe doth méete with the Towy (whoſe head is in the hilles aboue Talthogay abbay) then comming downe by Landilouaur, Dinefar caſtell, and Golden groue, it receyueth the thirde Duleſſe, from by noꝛth that commeth in by Dꝛiſlan caſtell and after that the Cothey, whoſe race is ſomewhat long and therfoꝛe his deſcription not vtterly to be paſſed ouer. Not farre from the head (whoſe place is alreadie ſet downe) and ſomewhat beneath Lanapinſent chappell, it taketh in the Turchebecke, that runneth thither from Lanacroyes. Thence it goeth to Lanſawell, Abergoꝛlech, Bꝛeghuangothy, Lannigood and ſo into Towy, which haſting foꝛwarde by chappell Dewy, receyueth the Rauelthy, from by noꝛth, then the Gwily frõ noꝛthweſt, whoſe head is aboue Lany Pinſent, & race by Canwell, Eluert, Comewyly, and Merling hill, as I haue often heard. After this confluence with the Gwyly, the Towy goeth to Caermardine, then to Lanygang, then to Lanſtephan, ſ. Iſmaeles and ſo into the ſea.

Taue.
Duddery.
Marlais.
Venni.
Cair.
Barthkinni
Gow.
Gowen.

Next vnto the Towy is the Taue, whoſe head is in the blacke mountaines as is afoꝛeſayde, at the rootes of Wrenni vaur hill in Pembꝛokeſhyꝛe, from whence it runneth by Lanunrieach, Langludien, Lanualteg, and taking in the Duddery from ſouthweſt, out of the ſame countie by Lanbederuelfray, it goeth to Egleſware chappell, beneath which it croſſeth the Marlais by Noꝛth that runneth by Lanbedy & Whitlande. Thence méeting with one rill (called Venni as I take it) that commeth thoꝛow Cardith foꝛreſt on the one ſide, & the Cayꝛe on the other that runneth into it weſt of Landowꝛoꝛ, it haſteth to S. Clares where it taketh in the Karthkynny, oꝛ Barthkinni, as Leland calleth it, & the Gow both in one chanell, of which the firſt ryſeth aboue Capell Bettus, from whence it runneth by Talacouthe, Kilſant and Langynnyn, the other iſſueth out of the grounde aboue Trologh Bettus, by Mydꝛim, & ioyning with the foꝛmer a little aboue ſ. Clares they runne into the Taue, and from thence to Lanyhangle, and betwéene it and Abercowen, admitteth finally the Gowẽ ſtreame, which comming likewyſe from the blacke mountaines goeth by Ebbernant, and ſo into the Taue, who directeth his courſe, by Lacharne caſtell and then into the ſea.

Gwair.

The next water that we come to is the Gwair, which is but a ſmall thing ryſing abone Crugwair, and going into the ſea, at Argwaire. Then paſſed we by another comming out of Rath foreſt called Coit Rathe, the water it ſelfe riſing ſhort of Templeton. Thence leauing the Monkeſton rocke, we came to Tenby or Dynbechy Piſcod, and paſſing into the Port betwéene the caſtell and ſ. Catherines rocke, we founde it ſerued with two little backewaters, of ſo ſmal countenaunce, that they are not worthye of any farder talke to be ſpent in their deſcriptions. After this we paſſed betwéene Londy and another Iſlet or rock lying by northweſt of the ſame, to Ludſop point, and ſo to Abertrewẽt where I founde a ſilly freſhe water, that ryſeth a myle or thereabout within the lande. Frõ thence we went ſouthwards by Brode hauen, til we came to S. Gowans point. Thẽ gathering weſt & by North before we came at Shepe Iſlande, we founde another freſhe water, that riſeth ſhort of Kyriog Maharen, and running ſouth of Vggarſton, Windmill hill, or betwéene it and Caſtell Norton and Gupton, it holdeth on flat weſt all the way, till it come at the Oceane. The Shepe Iſle not afore deſcribed is but a little plot, lying at the very point of the Bay before we came at ỹ Blockhouſe, which ſtandeth north of the ſame at the very entrie into Milforde hauen vpon the eaſt ſide. By north of Shepe Iſle & betwéene it and the Stacke rocke (which lyeth in the very middeſt of the hauen) at another point is Rat Iſle, yet ſmaller then the former. Being therfore paſſed theſe, we caſt about towarde the northweſt, by the Poptõs and Pennar, till wée came to the Pennar mouth, out of which the Salt water iſſueth that in maner enuironneth Pembroke. Frõ this (omitting ſundry ſalt créekes on both ſides of the hauen) we came to the fall of two waters in one chanel aboue whoſe cõfluence, Williamſton parke ſtandeth, & whereof one (a méere ſalt courſe,) incloſeth thrée partes of Carew caſtell. The other ryſing neare to Coit Rath foreſt is a freſhe, and going by Geffraiſton, Creſwel and Lawrenny, it leaueth the Sparck on the ſouth ſide, and goeth into the hauen after confluence with the former.

õ Lon=
to Cal=
thirtie
les.

rewent.

hepe I=

t Iſle.

nnar.

Nowe come I to the two ſwordes, afore mencioned whoſe courſes I finde deſcribed in this order. The Clothy ryſeth at the foote of Wrenny baur hill and comming downe to Monachlodge, Langelman, Lannakeuen, and Egremond, it receyueth a ryll from by northweſt before it come at Lanhaddon caſtell. Eare long alſo it taketh in another on the eaſt ſide from Narbarth caſtell, by Robeſton, then going by Cunaſton, Slebach, Picton caſtell, at Riſe caſtell poynt weſt of Coit Kenles (as I haue béene informed) it méeteth with the other ſworde, named Dugledy whereof I reade as followeth. The hed of the Dugledy, is ſomewhere at northweſt, betwéene S. Laurences and S. Dugwels, from whence it rũneth to Trauegarne, Redbarton, and taking in a rill by the waye from Camroſe at the weſt, it goeth to Hauerford weſt, and there vniteth it ſelfe with a water, which peraduenture, is the ſame that Lelãd called Guyly. Certes it riſeth about Waltõ, and comming by S. Leonardes chappel and Pendergeſt, it falleth, I ſay into the Dugledy, ouer againſt the towne of Hauerforde, or Herforde weſt, but in Welch Hulforde as Lhoid doth ſet it downe. Beneath Herforde it taketh in another water from ſouthweſt, whoſe head is ſhort of S. Margarettes chappell, and enteraunce betwéene Harraldſton, and Herforde, which Harraldſtone, receyueth the name of Harralde the ſucceſſour of Edwarde the confeſſour as ſome call him, who was a grieuous mall vnto the Britons that remayned in the time of the ſayde Edwarde as I haue noted alreadie. The Cultlell cõmeth into the Dugledy beneath Bolſton, with a ſtreight courſe from by North, of thrée or foure myles, after whoſe vnition with the aforeſayde water, they runne on as one till they mette with the Clothy caſting out by the waye ſundry ſalt créekes as the maine chanell doth from thenceforth vntill it paſſe the Sandy hauẽ, the Dale rode (whither a ſilly freſh rill commeth of ſmall value) and be come about agayne into the large Oceane. Hauing thus ſhewed the courſes of thoſe few freſh waters that come to Milford hauen, we caſt about by the blockehouſe and S. Annes chappell to Gateholme Iſle, that lyeth betwéene S. Annes and the Willocke point, directlye ouer againſt Stockeholme Iſland that is ſcituate farder of into the ſea, towarde the ſouthweſt, and is full halfe ſo great as the Scalmey ỹ I before deſcribed.

othey.

Dugledy.

Gwyly.

Cultiel.

Gateholme Iſle.

Stocke=
holme Iſle

Betwéene the Willocke point alſo and the Scalmey, directly weſt, is the midlande Iſle, full ſo great as the Gateholme.

The Greſholme lyeth directlye weſt of Scalmey, from whence if you ſayle thyther on the ſouth ſide, you muſt néedes paſt by the newſtone rocke: if on the north of Scalmey, you muſt leaue the Parlande ſtone on your lefthand. Wherunto if you note well the ſcituation of theſe Iſlands already named, and conferre them with the Ramſey and S. Dauids land, you ſhall finde them to produce as it were two daungerous pointes, including the Brid baie, wherein (notwithſtanding the

Midlande
Iſle.

Greſholme

greatneſſe) are 1000. perilles, and no freſhe Brookes for me to deale withall. Thus hauing doubled the Willocke point, we entred yet into the Baie, to ſée what Iſles were there againſt the nexte publication of thys booke, if it maye pleaſe God to graunt mée lyfe to ſée it printed once againe, eyther by it ſelfe or otherwiſe.

S. Brides Iſlande.

A ſorte of dangerous rockes lying on a row vpon the weſt ende of ſouthwals called the biſhop and his clarkes

Gwerne.

Neuerne.

Teify or Tiue.

Firſt of all therefore I ſawe S. Brides Iſlande, a very little patche of grounde, néere the lande, before I came at Galtrop rode. From thence we went aboute by the little hauen, Dolnach Hauen, Carnay Hauen, Shirelace rocke, Carnbuddy, and Carnay Bayes, Portclais, and ſo into the ſounde betwéene Ramſey and the point. In thys ſound lykewiſe is a litle Iſle, almoſt annexed to the maine, but in the middeſt thereof is a rocke called the horſe (a myle and more by north of Ribby rocke, that lyeth ſouth eaſt of Ramſey) and more infortunate then tenne of Seianes coltes, but thanked be God I neuer came on his back. Thẽce paſſing by S Stephens baie, and White ſande baie, we ſaluted the Biſhop and his Clarkes, as they went in Proceſſion on oure left ſyde (beyng lothe to take any ſalted holy water at their hands) and came at laſt to the point called S. Dauids head. From whence we coaſted along toward the ſoutheaſt, till wée came ouer againſt S. Catherins, where goyng northwardes by the broade hauen, and the Strombles heade, we ſayled thence northeaſt, and by north, to Langlas head, then flat ſouth by the Cow and calfe (two cruell rockes) which we left on the left hande; and ſo coſted ouer to Abergwin or Fiſcarde, where we founde a freſhe water named Gwin, or Gwerne, whoſe courſe is in manner directly out of the eaſt into the Weſt, vntill it come within a myle of the aforeſayde Towne. It ryſeth flat north of the percely hill, from whence it goeth by Pont vain, Lauerellidoch, Lanchar, Landilouair, and ſo to Abergwine, or Abergwerne, for I doe read both. Frõ Abergwin, we caſt about by Dynas heade, till we come to the fall of Neuerne, where Newport ſtandeth. The head of thys ryuer is aboue Capell Nantgwyn, from whence it runneth by Whitchurch, but eare it come at Kylgwin, it taketh in a little water that ryſeth ſhort of Wreny vaur, & thence go foorth as one vntill they come to Newport. Cardigan hauen is the next fall that I dyd ſtumble on, wherein lyeth a little Iſlande ouer againſt the north point. Hereinto alſo commeth the Teify, whereof I haue ſpoken ſomewhat in my former treatiſe, but ſith it ſufficeth not for the for the full knowledge of the courſe of thys ſtreame, I wyll ſupply the want euen here in ſuch order as inſueth.

Myrick.

Landurch

Bromis.

Brennig

Mathern

Dulas.

Grauelth

Clethor.

Kery.

Cheach.

The Teify or Tiue ryſeth in Lintiue as is aforeſayde, and after it hath runne from thence a little ſpace, it receyueth a brooke frõ ſoutheaſt that commeth out of Lin Legnant and then after the confluence runneth on to Stradfleur Abbaie, beneath which it méeteth with the Myricke water (that ryſeth aboue Stradmyrich) and ſoone after with the Landurch, (both from the northweſt) and finally the Bromis aboue Tregaron, that commeth in by the eaſt as Leland hath ſet down. Néere to Landwybreuy alſo it croſſeth the Brennige by eaſt, & then goeth to Landuair, Cledoghe, Kellan, & ſoone after taking in the Matherne from by Eaſt that parteth Cardigan partely from Carmardine ſhire, and likewiſe yͤ Dulas aboue Lanbedder, (which ryſeth aboue Langybby, and goeth thence to Bettus) on the northweſt, it goeth next of all to Lanbedder towne, then to Lanyvair, beneath which it croſſeth the Grauelth, thence to Pẽcarocke, Lanibether, Lanlloyny, Lanyhangle, and Landiſſel, and there it vniteth it ſelfe with the Clethor, which cõmeth down thither by Lantiſilued chappell, Lanfraine, and finaly Landiſſell from by north as I doe here. After this confluence it procéedeth on to Landuay, Alloyne, Bangor, Langeler, Landeureog and Newcaſtell, ere long taking in the Kery from by north, whoſe heade is not farre from that of Clethor, and whoſe courſe is ſomewhat inlarged by ſuch rilles as diſcend into the ſame. For weſt of Capel Kenõ, two becks in one chanell doe fall into it, although they be nameleſſe, and but of a lyttle length. Beneth Tredwair, alſo croſſeth another from by weſt, that runneth along by Bettus, Euan, and finally méeting wyth the Teify, they runne as one by Kennarth (ſtill parting Cardigon ſhire, from Carmardin, as it hath done ſith it met wyth yͤ Matherne) and ſo forth on till they ioyne with the Cheach which ryſing aboue Chapple Euan, doth part Carmardine and Brecknocke ſhire in ſunder, till it come vnto the Teify. Frõ this confluence, and being ſtill a Limite vnto Cardigon ſhire, it goeth by Marierdiue, and ſo to Cardigan, taking in one rill from by north and two on the ſouthweſt ſide, but afterwarde none at all, before it come to the ſea.

Ayron.

Ayron ryſyng as is aforeſayde aboue Blain Penial, runneth on by Lamberwoddy Langytho, Tregrigaron hill, Treuilian, and ſoone after taking in a ryll from by ſouth it rũneth by Iſtrade, Kylkẽnen, Lanicharin, and finally into the Sea, croſſyng by the way

the

idder.

the Bidder broke, which comming from Dehewide, doth fall into the ſame, betweene Lanychayrin, and Henbenney.

rth.

The Arth is no great thing, neyther of any any long courſe, yet it ryſeth three or foure myles or more within the lande ſlopewiſe, & cōming by Lambadern, & Treueglois, it falleth into the ſea, northeaſt of Aberarth. The Ris or rather the Wercy, ryſeth of two heades, aboue whoſe cōfluence ſtandeth a town, named Lanyhangle, Redrod, & from whence it goeth by Lanygruthen to Lariſted, and ſo into the Ocean.

Ris, alias
wercy.

ſtwith.

The Yſtwith ryſeth in the blacke mounteynes, aboue Comerſtwith from whence it runneth certeine myles, vntill it come vnto Yſpitty, Iſtwith, Lanauon, Lanyler, Lan Nachairne, and ſo into the ſea taking withal the Ridall or Redholl not far from the ſhore, whereof I haue this diſcription. The Ridall ryſeth in the toppe of Plimlymmon hyll out of a lake named Lin Ridal, from whence going towarde Spitty Kinwen, it croſſeth one water on the north, and another beneath it on the ſoutheaſt, and ſo goth on by Lanbeder vaur, till it come to Aberiſtwith, the Iſtwith and ſo into the Ocean.

Redhol.

alique.

The Salique broke deſcendeth in like ſorte from the blackmounteines, and going Vmmaboue, toward Gogarth, or Gogyrthar, it receyueth the Maſſalique, and from thence goeth into the ſea.

Maſſalique.

ery.

The Lery ryſeth toward the lower ground of the blacke hylles, and going by Lanhangle caſtell Gwalter, it runneth from thence northeaſt into the Ocean. Thus haue I brought me ſelfe out of Cardigon ſhire, vnto the Wy, that ſeemeth for a certeine ſpace to be marche betweene the ſame and Merionneth, & here wͭ alſo I ende with the deſcription of ſouthwales, and likewiſe of all that region remayning, whereof I haue no farder knowledge, more then is alreadye ſet downe in my firſt booke, ſith thoſe yͭ promiſed helpe herein haue vtterlye deceyued me. Yet thus much will I note of ſuch waters as fall into the ſayde riuer on the ſouth ſide, that aboue Mathanlaith it croſſeth the Dowlaſſe Du and Dowlaſſe Ruen both in a chanell, whoſe heades lye by weſt of yͤ Ruoluadian hill. Beneath the ſayde towne likewiſe I fynde the Leuennaunt, which hauing two heades, the more ſoutherly of them is Limes betweene Radnor ſhire & Mōemoth. After theſe it croſſeth the Eynon, the Kinuer, and the Cledour, and thus farre for wales I ſaie againe, ſith for the reſt I yeelde vnto a non plus, vntill I come to yͤ Dee, of whoſe courſe I haue ſome informatiō, (after it hath receyued yͤ Kyrriog & the Morlais, both in one bottome,) on the ſouth ſide of Chirke caſtell, but not from the very head for want of information. Hauing therfore, mette with the aforeſayde water, the De proceedeth to Beſtocke, Orton Madocke, Orton bridge and Bangor, where the ſlaughter of monkes was made, or not far of from thence, and of which Monaſterie I find this note inſuing. Their abbaye of Bangor ſtoode ſometime in Engliſhe Maylor, by hyther and ſouth of the riuer Dee. It is nowe ploughed ground where that houſe ſtoode, by the ſpace of a Welch myle (which reacheth vnto a myle and an halfe Engliſhe) and to thys daye the tillers of the ſoyle there, doe plowe vp bones as they ſaye of thoſe monks that were ſlaine in the quarell of Auguſtine, and wythin the memorie of man, ſome of them were taken vp in their rotten weedes, which were much lyke vnto thoſe of our late monkes, as Lelād doth ſet it down, yet Eraſmus is of the opinion, that the apparel of the Benedictine monkes, was ſuch as moſt men did were at their firſt inſtitutiō. But to proceede, thys Abbaye ſtoode in a fayre valley, and in thoſe tymes the ryuer ranne harde by it. The compaſſe thereof lykewiſe, was as yͤ ciruite of a walled Towne, and to this daye two of the the gates may eaſily be diſcerned, of which the one is named Port Hogan lying by north, the other Port Clais, ſcituate vpō the ſouth. But yͤ Dee hauing now changed his chanell, runneth thorow yͤ very middeſt of the houſe betwixt thoſe two gates, the one of them being at the leſt a full halfe myle frō the other. As for the ſquared ſtone that is founde hereabout, and the Romaine coine, there is no ſuch neceſſity, of the rehearſell thereof, but that I maye paſſe it ouer without any farther mencion.

Dulcſſe
Du.
Dulcſſe
Ruen.
Leuenny
or Leuennant.
Eynon.
Kynuer.
Cledour.
Dee.
Kyrriog
the chanell
made by yͤ
confluence
of Kyrriog and
Morlais,
is a limite
betweene
Chirke &
Yale.

The ſcituation of the monaſtery of Bangor.

The Dee therefore beyng paſt Bangor, goeth to Wrothenbury, and there receyueth ſundry waters into one chanell, whereof the chiefe ryſeth neere to Blackmere (a maner pertayning to the Earle of Shrewesbury) from whence it goeth to Whitechurch, Duſacre hall, and ſoone after taketh in a ryll that diſcendeth from Coiſley, after which cōfluence, it runneth on by nether Durtwiche, to Olde caſtell, Tallarne, and ere long croſſeth two other waters in one channell alſo, whereof one runneth by Penly chapell, another from Hawmere, and ioyning at Emberhall, they go from thence to Worthenbury, and ſo into the Dee, which by and by vniteth it ſelfe with another at Shockebridge that commeth in from Ridding. Thence it runneth betweene Holt caſtell, and Farne, and ere it come to Alford two waters commyng ming out of Wales doe ioyne withal, whereof the one is named Alin and deſcendeth by Graſſorde, Marſforde, Cragwilly and Alen towne, the other goeth by Pewford & Potton.

Alen.

Beneath Alford towne end likewiſe the Dee receyueth the Gowy, whoſe heade is at Peckforten at two ſeuerall places, and after the confluence goeth by Beiſton caſtell, & Beſton towne: thence to Treerton and Hakeſly where it deuideth it ſelfe, ſo that one arme runneth by Totnall, Gowburne (where M. Venables lyeth) Lee hall and beneath Alford againe into the other braunche of the ryuer Dee, which goeth in the meane time by Stapleforde, Hocknell plat, Plemſtow, & a litle aboue Thorneton croſſeth a water that commeth from Cheſter, and goeth to Thornetō by the Baites, Charletō, Blackford, Crowton, and Stoke, whereby Wyrall is cut frō the maine of Englande and left as a very Iſlande. Finally our Dee goeth from Alforde to Eaton hall, Eccleſton, Huntungdon hall, Boughton and ſo by Cheſter towne into the hauen adioyning, and thus much of the Dee,

Gowy.

Alen.

which receyueth in like ſort the Alen mencioned euen now whereof I gaue ſome notice in the former Treatize, and I haue found more ſithens that time in Leland which I will not here omitte, to ſet downe worde for word as I reade it in his Commentaries. One of the greateſt riuers, ſaith he, that falleth into this ſtreame, (meaning Dee) is named Alen. It ryſeth in a pole called Lin Alen, and goeth from thence by Lanteglan, Lan Armon, Lanueris, Moleſdale, and at Hiſpalin rūneth into the grounde for a certaine ſpace, about a quarter of a mile in length, and there after it is ryſen againe with a great vehemencie, becommeth a marche betweene Moleldale (a Lordſhip full of very fine riuerets, called in Welche Stradalyn) and Flint, for a fiue miles grounde. From thence going thorow Horedale, Bromefielde aliâs Maylor & Camridge, halfe a myle beneath Holt, it falleth into the Dee, which hath the beſt Trowtes in England. Beſide this it receyueth alſo the Rue Dedoch, which commeth downe within a quarter of a myle of Wrexam, & meeteth wythall a myle aboue Holt, a verye pretie ſtreame, and ſuch a one in deede as breedeth the ſame Trowt, for which the Dee is commended.

Beſt Trowtes in Dee Rue Dedoch.

The Abon falleth into yͤ Dee, within a myle of Ruabon churche.

Abon.

I had almoſt forgotten (ſaith the ſayde Authour) to ſpeake of the Terig otherwiſe named Auon Terig, which being almoſt ſo great as the Alen, cōmeth thorow a peece of Yale Lordſhip into Moleſdale, and ſo into Alin.

Terig.

I ouer paſſe alſo the Howne that commeth by the ſouth ende of Moleſdale towne, and ſoone after into this water.

Howne.

Alſo the Brone, deſcending frō Reginalds tower, & after thre quarters of a myle lykewyſe into the Alen.

Brone.

Finally the Wyral which ryſeth within leſſe then a quarter of a myle of Cheſter, & falleth into Dee at Flockers brooke, without the north gate, wherein is a Docke called Port pole for great ſhips to ride at a ſpring tyde. Hitherto Lelande, whoſe ſayings herein ſhal not periſh, becauſe they may be profitably vſed in the next publication of this booke, yf it euer happen to be liked and come thereto.

Wyrall.

Being paſt the Dee we come next of all vnto the Wiuer, then the which I reade of no riuer in England that fetcheth more or halfe ſo many windleſſes and crincklinges, before it come at the ſea. It ryſeth in Buckle hilles, which lye betwene Ridley & Buckle towns, and ſoone after making a lake of a myle and more in length called Ridley pole, it rūneth by Ridley to Chalmōdly. Thence it goeth to Wrenbury where it taketh in a water out of a moore that commeth from Marbury: and beneath Sanford bridge the Combrus from Combermer or Comber lake: and finallye the thirde that commeth from about Moneton, and runneth by Langerſlaw, then betweene Shenton and Atherly parkes, and ſo into the Wiuer, which watereth all the weſt part of England, and is no leſſe notable then the fiſt Auon or thirde Ouze, whereof I haue ſpoken already. After theſe confluences it haſteth alſo to Audlem, Hawklow, and at Barderton croſſeth the Betley water, that runneth by Duddington, Widdenbery and ſo by Barderton into the aforeſayde ſtreame.

Wiuer.

Combrus.

Betley.

Thence it goeth to Nantwiche, but eare it come at Marchforde bridge, it meeteth with a rill called Salopbrooke, as I geſſe cōming from Caluerley warde, and likewiſe beneth the ſayde bridge, with the Lee and the Wuluarne both in one chanell, whereof the firſt ryſeth at Weſton, the other goeth by Copnall. From thence the Wiuer rūneth on to Minchion and Cardeſwijc, and the next water that falleth into it is the Aſhe, (which paſſeth by Darnall Graunge,) and afterwarde going to Warke, the vale Royall, and Eaton, it commeth finally to Northwiche where it receyueth the Dane, to be deſcribed as followeth.

Salop.

Lee & Wulbarne.

Aſhe.

Dane.

The Dane riſeth in the very edges of Cheſter, Darbyſhyre, and Staffordſhyre, and comming by Wharneforde, Swithamley and Bolley, is a limite betweene Stafforde and Darby ſhyres, almoſt euen from the very head, which is in Marwell forreſt. It is not long alſo ere it met with the Bidle water, that commeth by Congerton, and after

Bidle.

helocke.
roco.
iuerey.
aterleſſe

ter the cõfluence goeth to Swetham, the Heremitage, Cotton and Croxton, there taking in two great waters whereof the one is called Whelocke, which comming frõ the edge of the countie by Morton to Sandbach croſſeth another that deſcendeth from Churche Cawlton, and after the confluence goeth to Warmingham (ioyning alſo beneath Midlewich with the Croco or Croxtõ, the ſecond great water, whoſe head commeth out of a lake aboue Bruerton as I heare) and thence both the Whelocke and the Croco go as one to the Dane, at Croxſton, as the Dane doth from thence to Boſtocke, Dauenham, Shebruch, Shurlach and at Northwiche into the aforeſayd Wyuer. After this confluence the Wyuer runneth on to Barneton, and there in like ſort receiueth two brokes in one chanell, wherof one commeth from aboue Alloſtocke, by Holme and Laſtocke, the other from beyonde Birtles mill, by Chelforde (where it taketh in a rill, called Piuerey) thence to ouer Peuer, Holforde & there croſſing the Waterleſſe broke (growing of two beckes and ioyning at nether Tabley) it goeth forth to Winſhambridge, and then méeting with the other, after this confluẽce they procéede till they come almoſt at Barneton, where the ſaide chanell ioyneth with a pretie water running thorow two Lakes, whereof the greateſt lyeth betwéene Comberbach, Rudworth, & Marbury. But to go forwarde with the courſe of the maine riuer. After theſe cõfluences our Wiuer goeth to Warham, Actonbridge, and Dutton, ouer againſt which towne, on yͤ other ſide it méeteth with a rill, comming from Cuddington, alſo the ſecond going by Norley, and Critton, finallye the thirde ſone after from Kinſley, and then procéedeth on in his paſſage, by Aſheton chappell, Frodeſham, Rockeſauage, and ſo into the ſea: and this is all that I doe finde of the Wyuer, whoſe influences might haue béene more largely ſet downe, yf mine inſtructions had béene more amplye deliuered, yet this I hope maye ſuffice for his deſcription, and knowledge of his courſe.

erſey.
it.
Frith.
Set.
Tame.
Irwell.
Ræus, or Rache.

The Merſey riſeth among the Peke hils, and from thence going downe to the Woodhouſe, and taking ſundrie rilles withal by the waye, it becommeth the confines betwéene Cheſter and Darbyſhyres. Going alſo toward Goitehal, it méeteth with a faire broke increaſed by ſundrye waters, called Goyte, whereof I finde this ſhort and briefe deſcription. The Goyte riſeth not far frõ the Shire méere hill (wherein the Doue and the Dane haue their original) that parteth Darbyſhire and Cheſterſhyres in ſunder, and thence cõmeth downe to Goyte howſes, Ouertõ, Taxhall, Shawcroſſe, and at Weybridge taketh in the Frith, and beneath Berdhall the Set that riſeth aboue Therſethall and rũneth by Ouerſette. After this confluence alſo the Merſey goeth to Goyte hall, and at Storford towne méeteth with the Tame, which deuideth Cheſterſhire and Lancaſterſhyres in ſunder, and whoſe heade is in the very edge of Yorkeſhyre, from whence it goeth Southwarde to Sadleworth Firth, then to Mukelhirſt, Staly hal, Aſhdon Underline, Dunkẽfield, Denton, Reddiſh, and ſo at Stockeford or Stopford into the Merſey ſtreame, which paſſeth forth in like ſort to Doddeſbyry, receyuing a broke by the waye that commeth from Lime parke, by Brumhall parke and Chedley. From Doddeſbury it procéedeth to Northen, Aſhton, Aiſton, Flixſton, where it receiueth the Irwell a notable water, and therefore his deſcription is not to be omitted before I doe go forward any farder with the Merſey. It riſeth aboue Bacop, and goeth thence to Roſendale, and in the waye to Aytenfielde it taketh in a water from Haſelden. After this confluence it goeth to Newhall, Brandleſham, Brury, and aboue Ratcliffe ioyneth with yͤ Rache water, a faire ſtreame and to be deſcribed when I haue finiſhed the Irwell, as alſo the next vnto it beneath Ratcliffe, bycauſe I woulde not haue ſo manye endes at once in hande wherewith to trouble my readers.

Lelande ſpeaketh of of the Corue water aboute Mancheſter, but I knowe nothing of his courſe.
Yrke.
Medlocke.

Beyng therfore paſt theſe two, our Irwel goeth on to Clifton, Hollonde, Edgecroft, Strang wayes, and to Mancheſter, where it vniteth it ſelfe with the Yrke, that runneth thereinto by Royton Midleton, Heaton hill, and Blackeley. Beneath Mancheſter alſo it méeteth with the Medlocke that cõmeth thyther frõ the north eaſt ſide of Oldham, & betwéene Clayton and Garret Halles, and ſo betwéene two parkes, falling into it about Holne. Thence our Irwel going forward to Woodſall, Whicleſwiſc, Ecles, Barton, & Deuelhom, it falleth néere vnto Flixton, into the water of Merſey, where I will ſtaye a while withall, till I haue brought the other vnto ſome paſſe, of which I ſpake before.

Rache.
Weile.
Sprotton.

The Rache conſiſteth of ſundrye waters, whereof eche one in a maner hath a proper name, but the greateſt of all is Rache it ſelf, which ryſeth among the blacke ſtony hilles, from whence it goeth to Littlebrough, and beyng paſt Clegge, receyueth the Beyle, that commeth thither by Myluernaw chappell. After thys confluence alſo, it méeteth with a rill néere vnto Rachedale, and ſone after with the Sprotton water, and then the

Sudley.

Sudley broke, whereby his chanell is not a litle increaſed, which goeth from thence to Griſehirſt and ſo into the Irwell, before it come at Ratcliffe.

Bradſha.

Walmeſley.

The ſecond ſtreame is called Bradſha. It ryſeth of two heades, aboue Turetō church, whence it runneth to Bradſha, and ere long taking in the Walmeſley becke, they go in one chanell till they come beneath Bolton in the More. From hence (receyuing a water that commeth from the rootes of Rauenpike, hill by the way) it goeth by Deane and Bolton in the more, and ſo into Bradſha water, which taketh his way to Leuermore, Farnworth, Leuerleſſe, and finally into the Irwell which I before deſcribed, and whereof I finde theſe two verſes to be added at the laſt.

Yrke, Irwell, Medlocke, and Tame,
When they meete with the Merſey, do loſe their name.

Gles.

Bollein broke.

Birkin.

Mar.

Nowe therefore to reſume our Merſey you ſhall vnderſtande that after his confluence with the Irwel, he runneth to Partington, and not farre from thence interteineth ẏ Gles, or Gleſbroke water, increaſed wyth ſundrye armes whereof one commeth from Lodward, an other from aboue Houghton, the thyrde from Hulton Parcke, and the fourth from Shakerley: and beyng all vnited neere vnto Leighe, the confluence goeth to Holcroft, and aboue Holling greene into ẏ ſwift Merſey. After this increaſe the ſaide ſtreame in lyke ſort runneth to Rigſton, & there admytteth the Bollein broke water into his ſocietie, which riſing neere ẏ Chamber in Marwell Foreſt goeth to Ridge, Sutton, Marfield, Bollington, Preſtbyry, and Newton, where it taketh in a water cōming frō about Pot Chappell, which runneth frō thence by Adlington, Woodforde, Wymſley Ryngey, and Aſhley, there receyuing the Byrkin broke that commeth from betwene Allerton and Marchall, by Mawberly, and ſoone after the Marus or Mar, that cōmeth thereinto from Mar towne, by Rawſtorne, and after theſe confluences goeth on to Downham, and ouer againſt Kirton beneth Croſforde bridge into the Merſey water, which proceeding on, admitteth not another that meeteth with all neere Lym before it go to Thelwall. Thence alſo it goeth by Bruche and ſo to Warrington, a little beneath croſſing a broke that commeth from Par by Browſey, Bradley and Saukey on the one ſide, and another on the other that commeth thither from Gropenhall, and with theſe it rūneth on to nether Walton, Acton grange, and ſo to Penkith, where it interteineth the Bolde, and ſoone after the Grundiche water on the other ſide, that paſſeth by Preſton, and Dareſbyry. Finallye our Merſey goyng by Moulton, it falleth into Lirepole Hauen, when it is paſt Runcorne. And thus much of the Merſey, comparable to the Wyuer, and of no leſſe fame then moſt ryuers of thys Iſlande.

Bolde.

Grundiche.

Tarbocke.

Alt.

Beyng paſt theſe two we come next of all to the Tarbocke water that falleth into the ſea at Harbocke, without finding any mo tyll we be paſt all Wyrall, out of Leirpoole hauen, and from the blacke rockes, that lye vpon the north point of the aforeſayd Iſland. Then come we to the Altmouth, whoſe freſh ryſing not farre into the lande, commeth to Feſton, and ſoone after receiuing another on the ryght hand, that paſſeth into it by Aughton, it is increaſed no more before it come at the ſea. Neyther finde I anyother falles till I meete with the mouth of the Yarrow and Dugleſſe, which haue their recourſe to the ſea in one Chanell as I take it.

Dugleſſe.

Taude or Skelmer

Merton.

The Dugleſſe commeth from by weſt of Rauenſpike hill, and ere long runneth by Andertonford to Worthington, & ſo (takyng in two or three rylles by the waye) to Wigē, where it receyueth two waters in on chanel, of which one commeth in ſouth from Bryn Parke, the other from northeaſt. Being paſt thys it receyueth one on the north ſide from Standiſhe, and another by ſouth from Hollond, & then goeth on towarde Rufford chappell taking the Taude with all, that diſcendeth from aboue Skelmerſdale towne, and goeth thorow Lathan Parke, belonging as I here vnto the Earle of Darby. It meeteth alſo on the ſame ſide, with Merton meere water, in which meere is an Iſlande called Netholme, and when it is paſt the hanging bridge, it is not long ere it fall into the Yarrowe.

Yarrow.

Bagen.

The Yarowe ryſeth of two heades, whereof the ſecond is called Bagen broke, & making a confluence beneath Helby woode, it goeth on to Burghe, Egleſton, Crofton, and then ioyneth next of all with the Duggleſſe, after which confluence, the maine ſtreame goeth forth to Bankehall, Charleton, How, Heſket, and ſo into the ſea. Lelande wryting of ẏ Yarow, ſaith thus of the ſame, ſo farre as I now remember. Into the Dugleſſe alſo runneth the Yarrow, which commeth wythin a myle or thereabout, of Chorleton towne, that parteth Leland ſhire, frō Darby ſhire, vnder the foote of Chorle alſo I finde a ryll, named Ceorle, and about a myle and an half frō thence a notable quarrey of ſtones whereof the inhatants doe make a great boſt and price, and hetherto Leland.

The Rybell as concerning his heade is bell. ſufficiētly touched already in my firſt booke. Beyng therefore come to Giſborne, it goeth to Sawley or Salley, Chatburne, Clitherow caſtell, & beneath Mitton, méeteth with the Odder, which ryſeth not farre from the dde. croſſe of grete, and going thence to Shilburne, Newton, Radholme parke, & Stony hirſt, it falleth ere long into the Ribble water. From hence the Ribble hath not gone farre, but it méeteth with the Calder. Thys alder. brooke ryſeth aboue Holme church, goeth by Cowley and Burneley, (where it receiueth a trifeling rill) thence to Higham, and ere long croſſing one water that commeth from Wicoler, by Colne, and another by and by dle. named Pidle brooke that runneth by Newe church, in the Piddle: it méeteth with yͤ Calder, which paſſeth forth to Paniam, & thence (receyuing a becke on the other ſide) it runneth on to Altham, and ſo to Martholme, enburne where the Henburne brooke, doth ioyne withall, that goeth by Akingtō chappell, Church, Dunkinhalghe, Riſhton, and ſo into yͤ Chalder as I haue ſayde before. The Chalder therefore being thus inlarged, runneth forth to Reade (where M. Nowell dwelleth) to Whalley, and ſoone after into Ribell, that goeth from this confluence to Saliſbury hal, Ribcheſter, Oſbaſton, Sambury, Keuerden, Law, Ribles bridge, and then taketh in the arwent. Darwent, before it goeth by Pontwarth into the ſea.

The Darwent deuideth Lelande ſhire from Anderneſſe, and it ryſeth by eaſt aboue lacke= Darwent chappel, and ſoone after vniting it rne. ſelfe with the Blackeburne, & Rodleſworth odleſ= orth. water, it goeth thorowe Howghton Parke, annocke by Howghton towne, to Walton hall, and ſo into the Ribell. As for the Sannocke brooke, it ryſeth ſomewhat aboue Longridge chappell, goeth to Broughton towne, Cotham, Lée hall, and ſo into Ribell: and here is all that I haue to ſay of this ryuer.

ire. The Wire ryſeth eight or ten miles from Garſtan, out of an hill in Wireſdale, from whence it runneth by Shireſhed chappell, & then going by Wadland, Garſtan, & Byrkelande hall, alder.2. it firſt receyueth the ſeconde Calder, that commeth down by Edmerſey chappell, then another chanel increaſed with ſundrie waters, which I will here deſcribe before I procéede with the Wire. I ſuppoſe limpton. that the firſt water is called Plympton brooke. It riſeth ſouth of Goſner, and cōmeth arton. by Cawforde hall, and eare long receyuing roke. the Barton becke, it procéedeth forward till it ioyneth with the Brooke rill, that cōmeth by Claughton hall where M. Broke hales doth lie, and ſo thorow Merſco forreſt. After this confluence the Plime or Plimton water méeteth with the Calder, and then with the Wire which paſſeth forth to Mighel church, and the Raw cliffes, and aboue Thorneton Skipton. croſſeth the Skipton, that goeth by Potton, then into the Wire code, and finally into the ſea, according to his nature.

Beyng paſt the fall of the Wire, wée coaſted vppe by the ſalt cotes to Coker mouth, Cokar. whoſe ſhortneſſe of courſe deſerueth no deſcriptiō. The next is Cowdar, which coming Cowdar. out of Wire dale (as I take it) is not increaſed with any other waters, more then Coker, and therefore I wyll rydde my handes thereof ſo much the ſooner. But beyng paſt theſe two, I came to a notable ryuer called the Lune, whoſe courſe doth reaſt to be de- Lune. ſcribed as followeth, & whereof I haue two deſcriptions, the firſt being ſet down by Leland as M. More, of Catherine hall in Cambridge, deliuered it vnto him: the next I exhabite as it was giuen vnto me, by one that hath taken paynes as he ſayth to ſearche out and view the ſame, but very lately to ſpeake of. The Lune ſaith M. More riſeth at Croſſehoe, in Dent dale, in the edge of Richmonde ſhire out of thrée heades. North alſo from Dentdale, is Garſdale, and thereby runneth a water, which afterward commeth to Sebbar dale, where likewiſe is a brooke méeting with Garſdale water, ſo that a little lower they go as one into Dentdale becke, which is the ryuer that afterwarde is called Lune, or Lane, as I haue verye often noted it. Beſide theſe waters alſo before mencioned, it receyueth at the foote of Sebbar dale, a great brooke which cōmeth out of yͤ Worth, betwéene Weſtmerlande and Richmonde ſhires, which taking with him the aforeſaide chanelles, doth runne ſeauen myles ere it come to Dentdale foote. From hence it entereth into Lanſdale, corruptlye ſo called peraduenture for Luneſdale, and runneth therin eyght or nyne myles ſouthwarde, and in this dale is Kyrby. Hetherto M. More (as Leland hath exemplified that percell of his letters) but mine other note wryteth hereof in thys maner. Burbecke water ryſeth at Wuſtall Burbecke heade, by weſt, and going by Wuſtall foote to Skaleg, it admitteth the Breder that deſ- Breder. cendeth thither from Breder dale. From hence our Burbecke goeth to Breder dale foote, and ſo to Tybary, where it méeteth with foure rylles in one bottome, of which one commeth from beſides Orton, another from betwéene Raſebecke and Sunbiggin: the thirde and fourth from eche ſide of Lang-

Barrow.
Dent.
Gretey.
Wenny.
Hinburne.
Rheburne

dale, and after the generall confluẽce made, goeth towarde Roundſwathe aboue which it vniteth it ſelfe with the Barow. Thence it runneth to Howgill, Delaker, Firrebanke, and Billingtõ, beneth which it méeteth with a water comming from the Morrill hilles, and afterwarde croſſing the Dent brooke (that runneth thither from Dent towne) beneath Sebbor, they continue their courſe as one into the Burbecke, from whence it is called Lune. From hence it goeth to Burborne chappell, where it taketh in an other rill comming from by eaſt, then to Kyrby Lanſdale, and aboue Whittenton, croſſeth a brooke comming from the Countie ſtone, by Burros, and ſoone after beneath Tunſtal the Gretey, which deſcẽding from about Ingelborow hill paſſeth by Twyſelton, Ingleton, Thorneton, Burton, Wratton & neare Thurlande caſtell toucheth finally with the Lune, which brauncheth and ſoone after vniteth it ſelfe againe. After this alſo it goeth on towarde New parke, & receyueth the Wenny, and the Hinburne both in one chanell, of which this riſeth north of the croſſe of Grete, and going by Benthams and Robertes hill, aboue Wray taketh in the Rheburne that riſeth north of Wulfcragge. After thys confluence alſo aboue New parke, it maketh his gate by Aughton, Laughton, Skirton, Lancaſter, Excliffe, Awcliffe, Sodday, Orton, and ſo into the ſea. Thus haue you both the deſcriptions of Lune, make your conference or election at your pleaſure for I am ſworne to neyther of them both.

Docker.
Kery.

The next fall is called Docker, and peraduenture the ſame that Lelande doth call the Kery, it ryſeth north of Docker towne, and going by Barwyc hall, it is not increaſed before it come at the ſea.

Sprota.
Ken.

Being paſt this we finde a forked arme of the ſea called Kenſandes: into the firſt of which diuers waters doe runne in one chanell, as it were from foure principal heades, one of them comming from Grarrig hall, another from by weſt of Whinfielde, & ioyning with ẏ firſt on the eaſt ſide of Skelmere parke. The third called Sprot or Sprota ryſeth at Sloddale, and commeth downe by weſt of Skelmer parke, ſo that theſe two brookes haue the aforeſayde parke betwéene them, and fall into the fourth eaſt of Barneſide, not very farre in ſunder. The fourth or laſt called Ken, cõmeth frõ Kentmeres ſide, and going to Stauelop it taketh in a rill frõ Chappleton Inges. Then leauing Colnehed parke by eaſt, it paſſeth by Barneſide, to Kendall, Helſton, Sigarhe, Siggeſwyc, Leuenbridge, Milnethorpe, and ſo into the ſea.

Winſtar.

Certes this Ken is a pretie déepe riuer, & yet not ſafely to be aduentured vpõ with Botes and Balingers by reaſon of rolling ſtones, and other huge ſubſtaunces that oft annoy & trouble the middeſt of the chanell there. The other péece of ẏ forked arme, is called Winſtar, ẏ head whereof is aboue Winſtar chappell, and going downe almoſt by Carpmaunſell, and Netherſlake, it is not long eare it fall into the ſea.

Winander.

The Winander water ryſeth about Dumbalraſe ſtenes, from whence it goeth to Langridge, where it maketh a méere: thẽ to Ambleſide, and taking in eare it come there, two rilles on the left hande, and one on the right that commeth by Clapergate, it maketh as I take it the greateſt méere, or freſhe water in Englande, for as I reade it is well neare ten myles in length. Therinto alſo doe thrée or foure waters come, whereby the quantity thereof is not a little increaſed: finally comming to one ſmal chanell aboue Newbridge, it is not long eare it fall into the ſea.

Sparke.
Foſſe.

On the weſt ſide of the point alſo commeth another thorow Furneſſe felles, and frõ the hilles by north thereof, which eare long making another Lake not farre from Hollinhow, and going by Bridge ende, in a narrow chanell, paſſeth forth by Cowlton & Sparke bridge, and ſo into the ſea. There is in like ſorte a water called the Foſſe, that ryſeth neare vnto Arneſide, and Tillerthwates, & goeth forth by Griſdale, Saterthwate, Ruſlande, Powbridge, Bowth, & ſo falleth with the Winander water into the maine ſea.

Leun.
Rawther.

Hauing paſſed the Leuen or Conyſandes or Winander fall (for all is one) I come to the Lew which riſeth at Lewike chappell, & falleth into the ſea beſide Plumpton. The Rawther deſcending out of lowe Furneſſe hath two heades, whereof one commeth frõ Pennyton, the other by Vlmerſtone abbay, and ioyning both in one chanell, they haſten into the ſea whither all waters direct theyr voyage. Then come we to another rill ſouthweſt of Aldingham, deſcending by Glaſſton caſtell, and likewyſe the fourth that ryſeth neare Lyndell, and running by Dawltõ caſtell and Furneſſe abbay, not farre from the Barrow heade, it falleth into the ſea ouer againſt Wauey and Wauey chappell, except myne aduertiſementes miſleade me.

Dodon.

The Dodon cõmeth frõ the Shire ſtone hill bottome, & going by Blackhil, Southwake ſ. Iohns, Vffay parke, and Broughton, it falleth into the ſaltwater, betwéene Kyrby and Mallum caſtell, and thus are we now come vnto the Rauenglaſſe point.

Comming to Rauenglaſſe, I finde harde

by the towne a water comming from two heades, and both of them in Lakes or Poles, whereof one iſſueth out of Denock meere, & is

Denocke.

Eſke.

called Denock water, the other named Eſke from Eſke pole, which runneth by Eſkedale, Dalegarth, and ſoone after meeting with the Denocke, betweene Mawburthwate, & Rauẽglaſſe falleth into the ſea. On the other ſide of Rauenglaſſe alſo cõmeth the Mite brooke, from Myterdale as I reade.

Mite.

Then finde we another which commeth from the hylles, and at the fyrſt is forked, but ſoone after making a Lake, they gather againe into a ſmaller chanell: finally meeting with the Brenge, they fall into the ſea at Carleton ſoutheaſt, as I weene of Drig.

Brenge.

Cander.

The Cander or as Lelande nameth it the Calder, commeth out of Copeland Forreſt, by Cander, Selleſielde and ſo into the ſea. Then come we to Euer water deſcending out of a pole aboue Coſwaldhow, and thence going by Euerdale, it croſſeth a water from Arladon, and afterward proceedeth to Egremond, S. Iohns, and taking in another ryll from Hide, it is not long ere it meeteth with the ſea. The next fall is at Moreſby, whereof I haue no ſkill. Frõ thence therefore we caſt about by ſ. Bees to Derwentſet hauẽ, whoſe water is truely written Dargwent, or Deruent. It riſeth in the hilles about Borrodale, from whence it goeth to the Graunge, thẽce into a Lake, in which are certaine Iſlandes, and ſo to Keſwijc where it falleth into the Burſemere, or the Burthmere pole. In like ſort the Burthmere water, riſing among the hils goeth to Tegburtheſworth, Forneſide, S. Iohns and Threlcote: and there meeting with a water from Griſdale, by Wakethwate, called Griſe, it runneth to Burneſſe, Keſwijck and there receiueth the Darwent. From Keſwijc in like ſorte it goeth to Thorneſwate (& there making a plaſh) to Armanſwate, Iſel, Huthwate and Cokermouth, & here it receyueth the Cokar, which riſing among the hilles, commeth by Lowſewater, Brakenthwate, Lorton and ſo to Cokarmouth towne, frõ whẽce it haſteth to Bridgeham, and receiuing a rill called the Wire on the ſouth ſide that rũneth by Dein, it leaueth Samburne and Wirketon behinde it, & entreth in the ſea. Leland ſayth that the Wire is a creeke, where ſhippes lie oft at rode, and that Wirketon or Wirkington towne doth take hys name thereof. But to proceede, the Elme riſeth in the mines aboue Amautree, and from Amautre goeth to Pereſby Harby, Brow, and there taking in a rill on the left hande comming by Torpenny it goeth to Hatton caſtell, Alwarby, Byrthy, Dereham & ſo into the ſea. Thence we go about by the chappell at the point, and come to a baie ſerued with two freſh waters, whereof one riſing weſtward goeth by Warton, Raby, Cotes, & ſo into the maine, taking in a ril withall from by ſouth, called Croco that cõmeth from Crockdale, by Bromefield. The ſecond is named Wampole brooke, and this riſeth of two heades, whereof one is about Cardew, thence in lyke ſorte, it goeth to Thureſby, Croſton, Olwton, Gamleſby, Wampall, the Larth, and betweene Whiteridge and Kyrby into the ſaltwater. From hence we double the Bowlneſſe, and come to an Eſtuary, whether three notable ryuers doe reſorte, (and this is named the Soluey mouth) but of all, the firſt exceedeth which is called Eden, and whoſe deſcription doth followe here at hande.

Dargwent

Burthmere.

Griſe.

Cokar.

Wire.

Elmus.

Croco.

Wamus.

Eden.

The Eden deſcendeth as I heare from the hilles in Athelſtane moore at the foote of Hulſiat Moruell hill where Swale alſo riſeth and ſoutheaſt of Mallerſtang forreſt. Frõ thence in like maner it goeth to Mallerſtãg towne, Pendragon caſtell, Wharton hall, Nethy, Hartley caſtell, Kyrkeby Stephen, and eare it come at great Muſgraue it receiueth three waters, whereof one is called Helbecke, bycauſe it commeth from the derne and elinge mountaines by a towne of the ſame denomination, the other is named Bellow and deſcendeth frõ the eaſt mountaines by Sowarſby, and theſe two on the northeaſt: the thirde falleth from Rauenſtandale, by Newbyggin, Smardale, Soulby, Blaterne and ſo into Eden, that goeth from thence by Warcop and taking in the Drne about Burelles on the one ſide, and the Moreton becke on the other, it haſteth to Appleby, thence to Cowlby where it croſſeth the Driebecke, thence to Bolton, and Kyrby, and there meeting with the Trowt becke and beneath the ſame with the Liuenet, (whereinto falleth an other water frõ Thurenly meeting wyth all beneath Clebron) it runneth finally into Eden. After the confluences alſo the Eden paſſeth to Temple, and ſoone after meeting with the Milburne and Blincorne waters, in one chanell, it runneth to Winderwarth and Horneby where we will ſtaie till I haue deſcribed ẏ water that meeteth withall neere the aforeſayde place, called the Wiſe.

Helbecke.

Bellow.

Drne.

Moreton.

Driebecke.

Trowt becke.

Liuenet.

Milburne

Blincorne

Wiſe.

This water commeth out of a Lake, which is fedde with ſixe rilles wherof one is called the Marke, and neare the fall therof into the plaſh is a towne of the ſame name: the ſeconde hight Harteſop, & runneth frõ Harteſhop hall by Depedale: the thirde is Paterdale rill: the fourth Glent Roden, the fift

Marke.

Hartſop.

Paterdale.

Roden.

Glenkguin. Glenkſwent, but the ſixth runneth into the ſayde lake, ſouth of Dowthwate. Afterward when this lake cõmeth toward Pole towne, it runneth into a ſmall chanell, and going by Barton, Dalemaine, it taketh in a rill by the waye from Daker caſtell. Thence it goeth to Stockebridge, Poneworth, and ſoone after meeteth wyth a prety brooke, called Loder, Loder. comming from Thornethwate by Bauton, and here a ril, then by Helton, and there another, thence to Aſkham, Clifton, and ſo ioining with the other called Vlſe, they go to Brougham caſtel, Nine churches, Horneby, and ſo into Eden, taking in a ryll as it goeth that commeth downe from Pencath. Beyng paſt Hornby our Eden runneth to Langunby and ſoone after receiuing a ryll that commeth from two heades, and ioyning beneath Wingſel, it haſteth to Laſenby, then to kirke Oſwalde, (on eche ſide whereof commeth in a ril from by eaſt) thence to Nonney, & there a ryl, Anſtable, Cotehyll, Corby caſtel. Wetherall, Newcby, where I wyll ſtaye till I haue deſcribed the Irding, and ſuch waters as fall into the ſame before I go to Carleill.

Irding. The Irding ryſeth in a More in the borders of Tindale, neere vnto horſe hed Crag, Terne. where it is called Terne becke vntil it come to Spycrag hill, that deuideth northumberland and Gilleſland in ſunder, from whence it is named Irding. Beyng therefore come Pultroſe. to Ouerhal, it receiueth the Pultroſe becke, by eaſt, and thence goeth on to Ouerdenton, Netherdenton, Leuercoſt, and Caſtelſteade, Cambocke where it taketh in the Cambocke, that runneth by Kyrke Cambocke, Aſkerton caſtel, Walton, and ſo into Irding, which goeth from thence to Irdington, Newby, and ſo into Eden. But a litle before it come there, Gilly. it croſſeth with the Gilly that commeth by Tankin, and ſoone after falleth into it. After theſe confluences, our Eden goeth to Linſtocke caſtell, (and here it enterteyneth a brooke, comming from Cote hill warde by Aglionby) thẽ vnto Carleill, which is almoſt enuironed wyth foure waters. For beſide ỹ Pedar alias, Logus. Eden it receyueth the Peder, which Leland calleth Logus from ſouth eaſt. This Peder ryſeth in the hiles ſouthweſt of Penruddock, from whence it goeth to Penruddocke, then to Graſtocke caſtell, Cateley and Kenderſidehall, and then taking in a water from Vnthanke, it goeth to Cathwade, Pettrell way, Newbiggin, Carleton, & ſo into Eden, northeaſt of Caerleill. But on the north ſide Bruferth. the Bruferth brooke doth ſwiftely make hys entraunce running by Leuerdale, Scalby caſtell, and Houſedon as I am informed. The thirde is named Candan, (if not Deua after Lelande) which ryſing about the Skidlow hilles, runneth to Moſedale, Caldbecke Warnell, Saberham, Roſe Caſtell, Dawſton, Brounſton, Harrington. and weſt of Cairleill falleth into Eden, which goyng from thence by Grimſdale, Kyrke Andros, Beaumount, falleth into the ſea beneath the Rowcliffe caſtell. And thus much of the Eden, which Lelande neuertheleſſe deſcribeth, after another ſort, whoſe wordes I will not let to ſet downe here in this place, as I finde them in his commentaries.

The Eden after it hath runne a prety ſpace from his head, meeteth in time with the Vlſe Vlſe after Lelãd. water, which is a great brooke in Weſtmerlande, and ryſing aboue Maredale, a myle weſt of Loder, it commeth by the late diſſol- Loder. ued houſe of Shappe Priory, three myles frõ Shappe, and by Brampton village into Loder or Lodon. Certes thys ſtreame within halfe a myle of the head, becommeth a great lake for two myles courſe, and afterwarde waxing narrow againe, it runneth forth in a meane and indifferent botome. The ſayde Eden in lyke ſort receyueth the Aymote a- Aymote. bout three myles beneath Brougham caſtell and into the ſame Aymote, falleth the Dacor becke (already touched) which riſeth by north weſt in Materdale hilles, foure myles aboue Dacor. Dacor caſtell, and then goyng thorowe Dacor Parke, it runneth by eaſt a good myle lower into Eymote, a lyttle beneath Delamaine, which ſtandeth on the left ſide of Dacor. In one of his bookes alſo he ſayeth, how Carleill ſtandeth betweene two ſtreames, Deua. that is to ſaye the Deua, which cõmeth thether from by ſouthweſt, and alſo the Logus that diſcendeth frõ the ſouth eaſt. He addeth moreouer howe the Deua, in times paſt was Vala. named Vala or Bala, and that of the names of theſe two, Lugibalia for Caerleill hath beene deriued. &c. And thus much out of Lelande, but where it had the cauſe of this hys coniecture as yet I haue not reade. Of thys am I certeine that I vſe the names of moſt ryuers here and elſe where deſcribed, accorcordingly as they are called in my time, although I omitte not to ſpeake here and there of ſuch as are more auncient, where iuſt occaſion mooueth me to remember them, for ỹ better vnderſtãding of our hiſtories, as they doe come to hande.

Leuen. Blacke Leuen and white Leuen waters, fall into the ſea in one chanel, and with them Lamforde. the Lamforde and the Eſke, the laſt conflu- Eſke. ence beyng not a full myle from the mayne ſea. The white & black Leuen, ioyning therefore aboue Buckneſſe, the confluence goeth Tomunt. to Bracken hill, Kirkleuenton, & at Tomunt

water

irſop.
ydde.

water méeteth with the Eſke. In lyke ſorte the Kyrſop ioyning with the Lydde out of Scotland at Kyrſop foote, running by Stangerdike ſide, Harlow, Hath water, & takyng in the Eſke aboue the Mote, it looſeth the former name, and is called Eſke, vntill it come to the ſea.

Hauing in this maner finiſhed the deſcription of the courſes of moſt of the ryuers lying vpon the weſt coaſt of our countrey: now it reſteth that wée cut ouer vnto the weſt ſide of the ſame, and as it were call backe vnto mynde, the moſt notable of ſuch as wée erſt omitted, vntill we come at the Humber, and from thence vnto the Thames.

wede.
ill.
romis.
renniche

Firſt of all therfore as touching ỹ Twede, this I haue to note, that the olde and auncient name of the Till that falleth into ỹ ſame is not Bromis, from the heade as ſome doe nowe call it, (and I following their aſſertions haue ſet downe) but rather Brenniche, & beſide that Lelande is of the ſame opinion. I finde howe the kingdome of Brenicia, tooke denomination of thys water, and that only therof it was called Brenicia, or Brennich, and vpon none other occaſion.

In my tractatiõ alſo of ỹ Tine, I reſerued the courſes of one or two waters vnto this booke of purpoſe, but ſithens the impreſſiõ of the ſame, I haue found the names & courſes of ſundrye other, which I will alſo deliuer in this place, after I haue touched the Alen or Alon, and one or two more which I appointed hether, becauſe that at the firſt I vnderſtoode but little of them.

aſt Alen.
eſt Alen

The Alen or Alon, hath two heades whereof one is called eaſt Alen, ỹ other weſt Alen. The firſt of them riſeth ſouth eaſt of Sibton Sheles, and going by Simdorp, it taketh in a rill withall from by eaſt: After which confluence it runneth to Newſhele, Allington, Caddon, Olde towne, and in hys waye to Stauertpele, méeteth with the weſt Alen. The Weſt Alen ryſeth in the hilles aboue Wheteley ſhéeles, from whence it goeth to Spartwell, Hawcopole, Owſton, & taking in a rill thereaboutes, it procéedeth on to Permandby, and croſſing there another ril in lyke maner from by Weſt, it goeth to Whitefielde, and ioyning ſoone after with ỹ eaſt Alen, they run as one to Stauert poole, Plankforde, and ſo into the Tine.

idde.
pelhop.
Cheſlop.
Corue.

Into the north Tine likewiſe falleth the Ridde, at Riddeſmouth. It riſeth within thrée myles of the Scottiſhe marſhe, as Lelande ſaith & commeth thorowe Riddeſdale whereunto it giueth the name. Another writeth howe it ryſeth in the rootes of the Carter, & Redſquire hylles, and ere it hath gone farre from the heade, it taketh in the Spelhop frõ the north and the Cheſlop on the ſouth, beſide ſundrye other wyld rylles nameleſſe and obſcure, and therfore not worthy to be remembred here. After it hath paſſed Otterburne, it goeth to the medow Howgh, Woodburne, Riſingham, Leame, and ſo into the Tine, a little lower, then Belindgeham, which ſtandeth ſomewhat aloofe from north Tine, and is as I take it ten myles at the leaſt aboue the towne of Herham. Beneath ỹ confluence in like ſort of both the Tines, ſtandeth Corbridge, a towne ſometime inhabited by the Romaines, and about twelue myles from Newcaſtell, and hereby doth the Corue run, that méeteth ere long with the Tine. Not far of alſo is a place called Colcheſter, wherby Lelande geſſeth that the name of ỹ brooke ſhould rather be Cole then Corue, and in my iudgement his coniecture is very lykely, for in the lyfe of S. Oſwyn (otherwiſe a féeble authoritie) the worde Colbridge is alwaies vſed for Corbridg, wherof I thought good to leaue this ſhort aduertiſement, and hetherto of part of my former reſeruatiõs. Now it reſteth that I touch ỹ names of a few riuers & beckes togither as Lelande hath left them, whoſe order and courſes may peraduenture hereafter be better knowne then they are to me at this preſent, for lacke of ſound inſtruction. The Deuilles brooke, he ſuppoſeth to be called Dill, of a town not far of that is commonly called Dilſtan, wherby ỹ Tine doth rũne. As the Darwent alſo doth fall into ỹ Tine, beneth Blaidon, ſo doe ſundry brookes into the Darwent in two chanels, as Blackburne, which goeth into Horſlop burne, as Horſlop doth into Darwent, on the eaſt ſide, and on the other banke the Hawkeſburne, that rũneth into Roueſlop, as Roueſlop doth finally into Darwent, which is ſayde to ryſe of two heades, whereof one is néere Knedon, the other at Kidlamhope, and after the confluence, going to Hunſterworth, Blaunchelande, Acton, Aſperſheles, Blackehedley, Panſheales, Newlande, Darwent cote (by by north eaſt whereof commeth in a ryll on the other ſide) Spen, Gibſide, Hollinſide, Swalwel, and ſo into the Tine. In like ſorte Lelande ſpeaketh of a water called Hedley, that ſhould fall into the Tine, whoſe heade is at Skilorawe, from whence it runneth to Wptthelde, Lamſley, Rauenſworth towne, Rauenſworth caſtell, Redhughe, and ſo into Tine, Southweſt of Newcaſtel, but he omitteth wickham brooke (he ſayth) becauſe it ryſeth ſhort of the towne, and is but a little rill. Finally ỹ Themis doth fal into Tine a myle or therabout aboue Getiſhead, & not very far

Dill.
Darwent.
Blackeburne.
Horſlop.
Roueſlop.
alias Kidlamhope.
Hedley.
wickham.
Themis.

beneth Rauenſworth caſtell, riſing ten miles by ſouth into the land, as Lelande hath likewiſe ſet downe.

Were. Derneſſe. Brome. Coue. Hedley. Gaundleſſe.

Ptolomy wryting of the Were, calleth it Vedra, a ryuer well knowne vnto Beda the famous Prieſt, who was brought vp in a monaſtery ẏ ſtood vpon his bankes. It receiueth ſaith Lelande the Derneſſe, whereinto the Brome alſo doth emptie his chanell, that ryſeth aboue Repare parke, as I haue béene informed. In lyke ſorte I fynde howe it admitteth lykewyſe the Coue, that commeth from Lancheſter, which is ſixe myles higher then Cheſter in the Streate, and then goeth to Cheſter it ſelfe, whereabout it méeteth with the Hedley. Finally the Gawndeleſſe, that ryſeth ſixe myles by weſt of Akelande caſtell, and running by the ſouth ſide thereof paſſeth by weſt Akeland S. Helenes Akelande, ſ. Andrewes Akeland, Biſhops Akeland and eare long into the Were, and thus much of waters omitted in ẏ Tine & Were.

Theſe. Thureſgil. Gretty. Dare. Wiſke.

Lelande writing of the Theſe, repeateth the names of ſundry riuerets, whereof in the former Treatize I haue made no mencion at all, notwithſtanding ẏ ſome of their courſes may perhaps be touched in the ſame, as the Thuriſgill whoſe heade is not farre frō the Spittle that I do reade of in Stanmore. The Grettey commeth by Barningham & Northam and falleth into the Theſe aboue Croftes bridge. The Dare or Dere runneth by Darlington, & likewiſe into the Theſe aboue the aforeſayd bridge. As for the Wiſke it commeth thereinto from by ſouth vnder Wiſke bridge, Danby, Northalberton, and eare long alſo into a greater ſtreame, which going a little lower vnder an other bridge doth runne by one chanell into the aforeſayd ryuer before it come at the Theſe. And theſe are the brookes that I haue obſerued ſith the impreſſion of my firſt booke in Leland, thoſe that followe I referred hither of purpoſe.

Thorpe. alias Leuend. Crawthorne.

The Thorpe, riſeth of ſundry heads, whereof one is aboue Pinching Thorpe, from whence it goeth to Nonnethorpe, and ſo to Stokeſley. The ſeconde hath two braunches, and ſo placed that Kildale ſtandeth betwéene them both: finally méeting beneath Eaſby they go by Eaton and likewiſe vnto Stokeſley. The laſt hath alſo two braunches, whereof one commeth from Ingleſby, and méeteth with the ſeconde beneath Broughton, & going from thēce to Stokeſley they mete with the Thorpe aboue the towne, as the other fal into it ſome what beneath the ſame. From hence it goeth to Ridley and there taketh in another rill comming from Potto, thence to Crawthorne brooke, Leuanton, Miltō, Hilton, Ingleſby & ſo into the Theſe, betwéene Yarne and Barwiſe, whereof I made mention before although I neither named it, nor ſhewed ẏ deſcriptiō. Some cal it not Thorpe but the Leuend brooke, or Leuen water, and thus much of ſome of the waters eyther omitted or not fullye touched in the former Treatize.

Of ſuch ſtreames as fall into the maine riuers betweene Humber and the Thames. Cap. 3.

Ouze.

The courſe of the Ouze is alreadie ſet forth in the firſt booke of this deſcription & ſo exactely as I hope that I ſhall not néede to adde any more thereunto at this time. Wherefore I will deale onely with ſuch as fall into the ſame, ymagining a voyage frō the Rauenſpurne, vntill I come néere to the heade of Theſe, and ſo ſouthwardes about againe by the bottome of the hilly ſoyle vntill I get to Burſton, Sheffelde, Scroby, and the very ſouth point of Humber mouth, wherby I ſhall croſſe them all that are to be found in this walke, and leaue I doubt not ſome eſpeciall notice of their ſeuerall heads & courſes.

Hull or Hulne. Cottingham.

The courſe of the Hul is already deſcribed, yet here I will not let to inſert Lelandes deſcription of the ſame, and that more for thoſe odde notes which he hath ſet down in the proceſſe of his matter, then that I thincke his dealing herein to be more exacte then myne, if ſo much may be ſayde without all cauſe of offence. The Hulne (ſaieth he) riſeth of thrée ſeuerall heads, whereof the greateſt is not farre from Dryfielde, nowe a ſmall village ſixtéene myles frō Hull. Certes it hath béene a goodly towne, and therein was the pallace of Egbright king of the Northumbers, and place of Sepulture of a noble Saxon king, whoſe name I now remember not although his Tōbe remaine for ought that I do know to the contrarie, with an inſcription vpon the ſame written in Latine letters. Neare vnto this towne alſo is the Danefielde, wherein great numbers of Danes were ſlaine, and buried in thoſe hils, which yet remaine there to be ſéene ouer their bones and carkaſſes. The ſecond head ſaith he is at Eſtburne, and the thirde at Emmeſwell, and méeting altogither not farre from Dryfielde, the water there beginneth to be called Hulne, as I haue ſayde alreadie. From hence alſo it goeth thorowe Beuerley medowes, and comming at the laſt not farre from an arme led from the Hulne by mans hande (and able to beare great veſſels) almoſt to Beuerley towne, & méeting thereabout alſo with the Cottinghā becke comming frõ Weſtwood by the way, it haſteth to Kingſton vpon Hulne, and ſo into the Humber without any maner impechement.

Fowlney.
Skelflete.

The Fowlney riſeth about Godmanham, from whence it goeth by Wighton, Hareſwell, Seton, Williams bridge, and ſone after ſpreading it ſelfe, one arme called Skelflete, goeth by Cane Cawſey to Browneflete and ſo into the Ouze. The other paſſeth by Sandholme, Gilbertes dike, Scalby chappell, Blacketoft and ſo into the aforeſayde Ouze, leauing a very pretie Iſlande, which is a percel as I here of Walding fen more, though otherwyſe obſcure to vs that dwell here in the ſouth.

Darwent.
Kenford.
Shirihut-ton.
Crambeck
Rie.
Ricoll.
Seuen.
Coſtey.
Pickering
Pockling-ton.
Rie.
Coſtey.
Seuen.
Doue or Doue.
Hodge-becke.
Ricoll.
Feſſe.
Holbecke.

The Darwent ryſeth in the hilles that lye weſt of Robin Whodes baie, or two myles aboue Ayton bridge, weſt of Scarborow as Lelande ſayth: and eare it hath runne farre from the head, it receyueth two rilles in one bottome from by weſt, which ioyne withall about Langdale ende. Thence they go togyther to Brorey and at Hackneſſe take in an other water comming from about Silſey. Afterwarde it commeth to Ayton, then to Haybridge, and there croſſeth the Kenforde that deſcendeth from Roberteſtoft. After this alſo it goeth on to Potterſbrumton where it taketh in one rill, as it doth another beneath running from Shirburne, and the thirde yet lower, on the fader bancke, that deſcendeth from Brumpton. From theſe confluences, it runneth to Fowlbridge, Arbridge, Peldingham bridge, and ſo to Cotehouſe, receyuing by the way many waters. Lelande reconing vp the names of the ſeuerall brookes, numbreth them confuſedly after his accuſtomed order. The Darwent ſaith he receyueth diuers ſtreames as the Shyrihutton. The ſeconde is the Crambecke, deſcending from Hunderſkell caſtell, (ſo called tanquã a centum fontibus, or multitude of Springes that ryſe about the ſame) and goeth to Rie, which comming out of the Blacke mores, paſſeth by Riuers abbay, taking in the Ricoll on the left hande, then the Seuen, the Coſtey and Pickering brooke. The Seuen alſo ſayeth he riſeth in the ſide of Blackmore, and thence goeth by Sinnington foure myles frõ Pickering, and about a myle aboue a certayne bridge ouer Rie goeth into ẏ Streame. The Coſtey in like ſorte ſpringeth in ẏ very edge of Pickering towne, at a place called Keld head, and goeth into the Rie two myles beneath Pickering, about Kyrby minſter. Finally Pickering water ariſeth in Blackemore, and halfe a myle beneath Pickering falleth into Coſtey, meting by the way with the Pocklington becke, and an other ſmall rill or two of whoſe names I haue no knowledge. Hitherto Lelande, but in mine opiniõ it had béene far better to haue deſcribed them thus. Of thoſe waters that fal into the Darwent beneath Cotehouſe, the firſt commeth from Swenſton, the ſeconde from Ebberſtõ, the thirde from Ollerſton, the fourth from Thornetõ, and Pickering, and the fift on the other ſide that commeth thither from Wintringham, for ſo ſhoulde he haue dealt in better order, & rid his hands of them with more expeditiõ, referring the reaſt alſo vnto their proper places. But to procéede after myne owne maner. Being paſt Cotehouſe, & eare the Darwent come at Wickham, it croſſeth the Rie, which riſeth of two heades, and ioyning weſt of Locton they run thorow Glanſby parke. Finally receyuing the Coſtey it méeteth at the laſt with an other ſtreame increaſed by the falles of ſixe waters & more, eare it come into ẏ Darwent. The moſt eaſterly of theſe is called Seuen, & ryſeth as is aforeſayde in Blackemore, from whence it goeth by Sinnington, Murton, Normanby, Newſounde, How & ſo into the Rie. The ſeconde named Dou hath his original likewiſe in Blackemore, and deſcẽding by Raſmore, Keldon and Edſton, (where it receyueth the Hodge becke, that commeth by Berneſdale, Kirkedale, and Welburne) it goeth to Sawlton, and there taketh in firſt the Ricoll, that goeth by Careton, & whereof Ridall as ſome think (but falſly) doth ſéeme to take the name. Then Feſſe, which ryſeth aboue Bilſdale chappell, & méeteth with the Rie at the Shaking bridge, from whence they go togyther vnder the Rie bridge, to Riuis abbaye, and thence (after it hath croſſed a becke from the weſt) thorowe a parke of the Earle of Rutlandes to Newton, Muniton, and ſo to Sawton, or Sawlton, as I doe finde it written: Here alſo it taketh in the Holbecke brooke, that commeth thither from by weſt by Gylling caſtell, and Stangraue, from whence it goeth on to Braby, next into the Seuen, then into the Rie, and ſo into the Darwent, which from thẽce doth run to Wickhã. Being paſt Wickhã, it meteth with a water that cõmeth thereinto from Grynſton to Setterington at ſoutheaſt, and thence it goeth on to Malton & Malton, Sutton, Wellam, Furby, & Kirkham, receyuing by ẏ way one rill on the one ſide and another on the other, whereof this commeth from Burdſall, that other frõ Coniſthorpe. From Kyrkeham it goeth to Crãburne and Olwſham bridge, (croſſing by the way an other brooke comming from S. Edwardes gore, by Faſton) then to Aldby, Buttercram (alias Butterham) bridg, Stamford bridg, Kerby bridg, Sutton, Ellerton, Aughton, Bubwith, Wreſill, Babthorpe & ſo into ẏ Ouze, wherwith I finiſhe the deſcription of the Derwent, ſauing that I haue to let you vnderſtand how Leland heard that an arme ran ſometime from the hed of Darwent alſo to Scarborow till ſuch time as two hils betwixt which it ran, did ſhalder & ſo choke vp his courſe.

Foſſe. The Foſſe (a ſlow ſtream yet able to beare a good veſſell) ryſeth in Nemore Calaterio, or among the woody hilles now called Galters forreſt, and in his deſcent frõ the higher ground, he leaueth Crake caſtel, on his weſt ſide: thence he goeth by Marton abbay, Marton, Stillington, Farlington, Towthorpe, Erſwijc, Huntingdon, and at Yorke into the Ouze.

Kile. The Kile ryſeth flat north at Newborow, from whence it goeth by Thorneton on the hyll, Ruſkell parke, Awne, Tollerton, and ſo into the Ouze about Newton vpon Ouze.

Swale. The Swale is a ryght noble ryuer. It riſeth in the hilles aboue Kyrkedale, and from this towne it goeth to Kelde chappell, Carret houſe, Crackepot, Whiteſide, and néere vnto Yalen, taketh in the Barney water, which commeth from the north eaſt. Thence it goeth by Harcaſide to Reth (where it méeteth with the Arcley) and ſo to Flemington, Grinton, Marrike (taking in the Holgate that commeth from by ſouth: & in the way to Thorpe, the Mariſke becke, or peraduẽture Applegarth water, as Leland calleth it, that diſcendeth from the north) then to Thorpe, Applegarth, Richmonde, Eaſby and Brunton. Here by North it entertayneth two or thrée waters in one chanell, called Rauenſwathe water, whereof the two fardeſt doe ioyne not far from the Dawltons, & ſo go by Rauenſwath, Hartforth, Gilling, & at Skeby méete wyth the thirde, comming from Richmonde Beaconwarde. By weſt alſo of Brunton, the Swale méeteth with the Rhe, runnyng from Reſdale, and beyng paſt Brunton, it goeth to Caterijc bridge beneath Brunton, then to Ellerton, Kyrkeby, Langton parua, Thirtoſt, Anderby Steple, and before it come vnto Gatenby, it méeteth wͭ ẏ Bedall broke, alias Leminges becke, that cõmeth weſt of Kellirby, by Cũſtable, Burton, Langthorpe, Bedall, and Leming chappell. From Gattenby lykewiſe it goeth to Mawby, and at Brakenbyry, receiueth the Wiſke, which is a great water, ryſing betwéene two parkes aboue Swanby in one place, and ſoutheaſt of Mountgrace Abbaie in another, and after the confluence which is about Siddlebridge, goeth on betwéene the Kughtons to Appleton, the Smetons, Byrtby, Huttõ Coniers, Danby, Wijc, Yafford, Warlaby, and taking in there a ryll from Brunton, by Aluerton, it procéedeth to Otteringtõ, Newley, Kyrby Wiſke, Newſon, and Blackenbury, there méeting as I ſayde with the Swale, that runneth from thence by Skipton bridge, Catton, Topcliffe, and Ranyton, and aboue Eldmyre, méeteth with ſundrye other rylles in one botome, whereof the northweſterley is called Cawdebec: the ſouth Eaſterly Kebecke, which ioyne eaſt of Thornton moore, and ſo go to Thorneton in the ſtreate, Kiluington, Thruſke, Solwerby, Graſtwijc, and ſoone after croſſing another growing of the myxture of the Willow, and likewyſe of the Cuckwolde beckes, which ioyne aboue Bridforth, and running on till it come almoſt at Dalton, it maketh confluence with the Swale, and go thence as one by Thornton bridge, Mitton vpon Swale, and ſo into the Ouze.

Barney.

Arcley.

Holgate.

Mariſke becke.

Rauenſwathe.

Rhe.

Bedall alias Leming.

Wiſke.

Cawdebec Kebecke.

Cunckſwoldes becke.

Skell. The Skell ryſeth out of the weſt two myles from Fountaines Abbay, and commeth as Lelande ſayth with a fayre courſe by the one ſide of Rippon, as the Vre doth on the other. And on the bankes hereof ſtoode the famous Abbaie called Fountaines, ſomuch renoumed for the luſty monkes that dwelled in the ſame. It receiueth alſo the Lauer water, (which ryſeth thrée myles from Kyrby, and méeteth withall néere vnto Rippon) and finally falleth into the Vre, a quarter of a mile beneath Rippon Towne, and almoſt midde waye betwéene the North and Huicke bridges.

Lauer.

Nidde. The Nidde ryſeth among thoſe hilles that lye by weſt northweſt of Gnarreſborowe, fyue myles aboue Pakeley bridge, & going in ſhort proceſſe of time by Weſt houſes, Lodg houſes, Woodhall, Newehouſes, Midleſmore, Raunſgill, Cowthouſe, Gowthwall, Bureley, Brymham, Hampeſwale, & ſoone after méeting with the Killingale becke, it goeth after the confluence, by Bylton parke, Gnareſbridge, Waſhforde, Cathall, Willeſthorp, Munketon, or Nonniocke, and ſo into the Ouze, fouretéene miles beneath Gnareſborow, beyng increaſed by the waye wyth very fewe or no waters of any countenance. Lelande hauing ſaid thus much of ẏ Nidde, addeth herevnto the names of two other waters, that is to ſay, the Couer & the Burne, which doe fal likewiſe into the Vre or Ouze, but as he ſayth little of the ſame, ſo among all my Pampheletes, I can gather no more of them, then that the firſt ryſeth ſixe myles aboue Couerham by weſt, and falleth into ẏ

Killingale

Couer.

Burne.

Vre, a little beneath Middleham bridge, which is two myles beneath the towne of Couerham. As for the Burne, it ryſeth at More hylles, and falleth into the ſayde ryuer a lyttle beneth Maſſham bridge, and ſo much of theſe two.

wharfe alias Gwerſe.

The Wharffe or Gwerſe, ryſeth aboue Ughterſhaw, from whence it runneth to Beggermons, Raſemill, Hubberham, Backden, Starbotton, Kettlewell, Cunniſtō in Kettlewell, and here it méeteth with a rill comming from Haltongill chappel, by Arnecliffe, & ioyning withal north eaſt of Kilneſey crag, it paſſeth ouer by the lower groundes to Gyrſington, and receyuing a ryll there alſo from Treſſelde parke, it procéedeth on to Brunſall brydge. Furthermore at Appletrewyc, it méeteth wyth a ryll from by north, & thence goeth to Barden Towre, Bolton, Beth and Miſley hall, where it croſſeth a rill comming frō by weſt. Thence to Addinghā, taking in there alſo a another from by weſt, and ſo to Ikeley, and receyuing ere long another by north from Denton hall, it haſteth to Weſton Vauaſour, Oteley, and Lethelcy where it taketh in the Padſide, & the Waſhburne, both in one ſtreame from Lyndley ward, and thence to Caſley chappell, & there it croſſeth one from by north, & another ere long from by ſouth, and ſo to Hardwoode caſtell, Kereby, Woodhall, Collingham, Linton, Wetherby, Thorpatche, Newton, Tadcaſter, and when it hath receyued the Cockebecke from ſouthweſt, that goth by Barwy, Aberforth, Leadhall, and Grymſton, it runneth to Erton, Kyrby Wharf, Vſkel, Rither Nunapleton, and ſo into the Ouze, beneath Cawood, a caſtell belonging to the Arche biſhop of Yorke, where he vſeth oft to lye when he refreſheth himſelfe, with chaunge of ayre & ſhift of habitation, for the auoiding of ſuch infection as maye otherwiſe engender by his long abode in one place, for want of due purgation, and aiering of his houſe.

Padſide.
waſhburn.
Cocke=
becke.

Air.

The Air ryſeth out of a Lake, South of Darnbrooke, wherin as I here is none other fiſh but red Trowt, & Perche. Leland ſaith it riſeth néere vnto Ortō in Crauen, wherfore the oddes is but litle. It goeth therfore from thence to Mawlam, Hamlithe, Kyrby Moldale, Calton hall, Areton, and ſo forth tyll it come almoſt to Gargraue, there croſſing the Otterburne water on the weſt, & the Winterburne on the north, which at Flaſby, receiueth a ryll from Helton as I here. Being paſt Gargraue, our Air goeth on to Eſhton, Elſwoode, and ſo forth on, firſt receyuig a brooke from ſouthweſt, (wherof one braunch commeth by Marton, the other by Thornet, which méete about Broughton) then another from northeaſt, that runneth by Skipton caſtell. After this confluence it haſteth to Newe biggin, Bradley, and Kildwyc, by ſouth eaſt whereof, it méeteth with one water from Malwſis, and Gluſburne or Glukeſburne, called Glyke, another lykewyſe a lytle beneath from Seton, beſide two rylles from by north, after which confluence it runneth by Reddleſdē, & ouer againſt this towne the Lacocke and the Worth doe méete withall in one chanell, as the Moreton water doth on the north, although it be ſomewhat lower. Thence it goeth to Kitheforth hall, & ſo to Bungley, where it taketh a ryll from Denholme parke to Shipeley, & there croſſing another from Thorneton, Leuenthorpe, and Bradley, it goeth to Caluerley, to Chriſtall, and ſo to Léedes, where one water runneth thereinto, by north from Wettlewoode, and two other from by ſouth in one chanell, whereof the firſt hath two armes, of which the one commeth from Pudſey chappell, the other from Adwalton, their confluence being made aboue Farnelley hall. The other lykewiſe hath two heades, whereof one is aboue Morley, the other cōmeth from Domingley, and méeting with the firſt not far ſouth weſt of Léedes, they fall both into the Aire, and ſo runne with the ſame to Swilington, & there taking in yͤ Rodwel becke ſouth of the bridg, it procéedeth to Ollerton, Caſtelforde, Brotherton and Ferribridge there receiuing the Went, a becke from Pontifract which ryſeth of diuers heads, wherof one is among yͤ cole pits. Thēce to Beall, Berkin, Kellingtō, middle Hodleſey, Tēplehirſt, Gowldall, Snathe, Rawcliffe, Newlande, Army, and ſo into the Ouze wyth an indifferent courſe. Of all the ryuers in the North, Lelande (in ſo many ot hys bookes as I haue ſéene) ſayth leaſt of this. Mine annotations alſo are very ſlender in the particular waters whereby it is increaſed: wherfore I was compelled of neceſſity to conclude euen thus with the deſcription of the ſame, & had ſo left it in déede if I had not receyued one other note more to adde vnto it (euen when the leafe was at the Preſſe) which ſaith as followeth in maner worde for worde.

Otter=
burne.
winter=
burne.
Glyke.
Lacocke.
Worth.
Moreton.
Redwell.
went.

There is a noble water that falleth into Aire, whoſe heade as I take it is about Staforde. From whence it goeth to Creſton chapell, to Lingfield, and there about receyuing one ryll, néere Elſrabright bridge, and alſo the Hebden by northweſt, it goeth to Brearley hall, and ſo taking in the thirde by north it procéedeth on eaſtwarde by Sorſby bridge chappell, (and there a ryll from ſouthweſt)

Hebden.

and

Chalde.

and ſo to Coppeley hall. Beneath this place I finde alſo that it receyueth one ryll from Hallyfaxe, which ryſeth of two heades, & two other from ſouthweſt, of which one commeth by Bareſlande, and Stanelande in one chanell, as I reade, ſo that after this confluence the aforeſayd water goeth on toward Cowforde bridge, and as it taketh in two rilles aboue the ſame on the North ſide, ſo beneath that bridge, there falleth into it a prety arme increaſed by ſundry waters comming from by ſouth, as from Marſheden chappell, from Holmeſworth chappell, and Kyrke Heton, eche one growyng of ſundrie heades, wherof I woulde ſay more, if I had more intelligēce of their ſeuerall gates and paſſages. But to procéede from Cowford bridge it runneth to Munfeld, & receiuing ere long one ryll from Leuerſage hall, and another from Burſhall by Deweſburye, it goeth on North eaſt of Thornehul, ſouth of Horbyry thornes, & therabout croſſyng one ryll from by ſouth from Woller by newe Milner Damme, and ſoone after another from northweſt, called Chald, ryſing in the Peke hilles, whereon Wakefielde ſtandeth, and likewiſe the thirde from ſouth eaſt, and Waterton hall, it goeth by Warmefield, Newelande, Altoftes, and fynally into the Aire, weſt of Caſtelworth, as I learne. What ẏ name of this ryuer ſhould be as yet I here not, and therefore no merueile that I doe not ſet it downe, yet is it poſſible ſuch as dwell thereabout are not ignoraunt thereof, but what is that to me, if I be not pertaker of their knowledge. It ſhal ſuffiſe therefore thus farre to haue ſhewed the courſe thereof, and as for the name I paſſe it ouer vntill another time.

Trent.

Foulbrook

Sow.

Penke.

Blithe.

Tame.

The Trent is one of the moſt excellent ryuers in the lande, and increaſed wyth ſo many waters, as for that onely cauſe it may bée compared either with the Ouze or Sauerne, I meane the ſeconde Ouze, whoſe courſe I haue lately deſcribed. It ryſeth of two heads which ioyne beneath Norton in the moore, & from thence goeth to Hiltō Abbay, Bucknel church, and aboue Stoke, receyueth in the foule brooke water, which commeth thyther from Tunſtall, by Shelton, and finally making a confluence they go to Hanflete, where they méete wyth another on the ſame ſide, that diſcendeth frō Newcaſtell vnder Line, which Lelande taketh to bée the very Trent it ſelfe, ſaying, that it ryſeth in the hylles aboue Newcaſtell, as maye be ſéene by hys commentaryes. But to procéede. At Trentham or not farre from thence, it croſſeth a riueret from northeaſt, whoſe name I know not, & thence goyng to Stone Aſton, Stoke Burſton, the Sandons and Weſton, a little aboue Shubburne and Hawood, it receyueth the Sowe, a great chanell increaſed wyth ſundry waters, which I will here deſcribe, leauyng the Trent at Shubburne, tyll I come backe agayne. The Sowe diſcendeth from the hylles, aboue Whytemoore chapell, and goeth by Charleton, and Stawne, and beneath Shalforde ioyneth wyth another by northeaſt that commeth from Byſhoppes Offeley, Egleſhal, Cheſby, Rauntō. After thys confluence alſo, it runneth by Bridgeforde, Tillington, and Staforde, beneath which Towne, it croſſeth the Penke becke, that ryſeth aboue Nigleton, & Berewood, and aboue Penke bridge, vniteth it ſelf with another comming frō Knightley ward, by Gnaſhall church, Eaton, and ſo goyng forth as one, it is not long ere they fall into Sow, after they haue paſſed Draiton, Dunſtan, Acton, and Banſwiche, where loſing their names, they with the Sow & the Sow with them, doe ioyne wyth the Trent, at Shubburne, vpon the ſoutherly bank. From Shubburne ẏ Trent goeth on, to lytle Harwoode, (méeting by the way one ryll at Duſley bridge, and another ſouth of Riddleſley) thence by Hawkſhery, Maueſtane, Ridware and ſo towarde Yoxhall, where I muſt ſtaye a whyle to conſider of other waters, wherewith I mete in this voiage. Of theſe therfore the leſſer commeth in by ſouth frō Farwall, the other from by weſt, a fayre ſtreame, and increaſed with two brookes, whereof the firſt ryſeth in Nedewoode forreſt, northeaſt of Haggarſley parke, wherinto falleth another weſt of Hamſted Ridware, called Blythe, which ryſeth among the hylles in Whateley moore, aboue Weſton Cony and thence goyng to the ſame Towne, it commeth to Careſwel Druicote, alias Dracote, Painſley Gratwitch, Grymley, Aldmaſton, Hamſted Ridware, and finally into the Trent, directly weſt of Yoxhall, which runneth alſo from thence, and leauing kinges Bromley, in a parke (as I take it) on the left hand, and the Blacke water comming from Southton, and Lichefielde on the ryght, goeth ſtreight waye to Catton, where it méeteth wyth the Tame, whoſe courſe I deſcribe as followeth. It riſeth in Staffordſhyre (as I remēber) not farre from Petteſhall, & goeth foorth by Hamſted, towarde Pyrihall and Brimichams Aſton, taking in by the way a rill on eache ſide, whereof the firſt groweth through a confluence of two waters, the one of them comming from Typton, the other from Aldbury, and ſo rūning as one by Wedbury till they fall into the ſame. The latter commeth

from Wolkhall and ioyneth with it on the
left hande. After this and when it is paſt the
aforeſayd places, it croſſeth in like ſort a rill
frō Smethikewarde: thence it goeth to Parneton
hall, beneath which it meeteth with the
Rhe. Rhe, and thence thorow the parke, at Parke
Cole. hal by Watercote croſſing finally the Cole,
whoſe heade is in the forreſt by Kingeſnortō
wood, and hath this courſe, whereof I nowe
giue notice. It riſeth as I ſayde in the forreſt
by Kingeſnorton wood, & going by Pareley
and Kingeſhirſt, it meeteth betweene that
& the parke, with a water running betweene
Yelmedon and Sheldon. Thence it paſſeth
on to Coleſhull, by eaſt whereof it ioyneth
with a brooke, mounting ſouthweſt of Solyhull
Blithe. hull called Blithe, which going by Henwood
and Barſton, croſſeth on eche ſide of temple
Balſhall a rill, whereof one cōmeth thorow
the Queenes parke or chaſe that lyeth by
Weſt of Kenelworth, and the other by
Kenelworth caſtell it ſelfe, from about Haſely
parke. After which confluences it proceedeth
in like maner to Hampton in Arden, &
the Packingtons and ſo to Coleſhull, where
it meeteth with the Cole, that going a little
Burne. farder vniteth it ſelf with the Burne, on the
one ſide, (whereinto runneth a water comming
frō Anſley on the eaſt) & ſoone after on yͤ
other doth fal into yͤ Tame. That which ſome
Rhee. call the Rhee, Leland nameth the Brimichā
water, whoſe head as I heare is aboue Norkfield,
ſo that his courſe ſhoulde be by Kingeſnortō,
Bremicham, Budſton hall, till it fall
beneath Parneton into the Tame it ſelf, that
runneth after theſe confluences on by Lee,
Kingeſbury parke, & going by eaſt, of Drayton
Baſſet Parke to Falkeſley Bridge, it
meeteth with another water, called Burne
alſo comming from Hammerwich churche,
by Cheſterforde, Shenton, Thickebrowne,
and the north ſide of Drayton, Baſſet parke,
whereof I ſpake before. From hence our
Thame runneth on to Tamworth, there taking
Ancre. in the Ancre by eaſt, whoſe deſcription
I had in this maner deliuered vnto me. It
riſeth aboue Burton, from whence it goeth
by Nonneaton, Witherley and Atherſtone.
Ere long alſo it taketh in a water frō northeaſt,
which commeth by Hugleſcote, Shapton,
Cunſtō, Twicroſſe (vniting it ſelf with a
water from Boſworth) Ratcliffe and ſo into
Ancre: which after this confluence paſſeth by
Whittendō, Crindō, Polleſworth Armington,
Tamworth and ſo into Tame, that haſteth
to Hopwaſh, Cōberford hall, Telford, &
ſoone after croſſing a rill that ryſeth ſhorte of
Swinfelde hall, and commeth by Feſtyrike,
it runneth not farre from Croxhall, and ſo to
Catton, there about receyuing his laſt increaſe
not worthie to be omitted. This brooke
is named Meſe, & it riſeth in the great parke Meſe.
that lyeth betweene Worthington, & Smethike,
from whence alſo it goeth by Aſheby
de la ſouche Packington, Meſham & Stretton,
& therabout croſſing a ril about Netherſale
Graunge, from Ouerſale by eaſt, it proceedeth
by Chilcote, Clifton, Croxal, into the
Thame and both out of hand into the maine
riuer a mile aboue Reptō. Leland writing of
this riuer as I earſt noted ſaith therof in this
wiſe. Into the Thame alſo runneth the Bremicham
brooke, which ryſeth foure or fiue
myles about Bremicham in the Blacke
hils in Worceſterſhyre, and goeth into the aforeſayde
water a myle aboue Crudworth
bridge. Certes ſayth he this Bremicham is
a towne maintayned chiefly by ſmithes, as
Naylers, Cutlers, Edgetoole forgers, Lorimers
or Bitmakers, which haue their yron
out of Stafforde, and Warwijc ſhyres, and
coles alſo out of the firſt countie, & hitherto
Leland. Nowe to reſume the Trent, which
being growen to ſome greatneſſe, goeth on
to Walton, Drakelow, and there croſſing a
water that commeth by Newbold hall, it rūneth
to Stapenell, Winſhull, Wightmere,
and Newtō, Souche, where it receyueth two
chanels within a ſhort ſpace, to be deſcribed
a part. The firſt of theſe is called the Dow
or Doue. It ryſeth about the three ſhyres Dow.
meere, & is as it were Limes betweene Stafforde
and Darbyſhyres vntill it come at the
Trent. Deſcending therfore from the head,
it goeth by Erles Booth, Pilſbury Graung,
Hartington, Wolſcot, Eaton, Hunſington
Graunge, and aboue Thorpe receyueth the
Manifolde water, ſo called bycauſe of yͤ ſundrie Manifold.
crinckling rils that it receyueth & turnagaines
that it ſelfe ſheweth before it come
at the Dow. Riſing therefore not farre from
Axe edge croſſe, (in the bottome thereby) it
runneth from thence to Longmoore, Shene,
Warſlow Chappell, and Welton. Beneath
Welton alſo it taketh in the Hanſby water, Hanſley.
that commeth out of Blackemoore hilles to
Waterſall, where it falleth into the ground,
and afterwarde mounting againe is receyued
into the Manifold north of Throwley as
I heare, which goeth from thence to Ilam &
aboue Thorpe doth caſt it ſelfe into Dowe.
Hauing therefore mette togither after this
maner, the Dow proceedeth on to Maplington,
beneath which it croſſeth one water deſcending
from Braſſingtō by Fenny Bentley,
and another ſomewhat lower that commeth
from Hocſton hall by Hognaſton and
Aſheburne, and then going to Matterfielde,

Narbury,

Churne.
Dunſmere
Yendor.
Iula Canuti.
Aſhenhirſt
Teine.
Vttoyeter or Vnceſter.
Darwent.
Neue.
Burbroke

Narbury, Ellaſton, Rawſton, Rowceſter, it meeteth with the Churne, euen here to be deſcribed before I go any farder. It riſeth a good waie aboue Delacraſſe abbay, and comming thither by Helleſby wood, it taketh in the Dunſmeere betweene Harracraſſe, and Leike. Thence it goeth to the Walgraunge, and a little beneath receyueth yͤ Yendor, that commeth frō aboue Harton, thence to Chedleton, & hauing croſſed the Aſhenhirſt broke aboue Cnutes hall, it runneth by Ypſton, Froghall, Below hill, Alton caſtell, Preſtwood & at Rowceſter falleth into the Dow, which eare long alſo receyueth a rill from Crowſden, and then going to Eton meeteth firſt with the Teine that commeth thither from each ſide of Chedley by Teinetwone, Bramhirſt and Stranehill. Secondly with the Vnceſter or Vttoyeter water, and then going on to Merchington, Sidbery, Cawltō, it croſſeth a broke from Sidmiſter colledge, by Saperton. From this confluence in lyke ſorte it paſſeth forth, to Tilbery caſtel, Marſton and at Edgerton, meeteth with the water that commeth from Yelderſley by Longforde (whereinto runneth another that commeth from Hollington) and ſo to Hilton. Theſe waters being thus ioyned and many endes brought into one, the Dow it ſelfe falleth eare long, lykewyſe into the Trent, aboue Newton Souche: ſo that the maine riuer being thus inlarged, goeth onwardes with his courſe, and betweene Willington and Reptō meeteth with two waters on ſundry ſides, whereof that which falleth in by Willington ryſeth neere Dawbery Lyes, & runneth by Truſſely and Aſhe: the other that entreth aboue Repton deſcendeth from Harteſburne, ſo that the Trent being paſt theſe haſteth to Twiforde, Ingleby, Staunton, Weſton, Newton, and Aſton, eare long alſo meeting with the Darwent, next of all to be diſpatched. The Darwent riſeth plaine weſt neere vnto the edge of Darbyſhyre, aboue Blackewell a market towne, and from the heade runneth to the new chappell within a few miles after it be riſen. Frō hence moreouer it goeth by Howden houſe, Darwent chappel, Yorkeſhyre bridge, and at Witham bridge doth croſſe the Neue or Nouius that commeth from Newſtole hill, by Netherburgh, Hope, (croſſing there one rill frō Caſtelton, another from Bradwell, & the thirde at Hatherſage, from ſtony ridge hill) and ſo goeth on to Padley, Stockehall, receyuing a rill by the way from by weſt, to Stony Midleton, and Baſlow, and hauing here taken in the Burbroke on the one ſide, and another from Halſop on the other, it goeth to Chatworth and to Rowſeley, where it is increaſed with the Wye comming from by weſt, & alſo a rill on the eaſt, a little higher, but I will deſcribe the Wye before I go any farder.

Wye.
Hawkeſhow Wyle.
Rufforde alias Mā becke.
Lathkell.
Bradford.
Amber.
Moreton.

The Wye ryſeth aboue Buxſton well, and there is increaſed with the Hawkeſhow, and the Wyle broke, whoſe heades are alſo farder diſtaunt from the edge of Darbyſhyre, then that of Wye, and races ſomewhat longer, though neither of them be worthie to be accompted long. For the Wyle, hauing two heads, the one of them is not farre aboue the place where Wilebecke abbaye ſtoode, the other is farder of by weſt, about Wilebecke towne, and finally ioyning in one they runne to Cuckney village, where receiuing a beck that commeth downe from by weſt, it holdeth on two miles farder, there taking in the ſeconde rill, and ſo reſort to Rufforde, or the Man becke: Vnto this alſo do other two rils repaire, whereof the one goeth thorowe & the other harde by Maunſfield, of which two alſo this latter ryſeth weſt about foure miles, and runneth forth to Clipſton (three myles lower) and ſo likewiſe to Rufforde, whereof I will ſpeake hereafter. In the meane tyme to returne againe to the Wye. From Buxſton well, it runneth to Staddon, Cowdale, Cowlow, New medow, Milhouſes, Bankewell, and Haddon hall, beneath which it receyueth the Lath kell, that runneth by Ouerhaddon, and the Bradforde both in one bottome after they be ioyned in one, at Alport, & this is the firſt great water that our Derwent doth meete withall. Being therfore paſt the Rowſleies, the ſayde Derwent goeth to Stancliffe, Darley in the peke, Wenſley, Smitterton hall, and at Matlocke taketh in a rill by northeſt, as it doth another at Crūforde that goeth by Boteſhall. From Matlocke, it proceedeth to Watſton, or Watſond, Well bridge, Alderwaſh and ioyneth with an other ſtreame called Amber comming in from by North by Amber bridge, whoſe deſcription ſhall inſue, in this wiſe as I finde it. The heade of Amber is aboue Edleſton hal, or as Leland ſaith eaſt of Cheſterfielde, and comming from thence by Midleton, to Ogſton hall, it taketh with al another broke, deſcending from Hardwyc wode, by Alton and Stretton. Thence it goeth to Higham, Brackenfelde, and aboue Dale bridge, meeteth with a broke running from Hucknallwarde to Shirelande parke ſide (there croſſing the Moreton Becke) & ſo to Alferton, except I name it wrong. From Dale bridge it goeth by Wingfelde, to Hedge, Fritchlin, and ſo into Darwent, takyng the water withall that diſcendeth from Swanſwyc by Pentridge, as Leland doth remẽber. From this confluence likewiſe it runneth to Belper, where it méeteth with a ryll comming from Mozley parke: thence to Makeney, and at Duffelde, receyueth the Egleſburne, which ryſeth about Wirkeſworth or Oreſworth but in ẏ ſame pariſh out of a rock & commeth in by Turnediche. From Duffeld, it paſſeth to Bradſall, Darley Abbaie, and at Darby Towne, taketh in a ryll comming from Mickalſton, by Weſton vnderwoode, Kidleſton, and Merton.

gleſ-
ne.

If a man ſhoulde ſaye that Darwent ryuer giueth name to Darby towne, he ſhould not well knowe howe euerye one woulde take it, and thereby he might happen to offende ſome. In the meane tyme I beléeue it, let other iudge as pleaſeth them, ſith my coniecture can preiudice none: to procéede therfore. From Darby it runneth on by Aluaſton, Ambaſton, the Wellos, and ſo into Trent, which goeth from hence to Sawley, & north of Thrumpton taketh in the Sore, a fayre ſtreame and not worthy to be ouerpaſſed.

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It ryſeth in Leiceſter ſhyre aboue Wigton & thence goeth to Sharneford, Sapcote, and beneath Staunton, taketh in a ryll that commeth by Downton and Broughton Aſtley. Thence to Marleborowe and before it come to Elſton croſſeth another on the ſame ſide (diſcending by Burton, Glen, Winſtowe, Kilby and Blabye) then to Leirceſter towne, Belgraue, Burſtall, Wanlippe, & ere it come at Cuſſington or Coſiton, croſſeth the Eye, which riſeth aboue Bramſton, goeth by Knawſtow, Somerby, Pickewell, Whiteſonden, & beneath (a little) receyueth a ryll on the ryght hande from Coldnorton. Thence to Stapleforde, and ſone after croſſing a broke from aboue Sprorton, Coſton, Garthrope and Sarby, it runneth to Winerby, Brentingby, and ere it come at Melton, méeteth with two other ſmal rils, from the right hand whereof one commeth from about Caldwell by Thorpe Arnolde, & Waltham in the woulde, the other from Skaleforde warde, & from Melton goeth by Siſonby, there méeting with another from northeaſt ouer againſt Kirby Bellars, after which tyme ẏ name of Eye is changed into Wark, or Wrke, and ſo continueth vntill it come at the Soure. From hence alſo it goeth to Aſterby, Radgale, Haby, Truſſington, Ratcliffe, and ſone after croſſeth ſundry waters not very farre in ſunder, whereof one commeth from Queſton, by Twiforde, Aſhby and Gadeſby, another from Loſeby, by Baggraue, and Craliſton, and ioining with ẏ firſt at Quenyhow, it is not long ere they fall into the Warke. The ſeconde runneth from Engarby, by Barkeley, and Siſon. But the thirde and greateſt of the thrée, is a chanell increaſed with thrée waters, whereof one commeth from Norton, by Burton, Kylby, Foſton and Blaby, the other from Downton, by Broughton, and Aſtley, and méeting with the thirde from Sapcoth, and ſtony Staunton, they run togyther by Narborow, and ſone after ioyning aboue Elſtõ, wyth the firſt of the thrée, they go as one by Elſton to Leirceſter, Belgraue, Wanlippe, and aboue Cuſſington, doe fall into ẏ Wark and ſone after into the Soure. The Soure, in lyke ſort going from thence to mounte Sorel, & taking in another broke ſouthweſt from Leirceſter forreſt, by Glenfield, Anſty, Thurcaſton and Rodeley, ioyneth wyth the Soure, which goeth from thence to mount Sorell, and Quarendon (where it taketh in a water comming from Charnewode forreſt, and goeth by Bradegate and Swythlande) and then procéedeth to Cotes, Lughborow and Stanforde, there alſo taking in one ryll out of Notingham ſhyre, by northeaſt, and ſone after another from ſouthweſt, comming from Braceden to Shepeſhened, Garrington and Dighely graung, and likewiſe the thirde, from Worthington, by Diſworth, long Whitton, & Wathorne. Fynally after theſe confluences, it haſteth to Sutton, Kingſton, and Ratclife, and ſo into the Trent.

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These things being thus brought togither, and we nowe reſuming the diſcourſe of the ſame riuer. It doth after his méeting wyth the Soure, procéede withal to Barton, where it taketh in the Erwaſh, which ryſeth about Kyrby, and thence goeth to Selſton, Wanſby, Codnor caſtell, Eſtwode, and croſſyng a water from Beual, runneth to Coſhal, Trowel (& there taking in another rill comming from Henor, by Shypeley) it procéedeth on to Stapleforde, long Eaton, and ſo into the Trent. This beyng done it goeth to Cliſton, and ere it come at Wilforde, it méeteth with a broke that paſſeth from Staunton, by Bony and Rodington, and thence to Notinghã, where it croſſeth the Line, which ryſeth aboue Newſted, and paſſyng by Papplewike, Hucknall, Baſforde, Radforde and Linton, nexte of all to Thorpe and Farndon, where it braunceth and maketh an Iland, and into the ſmaller of them goeth a broke frõ Beuer caſtell, which riſing betwéene eaſt Well & Eaton in Leirceſter is called the Dene, & from thence runneth by Bramſton to Knipton,

Erwaſhe.

Dene.

Snite.

ton, & beneth Knipton meeteth with a brooke that commeth by weſt of Croxſton, & thence holdeth on wᵗ his courſe, betweene Willeſthorp & Bever caſtel aforſaid, & ſo to Botteſworth, Normantõ, Killington, Shilton there receyuing the Snite frõ by ſouth (whoſe head is neere Clauſton, and courſe from thence by Hickling, Langer, Whalton, Orſton, and Flarcborow) and ere long another comming from Bingham, and Sibthorpe. Thence our Trent runneth to Coram, Hawton, Newarke caſtel, and ſo to Winthorpe, where the braunches are reunited, and thence go on by Holme, to Cromwell (and ſoone after taking in a brooke comming frõ Bilſthorpe, by Kerſal, Cawnton, Norwel & Willowby) to Carlton, and to Sutton, there making a litle Iſle, then to Grinton, where it toucheth a ſtreame one eche ſide, whereof one commeth from Morehouſe by Weſton, and Greſthorp, another from Langthorpe, by Collingham, and Boſthorpe. From hence lykewyſe it paſſeth to Clifton, Newtõ, Kettlethorpe, Torkeſey, Knath, Gainſborow, Waltrith, Stockwith, and leauing Axholme on the left hande, it taketh with all Hogdike water, out of the Iſle, and ſo goeth forth to Wildſworth, Eaſtferrye, Fruſworth, Burringham Gummeis, Hirburghe, Burton, Walcote, & at Ankerbury into the Humber, receiuing the Downe with by the way, which for his nobleneſſe is not to be ouerpaſſed.

Done alias Donne.

Cowley.

Rother.

Iber.

Bramptõ.

Crawl

Gunno.

Meſebrooke.

Hampall.

The Done therfore riſeth in Yorkeſhire among the Pekehils, & hauing receiued a water cõming by Ingbirchworth goth to Penniſtõ, which is foure myles frõ the hed, then by Orſpring, to Thurgoland, and ſoone after (ioining by the way with the Midhop water, that runneth by Midhop chappell, & Hondeſhelfe) it meeteth with another comming frõ Bowſterſtõ chapell. Then goeth it by Waddeſley wood to Waddeſley bridge, and at Aluerton receiueth the Bradfelde water. Then paſſeth it to Crokes, and ſo to Sheffelde caſtell, (by eaſt whereof it receyueth a brooke from by ſouth that commeth thorowe Sheffeldpark.) Thence it proceedeth to Weſtford bridg, Brikſie bridg & ſouthweſt of Timſley receyueth the Cowley ſtreame, that runneth by Ecclefeld. Next of al it goeth to Rotherhã where it meeteth with yͤ Rother a goodly water, whoſe head is in Darbyſhyre, about Pilſley, from whence it goeth vnder the name of Doley, till it come at Rotheram, by north Winfielde churche, Wingerworth, & Foreland hall twelue myles from Rotheram, to Cheſterforde, where it meeteth with the Iber, and Brampton water that commeth by Holme hall, both in one chanel. Thence it runneth to Topton caſtell, & ere long croſſing one water comming from Dronefelde by Whittington on the one ſide, and the ſeconde from aboue Brimington on the other, it goeth thorowe Staley parke, and ere long meeteth with the Crawley becke, wherof I finde this note. The Crawley ryſeth not far from Hardwiſe, and going by Staneſby and Woodhouſe, it receiueth aboue Netherthorpe, one water on the one ſide comming from the olde parke, and another from Barleborowe hill on the other, that runneth not far from Woodthorpe. After this confluence likewyſe they run as one into the Rother, which haſteth from thence to Eckington (there croſſing a ryll that runneth by Byrley hill) and ſo to Kilmarſhe, in the confines of Darby ſhire, where it taketh in the Gunno from by eaſt, thence to Boughton, vniting it ſelfe thereabout wyth another by weſt from Gledles, called Meſebrooke, which deuydeth Yorkeſhyre from Darby ſhyre, and ſo runneth to Treton, Whiſton, there taking in a ryll frõ Aſton and ſo to Rotheram, where it meeteth wyth the Donne, & from whence our Done haſteth to Aldwarke, Swaiton, Merburge, there takyng in the Darne, which I wyll next deſcribe, and ſtaye with the Done, vntil I haue finiſhed the ſame. It ryſeth at Combworth and ſo commeth about by Bretton hall, to Darton warde, where it croſſeth a water that runneth from Gunthwake Hall, by Cawthorne vnited of two heades. From hence it goeth to Burton graunge, then to Drar, where it toucheth wyth a water from ſouthweſt & then goeth to Derfielde & Goldthorpe, but ere it come to Sprotborowe, it vniteth it ſelfe with a faire ryuer, increaſed by dyuers waters, before it come at yͤ Done, & whereinto it falleth as I here northeaſt of Merburghe. After this confluence lykewyſe the Done goeth by Sprotborowe, to Warneſworth, Doncaſter, Wheatley (there meeting wyth the Hampall creeke on the northeaſt ſide, which ryſeth eaſt of Kyrby) thence to Sandal, Kyrke Sandall, Branwith ferry Stanford, Fiſhelake, and ſo to Thuorne, or Thurne, where it croſſeth the Idle (whoſe deſcription followeth) & finally into Trent, & ſo into the Humber. But before I deale with the deſcription of the Idle, I wil adde ſomewhat of the Rume which is a fayre water: for although the deſcription thereof be not ſo exactly deliuered me as I looked for, yet ſuch as it is I wyll ſet downe, conferring it wyth Lelandes booke and helping their defecte ſo much as to mee is poſſible. It ryſeth by ſouth of Maunſfielde, fyue myles from Rumforde abbaye, & when the ſtreame commeth neere the abbay, it caſteth it ſelfe abroade and maketh a fayre lake. After this it commeth againe into a narrowe chanell, and ſo goeth on to Rumford village, carying the Budbye and the Gerberton waters wyth all. From thence & with a méetely long courſe, it goeth to Bawtry or Wautrye, a market towne in Nottingham ſhyre, fiue myles from Doncaſter, and ſo into the Trent. Beneth Rumford alſo commeth in the Gyrt, which goeth vnto Southwel mylles, & ſo into the Trent. Nowe as concerning our Idle. The Idle ryſeth at Sutton in Aſhfelde, from whence it runneth to Maunſfelde, Clypſton and Allerton, where it taketh in a water that riſeth in the forreſt, one myle north of Bledworth, and runneth on by Rughforde abbaye, tyll it come at Allerton. The forreſters call thys Man becke, whereof Lelande alſo ſpeaketh, who deſcribeth it in thys maner. Man brooke ryſeth ſome where about Linthirſt woode, from whence it goeth to Bilſthorpe, and ſo to Allerton. But to procéede the Idle hauing taken in the Manbecke, it runneth to Bothomſall, by Boughton, and Perlethorpe but ere it come there, it méeteth the Meding Mayden, or Midding brooke, which ryſing about Teuerſall, goeth to Pleaſley, Nettleworth, Sawcan, Warſop, Budley, Thureſby, Bothomſall & ſo into the Idle. After thys it procéedeth to Houghton, weſt Draiton, but ere it touche at Graunſton or Gaunſton, it taketh in the Wily, which commeth from Clowne, to Creſwell, Holbecke, Woodhouſe Wilebecke, Normanton, Elſley, Graunſtō, and ſo into the Idle. Beyng thus increaſed the Idle runneth on to Idleton, Ordſal, Retforde, Bollam, Tilney, Matterſey abbaye, & ſo to Bawtry, where it méeteth another frō the ſhire Okes, that ryſeth aboue Geytford, paſſeth on to Workſop (or Radfurth) Oſberton, Bilby, and Blythe, there vniting it ſelf wyth thrée rylles in one botome, whereof one commeth from Waldingwel to Careleton, and ſo thorowe a parke to Blithe towne, another from by weſt Furbecke thrée myles and ſo to Blithe, but the thirde out of ẏ white water néer to Blithe, and there being vnited they paſſe on to Scroby, and ſo into the Idle. From hence it runneth on to Millen, to Sadlers bridge, & next of all to Santoft, where it méeteth with the Sandbecke, which ryſing not farre from Sandbecke towne, paſſeth by Tickhill, Roſington bridge, Brampton, Kilholme, Lindholme, & one myle ſouth of Santoft into the Idle water, which runneth from thence to Thorne, where it méeteth with the Done, & ſo with it to Crowley. Finally enuironning the Iſle of Axholme, it goeth to Garthorpe, Focorby, and ſo into the Trent, Leland wryting of the Wily, Wile or Gwily, as ſome wryte it, ſaith thus thereof. The Wile hath two heades, whereof one is not far aboue the place where Wilbecke abbaie ſtoode, the other ryſeth farder of by weſt aboue Welbecke, or Wilebecke Towne: finally ioyning in one, they runne to Cuckeney village, where croſſing a becke that commeth in frō by weſt, it holdeth on two myles farder, there taking in the ſeconde ryll, and ſo reſort to Rufforde. To thys ryuer likewiſe ſaith he do two other waters repaire, whereof ẏ one goeth hard by Maunſfeld (riſing foure myles from thence by weſt) & then commeth thrée myles lower vnto Rufford, the other ſo far as I remember goeth quite thorowe the towne. Hauing thus finiſhed ẏ courſe of the Trent, & ſuch notable waters as diſcharge themſelues into the ſame. I find none of any cōtenance omitted before I come to Lindis or Witham, where I haue to make ſupplie of foure or fiue as followeth, albeit that their courſes be not of any quantitie in compariſon of thoſe, whereof I ſpake in the Trent. Into Witham therefore from by north and ſeuen myles beneath Lincolne, there falleth a faire water, the heade whereof is at Hakethorne, from whence it goeth by Hanworth, Snarford, Reſby, Stainton, and at Bullington méeteth with a water on each ſide, whereof one commeth from Haytō and Turrington, the other from Sudbrooke, and likewyſe beneath Byrlinges with the third comming from Barkeworth by Stanſted, and ioining all in one ſoone after, it is not long ere it fall into the chanell of Witham, and ſo are neuer more hearde of. There is alſo a brooke by ſouthweſt, that commeth from Kyrby to Cateley, Billingams, and the ferry. At Taterſall it méeteth with the Bane, which ryſeth aboue Burghe, and néere vnto Ludford goeth downe to Dunnington, Stanygod, Hemmingſby, Bamburghe, Fillington, Horne caſtell (where it croſſeth a rill from Belcheworth) Thorneton, Marton, Halton, Kyrkeby, Comſby, Taterſall and ſo to Dogdike ferry. Aboue Boſton, likewiſe it taketh in a water comming from Luſeby by Bolingbrooke, Stickeford, Stickney, Sibbeſey and Hildrike. And to Boſton towne it ſelfe doe finally come ſundry brookes in one chanell, called Hammond becke, which riſing at Doneſby runneth on to Wrightbold where it caſteth one arme into Holly well water. Thence it haſteth towarde Donnington, receyuing foure brookes by the waye, whereof the firſt commeth from Milthorp, the ſecond from Fokingham, called Bollingbrowe or

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Sempringham water, the thirde frõ Bridge ende, the fourth from Sempringham, and afterwardes the maine ſtreame is founde to runne by Kyrton holme, and ſo into the Witham. Into the Wylande likewyſe falleth the Hallywell, which ryſeth of a ſpryng that runneth towarde the eaſt from Halywell to Oneby, Eſonden, Gretforde, and ſo to Catbridge, where it receyueth another ryſing at Witham and Weſt of Manthorpe, and the ſeconde comming from Laund, and ſo runne from thence togither to Willeſthorp & Catbridge, and then into the Hallywell, which after theſe confluences, goeth to Tetforde, & Eaſtcole, where it meeteth with a Drayne, comming from Bourne, and ſo thorowe the Fennes to Pinchebeck, Surflete, and Foſdike, where it meeteth with the Welland, in yͤ mouth of the waſhe as I haue beene aduertiſed. And thus much of the ſmaller brookes, wherby the greater are augmented, ouer all the realme of Englande. Certes I would if it had beene poſſible, haue dealt more orderly in their deſcriptions, but ſith many occaſiõs hindered my purpoſe, that which I haue done I hope ſhall ſuffice for this time, ſith here after I may happen to take farder trauaile herein, & bring the whole diſcourſe to ſome more perfite order, as better inſtruction and good acceptation of that which is done alreadie ſhall encourage me thereto.

Of the deuiſion of Englande as it is now generally named into Shyres

Cap. 4.

Trinobantes.
Ordolukes.
Tegenes.
Silures.
Brigantes.
Cankes.
Canges.

Alfride brought Englande into ſhires which the Britons diuided by Cantredes and the Saxons by famil[i]es.

In reading of auncient writters as Cæſar Tacitus and others, we finde mention of ſundrie regions to haue beene ſometyme in this Iſlande, as of the Trinobantes, Ordolukes, Tegenes, Silures, Icenes, Brigantes, Cãges, and Kentiſhmen and ſuch like, but ſith the ſeuerall places where moſt of them laye, are not perfitelye knowne vnto the learned of theſe dayes, I doe not meane to pronounce my iudgement alſo vpõ ſuch doubtfull caſes, leaſt that in ſo doing I ſhoulde but increaſe coniectures, and leading peraduenture the reader frõ the more probable, intangle him in the ende with ſuch as are of leſſe value & nothing ſo lykely to be true, as thoſe which other men haue ſet downe before me. It ſhall ſuffice therfore to begin with ſuch a ground, as from whence ſome better certaintie of thinges may be deriued, and that is with the eſtate of our Iſlande in the time of Alfrede, who firſt deuided England into ſhyres, whiche before his tyme, and ſithence the cõming of the Saxons, was limited out by famile[s] and hydelandes, as Wales hath alſo beene by hundreds of townes, which then were called Cantredes, as olde recorde doth witneſſe. Into how many ſhyres the ſayde Alfrede did firſt make this particion of the Iſlande, it is not yet founde out, howbeit if my coniecture be any thing at all, I ſuppoſe that he left not vnder eyght and thirtie, ſith we finde by no good author that aboue fifteene haue bene added by any of his ſucceſſours, ſith the time of his deceaſe. This prince therefore hauing made the generall partition of his kingdome into ſhyres, or ſhares, he deuided againe the ſame into lathes, as lathes into hundreds, & hundredes into tithinges, or denaries, as diuers haue written, and M. Lambert following their authorities, hath alſo giuen out, ſaying almoſt after this manner in his deſcription of Kent. The Danes (ſaith he) both before, and in the time of king Alfrede, had flocked by the ſea coaſtes of this Iſlande in great numbers, ſometimes waſting and ſpoiling with ſworde and fire, whereſoeuer they might arriue, & ſometime taking great booties with thẽ to their ſhips, without doing any farder hurt, or domage to the countrey. Thys inconuenience continuing for manye yeares togither, cauſed our huſbandmen to abandon their tillage, and gaue occaſion and hardneſſe to euill diſpoſed perſons, to fall to the lyke pillage, as practiſing to followe the Danes in theſe theyr theftes and robberies. And the better to cloake their miſchiefe withall, they feigned thẽſelues to be Daniſh Pyrates, and woulde ſometime come alande in one port, and ſometime in an other, driuing dayly great ſpoyles as the Danes had done vnto their ſhips before them. The good king Alfrede therfore (who had marueylouſly traueyled in repulſing the barbarous Danes) eſpying this out rage, & thinking it no leſſe the part of a politicke prince to roote out the noyſome ſubiect, then to holde out the forren aduerſarie: by the aduice of his nobilitie, and therample of Moſes (who followed the counſell of Iethro his father in law to the like effect) deuided the whole realme into certaine partes or ſectiõs, which (of the Saxon worde, Schyran, ſignifying to cut) he termed ſhires or as we yet ſpeake, ſhares, or portions, and appointed ouer euery ſuch one ſhire an Erle or Alderman or both, to whome he committed the gouernement of the ſame. Theſe ſhyres alſo he brake into leſſer partes, wherof ſome were called lathes, of the worde Gelathian, which is to aſſemble togither, other hundredes for that they coined iuriſdiction ouer an hundred pledges, & other tithinges, bycauſe there were in eache of them to the num-

Shire, ſhare al one.

Engliſhmen noyſome to their own country.

Erle and Aldermã.

number of tenne perſons, whereof euery one frõ time to time was ſuretie for others good abearing. He prouided alſo that euery man ſhoulde procure himſelfe to be receyued into ſome tithing, to the ende, that if any were founde of ſo ſmall and baſſe a credite that no man woulde become pledge or ſuretie for him, he ſhoulde forthwith be committed to pryſon, leſt otherwiſe he might happen to do more harme abroade. Hitherto M. Lambert, by whoſe wordes we may gather very much of the ſtate of this Iſlande in the time of Alfride, whoſe inſtitution continued after a ſort vntill the comming of the Normans, who chaunged the gouernement of the realme in ſuch wiſe (by bringing in of new officers and offices, after the maner of their countries) that very little of the olde regiment remayned more then the bares names of ſome officers (except peraduenture in Kent) ſo that in theſe dayes it is hard to ſet downe any great certainty of things as they ſtoode in Alfrids time, more then is remembred, & touched at this preſent. Some as it were roming or roning at ẏ name Lath, affirme that they were certen circuites in euery coũty or ſhyre, cõtayning an appoynted number of townes, whoſe inhabitauntes alwayes aſſembled to know and vnderſtande of matters touching their portions, in to ſome one appoynted place or other within their limites, eſpecialye whyleſt the cauſes were ſuch as required not the ayde or aſſiſtaunce of the whole countye. Of theſe Lathes alſo (as they ſaye) ſome ſhyres had more ſome leſſe, as they were of greatneſſe. And M. Lãbert ſeemeth to be of the opinion that the lets of our tyme (wherein theſe pledges be yet called Franci plegij of the worde Free burghe) doe yeelde ſome ſhadow of that politike inſtitutiõ of Alfrede: but ſith my ſkill is ſo ſmall in theſe caſes that I dare not iudge any thing at all as of myne owne knowledge, I will not ſette downe any thing more then I read, and reading no more of lathes, my next talke ſhal be of hundredes. The hundrede, and the wapentake is all one, and by this diuiſion not a name appertynent to a ſette number of townes (for then all hundrede ſhoulde be of equall quantitie) but a limited iuriſdiction, within the compaſſe whereof were an hundred perſons called pledges, or ten denaries, or tithings of men, of which eache one was bounde for other good abering, and laudable behauiour in the cõmon welth of the realme. The chiefe man lykewyſe of euerie Denarie or Tithing was in thoſe dayes called a tithing man in latine Decurio, but now in moſt places a borſholder as in Kent, where euery tithing is more ouer named a Burrow, although that in the Weſt countrie he be ſtill called a Tithing man, and his circuit a Tithing as haue hearde at large. I reade further more and it is partly afore noted, that the ſayde Alfride cauſed eache man of free condicion (for the better maintenaunce of his peace) to be aſcribed into ſome hundred by placing himſelfe in one Denarie or other, where he might alwaies haue ſuch as ſhould ſwere or ſaye vppon their certen knowledge for his honeſt behauiour and ciuile conuerſation if it ſhould happen at any time, that his credite ſhould come in queſtion. In like ſort, I gather out of Leland and other, that if any ſmal matter did fall out worthie to be diſcuſſed, the Tithing man or borſholder (now officers, at the cõmandement of ẏ Conſtable) ſhould decide the ſame in their Letes, whereas the greateſt cauſes were referred to the Hundredes, the greater to the Lathes, and the greateſt of all to the ſhire daies, where the Earles or Aldermen dyd ſet themſelues, and make finall endes of the ſame, according vnto Iuſtice. For this purpoſe likewiſe in euery Hundred were 12. men choſen of good age and wiſdome, and thoſe ſworne to gyue their ſentences without reſpect of perſon, and in this maner, as they gather were thinges handeled in thoſe daies. In my tyme there are found to be in Englande 40. ſhyres, and likewiſe 13. in Wales, and theſe latter erected of late yeres, by King Henry ẏ eyght, who made the Brytõs or Welchmẽ, equall in all reſpectes vnto the Engliſhe, and brought to paſſe, that both nations ſhould indifferently be gouerned by one law, which in times paſt were ordred by diuers, & thoſe far deſcrepant, & diſagreyng one wyth an other, as by the ſeuerall view of ẏ ſame, is yet eaſy to be deſerned. The names of the ſhyres in England are theſe wherof the firſt 10. lie betweene the Brittiſh ſea and the Thames.

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Decu-
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Burrow.

Twelue men.

Fourtie ſhyres in Englande thirteene in wales.

Kent.
Suſſex.
Surrey.
Hampſhyre.
Barkeſhyre.
Wilſhyre.
Dorſet ſhyre.
Somerſet.
Deuon.
Cornewall.

There are moreouer on the north ſide of the Thames, & betweene the ſame & the riuer Trent, which paſſeth thorowe the middeſt of Englande as Polidore ſayth 16. other ſhires, whereof ſixe lye towarde the eaſt, the reſt towarde the weſt, more into the middeſt of the countrye.

Eſſex.
Middleſex.
Hartfordſhire.
Suffolke.
Norfolke.
Cambridge ſhyre.
Bedforde.
Huntingdon.

Buckingham.
Oxford.
Northampton.
Rutland.
Lewceſterſhire.
Nottingham ſhyre.
Warwicke.
Lincolne.

We haue 6. alſo that haue there place weſtward towardes wales, whoſe names inſue.

Gloceſter.
Hereford.
Worceſter.
Shropeſhire.
Stafford.
Cheſterſhire.

And theſe are the 32. ſhires which lie by ſouth of the Trent. Beyonde the ſame ryuer we haue in lyke ſort other 8. as

Darby.
Yorke.
Lancaſter.
Comberlande.
Weſtmerland.
Richemonde.
Durham.
Northumberland.

So that in the portiõ ſometime called Lhoegres, there are nowe fourtie ſhyres. In Wales furthermore are 13. wherof 7. are in ſouth Wales.

Cardigan, or
Cereticon.
Penmoroke, or
Penbroke.
Caermardine.
Glamorgan.
Monemuth.
Breckenocke.
Radnor.

In Northwales likewiſe are 6. that is to ſay

Angleſey.
Carnaruon.
Merioneth.
Denbighe.
Flint.
Montgomery.

Odde parcelles of ſhyres.

Which being added to thoſe of Englãd yeeld 53. ſhires or coũties, ſo ỹ vnder the Queenes Maieſty are ſo many Counties, whereby it is eaſily diſcerned, that hir power farre exceedeth that of Offa, who of olde time was highelye honoured for that he had ſo much of Brytaine vnder hys ſubiection as afterwarde conteined 39. ſhyres, when the diuiſion was made, whereof I ſpake before.

Thys is moreouer to be noted in our deuiſion of ſhyres, that they bee not alwayes counted or laid togither in one percel, whereof I haue great marueyle. But ſith the occaſion hath growen as I take it either by Priuyledge or ſome lyke occaſion, it is better bryefelye to ſet downe howe ſome of theſe partes lye then to ſpende the tyme in ſeeking a iuſt cauſe of thys their odde diuiſion. Firſt therfore I note that in the part of Buckingham ſhyre betweene Amondeſham, and Beconſfelde, there is a peece of Hartforde ſhyre to be founde, enuironed rounde about wyth the countye of Buckingham, and yet thys patche is not aboue three myles in length & two in breadth at the verye moſt. In Barkeſhyre alſo betweene Ruſcombe and Okingham is a peece of Wilſhyre, one myle in breadth and foure myles in length, whereof one ſide lyeth on the Loden riuer. In the borders of Northamton ſhyre directlye ouer againſt Luffelde a towne in Buckingham ſhyre, I fynde a percell of Oxforde ſhyre not paſſing two miles in compaſſe.

With Oxford ſhyre diuers doe participate in ſo much that a peece of Gloceſter ſhyre, lyeth halfe in Warwicke ſhyre and halfe in Oxforde ſhyre, not very farre from Horneton. Such another patche is there, of Gloceſter ſhyre not farre from long Compton, but lying in Oxforde county: and alſo a peece of Worceſter ſhire, dyrectly betweene it and Gloceſter ſhyre: Gloceſter hath ỹ third peece vpon the North ſide of the Winruſhe neere Falbrocke, as Barkeſhyre hath one percell alſo vpon the ſelfe ſide of the ſame water, in the verye edge of Gloceſterſhyre: Lykewyſe an other in Oxforde ſhyre, not verye farre from Burford: and the thirde ouer agaynſt Lache lade, which is parted from the mayne countye of Barkeſhyre by a lyttle ſtrake of Oxford ſhyre. Who woulde thinke that two Fragmentes of Wilſhyre were to be ſeene in Barkeſhyre vpon the Loden, and the ryuer that falleth into it: whereof and the lyke ſith there are verye manye, I thinke good to gyue thys briefe admonition. For although I haue not preſentlye gone thorowe wyth them al, yet theſe maye ſuffice to giue notice of thys thinge, whereof moſt readers as I perſwade my ſelfe are ignorant. But to proceede with our purpoſe, ouer eache of theſe ſhyres in time of neceſſity is a ſeuerall Leeſtenant choſen vnder the Prince, who beyng a noble man of calling, hath almoſt regall authoritie ouer the ſame for the tyme beyng in many caſes which doth cõcerne his office: otherwyſe it is gouerned by a Shirife, who is reſident & dwelling ſomewhere within the ſame coũty, whom they call a Vicount, in reſpect of ỹ Erle (or as they called him in time paſt the Alderman) that beareth his name of the Countye, although it be ſeldome ſeene in Englande, that the Earle hath any great ſtore of poſſeſſions, or oughtes to doe in the County whereof he taketh hys name, more then is allowed to him, thorowe his perſonall reſiauns, if he happen to dwell and bee reſident in the ſame. In the election alſo of theſe Mageſtrates, dyuers able Perſons aſwell for wealth as wiſdome, are named by the commons, at a tyme and place appointed for theyr choyſe, whoſe names beyng delyuered to the Prince, he forthwyth pricketh ſome ſuche one of them, as he pleaſeth to aſſigne vnto that office, to whome he cõmitteth the charge of the county, and who hereupon is Shirife of that ſhyre, for one whole yeare, or vntill another be choſen. The Shirife alſo hath his vnder Shirife that ruleth & hol-

Leiutenaunts.

Shirif

Vnder ſhyrifes.

holdeth the ſhyre courtes, & law daies vnder hym, vpon ſufficient caution, vnto the high Shirife for hys true execution of Juſtice, and yelding of accoumpt, when he ſhall be therunto called. There are likewyſe vnder him certayne Bayliffes, whoſe office is to ſerue & returne ſuch writtes & proceſſes as are directed vnto thẽ frõ the high Shirife, to make ſeazure of the goodes and cattelles, and arreſt the bodyes of ſuch as doe offende, preſenting eyther their perſons vnto him, or at the leaſt wyſe taking ſufficient bonde, or other aſſuraunce of them for theyr due apperance at an appointed tyme, when yͤ Shirife by order of law ought to preſent them to the Judges according to his charge. In euerye hundred alſo are one or moe high conſtables according to the quãtity of the ſame, who receyuing writtes and iniunctions from the high Shirife vnder his ſeale, doe forthwith charge the pety conſtables of euery towne, with in their limites, with the execution of yͤ ſame.

…liffes.

…ghe …unſta-…s.

…ety con-…bles.

…ote-…ghe.

…hirifes …rne.

…aile de-…uery or …eat aſſi-…s.

…nqueſts.

In eche countye likewiſe, are ſundrye law dayes holden at their appointed ſeaſons, of which ſome retaine the olde Saxon name, and are called Motelaghe. They haue alſo an other called the Shirifes turne, which they holde twyſe in their times, in euery hundred, and in theſe two latter ſuch ſmall matters as oft aryſe amongſt the inferior ſorte of people, are hard and determined. They haue finally their quarter ſeſſions, wherein they are aſſiſted by the Juſtices and Gentlemen of the countrey, and twiſe in the yeare Gaile deliuerye, at which time the Judges ride about in theyr circuites, into euerye ſeuerall countye (where the nobilitye and Gentlemen wyth the Juſtices there reſiaunt aſſociate them) and myniſter the lawes of the realme, wyth great ſolemnity and Juſtice. Howbeit in doing of theſe things, they retayne ſtill the the olde order of the lande, in vſe before the conqueſt, for they cõmit the full examination of al cauſes there to be heard, to yͤ cõſideratiõ of 12. ſober graue, & wiſe men, choſen out of yͤ ſame countye (which number they call an enqueſt) and of theſe inqueſts there are more or leſſe impaniled at euery aſſize, as the nũber of caſes there to be handled, doth craue and require (albeit that ſome one inqueſt hath often diuers to cõſider of) & when they haue to their vttermoſt poure conſulted and debated of ſuch thinges as they are charged withall, they returne againe to the place of Juſtice, wyth theyr Verdicte in wryting, according whereunto the Judge doth pronounce his ſentence, be it for life or death or any other matter, whatſoeuer is brought before him. Beſide theſe officers afore mencioned, there are ſundry other in euery countye, as Crowners, whoſe duety is to enquire of ſuch as come to their death by violence, to attache and preſent the plees of the Crowne, to make inquirye of treaſure founde &c. There are dyuers alſo of the beſt learned of the lawe, beſide ſundry Gentlemen, where the number of Lawyers doe not ſuffiſe (and whoſe reuennes doe amount to aboue twenty pound by the yeare) appointed by eſpeciall commiſſion from the prince, to looke vnto the good gouernement of hir ſubiectes, in the Counties where they dwell. And of theſe the leaſt ſkilfull in the lawe are of the peace, the other both of the peace and quorum otherwiſe called of Oyer & Determiner, ſo that the firſt haue authoritie onely to heare, the other to heare & determine ſuch matters as are brought vnto their preſence. Theſe alſo doe dyrect theyr warrantes to the kéepers of the Gayles which in their limitations for the ſafe keping of ſuch offenders as they ſhal iudge worthie to be kept vnder warde, vntill the great aſſizes, to thende their cauſes may be further examined before the reſidue of the countye, & theſe officers were firſt deuiſed in the eightéene yeare of Edwarde the thyrde, as I haue béene informed.

Juſtices of peax and quorum.

They méete alſo and togither with the Shyrifes, doe hold their Seſſions at foure times in the yeare, whereof they are called quarter Seſſions, and herin they inquyre of the common anoyaunces of the kings léege people, & ſundrie other treſpaſſes determining vppon them as iuſtice doth require. There are alſo a thyrde kinde of Seſſions holden by the high Conſtables and Baylifs afore mencioned, called Petie Seſſions, wherein the weightes & meaſures are peruſed by the Clarke of the market for the countey, who ſitteth with thẽ. At theſe méetings, alſo Victuallers, & in like ſort ſeruants, labourers, roges, and runnagates are often reformed for their exceſſes, although the burning of vagabounds thorow their eares, be referred to yͤ quarter ſeſſiõs or higher courts of Aſſiſe, where they are adiudged alſo to death, if they be takẽ the third time & haue not ſith their ſecond apprehenſion applyed thẽſelues to labor. And thus much haue I thought good to ſet downe generally of the ſayde counties and their maner of gouernaunce, although not in ſo perfit order as the cauſe requireth, bycauſe that of all the reſt there is nothing wherewith I am leſſe acquainted then with our temporall regiment, which to ſaye truth doth ſmally concerne my calling.

Quarter ſeſſions.

Pety ſeſſions.

Of the number of Biſhoprijcks in Englande and Wales, and of the preſent ſtate of the churche there. Cap. 5.

Two prouinces.

There are two prouinces in England, of which the firſt and greateſt is ſubiect to the ſie of Cauntorbury, the ſeconde to that of Yorke. And of theſe eyther hath hir Archbiſhop reſident continuallye within hir owne limits, who hath not onely the chiefe dealing in things appertaining to the Hierarchy and iuriſdiction of the church, but alſo great authoritie in ciuile affayres, touching the gouernement of the common wealth ſo farre forth as their ſeuerall circuites doe extende. The Archbiſhop of Cantorbury is cōmonly called Primate of all Englande, and in the coronation of the kings of this lande, his office is to ſet the Crowne vpon their heades.

the Archbishop of Cantorburys office

They beare alſo the name of their high chaplens perpetually, although not a few of them haue preſumed in tyme paſt to be their equalles and voide of any ſubiection vnto thē, which maye eaſilye appeare by their owne actes, epiſtles, and aunſweres, wherein they haue ſought not onely to match, but alſo to mate them with great rigour and more then opē tirannie. Examples hereof I could bring many, but this one ſhall ſuffice of Anſelme,

Anſelme.

who making a ſhowe as if he had béene very vnwilling to be placed in the ſée of Cantorbury, gaue his aunſwere to the letters of ſuch his friendes as made requeſt vnto hym to take that charge vpō him. Scecularia negotia neſcio, quia ſcire nolo, eorum namq; occupationes horreo, liberum affectans animum. Voluntati ſacrarum intendo ſcripturarum, vos diſſonantiam facitis, verendumq; eſt ne aratrum ſancte Eccleſiæ, quod in Anglia duo boues validi & pari fortitudine, ad bonū certantes, id eſt rex & Archepiſcopus, debeant trahere, nunc oue vetula, cum Tauro indomito iugata, diſtorqueatur à recto. Ego ouis vetula, qui ſi quietus eſſem, verbi Dei lacte, & operimento lanæ, aliquibus poſſem fortaſsis non ingratus eſſe, ſed ſi me cum hoc tauro coniungitis, videbitis pro deſparilitate trahentium, aratrum non recte procedere. &c. Which is in Engliſh thus. Of ſeculer affayres I haue no ſkil, bycauſe I will not know them, for I euen abhorre the troubles that ryſe about them, as one that deſireth to haue his minde at libertie. I applye my whole indeuour to the rule of the ſcriptures, you lead me to the contrary. It is to be feared leſt the plough of holy church which two ſtrong Oxen of equal force, and both like earneſt to contende vnto that, which is good (that is the king and the Archebiſhop) ought to draw, ſhoulde thereby now ſwarue from the right forrow, by matching of an olde ſhepe, with a wilde vntamed bull. I am that olde ſhepe, who if I might be quiet, coulde peraduenture ſhew my ſelfe not altogither vngratfull vnto ſome, by féeding them with milke of the worde of God, and couering them with wooll, but if you matche me with this bull, you ſhall ſée that thorowe want of equalitie in draught the plough will not go to right. &c. as followeth in the proceſſe of his letters.

Thomas Becket.

Thomas Becket was ſo proude, that he wrate to king Henry the ſeconde, as to his Lord, to his king, and to his ſonne, offering him his counſell, hys reuerence and due correction. &c. Others in like ſort haue proteſted, that they ought nothing to the kinges of this lande, but their counſell onely, reſeruing all obedience vnto the ſée of Rome: whereby we may eaſily ſée the pride & ambition of the cleargie in the blinde tyme of ignorance. But as the Archbiſhop of Cantorbury hath lōg ſince obtayned the prerogatiue aboue York, (although not without gret trouble, ſute, ſome bloodſhed and contention) ſo the Archbiſhop of Yorke, is neuertheleſſe primate of Englande, as one contentyng himſelfe with a péece at the leaſt when (all) coulde not begotten. And as he of Cantorbury crowneth the king, ſo thys of Yorke doth the like vnto the Quéene, whoſe perpetuall Chaplin he is, and hath béene from time to time as the writers doe reporte.

21. Byſhoprikes vnder the Sie of Canterbury.

Onelye foure Sies vnder the Arche Biſhop of yorke.

The firſt alſo hath vnder his iuriſdiction to the number of one and twentie inferiour biſhoppes, the other hath onely foure by reaſon, that the churches of Scotland are now remoued frō his obedience vnto an Archbiſhop of their owne, wherby the greatneſſe & circuit of the iuriſdiction of Yorke, is not a little diminiſhed.

Deanes.

In like ſort eache of theſe ſeuen & twenty ſées, haue their Cathedral churches, wherin the Deanes doe beare the chiefe rule, being men eſpecially choſen to that vocation, both for their learning & godlineſſe ſo néere as can be poſſible.

Canonrie

Theſe Cathedrall churches haue in like maner other dignities and Canonries ſtill remayning vnto thē as heretofore vnder the Popiſh regiment. Howbeit thoſe that are choſen to the ſame are no ydle and vnprofitable perſons, (as in times paſt they haue béene when moſt of theſe liuinges were either furniſhed with ſtraungers, eſpeciall out of Italy, or ſuch Ideots as had leaſt ſkill of all in diſcharging of thoſe functions, wherunto they were called by vertue of theſe ſtipendes) but ſuch as by preaching and teaching can, and doe learnedly ſet forth the glorie of God, and farder the ouerthrow of Antichriſt to the vttermoſt of their powers.

More-

Ordinary ſermons.

Moreouer in the ſayde Cathedrall churches vpon Sondayes and Feſtiuall dayes, the Canones doe make certayne ordinary ſermons by courſe, wherevnto great numbers of all eſtates doe orderly reſort, and vpon the working dayes thriſe in the wéeke one of the ſayd Canons doth reade and expounde ſome péece of holy ſcripture, wherevnto the people doe very reuerently repaire.

Ordinary expoſitions of the ſcriptures.

The Byſhopes preach diligently, whoſe predeceſſors heretofore haue béene occupied in temporall affayres.

The biſhops themſelues in lyke ſorte are not ydle in their callings, for being nowe exempt from Court & counſell, they ſo applye their myndes to the ſetting forth of the worde, that there are verie few of them, which doth not euery Sunday or oftner reſorte to ſome place or other, within their iuriſdictions, where they expounde the ſcriptures with much grauitie & ſkill.

Archdeacons.

They haue vnder them alſo their Archdeacons, ſome one, diuers two, & many foure or mo, as their circuites are in quantity, which Archedeacons are termed in law the byſhoppes eyes: and theſe beſide their ordinarie courtes (which are holden by themſelues or their officials once in a moneth at ẏ leaſt) doe kéepe yearly two viſitations or Sinodes, (as the Byſhop doth in euery thirde yeare) wherin they make diligēt inquiſition & ſerch, aſwel for ẏ doctrine & behauiour of the Miniſters, as the orderly dealing of the Pariſhioners in reſorting to their pariſh churches & conformity vnto religiō. They puniſh alſo wt great ſeuerity al ſuch treſpaſſers as are preſented vnto them: or if the cauſe be of ẏ more weight, as in caſes of Hereſie, pertinacie, cōtempt & ſuch lyke, they refer them eyther to ẏ Biſhop of the Dioceſſe, or his chauncellour, or elſe to ſundrie graue perſons ſet in authoritye by vertue of an high cōmiſſion directed vnto them frō the Prince to that end, who in very courteous maner doe ſée the offenders gētly reformed, or elſe ſeuerly puniſhed if neceſſitie ſo inforce.

Highe Commiſſioners.

A propheſye or conference.

Beſide this in many of our Archedeaconries, we haue an exerciſe lately begunne, which for the moſt part is called a prophecie or conference, and erected only for the examination or triall of the diligence of the cleargie in their ſtudy of holy ſcriptures. Howbeit ſuch is the thirſtie deſire of the people in theſe dayes to heare the worde of God, ẏ they alſo haue as it were with zealous violence intruded themſelues among them (but as hearers only) to come by more knowledg thorowe their preſence at the ſame. Herein alſo for the moſt part two of the yonger ſorte of Miniſters doe expounde eache after other ſome péece of the ſcriptures ordinarily appointed vnto them in their courſes (wherein they orderly go thorow with ſome one of the Euangeliſtes or of the Epiſtles, as it pleaſeth thē to chuſe at the firſt in euery of theſe conferences) and when they haue ſpent an houre or a little more betwéene them, then commeth one of the better learned ſort, who ſupplyeth the roume of a moderator, making firſt a briefe rehearſall of their diſcourſes, and then adding what him thinketh good of his owne knowledge, whereby two houres are thus cōmonly ſpent at this moſt profitable méeting. Whē al is done, if the firſt ſpeakers haue ſhewed any péece of diligence, they are commended for their trauaile and encouraged to go forward. If they haue béene found to be ſlacke, their negligence is openly reproued before all their brethren, who go aſide of purpoſe from the laitie after the exerciſe ended, to iudge of theſe matters and conſulte of the next ſpeakers & quantitie of the text to be handled in that place. The laytie neuer ſpake but are onely hearers, & as it is vſed in ſome places wéekely, in other once in fourtéene dayes, in dyuers monethly, and elſewhere twiſe in a yere, ſo is it a notable ſpurre vnto all the miniſters, therby to apply their bokes which otherwyſe as in tymes paſt dyd giue themſelues to hawking, hunting, tables, cardes, dyce, tipling at the Alehouſe, ſhooting and other like vanities, nothing commendable in ſuch as ſhoulde be godly and zealous ſtewardes of the good giftes of GOD, faithful diſtributers of his worde vnto the people, and diligent paſtours according to their calling.

Miniſters Deacons.

Our Elders or Miniſters and Deacons (for ſubdeacons and the other inferiour orders, ſometime vſed in the Popiſh church we haue not) are made according to a certaine forme of conſecration concluded vpon in the time of king Edwarde the ſixt, by the clergy of Englande, and ſone after confirmed by the thrée eſtates of the realme, in the high court of Parliamēt. And out of the firſt ſort, that is to ſaye of ſuch as are called to the miniſtery, are Biſhops, Deanes, Archedeacons, & ſuch as haue the higher places, in the Hierarchy of the church elected, & theſe alſo as al ẏ reſt, at the firſt cōming vnto any ſpirituall promotion doe yéeld vnto ẏ Prince the entire taxe of their liuings for one whole yeare, if it amount in value vnto ten pounde and vpwardes, and this vnder the name of firſt fruites. They paye the tenthes yearely alſo of theyr ſayde liuynges, accordyng to ſuch valuations as haue béene made latelye of the ſame: for the recept of which two paymentes, an eſpecial office or court is erected, which beareth name of firſt fruits and tenthes, wherevnto if the party to be preferred, doe not make his ductifull repayre by an appointed tyme after poſſeſſion taken there to

Firſt fruites and tenthes.

compounde for the payment of his fruites, he incurreth the daunger of a great penalty, lymited by a certayne eſtatute prouided in that behalfe, againſt ſuch as doe intrude into the eccleſiaſticall functiõ. They pay likewiſe ſubſides wyth the temporaltie, but in ſuche ſort that if theſe paye after foure ſhillinges for lande, the cleargye paye commonly after ſixe ſhillings of the pounde, ſo that of a benefice of twentye pounde by the yeare the incumbent thinketh himſelfe well acquited, if all thinges being diſcharged he may reſerue fiftéene pounde towarde his owne ſuſtentation and maintenance of his family. Seldom alſo are they without the compaſſe of a ſubſidye, for if they be one yeare cleare from this payment they are lyke in the next to here of another graunt, ſo that I ſaye agayne they are ſeldome wythout the limite of a ſubſidie. The laity maye at euery taxation alſo helpe themſelues, and ſo they doe thorowe conſideration had of their decaye, and hinderaunce, and yet their impouerishmẽt cannot but touch alſo the Parſon or Vicar, as is daily to be ſéene in their accoumpts and tythings.

Subſidies

The other paimẽtes due vnto the Archbiſhop and Biſhop at their ſeuerall viſitatiõs, (of which the firſt is double to the latter) and ſuche alſo as the Archedeacon receyueth at hys Synodes. &c. remaine ſtill as they dyd, wythout any alteration: onely thys I thynke be added within memory of man, that at the comming of euery prince, hys appointed officers doe commonly viſite the whole realme vnder the forme of an eccleſiaſticall inquiſition, in which the cleargy doe paye double fées, as vnto the Archbiſhop. Hereby thẽ & by thoſe already remembred, it is founde that the Church of Englande, is no leſſe commodious to the Princes coffers then the laitye, if it doe not farre excéede the ſame, ſince their paimentes are certayne continuall and ſeldome abated, howeſoeuer they gather vppe their owne dueties, or haue their lyuinges otherwiſe hardly valued vnto the vttermoſt fardings, or ſhrewdely canceled by the couetouſneſſe of the patrones, × of whom ſome do beſtowe aduouſons of benefices vpon theyr Bakers, Butlers, Cokes, and horſekéepers, in ſtéede of other recompẽce, for their long & faithful ſeruice which they employ vnto their moſt aduantage. But to procéede wyth our purpoſe. The names moreouer vſually giuẽ vnto ſuch as féede the flocke remaine in lyke ſort as in tymes paſt, ſo yͭ theſe wordes, parſon, Vicar, curate, and ſuch are not, as yet aboliſhed more then the Canon lawe it ſelfe, which is daily pleaded as I haue ſayde elſewhere, although the eſtatutes of the realme haue greatly infringed the large ſcope, and brought the exerciſe of the ſame into ſome narrower limits. There is no thing redde in our churches but the canonicall Scriptures, whereby it commeth to paſſe that the Pſalter is ſayd ouer once in thirtie dayes, yͤ new Teſtament foure times, and the olde Teſtament once in the yeare. And herevnto if the Curate be adiudged by the Biſhop or his deputies, ſufficientlye inſtructed in the holye ſcriptures, he permitteth him to make ſome expoſition or exhortation in his pariſhe, vnto amendment of lyfe. And for as much as our churches and vniuerſities haue béene ſo ſpoiled in tyme of errour, as there cannot yet be had ſuch number of learned paſtours as may ſuffiſe for euery pariſh to haue one: there are certaine ſermones or homelies, deuiſed by ſundry learned men, confirmed for ſounde doctrine, by conſent of the diuines, and publike authoritie of the prince, and thoſe appointed to be read by the Curates of meane vnderſtanding, (which Homelies doe comprehende the principall partes of chriſtian doctrine, as of originall ſinne, of Juſtificatiõ by fayth, of charity and ſuch lyke) vpon the Sabbaoth dayes, vnto the congregation. Likewiſe in our common prayer, the leſſons are onely certeine appointed chapters, taken out of the olde and newe Teſtament. The adminiſtration moreouer of the ſacraments and reſidue of the ſeruice, is done in the churches, wholly in our vulgare tong, that eche one preſent, maye here and vnderſtande the ſame, which alſo in Cathedrall and Collegiate churches is ſo ordered, that the Pſalmes onely are ſong by note, the reſt being redde (as in common pariſhe Churches) by the Miniſter wyth a loude voyce, ſauynge that in the adminiſtration of the Communion the Quier ſingeth the anſweres, the crede, and ſundry other thynges appointed, but in ſo plaine (I ſay) and diſtinct maner, that eche one preſent may vnderſtand what they ſing, euery worde hauing but one note, though the whole Harmony conſiſt of many partes, and thoſe very cunningly ſet by the ſkilful in that ſcience. As for our Churches themſelues, Belles, and times of morning and euening praier, they remaine as in times paſt, ſauing that all Images, ſhrines, tabernacls, roodloftes, and monumentes of Idolatry, are remoued, taken downe, and defaced, onely the ſtoryes in glaſſe windowes excepted, which for want of ſufficient ſtore of newe ſtuffe, & by reaſon of extreame charge that ſhoulde growe, thorow the alteration of the ſame into white panes thorowe out the realme, are not

* The very cauſe why weauers, pedlers & glouers haue béene made Miniſters, for yͤ learned refuſe ſuch matches, ſo that yf the Biſhops in times paſt hadde not made ſuch by ouerſight & friendſhip I wote not howe ſuch men ſhold haue done wyth their aduouſons. as for a glouer or a

tapler ſen be glad of an augmẽtatiõ of 8. or 10. pou by the yere and well contente that his patrone ſhall haue all the reſt, ſo he maye be ſure of this penſion.

not altogither abolyſhed in moſt places at once, but by lyttle and little ſuffered to decaye, that white glaſſe may be prouided and ſet vp in their roomes. Finally wheras there was woont to be a great particion betwéene the Quire and the body of the Church, nowe it is either very ſmall or none at all: and to ſaye the truth altogither néedeleſſe, ſithe the Miniſter ſayth his ſeruice commonly in the bodye of the church, wyth his face towarde the people, in a little tabernacle of wainſcot prouided for the purpoſe, by which meanes the ignoraunt doe not onely learne dyuers of the pſalmes and vſuall prayers by heart, but alſo ſuch as can read doe pray togither with him, ſo that the whole congregation at one inſtant doe poure out their peticions, vnto the liuing God, for the whole eſtate of hys church in moſt earneſt and feruent maner. Thus much briefly of the eſtate of the church of England, I meane touching the regimẽt of the ſame, ẏ ſeruice of God, & forme of common Prayer: now will I returne to the particular limites of eache ſeuerall Byſhoprike, whereby we ſhall ſée theyr boundes, and how farre theyr iuriſdictions doe extende, beginning firſt with the Sie of Cantorbury in ſuch briefe order as foloweth here at hand.

Cantorbu=
rye.

The iuriſdictiõ of Cantorbury (erected firſt by Auguſtine the Monke) yf you haue reſpect to his prouinciall regiment, extendeth it ſelfe ouer all the ſouth part of this Iſland. But if you regarde the ſame onely that belongeth vnto his Sie, it reacheth but ouer one parcell of Kent: the Dioceſſe of Rocheſter enioying the reſt: ſo that in thys one countey the greateſt Archbiſhopriſcke and at the leſt Biſhopricke of all are vnited & ſtrictly lincked togither. That of Cantorbury hath vnder it one Archedeacõ, who hath charge ouer xj. Deaneries or a hũdred thrée ſcore and one pariſhe churches, and in the Popiſh time there went out of this Sie to Rome at euery alienation for firſt fruites 10000. Ducates or Florens (for I reade both) beſide 5000. that the new elect vſually payed for hys pall. I woulde ſpeake ſomewhat of his peculiers diſperſed here & there in other ſhires, but ſith I haue no certaine knowledge of them, I paſſe thẽ ouer vntill an other tyme.

Rocheſter.

The Sie of Rocheſter is alſo included within ẏ limits of Kent, whoſe Archedeacon hath onelye thrée Denaries vnder his iuriſdiction contayning 132. Pariſhe churches: ſo that hereby it is to be gathered that there are at the leaſt 393. Pariſhe churches in Kent, ouer which theſe two Archdeacons afore remembred doe exerciſe Eccleſiaſticall authoritie. This Byſhop at euery alienation was woont to pay to the Sie of Rome 1300 Ducates or florens. He was alſo croſſebearer in tyme paſt to the Archbyſhop of Cantorbury and Iuſtus was the firſt Byſhop that was inſtalled in the ſame.

London.

The Sie of London, whereof Mellitus is accoũted to be the firſt Paſtor in the Popiſh Cataloge, is nowe contented to be vnder the gouernaunce of a Biſhop, which in olde time had hir Archebiſhop vntill Cantorbury bereft hir of that honour by the practiſe of Auguſtine the monke, who I wote not vpõ what priuie occaſion, remoued his Archebiſhops Sie from thence farder into Kent. It includeth Eſſex, Midleſex and part of Herefordeſhyre, and is neyther more nor leſſe in quantitie then the auncient kingdome of the eaſt Saxons before it was vnited to that of the weſt Saxons, as our hyſtories doe report. The iuriſdiction of this Sie vnder the biſhop is committed to foure Archedeacons, that is of London, Eſſex, Midleſex, and Colcheſter and thoſe haue amongſt them to the number of 363. Pariſhes or thereabouts, beſide the peculiers belonging to the Archebiſhop, and at euery alienation the new incumbent was bounde to pay to the Biſhop of Rome 3000. Ducates or florenes as I reade.

Chicheſter

Chicheſter (the beginning of which ſie was in ẏ Iſle of Seleſey, but afterward trãſlated to Chicheſter) hath now Suſſex only, and the Wight vnder which are ſixtéene Deaneries, containing to ẏ nũber of 551. pariſhs. It paid at euery alienatiõ to ẏ Sie of Rome 333. ducates, as I haue reade of late. One Edbert was the firſt biſhop there, thẽ one Cella ſuccéeded, after whom the ſie was voyd by many yeres. It was erected alſo 711. by ẏ decrée of a Synode holden in Suſſex, which ſeparated it frõ the iuriſdiction of ẏ ſie of Wincheſter, wherof before it was reputed a parcell.

Winche=
ſter.

The Byſhoppe of Winche=ſter was ſometime called biſhop of the Weſtſaxõs or of Dorcheſter, which town was giuen to Birinus & his ſucceſſours, by Kinigils of the weſt ſaxons and Oſwald king of the Northũbers.

Wincheſter hath Hamſhyre and Surry, & in olde time the Wight wherein are eyght Deanaries and 276. Pariſh churches, and beſide that the Biſhoppe of thys Dioceſſe is perpetuall Prelate vnto the honorable order of the Garter, his taxe at his inſtitution was 12000. ducats or florens. If the old cataloge of the Biſhoppes of this Sie be well conſidered of, and the actes of the greateſt parte of them indifferently weighed, as they are to be reade in our Hyſtories, you ſhall finde the moſt egregious hypocrites, the ſtouteſt warriours, the cruelleſt tyrauntes, the richeſt money mongers, & pollitike counſellours in temporall affayres, to haue I wote not by what ſecrete working of the diuine prouidence béene placed here in Wincheſter, ſith the foundation of that Sie, which was erected

ted by Birinus, 639. (whome Pope Honorius ſent hyther out of Italy) and firſt planted at Dorcheſter, in the tyme of Kynigils, then tranſlated to Wincheſter, where it doth yet continue.

Saliſbury

Saliſbury hath nowe Barckeſhyre, and Wilſhyre onely, for after ẏ death of Hedda, which was 704. Wincheſter was deuided in two, ſo that onely Hampton and Surrey were left vnto it, & Wilton, Dorſet, Barkeſhyre, Somerſet, Deuon, & Cornwall, aſſigned vnto Saliſbury, tyll other order was taken. The valuation hereof in Rome was lately 4000. Ducats or florens, as the taxe therof yet recordeth. Certes I haue not read of any biſhop that hath béene a greater ornament to this Sie then Biſhop Iewell lately deceaſed, ſith the tyme that Adelme dyd firſt beginne that Byſhopricke 704. which was before a percell of the iuriſdiction of Wincheſter, founded at Shirburne, & afterward tranſlated to Saliſbury, but I can not well tell in what yeare after the conqueſt.

Exceſter.

Exceſter hath Deuonſhyre and Cornewall & the valuation of this liuing was 6000. ducates, which were payde at euery alienation vnto the Biſhoppe of Rome.

Bathe.

Bathe, whoſe Sie was ſometyme at Welles, hath Somerſetſhyre onely, and the value therof was rated at 430. Ducates in ẏ Popiſh taxation, except I be deceyued. This Biſhoprycke was erected 905. in a counſell holden among the Gewiſes, whereat king Edwarde of the Weſtſaxons, & Plegimund Archebiſhop of Cãtorbury were preſent. For that part of the country had béene ſeauen yeres without any Paſtorall cure, and therfore in this counſel it was agréed that for the two Biſhoprijcks (wherof one was at Wincheſter another at Shireburne) there ſhould be fiue ordayned, whereby the people there myght be the better inſtructed. By thys meanes Frithſtan was placed at Wincheſter, and Etheline at Shireburne, both of thẽ being then voyde. Shireburne alſo ſuſtained the ſubdiuiſion, ſo that Werſtane was made Biſhop of Cridioc or Deuonſhire (whoſe Sie was at Kyrton) Herſtan of Cornewall, and Eadulf of Welles, vnto whome Barkſhyre & Dorſetſhyre were appointed, but now you ſee what alteratiõ is made, by conſideration of the limites of their preſent iuriſdictions.

The Byſhoprijck of Shireburne diuided into 3.

Worceſter.

Worceſter ſometime called Epãtus wicciorum hath Worceſter & part of Warwijcſhyres, and before the Biſhoprijc of Gloceſter was taken out of the ſame, it payde to the Pope 2000. Ducates of golde at euery chaunge of Prelate. This Sie was begunne either in or not long before the time of Offa, king of the eaſt Angles, and Boſelus was the firſt Biſhop there, after whome, ſuccéeded Oſtfort, then Egwine who went in pilgrimage to Rome, with Kinredus of Mercia & the ſayde Offa, and there gate a Monaſterie (which he buylded in Worceſter) confirmed by Conſtantine the Pope.

Gloceſter.

Gloceſter hath Gloceſterſhyre only, wherin are nyne Deanaries and to the number of 294. Pariſhe churches, as I finde by góod record. But it neuer payd any thing to rome, bycauſe it was erected by king Henry the eyght, after he had aboliſhed the vſurped authoriyt of ẏ Pope, except in Quéene Maries; if any ſuch thing were demeaned, as I doubt not but it was.

Hereforde.

Hereforde hath Hertfordeſhyre and part of Shorpſhyre and payde to Rome at euery chaunge of Biſhop 1800. Ducates or florens at the leaſt.

Lichefield whoſe Sie was holden for a time at weſtcheſter, that now hath a Biſhop of hys owne.

Lechfield wherunto Couẽtry is added, hath Staffordeſhyre Darbyſhire part of Shropſhire & the reſt of Warwijc, that is voyde of ſubiection to the ſie of Worceſter. It was erected in the time of Peada king of the ſouth Mertians which lay on this ſide of ẏ Trent, & therin one Dinas was enſtalled about the yeare of grace 656. after whom ſuccéeded Kellac, thẽ Tunher an Engliſhman, but conſecrated by the Scottes. It paid to the Pope 1733. Ducates, in mine opinion a góod round fine, but not without a iuſt puniſhment, ſith that in times paſt vz. 765. Eldulf Biſhoppe there vnder king Offa of Mertia woulde haue bereft the ſie of Cantorbury of hir pall in the time of Pope Adriane, and ſo dyd for a ſeaſon till thinges were reduced into their former order.

Oxforde.

Oxforde hath Oxforde ſhyre onely, a verye yonge Iuriſdiction, erected by kyng Henry the eyght, and where in the time of Quéene Mary, one Goldwell was Biſhop, who as I remember was a Ieſuite, dwelling in Rome and more conuerſant as the ſame went in the blacke Arte, then ſkilfull in the Scriptures, and yet he was of great countenaunce amongſt the Romayne monarches. It is ſaid that obſeruyng the Canons of hys order, he regarded not the temporalities, but I haue heard ſithens that he wiſt well ynough what became of thoſe commodities.

Ely.

Ely hath Cambridgeſhyre, & the Iſle of Ely. It was erected 1109. by Henry the firſt, being before a riche and welthy abbay. One Heruy alſo was made Biſhoppe there, as I haue foũd in a Regiſter, belõging ſometime to that houſe. Finallye it payde to the Pope at euery alienation. 7000. Ducates, as the Regiſters there doth teſtifie at large.

Norwiche.

Northwich called in old time Epiſcopatus, domucenſis,(whoſe ſee was firſt at Helmehā, then at Thetforde) hath Suffolke and Norfolke. The circuite hereof was once all one, with that of the Kinges of the eaſt Angles, till Ely was taken from the ſame, & it began about the yeare 632. vnder Corpenwalde king of the Eaſt Saxons, and one Felix of Burgundy, was firſt Biſhop there, who ſate ſeuentéene yeares, and was placed therein by Honorius the Pope, finally it payde at euery alienation. 5000. Ducates to Rome of curraunt money as I reade.

Peterborow.

Peterborow ſometime a notable monaſtery hath Northamton, and Rutlande ſhires, a dioceſſe erected alſo by king Henry yͤ eight. It neuer payde firſt fruites to the Pope, but in Quéene Maries dayes, if ought were then demaunded, becauſe it was a ſie not recorded in the auncient Regiſter, of hys firſt fruites and tenthes.

Briſtow.

Briſtowe hath Dorcet ſhyre, ſometime belongyng to Saliſbury, a ſie lately erected by Kyng Henry the eyght, who tóoke no ſmall care for the Churche of Chriſt, & therfore eaſed a number of the auncient ſies, of theyr ſuperfluous circutes, and beſtowed the ſame vppon ſuch other, as he had appoynted for the better regimente and féeding of the flocke.

incolne.

Lincolne of all other in times paſt was the greateſt, for although that out of it were taken the Biſhopryckes of Oxforde, and Peterborow, yet it reteineth ſtill Lincolne, Leiceſter, Huntyngdon, Bedforde, Buckingham ſhyres, and the reſt of Hartfordſhyre, ſo that it extended from the Thames vnto the Humber, and payde vnto the Pope for the whole 5000. Ducates, as appeareth by record at euery alienation. It beganne about the beginning of William Rufus, by one Remigius who remóued his Sie to Lincolne frō Dorcheſter, as Math. Weſtminſter doth report, & thus much of ſuch Biſhopriſcks as lye within Lhoegres or Englande as it was left vnto Locrinus, nowe it followeth that procéede with Wales.

andaffe.

Lhandaffe or the churche of Tau, contayneth Glamorgan, Monmouth, Brecknoch and Radnor ſhyres, and paide to Rome 700. Ducats as I reade at euery chaunge of Prelate.

S. Dauids.

S. Dauides hath Pembróke, and Caermardine ſhyres, whoſe liuerie or firſt fruites to the Sie of Rome was 1500. Ducates at the hardeſt as I thincke.

Bangor.

Bangor is in north Wales, & hath Caernaruon, Angliſey and Merioneth ſhyres vnder hir iuriſdiction, it paid alſo to Rome 126. Ducates or florence, as theſe bóokes doe yet declare.

S. Aſaphes.

S. Aſaphes hath Preſtholme and parte of Denbigh & Flintſhyres, which beyng layde togither doe amount to little more then one góod countye, & therfore iuſtly ſuppoſed to be yͤ leſt Biſhopriſcke that is to be founde within Wales, yet it paide to Rome 470. Ducates, except my memory doth fayle. And hitherto of the Prouince Caunterburye, for ſo much thereof as lyeth in thys Ilande, nowe it reſteth that I procéede with the other of Yorke in ſuch order as I may.

Yorke.

The Sie of Yorke beganne aboute the yeare of grace. 625. vnder Iuſtus of Caunterburye, who ordeyned Paulinus the firſt Biſhop there, in the time of Edwine of king Northumberland. Of it ſelf it hath Iuriſdiction ouer Yorkſhyre, Nottingham ſhyre, & the reſt of Lancaſter ſhire, not ſubiect to the Sie of Cheſter, and when the Pope bare authority in this realme it payde vnto his Sie. 1000. Ducates, beſide alſo 5000. for the pal of the newe elect, which was more then he coulde well ſpare, conſidering the diminution of thys Sie, by meanes of the erection of a new Metropolitane in Scotland, as I haue ſhewed elſe where.

Cheſter.

Cheſter hath Cheſterſhire, Darbiſhire, the moſt part of Lancaſter ſhyre (vnto the Rybell) Richemonde, and a part of Flinte and Denbighe ſhyres in Wales alſo vnder due ſubiection for eccleſiaſticall matters. In the olde popiſh tyme, there was no Biſhoprick, called by that name (although the Byſhop of Léechfielde had ſometime his Sie pitched in that place, and therefore of ſome was called Biſhop of Cheſter) ſith king Henry the eight was the firſt, that erected any there.

Durham or Lindeſfarne.

Durham hath the county of Durham onely, and Northumberlande, whereof the Byſhoppes haue béene ſometimes Earles Palatines, and ruled the roſt vnder the name of the Biſhopricke, a Sie in my opinion more profitable, & of leſſe countenaunce, then his prouinciall. But whatſoeuer it be for externall apparaunce, ſure it is that it payde to Rome 9000. Ducates or Florenes, at euery chaunge, as the recorde yet expreſſeth, Aydan a Scot was the firſt Byſhop of this Sie, who helde himſelfe as did alſo manye of his ſucceſſours, in Lindſfarne Iſle, till one came that remóued it to Durham.

Caerleill.

Careliel erected 1132. by Henry the firſt, & whereof Ethelwolf confeſſor to Oſmond Byſhop of Saliſbury, was made originall Biſhop, hath Cumberland & Weſtmerland, as for the Deaneries and number paryſhes conteyned in the ſame, as yet I haue no knowledge, more then of many of the other, howbeit of this I am ſure, that the Pope receyued out of it at euery chaunge of Byſhop 1000. florenes, albeit that it might haue ſpared much more as an aduerſarie thereto confeſſed ſometyme euen before the Pope himſelfe, ſuppoſing no leſſe but to haue gained by hys tale.

Man.

Glocester a very auncient biſhoprykc.

Beſide all theſe we haue another Biſhopricke yet in England, but very obſcure, becauſe the Byſhoppe thereof hath not wherewith to maintaine his countenaunce ſufficientlye, and that is, the Sie of Mona or Man, ſometime named Epātus Sodorenſis, whereof one Wimundus was ordeyned the firſt biſhop, and John the ſeconde, in the reigne of king Stephē. The gift of this prelacy reſteth in ẏ Erles of Darby, who nominateth ſuch a one from time to tyme, thereto as to them doth ſéeme conuenient. Howbeit if that Sie might reape hir owne commodities, I doubt not but the eſtate of hir Biſhop would quickly be amended. And thus much of our biſhoprycks, and maner how the eccleſiaſtical iuriſdiction of the church of England, is deuyded among the ſhyres, and countyes of thys realme. Whoſe Biſhops as they haue béene heretofore of greater port and doings in the common wealth, then at this preſent, ſo are they nowe for the moſt part the beſt learned that are to be founde, in any country of Europe, ſith neither high parentage, nor great ryches as in other countreyes, but onelye learning and vertue doe bring them to thys honour. I might here haue ſpoken of diuers other Biſhoprycks, ſometime in this part of the Iſlande, as of that of Caerlheon, where Dubritius gouerned, which was afterwarde tranſlated to S. Dauides, and taken for an Archbiſhoprycke: ſecōdly of the Biſhopryke of Leirceſter, whoſe fourth biſhop called Vnwon went to Rome with Offa king of Mertia: thirdly of Ramſbyry or Wiltō, & of Gloceſter (of which you ſhall reade in Math. Weſt. 489) where the biſhop was called Eldad; alſo of Hagulſtade, one of the thrée mēbers wherinto the Sie of Yorke was deuided after therpulſion of Wilfrid. For as I reade when Egfrid the king had driuen him away, he deuided his Sie into thrée partes, making Boſa ouer the Deiranes that helde his Sie at Hagulſtade: Eatta ouer the Bernicians, who ſate at Yorke: and Edhedus ouer Lindfar, whoſe ſucceſſours were Ethelwine, Edgar and Kinibert, notwithſtanding that one Sexulſus was ouer Lindfarre before Edhedus, who was Biſhop of the Mertians and middle England till he was baniſhed from Lindiſſe and came into theſe quarters, to ſéeke his refuge and ſuccour. I coulde lykewyſe entreate of the Biſhoppes of Whiteherne, or ad Candidam Caſam, nowe a parcell of Scotland, and of diuers chaūges and alterations hapning in theſe ſies frō time to time, but ſith my purpoſe is to touch only the eſtate of thinges preſent, it may ſuffice to haue ſayde thus much of them, though altogither beſide mine intended purpoſe.

Of Vniuerſities. Cap. 6.

There are within the realme of England two noble & famous Vniuerſities, wherin are not onely diuers goodly houſes builded foure ſquare for the moſt part of harde fréeſtone, with great numbers of lodginges and chambers in the ſame for Students after a ſumptuous maner, thorow the excéeding liberalitie of Kings, Quéenes, Biſhops, Noble men, and Ladies, of the lande: but alſo large liuinges and great reuenues beſtowed vpon them (the lyke wherof is not to be ſéene in any other region as Peter Martyr dyd oft affirme) to the maintenaunce onely of ſuch cōuenient numbers of poore mens ſonnes as the ſeuerall ſtipendes beſtowed vpō the ſaide houſes are able to ſupport. Of theſe two that of Oxforde (which lyeth weſt and by North from London) ſtandeth moſt pleaſauntly of both, being enuironned in maner rounde about with pleaſaunt wooddes on the hilles aloft and goodly riuers in the medowes beneath, whoſe courſes woulde bréede no ſmall commoditie to that Citie, yf ſuch impediments were remooued, as greatly annoy the ſame. That of Cambridge is diſtaunt from London about fourtie and ſixe myles north & by eaſt, and ſtandeth very well, ſauing that it is ſomewhat low & néere vnto the Fennes, whereby the holſomneſſe of the ayre there, is not a little corrupted. It is excellently well ſerued with all kindes of prouiſion, but eſpecially of freſh water fiſhe and wildefowle, by reaſon of the Iſle of Ely, which is ſo néere at hande. Onely woodde is one of the chiefe wants to ſuch as ſtuddie there, wherfore this kind of prouiſiō is brought them either from Eſſex, & other places thereabouts, as is alſo their cole, or otherwiſe the neceſſity therof is ſupplyed with gall, and ſea coole, wherof they haue great plenty lead thither by the Grant. Moreouer it hath no ſuch ſtore of medowe grounde as may ſuffice for the ordinarie expenſes of the towne, and Vniuerſitie, wherfore they are inforced in lyke ſort to prouide, their haye from other villages about which miniſter the ſame vnto them in verye great abundaunce. Oxforde is ſuppoſed to containe

taine in Longitude eyghtéene degrées and eyght and twentie mynutes, and in Latitude one and fiftie degrées and fiftie minuts, whereas that of Cambridge ſtanding more northerly, hath twentie degrées and twentie minutes in Longitude, and thereunto fiftie & two degrées and fiftéene minuts in Latitude as by exact ſupputacion is eaſie to be founde. The Colledges of Oxford for curious workmanſhip and priuate commodities, are much more ſtately, magnificent, and commodious then thoſe of Cambridge: and thereunto the ſtréetes of the towne for the moſt part more large and comely. But for vniformitie of buylding, orderly compactiõ and regiment, yͤ towne of Cambridge excéedeth that of Oxford (which otherwiſe is & hath béen the greater of the twoo) by many a folde, although I know diuers yͭ are of the contrarie opinion Caſtels alſo they haue both, and in my iudgment is harde to be ſayde, whither of them woulde be the ſtronger, if both were accordingly repaired: howbeit that of Cambridge is the higher both for maner of buylding & ſcituation of grounde, ſith Oxforde caſtell, ſtandeth low and is not ſo apparant in ſight. The commõ ſchooles of Cambridge alſo are farre more beautifull then thoſe of Oxforde onely the diuinitie ſchoole at Oxforde excepted, which for fine and excellent workemanſhip commeth next the mowlde of the Kings chappell in Chambridge, then the which two with yͤ chappell that king Henry the ſeuenth dyd buylde at Weſtminſter, there are not in my opinion made of lime & ſtone thrée more notable pyles within the cõpaſſe of Europe. In all other thinges there is ſo great equalitie betwéene theſe twoo Vniuerſities as no man cã imagine how to ſet down any greater, ſo that they ſéeme to be the bodye of one well ordered common wealth, onely deuided by diſtaunce of place and not in friendly conſent. In ſpeaking therefore of the one I can not but deſcribe the other: and in commẽdation of the firſt I can not but extolle the latter, and ſo much the rather for that they are both ſo déere vnto me, as that I can not redily tell, vnto whyther of them I owe the moſt good wyll. Woulde to God my knowledge were ſuch as that neither of thẽ might haue cauſe to be aſhamed of their pupill, or my power ſo great that I might worthily requite them both for thoſe manifolde kindeneſſes that I haue receyued of them. But to leaue theſe things & procéed with other more conuenient for my purpoſe. The maner to liue in theſe Vniuerſities is not as in ſome other of forren countries we ſée dayly to happen, where the Studentes are inforced for wante of ſuch houſes, to dwell in common Innes and Tauernes, without all order or diſcipline: but in theſe our Colledges we liue in ſuch exact order and vnder ſo preciſe rules of gouernmẽt, that the famous learned man Eraſmus of Roterodam being here amongeſt vs fiftie yeares paſſed, dyd not let to compare the trades of liuing of ſtudents of theſe two places, euen with the very rules and orders of the auncient Monkes, affirming moreouer in flatte wordes, our orders to be ſuch as not onely came neare vnto, but rather farre excéeded all the Monaſticall inſtitutions that euer were deuiſed. In moſt of our Colledges there are alſo great numbers of ſtudentes, of which many are founde by the reuenues of the houſes, and other by the purueighances & helpe of their riche friẽds, wherby in ſome one Colledge you ſhall haue two hundred ſchollers, in others an hundred and fiftie, in diuers a hundred and fourtie, & in dyuers leſſe numbers as the capacitie of the ſayde houſes is able to receyue: ſo that at this preſent of one ſort and other there are about thrée thouſande ſtudentes nouriſhed in them both as by a late ſuruey it manifeſtly appeared. Euery one of theſe colledges haue in lyke maner their profeſſours or readers of the tongues and ſeuerall ſciences, as they call thẽ, which daily trade vp the youth there abiding, priuately in their halles, to the ende they may be able afterward whẽ their turne commeth about, to ſhewe themſelues abrode by going frõ thence into the commõ ſchooles, and publicke diſputations (as it were into the playne battaile) there to trie their ſkilles, and declare howe they haue profited ſithence their comming thither. Moreouer in the publicke ſchooles of both the Vniuerſities, there are founde at the Princes charge (and that very largely) fiue profeſſours and readers, that is to ſay, of diuinitie, of the ciuile lawe, Phiſicke, the Hebrue & the Gréeke tongues: and for the other publicke lectures as of Philoſophie, Logicke, Rethoricke, & the Quadriuials. (Although the later I meane Arithmeticke, Muſicke, Geometrie, and Aſtronomie, and with them all ſkill in the perſectiues are now ſmally regarded in eyther of them) the Vniuerſityes themſelues doe allowe competent ſtipendes to ſuch as reade the ſame, whereby they are ſufficiently prouided for, touching the maintenaunce of their eſtates, and no leſſe incouraged to be diligent in their functions. Theſe profeſſours in like ſort haue all the rule of diſputations and other ſchoole exerciſes, which are dayly vſed in common ſchooles ſeuerally aſſigned to eache of them, and ſuch of their hearers as by their ſkil ſhewed

Readers in priuate houſes.

Publicke readers maintayned by the Prince.

Study of the Quadriuialles & perſpectiues neglected.

Sophiſters.

Batchelers of Art

Maſters of Arte.

Batcheler of Diuinitie.

Doctor.

lved in the ſayde diſputacions, are thought to haue attayned any conuenient ryppeneſſe of knowledge, (according to the cuſtome of other Uniuerſities although not in like order) are permitted ſolemly to take their deſerued degrees of ſchoole in the ſame ſcience, and facultie, wherin they haue ſpent their trauaile. From that tyme forwarde alſo, they vſe ſuch difference in apparell as becommeth their callings, tendeth vnto grauitie, & maketh them knowne to be called to ſome countenance. The firſt degree of all, is that of the generall Sophiſters, frõ whence when they haue learned more ſufficiently the rules of Logicke, Rethoricke, and obtayned thereto competent ſkill in Philoſophie, and in the Mathematicalles, they aſcende hygher to the eſtate of Batchelers of arte. Frõ thence alſo giuing their minds to more perfit knowledge in ſome or all yͤ other liberal ſciences, and the tongues, they ryſe at the laſt to be called Maiſters of art, eche of them being at that time reputed for a Doctor in his facultie if he profeſſe, but one of yͤ ſaid ſciẽces, (beſide philoſophie) or for his general ſkill, if he be exerciſed in them all. After this they are permitted to choſe what other of the higher ſtodyes them lyketh to follow, whether it be Diuinity, Law, or Phiſicke, ſo that beyng once Maiſters of Arte, yͤ next degree if they follow Phiſick, is the Doctorſhip belonging to that profeſſion, and lykewyſe in the ſtudy of the Law, if they bende their myndes to the knowledge of the ſame. But if they meane to go forward with Diuinitie, this is the order, vſed in that profeſſion. Firſt after they haue neceſſarily proceeded maiſters of Arte, they preach one ſermon to the people in Engliſhe, and another to the Uniuerſitie in Latin. They aunſwere all comers alſo in theyr owne perſons vnto two ſeuerall queſtions of Diuinity in the opẽ Scholes (at one time) for the ſpace of two houres, & afterwarde reply twiſe againſt ſome other man, vpõ a like number, and on two ſeuerall dayes in the ſame place: which beyng done wyth comendation, he receyueth the fourth degree, that is Bacheler of Diuinitie, but not before he hath beene mayſter of Arte, by the ſpace of ſeauen yeares, according to theyr ſtatutes. The next & laſt degree of all, is the Doctorſhip after other three yeares, for the which he muſt once againe performe all ſuch exerciſes & actes as are afore remembred, and then is he reputed able to gouerne and teach other, and lykewyſe taken for a Doctor. Thus we ſee that from our enteraunce into the Uniuerſity, vnto the laſt degree receiued is commonly eyghteene or twentie yeares, in which tyme if a Student hath not obteyned ſufficient learning, there by to ſerue his owne turne, & benefite hys common wealth, let him neuer looke by taryng longer to come by any more.

A man maye if he will beginne his ſtudye with the Lawe, or Phiſicke, ſo ſoone as hee commeth to the Uniuerſity, if his knowledg in the tongues: and ryppeneſſe of iudgement ſerue therefore: which if he doe, then his firſt degree is Bacheler of Law, or Phiſicke, and for the ſame he muſt perfourme ſuch Actes in his owne ſcience, as the Bachelers or Doctors of Diuinitie, do for their partes, yͤ onely ſermons except, which belongeth not to his calling: but as theſe are not matters of ſuch importance as may deſerue any further tractation, I ſo will leaue them & go in hande with the reſt.

There is moreouer, in euery houſe a Maiſter, who hath vnder him a preſident, and certeine Cenſors or Deanes, appointed to looke to the behauiour, & maner of the Studentes there, whom they puniſh very ſeuerely if they make any default, according to the quantitye & qualitye of their treſpaſſes. Ouer eche Uniuerſitie alſo, there is a ſeuerall Chauncelour, whoſe Offices are perpetual, howbeit their ſubſtitutes, whome wee call Uicechauncelors, are chaunged euery yere, as are alſo the Proctors, Taſkers, Maiſters of the ſtreates & other officers, for the better maintenãce of their policie & eſtate. And thus much at this time of both our Uniuerſities.

London.

To theſe two alſo we maye in lyke ſorte adde the thirde, which is at London (ſeruyng onelye for ſuch as ſtudye the Lawes of the Realme,) where there are ſundrye famous houſes, of which three are called by the name of Innes of the Court, the reaſt of the Chauncery, and all buylded before time for the furtheraunce and commoditie of ſuch as applye their minds vnto the cõmon Lawes. Out of theſe alſo come Schollers of greate fame, whereof the moſt part haue heretofore beene brought vp in one of yͤ aforeſaide Uniuerſities, & proue ſuch commonly as in proceſſe of time, riſe vp (only thorow their profound ſkil) to great honor in the cõmon welth of England. They haue alſo degrees of learning among thẽſelues, & rules of diſcipline, vnder which they lyue moſt ciuilye in their houſes, albeit that the younger ſort of them abroade in the ſtreetes, are ſcarce able to be brydled by any good order at all. Certes this errour was wont alſo greatly to raigne in Cãbridge & Oxforde, but as it is well left in theſe two places, ſo in forreine Countryes it cannot yet be ſuppreſſed. Beſides theſe Uniueruerſities, alſo there are great number of Grammer ſcholes thorowe out the Realme, and thoſe very lyberally indued, for the better reliefe of poore ſchollers, ſo that there are not many corporate townes now vnder the Quéenes dominion, yͭ hath not one Gramer-ſchoole at the leaſt, with a ſufficient liuing for a Mayſter and Uſher, appointed to yͤ ſame. There are in lyke maner dyuers collegiate churches, as Windſor, Wincester, Eaton, Weſtminſter, and in the later thrée of thoſe a great number of poore Schollers, daylye maintayned by the liberalitie of the founders, with meate, bookes, and apparrel, from whence after they haue béene well entered in the knowledge of the Lattin and Gréeke tongues, and rules of verſifiyng, they are ſent to certeine eſpeciall houſes in eche Uniuerſitye, where they are receyued and trayned vp, in the pointes of higher knowledge in their priuate halles, till they be adiudged méete to ſhewe their faces in the Schooles, as I haue ſaid already. And thus much haue I thought good to note of our Uniuerſities, & lykewyſe of Colledges in the ſame, whoſe names I wyl alſo ſet downe here, with thoſe alſo of their founders, to the ende the zeale which they bare vnto learning may apeare, and their remembraunce neuer periſh from among the wyſe and learned.

windſor. winchester Eaton. weſtminſter.

Of the Colledges in Cambridge.

Yeares of the foundations.		Colledges.	Founders.
1546.	1	Trinity Colledge.	K. Henry. 8.
1441.	2	The Kinges Colledge.	K. Henry. 6. Edward. 4. Henry. 7. and Henry. 8.
1511.	3	S. Iohns.	L. Margaret grandmother to Henry. 8.
1505.	4	Chriſtes Colledge.	K. Henry. 6. and the L. Margaret aforeſaide.
1446.	5	The Queens Colledge.	L. Margaret wife to K. Henry. 6.
1496.	6	Ieſus Colledge.	Iohn Alcocke Byſhop of Ely.
1342.	7	Bennet Colledge.	The Brethren of a Popiſh guild called Corporis Chriſt.
1343.	8	Pembroke hall.	Maria de Valentia, Counteſſe of Pembroke.
1256.	9	Peter Colledge.	Hugh Balſham Byſhop of Ely.
1348. 1557.	10	Gundeuill and Caius Colledge.	Edmund Gundeuill, Parſon of Terrington, and Iohn Caius. D. of Phiſicke.
1354.	11	Trinity hall.	William Bateman Byſhop of Norwiche.
1326.	12	Clare hall.	Richarde Badow Chauncelour of Cambridge.
1459.	13	Catherin hall.	Robert woodlarke. D. of Diuinity.
1519.	14	Magdalen Colledge.	Edward Duke of Buckinghã, & Thomas Lord Awdley.

15 Emanuell Colledg

16 Sidney Colledg

Of Colledges in Oxforde.

Yeres.		Colledges.	Founders.
1539.	1	Chriſtes Church.	King Henry. 8.
1459.	2	Magdalen Colledge.	William wainflet B. of wincheſter.
1375.	3	New colledge.	William wickham B. of wincheſter.
1276.	4	Merton Colledge.	Walter Merton B. of Rocheſter.
1437.	5	All ſoules Colledge.	Henry Chicheley Archbiſhop of Caunterbury.
1516	6	Corpus chriſti Colledge.	Richarde foxe Biſhop of Wincheſter.
1430.	7	Lincolne Colledge.	Richarde Fleming B. of Lincolne.
1323.	8	Auriell Colledge.	Adam Browne almoner to Edward. 2.
1340.	9	The Queenes Colledge.	R. Eglesfeld chaplen to Philip Queene of England, wiſe (to Ed. 3.
1263.	10	Balioll Colledge.	Iohn Ballioll King of Scotland.
1557.	11	S. Iohns.	Sir Thomas white Knight.
1556.	12	Trinity Colledge.	Sir Thomas Pope Knight.
1316.	13	Exceſter Colledge.	Walter Stapleton Biſhop of Exceſter.
1513	14	Braſen noſe.	William Smith Biſhop of Lincolne.
873.	15	Vniuerſity Colledge.	William Archdeacon of Dureſme.
	16	Glocester ~~Colledge.~~ Hall	
	17	S. Mary's ~~Colledge.~~ Hall	
	18	Ieſus Colledge nowe in hande.	

Waddum Colledg

There are alſo in Oxforde certayne Hoſtelles or Halles, which may rightwel be called b the names of Colledges, if it were not that there is more lyberty in thoſe then is to be ſéene in the other. In myne opinion the Studentes of theſe are verye lyke to thoſe that are of the Innes of the chauncery.

Brodegates.
Hart hall.
Magdalen hall.
Alburne hall.
Poſtminſter hall.
S. Mary hall.
White hall.
New Inne.
Edmond hall.

Beſides which there is mention & recorde of diuers other Halles or hoſtelles, that haue béene ther in times paſt, as Béefe hal, Muttō hal. &c. whoſe ruines yet appeare: ſo that if antiquitie be to be iudged by ẏ ſhew of auncient buyldinges, which is very plentifull in Oxforde to be ſéene, it ſhoulde be an eaſie matter to conclude that Oxford is the elder Vniuerſitye. Therein are alſo manye dwelling houſes of ſtone yet ſtanding, that haue béene Halles for ſtudents of verye antique workemanſhip, beſide the olde walles of ſundrie other, whoſe plots haue béene conuerted into gardens, ſithence Colledges were erected.

Erection of Colleges in Oxforde the ouerthrowe of Halles.

In London alſo the houſes of ſtudentes at the Common law are theſe.

Sergeaunts Inne.
Graies Inne.
The Temple.
Lincolnes Inne.
Dauids Inne.
Staple Inne.
Furniualles Inne.
Clyffordes Inne.
Clements Inne.
Lions Inne.
Barnardes Inne.
New Inne.

Of Cities and townes, within the realme of Englande. Cap. 7.

16. Cities in Englande.

AS in olde time we read that there were 28. flammes and Archflammes in the ſouth part of this Iſle, and ſo many great cities vnder their iuriſdiction, ſo in theſe our dayes there is but one or two fewer, & eache of them alſo vnder the Eccleſiaſticall regiment of ſome one Biſhop or Archbiſhop, who in ſpirituall caſes haue the charge, and ouerſight of ẏ ſame. So many cities therefore are there in Englande and Wales, as there be Biſhoprickes and Archbiſhoprickes: for notwithſtanding that Lichfielde and Couentry; and Bathe and Welles, doe ſéeme to extend the aforeſayde number vnto nyne and twentie, yet eyther of theſe coples are to be accompted, but as one intier citie, and Sie of the biſhop, ſith one Biſhopricke can haue relation but vnto one Sie, and the ſayd Sie be ſcituate but in one place, after which the biſhop doth take his name. It apeareth by our olde and auncient hyſtories, that the cities of thys ſoutherly portion haue béene of excéeding greatneſſe and beautie, whereof ſome were buylded in the time of the Samotheās, and of which not a few in theſe our times are quite decayed, & the places where they ſtoode worne out of al remembrance. Such alſo for the moſt part as yet remayne are meruaylouſly altered, inſomuch that whereas at the firſt they were large & ample, nowe are they come eyther vnto a very fewe houſes, or appeare not to be much greater in compariſon then poore and ſimple villages. Antoninus the moſt diligent writer of the thorow fares of Brytaine, noteth among other theſe auncient townes following, as Sitomagus (which he placeth in the way frō Norwitch as Lelande ſuppoſeth wherein they went by Colcheſter to London) Nouiomagus that lyeth betwéene Carleill and Cantorbury, within tenne myles eaſt of London, and likewyſe Neomagus, and Niomagus which take their names of their firſt foūder Magus, the ſonne of Samothes, and ſecond king of the Celtes that reigned in this Iſlande. Of theſe moreouer Sir Thomas Eliot ſuppoſeth Neomagus to haue ſtood ſomewhere about Cheſter, and George Lilly in his booke of the names of auncient places, iudgeth Niomagus to be the verye ſame that we doe nowe call Buckingham. And as theſe & ſundry other nowe periſhed tooke theyr denomination of thys prince, ſo their are dyuers cauſes, which moue me to coniecture, that Saliſbury it ſelf doth rather take the firſt name Sarron the ſonne of the ſayde Magus, then of Cæſar, Caradoc or Seuerus as ſome of our writers doe imagine. But ſith coniecturs are no verities & mine opinion is but one mans iudgement, I will not ſtande now vpon the proofe of this matter, leaſt I ſhoulde ſéeme to take great paines in adding new coniectures vnto olde, in ſuch wyſe to deteyne the heades of my readers about theſe trifles, that otherwyſe peraduenture woulde be farre better occupyed. To procéede therfore, as ſoone after the firſt inhabitation of this Iſlande, our Cities began no doubt to be buylded, and increaſed, ſo they ceaſed not to multiplye from tyme to tyme, till the lande was thorowly furniſhed, with hir conuenient numbers, whereof ſome at this preſent with their auncient names, doe ſtill remaine in knowledge, though dyuers be doubted of, & many moe peryſhed by continuance of time, and vyolence of the enemie. I doubt not alſo but the leaſt of theſe were comparable to the greateſt of thoſe which ſtand in our tyme, for ſith that in thoſe dayes the moſt part of the Iſlande, was reſerued vnto paſture, the townes and villages eyther were not at all (but all ſortes of people dwelled in the cities indifferentlye an Image, of which eſtate may yet be ſéene in Spaine) or at the leſt wiſe ſtoode not ſo thick, as they dyd afterward in the time of the Romaines,

Sitomagus. Nouiomagus. Neomagus Niomagus.

Saliſbury of Sarron.

Sarronium. Sarrons burg.

Greater cities in times paſt when huſbandmen alſo were Citizens.

The cauſe of the increaſe of villages.

maines, but chiefely after the comming of the Saxons and Normans, whē euery Lord buylded a church neare vnto his owne manſion houſe, & are imputed the greateſt part of his lands vnto ſundrie tennants, wherby the number of townes and villages was not a little increaſed among vs. If any man be deſirous to know the names of thoſe auncient cities, that ſtoode in the time of the Romains he ſhall haue them here at hand, in ſuch wiſe as I haue gathered them out of our writers obſeruing euen their maner of writing of thē ſo neare as to me is poſſible.

1. London otherwiſe called
   - Trenouanton.
   - Cair Lud.
   - Londinum *or* Longidinium
   - Auguſta of the legion Auguſta that ſoiourned there, when the Romaines ruled here.

2. Yorke otherwiſe called
   - Cairbranke.
   - Vrouicum or Yurewijc.
   - Eorwijc.
   - Yeworwijc.
   - Eboracum.
   - Victoria of the legion victrix that laye there ſometime.

3. Cantorbury
   - Durorueruo *alias* Duraruenno.
   - Dorobernia.
   - Cantwarbyry.

4. Colcheſter
   - Cair Colon.
   - Cair Colden.
   - Cair Colkin.
   - Cair Colun, of the riuer that runneth thereby.
   - Colonia, of the Colonie planted there.
   - Coloneceſter.
   - Camulodunum.

5. Lincolne
   - Cair Lud Coit, of the woodes that ſtoode about it.
   - Cair loichoit, by Corruption.
   - Lindum.
   - Lindocollinum.

6. Warwijc
   - Cair Guttelin.
   - Cair Line.
   - Cair Gwair.
   - Cair vmber.
   - Cair Gwaerton.

7. Cheſter vppon Vske
   - Cair legion.
   - Carlheon.
   - Cairlium.
   - Legeceſter.
   - Ciuitas legionum.

8. Carleill
   - Cair Lueill.
   - Cair Leill.
   - Lugibalia.

9. S. Albanes
   - Cair Maricipit.
   - Cair Municip.
   - Verolamium.
   - Verlamceſter.
   - Cair wattelin, of the ſtreete whereon it ſtoode.

10. Wincheſter
    - Cair Gwent.
    - Cair Gwin.
    - Cair Wine.
    - Venta Simenorum.

11. Ciſceter.
    - Cair Churne.
    - Cair Kyrne.
    - Cair Kery.
    - Cair Cery.
    - Cirneceſter.
    - Churneceſter.

12. Silceſter.
    - Cair Segent.
    - Seleceſter.

13. Bathe
    - Cair Badon.
    - Thermæ.
    - Aquæ ſolis.

14. Shafteſbyry.
    - Cair paladour.
    - Septonia.

15. worceſter
    - Wigornia.
    - Cair Gworangon.
    - Brangonia.
    - Caer Frangon.
    - Woorkeceſter.

16. Chicheſter
    - Cair Key.
    - Cair Chic.

17. Briſtow
    - Cair Oder nant Badon.
    - Oder.
    - Cair Bren.
    - Venta Belgarum.
    - Brightſtow.

18. Rocheſt.
    - Durobreuis corruptly
      - Durobrotis.
      - Dubobrus.
      - Durobriuis.
    - Roſceſter.
    - Roſſa.

19. Portcheſter.
    - Cair Peris.
    - Cair poreis.

20. Cairmarden
    - Cair Maridunum,
    - Cair Merdine.
    - Maridunum.
    - Cair Marlin.
    - Cair Fridhin.

21. Glouceſter
    - Cair Clowy.
    - Cair Glow.
    - Claudioceſtria.

22. Leiceſter.
Cair Leir.
Cair Lirion.
Wirall telle mach weſt. 895.

23. Cambridge.
Cair Graunt.

24. Cair vrnach.
25. Cair Cucurat.
* 26. Cair Draiton.
27. Cair Celennon.
28. Cair Megwaid.

As for Cair Dorme (another whereof I read likewiſe) it ſtood ſomewhere vpon Nen in Huntingdon ſhire, but nowe vnknowen, ſith it was twiſe raced to the grounde, firſt by the Saxons, then by the Danes, ſo that the ruines therof are not extaunt to be ſéene. And in like ſort I am ignoraunt where they ſtood, that are noted the ſtar. It ſhould ſéeme when theſe auncient cities flouriſhed, that the ſame towne which we nowe call Saint Albons, did moſt of all excell: but chiefely in the Romaines time, and was nothing inferiour to London it ſelf, but rather preferred before it, bycauſe it was newer, & a colony of the Romaines, wheras the other was old and ruinous, and inhabited only by the Britaines. Good notice hereof alſo is to be taken by Mathew paris, & other before him, out of whoſe wrytings, I haue thought good to note a fewe thinges whereby the maieſty of thys auncient citie, may appeare vnto poſterity, and the former eſtate of Verlamceſter not lie altogither, as it hath done hitherto raked vp in forgetfulneſſe, thorowe the negligence of ſuch as might haue deſerued better of theyr ſucceſſours, by leauing the deſcription thereof in a booke by it ſelfe, ſith many particulers thereof were written to their hands, that nowe are loſt and periſhed. Tacitus in the fouretéenth booke of hys hiſtorie, maketh mencion of it, ſhewyng that in the rebellion of the Brytons, the Romaines there were myſerablye diſtreſſed, Eadem clades (ſayth he) municipio Verolamio fuit, and herevpon Nennius in his Cataloge of cities, calleth it Cair Minucip, as I before haue noted. Ptolomy ſpeaking of it, doth place it among the Catyeuchlanes, but Antoninus maketh it one and twentie Italyan myles from London, placing Sullomaca nyne myle from thence, wherby it is euident, that Sullomaca ſtood very néere to Barnet, if it were not the ſame. Of the cōpaſſe of the walles of Verolamium there is yet ſome mencyon by the ruines, but of ẏ beauty of the citye it ſelfe, you ſhal partly vnderſtand by ẏ which followeth at hand.

when Albane was martyred, Aſclepiodotus was Legate in Britaine.

Sulomaca and Barnet all one, or not far in ſunder.

In the time of King Edgar, it fell out that one Eldred was Abbot there, who being deſirous to enlarge that houſe, it came into his mynde, to ſearch about in the ruines of Verolamium, (which nowe was ouerthrowne by the fury of the Saxons & Danes) to ſée if he might there come by any curious péeces of worke, wherewith to garniſhe hys buylding taken in hand. To be ſhort, he had no ſooner begonne to digge among the rubbis, but hée founde an excéeding number of Pillers, péeces of Antique worke, threſholdes, doore frames, and ſundry other péeces of fine maſonry for windowes and ſuch lyke, very conuenient for his purpoſe. Of theſe alſo ſome were of porphirite ſtone, ſome of dyuers kyndes of marble, touch, and Alablaſter, beſide many curious deuiſes of harde mettall, in fynding whereof he thought himſelfe an happy man, and his ſucceſſe to be greatlye guyded by ſ. Albane: Beſides theſe alſo he found ſundry pyllers of Braſſe, and ſocketes of Latton, al which he laide aſide by great heapes, determinyng in the ende, I ſay, to laye the foundation of a newe Abbaie, but God ſo preuented his determinatiō, that death tooke him awaye, before his buylding was begon. After him ſucceeded one Eadmerus, who proſequuted the doinges of Eldrede to the vttermoſt: and therefore not onely peruſed what he had left with great diligence, but alſo cauſed his pioners to ſearche yet farder, with in ẏ olde walles of Verolamium, where they not onely found infinite péeces of excellent workemanſhip, but came at the laſt to certaine vaultes vnder the ground, in which ſtoode dyuers Idolles, and not a fewe aultars, very ſuperſtitiouſlye, & religiouſlye adourned, as the Paganes left thē (belike) in tyme of neceſſytie. Theſe Images were of ſūdry mettals, & ſome of pure gold: their aulters likewiſe were rychly couered, all which ornamentes, Edmerus tooke away, and not only conuerted them to other vſe in his building, but alſo deſtroyed an innumerable ſort of other ydols, whoſe eſtimation conſiſted in their formes: & ſubſtaunces could doe no ſeruice. He tooke vp moreouer ſundrye curious pottes, Jugges, and cruſes of ſtone, & woode moſt artificially wrought, and carued, & that in ſuch quantitye beſides infinite ſtore of fine houſholde ſtuffe, as if the whole furniture of the city had béene brought thither of purpoſe to be hidden in thoſe vaultes. In procéeding further he tooke vp diuers pots of golde, ſyluer, braſſe & glaſſe, wherof ſome were fylled with the aſhes and bones of the Gentyles, & not a fewe with the coynes of the olde Brytons, and Romaine Emperours. All which veſſels the ſayde Abbot brake into péeces, and melting the mettalle, he reſerued it in lyke ſorte for the garnyſhing of hys church.

He

his ſoū=
h lyke a

he founde lykewyſe in a ſtone wall two olde bookes, whereof one conteined the rytes of the gentiles, about the ſacrifices of their gods, the other as they now ſay, ẏ Martyrdome of S. Albane, both of thē written in old brittiſh letters, which eyther bycauſe no man then lyuing could read them, or for that they were not worth the keeping, were both conſumed to aſhes, ſauing that a fewe notes were firſt taken out of this later, concerning the death of their Albane. Thus much haue I thought good to note of the former beautie of Verolamium, whereof infinite other tokens haue beene found, ſince that tyme, and diuers within the memory of man, of paſſing workmanſhip, the lyke wherof hath no where elſe beene ſeene in anye ruynes wythin the compaſſe of the Iſle, eyther for coſt or quantitye of ſtuffe.

Furthermore where as dyuers are not afrayde to ſaye that the Thames came ſometimes by thys citie, in deede it is nothing ſo, but that the Verlume, (afterwarde called Vere and the Mure) did or doth ſo (whatſoeuer Gildas talketh herof, whoſe bookes may be corrupted in that behalfe,) there is yet euident proofe to be confirmed by experience. But thus ſtandeth the caſe. As thoſe aforeſayd workemen digged in thoſe ruines, they happened oftentimes vppon Lempetſhelles, peeces of ruſty ancres, and Keles of great veſſelles, wherevpon ſome by & by gathered that either the Thames or ſome arme of the Sea, did beate vpon that towne, not vnderſtandyng that theſe thinges might aſwell happen in great lakes and meres, whereof there was one adioyning to the north ſide of the citie, which lay thē vnwalled. This mere at the firſt belonged to the king, and thereby Offa in hys time did reape no ſmall commoditie. It continued alſo vntill the time of Alfrijc the ſeauenth Abbot of that houſe, who bought it out ryght of the king then liuing, & by exceſſiue charges dreined it ſo narrowly, that within a whyle he left it drie, bycauſe there was alwaies contention betweene the monkes & the kings ſeruaunts, which fiſhed on that water.

In theſe dayes there remayneth no maner mencion of this poole, but onelye in one ſtreate, which yet is called fiſhpoole ſtreate, whereof this may ſuffiſe, for the reſolution of ſuch men, as ſeeke rather to yeeld to an inconuenience, then that their Gildas ſhoulde ſeeme to miſtake thys ryuer.

Hauing thus digreſſed to giue ſome remēbraunce of the olde eſtate of Verolamium, it is now time to returne againe vnto my former purpoſe. Certes I woulde gladlye ſet downe with the names and number of the cities, all the townes & villages, in england and wales: but as yet I cannot come by thē, in ſuch order as I woulde: howbeit the tale of our cities is ſoone founde by the Byſhopryckes, ſith euery See hath ſuch prerogatiue giuen vnto it, as to beare the name of a citie. As

London.
Yorke.
Cauntorbury.
VVinchester.
Cairleil.
Durham.
Ely.
Norwiche.
Lincolne.
VVorceſter.
Gloceſter.
Hereforde.
Salisbury.
Exceſter.
Bathe.
Lichefielde.
Briſtow.
Rocheſter.
Cheſter.
Chicheſter.
Oxforde.
Peterborow.
Landaffe.
S. Dauids.
Bangor.
S. Aſaph.

Whoſe particular plots & models with their deſcriptions ſhall inſue, if it may be brought to paſſe, that cutters can make diſpach of thē before this hyſtory be publiſhed. Of townes and villages likewiſe thus much will I ſay, that there were greater ſtore in olde tyme then at this preſent, & thys I note out of dyuers recordes, charters, & donations (made in times paſt, vnto ſundry religious houſes, as Gleſſenburye, Abbandon, Ramſey, Ely, and ſuch like) that there were many townes, and villages, whereof at this preſent I fynde not ſo much as the ruines. Lelande in ſundrye places complayneth likewiſe of the decaie of paryſhes in great cities and townes, miſſing in ſome ſixe, or eyght, or twelue churchs, of all which he giueth particuler notice. For albeit ẏ the Saxōs builded many townes & villages, and the Normans well mo: yet ſince the firſt hundred yeares, after the latter conqueſt, they haue gone againe ſo faſt againe to decaye, that the auncyent number of them is very much abated. Rauulphe the Monke of Cheſter, telleth of a generall ſuruey, made in the fourth of the reigne of William Conquerour, ſurnamed the Baſtarde, wherein it was founde that (notwithſtanding ẏ Danes had ouerthrowne a great many) there were to the number of 52000, townes, 45002. pariſh churches, and 75000. Knightes fees, whereof the clergy helde 28015. He addeth moreouer that there were dyuers other buylded ſince that tyme, wythin the ſpace of an hundred yeares after the comming of the Baſtarde, as it were in lieu or recompence of thoſe that William Rufus pulled downe for the creation of his newe Forreſt. Howbeit the aſſertions of ſuch as wryte in our tyme concerning this matter, eyther is or ought to be of any credite, in this behalfe, you ſhall not finde, aboue 17000. townes and villages in the whole, which is little more then a fourth part, of the aforeſayd number, yf it be thorowly ſcanned. But to leaue this lamentable diſcourſe of ſo notable an inconueniēce (growing by incroching & ioyning of houſe to houſe, and lande to lande, whereby the inhabitaunts of any country are deuoured and eate vp.) It is ſo that our ſoyle being deuided into Champaigne ground & woodlande, the houſes of the firſt lye vniformely buylded in euery towne togither with ſtréetes & lanes, whereas in the woodlande countries (except here and there in great market townes) they ſtande ſcattered abroad, eache one dwelling in the midſt of his owne occupying. And as in euery one of the firſt, there are comonly thrée hundred or foure hundred families or manſion houſes, and two thouſande communicantes, or peraduenture moe: ſo in the other we finde not often aboue fourtie or fiftie houſholdes, & two hundred communicantes, whereof the greateſt part neuertheleſſe are very poore folkes, oftentymes without all maner of occupying, ſith the grounde of the pariſhe is often gotten vp into a fewe mens handes, yea ſometimes into the tennure of two or thrée, wherby the reaſt are compelled eyther to be hyred ſeruaunts vnto the other, or elſe to begge their bread in miſery from doore to doore. A great number complayne of thincreaſe of pouertie, but few men do ſée the verye roote from whence it doeth procéede, yet the Romaines founde it out, when they floriſhed, and therefore preſcribed limites to euery mans tenure and occupying. Homere commendeth Achilles for ouerthrowing of fiue and twentie cities, but in myne opinion Ganges is much better preferred by Suidas for buylding of thrée ſcore in Inde, where he dyd plant himſelfe. I coulde if néede requyred ſet downe in this place, the number of religious houſes and Monaſteries with the names of their founders that haue béene in this Iſland, but ſith it is a thing of ſmall importaunce, I paſſe it ouer as impertinent to my purpoſe. Yet herin I will cōmēde manye of the monaſticall votaries, eſpeciallye Monkes, for that they were authors of many goodly borowes and endwares, neare vnto their dwellinges, although otherwyſe they pretended to be men ſeparated from the world. But alas their couetous mindes one waye in enlarging their reuenues, & carnall intent an other appeared herein to to much, for being bolde from tyme to tyme to viſite their tennants, they wrought oft great wickedneſſe, & made thoſe endwares litle better thē bordelhouſes, eſpecially where Nonries were farre of, or elſe no ſafe acceſſe vnto thē. But what doe I ſpende my tyme in the rehearſall of theſe filthineſſes, woulde to God the memorie of them might periſhe with the malefactours. My purpoſe was alſo at thend of this chapter to haue ſet downe a table of the Pariſhe churches and market townes thorowout all England and Wales, but ſith I can not performe the ſame as I woulde, I am inforced to giue ouer my purpoſe, yet by theſe fewe that iſſue you ſhall eaſily ſée what order I woulde haue vſed according to the ſhyres.

Shyres.	*Market townes.*	*Pariſhes.*
Middleſex	3.	73.
London within the walles, and without.		120.
Surrey.	6.	140.
Suſſex.	18.	312.
Kent.	17.	398.
Cambridge.	4.	163.
Bedford.	9.	113.
Huntingdon.	5.	78.
Rutlande.	2.	47.
Barckeſhyre.	11.	150.
Northampton.	10.	326.
Buckingham.	11.	196.
Oxforde.	10.	216.
Southampton.	18.	248.
Dorſet.	19.	279.
Norffolke.	26.	625.
Suffolke.	25.	575.
Eſſex.	18.	415.

And theſe I had of a friende of myne, by whoſe traueyle and hys maiſters exceſſiue charges I doubt not, but my country men eare long ſhall ſée all Englande ſet forth in ſeuerall ſhyres after the ſame maner that Ortelius hath dealt wyth other countries of the mayne, to the great benefite of our nation and euerlaſting fame of the aforeſayde parties.

Of Caſtelles and holdes. Cap. 8.

There haue béene in tymes paſt great ſtore of Caſtelles and places of defence within the realme of Englande, of which ſome were buylded by the Brytons, many by the Romaynes, Saxons, and Danes, but moſt of all by the Barons of the realme, in & about the tyme of king Stephen, who licenſed eache of them to buylde ſo many as they would vpon their owne demeaſnes, hoping therby that they would haue employed their vſe to his aduauntage and commoditie, but finally when he ſawe that they were rather fortified againſt hymſelfe in the ende, then vſed in his defence, he repented all to late of his inconſiderate dealing, ſith now there was no remedie but by force for to ſubdue them. After his deceaſe king Henry the ſeconde came no ſooner to the crowne, but he called to minde the inconuenience which his predeceſſour had ſuffred and he himſelfe might in time ſuſtaine by thoſe fortifications. Therefore one of the firſt things he dyd was an attempt to race and deface the moſt parte of theſe holdes. Certes he thought it better to hazarde the méeting of the enimie nowe and then in the playne field, then to liue in perpetuall feare of thoſe houſes, and the rebellion of his Lordes vpon euery light occaſion conceyued, who then were full ſo ſtrong as he, if not more ſtrong, and that made them the redier to withſtande & gaineſay many of thoſe procéedinges, which he and his ſucceſſours from time to tyme intended. Hereupon therfore he cauſed more then aleauen hundred of their caſtelles to be raced and ouerthrowne, whereby the power of his nobilitie was not a litle reſtrained. Sithence that time alſo not a few of thoſe which remained, haue decayed of themſelues: ſo that at this preſent, there are very few or no caſtels at all maintayned within England, ſauing only vpō the coaſts and marches of the countrie for the better kéeping backe of the forrein enemie, wheneſoeuer he ſhall attempt to enter and annoye vs.

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The moſte prouident Prince that euer reigned in this lande for the fortificatiō therof agaynſt all outwarde enemies, was the late Prince of famous memory king Henry the eyght: ſith beſide that he repaired moſt of ſuch as were alreadie ſtanding, he buylded ſundrie out of the grounde. For hauing ſhaken of the more then ſeruile yoke of the Popiſh tyrannie, and eſpying that the Emperour was offended for hys dyuorce from Quéene Catherine his aunt: and therto that the Frenche king had coupled the Dolphin his ſonne with the Popes nece: and maryed his daughter to the king of Scottes, (whereby he had cauſe more iuſtly to ſuſpect then ſafely to truſt any one of thē all as Lambert ſaith) he determined to ſtand vpon his owne defence, and therefore with no ſmall ſpéede, and like charge, he buylded ſundrie Blockehouſes, Caſtelles, and Platformes vpon dyuers frontiers of his realme, but chiefely the eaſt and ſoutheaſt partes of England, whereby no doubt he dyd very much qualifie the conceyued grudges of his aduerſaries and vtterly put of their haſty purpoſe of inuaſiō. And thus much briefly for my purpoſe at this preſent. For I néede not to make any long diſcourſe of caſtels, ſith it is not the nature of a good Engliſhman to regarde to be caged vp in a coope, & hedged in with ſtone walles, but rather to méete wyth hys enemie in the playne fielde at handſtrokes, where he may trauaiſe his grounde, choſe his plot, and vſe the benefite of ſunne ſhine, winde & wether, to his beſt aduauntage and commoditie. As for thoſe tales that go of Beſton caſtell, how it ſhall ſaue all England on a day, & likewiſe the brag of a rebellious Barron in olde time that ſayde in contempt (of king Henry the thirde, as I geſſe)

If I were in my Caſtell of Bungey
Vpon the water of Waueney,
I woulde not ſet a button by the king of Cockney.

I repute them but as toyes, the firſt méere vaine, the ſeconde fondly vttered if any ſuch thing were ſayde, as many other wordes are and haue béene ſpoken of lyke holdes, (as Wallingforde. &c.) but nowe growen out of memorie, and with ſmall loſſe not hearde of among the common ſort.

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Of Pallaces belonging to the prince, and court of Englande.

Cap. 9.

IT lyeth not in me to ſet downe exactly the number and names of the palaces, belonging to the Prince, nor to make any deſcription of hir Graces Court, ſith my callyng is and hath béene ſuch, as that I haue ſcarcely preſumed to péepe in at hir gates, much leſſe then haue I aduentured to ſerch out & know the eſtate of thoſe houſes, and what magnificent behauiour is to to ſéene wythin them. Yet thus much will I ſaye generallye of all the houſes and honours appertaining vnto hir grace, that they are buylded, eyther of ſquare ſtone or bricke, or elſe of both, & therunto although their capacity and hugeneſſe be not ſo monſtrous, as the lyke of dyuers Forren Princes, are to be ſéene in ẏ maine, yet are they ſo curious, nete, and commodious as any of them, both for conueighaunce of offices and lodginges, and excellencye of ſcituation, which is not the leaſt thing to bée conſidered of. Thoſe that were buylded before the tyme of King Henry the eyght, retaine to theſe dales the ſhew & Image of the auncient kinde of workmanſhip vſed in this lande, but ſuch as he erected doe repreſent another maner of paterne, which as they are ſuppoſed to excell all the reſt that he founde ſtanding in thys Realme, ſo they are & ſhalbe a perpetuall preſident, vnto thoſe that doe come after, to followe in their workes, and buyldinges of importaunce. Certes Maſonry did neuer better flouriſh in England then in hys tyme, and albeit that in theſe dayes there be manye goodly houſes erected in the ſundry quarters of thys Iſland, yet they are rather curious to the eye, then ſubſtauncial for continuaunce, where as ſuch as hee did ſet vp excel in both, and therefore may iuſtly be preferred aboue al the reſt. The names of thoſe which come now to my remembrance, are theſe. Firſt of al White hall at the weſt ende of London (which is taken for the moſt large and principall of all the reſt) was begun by Cardinall wolſey, and enlarged and finiſhed by king Henry yͤ eyght. Neere vnto yͭ is S. James, ſometime a Nonry, builded likewiſe by the ſame prince. Hir grace hath alſo Otelande, Aſheridge, Hatfelde, Hauering, Enueeld, Richemond, Hampton court, (begonne ſometime by Cardinall Wolſey, and finiſhed by hir Father) and therevnto Woodſtocke, erected by king Henry the ſeconde, in which the Queenes maieſty delighteth greatly to ſoiourne, notwythſtanding that in time paſt it was the place of hir captiuity, when it pleaſed God to try hir by affliction and calamity.

White hall.
S. James
Oteland.
Aſheridge.
Hatfelde.
Enuelde.
Richemōd.
Hampton.
Woodſtocke

Windſor.

For ſtrength Windleſor or Winſore, is ſuppoſed to be the chiefe, a caſtell buylded in tyme paſt by king Arthur, as it is thought, & repayred by Edwarde the third, who erected alſo a notable Colledge there. After him diuers of his ſucceſſours, haue beſtowed exceeding charges vpon the ſame, which notwithſtanding are farre ſurmounted, by the Queenes maieſty nowe lyuing, who hath appointed huge ſommes of money to be employed vpon the ornature, and alteration of the mould, according to the fourme of buylding vſed in our dayes. Such alſo hath beene the eſtimatiō of this place, that diuers kings haue not onely beene enterred there but alſo made it the chiefe houſe of aſſemblye, and creation of the Knightes, of the honourable order of the Garter, then the which there is nothing in this lande, more magnificent and ſtately. Greenewiche was firſt buylded, by Humfrey Duke of Gloceſter, vpon the Thames ſide 4. miles eaſt from London, in yͤ tyme of Henry the ſixt, & called Pleſance. Afterwards it was gretly inlarged by king Edwarde the fourth, garnyſhed by king Henry the ſeauenth, and finallye made perfite by king Henry the eyght, the onely phenix of his time, for fine and curious maſonrye. Not farre from this is Dartforde, and not much diſtaunt alſo from the ſouth ſide of that ſayd ſtreame, ſometime a Nonnery, but now a very cōmodious Pallace, wherevnto it was alſo cōuerted by king Henry yͤ eight. Eltham as I take it, was buylded by king Henry yͤ third if not before. There are beſide theſe moreouer dyuers other, but what ſhal I neede to take vpon me to repeate all, & tell what houſes the Queenes maieſtie hath, ſith all is hirs, and when it pleaſeth hir in the ſōmer ſeaſon, to recreate hir ſelfe abroade, and viewe the eſtate of the countrey, euery noble mans houſe is hir Pallace, where ſhee continueth during pleaſure, and till ſhee returne againe to ſome of hir owne, in which ſhe remaineth ſo long as pleaſeth hir.

Greene-wiche.
Dartforde.
Eltham.

Of the Court.

The court of England which neceſſarily is holden alwayes where the Prince lyeth, is in theſe dayes one of the moſt renowmed and magnificent courtes, that are to be found in Europe. For whether you regard the ryche and infinite furniture of houſholde, order of Officers, or the interteinement of ſuch ſtrāgers as dailye reſorte vnto the ſame, you ſhall not finde many equall therunto, much leſſe one excelling it, in any maner of wiſe. I myght here if I woulde (or had ſufficient diſpoſition of matter conceyued of the ſame) make a large diſcourſe, of the honourable ports of ſuch graue councellours, and noble perſonages, as giue their dailye attendance vpon the Queenes maieſty there. I could in lyke ſorte ſet forth a ſingular commendation of the vertuous beautie, or beautiful vertues of ſuch Ladies and Gentlewomen, as waite vpon hir perſon, betweene whoſe amiable counntenaunces and coſtlineſſe of attyre, there ſeemeth to be ſuch a daily conflict and contention, as that it is verye difficulte for me to geſſe, wheter of the twaine, ſhal beare away the preheminence. This farder is not to be omitted to the ſingular commendation of both ſortes & ſexes of our Courtyers here in Englande, that there are verye fewe of them, which haue not the vſe and ſkyll of ſundry ſpeaches, beſide an excellent vaine of wryting, before time not regarded. Truely it is a rare thing with vs nowe, to here of a courtier which hath but his own language, & to ſay how many Gentlewomen & Ladies there are that beſide ſound knowledge of the Greeke & Latin tongues, are therto no leſſe ſkilful in yͤ Spaniſh Italian & French, or in ſome one of them, it reſteth not in me: ſith I am perſwaded, that as the noble men, & gentlemen, doe ſurmount in this behalf, ſo theſe come very litle or nothyng at all behind thē, for their parts, which induſtry god continue.

English courtiers, the beſt learned.

Beſide theſe thinges I coulde in like ſorte ſet downe the wayes and meanes whereby our auncient Ladies of the Court doe ſhun & auoyde ydleneſſe, ſome of them exercyſing their fingers with the néedle, other in caulewoorke, diuers in ſpinning of ſilke, ſome in continuall reading either of the holye ſcriptures, or hyſtories of our owne, or forren nations about vs, whileſt the yonger ſort in ẏ meane time, applie their Lutes, Citharnes, prickeſong, and all kindes of Muſick, which they vſe only for recreation and ſolace ſake, when they haue leyſure, and are frée from attendaunce vpon the Quéenes maieſtye, or ſuch as they belong vnto.

I myght finally deſcribe the large allowances in offices, and yerely lyueries, & thervnto the great plentie of Golde and Syluer Plate, the ſeuerall péeces whereof, are cōmonlye ſo great and maſſye, and the quantity therof ſo abundantly ſeruing all the houſholde, that if Midas were nowe liuing and once againe put to his choiſe, I thinke hée coulde aſke no more, or rather not halfe ſo much, as is there to be ſéene and vſed. But I paſſe ouer to make ſuch néedeleſſe diſcourſes, reſoluing my ſelfe, that euen in this alſo the excéeding mercy and louing kindeneſſe of God doth woonderfullye appeare towardes vs, in that he hath ſo largely indued vs with theſe his ſo ample benefites.

In ſome great Princes Courtes, it is a worlde to ſée what lewde behauiour is vſed among dyuers of thoſe that reſorte vnto the ſame, & what whoredōe, ſwearing, rybaldry atheiſme, dicing, carding, carowſing, drunkenneſſe, Glotony, quareling, and ſuch lyke inconueniences, doe daily take holde, and ſometimes euen among thoſe, in whoſe eſtates ſuch behauiour is leaſt conuenient: all which inormities, are eyther vtterly expelled out of the Court of Englande, or elſe ſo quallified by the diligent endeuour of the chiefe officers of hir graces houſholde, that ſeldome are any of theſe thinges apparantly ſéene there, with out due reprehenſion, & ſuch ſeuere correction, as belongeth to thoſe treſpaſſes. Finally to auoyde ydleneſſe, and preuent ſundrye tranſgreſſions, otherwiſe likelye to be commytted and done, ſuch order is taken, that euerye offyce hath eyther a Byble, or the bookes of the Actes and monumentes of the Church of Englande, or both, beſide ſome hyſtoryes and Chronicles lying therin, for the exerciſe of ſuch as come into the ſame: whereby the ſtraunger that entereth into the Court of Englande vpon the ſodeine, ſhall rather imagine himſelfe to come into ſome publicke ſchoole of ẏ vniuerſities, where many giue eare to one that readeth vnto thē, then into a Princes Pallace, if you conferre this with thoſe of other nations. Would to god al honorable perſonages woulde take example of hir Graces Godly dealing in this behalfe, and ſhewe their conformitie, vnto theſe hir ſo good beginninges: which if they woulde, then ſhoulde manye grieuous enormities (where with GOD is highelye diſpleaſed) be cut of and reſtreined, which nowe doe reigne excéedingly, in moſt Noble and Gentlemens houſes, whereof they ſée no paterne within hir Graces gates.

The firme peace alſo that is mainteyned within a certaine compaſſe of the Princes Pallace, is ſuch, as is nothing inferiour to that we ſée daily practized in the beſt gouerned holds, & fortreſſes. And ſuch is the ſeuere puniſhment of thoſe that ſtrike, wythin the limites prohibited, that without all hope of mercy, benefite of clergie, or ſanctuary, they are ſure to looſe their ryght handes, at a ſtroke, and that in very ſolemne maner, the fourme whereof I will ſet downe, and then make an ende of this Chapter, to deale with other matters.

At ſuch time therefore as the party tranſgreſſing is conuicted by a ſufficent enqueſt impanelled for the ſame purpoſe, and the tyme come of therecution of the ſentence, the Sergeaunt of the kings woodyarde prouydeth a ſquare blocke, which he bringeth to ſome appointed place, & therwith al a great béetle, ſtaple, and cordes, wherwith to faſten the hande of the offendor, vnto the ſayde blocke, vntill the whole circumſtance of his execution be perfourmed. The Yoman of the Scullary lykewyſe for the tyme beyng doth prouide a great fire of coales harde by the blocke, wherein the ſearing yrons are to be made readie againſt the chiefe Surgeon to the Prince or his Deputie ſhall occupie the ſame. Upon him alſo doth the ſergeaunt or chief farrour attend with thoſe yrons, whoſe office is to deliuer them to the ſayd Surgeō when he ſhalbe readie by ſearing to vſe the ſame. The grome of the Salary for the time beyng or hys Deputie is furthermore appointed to be readie with vineger and colde water, and not to depart from the place vntill the arme of the offender be bounde vp & fully dreſſed. And as theſe thinges are thus prouided ſo ẏ Sergeaunt Surgeon is bound from time to time to be readie to execute his charge, and ſeare the ſtump, when the hande is taken from it. The ſergeaunt of the ſellar is at hande alſo with a cup of red wine, and likewyſe the chiefe officer of the pantry with Manchet bread to giue vnto the ſayde partie, after the execution done, and the ſtomp ſeared, as the ſergeaunt of the Ewery is with clothes, wherein to winde and wrap vp the the arme, the yoman of the pultrie with a cocke to lay vnto it, the yoman of the Chaundrie with ſeared clothes, and finally the maiſter cooke or his Deputie with a ſharpe dreſſing knyfe, which he delyuereth at the place of execution to the Sargeaunt of the Larder, who doth holde it vpright in hys hande, vntill thexecution be performed, by the publicke Officer appointed therevnto. And this is the maner of puniſhment ordayned for thoſe that ſtryke within the Princes pallace, or limites of the ſame. The lyke priuilege is almoſt giuen to churches and churchyardes, although in maner of puniſhment great difference doe appeare. For he that bralleth or quarrelleth in eyther of them, is by and by ſuſpended ab ingreſſu eccleſiæ, vntil he be abſolued, as he is alſo that ſtriketh wyth yͤ fiſt, or layeth violent handes vpon any whome ſo euer. But yf he happen to ſmite wyth ſtaffe, dagger, or any maner of weapon, and the ſame be ſufficiently founde by the Verdict of twelue men at his arrainement, beſide excommunication, he is ſure to loſe one of hys eares wythout all hope of recouerye. But if he be ſuch a one as hath beene twyſe condemned and executed, whereby he hath now none eares, then is he marked with an hote yron vpon the cheeke, & by the letter F, which is ſeared into his fleſh, he is frõ thenceforth noted as a common barratour, & fray maker, and thereunto remayneth excommunicate, till by repentaunce he deſerue to be abſolued.

Of the maner of Buylding and furniture of our houſes. Cap. 10.

THe greateſt parte of our buylding in the cities and good townes of Englande conſiſteth onely of timber, for as yet fewe of the houſes of the comminalty (except here & there in the weſt country townes) are made of ſtone, although they may in my opinion in diuers other places be builded ſo good cheape of the one as of the other. In olde tyme the houſes of the Brytons were ſlitely ſet vppe with a few poſtes and many radles, the like whereof almoſt is to be ſeene in the fenny countries vnto this day, where for lacke of wood they are inforced to continue this auncient maner of buylding. It is not in vayne therefore in ſpeaking of buylding to make a diſtinction betweene the playne and woddye countrie, for as in theſe, our houſes are commonly ſtrong & wel timbered, ſo that in many places, there are not aboue 6. or nine ynches betweene ſtudde and ſtudde, ſo in the open & champaine ſoyles they are inforced for want of ſtuffe to vſe no ſtuddes at all, but only rayſines, groundſelles, tranſomes, and vpright principalles, with here and there an ouerthwart poſt in their walles, whereunto they faſten their Splintes or radles, and then caſt it all ouer wyth clay to keepe out the winde, which otherwyſe woulde anoy them. In like ſort as euery country houſe is thus appareled on the out ſide, ſo is it inwardly deuided into ſundrie rowmes aboue and beneth, and where plentie of wood is, they couer thẽ with tyles, otherwyſe with ſtraw, ſedge, or reede, except ſome quarry of ſlate be neare hande, from whence they haue for theyr money, ſo much as may ſuffice them. The clay wherewith our houſes are empanelled is eyther white, redde, or blewe, and of theſe the firſt doth participate very much with the nature of our chalke, the ſeconde is called lome, but the thirde eftſoones changeth coulour ſo ſoone as it is wrought, notwithſtanding that it looke blew when it is throwne out of the pit. Of chalke alſo we haue our excellent whyte lime made in moſt places, wherewith we ſtricke ouer our clay workes & ſtone walles, in Cities, good Townes, riche fermers, and gentlemens houſes: otherwyſe in ſteede of chalke (where it wanteth for it is ſo ſcant that in ſome places it is ſolde by the pounde) they are compelled to burne a certaine kind of redde ſtone, as in Wales, and elſe where other ſtones, as I haue ſeene by experience. Within their dores alſo ſuch as are of abilitie doe oft make their flowers, and parget of fine Alabaſter burned, which they cal plaſter of Paris, whereof in ſome places we haue great plentie, & that very profitable agaynſt the rage of fire. In plaſtering likewiſe of our fayreſt houſes ouer our heades, we vſe to lay firſt a Laire or two of white morter tempered with heire vpon Lathes, which are nayled one by an other, (or ſometimes vpõ rede or wickers more daungerous for fyre and made faſt here and there with ſappelathes for falling downe) and finallye couer all with the aforeſayde plaſter, which beſide the delectable whiteneſſe of the ſtuffe it ſelfe, is layed on ſo euen and ſmoothly as nothing in my iudgement can be done with more exactneſſe. This alſo hath bene cõmon in england, contrarie to the cuſtomes of all other Nations, and yet to be ſeene (for example in moſt ſtreetes of London) that many of our greateſt houſes haue outwardly beene very ſimple and plaine to ſight, which inwardly haue beene able to receyue a Duke with his whole trayne and lodge them at their eaſe. Hereby moreouer it is come to paſſe, that the frontes of our ſtreetes haue not beene ſo vniforme & orderly buylded as thoſe of forrain cities, where to ſaye truth, the vtterſide of theyr manſions and dwellings, haue oft more coſt beſtowed vpon them, then all the reaſt of the houſe, which are often very ſimple and vneaſie within, as experience doth confirme. Of olde tyme our country houſes in ſteede of glaſſe dyd vſe much lattis and that made eyther of wicker or fine riftes of oke in chekerwyſe. I reade alſo that ſome of the better ſorte in and before the tymes of the Saxons did make panels of horne in ſteede of glaſſe, and fixe them in woodden calmes, but as horne is quite layde downe in euery place, ſo our lattiſes are alſo growne into leſſe vſe, bycauſe glaſſe is come to be ſo plentifull, & within a very little ſo good cheape as the other. Heretofore alſo the houſes of our princes and noble men were often glaſed wyth Beril, (an example wherof is yet to be ſeene in Sudley caſtell) & in diuers other places, with fine chriſtall, but this eſpecially in the time of yͤ Romaines, wherof alſo ſome fragmentes haue beene taken vp in olde ruines. But nowe theſe are not in vſe, ſo that onely the cleareſt glaſſe is moſt eſteemed for we haue diuers ſortes ſome brought out of Burgundie, ſome out of Normandy, much out of Flaunders, beſide that which is made in Englande ſo good as the beſt, and eache one that may, will haue it for his building. Moreouer the manſion houſes of our country townes & villages, (which in champaine groũde ſtande altogither by ſtreetes, and ioyning one to an other, but in woodelande ſoyles diſperſed here and there, eache one vpon the ſeuerall groundes of their owners) are builded in ſuche ſort generally, as that they haue neither dairy, ſtable, nor bruehouſe, annexed vnto them vnder the ſame roofe (as in many places beyonde the ſea) but all ſeparate from the firſt, and one of them from an other. And yet for all this, they are not ſo farre diſtant in ſunder, but that the goodman lying in his bed may lightly heare what is done in eache of them with eaſe, and call quickly vnto his meney if any daunger ſhoulde attache hym. The auncient maners & houſes of our gentlemen are yet & for the moſt part of ſtrong tymber. Howbeit ſuch as be lately buylded, are commõly either of bricke or harde ſtone, their rowmes large and ſtately and houſes of office farder diſtaunt frõ their lodginges. Thoſe of the Noblity are likewiſe wrought with bricke and hard ſtone as prouiſion may beſt be made: but ſo magnificent and ſtately as the baſeſt houſe of a Barren doth often match with ſome honours of princes in olde tyme, ſo that if euer curious buylding dyd floriſh in Englande, it is in theſe our dayes, wherein our workemen excell, and are in maner comparable in ſkill with olde Vitrunius, and Serlo. The furniture of our houſes alſo exceedeth, and is growne in maner euen to paſſing delicacie: & herein I do not ſpeake of the Nobilitie and gentrie onely, but euen of the loweſt ſorte that haue any thing at all to take to. Certes in Noble mens houſes it is not rare to ſee abundance of Arras, riche hangings of Tapiſtry, ſiluer veſſell, and ſo much other plate, as may furniſh ſũdrie cupbordes to the ſumme oftẽtimes of a thouſand or two thouſande pounde at the leaſt: wherby the value of this and the reaſt of their ſtuffe doth grow to be ineſtimable. Likewiſe in the houſes of Knightes, Gentlemẽ, Marchauntmen, and ſome other wealthie Citizens, it is not geſon to beholde generallye their great prouiſion of Tapiſtrie, Turkye worke, Pewter, Braſſe, fine linen, and therto coſtly cupbords of plate worth fiue or ſixe hundred pounde, to be demed by eſtimation. But as herein all theſe ſortes doe farre exceede their elders, and predeceſſours, ſo in time paſt, the coſtly furniture ſtayed there, whereas now it is deſcended yet lower, euen vnto the inferiour Artificers and moſt Fermers, who haue learned alſo to garniſh their cubbordes with plate, their beddes with tapiſtrie, and ſilke hanginges, and their tables with fine naperie, whereby the wealth of our countrie doth infinitely appeare. Neyther do I ſpeake this in reproch of any man God is my Iudge, but to ſhew that I doe reioyce rather to ſee how God hath bleſſed vs with hys good giftes, and to behold how that in a time wherein all thinges are growen to moſt exceſſiue prices, we do yet finde the meanes to obtayne and atchieue ſuch furniture as heretofore hath beene vnpoſſible. There are olde men yet dwelling in the village where I remayne, which haue noted three things to be marueylouſly altered in Englande within their ſound remembraunce. One is the multitude of chimnies lately erected, wheras in their yoong dayes there were not aboue two or three if ſo many in moſt vplandiſh townes of the realme, (the religious houſes, & manour places, of their Lordes alwayes excepted, & peraduenture ſome great perſonages) but eache one made his fire againſt a reredoſſe, in the hall where he dined and dreſſed his meate. The ſecond is yͤ great amendement of lodginge, for ſayde they our fathers & we our ſelues haue lyen full oft vpon ſtraw pallettes couered onely with a ſheete vnder couerlettes made of dagſwain or hopharlots

Three thinges greatly amended in Englande.

Chimnies

Hardlodging.

(I vſe their owne termes) and a good round logge vnder their heades in ſteade of a boulſter. If it were ſo that our fathers or yͤ good man of the houſe, had a matteres or flockbed, and thereto a ſacke of chafe to reſt hys heade vpon, he thought himſelfe to be as well lodged as the Lorde of the towne, ſo well were they contented. Pillowes ſayde they were thought méete onely for women in childebed. As for ſeruants if they had any ſhéete aboue them, it was well, for ſeldome had they any vnder their bodies, to kéepe them from the pricking ſtrawes, that ranne oft thorow the canuas, and raced their hardened hides.

Furniture of houſhold.

The thirde thinge they tell of, is the exchange of tréene platters into pewter, and wodē ſpoones into ſiluer or tin. For ſo cōmon were al ſorts of tréene veſſelles in old time, yͭ a man ſhould hardly find four peces of pewter (of which one was peraduenture a ſalte) in a good Farmers houſe, and yet for al this frugaltie (if it may ſo be iuſtly called) they were ſcarſe able to lyue and paye their rentes, at their dayes without ſelling of a cow, or a horſe, or more, although they payde but foure pounds at the vttermoſt by the yeare. Such alſo was their pouerty, that if a Fermour or huſbundman had béene at the alehouſe, a thing greatly vſed in thoſe dayes, amongſt ſixe or ſeauen of hys neyghbours, and there in a brauery to ſhewe what ſtore he had, did daſt downe his purſe, and therein a noble or ſixe ſhillings in ſiluer vnto them, it was very likely that all the reſt could not lay downe ſo much againſt it: wheras in my tyme although peraduenture foure pounde of olde rent be improued to fourty or fiftye pound, yet will the farmer thinke his gaines very ſmall toward the middeſt of his terme, if he haue not ſixe or ſeauen yeres rent lying by him, therewith to purchaſe a newe leaſe, beſide a faire garniſhe of pewter on his cowborde, thrée or foure feather beddes, ſo many couerlettes and carpettes of Tapiſtry, a ſiluer ſalte, a bowle for wine (if not an whole neaſt) and a duſſen of ſpoones, to furniſhe vp the ſute. Thys alſo he taketh to bée his owne cleare, for what ſtocke of money ſoeuer he gathereth in all his yeares, it is often ſéene, that the landlorde will take ſuch order with him for the ſame, when he renueth his leaſe (which is commoly eight or ten yeares before it be expyred, ſith it is nowe growen almoſt to a cuſtome, that if he come not to his his lorde ſo long before, another ſhall ſtep in for a reuerſion, & ſo defeate him out right) that it ſhall neuer trouble him more then the heare of his bearde, when the barber hath waſhed and ſhauen it from his chinne.

This was in the time of generall ydleneſſe.

Of Fayres and Markettes. Cap. 11.

THere are as I take it, few great townes in England, that haue not their wéekely Markets, in which al maner of prouiſion for houſhold, is to be bought and ſoulde, for eaſe and benefite of the countrey rounde about, wherby as it commeth to paſſe that no buyer ſhall make any great iourney in the purueighaunce of his neceſſities, ſo no occupier ſhall haue occaſion to trauayle farre of with his commodities, except it be to ſéeke for the higheſt prices, which commonly are néere vnto great cities, where rounde and ſpéedieſt vtteraunce is alwayes to be had. And as theſe haue béene in tymes paſt erected for the benefite of the realme, ſo are they in many places to to much abuſed: for the relief and eſe of the buyer, is not ſo much intended in them, as the benefite of the ſeller. Neyther are the Maieſtrats for the moſt part ſo carefull in their offices, as of ryght and dewtye they ſhoulde bée, for in moſt of theſe markettes neyther ſizes of breade nor orders for goodneſſe of graine and other commodities, that are brought thither to be ſoulde are any whit looked vnto, but eache one ſuffered to ſell or ſet vp, what, and how himſelfe lyſteth, & this is one euident cauſe of darth in time of great abundance.

I coulde if I woulde exemplifie in many, but I will touch no one particularly. Certes it is rare to ſée in any market the aſſize of breade well kept according to the ſtatute, howbeit I finde, in lieu thereof ſuch headdy ale and béere in moſt of them, as for the mightyneſſe thereof among ſuch as ſéeke it out, is commonlye called huffecappe, the madde Dogge, father whoreſonne, Aungels foode, Dragons milke &c. And this is more to be noted, that when one of late fell by Gods prouidence, into a troubled conſcience, after he had conſidered well of his rekeleſſe lyfe, and daungerous eſtate: another thinking belyke to change his colour and not his mind, caryed hym ſtraight to the ſtrongeſt ale, as to the next Phiſition. It is incredible to ſay how our Maultbugges lug at this liquor, euen as pigges ſhoulde lye in a rowe, lugging at their dames teates, tyll they lye ſtill againe, & be not able to wagge. Neyther did Romulus and Remus ſucke their ſhée Wolfe Lupa, wyth ſuch eger & ſharpe deuotion as theſe men, hale at hufcappe, tyll they be read as cockes, and litle wyſer thē their combes, But howe am I fallen from the mercate, into the Ale houſe. In returning therfore vnto my purpoſe, I find therfore that in corne great abuſe is daily ſuffered, to the great preiudice of the towne & countrey, eſpecially the poore artificer & houſeholder, which tilleth no lande, but labouring all the wéeke to buy a buſhell or two of corne on the mercate daie, can there haue none for his money, becauſe bodgers, loders, and common carryers of Graine, doe not onely buy vp all, but gyue aboue the pryce, to be ſerued of great quantities. Shall I go any farther, well I will ſaye yet a little more, and ſomewhat by mine owne experience. At Myghelmas tyme poore men muſt ſell theyr graine that they may paye their rentes. So long then as the poore man hath to ſell, ryche men wyll brynge out none, but rather buy vppe that which the poore bring vnder pretence of ſéede corne, becauſe one wheat often ſowen without chaunge of ſéede, will ſoone decay and be conuerted into darnell. For this cauſe therefore they muſt néedes buy in the markettes, though they be twentye myles of and where they be not knowne, promiſing there to ſend ſo much to theyr next market, to performe I wote not when.

If thys ſhyft ſerue not (neither doth the foxe vſe alwayes one tracke for feare of a ſnare) they wil compound wͭ ſome one of the towne where the market is holden, who for a pot of huſcappe or mery go downe, wyll not let to buy it for them, & that in his owne name. Or elſe they wage one poore man or other, to become a bodger, & thereto get him a lycence vpon ſome forged ſurmize, which being done, they will féede him with money, to buy for them till he hath filled theyr loftes, and then if he can doe any good for himſelfe ſo it is, if not, they wyll gyue him ſomewhat for his paines at this tyme, and reſerue him for another yeare. How many of theſe prouiders ſtumble vppon blynde créekes at the ſea coſt, I wote not well, but that ſome haue ſo done vnder other mens winges, the cauſe is to playne. But who dare finde faulte with thẽ, when they haue once a lycence, though it be but to ſerue a meane Gentlemans houſe with corne, who hath caſt vp al his tillage bicauſe he boaſteth how he can buy his graine in yͤ market better cheape, thẽ he can ſow his lãd, as the rich graſier often doth alſo vpon yͤ like deuiſe. If any man come to buy a buſhel or two for his expences vnto yͤ market croſſe, aunſwere is made, forſooth here was one euen nowe that badde me money for it, and I hope he will haue it. And to ſaye the truth, theſe bodgers are faire chapmẽ, for there are no more wordes with them, but let me ſée it, what ſhall I giue you, knitte it vp, I will haue it, go cary it to ſuch a chamber. But to procéede by this tyme the poore occupier hath all ſolde his croppe for néede of money, beyng readye paraduenture to buy againe ere longe. And nowe is the whole ſale of corne in the great occupyers handes, who hytherto haue threſhed lyttle or none of their own, but bought vp of other men, ſo much as they coulde come by. Henceforth alſo they begin to ſel, not by the quarter or loade at the firſt, but by the buſhell or two, or an horſelode at the moſt, therby to be ſéene to kéepe the market, eyther for a ſhewe, or to make men eger to buy, and ſo as they maye haue it for money, not to regarde what they pay. And thus corne waxeth deare, but it will be dearer the next market day. It is poſſible alſo that they myſlyke the pryce in the begynnyng for whole yeare inſuing, as men ſuppoſing that corne will be litle worth for this, and of better price in the next yeare. Herevpon then wyll they threſhe out thrée partes of the olde corne, toward the latter ende of the ſommer, when newe commeth a pace to hande, and caſt the ſame into the fourth vnthreſhed, where it ſhall lye vntyll the next Spryng, or peraduenture tyl it muſt and putrifie. Or elſe they will gyrde their ſheues of by the band and ſtacke it vp of newe in leſſe roume to thende it may not onely appeare leſſe in quantity, but alſo gyue place to the corne that is yet to come into the barne, or growing the field. If there happen to be ſuch plentye in the market vpon any market day, that they can not ſell at their owne price, then wil they ſet it vp in ſome friendes houſe, againſt an other or the thirde day, and not bringe it forth vntyll they lyke of the ſale. If they ſell any at home, beſide harder meaſure, it ſhal be dearer to the poore man by two pence or a groate in a buſhell then they maye ſell it in the market. But as theſe things are worthy redreſſe, ſo I wyſhe that God woulde once open their eyes that deale thus, to ſée there owne errours: for as yet ſome of them lyttle care howe many poore men ſuffer extremitie, ſo that they may fill their purſes, and carye awaye the gaine. I coulde ſaye more but this is euen ynough, and more peraduenture then I ſhall be well thanked for: yet true it is though ſome thinke it no treſpaſſe. This moreouer is to be lamented, that one generall meaſure is not in vſe throwout all Englande, but euery mercate towne hath in a maner a ſeuerall meaſure, and the leſſer it be, the moe ſellers it draweth to reſort vnto the ſame. It is oft founde likewiſe, that diuers vncõſcionable dealers haue one meaſure to ſell by, and another to buy with

For maring of the market.

all, the lyke is alſo in weightes. Wherfore it were verye good that theſe two were reduced vnto one ſtanderd, that is, one buſhell, one pound, one quarter one hũdred, one tale, one number, ſo ſhould things in time fal into better order, & fewer cauſes of contention be moued in this land. But more of this hereafter in the next booke, where I haue inſerted a litle treatize, which I ſometimes collected of our weightes, & meaſures, and their compariſon with thoſe of the auncient Gréekes and Romaines. To cõclude therfore in our markets all things are to be ſolde neceſſarie for mans vſe, and there is our prouiſion made commonly for all the wéeke inſuing. Therefore as there are no great townes without one wéekely market at the leaſt, ſo there are very fewe of them that haue not one or two fayres or more within the compaſſe of the yeare aſſigned vnto them by the prince. And albeit that ſome of them are not much better then the common kirkemeſſes beyonde the ſea, yet there are diuers not inferiour vnto the greateſt martes in Europe, as Sturbridge Faire neare to Cambridge, Bartholomewe fayre at London, Linne mart, Cold fayre at Newport pond for cattell, and diuers other, all which or at the leaſtwyſe the greateſt part of them (to the end I may with the more eaſe to the reader & leſſe trauayle to my ſelf fulfill my taſke in their recitall.) I haue ſet downe according to yͤ names of the monethes wherin they are holden at yͤ end of this booke, where you ſhall finde them at large, as I borowed the ſame frõ Stow.

Of Armour and Municion. Cap.12.

HOw well or how ſtrongly our countrey hath béene furniſhed in tymes paſt with armor and artillery, it lyeth not in me as of my ſelfe to make rehearſall. Yet that it lacked both in the late tyme of Quéene Mary not onely therperience of myne elders, but alſo the talke of certaine Spaniards, not yet forgotten, dyd leaue ſome manifeſt notice. Vpon the firſt I néede not ſtand, for few wil denye it. For the ſeconde I haue hearde that when one of the greateſt péeres of Spaine eſpyed our nakedneſſe in this behalfe, and did ſolemnely vtter in no obſcure place, that it ſhoulde be an eaſie matter in ſhorte tyme to cõquere England bycauſe it wanted armor, his words were thẽ not ſo raſhly vttered, as they were pollitickly noted. For albeit that for the preſent tyme theyr efficacie was diſſembled, and ſemblaunce made as though he ſpake but meryly, yet at the very enteraunce of thys our gracious Quéene vnto the poſſeſſion of the Crowne, they were ſo prouidently called to remembrance, and ſuch ſpéedie reformation ſought of all handes for the redreſſe of this incõuenience, that our countrey was ſooner furniſhed wyth armour and munition, from diuers partes of the maine, (beſide great plentie that was forged here at home) then our enemies could get vnderſtãding of any ſuch prouiſion to be made. By this pollicie alſo was the no ſmall hope conceyued by Spanyardes vtterly cut of, who of open friendes being nowe become our ſecrete enemies, and thereto watching a time wherein to atchieue ſome heauie exploite agaynſt vs and our countrye, dyd therevpon chaunge their purpoſes, whereby Englande obtayned reſt, that otherwyſe might haue ben ſure of ſharp & cruel wars. Thus a Spaniſh worde vttered by one man at one time, ouerthrew or at yͤ leaſtwiſe hindered ſundry priuy practiſes of many at another. In times paſt the chiefe force of Englande conſiſted in their lõg bowes, but now we haue in maner generally giuen ouer that kinde of artillerie and for long bowes in déede doe practize to ſhoote compaſſe for our paſtime: which kinde of ſhooting can neuer yeld any ſmart ſtroke nor beate downe our enemies as our country men were wont to doe, at euery time of néede. Certes the Frenchmen and Rutters deriding our new archerie in reſpect of their corſlets, will not let in open ſkirmiſh yf any leyſure ſerue to turne vp their tailes and cry ſhoote Engliſhe, and all bycauſe our ſtrong ſhooting is decayed and layed in bedde. But if ſome of our Engliſh men nowe lyued that ſerued king Edward the third in his warres with Fraunce, the bréeche of ſuch a Verlet ſhould haue béene nailed to his bumme with one arrow & an other fethered in his bowels before he ſhoulde haue turned about to ſée, who ſhotte the firſt. But as our ſhooting is thus in maner vtterly decayed amõg vs one way, ſo our countrie men were ſkilful in ſundrie other poyntes as in ſhooting in ſmall Pieces, the Caleuer, and handling of the Pyke, in the ſeuerall vſes whereof they are become very experte. Our armour differeth not from that of other nations, & therfore conſiſteth of corſlets, almaine riuerets, ſhirtes of mayle, Iackes quilted and couered ouer wyth leather, fuſtien or canuas ouer thicke plates of yron that are ſowed in the ſame, and of which there is no towne or village that hath not hir conuenient furniture. The ſayd armour and munition alſo is kept in one ſeuerall place appoynted by the conſent of the whole pariſh, where it is alwayes ready to be had and worne within an houres warning. Sometime alſo it is occupyed whẽ pleaſeth the Magiſtrate, eyther to view the ablemen and take note of the wel kéeping of the ſame, or finally to ſée thoſe that are inrolled to exerciſe eache one his ſeuerall weapon according to his appointment. Certes there is almoſt no village ſo poore in Englande (be it neuer ſo ſmall) that hath not ſufficient furniture in a readines to ſet forth thrée or foure ſoldiors, or one archer, one gonner, one pike & a byll man at the leaſt. No there is not ſo much wanting as their verye lyueries and cappes, which are leſt to be accounted of, if any haſte required. What ſtore of munition & armour the Quéenes maieſtie hath in hir ſtore houſes, it lyeth not in me to yelde accompt, ſith I ſuppoſe the ſame to be infinite. And where as it was commonly ſayde after the loſſe of Calais that Englande ſhould neuer recouer their Ordinance, there left, that ſame is at this time proued falſe, ſith euen ſome of the ſame perſons doe now confeſſe, that thys lande was neuer better furniſhed wyth theſe thinges in any kinges dayes that raigned ſince the conqueſt. As for the armouries of diuers of the Nobilitie (wherof I alſo haue ſéene a part) they are ſo well furniſhed wyth in ſome one Barons cuſtodie, that I haue ſéene thrée ſcore corſlets at once, beſide calyuers, handgunnes, bowes, ſheiefes of arrowes, pykes, bylles, pollaxes, flaſkes, touchboxes, targettes. &c. the verye ſight wherof appalled my courage, what would yͤ wearing of ſome of thē haue done this trow you, if I ſhould vſe them in the field. I would write here of our maner of going to yͤ wars, but what hath the long blacke gowne to doe with gliſtering armour, what acquaintance can there be betwixt Mars and the Muſes, or how ſhould a man write any thing to the purpoſe of that, wherewith he is nothing acquainted.

Of the Nauie of Englande. Cap. 13.

THe Nauie of England may be deuided into thrée ſortes, of which the one ſerueth for the warres, the other for burden, & the thirde for fiſhermen, which get their lyuing by fiſhing on the ſea. How many of the firſt order are maintained within the realme it paſſeth my cunning to expreſſe, yet ſith it may be parted into the Nauie Royall and common fléete, I thincke good to ſpeake of thoſe that belong vnto the Prince, & ſo much the rather, for that their number is certaine & well knowne to very many. Certes there is no Prince in Europe that hath a more beautifull ſorte of ſhippes then the Quéenes maieſtie of Englande at this preſent, & thoſe generally are of ſuch excéeding force that two of them being well appoynted and furniſhed as they ought will not let to encounter with thrée or foure of them of other countries, and eyther bowge them or put them to flight, yf they may not bring them home.

Neyther are the mouldes of any forrain Barckes ſo conueniently made to broke the ſeas in any part of the continent, as thoſe of England, & therfore the commō report that ſtraungers make of our ſhips amongſt thēſelues is dayly confirmed to be true, which is that for ſtrength, aſſurance, nimbleſſe and ſwiftneſſe of ſayling, there are no veſſelles in the world to be compared with ours. The Quéenes highneſſe hath at this preſent alreadie made and furniſhed, to the number of one and twenty great ſhippes, which lye for the moſt part in Gillingham Rode, beſide thrée Gallies, of whoſe particular names it ſhall not be amiſſe to make reporte at this time.

The firſt of them therefore is called Bonaduenture.

The next hight the Elizabeth Ionas, a name deuiſed by hir grace in remembraunce of hir owne deliuerance from the fury of hir enemies, from which in one reſpect ſhe was no leſſe myraculouſly preſerued, then was the prophet Ionas frō the belly of the Whale.

The White boare is the thirde.

And after them ſhe hath the Philip and Mary.

The Triumph.

The Bull.

The Tygre ſo called of hyr excéedyng nimbleneſſe in ſayling & ſwiftneſſe of courſe.

The Anclop.

The Hope.

The Lyon.

The Victorie.

The Mary roſe.

The Foreſight.

The Cadiſh.

The Swift ſute.

The Ayde.

The Handmaide.

The Dread not.

The Swallow.

The Genet.

The Barke of Bullen.

Beſide theſe hir grace hath other in hande alſo, of whome hereafter as their turnes doe come about, I will not let to leaue ſome further remembraunce. She hath likewiſe thrée notable Gallies: The Spéede wel, the Trye ryght, and the blacke Galley, with the ſight wherof & reſt of the Nauy Royal, it is incredible to ſaye how marueylouſly hir Grace is delighted: and not without great cauſe, ſith by their meanes hir coſtes are kept in quiet, and ſundrye forren enemies put back, which otherwyſe woulde inuade vs. The number of thoſe that ſerue for burden, wyth the other, wherof I haue made mencion already, and whoſe vſe is daily ſéene, as occaſion ſerueth, in time of the warres, is to mée vtterly vnknowne. Yet if commō eſtimatiō be any thing at all to be credited, there are 17. or eightéene hundred of one & other of thē, beſides fiſher boates, & ſmal Craiers, which I referre vnto the thirde ſort. Of theſe alſo there are ſome of the Quéenes maieſties ſubiectes that haue twoo or thrée, ſome foure or ſixe, and as I hard of late, one man whoſe name I ſuppreſſe for modeſties ſake, hath béene knowne, not long ſince to haue hade ſixtéene or ſeuentéene, and employed them whollye to the waftyng in and out of our marchauntes, whereby he hath reaped no ſmall commoditye and gaine. I myght take occaſion, to ſpeake of the notable and difficult voiages made into ſtrāūge coūtries by Engliſhmen, and of their dayly ſucceſſe there, but as theſe thinges are nothing incident to my purpoſe, ſo I ſurceaſe to ſpeake of them: onely thys will I adde therefore, to the ende all men ſhall vnderſtande ſomewhat of the great maſſes of treaſure, daylye employed vpon our Nauie, howe there are fewe of thoſe ſhippes, of the firſt and ſeconde ſorte that being apparelled and made readie to ſale, are not worth one thouſand pounds, or thrée thouſande Ducates at the leaſt, if they ſhoulde preſently be ſolde. What ſhall we ſhall thinke then of the greater, but eſpecially the Nauy Royall, of which ſome one Veſſell is worth two of the other, as yͤ ſhipwryghtes haue often tolde me. It is poſſible that ſome couetous perſon hearing thys report, will eyther not credite it at all, or ſuppoſe money ſo employed to be nothing profitable to the Quéenes coffers, as a good huſband ſaid once when he harde there ſhould be prouiſiō made for armor, wiſhing yͤ Quéenes money to be rather laide out to ſome ſpéedier returne of gaine vnto hir Grace. But if he wiſt that the good kéeping of the ſea, is the ſafegared of our lande, he woulde alter hys cenſure, and ſone giue ouer his iudgement. For in times paſt when our nation made ſmall account of Nauigation, how ſone dyd the Romaines, then the Saxons, and laſt of all the Danes inuade thys Iſlande, whoſe cruelty in the ende inforced our countrimen as it were euen agaynſt their owne wylles, to prouyde for ſhippes from other places, and buylde at home of theyr owne, wherby their enimies were oftentymes diſtreſſed. But moſt of all were the Normans therein to be commended. For in a ſhort proceſſe of tyme after the conqueſt of thys Iſlande, and good conſideration had for the well kéeping of yͤ ſame, they ſuppoſed nothyng more commodious for the defence of the countrey, then the maintenaunce of a ſtrong Nauy; which they ſpéedily prouided, mainteyned, & thereby reaped in the ende their wiſhed ſecuritye, wherewyth before their times this Iſlande was neuer acquainted. Before the comming of the Romaines, I doe not reade that we had any ſhippes at all, except a fewe made of wicker & couered with Buffle hides. In the beginning of the Saxons wée had a fewe, but as their number and moulde was lyttle and nothing to the purpoſe, ſo Egbert was the fyrſt prince that euer thorowlye began to knowe thys neceſſitie of a Nauy, in the defence of his countrey. After him alſo other princes as Alfred Ethelred. &c. indeuoured more & more to ſtore thēſelues at the ful with ſhips of al quantities, but chiefly Etheldred, who made a law, yͭ euery man holding 310. hidelandes, ſhould finde a ſhip furniſhed to ſerue him in the warres. Howbeit, and as I ſayde bfore when all theyr Nauie was at the greateſt, it was not comparable to that which afterwarde the Normains prouided, neyther that of the Normaines anye thing lyke to the ſame, that is to be ſéene nowe in our dayes. For yͤ iourneys alſo of our ſhips, you ſhal vnderſtand, that a well builded veſſell, wyll runne or ſayle thrée hundred leagues, or nine hundreth myles in a wéeke, or peraduenture ſome will go 2200. leagues in ſixe wéekes and an halfe. And ſurely if their lading be ready againſt they come thither, there be of them that will be here, at the weſt Indies, and home agayne in twelue or thirtéene wéekes from Colcheſter, although the ſayd Indies be eight hundred leagues from the cape or point of Cornewall, as I haue béene informed.

The Brytons ſailed al the whileſt their weire at yͤ ſea in their ſhips.

Of Bathes and hote welles. Cap. 14.

As Almightie God hath in moſt plentyfull maner beſtowed infinite and thoſe very notable benefits vpon this Iſle of Britaine, whereby it is not a little enriched, ſo in hote and naturall Bathes, (whereof we haue diuers in ſundrie places) it manifeſtly appeareth that he hath not forgotten Englande. There are foure Bathes therefore to be found in this realme, of which the firſt is called ſ. Vincentes, the ſecond Hally Well, both being places in my opinion more obſcure then the other twoo, & yet not ſeldome ſought vnto by ſuch as ſtande in néede. For albeit the fame of their forces be not ſo generallye ſpreade, yet in ſome caſes they are thought to be nothing inferiour to the other, as diuers haue often affirmed by their owne experience and triall. The third place wherin hote Bathes are to be founde is neare vnto Burſtone (a towne in Darbyſhyre, ſcituate in the high Peke not paſſing ſixtéene myles from Mancheſter or Marketcheſterforde, & twenty from Darby) where aboute eight or nine ſeuerall Welles are to be ſéene of which thrée are counted to be moſt excellent. But of al the greteſt is the hotteſt, void of corruption and compared as Iones ſayth, wyth thoſe of Somerſett ſhyre ſo colde indéede; as a quarte of boyling water woulde be made, if fiue quartes of running water were added therunto: whereas on the other ſide, thoſe of Bathe likened vnto theſe, haue ſuch heate appropriated vnto them, as a gallon of hote water hath when a quart of colde is mixed with the ſame. Herevpon the effecte of thys Bath worketh more temperatelye and pleaſantlye (as he writeth) then the other. And albeit that it maketh not ſo great ſpéede in cure of ſuch as reſort vnto it for helpe, yet it dealeth more effectuallye and cōmodiouſly then thoſe in Somerſet ſhyre, and inferre withall leſſe grieuous accidentes, in ẏ reſtreyning of natural iſſues, ſtrēgthening the affebeled members, aſſiſting the lyuelye forces, diſperſing annoious oppilations, and qualifiyng of ſundry griefes, as experience hath oft confirmed. The like vertues haue the other two, but not in ſuch meaſure and degrée, and therefore their operation is not ſo ſpéedily perceyued.

The fourth and laſt place of our Bathes, is a Citie in Sommerſet ſhire, which taketh his name of ẏ hote waters there to be ſéene & vſed. At the firſt it was called Cair bledud & not Cair Bledune, as ſome woulde haue it, for that is the olde name of ẏ auncient caſtel at Malmeſbury, which the Saxons named Yngleburne. Ptolomy afterwarde called it Therme, other Aquæ ſolis, but nowe it hight generally Bathe in Engliſhe, & vnder that name it is likely to cōtinue. The city of it ſelf is a very auncīēt thing, no doubt as may yet appeare by dyuers notable antiquities ingraued in ſtone, to be ſéene in the walles thereof. And firſt of all betwéene the ſouth gate and the weſt, and betwixt the weſt gate and the north.

The firſt is the antique heade of a man, made all flatte, with great lockes of heire, much like to the coine that I haue ſéene of Antius the Romaine. The ſeconde betwéene the ſouth & the north gate is an ymage, as I take it of Hercules, for he holde in each hand a ſerpent, & ſo doth this. Thirdely there ſtandeth a man on foote with a ſworde in his one hand, & a buckler ſtretched out in the other. There is alſo a braunch that lyeth foulded & wrethed into circles, like to the wreath of Alcimedon. There are more ouer two naked Images, whereof the one imbraceth the other, beſide ſundrye antique heades, with ruffeled heire, a greyhounde running, and at hys tayle certeine Romaine letters, but ſo defaced that no man liuing can reade them at this preſent. There is moreouer the ymage of Lacon, inuironed with two ſerpents, & another inſcription, and all theſe betwéene the ſouth and the weſt gates, as I haue ſayd before.

Now betwéene the weſt & north gate are two inſcriptions, of which ſome wordes are euident to be red, the reſidue are cleane defaced. There is alſo ẏ ymage of a naked man, & a ſtone in like ſort, which hath cupidines et labruſcas intercurrentes, & a table hauing at eche hand an ymage vined & finely floriſhed both aboue & beneath. Finally (ſauing that I ſawe afterwarde the ymage of a naked man graſping a ſerpent in eache hand) there was an inſcription of a tombe or buriall, wherein theſe wordes did plainely appeare, vixit annos xxx. but ſo defuſedly written, that letters ſtode for whole wordes, and two or thrée letters combined into one. Certes I will not ſaye whether theſe were ſet into the places where they nowe ſtande by the Gentiles or, brought thither from other ruines of the towne it ſelfe, & placed afterwarde in thoſe walles, in their neceſſary reparations. But howſoeuer ẏ matter ſtandeth this is to be gathered by our hyſtories, that Bladud firſt buylded that citie there, and peraduenture might alſo kindle the Sulphurous vaines of purpoſe to burne continuallye, in the honour of Minerua: by which occaſion ẏ ſprings thereabout did in proceſſe of time become hote & not vnprofitable for ſundry kindes of diſeaſes. Indéede the later Paganes dreamed that Minerua was ẏ chiefe goddes and gouerneſſe of theſe waters, becauſe of the nérenesse of hir temple vnto the ſame. Solinus addeth furthermore, howe that in hir ſayde temple, the fire which was continuallye kept, did neuer conſume into deade ſparcles, but ſo ſone as the embers thereof were colde, they congealed into clots of hard ſtone, all which I take to be nothing elſe thē the effecte of the aforeſayde fyre, of the Sulphurous vaine kindled in the earth, from whence the waters doe come. That theſe bathes or waters are deriued from ſuch, the Marchaſites & ſtones mixed with ſome copper, and daily founde vpon the mountaynes thereabout will beare ſufficient witneſſe, though I would write the contrary. Doctor Turner alſo the father of Engliſh Phiſicke, and

Cap. 25.

and an excellent Diuine, ſuppoſeth that theſe ſprings doe drawe theyr forces from Sulphur, or if their be any other thing mingled withall, he geſſeth that it ſhoulde be ſalt peter, becauſe he founde an obſcure likelyhoode of yͤ ſame, euen in the croſſe Bath. But that they participate wᵗ any allume at al, he could neuer til his dying day, be induced to beleue. I myght here if I thought it neceſſary, intreat of yͤ notable ſcituation of Bath it ſelf, which ſtandeth in a pleaſant botome, enuironed on euery ſide wyth great hylles, out of the which come ſo many ſprings of pure water by ſundrye wayes vnto the Citye, and in ſuch abundance as that euery houſe is ſerued with the ſame by pypes of leade, the ſaid metall being the plentious and leſſe of value vnto them, becauſe it is had not far of from theſe quarters. It ſhould not be amyſſe alſo to ſpeake of yͤ foure gates, number of pariſh churches, bridges, religious houſes diſſolued, and their founders, if place doe ſerue therefore: but for ſo much as my purpoſe is not to deale in this behalfe, I will omit the mention of theſe thinges, and go in hand wyth the Bathes themſelues, whereof in thys chapiter I proteſted to intreate.

Croſſe
Bath.

There are two ſpringes of water as Lelande ſayth, in the weſt ſouth weſt part of the towne whereof the biggeſt is called the croſſe Bath, of a certeine croſſe that was erected ſometime in the middeſt thereof. This Bath is much frequented by ſuch as are diſeaſed with leaprye, pockes, ſcabbes, & great aches: yet of it ſelfe it is very temperate, & pleaſaunt, hauing a leuen or twelue arches of ſtone in the ſydes thereof, for men to ſtand vnder, when rayne doth oughts annoy them.

Common
Bathe.

The common Bathe, or as ſome call it, the hote Bathe, is two hundreth foote, or therabout from the croſſe Bathe, leſſe in cõpaſſe within the wall then the other, and with only ſeauen arches, wrought out of the mayne incloſure. It is worthily called yͤ hote Bath, for at the firſt comming into it, men thinke that it would ſcald their fleſh, and loſe it frõ the bone: but after a ſeaſon, and that the bodyes of the commers thereto be warmed thorowlye in the ſame, it is more tollerable & eaſie to be borne. Bothe theſe Bathes be in the middle of a little ſtreate, and ioyne to S. Thomas Hoſpitall, ſo that it maye bée thought that Reginalde Byſhop of Bathe, made his houſe néere to theſe comon Baths, onely to ſuccour ſuch poore people as ſhoulde reſort vnto them.

Kinges
Bathe.

The Kings Bathe is very faire and large, ſtanding almoſt in the middle of the towne, at the weſt ende of the Cathedrall Church. It is compaſſed about with a very high ſtone wall, and the brimmes thereof are mured rounde about, where in be two an thirtie arches for men and women to ſtande in ſeperately, who beyng of yͤ gentry for the moſt part, doe reſort thither indifferently, but not in ſuch laſciuious ſort, as vnto other Bathes & hote houſes of yͤ maine, whereof ſome write more a greate deale, then modeſty ſhould reueale, and honeſty performe. There went a ſluſe out of this Bath, which ſerued in times paſt the Priory with water, which was deriued out of it vnto two places, and commonlye vſed for Bathes, but nowe I doe not thinke that they remaine in vſage.

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As for the colour of the water of all the Bathes, it is moſt like to a déepe blewe, and reketh much after the manner of a ſéething potte, commonly yéelding ſomewhat a ſulpherus taſte, and very vnpleaſant ſauour. The water that runneth from the two ſmall Bathes, goeth by a dyke into the Auon by Weſt, and beneath the Bridge, but the ſame that goeth from the Kings Bathe turneth a myl, and after goeth into Auon aboue Bath bridg, where it loſeth both force & taſt, & is like vnto the reſt. In all the thrée Baths a man may euidently ſée how the water bubbleth vp from the ſpringes. This is alſo to be noted that at certaine times all entraunces into them is vtterly prohibited, that is to ſay, at highe noone and midnight, for at thoſe two ſeaſons & a while before and after, they boyle very feruently, and become ſo hote, that no man is able to indure their heate, or any while ſuſtaine their force and vehement working. They purge themſelues furthermore from all ſuch filth as the dyſeaſed doe leaue in eache of them, wherefore wée doe forbeare the raſhe entraunce into them, at that time, & ſo much the rather for that we wolde not by contractiõ of any new diſeaſes, departe more grieuouſlye affected them we came vnto the citie, which is in déede a thing that eche one ſhould regard. For theſe cauſes, they are commonlye ſhut vp from halfe an houre after ten of the clocke in the forenoone, to halfe an houre after one in the afternoone, & likewiſe at midnight: at which tymes the kéeper of them reſorteth to his charge, openeth the gates, and leaueth frée paſſage vnto ſuch as come vnto them, hytherto Lelande. What coſt hath of late béene beſtowed vpon theſe Bathes, by diuers of the Nobility, gentry, cõmonalty and clergy, it lieth not in me to declare, yet as I here they are not onely verye much repaired and garniſhed, wyth ſundry curious pééces of workemanſhippe,

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partely touching their commendation, and partly for the eaſe and benefite of ſuch as reſorte vnto them: but alſo better ordered, clenlier kept, and more frindely proviſion made for ſuch pouerty as daily repaire thether. But notwythſtanding all this, ſuch is the generall eſtate of things in Bath, that the rich men may ſpend whileſt they will, & the poore begge whileſt they liſt, for their maintenaunce and dyet ſo long as they remaine there. And yet I deny not but ẏ there is very good order there for all degrees, but where ſhall a man find any equall regard of poore & rich, though god do giue theſe his gifts freely vnto both alyke. I would haue intreate further of ẏ cuſtomes vſed in theſe bathes, what nūber of Phiſitions daily attend vpon thoſe waters, for no mā (eſpecially ſuch as be able to enterteine them) doth enter into theſe Bathes before he conſult with the Phiſition: alſo, what diet is to be obſerued, what particular diſeaſes are healed there, & to what ende the comers thither doe drinke oft times of that medicinable liquor, but thē I ſhould exceede the lymittes of a deſcription, wherfore I paſſe it ouer vnto other, hoping that ſome man ere long wyll vouchſafe to performe that at large, which the famous clarke Docter Turner hath breefely yet happily begun, touching the effects and working of the ſame, for hitherto I doe not knowe of manye that haue trauayled in the natures of thoſe Bathes of our countrey, wyth any great commendation, much leſſe of any that hath reuealed them at the full for the benefite of our nation, or commoditie of ſtraungers.

¶ Of Parkes and Warrens.

Cap. 15.

In euery ſhyre of Englande there is great plentye of Parkes, whereof ſome here and there appertaine vnto the Prince, the reſt to ſuch of the Nobilitye and Gentlemen, as haue their lands and patrimony lying neere vnto ẏ ſame. I would gladly haue ſet downe the iuſt number of theſe incloſures, to bee founde in euery countye, but ſith I can not ſo doe, it ſhall ſuffiſe to ſay, that in Kent and Eſſex only are to the number of an hundred, where in great plentie of fallowe Deere is cheriſhed and kept. As for Warrens of Conies, I iudge thē almoſt innumerable, & daily like to increſe, by reaſō that ẏ black ſkins of thoſe beaſts are thought to counteruaile, ẏ priſes of their naked carkaſes, & this is the onely cauſe why the gray are leſſe eſteemed. Neere vnto London, their quyckeſt marchaundiſe is of the yong rabets, wherfore ẏ older conies are brought from farre, out of places where there is no ſuch ſpeedy vtteraunce of rabbet ſuckelings in their ſeaſō, nor ſo great loſſe by their ſkins, ſith they are ſuffered to growe vp to their full greatneſſe with their owners. Our Parkes are generally incloſed with ſtrong pale made of Oke, of which kinde of wood there is great ſtore cheriſhed from time to tyme in eache of them, onely for the maintenaunce of the ſayde defence, and ſafe keping of the Deere from ranging about the countrey. The circuite of theſe incloſures in lyke maner containe oft times a walke of foure or fiue myles, and ſometimes more or leſſe, whereby it is to bee ſeene what ſtore of ground is employed vpon that vayne cōmoditie which bringeth no maner of gaine or profit to the owner, ſith they cōmonlye giue away their fleſhe, neuer taking penny for the ſame, becauſe Veniſon in england is neither bought nor ſolde by the right owner, but maintained only for hys pleaſure, to the no ſmal decay of huſbandry, & diminution of mankinde. For where in times paſt, many large and welthy occupiers, were dwelling within the compaſſe of ſome one parke, and therby great plenty of corne & cattell ſeene and to be had amongſt them, beſide a more copious procreation of humaine iſſue, wherby the realme was alwaies better furniſhed with able men to ſerue the Prince in his affaires: now there is almoſt nothing kept but a ſort of wilde & ſauage beaſts, cheriſhed for pleaſure and delite, and yet the owners ſtyll deſirous to enlarge thoſe groundes, doe not let daily to take in more, affirming that we haue already to great ſtore of people in england, and that youth by mariyng to ſoone doe nothing profite the countrey, but fill it full of beggers.

Certes if it be not one curſe of the Lorde, to haue our countrey conuerted in ſuch ſorte from the furniture of mankinde, into the walkes and ſhrowdes of wylde beaſtes, I know not what is any. How many families alſo theſe great and ſmall games (for ſo moſt keepers call them) haue eaten vp, & are likely hereafter to deuoure, ſome men may coniecture, but many more lamēt: ſith there is no hope of reſtraint to be looked for in this behalf, but if a man may preſētly giue a geſſe at ẏ vniuerſality of this euill by contemplation of the circumſtances, he ſhall ſaye at ẏ laſt, that the twentieth parte of the realme is imployed vpon Deere and Conies already, which ſeemeth very much, if it be duely conſidered of. We had no Parkes in Englande before the comming of the Normanes: who added this calamity alſo to the ſeruitude of

The decaie of the people is the deſtruction of a kingdome, neyther is any man borne to poſſeſſe the earth alone.

our nation, making ſign of the beſt ſort furthermore (to become keepers of their game) whileſt they lye in the meane time vppon the ſpoyle of their tenauntes, did daily overthrowe the townes villages, & an infinite ſort of families, for the maintenance of their veniſon. Neyther would any park ſuppoſed in thoſe times to be ſtately enough, that contained not at the leaſt eyght or twelve hidelandes, that is ſo many hundred acres, or families, or as they have beene alwaies called in ſome places of the Realme, carrucates or cartwardes, of which one was ſufficient in olde time to maintaine an honeſt Yeoman.

It ſhould ſeeme that forreſts have alwaies beene had and religiouſly preſerved in thys Iſlande for the ſolace of the Prince, and recreation of his nobilitie: howbeit I read not that ever they were incloſed more then at this preſent, or otherwiſe fenced then by uſual notes of limitation, whereby their boundes were remembred from time to tyme for the better preſervation of ſuch venery and vert of all ſortes as were nouriſhed in the ſame. Neyther are any of the auncient lawes preſcribed for their maintaynaunce before the dais of Canutus now to be had, ſith time hath ſo dealt with them, that they are periſhed & loſt. Canutus therfore ſeeing the daily ſpoyle that was made in all places of his game, dyd at the laſt make ſondrie Sanctions and Decrees, whereby from thenceforth the red and fallow deere, were better looked unto thorowout his whole Dominiōs. We have in theſe dayes divers forreſtes in England & Wales as Waltham forreſt, Winſor, Pickering, Fecknam, Delamore, Deane, Penriſe, and many other nowe cleane out of my remembraunce, and which although they are farre greater in circuit then many Parckes and Warrennes, yet are they in this our tyme leſſe devourers of the people then theſe later, ſith beſide much tillage, many Townes are founde in eache of them, whereas in Parkes and Warrēns we have nothing elſe then either the keepers lodge, or at the leſt wiſe the manour place of the chiefe Lorde & owner of the ſoyle. I coulde ſay more of forreſtes and the aforeſayde incloſures, but it ſhall ſuffice at this time to have ſayde ſo much as is ſet downe alreadie. Howbeit that I may reſtore one antiquitie to light, which hath hytherto lyen as it were raked up in the embers of oblivion, I will gyve out the ſame Lawes that Canutus made for his forreſt, whereby many thinges ſhall be diſcloſed concerning the ſame (whereof peradvēture ſome lawiers have no knowledge) & divers other notes gathered touching the ancient eſtate of yͤ realm not to be founde in other. But before I deale with the great charter, (which as you maye perceyve is in many places imperfit by reaſon of corruption crept in by length of tyme, not by me to be corrected) I will note an other briefe law, which he made in the firſt yeare of his reigne at Wincheſter, and afterwards inſerted into theſe his later conſtitutions Canone 30. and beginneth thus in his owne Saxon tongue: I will that eche one. &c. I will and graunt that eche one ſhal be worthy of ſuch venery as he by hunting can take eyther in the playnes or in the woods, or within his owne fee or dominiō (out of the forreſt) but eche man ſhall abſtaine from my venerie in every place, where I will that my beaſtes ſhall have firme peace and quietneſſe vpō paine to forfait ſo much as a man may forfait. Hytherto the ſtatute made by the aforeſayde Canutus, which was afterwarde confirmed by king Edwarde ſurnamed the confeſſour in the fourth yeare of his reigne. Now followeth the great Charter it ſelfe in Latine, as I finde it worde for worde, & whiche I woulde gladly have turned into Engliſh if it might have ſounded to any benefite of the unſkilfull and unlearned.

Incipiunt constitutiones Canuti regis de Forreſta.

HÆ ſunt ſanctiones de forreſta, quas ego Canutus rex cum conſilio primariorum hominum meorum condo & facio, vt cunctis regni noſtri Angliæ eccleſijs & pax & Iuſtitia fiat, & vt omnis delinquens ſecundum modum delicti, & delinquentis fortunam patiatur.

1. Sint iam deinceps quatuor ex liberalioribus hominibus qui habent ſaluas ſuas debitas conſuetudines (quos Angli pegened appellāt) in qualibet regni mei prouincia conſtituti, ad Iuſtitiam diſtribuendam vna cum pena merita & materijs forreſtæ cuncto populo meo, tam Anglis quam Danis per totum regnum meum Angliæ, quos quatuor primarios forreſtæ appellandos cenſemus. **Pegened.**

2 Sint ſub quolibet horum, quatuor ex mediocribus hominibus (quos Angli Leſpegend, nuncupant, Dani vero yoong men vocant) locati, qui curam & onus tum viridis tum veneris ſuſcipiant. **Leſpegen**

3. In adminiſtranda autem Iuſticia nullatenus volo vt tales ſe intromittant: mediocreſq; tales poſt ferarum curam ſuſceptum, pro liberalibus ſemper habeantur, quos Dani Calvermen appellant. **Calvermé.**

4. Sub horum iterum quolibet ſunt duo minutorū hominū quos Tineman Angli dicunt **Tineman.**

cunt hi nocturnam curam & veneris & viridis tum ſeruilia opera ſubibunt.

5. Si talis minutus ſeruus fuerit, tam cito quam in forreſta noſtra locabitur, liber eſto, omneſq; hos ex ſumptibus noſtris manutenebimus.

6. Habeat etiam quilibet primariorū quolibet anno de noſtra warda quam *Michni* Angli appellant, duos equos, vnum cum ſella, alterum ſine ſella, vnū gladium quinq; lanceas, vnum cuſpidē, vnum ſcutum & ducentos ſolidos argenti.

Michni.

7. Mediocrium quilibet vnum equum, vnā lanceam, vnum ſcutum & 60. ſolidos argenti.

8. Minutorum quilibet, vnam lanceam, vnam arcubaliſtam & 15. ſolidos argenti.

9. Sint omnes tam primarij, quam mediocres, & minuti, immunes, liberi, & quieti ab omnibus prouincialibus ſummonitionibus, & popularibus placitis, quæ *Hundred laghe* Angli dicunt, & ab omnibus armorū oneribus quod *Warſcot* Angli dicunt & forinceſis querelis.

Hundred law.

10. Sint mediocrium & minutorum cauſæ & earum correctiones tam criminalium quam ciuilium per prouidam ſapientiam & rationē primariorum Iudicatę & deciſę: primariorum vero enormia ſi quę fuerint (ne ſcelus aliquod remaneat inultum) noſmet in ira noſtra regali puniemus.

11. Habeant hi quatuor vnam regalem poteſtatem (ſalua nobis noſtra preſentia) quaterq; in anno generales foreſtæ demonſtrationes & viridis & veneris forisfactiones quas *Muchehunt* dicunt, vbi teneant omnes calumniam de materia aliqua tangente foreſtam, eantq; ad triplex Iudiciū quod Angli *Ofgangfordell* dicunt. Ita autem acquiratur illud triplex Iudicium. Accipiat ſecum quinque & ſit ipſe ſextus, & ſic iurando acquirat triplex Iudicium, aut triplex iuramentum. Sed purgatio ignis nullatenus admittatur niſi vbi nuda veritas nequit aliter inueſtigari.

Muchehunt.

Ofgangfordell.

Purgatio ignis, triplex ordalia.

12. Liberalis autem homo. i. *Pegen*, modo crimen ſuum non ſit inter mariora, habeat fidelem hominem qui poſsit pro eo iurare iuramentum. i. *Forathe*: ſi autem non habet ipſemet iuret, nec pardonetur ei aliquod iuramentum.

Pegen.

Forathe.

13. Si aduena vel peregrinus qui de longinquo venerit ſit calumpniatus de foreſta, & talis eſt ſua inopia vt nō poſsit habere plegium ad primam calumniam, qualē ⋆ nullus Anglus iudicare poteſt: tunc ſubeat captionem regis & ibi expectet quouſque vadat ad iudicium ferri & aquę: attamen ſi quis extraneo aut peregrino de longe venienti ⋆
ſibi ipſi nocet ſi aliquod iudiciū iudicauerint.

14. Quicunque coram primarios homines meos foreſtę in falſo teſtimonio ſteterit & victus fuerit, non ſit dignus imposterū ſtare aut portare teſtimoniū, quia legalitatē ſuam perdidit, & pro culpa ſoluat regi decem ſolidos quos Dani vocant *Halfehange*, alias *halſhang*.

Halfhang.

15. Si quis vim aliquā primarijs foreſtę meæ intulerit, ſi liberalis ſit amittat libertatem & omnia ſua, ſi villanus abſcindatur dextra.

16. Si alteruter iterum peccauerit reus ſit mortis.

17. Si quis cōtra autē cū primario pugnauerit in plito, emendet ſecundū præcium ſui ipſius quod Angli *Pere & pite* dicunt, & ſoluat primario quadraginta ſolidos.

Pere and Pite.

18. Si pacem quis fregerit ante mediocres foreſtę quod dicunt *Gethbrethe* emendet regi decem ſolidis.

Gethbrech

19. Si quis mediocrium aliquem cum ira percuſſerit, emendetur prout interfectio feræ regalis mihi emendari ſolet.

20. Si quis delinquens in foreſta noſtra capietur, pœnas luet ſecundū modum & genus delicti.

21. Pena & forisfactio non vna eademque erit liberalis (quem Dani *Elderman* vocant) & illiberalis: domini & ſerui: noti & ignoti: nec vna eademq; erit cauſarum tum ciuilium tum criminaliū, ferarū foreſtę, & ferarum regalium: Viridis & veneris tractatio: nā crimen veneris ab antiquo inter maiora & non inmerito numerabatur: viridis vero (fractione chacę noſtre regalis excepta) ita puſillum & exiguum eſt, quod vix ea reſpicit noſtra conſtitutio: qui in hoc tamen deliquerit, ſit criminis foreſtæ reus.

Ealdermā

22. Si liber aliquis feram foreſtę fugerit, ſiue caſu, ſiue prehabita voluntate, ita vt curſu celeri cogatur fera anhelare, decem ſolidis regi emendet, ſi illiberalis dupliciter emendet, ſi ſeruus careat corio.

23. Si vero horum aliquot interfecerit, ſoluat dupliciter & perſoluat, ſitque præcij ſui reus contra regem.

24. Sed ſi regalem ferā quam Angli à *ſtaggon* appellant alteruter coegerit anhelare, alter per vnum annum, alter per duos careat libertate naturali: ſi vero ſeruus, pro vtlegato habeatur quem Angli *Frendleſman* vocant.

Staggon.

Frendleſman.

25. Si vero occiderit, amittat liber ſcutum libertatis, ſi ſit illiberalis careat libertate, ſi ſeruus vita.

26. Epiſcopi, Abbates & Barones mei non calumnibuntur pro venatione, ſi non regales feras occiderint: & ſi regales, reſtabunt rei regi pro libito ſuo, ſine certa emendatione.

27. Sunt aliæ (præter feras foreſtę) beſtię, que dum inter ſępta & ſæpes foreſtę continentur, emendationi ſubiacent: quales ſunt capreoli, lepores, & cuniculi. Sunt & alia quam plurima animalia quę quanquā infra ſepta foreſtę viuunt, & oneri & curę mediocrium ſubiacēt,

Bubali olim in Anglia.

foreſte tamen nequaquã cenſeri poſſunt, qualia ſunt equi, Bubali, vaccæ, & ſimilia. Vulpes & Lupi, nec foreſtæ nec veneris habentur, & proinde eorum interfectio nulli emendationi ſubiacet. Si tamen infra limites occiduntur, fractio ſit regalis chaceę, & mitius emendetur. Aper vero quanquam foreſte ſit nullatenus tamen animal veneris haberi eſt aſſuetus.

28. Boſco nec Subboſco noſtro ſine licentia primariorum foreſtæ nemo manum apponat, quod ſi quis fecerit reus ſit fractionis regalis chaceę.

29. Si quis vero Ilicem aut arborem aliquam qui victum feris ſuppeditat ſciderit, pręter fractionem regalis chaceę, emendet regi viginti ſolidis.

30. Volo vt omnis liber homo pro libito ſuo habeat venerem ſiue viridem in planis ſuis ſuper terras ſuas, ſine chacea tamen. Et deuitent omnes meam, vbicunque eam habere voluero.

Greyhũds

31. Nullus mediocris habebit nec cuſtodiet canes quos Angli *Griehunds* appellant. Liberali vero dum genuiſciſsio eorum facta fuerit coram primario foreſtę licebit, aut ſine genuiſciſsione dum remoti ſunt à limitibus foreſtæ per decem milliaria: quando vero proprius venerint, emendet quodlibet miliare vno ſolido. Si vero infra ſepta foreſtę reperiatur, dominus canis forisfaciet & canem, & decem ſolidos regi.

Velter Langerã.

32. Velteres vero quos *Langeran* appellant quia manifeſte conſtat in ijs nihil eſſe periculi, cuilibet licebit ſine gemiſciſsione eos cuſtodire. Idem de canibus quos *Rambundt* vocant.

Ramhundt.

33. Quod ſi caſu inauſpicato huiuſmodi canes rabidi fiant & vbique vagantur negligentia dominorum, redduntur illiciti, & emẽdetur regi pro illicitis. &c. Quod ſi intra ſepta foreſtæ reperiantur, talis exquiratur herus, & emendet ſecundum precium hominis mediocris, quod ſecundũ legem merimorum eſt ducentorum ſollidorum.

34. Si Canis rabidus momorderit ferã, tunc emendet ſecundum precium hominis liberalis quod eſt duodecies ſolidis centũ. Si vero fera regalis morſa fuerit, reus ſit maximi criminis.

And theſe are the conſtitutions of Canutus concerning the foreſt very barbarouſly trãſlated by thoſe that tooke the ſame in hande. Howbeit as I finde it ſo I ſet it downe without any alteration of my copie in any iote or tytle.

Of Wooddes and marriſes.

Cap. 16.

Great abundance of wood ſometime in England.

IT ſhoulde ſeeme by auncient recordes, and the teſtimony of ſundrie authors, that the whole countries of Lhoegres and Cambria now England and Wales, haue ſometimes been very well repleniſhed with great woods and groues, although at this tyme the ſayde commoditie be not a little decayed in both, and in ſuch wyſe that a man ſhall oft ryde tenne or twentie myles in eache of them and finde very little or rather none at all, except it be neare vnto townes, gentlemens houſes and villages where the inhabitauntes haue planted a few Elmes, Okes, Haſelles, or Aſhes about their dwellings for their defence from the rough windes, and keeping of the ſtormie weather frõ anoyaunce of the ſame. This ſcarſitie at ẏ firſt grew as it is thought eyther by the induſtrie of man, for maintaynaunce of tillage (as we vnderſtand the lyke to be done of late by the Spaniards in the Weſt Indes, where they fiered whole wooddes of very great compaſſe thereby to come by groũd wheron to ſow their graines) or elſe thorowe the couetouſneſſe of ſuch as in preferring of paſture for their ſheepe and greater cattell, doe make ſmall account of firebote and tymber: or finally by the crueltie of the enemies, whereof we haue ſundrie examples declared in our hyſtories. Howbeit where the rockes and quarry grounds are I take the ſwart of the earth to be ſo thinne, that no tree of anye greatneſſe other then ſhrubbes & buſhes is able to grow or proſper long therein for want of ſufficient moyſture wherwith to feede them with freſh humour, or at the leaſt wyſe of mould, to ſhrowd ſtay vpright, and cheariſh the ſame in the bluſtering winters weather, till they may growe vnto any greatneſſe, and ſpread or yeld their rootes down right into the ſoyle about them: and this either is or may be one other cauſe, wherefore ſome places are naturally voyde of woodde. But to proceede, although I muſt needes cõfeſſe that there is good ſtore of great wood or tymber here and there, euen nowe in ſome places of England, yet in our dayes it is farre vnlike to that plentie, which our auncesters haue ſeene hertofore, when ſtately buylding was leſſe in vſe. For albeit that there were then greater nũber of meſuages & manſions almoſt in euery place, yet were their frames ſo ſlite and ſlender, that one meane dwelling houſe in our time is able to counteruayle very many of them, if you conſider the preſent charge with the plentie of timber that we beſtow vpon them. In times paſt men were contented to dwell in houſes, buylded of Sallow, Willow, Plummetree, Hardebeame, and Elme, ſo that the vſe of Oke was in maner dedicated wholy vnto churches, religious houſes, Princes palaces

Noblemens lodgings and nauigation, but now all theſe are reiected and nothing but oke any whit regarded: & yet ſee the chaūge, for when our houſes were buylded of Willowe then had we Oken men, but nowe that our houſes are come to be made of Oke, our mē are not only become willow, but a great many altogither of ſtraw, which is a ſore alteratiō. In thoſe the courage of yͤ owner was a ſufficient defence to kepe the houſe in ſafetie, but now the aſſurance of the timber muſt defende the man from robbing. Nowe haue we manye chimnyes and yet our tenderlinges complaine of rewmes, catarres and poſes, then had we none but reredoſſes, and our heades did neuer ake. For as the ſmoke in thoſe dayes was ſuppoſed to be a ſufficient hardning for the timber of the houſe, ſo it was reputed a farre better medicine to keepe the goodman and his family from the quacke or poſe, wherewith as then very few were acquainted.

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We haue manye woddes, forreſtes and parkes which cheeriſh trees abundantly, although in the woodlande countries there is almoſt no hedge that hath not ſome ſtore of the greateſt ſort, beſide infinite numbers of hedgerowes, groues, and ſpringes, that are maintayned of purpoſe for the buylding and prouiſion of ſuch owners as doe poſſeſſe the ſame. Howbeit as euery ſoyle doth not beare all kindes of wood, ſo there is not any wood, park, hedgerow, groue, or forreſt, that is not mixed with many, as Oke, Aſhe, Haſell, Hawthorne, Byrche, Beeche, Hardbeame, Hull, Sorſe, wilde Cheerie, and ſuch lyke, wherof Oke hath alwayes the preheminēce as moſt meete for buylding wherevnto it is reſerued. This tree bringeth forth alſo a profitable kinde of maſt, whereby ſuch as dwell neare vnto the aforeſayde places do cheriſhe and bring vp innumerable herdes of ſwine. In tyme of plentie of this maſt, our redde and fallowe deere will not let to participate with our hogges, more then our other nete, yea our common poultrie alſo if they may come vnto them: but as this abundance doth proue very pernicious vnto the firſt, ſo the egges which theſe latter doe bring forth beſide blackeneſſe in color & bitterneſſe of taſte haue not ſeldome beene founde to breede dyuers diſeaſes vnto ſuch perſons as haue eaten of the ſame. I might adde in lyke ſort the profite inſuing by the barke of this wodde, wherof our tanners haue great vſe in dreſſing of leather, and which they buy yearly in May by the fadame, as I haue oft ſene, but it ſhall not neede at this time to enter into any ſuch diſcourſe, only this I wiſh that our ſole & vpper lethering, may haue their due time and not be haſted on by extraordinarie ſleightes, as with Aſhe barcke. &c. Whereby as I graunt that it ſeemeth outwardly to be very thicke and wel done, ſo if you reſpect the ſadneſſe thereof, it doth proue in the ende to be very hollow and not able to holde out water. Of Elme I haue not ſeene any great ſtore togither in woddes or forreſtes, but where they haue beene firſt planted and then ſuffered to ſpreade at their owne willes. Yet haue I knowen great woddes of Beeche & Haſell in many places, eſpecially in Barckeſhyre, Oxfordſhyre and Buckinghamſhyre, where they are greatlye cheriſhed, and conuerted vnto ſundry vſes by ſuch as dwell about thē. Aſh commeth vp euery where of it ſelfe, and with euery kinde of wodde, and as we haue very great plenty and no leſſe vſe of theſe in our huſbandrie, ſo are we not wythout the plane, the Ughe, the ſorſe, the cheſtnutte, the line, the blacke cheerie, and ſuch like. And although that we enioye them not in ſo great plentie now in moſt places, as in times paſt or the other afore remembred, yet haue we ſufficient of thē all for our neceſſarie turnes and vſes, eſpecially of Ughe as may be ſeene betwixt Rotheram and Sheffilde, and ſome ſteedes of Kent alſo as I haue beene informed. The Firre, Frankencence, and Pine, we doe not altogither want, eſpecially the firre, wherof we haue ſome ſtore in Chatley more in Darbyſhyre, Shropſhyre, Anderneſſe, and a moſſe neere Mancheſter. As for the Franckencenſe & Pine, they haue beene planted in Colledges, and Cloyſters, by the the cleargie and religious in tymes paſt, wherefore in my opinion we may rather ſay that we want thē altogither, for except they dyd growe naturally & not by force, I ſee no cauſe why they ſhoulde be accounted for parcell of our cōmodities. I might here take occaſion to ſpeke of the great ſales yerly made of wood, wherby an infinite deale hath beene deſtroyed within theſe few yeres, but I giue ouer to deale in this behalfe, howbeit thys I dare affirme that if woddes doe go ſo faſt to decay in the next hundred yeare of grace as they haue done & are like to doe in this (ſometymes for increaſe of ſhepe walkes, & ſome maintaynaunce of prodigalitie & pompe, for I haue known a * gentlemā that hath borne three ſcore at once in one paire of galigaſcōs to ſhew his ſtrēgth & brauery) it is to be feared that brome, turfe, gal, heth, firze, brakes, whinnes, ling, dies, haſſocks, flags, ſtraw, ſedge, reede, ruſh, & ſeacole will be good marchādize euen in the citie of Londō, wherunto ſome of them alreadie haue gotten readie

The lyke
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his life, but
he muſt
needes die
home-
wardes.

paſſage ⁊ taken vp their Innes in the greateſt marchauntes parlers. A man woulde thincke that our lawes were able ynough to make ſufficiēt prouiſion for yͤ redreſſe of this error, and enormitie likely to iſſue: but ſuch is the nature of our country men, yͭ as many lawes are made, ſo they wil kepe none, or if they be vrged to make aunſwere, they wyll rather ſéeke ſome crooked conſtruction thereof to the encreaſe of their priuate gaine, then yelde themſelfes willing to be guided by the ſame, for a common wealth and profite: ſo that in the ende, whatſoeuer the lawe ſayeth we will haue our willes, whereby the wholeſome ordinances of yͤ prince are contemned, the trauaile of the nobilitie and counſellours as it were derided, the common wealth impouerished, and a fewe only inriched by this peruerſe dealing: whereas many thouſande perſons doe ſuffer hinderance, by this their crooked behauiour, whereby the wholeſome lawes of the Prince are oft defrauded, the good meaning magiſtrate in conſultation about the common wealth ſeduced. I woulde wiſhe that I might liue no longer then to ſée foure thinges in thys lande reformed. That is, the want of diſcipline in the church. The couetous dealing of moſt of our marchants, in the preferment of other countries, ⁊ hinderance of their owne. The holding of faires ⁊ markets vpon the ſondaie, to be aboliſhed and referred to the wedneſdayes. And that euery man wyth in what ſoeuer ſoile enioyeth foure Acres of lande (and vpwards after that rate) either by frée déede, or coppie hold, or fée farme, might plant one Acre of wood, or ſow the ſame with maſt, beſide that which remayneth already to be cheriſhed ⁊ kept. But I feare me that I ſhould then liue to long, ⁊ ſo long that I ſhould eyther be weary of the worlde, or the world of me, ⁊ yet they are not ſuch things, but they may eaſily be brought to paſſe.

Certes euery ſmall occaſion in my time is inough to cut downe a great woode, ⁊ euery trifle ſuffiſeth to laye infinite Acres of corne ground vnto paſture. As for yͤ taking downe of houſes, a ſmall fine will beare out a great manye. Woulde to God we might once take example of the Romaines, who in reſtreint of ſuperfluous graſinge made an exact limitation, how many head of Cattel eche eſtate myght kéepe, and what numbers of Acres ſhoulde ſuffiſe, for that and other purpoſes, neyther was woode euer better cheriſhed or mancion houſes maintained, then by their lawes and ſtatutes. But what doe I meane to ſpeake of theſe ſith my purpoſe is onely to talke of woods: well take this then for a final concluſion in woodes, that within this fortie yeares, we ſhall haue little newe Timber, growing aboue two and fortie yeares olde, for it is cōmonly ſéene that thoſe yong ſtaddles which we leaue ſtanding, at one and twenty yeres fal, are vſually at the next ſale cut downe, without any daunger of the ſtatute, ⁊ ſerue for fire bote, if it pleaſe the owner, to burne them.

Mariſes ⁊ Fennes.

Mariſes and Fenny Bogges we haue many in England, but more in Wales, if you haue reſpect vnto the ſeuerall quantities of yͤ countries, howbeit as they are very profitable, in ſōmer half of the yere, ſo are a number of them to ſmall commoditie in the winter part, as common experience doth teach, yet this I find of many of theſe moores, that in times paſt they haue béene harder groūd, and ſundrye of them well repleniſhed wyth great woodes, that now are voyde of buſhes: and for example hereof, we maye ſée the tryall (beſides the rootes that are daily found in the depes of Monemouth, where turfe is digged, alſo in Wales, Abergeyny, and Merioneth) in ſundry parts of Lancaſhyre, where the people go vnto this daye into their Fennes, and Mariſes with long ſpittes, which they daſhe here and there, vp to the verye cronge into the grounde, in which practiſe, (a thinge commonly done in winter) if they happen to ſmite vpon a trée or blocke, they note the place, and about harueſt time, when the ground is at the dryeſt, they come againe and get it vppe, and afterwarde carrying it home, applye it to their vſes. The lyke doe they in Shroppeſhyre with fire woode, which hath béene felled in olde time, wythin ſeauen miles of Salop, ſome of them fooliſhlye ſuppoſe the ſame to haue lyen there ſith Noes floud: and other more fonde then the reſt, imagine them to growe, euen in the places where they finde them, without all conſideration, that in times paſt, the moſt parte, if not all Lhoegres and Cambria was generally repleniſhed with woode, which being felled or ouerthrowne, vpon ſundry occaſions, was left lying in ſome places ſtill on the grounde, and in procéſſe of time, became to be quite ouergrowen with earth and mouldes, which mouldes, wanting their due ſadneſſe, are nowe turned into moory plots, whereby it commeth to paſſe alſo, that great plentye of water commeth betwéene the new looſe ſwart and the olde hard earth, that being drawne awaie, might ſoone leaue a drie ſoyle to the great lucre and aduantage of the owner. We find in our hiſtories, that Lincolne, was ſometime buylded by Lud, brother to Caſſibillane, who called it Cair

Lud·

Ludcoit of the great ſtore of woodes, that enuironed the ſame, but now the commoditie is vtterly decayed there, ſo that if Lud were aliue againe in our time, he woulde not call it his Citie in ẏ woode, but rather his towne in ẏ plaines: for the wood I ſay, is waſted altogither about ẏ ſame, the hils called ẏ Peke, were in lyke ſort named Pennith Coit, that is, the woddy hiles, but howe much woode is now to bee ſéene in thoſe places, let him that hath béene there teſtifie, if he liſte, for I here of none by ſuch as trauayle that waye, and & thus much of woodes and mariſes, and ſo farre as I can deale with the ſame.

¶ Of the Antiquities, or auncient Coines found in England. Cap. 17.

Hauing take ſome occaſion to ſpeak here and there in thys treatize of Antiquities, it ſhall not be amyſſe to deale yet more in this chapter, with ſome of them apart, & by themſelues, whereby the ſecure authoritie of the Romaines ouer thys Iſland maye in ſome caſes more manifeſtly appéere. For ſuch was theyr poſſeſſion of this Iſlande on this ſide of the Tynethat they helde not one or two or a fewe places onely vnder there ſubiection, but all the whole countrey from eaſt the to weſt, from the Tyne to the Britiſh Sea, ſo that there was no region voyd of theyr gouernaunce, notwythſtanding that vntil the death of Lucius & extinction of his iſſue, they did permit ẏ ſucceſſors of Lud & Cimbælyne to reigne & rule amongſt thē, though vnder a certeine tribute, as elſe where I haue declared. The chief cauſe that vrgeth me to ſpeake of Antiquities, is the paines that I haue taken to gather great numbers of them togither, entending if euer my Chronology ſhal happē to come abroad, to ſet downe the liuely protratures of euery Emperour ingraued in the ſame: alſo the faces of Pompey, Craſſus, the ſeauen kinges of the romaines, Cicero and diuers other which I haue prouided ready for the purpoſe, beſide the monuments & liuely Images of ſundrye Philoſophers, and Kinges of thys Iſlande, ſithens the time of Edwarde the confeſſor, whereof although preſently I want a fewe, yet I doe not doubt but to obtaine them all, if eyther friendeſhip or money ſhall be able to preuaile. But as it hath done hetherto, ſo the charges to be employed, vpon theſe braſen or coper Images, will hereafter put by the impreſſion of my booke, whereby it maye come to paſſe, that long trauaile ſhall ſoone proue to be ſpent in vaine, and much coſt come to very ſmall ſucceſſe, whereof yet I force not greatly, ſith by this meanes, I haue reaped ſome commoditie vnto my ſelfe, by ſearching of the hiſtories, which often miniſtre ſtore of examples, ready to be vſed as occaſion ſhall compell me. But to procéede with my purpoſe. Before the comming of the Romaines, ther was a kind of copper money currant here in Britaine as Caeſar confeſſeth in ẏ fith booke of his commentaries, wher vnto he addeth a report of certeine rings, of a proportionate weight, which they vſed in his time, in ſtéed likewiſe of money. But as hetherto it hath not béene my lucke to haue the certeine viewe of any of thoſe, ſo after the cōming of ẏ Romaines, they inforced vs to abandon our owne and receiue ſuch imperiall coine, as for the payment of ẏ Legions was daily brought ouer vnto vs. What coynes ẏ romaines had it is eaſie to be knowne, & frō time to time much of it is founde in manye places of this Iſlande, aſwell of Golde and Siluer, as of copper, braſſe, and other mettall, much lyke ſtéele, almoſt of euery Emperour, ſo that I account it no rare thyng to haue of the Romaine coyne, albeit, that it ſtil repreſent an ymage of our captiuity, & maye be a good admonition for vs, to take heede howe we yéelde our ſelues to the regiment of ſtraungers. Of the ſtore of theſe monies, found vpon the Kentiſhe coaſt, I haue already made mencion, in the deſcription of Richborowe, and chapiter of Iſles Adiacent vnto the Brittiſh Albion, and there ſhewed alſo howe ſimple fiſher men haue had plentye of them, and that the very conyes in makyng profers and holes to bréede in, haue ſcraped them out of the grounde in very great abundance. In ſpeaking alſo of S. Albanes, in the chapter of townes and villages, I haue not omitted to tell what plenty of theſe coynes haue béene gathered there, wherfore I ſhall not néede here to repeate the ſame againe: Howbeit this is certaine, that the moſt part of all theſe Antiquities, to be founde with in the lande, & diſtant from the ſhore, are to be gotten eyther in the ruines of auncient Cities & Townes decayed, or in incloſed borowes, where their legions acuſtomed ſometime to winter, as by experience is dailye confirmed. What ſtore hath béene ſéene of them in the citie of London, which they called Auguſta, of the Legion that ſoiourned there, & likewiſe in Yorke named alſo Victrix, of the Legion, Victoria or (Altera Roma, becauſe of beautie and fine buylding of the ſame) I my ſelfe can partely witneſſe, that haue ſéene, and often had of them, if better teſtimony were wãting. The like I may affirme of Colcheſter, where thoſe of Claudius Hadriane, Traiane, Veſpaſian and other, are oftentymes plowed vp or founde, by other meanes: alſo of Cantorbury, Androcheſter, (now decayed) Rocheſter then called Durobreuum, Wincheſter and diuers other beyonde the Thames, which for breuities ſake I doe paſſe ouer in ſilence: onely the chiefe of all & where moſt are founde in deede is neere vnto Carleon & Cairgwent in Southwales, about Kencheſter, three myles aboue Hereforde, Aldborow, Ancaſter, Bramdon, Dodington, Cirnecheſter, Bincheſter, Camalet, Lacock vpō Auon, Lincolne, Dorcheſter, Warwick, & Cheſter, where they are often had in verye great abundaunce. It ſeemeth that Ancaſter hath been a great thing, for many ſquare & coloured pauemēts, vaults, and arches are yet found, & oft layde open by ſuch as digge and plowe in the fieldes about the ſame, & amongſt theſe, one Vresby or Roſeby, a plowmā, did ere vp not lōg ſince a ſtone lyke a troughe couered wyth an other ſtone, wherein was great abundaunce of the aforeſayde coynes: the lyke alſo was ſeene not yet fourtie yeare agone about Grantham: but in kyng Henryes the eyght hys dayes an huſbandman had far better lucke at Harleſtone, two miles from the aforeſaid place, where he founde not only great ſtore of this coyne, but alſo an huge braſſe pot, and therein a large helmet of pure golde, rychely fretted wyth pearle, & ſet with all kindes of coſtly ſtones: he tooke vppe alſo cheanes much lyke vnto beades of ſiluer, all which, as being (if a man might geſſe any certaintie by their beautie) not likely to be long hidden, he preſented to Queene Catherine then lying at Peterborow, and therewithall a few auncient rowles of Parchment written long agone, though ſo defaced with mouldineſſe, and rotten for age, that no man coulde well holde them in hys hand without falling into peeces, much leſſe reade them by reaſon of their blindneſſe. In the beginning of the ſame kinges dayes alſo at Killey a man foūd as he eared, an arming girdle, harniſed wyth pure golde, & a great maſſy pomell with a croſſe hilt for a ſworde of the ſame mettalle, beſide ſtuddes and harneſſe for ſpurres, and the huge long ſpurres alſo of lyke ſtuffe, wherof doctor Ruthall got part into his handes. The borowghes or buries whereof, I ſpake before, were certaine plots of ground, wherein the Romaine ſouldiours dyd vſe to lye when they kept in the open fieldes as choſen places, from whence they might haue eaſie acceſſe vnto their aduerſaries, yf any outrage were wrought or rebellion moued againſt them. And as theſe were the vſuall abodes for thoſe able Legiōs that ſerued dayly in the warres, ſo had they other certaine habitations, for the olde and forworne ſouldiours, whereby diuers cities grewe in time to be repleniſhed with Romaine colonie, as Cairleon, Colceſter, Cheſter, and ſuch other, of which, Colceſter bare the name of Colonia long tyme, and wherein A. Plautius builded a temple vnto the goddes of victorie (after the departure of Claudius) which Tacitus calleth Aram ſempiternæ dominationis, a perpetuall monument of that our Brittiſh ſeruitude. But to returne vnto our borowes they were generally walled about wyth ſtone walles, and ſo large in cōpaſſe that ſome dyd contayne thirtie, fourtie, three ſcore, or eyghtie Acres of grounde within their limites: they had alſo diuers gates or portes vnto eache of them, and of theſe not a fewe remayne to be ſeene in our time, as one for example not far from great Cheſterforde in Eſſex, neere to the limites of Cambridgſhire, which I haue often viewed, and wherein the compaſſe of the very wall wyth the places where the gates ſtoode is eaſie to be diſcerned: the lyke alſo is to be ſeene within two miles ſouth of Burton, called the borow hilles. In theſe therefore and ſuch lyke, is much of their coyne alſo to be founde, and ſome peeces or other are dayly taken vppe, which they call borowe pence, dwarfes mony, hegges pence, feiry groates, Iewes money, and by other fooliſhe names not worthie to be remembred. At the comming of the Saxons the Britons vſed theſe holdes as reſcues for their cattell in the daye and night when their enemies were abrode, the lyke alſo dyd the Saxons agaynſt the Danes, by which occaſions (and nowe and then by carying of their ſtones to helpe forwarde other buyldings neere at hand) many of them were throwne downe and defaced, which otherwyſe myght haue continued for a longer time, and ſo your ſelues would ſay, yf you ſhoulde happen to peruſe the thickeneſſe and maner of buylding of thoſe walles & borowes. It is not long ſince a ſiluer ſaucer of verye auncient making, was founde neere to Saffron Walden, in the open field among the Sterbyry hilles, and eared vp by a plough, but of ſuch maſſy greatneſſe, that it weighed better then twentie ounces, as I haue hearde reported, but yf I ſhoulde ſtand in theſe thinges vntill I had ſayde all that might be ſpoken of them, both by experience and teſtimonie of Lelande in his Commentaries of Britayne, and the report of diuers yet liuing, I might make a greater chapter then woulde be eyther conuenient or profitable to the reader: wherefore theſe ſhall ſerue the turne for this time that I haue ſayde al-

readie

Sterbyry a place where an army hath lyen.

readie of antiquities founde within our Iſlande, eſpecially of coyne, whereof I purpoſed chiefely to treate.

Of the Marueyles of Englande. Cap. 18.

Foure wonders Eng- nde.

SUch as haue wꝛitten of the wonders of our countrie in olde time, haue ſpoken no doubt of many things which deſerue no credite at all, and therefoꝛe in ſéeking thanckes of their poſteritie by their trauayle in thys behalfe, they haue reaped the rewarde of iuſt repꝛoch, and in ſteade of fame purchaſed vnto thẽſelues, nought elſe but méere diſcredit in theyꝛ better Treatizes. The lyke commõlye happeneth alſo to ſuch as in reſpect of lucre doe publiſhe vnpꝛofitable and pernicious volumes, whereby they doe conſume theyꝛ tymes in vayne, and in manifolde wyſe become pꝛeiudicial vnto their cõmon welthes: Foꝛ my part therefoꝛe, hauing (I hope) the feare of God befoꝛe my eyes, I purpoſe here to ſet downe no moꝛe, thẽ either I know my ſelfe to be true, oꝛ am credible infoꝛmed to be ſo, by ſuch godly men, as to whom nothing is moꝛe deare then to ſpeake the truth, & not any thing moꝛe odious then to defile themſelues by lying. In wꝛiting therefoꝛe of the wonders of England, I finde that there are foure notable thinges, which foꝛ their rareneſſe amongſt the cõmon ſoꝛt, are takẽ foꝛ the foure myꝛacles & wonders of the lande. The firſt of theſe, is a vehement & ſtrong wynde, which iſſueth out of certaine hilles called the Peke, ſo violent & ſtrong that certaine times if a man do caſt in his cote oꝛ cloake into the caue frõ whence it iſſueth, it dꝛiueth ẏ ſame backe againe hoyſing it aloft into the open ayꝛe with great foꝛce and vehemencie. Of this alſo Giraldus ſpeaketh. The ſeconde is the myꝛaculous ſtanding oꝛ rather hanging of certaine ſtones vpon the playne of Saliſbury, wherof the place is called Stonehẽge, and to ſay the truth, they may well be wondered at, not onely foꝛ the maner of poſition, whereby they become very difficult to be nũbered, but alſo foꝛ their greatneſſe & ſtrong maner of lying of ſome of them one vpon an other, which ſéemeth to be with ſo ticle holde that fewe men go vnder them without feare of their pꝛeſent ruyne. Howe and when theſe ſtones were bꝛought thyther, as yet I can not reade, howbeit it is moſt likely that they were rayſed there by the Bꝛytons after the ſlaughter of their nobilitie at the deadly banket, which Hengeſt and his Saxons pꝛouided foꝛ them, where they were alſo buried and Voꝛtigerne, their king appꝛehended & ledde away as captiue: I haue hearde that the like are to be ſéene in Irelande, but how true it is as yet I can not learne: the repoꝛt goeth alſo that theſe were bꝛought from thence but by what ſhippe on the ſea and caryage by land, I thinke fewe men can imagine. The third is an ample and large hole vnder the ground, which ſome call Carcer Eoli, but in Engliſh Chedderhole, whereinto many men haue entred and walked very farre. Howbeit, as the paſſage is large and nothing noyſome, ſo diuers that haue aduentured to go into ẏ ſame coulde neuer as yet find the end of that way, neyther ſée any other thing then pretie riuerettes and ſtreames, which they often croſſed as they went from place to place: Thys Chedderhole oꝛ Cheder rocke, is in Somerſetſhyꝛe, and thence the ſayde waters runne til they méete with the ſecond axe that riſeth in Owky hole. The fourth is no leſſe notable then any of the other, foꝛ weſtwarde vpon certaine hils a man ſhall ſée the clowdes of raine gather togither in faire weather vnto a certaine thickeneſſe, & by & by to ſpꝛeade themſelues abꝛoade, and water their fieldes about them, as it were vpon the ſodaine, the cauſes of which diſperſion, as they are vtterly vnknowne, ſo many men coniecture great ſtoꝛe of water to be in thoſe hilles, and very néere at hand, if it were néedeful to be ſought foꝛ. Beſide theſe foure marueyles there is a litle rocky Iſle in Aber barry (a riueret that falleth into the Sauerne ſea) called Barry, which hath a rift oꝛ clift next the firſt ſhoꝛe, whereunto if a man doe lay his eare, he ſhall heare ſuch noyſes as are commonly made in ſmithes foꝛges vz. clincking of yꝛon barres, beating with hammers, blowing of bellowes, and ſuch like, whereof the ſuperſtitious ſoꝛte doe gather many toyes, as the gentiles dyd in olde tyme of their lame God Vulcanes potte. The riuer that runneth by Cheſter chaungeth hir chanel euery moneth, the cauſe whereof as yet I cannot learne, neyther doth ſwell by foꝛce of any lande floude, but by ſome vehement winde, it oft ouerrũneth hir banckes. In Snowdony are two lakes, whereof one beareth a moueable Iſlande, which is caryed to & fro as the winde bloweth, the other hath thꝛée kindes of fiſhes in it, as éeles, trowtes, & perches, but herein reſteth the wonder, that all thoſe haue but one eye a péece onely, and the ſame ſcituate in the right ſide of their heades, & this I find to be confirmed by authours. There is a Well in the foꝛreſt of Guareſboꝛow, whereof the ſayd foꝛreſt doth take the name, which in a certaine periode of time knowne, cõuerteth wood, fleſh, leaues of trées, and moſſe into harde ſtone, without alteratiõ oꝛ chaunging

ing of ſhape. The lyke alſo is ſéene there in froggyes, wormes, and ſuch lyke lyuing creatures as fall into the ſame, & find no ready iſſue. Of this ſpring alſo Lelãd writeth thus, a litle aboue March, but at the farder bank of Nidde ryuer as I came, I ſawe a Well of wonderfull nature, called Dropping well, becauſe the water thereof diſtilleth out of great rockes harde by into it continuallye, which is ſo colde, and thereto of ſuch nature, that what thing ſoeuer falleth out of ẏ rocks into this pitte, or groweth néere thereto, or be caſt into it by mans hande, it turneth into ſtone. It maye be ſaith he, that ſome ſand or other fine groũd iſſueth out wᵗ this water, from theſe harde rockes, which cleauing vnto thoſe thynges, gyueth them in tyme the fourme of ſtone. &c. In parte of the hylles eaſt ſoutheaſt of Alderly, a myle frõ Kingeſwode, are ſtones daily founde, perfitly faſhioned like cocles, and mighty Oyſters, which ſome dreame to haue lyen there ſince ẏ flood. In the cliftes betwéene the blacke heade and Trewardeth baie in Cornwal, is a certeine caue, where thinges appéere lyke ymages gilded, on the ſides of the ſame, which I take to be nothing elſe but the ſhining of ẏ bright Ore of copper & ther mettals, redy at hãd to be foũd ther, if any diligẽce were vſed. Howbeit bicauſe it is marueled at as a rare thing I do not think it vnmete to be placed amõgſt our wonders. M. Guiſe had of late and ſtyll hath, for ought ẏ I knowe, a maner in Gloceſter ſhyre, where certeine okes doe grow, whoſe rootes are verye harde ſtone. And beſyde thys the grounde is ſo fertyll there as they ſaye, that if a man hewe a ſtake of anye woode, and pitche it into the grounde, it wyll growe and take rooting beyond all expectation. Is it any wonder think you to tel of ſundrye caues néere vnto Browham, on the weſt ſide of the ryuer Aymote, wherein are halles, chambers, and al offices of houſhold, cut out of the harde rocke. If it be, then maye we increaſe the number of marueyles very much by the rehearſall of other alſo, for wée haue many of ẏ like, nere as of to ſ. Aſaphes, vpõ the bank of Elwy, and about the head of Vendrath vehan in Wales, whereinto men haue often entered and walked, & yet founde nothing but large rowmes, & ſandy ground vnder their féete, and other elſewhere. But ſith theſe thinges are not ſtrange, I let them alone, and go forward with the reſt.

In the paryſhe of Landſarnam in wales, and in the ſide of a ſtony hil, is a place wherin are foure and twentye ſeates, hewen out of the harde rockes, but who did cut them, & to what ende, as yet it is not learned. As for the huge ſtone that lyeth at Pember, in Cynthery pariſh, and of the notable carkas that is affirmed to lye vnder the ſame, there is no cauſe to touch it here, yet were it well done to haue it remoued though it were but onely to ſée what it is, which the people haue in ſo greeat eſtimation & reuerence. There is alſo a poole in Logh Taw, among ẏ black mounteines in Brecknocke ſhyre, (where as ſome ſaye, is the head of Taw that commeth to Swanſey) which hath ſuch a property that it will bréede no fiſhe at all, and if any be caſt into it, they dye without recouerye. There is alſo a Linne in Wales, which in the one ſide beareth troutes ſo redde as ſamons, and on the other which is the weſterlye ſide, very white and delicate.

There is a Well not farre from ſtonye Stratforde, which conuerteth many things into the ſtone, and another in Wales, which is ſayde to double or trible, the force of any edge toole that is quenched in the ſame. In Tegenia a percell of Wales, there is a noble Well, I meane in the paryſh of Kilken, which is of marueilous nature, for although it be ſixe myles from the Sea, it ebbeth and floweth, twiſe in one daye, alwayes ebbyng when the ſea doth vſe to flowe, & in flowing likewiſe when the ſea doth vſe ebbe, whereof ſome doe fable, that this Well is lady & myſterys of the Oceane. Not far from thence alſo is a medicinable ſpring, called Schynaunt of olde time, but nowe Wenefrides Wel, in the edges wherof doth bréede a very odoriferous and delectable moſſe, wherewith the heade of the ſmeller is marueylouſlye refreſhed. Other Welles we haue lykewiſe, which at ſome times burſt out into huge ſtreames, though at other ſeaſons they run but very ſoftly, whereby the people gather ſome alteratiõ of eſtate to be at hand. Some of the greater ſort alſo giue ouer to runne at all in ſuch times, whereof they conceyue the like opinion. What the fooliſh people dreame of the hell Kettles, it is not worthy the reherſall, yet to the ende the lewde opinion conceyued of them, maye growe into contempt, I will ſay thus much alſo of thoſe pits. Ther are certeine pittes or rather thrée litle poles, a myle from Darlington, and a quarter of a myle diſtant from the Theſe bankes, which ẏ people call the Kettes of hell, or the deuils Kettels, as if he ſhoulde ſéethe the ſoules of ſinfull men and women in them: they adde alſo that the ſpirites haue oft béene harde to crye and yell about them, wyth other like talke ſauouring altogether of pagane infidelitye. The truth is (& of this opiniõ alſo was Cuthbert Tunſtall Byſhop of Durham) that the

Colemines, in thoſe places are kindled or if there be no coles, there may a mine of ſome other vnctuous matter be ſet on fire, which beyng here and there conſumed, the earth falleth in, and ſo doth leaue a pitte. In déede the water is nowe and then warme as they ſaye, and beſide that it is not cléere, the people ſuppoſe them to be an hundred faddame déepe, the byggeſt of them alſo hath an iſſue into the Theſe. But ynough of theſe wonders leaſt I doe ſéeme to be touched in thys deſcription, & thus much of the hel Kettles.

There is a Well in Darby ſhyre, called Tiddeſwell, whoſe water often ſéemeth to ryſe and fall, as the Sea which is fortye mile from it: doth vſually accuſtome to ebbe and flowe, and hereof an opinion is growen, that it kéepeth an ordinary courſe, as the ſea doth, howbeit ſith dyuers are knowne to haue watched the ſame, it may be yͭ at ſometimes it ryſeth but not continually, and that it ſo doth I am fullye perſwaded to beléeue. But ynough of the woonders leſt I do ſéeme by talking longer of them, woonderouſlye to ouerſhoote my ſelfe, and forget howe much doth reſt behynde of the dyſcription of my countrey.

¶ The thirde Booke of the historicall deſcription of Brytaine, conteyning theſe chapters inſuing.

1. Of the foode and dyet of thengliſh.
2. Of their apparrell and attyre.
3. Of the Lawes of Englande, ſithens hir firſt inhabitation.
4. Of degrees of people in the common wealth of Englande.
5. Of prouiſion made for the poore.
6. Of ſundry kindes of puniſhment, prouided for offenders.
7. Of Sauage beaſtes and Vermines.
8. Of Cattell kept for profite.
9. Of wylde and tame Foules.
10. Of fiſhe vſually taken vpon our coaſtes.
11. Of Hawkes and rauenous Foules.
12. Of venimous Beaſtes.
13. Of Engliſh Dogges.
14. Of Engliſh Saffron.
15. Of quarries of Stone for buylding.
16. Of ſundry Mineralles.
17. Of Salt made in Englande.
18. Of Mettalles.
19. Of precious Stones.
20. Of the Coynes of Englande.
21. Of our accompt of time, and hir parts.
22. Of our maner of meaſuring, the length and bredth of thinges.
23. Of Engliſh weightes.
24. Of liquide meaſures.
25. Of drie meaſures.
26. Of thorowfares.

¶ Of the foode and diet of the Engliſhe. Cap. 1.

THe ſcituation of our region, lying néere vnto the north, doth cauſe the heate of our ſtomaches ſomewhat to increaſe, and become of greater force; wherefore our bodies doe craue ſomewhat more ample nouriſhment, then the inhabitantes of the hotter regions are accuſtomed wythall; whoſe dygeſtyue force is not altogither ſo vehement, becauſe theyr internall heate is not ſo ſtrong as ours, which is kept in by the coldneſſe of the ayre, that from time to tyme eſpecially in winter doth enuiron our bodies.

It is no marueyle therfore that our tables are oftētimes more plētifully garniſhed thē thoſe of other nations, & this trade hath continued with vs euen ſithence the very beginning, for before the Romaines founde out & knewe the waye vnto our country, our predeceſſours fedde largely vpon fleſhe & milke, whereof there was great abundance in thys Iſle, becauſe they applyed their chief ſtudies vnto paſturage and féeding. After this maner alſo did our Welch Brytons order thēſelues in theyr dyet ſo long as they liued of themſelues, but after they became to be vnited & made equal with the Engliſh, they framed their appetites to liue after our maner, ſo that at thys day there is very litle difference betwéene vs in our dyets. In olde time the north Brytons did giue themſelues generally to great abſtinence, and in tyme of warres their ſouldiours would often féede but once or twice at the moſt in two or thrée dayes, eſpecially if they helde themſelues in ſecrete, or coulde haue no iſſue out of theyr Bogges and maryſes, thorowe the preſence of the enimie. In this penurye alſo they vſed to créepe into the water or mooriſh plots vp vnto the chinnes, and there remaine a long tyme, only to quallify the heates of their ſtomackes by violence, which otherwyſe would haue wrought and béene readye to oppreſſe them for hunger and want of ſuſtinance. In thoſe daies likewiſe it was taken for a great offence amongſt them, to eate eyther gooſe, hare, or henne, bicauſe of a certaine ſuperſticious opinion which they had conceyued of thoſe thrée creatures, howbeit after that the Romaynes had once founde an entraunce into this Iland, it was not long ere open ſhipwracke was made of this religious obſeruation, ſo that in proceſſe of time, ſo well the Brytons as yͤ Romaines, gaue ouer to make anye ſuch difference in meates, as they had done before time.

From thencefoorth alſo vnto our dayes, & euen in this ſeaſon wherein we liue, there is no reſtraint of any meate, eyther for religions ſake, or publike order, but it is lawfull for euery man to féede vpon whatſoeuer he is able to purchaſe, except it be vpon thoſe dayes whereon eating of fleſhe is eſpecially forbidden, by the lawes of the realme, which order is taken only to the ende our numbers of cattell maye be the better increaſed, and that abundaunce of fiſhe which the ſea yéeldeth, more generally receyued. Beſide this there is great conſideration had in making of this law for the preſeruatiõ of the nauy, & maintenaunce of conuenient numbers of ſea faryng men, both which woulde otherwyſe greatlye decaye, if ſome meanes were not found, wherby they might be increaſed. But howſoeuer this caſe ſtandeth, white meates, as milk, butter & chéeſe, which were wont to be accoũted of as one of the chiefe ſtayes throwout the Iſland, are now reputed as fóde appertinent only to the inferiour ſort, whyleſt ſuch as are more wealthie, doe féede vpon the fleſhe of all kindes of cattell accuſtomed to be eaten, all ſortes of fiſhe taken vpõ our coaſtes and in our freſhe ryuers, & ſuch diuerſitie of wilde and tame foules as are eyther bredde in our Iſlande or brought ouer vnto vs from other countries of the maine.

In number of diſhes and change of meate, the nobilitie of Englande doe moſt excéede, ſith there is no daye in maner that paſſeth ouer their heades, wherein they haue not onely béefe, mutton, veale, lambe, kidde, porke, conie, capon, pigge, or ſo many of theſe as the ſeaſon yeldeth: but alſo ſome portiõ of the redde or fallow déere, beſide great varietie of fiſhe and wildefowle, and thereto ſundrie other delicates wherin the ſwéet hande of the Portingale is not wãting: ſo that for a man to dine with one of them, and to taſt of euery diſhe that ſtandeth before him (which fewe vſe to doe, but to féede vppon that him beſt liketh for the time) is rather to yéelde vnto a conſpiracie with a great deale of meate for the ſpéedie ſuppreſſion of naturall health, thẽ to ſatiſfie himſelfe with a competent repaſt, to ſuſtayne his lyfe withall. But as thys large féeding is not ſéene in their geſtes, no more is it in their owne perſons, for ſith they haue dayly much reſort vnto their tables, (& many tymes vnlooked for) and thereto retayne great numbers of ſeruaunts, it is very requiſite for them to be ſomewhat plentifull in this behalfe. The chiefe part lykewyſe of their dayly prouiſiõ is brought in before thẽ, & placed on their tables, whereof when they haue takẽ what it pleaſeth thẽ, the reſt is reſerued & afterward ſent downe, to their ſeruing men & waiters, who fed thereon in lyke ſort with conuenient moderatiõ, their reuerſion alſo being beſtowed vpõ the poore, which lye ready at their gates in great numbers to receyue the ſame. This is ſpokẽ of the chiefe tables whereat the nobleman, his ladie and gueſtes are accuſtomed to ſit, beſide which they haue a certayne ordinarie allowaunce dayly appointed for their halles, where the chiefe officers, and houſholde ſeruaunts, (for all are not permitted to wayte vppon theyr maiſter) & with them ſuch inferiour gueſtes do féede as are not of calling to aſſociate the noble mã himſelf: ſo that beſides thoſe aforementioned which are called to the principall table, there are commonly fourtie or thrée ſcore perſons fed in thoſe halles to the great reliefe of ſuch ſtrãgers, as oft be partakers thereof. As for drincke it is not vſually ſet on the table in pottes or cruſes, but each one calleth for a cup of ſuch as he liſteth to haue, or as neceſſitie vrgeth him: ſo yͭ whẽ he hath taſted of it he deliuereth the cuppe againe to ſome one of the ſtanders by, who making it cleane, reſtoreth it to the cubborne frõ whẽce he fetched the ſame. By this occaſion much ydle tippling is furthermore cut of, for whereas if the full pottes ſhoulde continuallye ſtande néere the trencher, diuers woulde allwayes be dealing with them, whereas now they drincke ſeldome only to auoide the note of great drinkers, or often troubling of yͤ ſeruitours. Neuertheleſſe in the noble mẽs halles, this order is not vſed, neyther in any mans houſe commonly vnder the degrée of a knight or Squire of great reuenues. The gentlemen and marchant kéepe much about one rate, and eache of them contenteth himſelfe with foure, or fiue or ſixe diſhes, when they haue but ſmall reſorte, or peraduenture with one or two, or thrée at the moſt, when they haue no ſtraungers to accompanie them at their owne table. And yet their ſeruauntes haue their ordinarye dyet aſſigned, beſide ſuch as is left at their maſters bordes, and not appointed to be brought thither the ſeconde time, which is often ſéene generally in veniſon, or ſome eſpeciall diſhe, whereon the Marchaunte man himſelfe lyketh to féede whẽ it is colde, or peraduenture is better ſo then yf it were warme or hote. To be ſhort, at ſuch time as the marchauntes doe make their ordinarie or voluntarie feaſts, it is a worlde to ſée what great prouiſion is made of all maner of delicate meates, from euery quarter of the country, wherein beſide that they are oftẽ comparable herein to the nobilitie of the lande, they will ſeldome regarde any thing that the butcher vſually killeth, but reiect the ſame as not worthie to come in place. In ſuch caſes alſo geliffes, conſerues, ſuckettes, codinacs, marmilates, marchepaine, ſugred bread, gingerbreade, florentines, wildfowle, veniſon of all ſortes, & outlandiſh confectiõs do generally beare yͤ ſway, with other infinite deuiſes of our owne not poſſible for me to remember. But amõg all theſe, the kinde of meate which is obtayned with moſt difficultie is commonly taken for the moſt delicate, & therupon eache gueſt will ſooneſt deſire to féede. And as all eſtates doe excéede herein, (I meane for number of coſtly diſhes) ſo theſe forget not to vſe yͤ like exceſſe in wine, inſomuch as there is no kind to be had (neither any where more ſtore of al ſortes then in Englãd) wherof at ſuch great méetinges there is not ſome portion prouided. Furthermore when theſe haue had their courſe which nature yeldeth, ſundry ſortes of artificial ſtuffe, muſt in like maner ſuccéede in their turnes, beſide Ale & béere which neuertheleſſe beare the greateſt brunt in drincking, and are of ſo many ſortes & ages as it pleaſeth the Bruer to make them. The bere that is vſed at noble mens tables is commõlye of a yeare olde, (or peraduenture of two yeres tunning or more, but this is not generall) it is alſo brued in Marche & therefore called Marche bere, but for the houſholde it is vſually not vnder a monethes age, eache one coueting to haue yͤ ſame ſtale as he may ſo that it be not ſoure, and his breade new as is poſſible, ſo that it be not hote. The artificer, and huſbandman, make greateſt accompt of ſuch meate, as they maye ſooneſt come by and haue it quicklyeſt readie: their foode alſo conſiſteth principally in Béefe and ſuch meate as the Butcher ſelleth, that is to ſay Mutton, Veale, Lamb, Porke. &c. wherof the Artificer findeth great ſtore in the markets adioyning, beſide Souſe, Brawne, Bacon, Fruite, Pyes of fruite, Foules of ſundrie ſortes, Chéeſe, Butter, Egges. &c. as the other wãteth it not at home, by his owne prouiſion, which is at the beſt hande, & commonly leaſt charge. In feſting alſo this latter ſort doe excéede after their maner: eſpecially at Brydales, purifications of women, and ſuch like odde méetinges, where it is incredible to tell what meate is conſumed and ſpent, eache one bringing ſuch a diſhe, or ſo many, as hys wyfe and he doe conſult vpon, but alwayes with this conſideration that the léefer friende, ſhall haue the beſt intertainement. This alſo is commonly ſéene at theſe bankets, that the goodman of the houſe is not charged with any thing ſauing bread, drinke, houſe rowme and fire. But the artificers in cities and good townes doe deale farre otherwyſe, for albeit that ſome of them doe ſuffer their iawes to go oft before their clawes, & diuers of thẽ by making good cheare do hinder themſelues and other men, yet the wiſer ſort can handle the matter well ynough in theſe Iunkettinges, and therefore their frugalitie deſerueth commendation. To conclude both the articer and the huſbandman, are ſufficiently liberall, and very friendly at their tables, and when they méete, they are ſo merie without malice, and plaine without inwarde craft & ſubtilty that it woulde doe a man good to be in companie among them. Herein onely are the inferiour ſort to be blamed, that being thus aſſembled their talke is now and then ſuch as ſauoureth of ſcurrilitie and ribaldrye a thing naturallye incident to carters, & clownes, who thincke themſelues not to be merie and welcome, yf their fooliſh vaines in this behalfe be neuer ſo little reſtrayned. This is moreouer to be added in theſe aſſembles, that if they happen to ſtumble vpon a péece of veniſon and a cup of wine or very ſtrong béere or ale, which latter they commonly prouide agaynſt their appoynted dayes, they thincke their cheare ſo great, and thẽſelues to haue fared ſo well, as the Lorde Mayor of London, with whome when their bellies be full they will often make compariſon. I might here talke ſomewhat of the great ſilence that is vſed at the tables of the honorable & wyſer ſort, generally ouer all yͤ realme, likewyſe of the moderate eating and drincking that is dayly ſéene, and finally of the regard that eache one hath to kéepe himſelfe from the note of ſurfetting and drunckenneſſe, (for which cauſe ſalt meate except béefe, bacon, and porke are not any white eſtéemed, and yet theſe thrée may not be much powdered) but as in rehearſall thereof I ſhould commende the noble man, marchant, and frugall artificer, ſo I coulde not cleare the meaner ſort of huſbandmen, and country inhabitaunts of very much babbling (except it be here and there ſome odde man) & nowe & then ſurfeting and drunkenneſſe, which they rather fall into for want of héede taking, thẽ wilfully following or delighting in thoſe errours of ſet minde and purpoſe. The breade thorowout the lande is made of ſuch graine as the ſoyle yeldeth, neuertheleſſe the gentilitie commõly prouide themſelues ſufficient-

I haue dined ſo well as my Lorde Mayor.

ly of wheate for their owne tables, whyleſt their houſhold and poore neighbours are inforced to content themſelues with Rye, or Barley, yea & in tyme of dearth with breade made eyther of beanes, peaſon, or Otes, or of al togither, of which ſcourge the poreſt do ſooneſt taſt, ſith they are leaſt able to prouide themſelues of better. I will not ſay that this extremitie is oft ſo well to be ſeen in tyme of plentie, as of dearth but if I ſhould I could eaſily bring my trial: for albeit that there be much more grounde eared nowe almoſt in euerye place, then hath beene of late yeares, yet ſuch a price of corne continueth in eache towne and markete wythout any iuſt cauſe, that the artificer and poore laboring man, is not able to reach vnto it, but is driuen to cõtent hymſelfe with horſecorne, I meane, beanes, peaſon, otes, tares, and lintelles: and therefore it is a true prouerbe, and neuer ſo well verified as now, that hunger ſetteth his firſt foote into the horſe manger. If the world laſt a while after this rate, wheate and rye will be no graine for poore men to feede on, & ſome catterpillers there are that can ſaye ſo much already. Of breade made of wheat we haue ſundry ſortes, daily brought to the table, wherof the firſt and moſt excellent is the manchet, which we commonlye call white breade, in latin primarius panis, whereof Budeus alſo ſpeaketh, in his firſt booke de aſſe. The ſecond is the cheate, or wheaton bread, ſo named becauſe the colour thereof reſembleth the graie wheat, and out of this is the courſeſt of the brennes (vſually called gurgeons or pollarde) taken. The raueled is a kinde of chete breade alſo, but it reteyneth more of the groſſe, and leſſe of the pure ſubſtance of the wheate: and this beyng more ſleightly wrought vp, is vſed in the houſes of the nobilitie, and gentry onely, whereas the other is baked in cities and good townes of an appointed ſize (according to ſuch price as the corne doth beare) by a ſtatute prouided in that behalfe. The next ſort is named browne breade of the colour, of which we haue two ſortes, one baked vp as it commeth from the mille, ſo that neyther the brennes nor the floure, are any whit diminiſhed, thys Celſus called Autopirus panis. lib. 2. and putteth it in the ſeconde place of nouriſhment. The other hath lyttle or no floure left therein at al, howbeit he calleth it panem Cibarium, and it is not onely the worſt and weakeſt of all the other ſortes, but alſo appointed in olde tyme for ſeruants, and the inferiour kinde of people. Hereunto likewiſe becauſe it is dry and brickle in the working (for it will hardely be made vp handſomely into loues) ſome adde a portion of rye meale, wherby the rough dryneſſe or drie roughneſſe thereof is ſomewhat quallified, and then it is named miſſelen, that is, bread made of mingled corne, albeit that dyuers doe mingle wheate and rye of purpoſe at the mille, & ſell the ſame at the markettes vnder the aforeſayde name.

A famine at hand is firſt ſeene in ẏ horſe maunger, when the poore doe fall to horſecorne

Primarius panis.

The ſize of breade is very ill kept or not at all looked vnto in the cõtrey townes & markets.

Panis Cibarius.

In champeigne countryes much rye and barly breade it eaten, but eſpeciallye where wheate is ſcant and geſon. As for the difference that is betweene the ſummer & winter wheate, moſt huſbandmen knowe it not, ſith they are neyther acquainted with ſummer wheat, nor winter barley: yet here and there I finde of both ſortes, but in ſo ſmall quantities, as that I dare not pronounce them to be any thing common among vs.

Sommer wheate & Winter Barley very rare in Engl

Our drinke whoſe force and continuance is partly touched already, is made of barley, water, and hoppes, ſodden and mingled togither, by the induſtry of our bruers; in a certaine exact proportion. But before our barley doe come vnto their handes, it ſuſtaineth great alteration, and is conuerted into mault, ẏ making wherof, I wil her ſet down in ſuch order, as my ſkill therein may extend vnto, (for I am ſcarſe a good maultſter) chiefly for that forreine writers haue attẽpted to deſcribe the ſame, & the making of our beere, wherein they haue ſhot ſo farre wyde as the quantity of ground was betweene thẽſelues and their marke. In the meane tyme beare with me gentle reader, (I beſeech thee) that leade thee from the deſcription of the plentyfull dyet of our countrey, vnto the fonde reporte of a ſeruyle trade, or rather from a table delicately furniſhed, into a muſtye mault houſe, but ſuch is now thy hap, wherefore I praye thee be contented.

Drincke.

Mault.

Our Mault is made of the beſt Barley, which is ſteeped in a cyſterne, in greater or leſſe quantitye, by the ſpace of three dayes, and three nyghtes, vntyll it be thorowelye ſoked. This beyng done the water is drayned from it by lyttle and lyttle, tyll it bee quite gone. Afterwarde they take it out, and laying it vpon the cleane floure on a rounde heape, it reſteth ſo vntill it be ready to ſhoote at the roote ende, which maltſters call comming. When it beginneth therefore to ſhoote in thys maner, they ſaye it is come, and then forthwith they ſpreade it abroade, firſt thick and afterwarde thinner and thinner vppon the ſayde flower (as it commeth) and there it lyeth (with turning euery daye foure or fiue times) by the ſpace of one and twenty dayes at the leaſt, the workeman not ſuffring it in any wiſe to take any heate, whereby the bud ende ſhoulde ſpire, that bringeth forth the blade,

Making of mau

blade, and by which ouerſight the maulte woulde be ſpoyled, and come to ſmall cōmoditie. When it hath gone or bæne turned ſo long vpon the floure, they carye it to a kyll couered wyth heire cloth, where they gyue it gentle heates (after they haue ſpredde it there very thinne abroad) till it be drye, and in the meane while they turne it often, that it may be vniformly dried. For the more it be dryed the better the mault is, and the longer it will continue, whereas if it be not dryed downe (as they call it) but ſlackely handled, it wyll bréed a kind of worme, called a wiuel, which groweth in the flower of the corne, and in proceſſe of time, will ſo eate out it ſelfe, that nothing ſhal remaine of the graine but euen the rinde or huſke. The beſt mault is tryed by the hardneſſe & colour, for if it wil write lyke a péece of chalke, after you haue bytten a kyrnell in ſunder in the middeſt, then you may aſſure your ſelf ẏ it is dryed downe. In ſome places it is dryed with wood alone, or ſtrawe alone, in other with wood and ſtraw togither, but of all the ſtrawe dryed is the moſt excellent. For the wood dryed mault when it is brued, beſide that it is higher of collour, it doth hurt and annoye the heade of him that is not vſed thereto becauſe of the ſmoke. Such alſo as vſe both indifferētly do cleaue and drye theyr wood, to remoue all moyſture that ſhoulde procure the ſmoke, & thys mault is in the ſeconde place, and with the ſame likewiſe, that which is made wyth dryed fyrze, brome, &c. whereas if they alſo bée occupyed gréene, they are in manner ſo preiudiciall to the corne, as the moiſt wood. And thus much of our Maultes in brewyng whereof they grynde the ſame ſomewhat groſelye, and in ſéethyng well the liquour that ſhall bée put vnto it, they adde to euerye nine quarters of mault one of headecorne, which cōſiſteth of ſundry graine, as wheate, Otes, Peaſon. &c. They ſéeth theyr wort alſo twiſe, that is once before they maſhe, or mixe it with the mault, and once after after, adding furthermore vnto this later ſéething, a certeine number of engliſhe hops, (for the outlandiſh are founde nowe to be the worſt) according to whoſe quantitie, the continuaunce of the drinke is determined. For it féedeth vpon the hoppe, and laſteth ſo long as the force of the ſame continueth, which being extinguiſhed the drinke dyeth, and becōmeth of no value. In this trade alſo our bruers obſerue very diligently the nature of the water which they daily occupye, for all waters are not of lyke goodneſſe in thys buſyneſſe, wherefore the diligent workeman doth redéeme the iniquity of that element, by chaunging of his proportions, which trouble in ale (ſometime our onelye, but nowe taken with many only for olde & ſickmens drinke) is neuer ſéene nor harde of. Howbeit as the béere well brued and ſtale, is cléere and well coloured as muſcadell or malueſy, ſo our ale which is not at all or verye little ſodden, and without hoppes, is more thicke, fulſome and of no ſuch continuance, which are thrée notable thynges, to bée conſidered in that liquor, but what for that. Certes I knowe ſome ale knyghtes ſo much addicted thereunto, that they will not ceaſe from morow vntyll euen, to viſite the ſame, clenſing houſe after houſe, till they defile themſelues. Such ſleights alſo haue the alewiues for the vtteraunce of this drinke, that they wyll mixe it with roſen and ſalt, but if you heate a knyfe redde hotte, and quench it in the ale, ſo nere the bottome of the pot as you can put it, you ſhal ſée the roſe hanging on the knife. As for the force of ſalt, it is well knowne by the effecte, for the more the drinker tipleth ẏ more he may, and ſo doth hée cary a dry drunken ſoule to bed with him, except his lucke be the better, but to my purpoſe. In ſome places of England, there is a kind of drink, made of apples, which they call cidar or pomage, but ẏ of peares is named pirry. Certs theſe 2. are very common in Kent, Worceſter, & other ſtedes, where theſe kindes of fruites doe abounde, howbeit they are not theyr onelye drynke, at all tymes, but referred vnto the delicate ſortes of drinke, as Metheglin is in Wales, wherof the welchmen make no leſſe accompt, then the Gréekes did of theyr Ambroſia, or Nectar, which for the pleaſantneſſe thereof, was ſuppoſed to bée ſuch as the goddeſſe themſelues did vſe. There is a kind of ſwiſh ſwaſh made alſo in Eſſex, and dyuers other places, wyth Hony and water, which the countrey wiues putting ſome pepper & a little other ſpice among, call meade, verye good in myne opinion for ſuch as loue to bée looſe bodied, otherwiſe it differeth ſo much from the true Metheglin, as chalke doth from chéeſe. Truely it is nothing elſe but the waſhing of the combes, whē the hony is wrong out, and one of the beſt things that I knowe belonging thereto is, ẏ they ſpend but little labour and leſſe coſt in making of the ſame, and therefore no great loſſe if it were neuer occupyed.

wing
ware.

Cidar.
Perry.

Methe-
gin.

Mede.

Hetherto of the dyet of my Countreymenne, and ſome what more at large peraduenture then manye menne will like of, wherefore I thinke good nowe to fyniſhe thys chapter, and ſo wil I when I haue added a few other thinges incident vnto that

Leſſe time ſpent in eating the heretofore.

Canutus a gloutton but the Normans at the laſt exceeded him in that vice.

Long ſitting reprehended.

which goeth before, whereby the whole proceſſe of the ſame ſhall fully be deliuered, and my promiſe to my friend in this behalfe performed. Heretofore there hath beene much more tyme ſpent in eating and drincking the commonly is in theſe dayes, for whereas of olde we had breakfaſtes in the forenone, beuerages, or nuntions after dinner, & therto rere ſuppers generally when it was tyme to go to reſt (a toy brought in by hard Canutus) nowe theſe odde repaſtes thancked be God are verye well left, and eache one in maner (except here and there ſome young hungry ſtomacke that cannot faſt till dinner tyme,) contenteth himſelfe with dinner and ſupper onely. The Normans miſlyking the gurmandize of Canutus, ordayned after their arriualle, that no table ſhoulde be couered aboue once in the day, which Huntingdon imputeth to their auarice; but in the ende either wering weary of their owne frugalitie, or ſuffering the cockle of olde cuſtome to ouergrowe the good corne of their newe conſtitution, they fell to ſuch libertie, that in often feeding they ſurmounted Canutus ſurnamed the hardy. For wheras he couered his table, but three or foure times in the day, they ſpred their clothes fiue or ſixe tymes, and in ſuch wiſe as I before rehearſed. They brought in alſo the cuſtome of long and ſtately ſitting at meate, which is not yet left, although it be a great expence of tyme, and worthye reprehenſion. For the nobilitie gentlemen & marchant men, eſpecially at great meetings doe ſit cõmonly till two or three of the clocke at afternoone, ſo that with many it is an hard matter, to ryſe from the table to go to euening prayer, & returne from thence to come tyme ynough to ſupper. For my part I am perſwaded that the purpoſe of the Normans at the firſt was to reduce the auncient Romaine order in feeding once in the day, and towarde the euening as I haue reade & noted. In deede the Romaines had ſuch a cuſtome, and lykewyſe the Gretians as maye appeare by the wordes of Socrates, who ſayd vnto ẏ Atheniens Oriente ſole conſilium, occidente conuiuium eſt cogitandum. Plato called the Siciliens monſters in that they vſed to eate twiſe in the day. Among the Perſians onelye the king dined when the ſonne was at the higheſt, and ſhadowe of the ſtile at the ſhorteſt: the reaſt (as it is reported) went allwayes to meate as their ſtomackes craued it. Howbeit at the laſt they fell generally to allow of ſuppers toward the ſetting of the ſunne, bycauſe they woulde haue all their family to go to meate togither, & wherunto they woulde appoynt their gueſſes to come at a certayne length of the ſhadow, to be perceyued in their dialles. Their ſlaues in lyke ſort were glad, when it grewed to the tenth foote for then were they ſure ſoone after to go to meate. In the ſcripture we read of many ſuppers and fewe dinners, only for that dining was not greatly vſed in Chriſts tyme, but taken as a thing lately ſprong vp, when pampering of the belly began to take holde, occaſioned by ydleneſſe and great abundaunce of riches. It is prettie to note in Iuuenall, how he taunteth Marius for that he gaue himſelf to drincking before the * ninth houre of the day, for thincking three houres to be to litle for the filling of his belly, he beganne commonly at eyght, which was an houre to ſoone. Afterwards ſixe houres onely were appointed to worke and conſult in, and the other ſixe of the day to feede & drincke in, as the Verſe ſayeth.

* That is at three of the clock, at after noone.

Sex horæ tanto rebus tribuantur agendus,
viuere poſt illas littera zetha monet.

But how Martial deuided his day, and with him the whole trowpe of the learned and wiſer ſort, theſe verſes following doe more euidently declare.

Li.4.epi
8.

Prima ſalutantes, atque altera continet horas,
Exercet raucos tertia cauſidicos.
In quintam varios extendit Roma labores,
Sexta quies laſsis, Septima finis erit.
Sufficit in nonam nitidis octaua paleſtris,
Imperat extructos frangere nona thoros.
Hora libellorum decima eſt Eupheme meorũ,
Temperat Ambroſias, cum tua cura dapes.
Et bonus ethereo laxatur Nectare Cæſar,
Ingentique tenet pocula parca manu.
Tunc admitte iocos: greſſu timet ire licenti,
Ad matutinum noſtra Thaleia Iouem.

Thus we ſee how the auncient maner of the gentils was to feede but once in the day and that towarde night, till glotonie grewe on, and altered that good cuſtome. With vs the nobilitie, gentrie and ſtudents, doe ordinarily go to dinner at aleauen before noone, and to ſupper at fiue, or betweene fiue and ſixe at afternoone. The marchaunts dine and ſuppe ſeldome before 12. at noone, & ſixe at night eſpecially in London. The huſbandmen dine alſo at high noone as they call it, & ſup at ſeauen or eyght: but out of the terme in our Vniuerſities the ſcholers dine at tenne. As for the poreſt ſort they generally dine and ſup when they may ſo that to talke of their order of repaſt, it were but needleſſe matter.

Of our apparell and attire. Cap. 2.

AN Engliſhman indeuouring ſometime to write of our attire, made ſundry platformes for his purpoſe, ſuppoſing by ſome of them to finde out one ſtedfaſt grounde whereon to builde the ſumme of his diſcourſe. But in the ende (like an oratour, long without exerciſe) when he ſaw what a difficult péece of worke he had taken in hande, he gaue ouer his trauell, and onely drue the picture of a naked man, vnto whome he gaue a paire of ſheares in the one hande, and a péece of cloth in the other, to the ende he ſhould ſhape his apparell after ſuch faſhion as himſelfe liked, ſith he could finde no kinde of garment that coulde pleaſe him any whyle togyther, and this he called an Engliſhman. Certes thys writer (otherwiſe being a leawde and vngracious prieſt) ſheweth himſelfe herein not to be voyde of iudgement, ſith the phantaſticall follye of our nation is ſuch, that no forme of apparell liketh vs longer then the firſt garment is in the wearing, if it continue ſo long and be not layde aſide, to receyue ſome other trinket newly deuiſed by the fickle headded Taylours, who couet to haue ſeuerall trickes in cutting, thereby to drawe fond cuſtomers to more expence of money. For my part I can tell better howe to inueigh againſt this enormitie, then deſcribe our attire: ſithens ſuch is our mutabilitie, that to day there is none to the Spaniſhe guiſe, to morowe the French toyes are moſt fine and delectable, ere long no ſuch apparell as that which is after the high Almaine faſhion, by and by the Turkiſh maner is generally beſt liked of, otherwiſe the Moriſco gownes and the Barbarian ſléeues make ſuch a comelye veſture, that except it were a dog in a dublet, you ſhall not ſée anye ſo diſguiſed, as are my cou̅try men of england. And as theſe faſhiōs are diuers, ſo likewiſe it is a worlde to ſe the coſtlineſſe and the curioſitie: the exceſſe and the vanitie: the pompe and the brauery: the chaunge and the varietye: and finally the fickleneſſe and the folly that is in all degrées: inſomuch that nothing is more conſtant in england then inconſtancie of attire. Neither cā we be more iuſtly burdened with any reproche, then inordinate behauiour in apparell, for which moſt nations deride vs, as alſo for that we men doe ſéeme to beſtowe moſt coſt vpon our arſes & much more then vpon all the reſt of our bodies, as women do likewiſe vpon their heads and ſhoulders. In women alſo it is moſt to be lamented, that they doe now farre excéede the lightneſſe of our men (who neuertheleſſe are transformed from the cap euen to the very ſhoe) and ſuch ſtaring attire as in time paſt was ſuppoſed méete for none but light houſewiues onely is now become an habit for chaſt & ſober matrones. What ſhould I ſay of their dublets with pendant codpiſes on the breaſt full of iags and cuts, and ſléeues of ſundry colours, their galligaſcons, coloured netherſtocks, and ſuch lyke, whereby their bodies are rather deformed then commended. I haue met with ſome of them in London ſo diſguiſed, that it hath paſſed my ſkill to diſcerne whyther they were men or women. Thus it is now come to paſſe, that womē are become men, and men turned into monſters: & thoſe good giftes which almightie God hath giuen vnto vs to releeue our neceſſitie withall, not what vnſéemely vſe we of them in all exceſſe as if we wiſt no otherwiſe howe to conſume and waſt them. I pray God that in this behalfe our ſinne be not lyke vnto that of Sodoma and Gomorha, whoſe errors were pride, exceſſe of diet, & abuſe of Gods benefits abundantly beſtowed vpon them, beſide want of charitie toward the poore, and certaine other pointes which ẏ Prophet ſhutteth vp in ſilence. Certes the commō wealth can not be ſayde to floriſhe where theſe abuſes reigne, but is rather oppreſſed by vnreaſonable exactions made vpō farmers & tenants, wherwith to maintayne the ſame. Neither was it euer merier with Englande then when an Engliſhman was knowne by his owne cloth, and contented himſelfe with his fine carſie hoſen, and a meane ſlop: his coate, gowne & cloake of browne blew or puke, with ſome pretie furniture of veluet or furre, & a doublet of ſad Tawney, or blacke Veluet, or other comelye Sylke, without ſuch gawriſh coulours as are worne in theſe dayes, & neuer brought in but by the conſent of ẏ French, who thinke thēſelues the gayeſt men, when they haue moſt diuerſitie & chaunge of coulours about them. I might here name a ſort of hewes deuiſed for the nones, wherewith to pleaſe fantaſticall heades, as gooſeturde gréene, the Deuell in the heade, (I ſhoulde ſay the hedge) and ſuch like; but I paſſe them ouer thinking it ſufficient to haue ſayd thus much of apparell generally, when nothing can particularly be ſpoken of any conſtancie thereof.

Andrwe. Bord.

Ezech. 16.

¶ Of the Lawes of England.

Cap. 3.

That Samothes or Dis gaue the firſt Lawes vnto the Celtes (whoſe kingdome he erected about the fiftéene of Nymbrote) the teſtimonye of Beroſus is proofe ſufficient. For he not only affirmeth him to publiſh the ſame in the fourth of Ninus, but alſo addeth thereto, howe there lyued none in hys dayes of more excellent wiſdome, nor politike

Samothes.

tike inuention then he, whereof he was named Samothes, as ſome other doe affyrme. What his lawes were it is now altogyther vnknowne, as moſt things of thys age, but that they were altered againe at the comming of Albion, no mā cā abſolutly deny, ſith new Lordes vſe commonly to gyue newe lawes, and conquerours aboliſh ſuch as were in vſe before them.

Albion.

The lyke alſo maye be affirmed of our Brute, notwythſtanding that the certayne knowledge ſo well of the one as of the other is periſhed, & nothing worthy memory left of all theyr doyngs. Somewhat yet we haue of Mulmutius, who not only, ſubdued ſuch princes as reigned in this land, but alſo brought the Realme to good order, that long before had beene torne wyth ciuill diſcorde. But where his lawes are to be found, and which they be from othermens, no man lyuing in theſe dayes is able to determine.

Brute.

Mulmutius

Certes there was neuer Prince in Bryteyne, of whome his ſubiectes conceyued better hope in the beginning, then of Bladudus, and yet I reade of none that made ſo ridiculous an ende: in lyke ſorte there hath not reigned any Monarche in thys Iſle, whoſe wayes were more feared at yͤ firſt, thē thoſe of Dunwallon, (king Henry the fift excepted) & yet in the end he proued ſuch a Prynce, as after hys death, there was in maner no ſubiecte, that did not lament his funerralles. And this only for his pollicy in gouernance, ſeuere adminiſtration of iuſtice, and prouident framing of his lawes, and conſtitutions. His people alſo coueting to continue his name vnto poſterity, intituled thoſe his ordinaunces according to theyr maker, callyng them by the name of the lawes of Mulmutius, which indured in execution among the Brytons, ſo long as our homelynges had the dominiō of this Iſle. Afterward when the Saxons had once obteyned the ſuperioritie of the kingdome, the maieſtie of theſe laws fell for a time into ſuch decaye, that although non penitus cecidit, tamen potuit cecidiſſe videri, as Leland ſayth, and the lawes themſelues had vtterlye periſhed in deede at the very firſt brunt had they not beene preſerued in wales, where they remayned amongſt the reliques of the Brytons, and not onely vntil the comming of the Normans, but euen vntil the time of Edwarde the firſt, who obteining the ſoueraintie of that portion, indeuoured to extinguiſhe thoſe of Mulmutius, and to eſtabliſhe his owne.

The praiſe of Dunwallon.

But as the Saxōs at their firſt arriuall did what they coulde to aboliſhe the Bryttiſhe lawes, ſo in proceſſe of time they yeelded a litle to relent and not ſo much to abhorre and miſlike of the lawes of Mulmutius, as to receyue and embrace the ſame, eſpecially at ſuch time as the Saxon princes entered into amitie with the Brittiſh Princes, and after that ioyne in matrimonie, with the Bryttiſhe Ladyes. Hereof alſo it came to paſſe in the ende, that they were contented to make a choiſe and inſert no ſmall numbers of them into their own volumes, as may be gathered by thoſe of Atherbert yͤ great ſurnamed king of Kent, Inas & Alfrede, kinges of the weſt Saxons, and diuers other yet extant to be ſeene. Such alſo was the lateward eſtimation of them, that when anye of the Saxen Princes went aboute to make anye newe lawes, they cauſed thoſe of Mulmutius which Gildas ſometime tranſlated into Latine, to be expounded vnto them, and in thys peruſall if they founde anye there alreadye framed, that might ſerue their turnes, they forthwith reuiued the ſame, and annexed them to their owne. But in this dealing, the diligence of Alfrede is moſt of all to bee commended, who not onelye chooſe out the beſt, but gathered togither all ſuch whatſoeuer the ſayde Mulmutius had made: & then to the ende they ſhoulde lye no more in corners as forlorne bookes and vnknowne, he cauſed them to be turned into the Saxon tongue, wherein they continued long after hys deceaſe. As for the Normans, who neither regarded the Brittiſh, nor cared for the Saxon lawes, they alſo at the firſt vtterlye miſliked of thē, till at the laſt when they had well weighed that one kinde of regiment is not cōuenient for al peoples, & that no ſtranger beyng in a forriene Countrey newely brought vnder obedience, coulde make ſuch equall ordinaunces, as he might thereby gouerne his new cōmon wealth without ſome care of trouble: they fell in ſo wyth a deſire to ſee by what rule the eſtate of the land was gouerned in time of the Saxons, that hauing peruſed the ſame, they not onely commended their maner of regiment, but alſo admitted a great part of their lawes, (nowe currant vnder the name of S. Edwardes lawes, and vſed as principles and groundes) whereby they not onely qualified the rygor of theyr owne, and mittigated their almoſt intollerable burden of ſeruitude which they had lately layde vpon the ſhoulders of the Engliſh, but alſo left vs a great number of Mulmutin lawes, whereof the moſt part are in vſe to thys daye as I ſayde, albeit that we knowe not certeinly howe to diſtinguiſh them from other, that are in ſtrength amongſt vs.

After Dunwallon, the next lawe gyuer

was

artia. was Martia whome Lelande ſurnameth Proba, & after him John bale alſo, who in hys Centuries doth iuſtely confeſſe himſelfe to haue béene holpen by the ſayde Leland, as I my ſelfe doe likewiſe for many thinges conteined in thys treatize. Shée was wyfe vnto Gutteline king of yͤ Brytons: & being made protectrix of the realme, after hyr huſbands deceaſe in the nonage of hyr ſonne, and ſéeing many thinges daily to growe vp among hir people worthy reformation, ſhée deuiſed ſundry and thoſe very pollitike lawes, for the gouernaunce of hyr kingdome, which hir ſubiectes when ſhée was deade and gone, did name the Mertian ſtatutes. Who turned them into latine, as yet I doe not read, howbeit as I ſaid before of the lawes of Mulmutius, ſo the ſame Alfrede cauſed thoſe of thys excellently well learned Lady (whome dyuers cõmende alſo for hir great knowledge, in the Gréeke tong) to bée turned into hys owne language, wherevpon it came to paſſe that they were dailye executed among hys ſubiectes, afterwarde allowed of (among the reſt) by the Normans, and finally remaine in vſe in theſe dayes, notwithſtanding that we can not diſſeuer them very rodily from the other.

The 7. alteratiõ of lawes was practiſed by the Saxons, for I ouerpaſſe the lawes made by the Romaines, whoſe order do partly remaine in publike notice, vnder yͤ names of

ercian w. aron w. ane law.

the mercian, and the Saxon Lawe. Beſide theſe alſo I reade of the Danelawe, ſo that the people of middle england, were ruled by the firſt, the weſt Saxons by the ſeconde, as Eſſex, Norffolke, Suffolke, Cambridgſhire, and part of Herford ſhyre, were by the third, of al the reſt the moſt inequal & intollerable. Among other things alſo vſed in the time of yͤ Saxons, it ſhal not be amyſſe to ſet downe the forme of their Ordalian law, which they brought hither with them from beyonde the Seas, and vſed onely in the tryall of giltye and vngiltineſſe. Certes it conteyned not an ordinary procéeding by dayes and termes, as in the Ciuile and common lawe we ſée practiſed in theſe dayes but a ſhorte diſpatch and tryall of the matter, by fyre, or water, whereof at this preſent I will deliuer the circumſtance, as I haue faithfully tranſlated it out of an auncient volume, and conferred wyth a prynted coppie, lately publiſhed by M. Lambert, nowe extaunt to be redde.

The Ordalian ſaith the aforeſayd authour, was a certaine maner of purgation vſed two wayes, whereof the one was by fire, the other by water. In thexecution of that which was done by fire, the party accuſed ſhoulde go a certaine number of paces, with an hote péece of yron in his hande, or elſe bare footed vpon certaine plough ſhares, redde hotte, according to the maner. This Iron was ſometime of one pounde weight, and then was it called ſingle Ordalium, ſometimes of thrée, & then named treble, Ordalium, and whoſoeuer did beare or treade on the ſame without hurt of his body, he was adiudged giltleſſe, otherwyſe if his ſkin were ſcorched, he was forthwith condemned as gylty of the treſpaſſe wherof he was accuſed.

There were in lyke ſorte two kinds of triall by yͤ water, that is to ſay, either by hote, or colde: & in this tryall the partye thought culpeable, was eyther tumbled into ſome pond, or huge veſſell of colde water, wherein if he continued for a ſeaſon, without wreſtling or ſtrugling for lyfe, he was forthwyth acquited as giltleſſe of the facte whereof hée was accuſed: but if he beganne to plunge, & labor once for breath immediately vpon his falling into that lyquour, he was by and by condemned, as gilty of the crime. Or elſe he did thurſt his arme vp to the ſhoulder into a leade, copper, or Caldron of ſéething water, from whence if he withdrewe the ſame without any maner of damage, he was diſcharged of farder moleſtation: otherwyſe hée was taken for a treſpaſſer, and puniſhed accordingly. The fiery maner of purgation belonged onely to noble men and women, and ſuch as were frée borne, but the huſbandmen and villaines, were tryed by water, whereof to ſhewe the vnlearned dealing and blynde ignoraunce of thoſe times, it ſhall not bée impertinent to ſet forth the whole maner, which continued here in England vntill the time of King John, who ſéeyng the manifold ſubtilties in the ſame, did extinguiſh it altogither as flat lewdeneſſe and bouerye. The Rubrik of yͤ treatize entereth thus. Here beginneth yͤ execution of Iuſtice, whereby the giltie or vngiltie are tried by hote Iron. Thẽ it followeth. After accuſatiõ lawfully made, and thrée dayes ſpent in faſting and prayer, the Prieſt being cladde in all his holly veſtures, ſauing his veſtiment, ſhall take the Iron layde before the alter with a payre of tongues, and ſinging the himme of the thrée children, that is to ſaye, O all yée workes of God the Lorde, and in latine Benedicite omnia opera, &c. he ſhall cary it ſolemly to yͤ fire (already made for yͤ purpoſe) & firſt ſay theſe words ouer the place where yͤ fire is kindled wherby this purgation ſhall bée made in latin as inſueth. Benedic domine deus locum, iſtum vt ſit nobis in eo ſanitas, ſanctitas, caſtitas, virtꝰ et victoria, et ſanctimonia, humilitas, bonitas, lenitas, et plenitudo Legis, et obediētia deo patri et filio, et ſpiritui ſancto. Hec Benedictio, ſit ſuper hunc locum, et ſuper omnes habitantes in eo, *in Engliſh*: **Bleſſe thou O Lorde this place that it may be to vs health holyneſſe, chaſtity, vertue, and victory, pureneſſe, humilitie, goodneſſe, gentleneſſe, and fulneſſe of the lawe, and obedience to God the father, the ſonne, & the holy ghoſt. This bleſſing be vpon this place, and all that dwel in it.** *Then followeth the bleſsing of the fire.* Domine deus, pater omnipotens lumen indeficiens, exaudi nos, quia tu es conditor, omnium luminum. Benedic domine hoc lumen, quod ante ſanctificatum eſt, qui illuminaſti omnē hominem, venientem in hunc mundū, (vel mundum) vt ab eo lumine accedamur igne claritatis tuæ, & ſicut igne illuminaſti Moſen, ita nunc illumina corda noſtra, et ſenſus noſtros, vt ad vitam eternam mereamur peruenire, per chriſtum. &c. **Lord God father almightie, light euerlaſting, heare vs, ſith ẏ art the maker of all lyghtes. Bleſſe O Lord this light, ẏ is already ſanctified in thy ſight, which haſt lightned all men that come into the worlde, (or the whole worlde) to the ende that by the ſame lyght, we may be lightned wyth the ſhining of thy brightneſſe. As thou diddeſt lighten Moyſes, ſo nowe illuminate our hearts, and our ſenſes, that we may deſerue to come to euerlaſting lyfe, thorowe Chriſt our &c.** *Thys beyng ended let him ſaye the* pater noſter. &c. *then theſe wordes.* Saluum fac ſeruum &c. Mitte ei auxilium deus. &c. De Sion tuere eum. &c. Dominus vobiſcū. &c, *that is*. **O Lorde ſaue thy ſeruant, &c. Sende him helpe O God frō thy holy place defende him out of Syon. &c. Lorde here. &c. The Lorde be with you. &c.**

The prayer. Benedic domine ſancte pater omnipotens deus, per inuocationem ſanctiſſimi nominis tui, et per aduentum filij tui, atq; per donum ſpiritus paracleti, ad manifeſtādum verum iudicium tuum, hoc genus metalli, vt ſit ſanctificatum, et omni demonum falſitate procul remota, veritas veri iudicij tui fidelibus tuis manifeſta fiat, per eundem dominum. &c. *in Engliſhe.* **Bleſſe we beſeech thee O Lorde, holy father, euerlaſting God, thorowe the inuocation of thy moſt holy name, by the comming of thy ſonne, and gyft of the holy ghoſt, and to the manifeſtation of thy true iudgement, this kinde of mettall, that being hallowed, and all fraudulent practiſes of the deuils vtterly remoued, the manifeſt truth of thy true iudgement, maye be reuealed, by the ſame Lorde Ieſus &c.**

After this, let the yron be layde into the fyre, and ſprinckled with holy water, and whileſt it heateth, let the Prieſt go to maſſe, and doe as order requireth, and when he hath receiued the hoſt, he ſhal call the man that is to be purged (as it is written hereafter) firſt adiuring him, and then permitting hym to communicate according to the maner.

The Office of the maſſe.

Iuſtus es domine, &c. **O Lord thou art iuſt. &c.**

The Prayer.

Abſolue queſumus domine delicta famuli tui, vt a peccatorum ſuorum nexibus quæ pro ſua fragilitate contraxit, tua benignitate liberetur, & in hoc iudicio quoad meruit iuſtitia tua præueniente, ad veritatis cenſuram peruenire mereatur. per Chriſtum dominum. &c *That is.* **Pardon wee beſeech thee O Lorde, the ſinnes of thy ſeruaunt, that being deliuered from the burden of his offences, wherewith he is intangled, he may be cleared by thy benignitie, and in thys hys tryal (ſo farre as he hath deſerued, thy mercy preuenting him) he maye come to the knowledge of the truth, by chriſt our Lorde. &c.**

The Goſpell. Mar. 10.

IN illo tēpore, cum egreſſus eſſet Ieſus in via, procurrens quidā genu flexo ante eum, rogabat eum dicens, Magiſter bone, quid faciam vt vitam eternam percipiā. Ieſus autem dixit ei, quid me dicis bonum? &c. **In thoſe dayes when Ieſus went forth towarde hys iourney, & one meeting in him the way running, & kneeling vnto him, asked him ſaying. Good Maiſter what ſhal I doe that I may poſſeſſe eternall lyfe. Ieſus ſayd vnto him, why calleſt ẏ me good. &c.** *Then followeth the ſecrete and ſo foorth all of the reſt of the maſſe. But before the partye doth communicate, the Pryeſt ſhall vſe theſe wordes vnto hym.* Adiuro te per patrem, & filium, & ſpiritum ſanctum, & per veram chriſtianitatem quam ſuſcepiſti, & per ſanctas relliquias quæ in iſta eccleſia ſunt, & per baptiſmum quo te ſacerdos regenerauit vt non preſumas vllo modo communicare, neque accedere ad altare, ſi hoc feciſti aut cōſenſiſti &c. **I adiure thee by the Father the ſonne and the holy Ghoſt, by the true chriſtēdome which thou haſt receyued, by the holly relliques which are in this Church, and by the baptiſme, wherewith the Prieſt hath regenerated thee, that thou preſume not by any maner of meanes, to communicate, nor come about the aultar, if thou haſt done or conſented vnto thys, whereof thou art accuſed. &c.** *Here let the Prieſt ſuffer him to communicate, ſaying.* Corpus hoc, & ſanguis domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti, ſit tibi ad probationē hodie. **This body & this bloud of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, be vnto thee a tryall this daye.**

The cup yet in vſe.

The pꝛayer. Perceptis domine deus noſter ſacris muneribus, ſupplices deprecamur, vt huius participatio ſacramenti a proprijs nos reatibus expediat, & in famulo tuo veritatis ſententiam declaret.&c. Hauing receaued O Loꝛd God theſe holy miſteries, we humbly beſéche thée that the participation of thys ſacrament, maye rydde vs of our guiltyneſſe, and in this thy ſeruaunt ſet foꝛth the truth. *Then ſhall followe* Kyrieleſon, *the Letanye, and certayne Pſalmes, and after all them* Oremus, Let vs pꝛaye, Deus qui per ignem ſigna magna oſtendens Abraham puerum tuum de incendio Chaldeorum quibuſdam pereuntibus eruiſti, Deus qui rubum ardere antè conſpectum Moyſis & minime comburi permiſiſti. Deus qui de incēdio fornacis Chaldaicis pleriſque ſuccenſis, tres pueros tuos illęſos eduxiſti. Deus qui incendio ignis populum Sodomæ inuoluens, Loth famulum tuū cum ſuis ſalute donaſti, Deus qui in aduentu ſancti ſpiritus tui, illuſtratione ignis fideles tuos ab infidelibus decreuiſti. Oſtēde nobis in hoc prauitatis noſtræ examine virtutē eiuſdem ſpiritus &c. Et per ignis huius feruorem diſcernere infideles, vt à tactu eius cuiꝰ inquiſitio agitur, conſcius exhorreſcat, & manus eius comburatur, innocens vero poenitus illæſus permaneat, &c. Deus cuius noticiam nulla vnquam ſecreta effugiunt, fidei noſtræ tua bonitate reſponde, & pręſta vt quiſquis purgandi ſe gratia, hoc ignitum tulerit ferrum, vel abſoluatur vt innocens vel noxius detegatur. &c. in Engliſhe thus. O God which in ſhowing great tokens by fire diddeſt deliuer Abꝛaham thy ſeruaunt frō the burnyng of yͤ Chaldeis, whileſt other periſhed. O god whiche ſufferedſt the buſhe to burne, in yͤ ſight of Moyſes, ⁊ yet not to conſume. O God which deliueredſt the thꝛée childꝛē frō bodily harme in the Foꝛnace of the Chaldies, whileſt dyuers were conſumed. O God which by fyꝛe diddeſt wꝛap the people of Sodome in their deſtruction, and yet ſauedſt Lot ⁊ his daughters from peryll. O God which by the ſhyning of thy bꝛighneſſe at the comming of the holly ghoſt in likewyſe of fire, diddeſt ſeperate the faithfull, from ſuch as beléeued not: ſhew vnto vs in yͤ tryall of this our wickedneſſe, the power of the ſame ſpirit. ⁊c. And by yͤ heate of this fire deſcerne the faithful from the vnfaithfull, that the giltie whoſe cauſe is nowe in tryall, by touching thereof, maye tremble and feare, and his hande be burned, oꝛ beyng innocent, that he maye remaine in ſafety. ⁊c. O God frō whom no ſecretes are hidden, let thy goodnes anſwere to our faith, ⁊ graunt that whoſoeuer in thys purgation, ſhall touch and beare thys Iron, may either be tryed an innocent, oꝛ reuealed as an offēder. ⁊c. *After this the Prieſt ſhall ſprynckle the Iron wyth Holly water, ſaying.* The bleſſing of God, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy ghoſt, be vpon this Iron, to the reuelation of the iuſt iudgement of God. *And foorthwith lette hym that is accuſed, beare it by the length of nyne foote, and then lette his hande be wrapped and ſealed vppe for the ſpace of three dayes, after thys yf anye corruption or rawe fleſhe appeare where the Iron touched it, lette him be condemned as guiltie: yf it be whole and ſounde, let hym giue thankes to God.* And thus much of the fierye Ordalia, whereunto that of the water hath ſo pꝛecyſe relation, that in ſetting foꝛth of the one, I haue alſo deſcribed the other, wherefoꝛe it ſhall be but in vaine, to deale any farder withall. Hetherto alſo as I thinke, ſufficiently of ſuch lawes as were in vſe befoꝛe the conqueſt. Nowe it reſteth that I ſhould declare the oꝛder of thoſe, that haue béene made ſith the comming of the Noꝛmās, but foꝛ aſmuch as I am no lawier, ⁊ therfoꝛe haue but lyttle ſkyll to pꝛocéede in the ſame accoꝛdingly, it ſhall ſuffice to ſet downe ſome generall dyſcourſe of ſuch as are vſed in our daies, and ſo much as I haue gathered by repoꝛt and common here ſaye. We haue therfoꝛe in Englād ſundꝛy lawes, and firſt of all the ciuile, vſed in the chauncery, admiraltie, and dyuers other courtes, in ſome of which, the ſeuere rygoꝛ of Iuſtice is often ſo mittigated by conſcience, that dyuers thinges are thereby made eaſie and tollerable, whyche otherwyſe woulde appeare to be mére iniurye and extremity. We haue alſo a great part of the Cannon lawe daily pꝛactiſed among vs, eſpecially in caſes of tithes, contracts of matrimony, and ſuch lyke, as are vſually to be ſéene in the conſiſtoꝛies of our Biſhoppes, where the exercyſe of the ſame is verye hotely followed. The third ſoꝛte of lawes, that we follow, are our owne, and thoſe alwaies ſo variable, and ſubiect to alteration and change, that oft in one age, diuers iudgementes doe paſſe vpon one maner of caſſe, wherby the ſaying of the Poet

Tempora mutantur, & nos mutamur in illis.

maye very well be applyed vnto ſuch as beyng vꝛged with theſe woꝛdes in ſuch a yeare of the Pꝛince this opinion was taken foꝛ ſounde lawe, doe aunſwere nothing elſe, but that the iudgement of our lawyers is nowe altered, ſo that they ſaye farre otherwyſe. The regiment that we haue therefoꝛe after our owne oꝛdinaunces dependeth vpon Statute lawe, Common law, Cuſtomary law, ⁊ Pꝛeſcription.

Parliament law.

The firſt is deliuered vnto vs by Parliament, which court is the higheſt of all other, and conſiſteth of thrée ſeuerall ſortes of people, that is to ſay, the Nobility, Clergy, and commons of thys Realme, and there to is not ſomoned, but vppon vrgent occaſion when the prince doth ſée his time, and that by ſeueral writtes, dated commonly ful ſixe wéekes before it begin to be holden. Such lawes as are agréed vpō in the higher houſe by the Lordes ſpirituall and temporall, and in the lower houſe by the commons and bodye of the realme, (wherof the conuocation of the cleargy holden in Powles is a member,) there ſpeaking by the mouth of the knights of the ſhire and burgeſſes, remaine in the ende to be confirmed by the Prince, who commonly reſorteth thither vppon the firſt and laſte daies of thys court, there to vnderſtande what is done, & giue his royall conſent to ſuch eſtatutes as him lyketh of. Comming therefore thither into the higher houſe, and hauing taken his throne, the ſpeaker of the Parliament (for one is alwayes appoynted to go betwéene the houſes, as an indifferent mouth for both) readeth openlye the matters there determined by the ſayde thrée eſtates, and then craueth the Princes conſent and confirmation to the ſame.

The king hauing heard the ſomme & principall pointes of each eſtatute briefly recited vnto him, aunſwereth in French with great deliberation vnto ſuch as he lyketh, (*Il nous plaiſt*) but to the reſt *Il ne plaiſt*, whereby the latter are vtterly made voyde and fruſtrate. That alſo which his Maieſtie liketh of, is euer after holden for law, except it be repealed in any the lyke aſſembly. The number of the commons aſſembled in the lower houſe, beſide the clergie cōſiſteth of ninetie Knights. For eache ſhyre of England hath twoo gentlemen or knights of greateſt wiſedome and reputation choſen out of the bodye of the ſame for that only purpoſe, ſauing that for wales one only is ſuppoſed ſufficient in euerie countie, whereby the number afore mentioned is made vp. There are likewyſe fourtie and ſixe Citizens, 289. Burgeſes, and fourtéene Barons, ſo that the whole aſſembly of the layetie of the lower houſe, cōſiſteth of foure hundred thirtie and nine perſons, if the iuſt number be ſupplyed. Of the lawes here made lykewyſe ſome are penall and reſtraine the common lawe, and ſome againe are founde to inlarge the ſame. The one ſort of theſe alſo are for the moſt part takē ſtrictlye according to the letter, the other more largely and beneficially after their intendement and meaning.

Comm Lawe.

The Common Lawe ſtandeth vppon ſundrye Maximes or Principles, and yeares or tearmes, which doe conteine ſuch caſes as by great ſtudye and ſolemne argument of the iudges, and thereto the déepeſt reach & foundations of reaſon, are ruled and adiudged for lawe. Certes theſe caſes are otherwiſe called pléas or actiōs, wherof there are two ſortes the one criminall & the other ciuile. The meanes & meſſengers alſo to determine thoſe cauſes are our writtes, wherof there are ſome Originall and ſome Iudiciall. The parties plaintife and defendant when they appeare procéede (if the caſe do ſo require) by plaint or declaration, aunſwere, replication and reioynder, and ſo to iſſue, the one ſide affirmatiuely, the other negatiuely. Our trialles, and recoueries are eyther by verdict and demourre, confeſſion or default, wherein if any negligence or treſpaſſe hath béene committed, eyther in proceſſe & forme, or in matter & iudgement, the partie grieued may haue a writte of errour to vndoe ẏ ſame but not in the ſame court where the former iudgement was giuen. **Custom ry Lawe.** Cuſtomarie law conſiſteth of certaine laudable cuſtomes vſed in ſome priuate country, entended firſt to beginne vppon good and reaſonable conſiderations, as gauell kinde which is all the male children to inherite, & cōtinued to this day in Kent: or Burrow kinde where the yongeſt is preferred before the eldeſt, which is the cuſtome of many countries of this region, & ſo forth of ſuch like to be learned elſe where.

Preſcription.

Preſcription is a certayne cuſtome, which hath continued time out of minde, but it is more particular then cuſtomarie lawe, as where onely a pariſh or ſome priuate perſon doth preſcribe to haue common, or a way, in another mans ſoyle, or tithes to be payde after this or that maner, I meane otherwyſe then the common courſe & order of the lawe requyreth, whereof let thys ſuffice at thys tyme, in ſtéede of a larger diſcourſe of our owne lawes, leaſt I ſhoulde ſéeme to enter farre into that whereof I haue no ſkill. For what hath the meditation of the lawe of God to doe with any preciſe knowledge of the law of man, ſith they are ſeuerall trades and incident to diuers perſons. There are alſo ſundrie vſuall courtes holdē once in euery quarter of the yeare, which we commonlye call tearmes of the latin worde Terminus, **Terme** wherin all cōtrouerſies are determined, that happen within the Quéenes dominions. Theſe are commonly holden at London except vpō ſome great occaſion they be transferred to other places, at what times alſo they are kept the table inſuing ſhal eaſily declare. Finally howe well they are followed by ſuters, the great welth of our lawiers without any traueyle of mine can eaſily expreſſe. This furthermore is to be noted, that albeit the princes heretofore reigning in this lande haue erected ſundry courtes eſpecially of the chauncerie at Yorke and Ludlow for the eaſe of poore men dwelling in thoſe parties, yet will the pooreſt (of all men commonly moſt contencious) refuſe to haue his cauſe hearde ſo neere home, but indeuoureth rather to hys vtter vndoing to trauaile vp to Londō, thinking there ſooneſt to preuaile againſt his aduerſary, though his caſe be neuer ſo doubtful. But in this toye our Welchmen doe exceede of all that euer I hearde, for you ſhall here & there haue ſome one odde poore Dauid of thē giuen ſo much to contention and ſtrife, that without all reſpect of charges he will vp to London, though he go bare legged by the waye, and carye his hoſen on his necke (to ſaue theyr feete from wearing) bycauſe he hath no chaunge. When he commeth there alſo he will make ſuch importunate begging of his countreymē, and hard ſhift otherwiſe, that he will ſometymes carye downe ſixe or ſeuen writtes in his purſe, wherwith to moleſt his neighbour, though the greateſt quarrell be ſcarſely worth the price that he payd for any one of thē. But ynough of this leaſt in reuealing the ſuperfluous follye of a fewe brablers in this behalfe, I bring no good wil to my ſelfe amongſt the wyſeſt of that natiō. Certes it is a lamentable caſe to ſee furthermore how a number of poore men are dayly abuſed and vtterly vndone, by ſundrie varlets that go about the countrey as brokers betweene the petty foggers of the lawe, and the common people, onely to kyndle coales of contention, wherby the one ſide may reape commodity and the other be put to traueyle. But of all that euer I knew in Eſſex, Denis and Mainford excelled, till John of Ludlow alias Maſon came in place, vnto whome in compariſon they two were but children and babes, for he in leſſe thē three or foure yeres, did bring one man (among many elſe where in other places almoſt to extreeme miſery, (if beggery be the vttermoſt) who before hee had the ſhauing of his bearde, was valued at two hundred pounde (I ſpeake with the leſt) who finally feeling that he had not ſufficent wherwith to ſuſteine himſelf, & his familie, & alſo to ſatiſfie that greedie rauenour, that ſtil called vpon him for new fees, he went to bed and within foure dayes made an ende of hys wofull life, euen with care & penſiueneſſe. After his death alſo he ſo hādled his ſonne, that there was neuer ſheepe ſhorne in Maie, ſo neere clypped of hys fleece preſent, as hee was of manye to come, ſo that he was compelled to let away his leaſe land, becauſe his cattell and ſtocke were conſumed, and he no longer able to occupie the ground. But hereof let this ſuffiſe, and in ſteede of theſe enormities, two tables ſhall inſue, whereof the firſt ſhall containe the names of the Countyes, Cities, Borowes and Portes, which ſend knightes, Burgeſes and Barons to the Parliament houſe, the other an infallible report of the beginnings and endes of euery tearme with their returnes, according to the maner, as I haue borrowed them of my friende John Stow, whyleſt this impreſſion was in hande.

Three Varlettes worthie to be chronicled.

The names of Countries, Cities, Borowghes, and Portes, ſending Knightes, Citizens, Burgeſes and Barons, to the Parliament of Englande.

Bedforde.	
Knightes	2
The borowgh of Bedforde.	2
Buckingham.	
Knightes	2
The borowgh of Buckingham.	2
The borowgh of Wickombe.	2
The borowgh of Ailesbury.	2
Barckeſhyre.	
Knightes	2
The borowgh of New Windſore.	2
The borowgh of Reding.	2
The borowgh of Wallingforde.	2
The borowgh of Abington.	2
Cornewall.	
Knightes.	2
The borow. of Launceſton alias Newport	2
The borowgh of Leſkerd.	2
The borowgh of Loſtwythiell.	2
The borowgh of Dunheuet.	2
The borowgh of Truro.	2
The borowgh of Bodmin.	2
The borowgh of Helſton.	2
The borowgh of Saltaſh.	2
The borowgh of Camelforde.	2
The boro. of Portighſam alias Portlow.	2
The borowgh of Graunpount.	2
The borowgh of Eaſtlow.	2
The borowgh of Pënry.	2
The borowgh Tregonye.	2
The borow. of Trebenna alias Boſſinny.	2
The borowgh of S. Ies.	2
The borowgh of Foway.	2
The borowgh of Germine.	2
The borowgh of Michell.	2
The borowgh of Saint Maries.	2

Cumberlande.	
Knightes.	2
The citie of Caerliſle.	2
Cambridge.	
Knightes.	2
The borowgh of Cambridge.	2
Cheſter.	
Knightes.	2
The Citie of Cheſter.	2
Darby.	
Knightes.	2
The borowgh of Darby.	2
Deuon.	
Knightes.	2
The citie of Exceſter.	2
The borowgh of Totnes.	2
The borowgh of Plimmouth.	2
The borowgh of Bardneſtable.	2
The borowgh of Plimton.	2
The borowgh of Taueſtocke.	2
The borowgh of Dartmouth, Clifton, and Herdynes.	2
Dorſet ſhyre.	
Knightes.	2
The borowgh of Poole.	2
The borowgh of Dorcheſter.	2
The borowgh of Linne.	2
The borowgh of Melcombe.	2
The borowgh of Waymouth.	2
The borowgh of Bureport.	2
The borowgh of Shafteſbury.	2
The borowgh of Warham.	2
Eſſex.	
Knightes.	2
The borowgh of Colcheſter.	2
The borowgh Malden.	2
Yorkeſhire.	
Knightes.	2
The citie of Yorke.	2
The borowgh of Kingſton vpon Hull.	2
The borowgh of Knareſbrugh.	2
The borowgh of Skardborowgh.	2
The borowgh of Rippon.	2
The borowgh of Hudon.	2
The borowgh of borowghbridge.	2
The borowgh of Thuſke.	2
The borowgh of Aldebrugh.	2
The borowgh of Beuerley.	2
Glouceſterſhyre.	
Knightes.	2
The Citie of Gloceſter.	2
The borowgh of Cirenceſter.	2
Huntingtonſhyre.	
Knightes.	2
The borowgh of Huntingdon.	2
Hertfordſhyre.	
Knightes.	2
The borowgh of Saint Albons.	2
Herefordeſhyre.	
Knightes.	2
The Citie of Hereford.	2
The borowgh of Lempſter.	2
Kent.	
Knightes.	2
The citie of Cantorbury.	2
The citie of Rocheſter.	2
The borowgh of Maideſton.	2
The borowgh of Quinborowgh.	2
Lincolne.	
Knightes.	2
The citie of Lincolne.	2
The borowgh of Boſtone.	2
The borowgh of great Grineſby.	2
The borowgh of Stamforde.	2
The borowgh of Grantham.	2
Leiceſter ſhyre.	
Knightes.	2
The borowgh of Leiceſter.	2
Lancaſterſhyre.	
Knightes.	2
The borowgh of Lancaſter.	2
The borowgh of Preſton in Andernes.	2
The borowgh of Liuerpole.	2
The borowgh of Newton.	2
The borowgh of Wigan.	2
The borowgh of Clithero.	2
Middleſex.	
Knightes.	2
The citie of London.	4
The citie of Weſtminſter.	2
Monmouth.	
Knightes.	2
The borowgh of Monmouth.	1
Northampton.	
Knightes.	2
The citie of Peterborowgh.	2
The borowgh of Northampton.	2
The borowgh of Barkley.	2
The borowgh of Higham Ferres.	1
Notingham.	
Knightes.	2
The borowgh of Notingham.	2
The borowgh Eſtreatforde.	2
Norfolke.	
Knightes.	2
The citie of Norwich.	2
The borowgh of Linne.	2
The borowgh of great Iernemouth.	2
The borowgh of Thetford.	2
The borowgh of caſtell Riſing.	2
Northumberland.	
Knightes.	2
The borowgh of New Caſtell vpon Tine.	2
The borowgh of Morpeth.	2
The borowgh of Barwike.	2
Oxforde.	
Knightes.	2
The citie of Oxforde.	2

The

The borowgh of Wambury.	2
The borowgh of Wodſtocke.	2
Rutlande.	
Knightes.	2
Surrey.	
Knightes.	2
The borowgh of Southwarke.	2
The borowgh of Blechingleighe.	2
The borowgh of Rigate.	2
The borowgh of Guildford.	2
The borowgh of Gatton.	2
Stratford.	
Knightes.	2
The citie of Lichfielde.	2
The borowgh of Stratforde.	2
The borowgh of New caſtel vnder Lime.	2
The borowgh of Tamworth.	2
Salop.	
Knightes.	2
The borowgh of Salop.	2
The boro. of Bruges alias bridgenorth.	2
The borowgh of Ludlow.	2
The borowgh of Wenlocke.	2
Southampton.	
Knightes.	2
The citie of Winton.	2
The borowgh of Southampton.	2
The borowgh of Portſmouth.	2
The borowgh of Peterfielde.	2
The borowgh of Stockebridge.	2
The borowgh of Chriſt Church.	2
Suffolke.	
Knightes.	2
The borowgh of Ippeſwich.	2
The borowgh of Dunwich.	2
The borowgh of Orford.	2
The borowgh of Aldeborowgh.	2
The borowgh of Sudbury.	2
The borowgh of Eya.	2
Somerſet.	
Knightes.	
The citie of Briſtow.	2
The citie of Bath.	2
The citie of Welles.	2
The borowgh of Taunton.	2
The borowgh Bridgewater.	2
The borowgh of Minched.	2
Suſſex.	
Knightes.	2
The citie of Chicheſter.	2
The borowgh of Horſham.	2
The borowgh of Midhurſt.	2
The borowgh of Lewes.	2
The borowgh of Shorham.	2
The borowgh of Brember.	2
The borowgh of Stening.	2
The borowgh of Eaſtgreneſted.	2
The borowgh of Arundell.	2
Weſtmerland.	
Knightes.	2
The borowgh of Appulby.	2
Wilton.	
Knightes.	2
The citie of New Sarum.	2
The borowgh of Wilton.	2
The borowgh of Downton.	2
The borowgh of Hindon.	2
The borowgh of Heyteſbury.	2
The borowgh of Weſtbury.	2
The borowgh of Caine.	2
The borowgh of Deuiſes.	2
The borowgh of Chyppenham.	2
The borowgh of Malmeſbury.	2
The borowgh of Cricklade.	2
The borowgh of Badwin.	2
The borowgh of Ludgeſale.	2
The borowgh of Olde Sarum.	2
The borowgh of Wotton Baſſet.	2
The borowgh of Marleborowgh.	2
Worceſter.	
Knightes.	2
The citie of Worceſter.	2
The borowgh of Withee.	2
Warwike.	
Knightes.	2
The Citie of Couentry.	2
The borowgh of Warwike.	2
Barons of the portes.	
Haſtings.	2
Winchelſey.	2
Rye.	2
Rumney.	2
Hithe.	2
Douer.	2
Sandwich.	2
Mountgomery.	
Knightes.	1
The borowgh of Mountgomery.	1
Flint.	
Knightes.	1
The borowgh of Flint.	1
Denbigh.	
Knightes.	1
The borowgh of Denbigh.	1
Merionneth.	
Knightes.	1
The borowgh of Hauerfordweſt.	1
Carneruan.	
Knightes.	1
The borowgh of Carneruan.	1
Angleſey.	
Knightes.	1
The borowgh of Beaumares.	1
Carmarden.	
Knightes.	1
The borowgh of New Carmarden.	1
Pembroke.	
Knightes.	1

The borowgh of Pembroke. 1

Cardigan.

Knightes. 1

The borowgh of Brecknocke. 1

Radnor.

Knightes. 1

The borowgh of Radnor. 1

Glamorgan.

Knights. 1

The borowgh of Cardiffe. 1

¶ The Summe of the foreſayde number of the common houſe videlicet, of

Knights.	90.
Citizens.	46.
Burgeſſes.	289.
Barons.	14.
	439.

A perfect rule to knowe the beginning and ending of euery terme, with their returnes.

HIllary terme beginneth the xxiij. day of January, if it be not Sunday, otherwiſe the next daye after, & endeth the twelfth of February, and hath foure returnes.

Octabis Hilarij.
Quind. Hilarij.
Craſtino Purific.
Octabis Puriſic.

¶ Eaſter terme beginneth xvij. dates after Eaſter, and endeth foure dayes after the aſcention day, and hath fiue returnes.

Quind. Paſch.
Tres Paſchæ.
Menſe.
Paſchę.
Quinquæ Paſchæ.
Craſt. Aſcention.

¶ Trinitie terme beginneth the next daye after Corpus Chriſti daye, and endeth the wedneſdaye fortnight after, and hath foure returnes.

Craſt. Trinitatis.
Octabis Trinitat.
Quind. Trinitatis
Tres Trinitatis.

¶ Michelmas terme beginneth the ix. of October if it be not Sunday, and endeth the xxviij. of Nouember, and hath viij. returnes

Octabis Michael.
Quind. Michael.
Tres Michael.
Menſe Michael.
Craſt. anima.
Craſt. Martini.
Octa. Martini.
Quind. Martini.

Note alſo that the Eſchequer openeth eight dayes before any terme begin, except Trinitie terme, which openeth but foure dayes before.

¶ And nowe followeth the lawe dayes in the court of Tharches, and audience of Canterbury, with other Eccleſiaſticall & Ciuill lawes, through the whole yeare.

These dayes are not chaunged excepte they lyght on a Sunday or holy daye, and euery daye is called a lawday, vnleſſe it bée Sunday or holyday.

Michelmas terme.

S. Faith.
S. Edward.
S. Luke.
Simon & Iu.
All Soules.
S. Martin.
Edmond.
Katherin.
S. Andrewe.
Conception of our Lady.

¶ It is to be noted that the firſt day following euery of theſe feaſtes noted in euery terme, the court of the Arches is kept in Bowe church in the forenoone. And the ſame firſt daye in the afternoone is the Admyralty Court for Ciuill cauſes kept in Southwarke.

The ſeconde daye followyng euery one of the ſayde feaſtes, the court of Audience of Caunterburye is kept in the Conſiſtory in Paules in the forenoone. And the ſame daye in the after noone, in the ſame place is the Prerogatiue court of Caunterbury holden.

The thirde daye after any ſuch feaſt in the forenoone, the conſiſtory court of the Biſhop of London is kept in Paules Church in the conſiſtory, and the ſame thirde daye in the afternoone is the court of the Delegates and of the Quéenes highneſſe Commiſſyoners vpon appeales kept in the ſame place.

Hilary terme.

S. Hilary.
S. Wolſtan.
Conuerſion of S. Paule.
S. Blaſe.
S. Scolaſtic.
S. Valentine.
Aſhwedneſd.
S. Mathie.
S. Chad.
Perpet. & Fel.
S. Gregory.
Anunciation of our Ladye.

Note that the foure firſt dayes of thys terme be certain and vnchanged. The other are altered after the courſe of the yere, and ſometime kept and ſomtime omitted. For if it ſo happen that one of thoſe feaſtes fall on wedneſdaye cōmonly called Aſhwedneſday, after the day of S. Blaſe (ſo that ẏ ſame law day after Aſhwedneſday cannot bée kept bycauſe the lawday of thother feaſt doth lyght on the ſame) then the ſeconde law day after Aſhwedneſday ſhall be kept, and the other omitted. And if the lawday after that wedneſday be ẏ next daye after the feaſt of S. Blaſe, then ſhall all & euery thoſe court dates be obſerued in order, as they may be kept cōueniently. And marke although that Aſhwedneſday be put the ſeauenth in order, yet it hath no certaine place, but is chaunged as the courſe of Eaſter cauſeth it.

Eaſter Tearme.

The fifthtéene day after Eaſter.

S. Alphege.
S. Marke.
Inuention of the Croſſe.
Gordiane.
S. Dunſtane.
Aſcention day.

¶ In thys terme the firſt ſitting is alwaye kept the Munday beyng the 15. day after Eaſter, and ſo forth after the feaſts here noted, which next followe by courſe of the yeare after Eaſter. And the lyke ſpace being kept betwéene other feaſtes.

The reſt of the lawe dayes are kept to the thirde of the Aſcention, which is the laſt day of this terme. And if it happen that the feaſt of yͤ Aſcention of our Lord, doe come before any of the feaſtes aforeſayde, then they are omytted for that yeare. And lykewiſe if anye of thoſe dayes come before the xv. of Eaſter thoſe dayes are omitted alſo.

Trinitie Tearme.

Trinitie Sunday.
Corpus Chriſti.
Boniface Biſhop.
S.Barnabie.
S.Butolphe.
S.Iohn.
S.Paule.
Tranſla.Thomas,
S.Swythune.
S.Margaret.
S.Anne.

¶ Note that the lawedayes of this tearme are altered by meane of Whitſuntyde, & the firſt ſitting is kept alwayes on the firſt law daye after the feaſt of the holy Trinitie, and the ſeconde ſeſſion is kept the firſt lawe daye after Corpus Chriſti, except Corpus chriſti daye fall on ſome daye aforenamed: which chaunceth ſometime, and then the ſitter daye is kept. And after the ſecond ſeſſion account foure dayes or thereabout, and then looke which is the next feaſt daye, and the fyrſt lawe daye after the ſayde feaſt, ſhall bée the thirde ſeſſion. The other lawe dayes followe in order, but ſo many of them are kept, as for the time of the yere ſhalbe thought méete.

¶ And note generally that euery day is called a lawe daye that is not Sundaye or hollydaye: and that if the feaſt day being knowne of any court day in any terme, the firſt or ſeconde daye followyng be Sundaye, then the court daye is kept the daye after the ſayd holy daye or feaſt.

Of the degrees of people in the commonwealth of Englande. Cap. 4.

WE in Englande deuide our people commonlye into foure ſortes, as Gentlemen, Citizens or Burgeſes, Yeomē, and Artificerers or labourers. Of gentlemē the firſt & chiefe next the king be the Prince, Dukes, Marquiſes, Earles, Uiſcontes and Barons: and theſe are called the Nobilitie, they are alſo named Lordes and noble men, and next to them be Knightes and Eſquires, and ſimple gentlemen.

ince.

The tytle of Prince doth peculiarly belong to the Kinges eldeſt ſonne, who is called Prince of Wales, and is the heire apparant to the Crowne, as in Fraunce the kings eldeſt ſonne hath yͤ title of Dolphine, and is named peculiarly Monſieur. So that the Prince is ſo termed of the latine worde, quia eſt principalis poſt Regem. The Kinges yonger ſonnes be but gentlemen by byrth, till they haue receyued creation of hygher eſtate to bée eyther Uiſcontes, Earles or Dukes: & called after their names, as Lord Henry, or Lorde Edwarde wyth the additiō of the worde Grace, properly aſſigned to the king and prince, and by cuſtome conueighed to Dukes, Marquiſes, and their wyues.

Duke.

The title of Duke commeth alſo of the Latine worde Dux, à ducendo, bycauſe of hys valoir and power ouer the army. In times paſt a name of Office due to the chiefe gouernour of the whole armie in the warres, but now a name of honour.

In olde tyme he onely was called Marquiſe Qui habuit terram limitaneam, a marching prouince vpon the enemies countreis. But that alſo is chaunged in common vſe, & reputed for a name of great honour next the Duke, euen ouer Counties and ſometimes ſmall cities, as the Prince is pleaſed to beſtowe it.

Erle.

The name of Earle likewyſe was among the Romaines a name of Office, who had Comites ſacri palatij, Comites ærarij, Comites ſtabuli and ſuch like, howbeit it appereth that with vs it hath the next place to yͤ Marquiſe, and he that beareth it is called peraduenture Comes à comitiua, quia dignus eſt ducere comitiuam in bello. Or elſe bicauſe he is Comes Ducis, a companiō of the Duke in the warres. And he hath his follower the Uiſcont, called eyther Pro Comes, or vicecomes: who in tyme paſt, gouerned in the coūtie vnder the Earle, and nowe without any ſuch ſeruice or office, it alſo is become a name of dignitie next after the Earle, and in degrée before the Baron.

Uiſcont.

Baron.

The Baron is ſuch a frée Lorde, as hath a Lordſhip or Barony, whereof he beareth his name, & holding of him diuers Knightes & fréeholders: who were wont to ſerue the king in the warres and helde their landes in Baronia, for doing ſuch ſeruice. Theſe Bracton (a learned wryter of the lawes of Englande in king Henry the thirdes tyme) tearmeth Barones, quaſi robur belli. The worde Baro is older thē that it may eaſily be founde frō whence it came: for euen in the oldeſt hiſtories both of the Germaines & Frenchmen, we reade of Barons, and thoſe are at this day called among the Germaines Liberi, vel ingenui, as ſome men doe coniecture.

Byſhops.

Unto this place I alſo refer our Biſhops, who are accounted honourable, and whoſe countenaunces in time paſt was much more glorious then at this preſent it is, bycauſe thoſe luſty Prelates ſought after earthly eſtimation,

ſtimation and authoritie wyth far more diligence then after the loſt ſhéepe of Chriſt, whereof they had ſmall regarde, as men being otherwiſe occupyed & voyde of leyſure to attende vnto ẏ ſame. Howbeit in theſe daies their eſtate remayneth ſtill honourable as before, and the more vertuous they are that be of this calling, the better are they eſtéemed with highe and lowe. Herein therefore their caſe is growen to be much better then before, for whereas in tymes paſt the cleargie men were feared bycauſe of theyr authoritie and ſeuere gouernement vnder the Prince, now are they beloued generally (except peraduẽture of a few hungrie wõbes that couet to plucke and ſnatch at their loſe endes) for their painefull diligence ſhewed in their calling, and vertuous conuerſation. Finally how it ſtandeth with the reſt of the cleargie, I neyther can tell nor greatly care to know, neuertheleſſe wyth what degrées of honour and worſhip they haue béene matched in times paſt Iohannes Bohemus in hys De omnium gentium moribus and other doe expreſſe. But as a number of theſe compariſons and ambitions tytles are now decayed & worthily ſhronke in the wetting, ſo giuing ouer in theſe daies to maintayne ſuch pompous vanitie, they thincke it ſufficient for thẽ to preache the worde and holde their liuinges to their fées from the handes of ſuch as indeuour to diminiſhe them. This furthermore will I adde generally in commendation of the cleargie of Englande that they are for their learning reputed in Fraunce, Portingale, Spaine, Germany & Polonia, to be the moſt learned deuines, & therto ſo ſkilfull in the two principal tongues that it is accounted a maime in any one of them, not to be exactely ſéene in the Gréeke and Hebrue, much more then to be vtterly ignorant, or nothing conuerſaunt in them. For the latine tongue it is not wanting in any, eſpeciallye in ſuch as haue béene made within this twelue or fourtéene yeares, whereas before there was ſmall choyſe, and many cures were left vnſerued bycauſe they had none at all.

De Aſia. cap.12.

Duke.

Dukes, Marquiſes, Earles, Viſcontes, and Barons, either be created of the Prince, or come to that honour by being the eldeſt ſonnes or higheſt in ſucceſſiõ to their parẽts. For the eldeſt ſonne of a Duke during hys fathers lyfe is an Earle, the eldeſt ſonne of an Erle is a Baron, or ſometymes a Viſcont, according as the creation is. The creation I call the originall donation and condition of the honour giuen by the Prince for the good ſeruice done by the firſt aunceſtor, with ſome aduauncement, which with the title of that honour is alwayes giuen to hym & to his heires males onely. The reſt of the ſonnes of the nobilitie by the rigour of the law be but Eſquires: yet in common ſpeach all Dukes and Marquiſes ſonnes, & Earles eldeſt ſonnes be called Lordes, the which name commõly doth agrée to none of lower degrée then Barons, yet by lawe & vſe theſe be not eſtéemed Barons. The Baronny or degrée of Lords doth aunſwere to the degrée of Senatours of Rome: and the tytle of nobilitie as we vſe to call it in England to the Romaine Patricij. Alſo in Englãd no man is created Baron except he may diſpende of yerly reuenues ſo much as may fully maintayne and beare out his countenaunce and port. But Viſconts, Earles, Marquiſes and Dukes excéede them according to the proportiõ of their degrée & honor. But though by chaunce he or his ſonne haue leſſe, yet he kéepeth his degrée: but if the decay be exceſſiue & not able to maintayne the honour, as Senatores Romani were moti Senatu: ſo ſometymes they are not admitted to the vpper houſe in the parliament, although they kepe the name of Lord ſtill, which cannot be takẽ from them, vpon any ſuch occaſion.

Knightes.

Knightes be not borne, neytheir is any mã a knight by ſucceſſion, no not the Kyng or Prince: but they are made eyther before the battaile to encourage them the more to aduenture and trie their manhoode, or after, as an aduauncement for their courage & prowesse alreadie ſhewed, or out of the warres for ſome great ſeruice done, or for the ſingular vertues which doe appeare in them. They are made eyther by the king himſelfe, or by his commiſſion and Royall authoritie giuen for the ſame purpoſe: or by his lieutenaunt in the warres. This order ſéemeth to aunſwere in part to that which the Romaines called Equitũ Romanorum. For as Equites Romani were choſen ex cenſu, that is according to their ſubſtaunce and riches: ſo be Knightes in Englande moſt commonly according to their yearelye reuenues or ſubſtaunce and riches, wherewith to maintaine the eſtate. Yet all that had Equeſtrem cenſum, were not choſen to be knightes, no more be all made knightes in England that maye ſpende a knightes landes, but they onelye whom the Prince will honour. The number of the knightes in Rome was vncertaine: and ſo is it of knyghtes wyth vs, as at the pleaſure of the Prince. We call him Knight in Engliſh that the French calleth *Cheualier*, and the latine Equitem, or Equeſtris ordinis virum. And when any man is made a knight, he knéeling downe is ſtriken of the Prince or his ſubſtitute with his ſwoorde naked vpõ the ſhoulder, the Prince &c. ſaying, *Soyez cheualier au nom de Dieu.* And when he riſeth vp the Prince ſayth *Aduances bon cheualier.* This is the maner of dubbing knightes at this preſent, and the tearme (dubbing) is the olde terme for that purpoſe and not creation.

ghtes the Bath.

At the Coronation of a King or Queene there be knightes made with longer & more curious ceremonies, called Knightes of the Bath. But howſoeuer one be dubbed or made Knight, his wyfe is by and by called *Madame*, or Ladye, ſo well as the Barons wyfe, he himſelfe hauing added to his name in common appellatiõ this ſillable *Sir*, which is the title whereby we call our Knightes here in Englande.

ghtes the gar=

The other order of Knighthod in Englãd & the moſt honorable is that of ẏ Garter, inſtituted by king Edwarde the third, who after he had gayned many notable victories, taken king Iohn of France, & king Iames of Scotland (& kept them both priſoners in the Tower of London at one time) expulſed king Henry of Caſtil the baſtarde out of his realme, and reſtored Don Petro vnto it (by ẏ helpe of the Prince of Wales & Duke of Aquitaine his eldeſt ſonne called the black Prince) He then inuented this ſocietie of honour, & made a choiſe out of his owne realme & dominions, & thorowout all Chriſtendome of the beſt moſt excellent and renowmed perſons in all vertues & honour, & adourned thē with ẏ title to be Knightes of his Order, giuing thē a Garter garniſhed with golde & precious ſtones, to were daily on the left leg only, alſo a Kirtle, gowne, cloke, chaperon, coler & other ſolemne and magnificent apparell, both of ſtuffe and faſhion exquiſite & heroicall to weare at high feaſtes, as to ſo high and Princely an Order appertayneth. Of this company alſo he and his ſucceſſours Kinges and Queenes of Englande, be the Soueraignes, and the reaſt by certaine ſtatutes and lawes amongſt themſelues be taken as brethren and fellowes in that order to the number of ſixe and twentie, as I finde in a certayne Treatize written of the ſame an example whereof I haue here inſerted worde for worde as it was deliuered vnto me, beginning after this maner.

I might at this preſent make a long tractation of the Rounde table and order of the knightes thereof, erected ſometymes by Arthur the great monarche of thys Iland: and therevnto intreate of the number of his Knightes and ceremonies belonging to the order, but I thincke in ſo doing that I ſhoulde rather ſet downe ẏ latter inuentions of other men, then a true deſcription of ſuch auncient actions as were performed in deede. I could furthermore with more facilitie deſcribe the Royaltie of Charles the great & his twelue Peeres, with their ſolemne rites and vſages but vnto this alſo I haue no great deuotion, conſidering the truth hereof is nowe ſo ſtayned wyth errours and fables inſerted into the ſame by the lewde religious ſort, that except a man ſhoulde profeſſe to lye with thē for companye, there is little ſounde knowledge to be gathered hereof worthie ẏ remembraunce. In lyke maner dyuers aſwell ſubiectes as Princes haue attempted to reſtore againe a rounde table in this lande, but ſuch was ẏ exceſſiue charges appertayning thervnto (as they dyd make allowaunce) and ſo great moleſtation dayly inſued therevpõ beſide the breeding of ſundrie quarrels among the knightes and ſuch as reſorted hyther frõ forrien countries (as it was firſt vſed) that in fine they gaue it ouer & ſuffred their whole inuentions to periſhe and decaye, vntill Edwarde the third deuiſed an other order not ſo much peſtered with multitude of Knightes as the rounde table, but much more honourable for princely port and countenance, as ſhall appeare hereafter.

The order of the Garter therefore was deuiſed in the time of King Edward the third, and as ſome write vppon this occaſion. The Queenes maieſtie thē liuing, being departed from his preſence the next way towarde hir lodging, he following ſone after, happened to finde hir Garter which ſlacked by chaunce and ſo fel from hir legge. His gromes & gentlemen paſſed by it, as diſdaining to ſtoupe & take vp ſuch a trifle: but he knowing ẏ owner commaunded one of them to ſtaye & take it vp. Why and like your Grace ſaieth a Gentleman it is but ſome womans garter that hath fallen frõ hir as ſhe folowed ẏ Queenes maieſtie. Whatſoeuer it be quoth the Kyng take it vp and giue it me. So whē he had receyued the garter, he ſayde to ſuch as ſtoode about him: you my maiſters doe make ſmall account of this blew garter here (and therewith helde it out) but if God lende me lyfe for a fewe monethes, I will make the prowdeſt of you all to reuerence the like: and euen vpon this ſlender occaſion he gaue himſelfe to the deuiſing of this order. Certes I haue not read of any thing that hauing had ſo ſimple a beginning hath growne in the ende to ſo great honour and eſtimation. But to proceede, after he had ſtudyed a whyle about the performaunce of his deuiſe & had ſet downe ſuch orders as he himſelfe had inuented concerning ẏ ſame, he proclaimed a royall feaſt

Peraduẽture it was but a blew Ribbon.

to be holden at Windſore, whyther all his nobilitie reſorted with their Ladyes, where he publiſhed his inſtitutiō, and furthwith inueſted an appointed number into the aforeſayd fellowſhip, whoſe names inſue, himſelf being the Soueraigne and principall of that companie. Next vnto him alſo he placed.

Edwarde Prince of Wales.
Henry duke of Lancaſter.
N. Earle of Warw.
N. Capt. de Bouche.
N. Earle of ſtafford.
N. Earle of Sarum.
N. L. Mortimer.
Sir John Liſle.
Sir Bartholomewe Burwaſh.
N. Sonne of S. John Beauchamp.
Sir N. de Mahun.
S. Hugh Courtnay.
S. Thomas Holland
S. John Gray.
S. Rich. Fitzſimon.
S. Myles Stapleton.
S. Thomas Wale.
S. Hugh Wroteſley.
S. Neale Lording.
S. John Chandos.
S. James Dawdley.
S. Otho Holland.
S. Henry Eme.
Sir Sanchet Dawbricourt.
Sir Walter Pannell alias Paganell.

What order of electiō, and what eſtatutes were preſcribed vnto the elected at this firſt inſtitution, as yet I can not exactely vnderſtande, neyther can I learne what euerye Prince afterwarde added therevnto before the ſixe and thirtieth yeare of king Henry the eyght, and thirde of king Edwarde the ſixt: wherfore of neceſſitie I muſt reſort vnto the eſtate of the ſayde order as it is at this preſent, which I will ſet downe ſo briefely as I may. When any man therefore is to be elected (vpon a rowme found voyd for his admiſſiō) into this fellowſhip, the king directeth his letters vnto him, notwithſtanding that he before hande be nominate vnto the ſame, to this effect. Right truſtie and welbeloued we gréete you well, aſſertayning you, that in conſideration aſwell of your approoued trueth & fidelitie, as alſo of your couragious and valiant actes of knighthoode, with other your probable merites knowne by experiēce in ſundrie parties and behalfes: we with the companions of the noble order of the Garter aſſembled at the election holden this day within our manour of N. haue elected & choſen you amongſt other to be one of the companions of the ſayd Order, as your deſertes doe condignely require. Wherfore we will ẏ with conuenient diligence vpō the ſight herof, you repaire vnto our preſence, there to receyue ſuch thinges as to the ſayde order appertayneth. Dated vnder our ſignet at our maner of Grenewich the 24. of April. Theſe letters as it ſhoulde ſéeme were written An. 3. Edwardi ſexti, vnto the Earle of Huntingdon, & the Lorde George Cobham your Lordſhippes honourable father, at ſuch time as they were called vnto the aforeſaide company. I finde alſo theſe names ſubſcribed vnto the ſame.

Edwarde Duke of Somerſet, Uncle to the king.
The Marq. of Northhampton.
Earle of Arundell L. Chamberleine.
Earle of Shrewſbury.
L. Ruſſell Lord priuy ſeale.
L. S. John L. great maiſter.
Sir John Gage.
S. Anthony Wingfielde.
Sir Wylliam Paget.

Beyng elected preparation is made for his enſtalling at windſore (the place appointed alwaies for this purpoſe) wher at it is required that his Banner be ſet vppe, at two yardes and a quarter in length, and thrée quarters in bredth, beſides the frynge. Secondly his ſworde of whatſoeuer length hym ſéemeth good, thyrdely his helme, which frō the charnell vpwards ought to be of thrée ynches at the leaſt, fourthly the creſt, wyth mantelles to the helme belonging of ſuch conuenient ſtuffe and biggeneſſe, as it ſhall pleaſe him to appoint.

Item a plate of armes at the backe of hys ſtall, and creſt with mantelles and beaſtes ſupportant, to be grauen in mettall.

Item lodging ſcoucheons of hys armes in the garter, to be occupyed by the way.

Item two mantelles one to the remayne in the colledge at Windſore, the other to vſe at hys pleaſure, with the ſcocheon of the armes of S. George in the garter with Laces Taſſelettes, and knoppes of blewe ſilcke and Golde belonging to the ſame.

Item a Surcote or Gowne of redde or crimoſine veluet, with a whodde of the ſame lyned wyth white Sarcenet or Damaſke.

Item a collor of the garter of thirtie ounces of golde troye weight.

Item a tablet of S. George, rychely garniſhed with precious ſtones, or otherwyſe.

Item a Garter for his (left) legge, hauing the buckle and Pendaunt garniſhed wyth Golde.

Item a booke of the ſtatutes of the ſayde order.

Item a ſcocheon of ẏ armes of S. George in ẏ garter to ſet vpon the mantell. And thys furniture is to be prouided againſt his inſtalation.

When any Knight is to bée inſtalled, he hath, with hys former letters, a garter ſent vnto him, and when he commeth to be inſtalled,

led, he is brought into the Chapter houſe, where incontinently his commiſſion is read before the ſoueraigne, or his deputie, and the aſſemblye preſent: from hence he is lead by two Knyghtes of the ſayde order, accompanied with the other of the Nobilitie, and Officers towarde the chappell, hauing hys mantel borne before him, eyther by a knight of the order, or elſe the king at armes, to whome it ſecondarily appertaineth to beare it. Thys mantel ſhall be deliuered vnto hym for his habite, after his othe taken before his ſtall, and not before: which done he ſhall returne vnto the chapter houſe, wher the ſoueraigne, or his deputie, ſhall deliuer him hys collor, and ſo he ſhall haue the full poſſeſſion of his habit. As for his ſtall, it is not giuē according vnto the calling, & countenāce of the receyuer, but as the place is that happeneth to be voyde, ſo that eache one called vnto this knyghthoode, (the ſoueraigne, & Emperours, and Kinges, and Princes alwaies excepted) ſhall haue the ſame ſeate which became voyd by the death of hys predeceſſor, howſoeuer it fall out, whereby a knight onely oftentimes, doth ſit before a Duke, wythout anye murmuring or grudgyng at hys roome, except it pleaſe the ſoueraigne, once in hys lyfe, to make a generall alteration, of thoſe ſeates, and to ſette eache one according to hys degrée.

Nowe as touching the apparell of theſe Knyghtes, it remaineth ſuch as King Edwarde the firſt deuiſor of thys order left it, that is to ſay, euery yere one of the cullours, that is to ſay, Scarlet, Sanguine in graine, blewe and white. In lyke ſorte the Kinges Grace, hath at his pleaſure the content of cloth for hys Gowne & whodde, lyned wyth white Satine, or Damaſke, and multitude of garters with letters of Golde.

The Prince hath fiue yardes of cloth for his Gowne and whoodde, and garters with letters of Golde at his pleaſure, beſide fiue timber of the fyneſt mineuer.

tymber
aineth
rtie
nnes.

A Duke hath fiue yardes of wollen cloth, fyue timber of mineuer, 120. garters with title of Golde.

A Marquiſe hath fiue yardes of wollen clothe, fiue timber of mineuer 110. garters of ſilke.

An Earle fiue yardes of wollen clothe, fiue timber of mineuer, and 100. garters of ſilke.

A Viſcount, fiue yardes of wollen cloth, fiue timber of mineuer, 90. garters of ſilke.

A Baron fiue yardes of wollen cloth, thrée timber of mineuer: greſſe 80. garters of ſilke.

A Banneret, fiue yardes of wollen cloth, thrée timber of mineuer 70. garters of ſilke.

A Knight, fiue yards of wollen cloth, thrée timber of mineuer 60. garters of ſilke.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter Chaplaine of the garter, hath eyght and twentie timber of mineuer pure, nynetéene timber of gr, thrée timber and a halfe of the beſt and foure and twentie yardes of wollen cloth.

The Chauncellour of the Order 5. yardes of wollē cloth, thrée timber of mineuer pure.

The regiſter of the Order fiue yardes of wollen cloth, thrée timber of mineuer pure, and this order to be holden generally amōg the knights of this companie, which are ſixe and twentie in number, and whoſe patrone in time of ſuperſtition was ſuppoſed to be S. George, of whome they were alſo called S. Georges knightes as I haue hearde reported.

Furthermore at his inſtallation, he is ſolemnely ſworne, the maner whereof I haue thought good alſo to annexe, in this maner. You being choſen to be one of the honorable companie of the order of the Garter, ſhall promiſe and ſweare vpon the holly Euangelies by you bodily, touched to be faithful and true to the kings mageſtie, and to obſerue & kéepe all the poyntes of the ſtatutes of the ſayde order, and euery article in them conteyned, the ſame being agréeable and not repugnant to the kings highneſſe other godly procéedings, ſo farre as to you belongeth and appertaineth, as God you helpe. &c. And thus much haue I thought good to note concerning the premiſes. As touching the eſtatutes belonging to this order they are many, and therefore not to be touched here. Howbeit yf any doubt doe aryſe aboue the interpretation of them, the king who is the perpetuall Soueraine of that order hath to determine and reſolue yͤ ſame. Neither are any choſen therunto vnder the degrée of a Knight, and that is not a gentleman of bloud and of ſounde eſtimation. And for the better vnderſtanding what is meant by a gentill man of bloude, he is defined to deſcend of thrée deſcentes, of nobleneſſe, yͭ is to ſay, of name & of armes both by father and mother. There are alſo foure degrées of reproch, which may inhibit from the entraunce into this order: of which yͤ firſt is hereſie lawfully proued, the ſeconde high treaſon, the thirde is flight from the battaill, the fourth ryot and prodigall exceſſe of expences, wherby he is not likely to holde out, and maintayne the port of knight of this order, according to the dignitie thereof. Moreouer touching the wearing of their aforeſaid apparell it is their cuſtome to weare yͤ ſame, when they enter into the Chappell of Saint George, or be in the chapter houſe of their order, or finally doe go about any thing appertaining to that company. In lyke ſort they weare alſo theyr mantelles vpon the euen of S. George, & go with the Souereine, or his deputie in the ſame in maner of proceſſion from the kings great chamber vnto the chapel, or vnto the Colledge, and likewyſe back againe vnto the aforeſayde place, not putting it from them, vntill ſupper be ended, & the auoyde done. The next daye they reſorte vnto the chappell alſo in the lyke order, and from thence vnto diner, wearing afterward theyr ſayde apparell vnto euening prayer, & lykewyſe all the ſupper tyme, vntill the auoyd be finiſhed. In the ſolemnity likewiſe of theſe feaſtes, the thirtéene chanons there, & fiue and twentie poore knightes, haue mantelles of the order, whereof thoſe for the chanons are of Murrey with a roundell of the armes of S. George, the other of redde, with a ſcocheon onely of the ſayde armes.

Sicke or abſent.

If any Knyght of thys order bée abſent from thys ſolemnety vpon the euen and daye of S. George, and be inforced not to be preſent eyther through bodily ſickeneſſe, or hys abſence out of the land: he doth in the Church Chappell, or Chamber where he is remayning, prouide an honorable ſtall for yͤ kings maieſtie in the ryght hande of the place with a cloth of eſtate, and cuſhions, & ſcochion of the Garter, and therein the armes of the order. Alſo his owne ſtal of which ſide ſoeuer it be diſtaunt from the kinges or the Emperours in his owne place, appoynted ſo nyghe as he can, after the maner & ſcituation of his ſtall at Windſore, there to remaine, yͤ firſt euening prayer on yͤ euen of S. George, or thrée of the clocke, & likewiſe the next day duryng the time of the diuine ſeruice, vntyll the Morning prayer, and reſt of the ſeruyce be ended: and to weare in the meane time his mantell onely, wyth the George and the the lace, without eyther whodde, collor or ſurcote. Or if he be ſo ſicke that he doe kéepe his bedde, he doth vſe to haue that habite laid vpon him during the times of diuine ſeruice aforeſaide.

Offering.

At the ſeruice time alſo vpon the morrow after S. George, two of the chyefe knights (ſauing the deputy of the ſoueraigne if he himſelfe be abſent) ſhall offer the kings banner of armes, then other two the ſworde with the hyltes forwardes, which being done the firſt two ſhall returne againe and offer the helme and creſt, hauing at eache time two Harraldes of armes going before, according to the ſtatutes. The Lorde Deputy or Leeftenaunt vnto the kings Grace, for the tyme beyng, alone and aſſiſted with one of the chiefe Lordes, doth deliuer at his offering a péece of Golde, & hauing all the king of armes and Heraldes going before him, he ſo procéedeth to the offring. When hée hath thus offered for yͤ Prince, he returneth with lyke ſolemnity vnto hys ſtall, and next of all goeth againe with one Haralde to offer for himſelfe, whoſe oblation beyng made, euery knight according to their ſtalles, wyth an Harald before him procéedeth to the offring.

Buriall.

What ſolemnitie is vſed at yͤ buriall of any knight of yͤ garter, it is but in vain to declar wherefore I will ſhewe generally what is done at yͤ diſgrading of one of theſe knights, if thorowe any grieuous offence he be ſeparated from this companye. Whereas otherwyſe the ſigne of the order is neuer taken from him vntill death doe ende and finiſhe vp his dayes. Therfore when any ſuch thing is to be done, promulgation is made thereof much after thys maner inſuing.

Diſgrading.

Be it knowne vnto all men that. N. N. knyght of the moſt noble order of the Garter, is founde gylty of the abhominable and deteſtable cryme of high treaſon, for he hath moſt trayterouſly cōſpired againſt our moſt high and mightie Prince ſoueraigne of the ſayde order contrary to all ryght, his duety, and the faithful othe, which he hath ſworne & taken. For which cauſes therfore he hath deſerued to be depoſed from thys noble order, & felowſhip of the Garter. For it may not be ſuffred that ſuch a traytour & diſloyall member remayne among the faithfull knights of noble ſtomacke and bountifull proweſſe, or that hys armes ſhould be myngled wyth thoſe of noble chiualry. Wheerfore our moſt excellent Prince and ſupreame of this noble order, by the aduyſe and counſell of his Colleges, wylleth and commaundeth that hys armes which he before time had deſerued ſhall be from henceforth taken awaye and throwne downe: and he himſelfe cleane cut of from the ſociety of this renowmed order, and neuer from this day reputed any more for a member of the ſame, that all other by hys example may hereafter beware howe they committe the lyke treſpaſſe, or fall into ſuch notorious ſhame and rebuke. Thys notice beyng gyuen, there reſorteth vnto the party to be deſgraded certaine officers with diuers of his late fellows appointed, which take frō him his George, & other inueſtiture, after a ſolemne maner. And thus much of this moſt honorable order, hoping yͭ no man wil be offēded wͭ me, for vttering thus much. For ſith the noble order of the Toyſon Dor or Golden fléece, with the ceremonies apperteyning vnto the creation and inueſtiture of the ſixe and thirtie knightes thereof: And lykewyſe that of S. Michaell and hys one & thirtie knights, are diſcourſed vpon at large by the hyſtoriographers of thoſe countreys, wout reprehenſion or checke, I truſt I haue not gyuen any cauſe of diſpleaſure, briefely to ſet forth thoſe things that appertaine vnto our renoumed order of the Garter, in whoſe compaſſe is written commonly, Honi ſoit qui mal y penſe. which is ſo much to ſay, as euill come to him that euill thinketh: a very ſharpe imprecation, and yet ſuch as is not contrary to the worde, which promyſeth lyke meaſure to the meater, as he doth meat to others.

ome hink that his was he aun= wer of the Queene, hen the ing aſked hat men wold think f her, in ſing the arter af= r ſuche a aner.

There is yet an other order of Knights in Englande called Knightes Bannerets, who are made in the fielde with the ceremony of cutting of the point of his pennant of armes, and making it as it were a Banner. He being before a Bacheler Knight, is nowe of an higher degrée & alowed to diſplay his armes in a banner as Barrons doe. Howbeit theſe Knights are neuer made but in the warres, the kinges Standard being vnfolded.

ānerets.

Eſquire (which we call commonly Squire) is a Frenche word, and ſo much in latine as Scutiger vel armiger, and ſuch are all thoſe which beare Armes, or Armoires, teſtimonies of their race from whence they be diſcended. They were at the firſt *Coſterelles* or the bearers of the Armes of Barrons, or knightes, and therby being inſtructed in Armes, had that name for a dignitie giuen to diſtinguiſhe them from common ſouldiours, when they were togither in the fielde.

ſquire.

Gentlemen be thoſe whome their race and bloode doth make noble and knowne. The latines call them Nobiles & generoſos, as the Frenche doe *Nobles*. The Etimologie of the name expoundeth the efficacie of the worde: for as Gens in latin betokeneth the race and ſurname. So the Romaines had Cornelios, Sergios, Appios, Fabios, Æmilios, Iulios, Brutos. &c. of which, who were agnati and therfore kept the name, were alſo called *Gentiles*, gentlemen of that or that houſe and race. As the king or Quéene doth dubbe knights, and createth the Barons and higher degrées, ſo gentlemē whoſe aunceſtours are not knowē to come in with Williā Duke of Normandie, do take their beginning in Englād, after this maner in our tymes. Whoſoeuer ſtudieth yͤ lawes of the realme, who ſo ſtudieth in the Vniuerſitie, or profeſſeth Phiſicke and the liberall Sciences, or beſide his ſeruice in the rowme of a capitaine in the warres, can liue ydlely and without manuell labour, and therto is able and wil beare the port, charge and countenaunce of a gentleman, he ſhall be called Maſter (which is the title that men giue to Eſquires and Gentlemenne) and reputed for a Gentleman, which is ſo much the leſſe to be diſalowed, as for that yͤ Prince doth loſe nothing by it, yͤ gentlemā being ſo much ſubiect to taxes and publicke paymēts as is the Yeoman or huſbandman, which he alſo doth beare the gladlyer for the ſauing of his reputation. Being called to the warres, whatſoeuer it coſt him, he will both arraye and arme himſelfe accordinglye, and ſhewe yͤ more manly courage and all the tokens of yͤ perſon which he repreſenteth: No mā hath hurt by it but himſelf, who peraduenture wil now and then beare a bigger ſayle then hys boate is able to ſuſtaine.

entlemē.

awyers tudents. n Uni= erſities. hiſitiōs apteines

Citizens and Burgeſes haue next place to gentlemen, who be thoſe that are frée within the cities, and are of ſome ſubſtaunce to beare Office in yͤ ſame. But theſe citizens or Burgeſes are to ſerue the cōmon wealth in their cities and Borowghes, or in corporate townes where they dwell. And in the common aſſembly of the realme to make lawes (called the Parliament,) the ancient Cities appoint foure, and the borowghs two Burgeſes to haue voyces in it, and to giue their conſent or diſſent vnto ſuch thinges as paſſe or ſtay there in the name of the citie or Borowe, for which they are appointed.

Citizens.

In thys place alſo are our Marchauntes to be enſtalled as amōg the Citizens, whoſe number is ſo increaſed in theſe our dayes, that theyr onely maintenaunce is the cauſe of the excéeding prices of forreine wares, which otherwyſe when eache nation was permitted to bring in hir owne commodityes, were farre better cheape and more plentifully to be had. Among the Lacedemonians it was founde out that great numbers of Merchauntes were nothing to the furtheraunce of the ſtate of the common wealth: wherefore it is to be wyſhed that the heape of them were ſomewhat reſtreigned, ſo ſhould the reſt lyue more eaſily vpon theyr owne, & few honeſt chapmē be brought to decaye, by breaking of the bankerupt. I doe not denie but that the nauie of the lande is in part maintained by their trafick, and ſo are the highe prices of thinges kept vp now they haue gotten the only ſale of things into their handes: whereas in times paſt when the ſtrange bottomes were ſuffered to come in, we had Suger for foure pence the pounde, that nowe is worth halfe a crowne, Raiſons of

Marchāts.

of Corinth for a peny that now are holden at ſix pence, and ſometime at eight pence & ten pence the pounde: nutmegges at two pence halfe peny the ounce: Gynger at a penny an ounce, Proynes at halfe penye fardyng: Great reyſons three pounde for a peny, Cinamon at foure pence the ounce, Cloues at two pence, and Pepper at twelue, and ſixtene pence the pounde. Whereby we maye ſee the ſequele of thinges not alwayes to be ſuch as is pretended in the beginning. The wares that they carry out of the Realme, are for the moſt part brode clothes & carſies of all coulours, lykewyſe cottons, freeſes rugges, tinne, wooll, leade, felles. &c. which being ſhipped at ſundry ports of our coaſts, are borne from thence into all quarters of the worlde, and there eyther exchaunged for other wares, or ready money: to the great gaine and commoditie of our Merchauntes. And whereas in times paſt our chiefe trade was into Spaine, Portingall, Fraunce, Flaunders, Danſke, Norway, Scotlande, and Iſland onely: ſo in theſe dayes, as men not contented wyth thoſe iourneyes, they haue ſought out the eaſt and weſt Indies, & made voyages not only vnto the Canaries, and newe Spaine, but likewyſe into Cathaia, Moſcouia, Tartaria, & the regions thereabout, from whence as they pretende they bring home great commodities.

Not ſeene in abatement of price of thinges.

Our Yeomen, are thoſe which by our Lawyers are called Legales homines, fre mē born Engliſh, and maye diſpende of theyr owne free lande in yerely reuenewe, to the ſumme of 40. s. ſterling. This ſorte of people haue a certaine preheminence and more eſtimation then labourers and artificers, and commōly lyue welthely, keepe good houſes, & trauelleth to get ryches. They are alſo for the moſt part fermers to gentlemen, & with grazing frequenting of markets and keeping of ſeruants (not ydle ſeruaunts as the gentlemen doth, but ſuch as get both their owne & part of theyr Maiſters lyuing) doe come to great wealth, inſomuch that many of them are able and doe buy the landes of vnthrifty gentlemen, & often ſetting theyr ſonnes to the Scholes, to the Vniuerſities, and to ẏ Innes of the Court: or otherwiſe leauing them ſufficient landes wherevpon they maye lyue without labour, doe make their ſayde ſonnes by that meanes to become gentlemē. Theſe were they ẏ in times paſt made al Fraunce afrayd. And the kings of England in foughten battailes, were woont to remaine among theſe Yeomen who were their footmen, as the French Kings did amongſt theyr horſemen: the Prince thereby ſhewing where his chiefe ſtrength did conſiſt.

The fourth and laſt ſort of people in Englande are day labourers, poore huſbandmē, and ſome retaylers (which haue no free lande) copy holders, & al artificers, as Taylours, Shoomakers, Carpenters: Brickemakers, Maſons, &c. As for ſlaues & bondmē we haue none. Theſe therfore haue neither voice nor authoritie in ẏ common welth, but are to be ruled, & not to rule other: yet they are not altogither neglected, for in cities and corporalte Townes, for default of Yeomen they are fayne to make vp their enqueſtes of of ſuch maner of people. And in Villages they are commonly made Church wardens Sidemen, Aleconners, Conſtables, & many tymes enioye the name of hedborowghes. Thys furthermore amonge other thynges I haue to ſaye of our huſbandmen and artificers, that they were neuer ſo excellent in theyr trades as at this preſent. But as the workemanſhippe of the later ſort was neuer more fine and curious to the eye, ſo was it neuer leſſe ſtrong and ſubſtanciall for continuance and benefite of the buyers. Certes there is nothing that hurteth our artificers more then haſt, and a barbarous or ſlauiſhe deſire, by ridding their work to make ſpeedy vtteraunce of theyr wares: which inforceth thē to bũgle vp & diſpatch many things they care not howe ſo they be out of theyr hands, whereby the buyer is often ſore defrauded, and findeth to hys coſt, that haſt maketh waſt, accordyng to the prouerbe. But to leaue, theſe thinges and proceede wyth our purpoſe, and herein (as occaſion ſerueth) generally to ſpeake of the common wealth of Englande, I find that it is gouerned and maintained by three ſortes of perſons.

No ſlaues nor bondman in England.

1 The Prince Monarch and heade gouernour which is called the king, or (if ẏ crown fall to the Woman) the Queene: in whoſe name and by whoſe authoritie, all thynges are adminiſtred.

2 The Gentlemen, which be deuided into two parts, as ẏ Barony or eſtates of Lords, (which conteyneth Barons and all aboue that degree) and alſo thoſe that be no Lords, as Knightes, Eſquiers, and ſimple Gentlemen. &c.

3 The third and laſt ſort is named the Yeomanrye, of whome and their ſequele, the labourers and Artificers, I haue ſayde ſomewhat euen nowe.

Of theſe alſo ſome are by the Prince, choſe & called to great offices, in the cōmon welth, of which offices diuers concerne the whole realme, ſome be more pryuate and peculyar to the kinges houſe. And they haue their places and degrées, preſcribed by an Act of parliament made Anno. 31. H. octaui, after this maner inſuing.

Theſe foure the Lorde Chauncelour, the Lorde Treaſorour, the Lord preſident of the Counſell, and the Lorde Priuie Seale béeyng perſons of the degrée of a Baron or aboue, are in the ſame act appointed to ſit in ẏ Parliament and in all aſſemblies or counſel aboue all Dukes, not being of the bloud royall, Videlicet the kinges Brother, Uncle or Nephewe.

And theſe ſixe, the L. great Chamberlein of Englande: the L. high Cunſtable of Englande: the Lorde Marſhall of Englande: the Lorde Admirall of Englande: the Lorde great Maiſter, or Lorde Stewarde of the kings houſe: and the kings Chamberleine: by that acte are to be placed in all aſſemblies of Counſell, after the Lorde Priuie Seale, according to their degrées & eſtates: ſo that if he be a Barron, then to ſitte aboue all Barons: or an Earle, aboue all Earles.

And ſo likewyſe the kynges Secretarye beyng a Barron of the Parliament, hath place aboue all Barons, and if he be a man of higher degrée, hée ſhall ſitte and be placed according therevnto.

The Temporall Nobilitie of England according to the auncientie of theyr creations or firſt calling to their degrées.

e Duke
Eng-
nde.

The Marquiſe of Wincheſter.
The Earle of Arondell.
The Earle of Oxforde.
The Earle of Northumberlande.
The Earle of Shrewesbury.
The Earle of Kent.
The Earle of Derby.
The Earle of Worceſter.
The Earle of Rutlande.
The Earle of Cumberlande.
The Earle of Suſſex.
The Earle of Huntingdon.
The Earle of Bath.
The Earle of Warwicke.
The Earle of Southampton.
The Earle of Bedforde.
The Earle of Penbroke.
The Earle of Hertforde.
The Earle of Leyceſter.
The Earle of Eſſex.
The Earle of Lincolne.

The Uiſcont Montague.
The Uiſcont Byndon.

The Lorde of Abergeuenny.
The Lorde Awdeley.
The Lorde Zouche.
The Lorde Straunge.
The Lorde Barkeley.
The Lorde Morley.
The Lorde Dacres of the South.
The Lorde Cobham.
The Lorde Talbot.
The Lorde Staffordе.
The Lorde Grey of Wilton.
The Lorde Scrope.
The Lorde Dudley.
The Lorde Latymer.
The Lorde Stourton.
The Lorde Lumley.
The Lorde Mountioy.
The Lorde Ogle.
The Lorde Darcy of the North.
The Lorde Mounteagle.
The Lorde Sandes.
The Lorde Vaulx.
The Lorde Windſore.
The Lorde Wentworth.
The Lorde Borough.
The Lorde Mordaunt.
The Lorde Cromwell.
The Lorde Euers.
The Lorde Wharton.
The Lorde Riche.
The Lorde Willowghby.
The Lorde Sheffelde.
The Lorde Paget.
The Lorde Darcy of Chiche.
The Lord Hawarde of Effingham.
The Lord North.
The Lord Chaundos.
The Lord of Hunſdon.
The Lord Saint Iohn of Bletſo.
The Lorde of Buckhirſt.
The Lord Delaware.
The Lorde Burghley.
The Lorde Compton.
The Lorde Cheyney.
The Lorde Norreys.

Byſhoppes in their auncientie, as they ſat in Parliament in the fift of the Queenes Maieſties the reigne.

The Arch Byſhop of Caunterbury.
The Arch Byſhop of Yorke.
London.
Durham.
Wincheſter.

The reſt had theyr places in Senioritie of Conſecration.

Chicheſter. Ely.
Landaphe. Worceter.
Hereford. Bangor.

Briſtow. Oxford.

Lincolne.
Saliſbury.
S.Dauids.
Rocheſter.
Bathe & Welles.
Couentre and Lichfielde.
Exceter.
Norwiche.
Peterborough.
Carliſle.
Cheſter.
S.Aſaphe.
Gloceſter.

¶ Of prouiſion made for the poore. Cap. 5.

THere is no common wealth at this day in Europe, wherein there is not great ſtore of poore people, and thoſe neceſſarily to be relieued by the welthier ſort, which otherwiſe would ſtarue and come to vtter confuſion. With vs the poore is commonly deuided into thrée ſortes, ſo that ſome are poore by impotencie, as the fatherleſſe childe, the aged, blind and lame, and the diſeaſed perſon that is iudged to be incurable: the ſecond are poore by caſualtie, as the wounded ſouldier, the decayed houſholder, and the ſicke perſon viſited with grieuous and incurable diſeaſes: the third conſiſteth of thriftleſſe poore, as the riotour that hath cõſumed all, the vagabond that will abide no where, but runneth vp and downe frõ place to place (as it were ſéeking worke and finding none) and finally the roge and ſtrumpet which are not poſſible to be diuided in ſonder.

Thrée ſortes of poore.

For the firſt two ſortes, that is to ſay the poore by impotencie and the poore by caſualtie, which are there yͤ true poore in déde, & for whome the word doth bind vs to make ſome daily prouiſion: there is order taken thorowout euery pariſh in the Realme, that wéekely collection ſhalbe made for their helpe and ſuſtentation, to the end they ſhould not ſcatter abrode, and by begging here and there, annoy both towne and countrey. Authoritie alſo is gyuen vnto the Iuſtices in euery Countie (and great penalties appoynted for ſuch as make defaulte) to ſée that the intent of the ſtatute in thys behalfe be truely executed, according to the purpoſe and meaning of the ſame, ſo that theſe two ſortes are ſufficiently prouided for: and ſuch as cã liue within the limites of their allowance (as eache one wyll doe that is godly and well diſpoſed) may well forbeare to rome & range abrode: But if they refuſe to be ſupported by this benefite of the lawe, and will rather indeuour by going to and fro to maintayne their idle trades, then are they adiudged to be parcell of the third ſort, and ſo in ſtead of curteous refreſhing at home, are often corrected wͭ ſharpe executiõ, & whip of iuſtice abrod. Many there are, which notwithſtãding the rigour of the lawes prouided in that behalfe, yelde rather with this libertie (as they call it) to be daily vnder the feare & terrour of the whippe, then by abiding where they were borne or bred, to be prouided for by the pariſh. I found not long ſince a note of theſe latter ſort, yͤ effect wherof enſueth. Idle beggers are ſuch eyther thorow other mens occaſiõ, or through their own default. By other mens occaſion, (as one way for example) when ſome couetous man eſpying a further commoditie in theyr commons, holdes, and tenures, doth find ſuch meanes as therby to wipe many out of their occupyings, & turne the ſame vnto their priuate gaynes. Herevpon it followeth, that although the wiſe & better minded, do ſo behaue themſelues that they are worthyly to be accompted among the ſecond ſort, yet the greater part commõly hauing nothing to ſtay vpon are wilfull, and therupõ doe eyther proue idle beggers, or elſe continue ſtarke théeues till the gallowes doe eate them vp.

A thing often ſene

At whoſe handes ſhall the bloude of theſe men be required.

Such as are ydle beggers thorow theyr owne default are of two ſortes, and cõtinue theyr eſtates either by caſual or mere volũtary meanes: Thoſe that are ſuch by caſuall meanes, are iuſtly to be referred either to the firſt or ſecond ſort of poore: but degenerating into the thriftleſſe ſort, they doe what they can to cõtinue their miſerie, & with ſuch impediments as they haue to ſtray and wãder about as creatures abhorring all labour and euery honeſt exerciſe. Certes I call theſe caſuall meanes, not in reſpect of the originall of their pouertie, but of the continuance of the ſame, from whence they will not be deliuered thorow their owne vngracious lewdneſſe, and froward diſpoſition. The volũtary meanes procede frõ outwarde cauſes, as by making of corroſiues, and applying the ſame to yͤ more fleſhie parts of their bodies: and alſo laying of Ratsbane, Sperewort, Crowfoote, and ſuch like vnto theyr whole mẽbers, thereby to raiſe piteous and odious ſores, and moue the goers by ſuch places where they lie, to lament their miſerie, and beſtowe large almes vppon them.

Vnto this neaſt is another ſort to be referred, more ſturdie then the reſt, which hauing ſound and perfite lymmes doe yet notwithſtanding ſometime counterfeit the poſſeſſion of al ſortes of diſeaſes. Diuers times in their apparell they will be like ſeruing men or labourers: Often tymes they can play the mariners, and ſéeke for ſhips which they neuer loſt. But in fine, they are all théeues and Caterpillers in the common wealth, and by the word of God not permitted

ted to eate, ſith they doe but licke the ſweate from the true laborers browes, and bereue ÿ godly of that which is due vnto thē, to mainteine their exceſſe, conſuming the charitie of well diſpoſed people beſtowed vpon them, after a moſt wicked, horrible, and deteſtable maner.

It is not yet.50.yeares ſith this trade began: but how it hath proſpered ſithens that tyme, it is eaſye to iudge, for they are nowe ſuppoſed of one ſexe and another, to amount vnto aboue.10000.perſons, as I haue harde reported. Moreouer, in counterfaiting the Egyptian roges, they haue deuiſed a lāguage among themſelues, which they name Canting, but other pedlars Frenche. A ſpeache compact 30.yeares ſince of Engliſh, & a great nomber of odde words of their owne deuiſing without all order or reaſon: and yet ſuch is it as none but themſelues are able to vnderſtand. The firſt deuiſer thereof was hanged by the necke, a iuſt reward no doubt for his deſartes, and a common ende to all of that profeſſion. A Gentleman alſo of late hath taken great paines to ſearch out the ſecrete practizes of this vngracious rable. And among other things he ſetteth downe and deſcribeth.22.ſortes of them, whoſe names it ſhal not be amiſſe to remēber whereby each one may gather, what wicked people they are, and what villany remaineth in them.

Thomas Harman.

The ſeueral diſorders and degrees amongſt our idle vagabonds.

1. Rufflers.
2. Vprightmen.
3. Hookers or Anglers.
4. Roges.
5. Wilde Roges.
6. Priggers of prauncers.
7. Palliardes.
8. Fraters.
9. Abrams.
10. Freſhwater mariners, or whipiackes.
11. Dummerers.
12. Dronken Tinkars.
13. Swadders or pedlers.
14. Iarkemen or patrices

Of vvomen kinde.

1. Demaunders for glimmar or fire.
2. Bawdie baskets.
3. Mortes.
4. Autem Mortes.
5. Walking Morts.
6. Doxes.
7. Delles.
8. Kinching Mortes.
9. Kinching Cooes.

The puniſhment that is ordained for this kind of people is very ſharpe, and yet it can not reſtraine them frō their gadding: wherfore the ende muſt neédes be Martiall lawe to be exerciſed vpon them, as vpon theéues, robbers, deſpiſers of all lawes, and enemies to the commō wealth and welfare of ÿ land. What notable roberies, pilferies, murders, rapes, and ſtealings of children they doe vſe (which they diſfigure to begg withal) I neede not to rehearſe: but for their idle roging about the countrie, the law ordeineth this maner of correction. The Roge being apprehended, committed to priſon, and tried in ÿ next aſſizes (whether they be of Gaole deliuerie or ſeſſions of the yeare) if he happen to be conuicted for a vagabond either by inqueſt of office, or the teſtimonie of two honeſt and credible witneſſes vpon their othes, he is thus immediatly adiudged to be greeuouſly whipped & burned thorow the griſtell of the right eare wt an hot iron of the compaſſe of an inch about, as a manifeſtation of his wicked life, and due puniſhment receyued for the ſame. And this iudgement is to be executed vpon him, except ſome honeſt perſon worth fiue poundes in the Queénes bookes in goods, or twentie ſhillings in lands, or ſome rich houſholder to be allowed by the Iuſtices, wil be boūd in a recogniſance to retaine him in his ſeruice for one whole yeare. If he be takē the ſeconde time and proued to haue forſaken his ſayd ſeruice, he ſhall then be whipped againe, bored likewiſe thorowe the other eare and ſette to ſeruice: from whence if he departe before a yeare be expired, and happen afterward to be attached againe, he is condemned to ſuffer paines of death as a fellon (except before excepted) without benefite of clergie or ſanctuarie, as by the ſtatute doth appere. Among roges and idle perſons finally, we finde to be compriſed al Proctors that go vp and downe with counterfeit licences, Coſiners, and ſuche as go about the countrey vſing vnlawfull games, practizers of Phiſiognomie and Palmeſtrie, tellers of fortunes, fencers, bearwards, players, minſtrels, iugglers, pedlers, tinkers, ſchollers, ſhipmen, priſoners gathering for fées, and others ſo oft as they be taken without ſufficient licence. Each one alſo that harboroweth or aideth them with meat or money, is taxed and compelled to fine with the Queénes maieſtie for euery time that he ſhall ſo ſuccoure them as it ſhall pleaſe the Iuſtices of peace to aſſigne, ſo that the taxation exceéde not xx.ſhillings as I haue bene informed. And thus much of the poore, and ſuch prouiſion as is appoynted for them within the Realme of England.

Of ſundrie puniſhments appoynted for malefactors. Cap.6.

The greateſt and moſt greéuous puniſhment vſed in Englād, for ſuch as offend

againſt the ſtate, is drawne from the priſone to the place of execution vpon an hardle or Sled, where they are hanged til they be half dead, and then taken downe and quartered, after that their mẽbers and bowels are cut from their bodies, and throwne into a fire prouided neare hand and within ſight, euen for the ſame purpoſe. Sometimes if the treſpaſſe be not the more haincus, they are ſuffred to hang til they be quite dead, and whenſoeuer any of the Nobilitie are conuicted of high treaſon, this maner of their death is cõuerted into the loſſe of their heads onely, notwithſtanding that the ſentence doe runne after the former order. In triall of caſes cõcerning treaſon, fellonie, or any other greeuous cryme, the partie accuſed doth yelde yf he be a noble man to be tryed by his Peeres: if a gentleman, by gentlemen: and an inferiour by God and by the countrie: and being condemned of fellonie, manſlaughter. &c. he is eſtſoones hanged by the necke til he be dead, and then cut downe and buryed. But yf he be conuicted of wilfull murder, he is eyther hanged aliue in chaynes neere the place where the facte was commytted, (or elſe firſt ſtrangeled with a rope) and ſo continueth till his bones conſume to nothing. We haue vſe neither of the wheele nor of yͤ barre, as in other countries, but when wilfull manſlaughter is perpetrated, beſide hanging the Offendour hath his right hande commonly ſtricken of at the place where the acte was done, after which he is led forth to the place of execution, & there put to death according to the law. Vnder the worde fellonie are manie grieuous crimes contained, as breche of pryſon An.1. of Edward the ſecond. Diſſigurers of yͤ Princes lege people. An.5. of Henry the fourth. Hunting by nyght wyth painted faces and Viſours An.1. of Henry the ſeuenth. Rape or ſtealing of women and maydens An.3. of Henry the eight. Conſpiracy againſt the perſon of the Prince An.3. of Henry the ſeauenth. Embeſilling of goodes committed by the maiſter to the ſeruaunt, aboue the value of fourtie ſhillings. An.17 of Henry the eyght. Carying of horſes or mares into Scotland. An.23. of Henry the eyght. Sodomy and Buggery An 25. of Henrye the eyght. Stealing of Hawkes egges. An.31. of Henry the eyght. Cõiuring, ſorcerie, Witchcrafte and digging vp of Croſſes. An.33. of Henry the eyght. Prophecying vpõ armes, cogniſaunces, names, and badges. An.33. of Henry yͤ eyght. Caſting of ſlanderous billes. An.37. of Henry yͤ eyght. Wilfull killing by poyſon. An.1. of Edward yͤ ſixt. Departure of a ſoldier frõ the field. An.2. of Edward yͤ ſixt. Diminution of coyn, al offences within caſe premunire, embeſeling of recordes, goodes taken frõ dead men by their ſeruauntes, ſtealing of whatſoeuer cattell, robbing by the high way, vpon the ſea, or of dwelling houſes letting out of pondes, cutting of purſes, ſtealing of Deere by night, counterfetyng of coyne, euidences, charters, and writings, & diuers other needleſſe to be remembred. Periury is puniſhed by the pillorie, burning in the forehead wͭ the letter P. and loſſe of all yͤ mooueables. Many treſpaſſes alſo are puniſhed by yͤ cutting of one or both eares from the heade of the offendour, as the vtteraunce of ſedicious wordes againſt the maieſtrates, fraymakers, pettie robbers, &c. Roges are burned thorow the eares, caryers of ſheepe out of the land by the loſſe of their hãdes, ſuch as kill by poyſon are eyther ſkalded to death in lead or ſeething water. Heretiks are burned quicke, harlottes & their mates by carting ducking and doing of open pennaunce are often put to rebuke. Such as kill thẽſelues are buryed in the fielde with a ſtake driuen thorow their bodies. Witches are hanged or ſometymes burned, but theeues are hãged euery where generally, ſauing in Halifax where they are beheaded after a ſtrãge maner, & wherof I find this report. There is & hath ben of ancient tyme a law or rather a cuſtome at Halifax, that whoſoeuer doth cõmit any fellony: and is taken with the ſame, or confeſſe the facte vpon examination, yf it by valued by fower conſtables to amount to the ſomme of thirteene pence halfe peny, he is forthwͭ beheaded vpon the next market day (which fall vſually vppon the tueſdayes, thurſdayes, and ſaterdayes,) or elſe vpon the ſame day yͭ he is ſo conuicted, yf market be then holdẽ. The engine wherwͭ the execution is done, is a ſquare blocke of wood of the length of foure foote and an halfe, which doeth ryde vp and downe in a ſlot, rabet, or regall betweene two peeces of timber, that are framed and ſet vpright of fiue yards in height. In the neather ende of the ſlyding blocke is an Axe keyed or faſtened wyth Iron into the wood, which being drawne vp to the top of the frame is there faſtned with a woodden pinne, (the one ende ſet on a peece of woodde, which goeth croſſe ouer yͤ two rabets, & the other ende being let into the blocke, holding the Axe, with a notche made into the ſame after the maner of a Sampſons poſt,) vnto the middeſt of which pinne there is a long rope faſtened that commeth downe among the people, ſo that when the offendour hath made his confeſſion, and hath layde his neck ouer the neathermoſt blocke, euery man there preſent doth eyther take hold of ẏ rope, (or putteth forth his arme, ſo neere to ẏ ſame as he can get, in token that he is willing to ſee true iuſtice executed;) and pulling out the pinne in this maner, ẏ head blocke wherein the axe is faſtened doth fall downe wyth ſuch a violence that yf the necke of the tranſgreſſour were ſo bigge as that of a bull, it ſhould be cut in ſunder at a ſtrocke, and roll from the bodie by an huge diſtaunce. If it be ſo that the offendour be apprehended for an oxe, or oxē, ſheepe, kine, horſe, or any ſuch cattell: the ſelfe Beaſt or other of the ſame kinde, haue the ende of the rope tyed ſomewhere vnto them, ſo that they drawe out the pin whereby the offendour is executed. And thus much of Halifax law, which I ſet down onely to ſhew the cuſtome of that country in this behalfe: Roges and vagabondes are often ſtocked and whipped, ſcoldes are ducked vpon cuckingſtooles in the water. Such fellons as ſtand mute and ſpeake not at their arraynement are preſſed to death by huge weightes, and theſe commonly holde theyr peace thereby to ſaue their goodes vnto their wyues and children, which yf they were condemned ſhoulde be confiſcated to the prince. Theeues that are ſaued by their bookes and cleargie, are burned in the left hande, vppon the brawne of the thombe with an hote Irō, ſo that yf they be apprehended agayne, that marke bewrayeth them to haue beene arrayned of fellonie before, whereby they are ſure at that time to haue no mercy. I do not read that this cuſtome of ſauing by the booke is vſed any where elſe then in Englande, neyther doe I finde after much diligent inquiry what Saxon Prince ordayned that lawe, Howbeit this I generally gather therof, that it was deuiſed at the firſt to traine the inhabiters of this lande to the loue of learning, which before contempned letters, & all good knowledge, as men only giuing themſelues to husbandrie and the warres, the like whereof I read to haue beene amongſt ẏ Gothes, & Vandales, who for a time woulde not ſuffer euen their princes to be learned for weakening of their courages, nor any learned men to remayne in the counſel houſe, but by open proclamation woulde commaunde thē to auoyde. Pyrates and robbers by ſea, are condemned in the court of the Admyraltie, & hanged on the ſhore at lowe water marke, where they are left til three tides haue ouerwaſhed them. Finally ſuch as hauing wals & bankes neere vnto the ſea, and doe ſuffer the ſame to decay (after cōuenient admonition) wherby the water entreth and drowneth vp the country: are by a certayne cuſtome apprehended, condemned & ſtaked in ẏ breache, where they remayne for euer as parcell of the foundation of the newe wall that is to be made vpon them, as I haue hard reported.

Of ſauuage beaſtes and vermines.

Cap. 7.

IT is none of the leaſt bleſſings wherewith God hath indued thys Ilande, that it is void of noyſome beaſts, as Lions, Beares, Tygers, Pardes, Wolfes, and ſuch like: by meanes whereof our countrymen may trauaile in ſafetie, and our herdes and flockes remayne for the moſt part abroade in the fielde, without any herdeman or keeper.

This is chiefely ſpoken of the ſouth & ſouthweſt part of the Ilande. For whereas we that dwell on this ſide of the Twede, maye ſafely boaſt of our ſecuritie in this behalfe. Yet can not the ſcottes doe the lyke in euery point with in their kingdome, ſith they haue grieuous Wolfes continually conuerſaunt among them to the generall hinderaunce of their husbandmen, and no ſmal damage vnto the inhabiters of thoſe quarters. The happy & fortunate want of theſe beaſts in Englande is vniuerſally aſcribed to the pollitike gouernement of king Edgar, who to the intent the whole Countrie might once be clenſed and clerely ridde of them, charged the conquered Welchmen (who were then peſtured with theſe rauenous creatures aboue meaſure) to paye him a yearely tribute of Wolfes ſkinnes, to be gathered within the lande. He appointed them thereto a certaine number of three hundred, with free liberty for their prince to hunt and purſue them ouer al quarters of the realme as our Chronicles doe report. Some there be which write how Ludwall Prince of Wales payde yearely to king Edgar this tribute of 300. Wolfes, and that by meanes thereof within the compaſſe and terme of foure yeres none of thoſe noyſome creatures were left within Wales and England. Since this tyme alſo we read not that anye Wolfe hath beene ſeene here that hath bene bredde within the bondes and limites of our country. Howbeit there haue beene diuers brought ouer from beyonde the ſea for greedineſſe of gaine & to make money onely by the gaſing and gaping of the people vpon them, who couet oft to ſee them beyng ſtraunge beaſtes in their eyes and ſeldome knowne in Englande.

Foxes
Badgiers.

Of Foxes we haue ſome but no great ſtore, and alſo Badgiers in our ſandy & light groundes, where woodes, firzes, broome, and plentie of ſhrubbes are to ſhrowde them in, when they be from their borrowes, and therto Warrens of Coneys at hand to feede vpon at will. Otherwiſe in claie which we call yͤ cledgie mould, we ſeldome here of any, becauſe the moiſture and toughneſſe of the ſoile is ſuch, as will not ſuffer them to drawe and make their borrowes depe. Certes if I may freely ſay what I thinke, I ſuppoſe that theſe two kindes (I meane Foxes and Badgers) are rather preſerued by Gentlemẽ to hunt & haue paſtime with all at their owne pleaſures, then otherwiſe ſuffered to lyue, as not able to be deſtroyed becauſe of theyr greate numbers. For ſuch is the ſcantitye of them here in England in compariſon of the plentie that is to be ſeene in other countryes, and ſo earneſtly are the inhabitants bent to roote thẽ out: that except it had bene to beare thus wͭ the recreations of their ſuperiors, it could not otherwiſe haue ben choſen, but that they ſhould haue bene vtterly deſtroyed by many yeares agone.

Beuers.

Otters.

Marternes.

I might here intreat largely of other vermine, as the Polcate, the Miniuer, the Weaſel, Stote, Squirrill, Fitchew, and ſuch like. Alſo of the Otter and Beuer, of which, as the firſt ſortes are plentifull in euery woode and hedgerow: ſo theſe latter, eſpecially the Otter, (for to ſay the truth we haue not manye Beuers, but only in the Teifie in Wales) is not wanting or to ſeeke in many ſtreames & riuers. But it ſhal ſuffice in this ſort to haue named them as I doe alſo the Martern, although for number I worthily doubt whether that of our Beuers or Marternes, may be thought to be the leſſe.

Stagges.

Other pernicious beaſtes we haue not except you repute the great plentie of red and fallow Deare, and ſtore of Conies amongſt the hurtful ſort. Which, although that of thẽſelues they are not offenſiue at all, yet theyr great numbers are thought to be very preiudicial, and therfore iuſtly reproued of many as are in lyke ſort our huge flocks of ſheepe, where on the greateſt parte of our ſoyle is emploied almoſt in euery place. The male of the red Deare was ſometime called among the Saxons a ſtaggon, but now a ſtagge, or vpon ſome conſideratiõ an Harte, as the female is an Hinde. And this is one parcell of the Venery wherof we intreated before, and whoſe proper dwelling is in the large and woddy forreſts. The fallow deare as Buckes and Does, are nouryſhed in Parkes, & Conyes in warrens and borrowes. As for Hares they runne at theyr owne aduenture, except ſome Gentleman or other for hys pleaſure doe make an incloſure for them. Of theſe alſo the ſtagge is accompted for the moſt noble game, the fallow Deare is the next, then the Roe (whereof wee haue indifferent ſtore) and laſt of all the Hare: all which (notwythſtanding our cuſtome) are paſtimes more meete for Ladies and Gentlewomen to exerciſe, then for men of courage to followe, whoſe hunting ſhould practiſe theyr armes in taſting of theyr manhoode and dealing wͭ ſuch beaſtes as eftſoones wyll turne agayne and offer them the hardeſt, rather then theyr feete, whych many tymes may cary dyuers from the fielde. Surely this noble kinde of hunting onely did great Princes frequent in times paſt, as it may yet appeare by the hyſtories of theyr times, and thereto (beſide that whych we read of the vſuall hunting of the Princes and Kings of Scotland, of the wild Bull, Wolfe. &c.) the example of king Henry the ſecond of England: who diſdayning as he termed it to followe or purſue cowards, cheriſhed of ſet purpoſe ſundry kinds of wilde beaſtes at Woodſtocke, and one or two other places in England, whych he walled about wyth hard ſtone, & where he would often fight wyth them hande to hande, when they did turne againe & make any reiſe vpon him.

Hindes haue be milked.

King Henrye the fift in hys beginning, thought it a mere ſcoffery to purſue any fallow Deare wyth hounds or greyhounds, but ſuppoſed hym ſelfe alwayes to haue done a ſufficient acte, when he had tired them by his owne trauaile on foote, and ſo kylled them wyth hys handes, in the vpſhot of that exerciſe and ende of hys recreation. And thus did very many in lyke ſort wyth the Harte, as I doe reade. But I thincke yͭ was very long agone, when men were farre higher and ſwifter then they are now, and yet I deny not but any hunting of the redde Deare is a ryght Princely paſtime. In diuers forren cuntries they cauſe theyr redde and fallow Deare to draw the plowgh as we do our Oxen and horſes. In ſome places alſo they milke theyr Hindes as we doe here our Kine and Gotes. And the experience of this latter is noted by Gyraldus Cambrenſis to haue beene ſeene and vſed in Wales, where he did eate cheeſe made of hindes milke, at ſuch time as Baldwine Archbiſhop of Caunterburie preached the Croyſaide there, when they were both lodged in a Gentlemans houſe, whoſe wyfe of purpoſe kept a dairy of the ſame. As for yͤ plowing wyth Vres (whych I ſuppoſe to be vnlikely) and Alkes a thyng commonly vſed in the Eaſt countries, here is no place to ſpeake of it, ſince we now want theſe kinde of beaſts. Neither is it my purpoſe to intreat of other thyngs then are to be ſeene in England,

land, wherfore I wil omitte to ſay any more of wilde and ſauage beaſtes at thys tyme, thinking my ſelfe to haue ſpoken already ſufficiently of this matter, if not to much in the iudgement of the curious.

¶ Of Cattell kept for profite.

Cap. 8.

There is no kinde of tame Cattell vſually to be ſeene in theſe parts of the worlde whereof we haue not ſome, and that great ſtore in England, as Horſes, Oxen, Sheepe, Goates, Swine, & far ſurmounting the like in other countries, as maye be proued with eaſe. For where are Oxen commonlye more large of bone, Horſes more decent & pleaſant in pace, Sheepe more profitable for wooll, Swine more holſome of fleſhe, & Goates more gaineful to their keepers, then here wyth vs in England. But to ſpeake of them peculiarly, I ſuppoſe that our Oxen are ſuch as the lyke are not to be founde in any countrye of Europe both for greatneſſe of bodye and ſweeteneſſe of fleſhe: or elſe woulde not the Romaine wryters, haue preferred them before thoſe of Liguria. Their hornes alſo are knowne to be more fayre and large in England then in any other places, which quantity albeit that it be giuen to our breede generally by nature, yet it is oft helped by arte. For when they be verye yonge, many Graſiers will oftentimes annoynte their budding hornes, or typpes of hornes, with Hony, which mollyfieth the naturall hardeneſſe of that ſubſtaunce, and thereby maketh it to growe vnto a notable greatneſſe. Certes, it is not ſtraunge in England, to ſee Oxen whoſe hornes haue ẏ length of a yarde or three foote betweene the typpes, and they themſelues thereto ſo tall, as the heigth of a man of meane and indifferent ſtature, is ſcarce comparable vnto them.

Oxen.

Horſes.

Our Horſes moreouer are highe, and although not commonly of ſuch huge greatneſſe as in other places of the maine, yet yf you reſpect the eaſineſſe of theyr pace, it is harde to ſaye where their lyke are to be had. Our lande doth yeelde no Aſſes, and therefore the moſt parte of our caryage is made by theſe, which remaining ſtoned, are either reſerued for the cart, or appointed to beare ſuch burthens, as are conuenient for them: Our Carte horſes therfore are cōmonly ſo ſtrong, that fiue of them will drawe three thouſande weyght of the greateſt tale wyth eaſe for a lōg iourney. Such as are kept alſo for burden, will cary foure hundreth waight commonly without any hurt, or hinderance.

Thys furthermore is to be noted, that our Princeſſe and the Nobilitye, haue their cariage commonly made by cartes, whereby it commeth to paſſe, that when the Queenes maieſtie doth remoue from any one place to another, there are vſually 400. cartwares, appointed out of the Countryes adioyning, whereby hir caryage is conueighed ſafely vnto ẏ appointed place, & herby alſo the auncient vſe of ſommers and ſumpter horſes, is in maner vtterly relinquiſhed.

Geldings.

Such as ſerue for the ſaddle are cōmonly gelded, and now growne to be very dere among vs, eſpecially if they be well coloured, iuſtly lymmed, and haue thereto an eaſie ambling pace. For our coūtrimen ſeeking their eaſe in euery corner where it is to bee had, delight very much in theſe qualyties, but chiefly in their excellent paces, which beſides that it is in maner peculiar vnto horſes of our ſoyle, and not hurtfull to the rider or owner ſitting on their backes: it is moreouer verye pleaſaunt and delectable in hys eares, in that the noyſe of theyr well proportioned paſe doth yeeld a comfortable ſound. Yet is there no greater deceit vſed any where then among our horſekeepers, horſecorſers, and Hoſtelers: for ſuch is the ſubtill knauerye of a great ſort of them (wythout exception of anye be it ſpoken which deale for pryuate gaine) that an honeſt meaning mā ſhall haue verye good lucke among them, if he be not deceyued by ſome falſe tricke or other.

Shepe.

Our ſheepe are very excellent ſith for ſweteneſſe of fleſhe they paſſe all other, & ſo much are our wolles to be preferred before thoſe of other places, that if Iaſon had knowne ẏ value of them that are bredde and to be had in Englande, he woulde neuer haue gone to Colchos, to looke for any there. What fooles then are our countrymen, in that they ſeeke to bereue themſelues of this commoditie, by practizing dayly howe to transferre the ſame to other nations, in carying ouer their rammes and ewes to breede an increaſe among them. But ſuch is our nature, and ſo blinde are we in deede, that we ſee no inconuenience before we feele it, and for a preſent gaine we regarde not what damage may enſue to our poſteritie. Hereto ſome other mā would adde alſo the deſire, that we haue to benefite other countries, and to impeche our owne. And it is ſo ſure as God lyueth, that euery tryfle which cōmeth from beyonde the ſea, though it bee not worth three pence, is more eſteemed then a continuall commoditie at home, which farre exceedeth that value. It is furthermore to be noted, for the lowe Countries of Belgy knowe it, and dailye experience (not-

Sheepe without hornes.

(notwithſtanding the ſharpeneſſe of oure lawes to the contrarye) doth yet confirme it: that although our Rammes & Wethers doe goe thether from vs neuer ſo well headded according to their kinde, yet after they haue remained there a whyle, they caſt there theyr hornes, and from thenceforth remayne polled without any hornes at all.

Certes this kinde of Cattell is more cheryſhed in Eng lande, then ſtanding well wyth the commo ditie of the commons, or proſperitie of dyuers townes, whereof ſome are wholy conuerted to their feeding: yet ſuch a profitable ſweeteneſſe is founde in theyr fleece, ſuch neceſſity in their fleſh, & ſo great a benefite in ẏ manuring of barraine ſoyle with their dung & piſſe, that their ſuperfluous numbers are the better borne withall, and there is neuer an huſbande man, (for now I ſpeake not of our great ſheepemaiſters) but hath more or leſſe of thys cattell feedyng on his fallowes. There are & peraduenture no ſmall babes, which can make accompt of euery tenne kine to be clerely worth twenty pound in common and indifferent yeares, if the milke of fyue ſheepe be daily added to the ſame: but as I wote not howe true this ſurmyſe is, ſo I am ſure hereof, that ſome huſwyues can and doe adde daily a leſſe proportiō of ewes milke vnto ſo many kine, wherby their cheeſe doth the longer abyde moiſt, and eateth more brickle and mellowe then otherwyſe it woulde.

Goates. Goates we haue plenty in the weſt partes of England, eſpecially in & toward Wales, and amongſt the rocky hilles, by whom the owners doe reape no ſmall aduantage: ſome alſo are cheryſhed elſe where in ſundrye ſteedes for the benefite of ſuch as are diſeaſed with ſundry maladies, vnto whom (as I here) it is iudged very profitable and therfore inquired for of many farre and neere.

Swine. As for Swine there is no place that hath greater ſtore nor more wholſome in eating, thē are ſeene here in england, & of theſe, ſome we eate greene for porcke, & other dryed vp into Bacon to haue it of more continuance. Larde we make little becauſe it is chargeable, neyther haue we ſuch vſe thereof as is to be ſeene in other Countries, ſith we do either baſt all our meate with butter, or ſuffer the fatteſt to baſte it ſelfe by leyſure.

Bores. Of our Bores we make Brawne, which is a kinde of meate not vſually knowen to ſtraungers (as I take it) otherwyſe woulde not the ſwart-Rutters and frenche cookes, at the loſſe of Callis, (where they founde great ſtore of this prouiſion almoſt in euery houſe) haue attempted with ridiculous ſucceſſe to roſt, bake, broyle, and frye the ſame for their maſters, til they were beter informed. I haue harde moreouer, howe an noble man of england did ſend ouer an hoggeſhead of brawne ready ſouſed to a Catholike Gentlemen of Fraunce, who ſuppoſing it to be fiſhe reſerued it vntill Lent, at which time hee did eate thereof with verye great frugalitye. Therto he ſo wel liked of the prouiſion it ſelf, that he wrote ouer for more of the ſame fiſh, againe the yeare inſuing: whereas if he had knowen it to haue beene fleſhe, he would not haue touched it I dare ſaye for a thouſande crownes, without ẏ popes diſpenſatiō. With vs it is accompted a great peece of ſeruice at the table from Nouember vntyll February be ended, but chiefely in the Chriſtmas time. Wyth the ſame alſo we begin our dinners eche day after other: & bicauſe it is ſomwhat harde of digeſtion, a draught of Malueſy, Baſtarde or Muſcadell, is vſually druncke after it, where either of them may conueniently to be had, otherwyſe the meaner ſorte content themſelues wyth their owne drink, which at that ſeaſon is cōmonly very ſtrong, and ſtronger in deede, then in all the yeare beſide.

It is made commonly of the fore part of a tame Bore, ſet vppe for the purpoſe by the ſpace of an whole yeare or two eſpecially in Gentlemens houſes (for the huſbandman & farmers neuer francke them for their owne vſe aboue three or foure monethes, or halfe a yeare at the moſt) in which time he is dyeted with otes and peaſon, and lodged on the bare planckes of an vneaſie coate, tyll hys fat be hardened ſufficiently for their purpoſe. Afterwarde he is killed, ſcalded and cut out, & then of his former partes is our Brawne made, the reaſt is nothing ſo fat and therefore it beareth the name of ſouce only, and is commonly reſerued for the ſeruing man and and hinde. The necke peeces being cut of rounde are called collers of Brawne, the ſhoulders are named ſhildes, only the ribbes retayne the former denomination, ſo ẏ theſe foure peeces deſerue the name of Brawne. The bowels of the beaſt are commonly caſt away bycauſe of their ranckeneſſe, & ſo were alſo his ſtones, till a fooliſh fantaſie gat hold of late amongſt ſome delicate Dames who haue now founde the meanes to dreſſe them with great coſt for a delicate diſh and bring them to the boarde as a ſeruice though not without note of their deſire to ẏ prouocation of fleſhly luſt, which by thys one acte is not a lyttle reuealed. But to returne againe vnto our purpoſe. When the Bore is thus cut out, eache peece is wrapped vp, eyther with bulruſhes, oſier peles, packethréed or ſuch like, and then ſodden in a leade or caldron togyther tyll they be ſo tender that a manne may thruſte a bruſed ruſhe or ſoft ſtrawe cleane through the fatte, whyche being done they take it vp and laye it abroade to coole. Afterward putting it into cloſe veſſels, they poure either good ſmall ale or béere mingled wyth vergeous and ſalt thereto tyll it be couered, and ſo let it lye (nowe and then altering and changing the ſowſing drincke leaſt it ſhould ware ſoure) till occaſion ſerue to ſpend it out of the way. But of Brawne thus much, and ſo much may ſéeme ſufficient.

Of vvilde and tame Fowles.

Cap. 9.

ORder requireth that I ſpeake ſomewhat of the Fowles alſo of Englande, which I may eaſily deuide into the wilde and tame, but alas ſuch is my ſmall ſkill in Fowles, that to ſay the truth I cā neyther recite their nombers nor well diſtinguiſhe one kinde of them from an other. Yet thys I haue by generall knowledge, that there is no nation vnder the ſunne which hath in time of yͤ yere more plentie of wild Fowle then we, for ſo many kindes as our Iland doth bring forth. We haue therfore the Crane, the Bitter, the wilde and tame Swanne, the Buſtarde, the Hieron, the Curlew, the Snite, the Wildegooſe, Dotrel, Brant, Larke, Plouer, Lapwing, Téele, Wigeon, Mallard, Sheldrake, Shoueler, Pewet, Seamewe, Barnacle, Quaile, Woodcocke, Partrich and Feaſant, beſides diuers other, whoſe names to me are vtterly vnknowne, and much more the taſte of theyr fleſh wherewͭ I was neuer acquainted. But as theſe ſerue not at al ſeaſons, ſo in theyr ſeuerall turnes, there is no plentye of them wanting, wherby the tables of the Nobilitie and Gentrie ſhould ſéeme to be dayly vnfurnyſhed. But of all theſe the production of none is more maruellous then that of the Barnacle, whoſe place of generatiō we haue ſought oft times ſo farre as the Orchades, where as peraduēture we myght haue found the ſame nearer home, and not onely vppon the coaſtes of Ireland, but euen in our owne riuers. If I ſhoulde ſaye howe either theſe or ſome ſuch other Fowle not muche vnlyke vnto them doe bréede yéerely in the Thames mouth, I doe not thincke that many will beleue me, yet ſuch a thing is there to be ſéene, where a kinde of Fowle hath hys beginning vpon a ſhort tender ſhrubbe ſtanding vppon the ſhore from whēce when theyr time commeth they fall downe either into the ſalt water and liue, or vpon the dry land and periſh, as Pena the French Herbarien hath alſo noted in the very ende of hys Herball. As for Egretes, Pawperes and ſuch like, they are daily brought vnto vs from beyonde the ſea, as if all the Fowle of our countrey could not ſuffice to ſatiſfie our delicate appetites. Our tame Fowle are ſuch for the moſt parte as are common both to vs and to other Countreys, as Cockes, Hennes, Géeſe, Duckes, Pecockes of Inde, blew Pecocks, Pigeons and ſuch lyke whereof there is great plenty in euery Fermours yeard. They are kepte there alſo to be ſolde eyther for ready money in the open markettes, or elſe to be ſpent at home in good company amongſt theyr neighbours wythout reprehenſion or fines. Neyther are we ſo miſerable in England (a thing only graunted vnto vs by the eſpeciall grace of God and liberty of our Princes) as to dine or ſuppe wyth a quarter of a Hen, or to make ſo great a repaſt with a cocks combe as they doe in ſome other Countreys: but if occaſion ſerue the whole carcaſes of many Capons, Hennes, Pigeons and ſuch lyke doe oft goe to wracke, beſide Béefe, Mutton, Veale and Lambe: all which at euery feaſt are taken for neceſſary diſhes amongſt the comminaltye of England. The gelding of Cockes, where by Capons are made, is an auncient practiſe brought in of olde time by the Romaines when they dwelt here in thys lande: but the gelding of Turkies or Indiſh Peacockes is a newer deuiſe: and certainely not vſed amiſſe, ſith the rancknes of that byrde is very much abated therby, and the taſt of the fleſh in ſundry wiſe amended. If I ſhould ſay that ganders growe alſo to be gelded, I ſuppoſe that no man will beleue me, neyther haue I taſted at any tyme of ſuch a fowle ſo ſerued, yet haue I heard it more then once to be vſed in the Countrey, where theyr Géeſe are driuen to the fielde like herdes of cattell by a Gooſeheard, a toy alſo no les to be meruailed at then the other. For as it is rare to heare of a gelded gander, ſo it is ſtraunge to me, to ſée or heare of Géeſe to be ledde to the field lyke ſhéepe: yet ſo it is, and theyr Goſeherd caryeth a rattle of paper or parchement wyth hym when he goeth about in the morning to gather the Goſlings together, the noyſe whereof commeth no ſooner to their eares, then they fall to gaggling, and haſten to goe wyth hym. If it happen that the gates be not yet open, or that none of the houſe be ſtirring, it is ridiculous to ſée how they will péepe vnder the dores, and neuer leaue crying and gagling til they be let out vnto him to ouer take theyr fellowes. I might héere make

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make mention of other fowles which we repute vncleane, as Crowes, Pies, Choughs, Rookes, &c: but ſith they abound in all countries, (though peraduenture moſt of all in Englande by reaſon of our negligence) I ſhall not néede to ſpend any tyme in yͤ rehearſall of them. Neyther are they cheriſhed of purpoſe to catch vp the wormes that bréede in our ſoyles, (as Pollidore ſuppoſeth,) ſith there are no vplandiſhe townes but haue or ſhoulde haue nettes of their owne in ſtore to catche them withall. Sundrie actes of Parliament are likewyſe made for their vtter deſtruction. Nothing therefore can be more vnlykely to be true, then that theſe rauinous and noyſome foules are nouriſhed amongſt vs to deuour our Wormes, whych doe not abounde much more in Englande then elſe where in other countries of the mayne.

Of fiſhe taken vpon our Coaſtes.

Cap. 10.

AS our foules haue their ſeaſons, ſo lykewiſe haue all ſorts of fiſh, wherby it cometh to paſſe that none, or at the leaſt wyſe very few of them are to be had at all tymes. For my part I am greatly acquainted neyther with the ſeaſons nor yet with the fiſh it ſelfe, and therefore yf I ſhoulde take vppon me to deſcribe or ſpeak of either of them abſolutely, I ſhould enterpriſe more then I am able to performe, & go in hande with a greater matter then I can well bring about. It ſhall ſuffice therefore to declare what ſortes of fiſhes I haue moſt often ſéene, to the ende I may not altogither paſſe ouer this chapter without yͤ rehearſall of ſome thing, although the whole ſomme of that which I haue to ſay be nothing in déede, yf the full diſcourſe hereof be any thing duly conſidered.

Of fiſhes therfore as I finde fiue ſorts, the flat, the roūd, the long, the legged & ſhelled, ſo the flat are deuided into the ſmoothe, ſcaled & tailed. Of the firſt are the Plaice, the Butte, the Turbut, Dorrey, Dabbe, &c. Of the ſeconde, the Soles, &c. Of the thirde, oure Chaites, Maidens, Kingſones, Flathe and Thornebacke, whereof the greater be for the moſt parte eyther dryed and caryed into other countries, or ſodde, ſowſed, & eaten here at home, whyleſt the leſſer be fryed or buttered, ſone after they be takē, as prouiſion not to be kept long for feare of putrefaction. Under the round kindes are commonly comprehended Lumpes an vgly fiſh to ſighte, and yet very delicate in eating, yf it be kindlye dreſſed. The Whighting, (an olde waiter or ſeruitor in the Court) the Rochet, Gurnard, Hadocke, Codde, Herring, Pilchard, Sprat, & ſuch like. And theſe are they wherof I haue beſt knowledge and be commonly to be had in their tymes vppon our coaſtes. Under this kinde alſo are all the great fiſhe contained as the Seale, the Dolphin, the Porpaſſe, the Thirlepole, Whale, and whatſoeuer is round of body, be it neuer ſo great and huge. Of the long ſort are Cungres, Eles, Garefiſhe and ſuche other of that forme. Finallye of the legged kinde we haue not manye, neyther haue I ſéene any more of thys ſort then the Polipus, called in Engliſhe the Lobſtar, the Craifiſh, and yͤ Crabbe. As for the little Craifiſhes, they are not taken in the ſea, but plentyfully in our freſhe ryuers in banckes and vnder ſtones where they kepe themſelues in moſt ſecret maner, and oft by lykeneſſe of coulour with the ſtones among which they lye, they deceiue euen the ſkilful takers of them, except they vſe great diligence. I might here ſpeake of ſundrie other fiſhes nowe and then taken alſo vppon our coaſtes, but ſith my minde is onely to touche eyther all ſuch as are vſually gotten, or ſo many of them onely as I can well rehearſe vpon certayne knowledge, I thincke it good at thys tyme to forbeare the further intreatye of them. As touching the ſhelly ſorte we haue plentie of Oyſters, Muſcles and Cocles. We haue in lyke ſort no ſmall ſtore of great Whelkes, and Perewincles, & eache of them brought farre into the land from the ſea coaſt in their ſeuer all ſeaſons. And albeit our Oyſters are generally forborne in the foure hote monethes of the yeare, that is to ſay, May, Iune, Iuly, & Auguſt. Yet in ſome places they be continallye eaten, where they be kept in pittes as I haue knowen by experience. And thus much of our ſea fiſhe, as a man in maner vtterlye vnacquainted with their diuerſitie of kindes: yet ſo much haue I yéelded to do, hoping hereafter to ſay ſomswhat more, and more orderly of them, if it ſhall pleaſe God that I may liue and haue leaſure once againe to peruſe this treatize, & ſo make vp a perfit péece of work of yͤ, which as you now ſée is very ſlenderly begunne.

Of Hawkes and Rauenous foules.

Cap. 11.

I Can not make as yet any iuſt report howe many ſortes of Hawkes are bredde within this realme. Howbeit which of thoſe that are vſually had amongeſt vs are diſcloſed with this lande, I thincke it more eaſie and leſſe difficulte to ſet downe. Firſt of all therfore that we haue the Eagle, common experience doth euidently confirme, and diuers of our rockes whereon they brede, yf ſpeach did ſerue, could wel teſtifie the ſame. But the moſt excellent aiery of all is not much from Cheſter at a caſtle called Dinas Bren, ſometime buylded by Brennus, as our writters do coniecture. Certes this caſtell is no great thing, but yet a pyle very ſtrong and inacceſſible for enemyes, though nowe all ruinous as many other are. It ſtandeth vpon an harde rocke in the ſide whereof an Eagle breedeth euery yeare. Certes this is notable in the ouerthrow of hir neaſt (a thing oft attempted) that he which goeth thither muſt be ſure of two large baſkets, and ſo prouide to be let downe thereto, that he may ſitte in the one and be couered with the other: for otherwyſe the Egle would kill hym and teare the fleſhe from his bones with their ſharpe talons though his apparell were neuer ſo good. Next vnto yͤ Egle we haue the Irō or Erne (as the Scottes doe write) who call the Egle by yͤ name. Certes it is a Rauenous bird & not much inferiour to the Egle in deede. For though they be black of colour & ſomewhat leſſe of bodie, yet ſuch is their greatneſſe that they are brought by diuers into ſundrie partes of this realme and ſhewed as Egles onely for hope of gaine, which is gotten by the ſight of thē. Their chiefe breeding is in the Weſtcountry, where the commons complaine of great harme to be done by thē in their fieldes, for they are able to beare a yong lambe or kidde vnto their neaſtes, therewith to feede their yong and come againe for more. Some call thē Gripes. We haue alſo the Lanner & the Lanneret: the Tercell and the Goſehawke: the Muſket and the Sparhawke: the Jacke and the Hobby: and finallye ſome though very fewe Marlions. And theſe are all the Hawkes that I doe here to be breede within this Iſlande. Howbeit as theſe are not wanting with vs, ſo are they not very plentifull: wherfore ſuch as delite in Hawking doe make their chiefe prouiſion for the ſame out of Danſke, Germany, and the Eaſtcountries, from whence we haue thē in great aboundaunce & at exceſſiue prices, whereas at home and where they be breede they are ſolde for almoſt right naught and vſually brought to the markets as chickins, pullets and Pigeons are with vs, and there bought vp to be eaten (as we doe the aforeſayde foules) almoſt of euery man. But to procede with yͤ reſt. Other rauenous birdes we haue alſo in very great plentye, as the Buſſarde, the Kite, the Ringtaile Dunkite, and ſuch as often annoye oure Countrie dames by ſpoyling of their yong broodes of chickins, Duckes and Goſlings, whereunto our very Rauens and Crowes haue learned alſo the way: and ſo much are our rauēs giuen to this kinde of ſpoyle, that ſome of ſet purpoſe haue manned reclaymed and vſed them in ſteede of Hawkes, when other could not be had. I haue ſeene Crowes ſo cunning alſo of theyr owne ſelues that they haue vſed to ſoare ouer great riuers (as the Thames for example) & ſodenly comming downe haue caught a ſmall fiſhe in their feete and gone away withall ẇout wetting of their wings. And euen at this preſent the aforeſayde riuer is not without ſome of them, a thing in my opiniō not a litle to be wondred at. There is no cauſe wherfore I ſhoulde deſcribe the Cormorant amōgſt Hawkes (except I ſhold call him a Water Hawke) but ſith ſuch dealing is not conuenient, let vs nowe ſee what may be ſayde of our venemous Wormes, & how many kindes we haue of them within our realme and countrie.

¶ Of venemous beaſtes. &c.

Cap. 12.

IF I ſhoulde go about to make any long diſcourſe of venemous Beaſtes, or Wormes breede in Englande, I ſhould attempt more then occaſion it ſelfe woulde offer; ſith wee haue very fewe Wormes but no Beaſtes at all, that are thought by nature to bee eyther venemous or hurtfull. Firſt of all therefore wee haue the Adder, which ſome men doe not raſhely take to bee the Vyper. Certes if it bee ſo, then is not the Vyper Authour of the death of hir * Parents, as ſome hyſtories affyrme. And it may well be, for I remember that I haue reade in Philoſtrate, howe he ſawe a Vyper lycking of hyr yong. I did ſee an Adder once my ſelf that laye as I thought ſleeping on a moulehyll, out of whoſe mouth came aleuen yong Adders of twelue or thirteene ynches in length a peece, which plaied to and fro in the Graſſe one wyth another, tyll ſome of them eſpyed me. So ſone therefore as they ſawe me, they ran againe into the mouth of theyr damme whome I kylled, and then founde eache of them ſhrowded in a diſtinct celle, or pannicle in hyr belly, much like vnto a ſoft white ielly, which maketh me to be of the opinion that our Adder is the Viper in deede. Their colour is for yͤ moſt part ruddy blew, and their ſtinging bryngeth death wythout preſent remedie be at hand, the wounded neuer ceaſing to ſwell, neyther the venyme to worke till the ſkin of the one breake, and the other aſcende vpwarde to the hart, where it finiſheth

* Galenus de Theriaca ad Piſonem.

* Plin. lib. 10. cap. 62.

Se Ariſtotle, Animalium lib. 5. cap. vltimo & Theophraſt lib. 7 cap. 13.

ſiniſheth. The effect, the length of thē is moſt commonly two foote and ſomewhat more, but ſeldome doth it extende vnto two foote ſixe ynches, except it be in ſome rare and monſterous Adder: whereas our Snakes are much bygger and ſéene ſometymes to ſurmount a yarde, or thrée foote, although their poyſon be nothing ſo grieuous & deadly as yͤ others. Our Adders lie in winter vnder ſtones in wholes of the yearth, rotten ſtubs of trées, & amōgſt the dead leaues: but in the heate of the ſommer they come abroade, and lye eyther rounde in heapes, or at length vpon ſome hillocke, or elſe where in the graſſe. They are found only in our woodland countryes and higheſt groundes: as for our ſnakes they commonlye are ſéene in moores, fennes, and low bottomes. And as we haue great ſtore of Todes where Adders cōmonly are found, ſo doe Frogges abound where Snakes doe kéepe their reſidence. We haue alſo the Sloworme, which is black & grayiſh of colour, and ſomewhat ſhorter then an Adder. We haue in lyke ſort Eftes, both of the land and water, & likewiſe Swiftes, whereof to ſay any more it ſhould be but loſſe of time, ſithe they are well knowne and no regyon voyd of many of them. As for flies (ſith it ſhal not be amyſſe a lyttle to touch them alſo) wée haue none that can doe hurt or hynderance naturally vnto any, for whether they be cut waſted, or whole bodyed, they are voyde of poyſon & all venimous inclination. The cut waſted, for ſo I Engliſhe the worde Inſecta are the Hornettes, Waſpes, Bées, and ſuch lyke whereof wée haue great ſtore, and of which an opinion is conceiued, that the firſt doe bréede of the corruption of deade horſes, the ſecond of Peares and Apples corrupted, and the laſt of Kine and Oxen: which maye be true, eſpecially the firſt and latter in ſome partes of the beaſt, and not their whole ſubſtaunces, as alſo in the ſeconde, ſith we haue neuer Waſpes, but whē our frute beginneth to waxe rype. In déede Virgill and others ſpeake of a generatiō of Bées, by kyllyng or ſmouthering of a brouſed bullocke or calfe, and laying hys bowels or hys fleſhe wrapped vp in hys hyde in a cloſe houſe for a certaine ſeaſon, but how true it is as yet I haue not tryed. Yet ſure I am of thys that no one liuing creature corrupteth with out the productiō of an other as we may ſée in ſhepe alſo for exceſſiue numbers of fleſh flies, if they be ſuffered to lye vnburyed or vneaten by the dogges and Swine, who often preuent ſuch néedeleſſe generations.

Thus much farder wyll I adde of Bées, that whereas ſome ancient wryters affirme thē to be a cōmodity wanting in our Iſland, it is nowe founde to be nothing ſo. In olde time peraduenture we had none in déede, but in my dayes there is ſuch plenty of them in maner euery where, that in ſome vplandyſh Townes, there are one hundreth, or two hundreth hiues of them, although the ſaide hiues are not ſo huge as they of the eaſt countrey, but farre leſſe, as not able to containe aboue one buſhel of corne, or fiue peckes at yͤ moſt. Our hony alſo is taken and reputed to be the beſt bycauſe it is harder, better wrought & clenlyer veſſelled vp, thē that which cōmeth from beyond the ſea, where they ſtampe and ſtraine their combes, Bées, & young Blowinges altogither into the ſtuffe, as I haue béene informed. In vſe alſo of medicine our Phiſitions and Appothicaries eſchewe the forren, & chooſe the home made, as bréeding leſſe cholor, which is oftentimes (and I haue ſéene by experience) ſo white as ſuger, and corned as if it were ſalt. Our hiues are made commonly of Rye ſtraw, and wadled about with bramble quarters. But ſome make thē of wicker and caſt them ouer with clay. We cheriſh none in trées, but ſet our hiues ſomewhere on the warmeſt ſide of the houſe, prouyding that they may ſtande drye and without daũger of the mouſe. This furthermore is to bée noted, that whereas in veſſelles of oyle, that which is néereſt the toppe is accounted the beſt, and of wine that in the middeſt, ſo of hony the beſt is alwaies next the bottome, which euermore caſteth and dryueth his dragges vpwarde toward the very top, contrary to the natures of other liquide ſubſtaunces, whoſe groundes and lies, doe generally ſettle downewardes. And thus much as by the waye of our Bées and Engliſhe Hony.

As for the whole bodied, as the Cantharides and ſuch venymous creatures, we here not of them. Yet haue we Bettles, Horſeflyes, Turdbugges (called in latine Scarabei) the Locuſt or the Greſhopper and ſuch lyke, whereof let other intreate, that make an exerciſe in catching of Flyes, but a farre greater ſport in offering them to ſpyders as did Caligula ſometyme and an other Prince yet lyuing, who delyted ſo much to ſée the foly combattes betwixt a ſtout flye and an old Spider, that diuers men haue had great rewardes giuen them for their paineful prouiſion of flyes made onely for thys purpoſe; Some alſo in the time of Caligula coulde deuyſe to ſet their Lorde on worke, by lettyng fleſhe flies into his chamber, which he forthwith woulde egerly haue hunted all other buſineſſe ſet apart, & neuer ceaſed til he had caught hir into his fingers. There are ſome Cockeſcombes here and there in England* which make account alſo of this paſtime as of a notable matter, telling what a fight is ſéene betwéene thē, if either of them be luſty and couragious in his kinde. One alſo hath made a booke of the Spider & the Fly, wherin he dealeth ſo profoundly and beyonde all meaſure of ſkill, that neyther he himſelf that made it, neither any one that readeth it, can reache vnto the meaning therof. But if thoſe tolly fellowes in ſtéede of the ſtraw that they thruſt into the Flies tayle (a great iniurie no doubt to ſuch a noble champion) woulde beſtow the coſt to ſet a fooles cap vpon there owne heades: then might they with more ſecuritie, and leſſe reprehenſion beholde theſe notable battayles.

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Of Engliſhe Dogges. Cap. 13.

THere is no countrey that may (as I take it) compare with ours in number, excellencie, and diuerſitie of Dogges: all which the learned Doctour Caius in his Treatiſe vnto Geſnere de canibus Anglicis doth bring into thrée ſortes: that is, the gentle kinde ſeruing for game: the homly kind apt for ſundry neceſſarie vſes: and the curriſh kinde, méete for many toyes. For my part I can ſaye no more of them then he hath done alreadie, wherfore I wil here ſet downe only a ſommie of that which he hath written of their names and natures, with the addicion of an example or two now lately had in experience, wherby the courages of our Maſtiffes ſhall yet more largely appeare.

The firſt ſort therefore he deuideth eyther into ſuch as rowſe the beaſt and continue the chaſe: or ſpringeth the Birde, and bewrayeth hir flyght by purſute. And as theſe are commonly called Spanyels, ſo the other are named Hounds, wherof he maketh eight ſortes, of whych the foremoſte excelleth in perfite ſmelling, the ſeconde in quicke eſpying, the third in ſwiftneſſe and quickneſſe, the fourth in ſmelling and nimbleneſſe. &c. & the laſt in ſubtilty and deceitfulneſſe: The firſt kinde of theſe are alſo commonlye called Haryers, whoſe game is the Foxe, the Hare, Wolfe, (if we had any) Hart, Bucke, Badger, Otter, Polcat, Lobſtart, Weſell, Conye. &c: the ſecond hight a Terrer, & it hūteth the Badger and Grey onely: the third a bloudhound, whoſe office is to follow the fierce, and nowe and then to purſue a théefe or beaſt by hys dry foote: the fourth a Gaſhounde, who hunteth by the eye: the fifth a Greyhounde, cheriſhed for hys ſtrength and ſwiftneſſe: the ſixt a Lyemmer, that excelleth in ſmellyng and ſwift running: the ſeuenth a tombler, and the eight a théefe, whoſe offices (I meane of the latter two) encline onely to deceite, wherein they are oft ſo ſkilfull, that fewe men woulde thinke ſo miſcheuous a witte to remayne in ſuch two creatures. Hauing made thys enumeration of Dogges which ſerue for ẏ chaſe and Hunting, he commeth next to ſuche as ſerue the Falcons in theyr times, whereof he maketh alſo two ſortes. One that findeth hys game on the lande, an other that putteth vp ſuch Fowle as kéepeth the water. And of theſe thys is commonly moſte vſuall for the nette or traine, the other for the Hawke, as he doeth ſhewe at large. Of the firſt, he ſayeth that they haue no peculiar names aſſigned vnto them ſeuerally, but eache of them is called after the birde whych by naturall appoyntmēt he is allotted to hunt: for which conſideration ſome be named Dogges for the Feaſant, ſome for the Falcon, and ſome for the Partriche. Howe be it, the common name for all is Spanniell, as if theſe kindes of Dogges had bene brought hyther out of Spaine. In like ſort we haue of water Spanniels in theyr kinde. The third ſort of Dogs of the gentle kinde is the Spaniell gentle, or conforter: or as the common terme is the fiſtinghound, and called Melitei, of the Iland Malta, frō whence they were brought hither. Theſe Dogges are little and prettie, proper and fine, and ſought out far and néere to ſatiſfie the nice delicatie of daintie dames, and wanton womens willes. Inſtrumēts of folly to play and dally withal, in trifling away the treaſure of time to wythdrawe theyr mindes from more commendable exerciſes, and to content theyr corrupt concupiſcences wyth vaine diſport, a ſilly poore ſhift to ſhun theyr irkeſome ydleneſſe. Theſe puppies the ſmaller they be (and thereto if they haue an hole in the forepartes of theyr heads) the better they are accepted, the more pleaſure alſo they prouoke as méete plaifellowes for minſing miſtreſſes to beare in theyr boſomes, to kéepe company wyth all in theyr chambers, to ſuccour wyth ſléepe in bedde, and nouryſh wyth meate at borde, to lye in theyr lappes, and licke theyr lippes as they lie (like yonge Dianaes) in their wagons. And good reaſon it ſhould be ſo, for courſeneſſe wyth fineneſſe hath no fellowſhip, but featneſſe wͭ neatneſſe hath neighborhead inough. That plauſible prouerbe therfore verified ſometime vpon a tyrant, namely ẏ he loued hys Sowe better then hys ſonne, may well be applied to ſome of thys kinde of people, who delight more in theyr dogges, that are depriued of all poſſibi-

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litye of reaſon, then they doe in children that are capable of wiſdom and iudgement. Yea, they ofte feede them of the beſt, where the poore mans child at theyr dores can hardly come by the worſt. But the former abuſe peraduenture raigneth where there hath ben long want of iſſue, els where barēnes is the beſt bloſſom of beauty: or finally, where pore mens children for want of theyr owne iſſue are not redy to be had. It is thought of ſome that it is very holeſome for a weake ſtomake to beare ſuch a Dogge in ones boſome, as it is for hym that hath the palſie to feele the daily ſmell of a Foxe. But how truly thys is affirmed let the learned iudge: onely it ſhall ſuffice for D. Caius to haue ſayd thus much of Spaniels and Dogges of the gentle kinde.

Dogs of yͤ homely kinde, are eyther ſhepheardes curres, or Maſtiffes. The firſt are ſo common, that it needeth me not to ſpeake of them: Theyr vſe alſo is ſo well known in keping yͤ herd together (either when they graſe or go before the ſhepheard,) that it ſhould be but in vaine to ſpend any time about them. Wherfore I will leaue thys curre vnto hys owne kinde, and goe in hande wyth the Maſtiffe or banddogge, which is an huge dogge, ſtubborne, ougly, eagre, burthenous of body, (and therfore but of litle ſwiftneſſe,) terrible and fearefull to behold, and more fearſe and fell then any Archadien curre. Our Engliſh men to the entent that theſe Dogges maye be more fell and fearſe, aſſiſt nature wyth ſome art, vſe & cuſtome. For although thys kinde of dogge be capeable of courage, violent, valiant, ſtout and bolde: yet wil they increaſe theſe theyr ſtomackes by teaching them to bait the Beare, the Bull, the Lyon, and other ſuch lyke cruell and bloudy beaſts wythout any coller to defende theyr throtes, and oftentimes thereto, they traine them vp in fighting and wraſtling wyth a man, hauing for the ſauegard of his life either a pike ſtaffe, clubbe, ſword, or priuie coate, wherby they become the more fearſe and cruell vnto ſtraungers. Of Maſtiffes, ſome barke onely with fearſe and open mouth but wil not bite, ſome do both barke and bite, but the cruelleſt doeth eyther not barke at all, or bite before they barke, and therefore are more to be feared then any of the other. They take alſo theyr name of the word maſe and theefe (or maſter theefe if you will) becauſe they often put ſuch perſones to theyr ſhiftes in townes and villages, and are the principall cauſes of theyr apprehenſion and taking. The force which is in them ſurmoūteth all beleefe, and yͤ faſt holde whych they take with theyr teeth excedeth all credite, for three of them againſt a Beare, fowre againſt a Lion are ſufficient both to trie maſtries with them, and vtterly ouermatch them. King Henrye the ſeuenth, as the reporte goeth, commaunded all ſuche curres to be hanged, becauſe they durſt preſume to fight againſt the Lion who is theyr king and ſoueraigne. The like he did with an excellent Falcon, becauſe he feared not hand to hand to match wyth an Eagle, willing his Falconers in his owne preſence to plucke of hys heade after he was taken downe, ſaying that it was not meete for any ſubiect to offer ſuch wrong vnto his Lord and ſuperior. But if King Henrye the ſeuenth had liued in our time, what would he haue done to one Engliſh Maſtiffe, which alone and wythout anye help at al, pulled downe firſt an huge Beare, then a Parde, and laſt of al a Lyon, eache after other before the Frenche King in one day: wherof if I ſhould wryte the circumſtāces, that is, how he toke his aduantage being let loſe vnto them, and finally draue them into ſuch exceding feare, that they were al glad to runne away when he was taken frō them, I ſhould take much paines, and yet reape but ſmall credite, wherfore yt ſhall ſuffice to haue ſayd thus much thereof. Some of our Maſtiffes will rage onely in the nyght, ſome are to be tied vp both day and night. Such alſo as are ſuffered to go loſe about the houſe and yarde, are ſo gentle in the day time, that children may ride vpon theyr backes & play with thē at theyr pleaſures. Some of them alſo will ſuffer a ſtraunger to come in and walke about the houſe or yarde where him liſteth, without giuing ouer to folow him. But if he put forth his hand to touche any thyng, then wil they flie vpon him & kill hym if they may. I had one my ſelfe once, whych woulde not ſuffer any man to bring in hys weapon farder then my gate: neither thoſe that were of my houſe to be touched in his preſence. Or if I had beaten any of my children, he would gently haue aſſayed to catch the rodde in hys teethe and take it out of my hande, or elſe plucke downe theyr clothes to ſaue them frō yͤ ſtripes: which in my opinion is worthy to be noted, & thus much of our Maſtiffes. The laſt ſort of Dogges conſiſteth of the curriſh kinde meete for many toyes: of whyche the wap or prickeard curre is one. Some mē cal them warners, becauſe they are good for nothing elſe but to giue warning when any body doth ſturre or lie in waite about the houſe in the nyght ſeaſon. It is vnpoſſible to deſcribe theſe curres in any order, becauſe they haue no one kinde proper vnto themſelues, but are a confuſed companye mixte of all the reſt. The ſeconde ſorte of them are called

When the lord Buckhurſt was ambaſſador thither turne ſpittes, whoſe office is not vnknowne to any. And as theſe are onely reſerued for this purpoſe, ſo in manye places our Maſtiffes are made to drawe water in greate whéeles out of déepe welles, going much like vnto thoſe which are framed for oure turne ſpittes, as is to be ſéene at Royſton, where this feate is often practiſed.

The laſt kind, of toyiſh curres, are named dauncers, and thoſe being of a mongerel ſort alſo, are taught & exerciſed to daunce in meaſure at yͤ muſicall ſound of an inſtrument, as at the iuſt ſtroke of a dromme, ſwéete accent of the Citharne, and pleaſaunt harmony of the Harpe, ſhewing many tryckes by the geſture of theyr bodyes. As to ſtand bolt vpryght, to lye flat vpon the grounde, to tourne round as a ryng holding their tayles in their téeth, to ſaw and begge for meate, & ſundrye ſuch properties, which they learne of theyr ydle rogiſhe maiſters, whoſe inſtrumentes they are to gather gaine, as olde Apes clothed in motley, and colloured ſhort waſted Iacketes are for the lyke vagabondes, who ſéeke no better lyuing, then that which they may get by fonde paſtime and ydleneſſe. I myght here intreat of other Dogges, as of thoſe which are bredde betwéene a bytche & a Wolfe, and betwéene a byche a & foxe, or a beare and a maſtife. But as we vtterly want the firſt ſort, except they be brought vnto vs, ſo it happeneth ſometime, that the other two are ingendred and ſéene amongſt vs. But of all the reſt heretofore remembred, in this Chapter there is none more vglye in ſight, cruell and fearce in déede, nor vntractable in hande, then yͭ which is begotten betwéen the Beare & the banddoge. For whatſouer he catcheth hould of, he taketh it ſo faſt that a man may ſooner teare & rend his body in ſunder, then get open his mouth to ſeparate his chappes. Certes he regardeth neyther Wolfe, Beare, nor Lyon, and therfore may wel be compared with thoſe two dogs which were ſent to Alexander out of India (and procreate as it is thought betwéene a Maſtiffe and male Tyger as bée thoſe alſo of Hyrcania) or to them that are bred in Archada, where copulation is oft ſéene betwéen Lions and Byches, as the like is in Fraunce betwéene the Wolfes and Dogges, whereof let this ſuffiſe.

¶ Of Engliſh Saffron. Cap. 14.

AS the Saffron of England is the moſt excellent of all other, (for it giueth place neyther to that of Cilicia, whereof Solinus ſpeketh, neither to any that commeth from Etolia, Sicilia, Cirena, or Licia, in ſwéeteneſſe tincture and continuance) ſo of that which is to be had amongſt vs, the ſame that groweth about Saffron Walden in the edge of Eſſex, ſurmounteth all the reſt, and therfore beareth worthily the heigher price, by ſixe pence, or twelue pence moſt commonly in the pounde.

The roote of the herbe that beareth this commoditie is rounde, much like vnto an indyfferent Onion, and yet it is not cloued, as the lylly, nor flaked as the Scalion, but hath a ſad ſubſtaunce inter bulboſa, as Orchis and Statyrion. The collor alſo of the rind is not much differing from the innermoſt ſhell of a cheſtnutte, although it be not altogither ſo blacke as the ſayd ſhell, neither altogither ſo bricle as is the pill of the Onion.

The leafe or rather the blade thereof is long and narrowe as Graſſe, & in the winter times our Cattel delight very much to féede vpon the ſame, which come vppe alwaies in October after the flowres bée gathered and gone. The whole hearbe is named in gréeke Crocos, but of ſome as Dioſcorides ſaith Caſtor, Cynomorphos or Hercules bloud. Yet in the Arabian ſpeach, from whence we take the name that we giue thereunto, I find that it is called Zahafaran, as Rembert doth bere witneſſe. The cauſe wherefore it was called Crocus was this as the Poetes feigne, eſpecially from whome Galene hath borowed the hyſtorye which he noteth in hys ninth booke, de medicamentis ſecundum loca, where hée wryteth after thys maner. A certaine yong Gentleman called Crocus went to playe at coytes in the fielde with Mercury, and beyng hedeleſſe of himſelfe, Mercuries coite happened by his miſhappe to hit him on the heade whereby hée receyued a wounde, that ere long killed him altogither, to the great diſcōfort of his friends. Finally in the place wher he bled, Saffron was after found to grow, whereupon the people ſéeyng the color of the chiue as it ſtoode, (although I doubt not but it grewe there long before) adiudged it to come to the bloude of Crocus, and therefore they gaue it his name.

In déede the chiue while it remaineth whole vnbruſed reſembleth a darke redde, but being broken and conuerted into vſe, it yeldeth a yelow tincture. But what haue we to do wyth fables. The heads of Saffron are raiſed in July either wyth plough or ſpade, and being ſcowred from theyr Roſe, and ſeuered from ſuch heades as are ingendred of them ſince the laſt ſetting, they are entered againe out of hand by rankes or rowes, and being couered wyth moulds, they reſt in the earth, where they caſt forth litle fillets & ſmal rotes like vnto a ſcalion vntill September, in the beginning of whych moneth yͤ ground

Paring. is pared, and all wéedes and graſſe that groweth vpon the ſame remoued, to the intente that nothing may annoy the flower when his time doth come to riſe.

Gathering These things being thus ordered in the later ende of the aforeſayd moneth, the flower beginneth to appeare of a whitiſh blewe colour, and in the ende ſhewing it ſelfe in the owne kinde, it reſembleth almoſte the Leucotion of Theophraſt, ſauing that it is lõger,

Sée Rembert. and hath in middeſt thereof, either thrée or foure chiues, very red and pleaſant to behold. These flowers are gathered in the mornyng before the riſing of the Sunne, whych would cauſe them to welke or flitter: and the chiues being picked from the flowers, theſe are throwne in to the dunghill, the other dryed vpon little kelles couered wyth ſtraigned canuaſſes ouer a ſoft fire: wherby and by the waight that is layed vpon thẽ, they are dried & preſſed into cakes, & then bagged vp for yͤ benefite of theyr owners. In good yeares we gather an 100. poundes of wette Saffron of an aker, which being dried doth yeld twentie pound of dry and more. Wherby and ſith the price of Saffron is commonly about twentie ſhillings in money, it is eaſie to ſée what benefit is reaped by an acre of thys commoditie, toward the charges of the ſetter.

Raiſing. The heads are raiſed euery third yeare about vs, and commonly in the firſt yeare after they be ſet they yéelde very litle increaſe, yet that which commeth is coũted the fineſt, and called Saffron du hort. The next crop is much greater, but the third excéedeth, and then they raiſe againe. In thys Periode of time alſo the heads are ſayd to childe, that is to yelde out of ſome partes of them dyuers other hedlets, wherby it hath bene ſéene that ſome one head hath bene increaſed to 3. or 4. or 5. or 6. whych augmentation is the onely cauſe whereby they are ſold ſo good cheape. For to my remẽbrãnce I haue not knowne a quarter of them to be valued much aboue two ſhillings eight péce, except in ſome odde yeres, when ouer great ſtore of winters water hath rotted yͤ moſt of them as they ſtood wͭin the ground. It is thought that at euery raiſing they encreaſe cõmonly a third part.

In Norffolke and Suffolke they raiſe but once in ſeuen yeres, but as theyr Saffron is not ſo fine as that of Cambridge ſhyre and about Walden: ſo it will not tigne nor holde colour wyth all, wherin lieth a great part of the value of thys ſtuffe, Some craftie iackes vſe to mixt it wyth the flower of Sonchus, whych commeth ſomewhat neare in déede to the hew of our good Saffron, but it is ſone bewrayed both by the colour and hardneſſe. Such alſo was the plenty of Saffron about 20. yeares paſſed, that ſome of the townes men of Walden not thankful for the aboundance of Gods bleſſing beſtowed vpon them, (as wiſhing rather more ſcarcitie therof becauſe of the keping vp of the price) in moſte contemptuous manner murmured agaynſt him, ſaying that he did ſhite Saffron at that preſent, therwith to choke yͤ market. But as they ſhewed them ſelues no leſſe then ingrat infidels in thys behalfe, ſo the Lord conſidering theyr vnthankfulneſſe, gaue them euer ſince ſuche ſcarſitie, as the greateſt murmurers haue now the leaſt ſtore, and moſte of them are eyther worne out of occupying, or remain ſcarſe able to maintain their grõũds wythout the helpe of other men. Certes it hath generally decayed about Walden ſince the ſayd time, vntill now of late wyth in this two yeares, that men began againe to plant and renew the ſame. But to procéede, when the heads be raiſed and taken vp, they will remaine 16. or 20. daies out of the earth. And I know it by experience, in that I haue caried ſome of them to London wyth me, and notwythſtanding that they haue remayned there vnſet by the ſpace of. 15. daies, yet ſome of them haue brought forth 2. or 3. flowers a péece, and ſome flowers 4. or 5. chiues to the great admiration of ſuch as haue gathered the ſame, and not bene acquainted wyth the countrey where they grew. The Crokers or Saffron men doe vſe an obſeruation a little before the comming vppe of the flower by opening of the heads, to iudge of plentye and ſcarcitie of thys commoditie to come. For if they ſée as it were many ſmall heary vaines of Saffron to be in the middeſt of the bulbe, they pronounce a frutefull yeare: And to ſay truth, at the cleauing of each head a mã ſhall diſcerne the Saffron by the colour, and ſée wherabouts it will iſſue out of the rote.

Warme nights, ſwéete dewes, fat grõũds (chiefly the chalky) and miſty mornings are very good for Saffron, but froſt and cold doe kill and kéepe backe the flower: And thus much haue I thought good to ſpeake of Engliſh Saffron whych is hote in the ſeconde and dry in the firſt degrée.

Now if it pleaſe you to heare of any of the vertues thereof, I will note theſe inſuing at the requeſt of one who required me to touche a fewe of them wyth whatſoeuer breuitye I liſted. Therfore our Saffron is very profitably mingled with thoſe medicines whych we take for the diſeaſes of the breſt, of yͤ longes, of the liuer, and of the bladder. It is good alſo ſo for the ſtomacke if you take it in meate, for it comforteth the ſame and maketh good digeſtion: being ſodden alſo in wine, it not only keepeth a man from dronkenneſſe, but encourageth alſo vnto procreation of iſſue. If you drinke it in ſweete wine it enlargeth the breth and is good for thoſe that are troubled with the teſike and ſhortneſſe of yͤ wind. Mingled wyth milke of a woman and layd vpon the eyes it ſtayeth ſuch humors as deſcend into the ſame, and taketh away the red wheales and pearles that oft groweth about them. It is verye profitably layde vnto all inflammations, painefull Apoſtemes, and the ſhingles, and doth no ſmall eaſe vnto dyuers if it be mingled wyth ſuch medicines as are beneficiall vnto the eares. It is of great vſe alſo in riping of botches and al ſwellings proceding of raw humors. Or if it ſhal pleaſe you to drinke the roote therof with Malueſie it will maruellouſly prouoke vrine, diſſolue and expell grauell, and yeelde no ſmall eaſe vnto them that make theyr water by droppe meales. Finally, three drammes thereof taken at once (whych is about the weighte of one ſhil. 9. pence halfepeny) is deadly poyſon as Dioſcorides doth affirme. There groweth ſome Saffron in many places of Almaine, and alſo about Vienna in Auſtria, whych later is taken for yͤ beſt that ſpringeth in other quarters. In ſteade of thys alſo ſome doe vſe the Carthamus (called amongſt vs baſtarde Saffrõ) but neyther this is of any value, nor the other in any wiſe comparable vnto ours, whereof let this ſuffice as of a commoditye brought into this Ilande not long before the time of Edward the third, and not commonly planted vntill Richard yͤ ſecond did raign. It would grow very well as I take it about Chiltern hilles, & in all the vale of the whyte horſe.

Of Quarries of ſtone for buylding.

Cap. 15.

QVarryes with vs are pittes or Mines out of which we digge our Stone to builde withall, and of theſe as we haue great plentie in Englande, ſo are they of diuers ſortes and thoſe very profitable for ſundrie neceſſary vſes. In times paſt yͤ vſe of ſtone was in maner dedicated to the buylding of churches, religious houſes, princely pallaces Biſhoppes manours and holdes onely: but now that ſcrupulus obſeruatiõ is altogither infringed, and buylding with ſtone ſo commonly taken vp that amongeſt noble men & gentlemen the timber frames are ſuppoſed to be not much better then paper worke, of little countinuaunce and leaſt countinuance of all. It farre paſſeth my cunning to ſet down how many ſortes of ſtone for buylding are to be founde in Englande, but much farder to call each of thẽ by their proper names. Howbeit ſuch is the curioſity of our countrymen that notwithſtanding Almightie God hath ſo bleſſed our realme in moſt plentifull maner with ſuch and ſo many Quarries apt and meete for pyles of longeſt countinuance, yet we as lothſome of this aboundaunce, or not liking of the plenty, doe commonly leaue theſe naturall giftes to moulde and ſinder in the ground, and take vp an artificiall bricke, in burning whereof a great part of the wood of this lande is dayly conſumed and ſpent to the no ſmall decay of that commoditie and hinderaunce of the poore that periſh oft for colde. Our elders haue from tyme to tyme following our naturall vice in miſlyking of our own commodities at home, and deſiring thoſe of other countries abroade, moſt eſteemed the Cane ſtone that is brought hyther out of Normandie, & many euen in theſe our dayes folowing the ſame vaine doe couet in their workes almoſt to vſe none other. Howbeit experience on the one ſide and our ſkilful Maſons on the other (whoſe iudgment is nothing inferiour of thoſe of other countries) do affirme that in the North partes of Englãd and certayne other places, there are ſome quarries which for hardeneſſe & beautie are equall vnto the outlandiſh greete. This may alſo be confirmed by the kinges chappell at Cambridge, the greateſt part of the ſquared ſtone wherof was brought thyther out of the North. Some commend the vaine of white free ſtone, ſlate, & meere ſtone which is betwixt Pentowen and the black head in Cornewall, for very fine ſtuffe. Other doe ſpeake much of the quarries at Hamden nine miles from Mylbery, & pauing ſtone of Burbecke. For Tophe ſtone not a few allow of yͤ quarrey that is a Drilley, diuers miſlyke not of the vaine of harde ſtone that is at Oxforde and Burford. One prayſeth the free ſtone at Mancheſter and Preſtburye in Gloceſter ſhyre. Another the quarryes of the lyke in Richemont. The third liketh wel of the hardſtone in Clee hill in Shropſhire. The fourth of that of Thorowbridge, Welden, & Terringtõ. Where by it appeareth that we haue quarries ynough in Englande ſufficient for vs to buylde withall, if the peuiſh contempt of our owne commodities and delectacions to enriche other countries dyd not catch ſuch fooliſhe holde vppon vs. Thereby it is alſo veryfied (as any other waye) that all Nations haue rather neede of Englande, then

Englande of any other. And thys I thincke may ſuffice for the ſubſtance of our works. Now if you haue regarde to their or nature, how many Mines of ſundrie kindes of courſe and fine marble are then to be had in England. But chiefly one in Staffordſhyre, an other neere to the Peke, the thirde at Vauldry, the fourth at Snothill, (longing to the Lord Chandois) the fifth at Egleſtone, whiche is of blacke Marble ſpotted with gray or white ſpottes, the ſixt not farre from Durhã. But what meane I to go about to recite all or the moſt excellent, ſith theſe which I haue named alreadie are not altogither of yͤ leaſt nor ſcarcely of any value in compariſon of thoſe whoſe places of growth are vtterly vnknowne vnto me, & wherof the blacke marble ſpotted with greene is none of the vyleſt ſort, as may appeare by parcell of the pauement of the lower part of yͤ quire of Paules in London where ſome peeces thereof are yet to be ſeene and marked, yf any will looke for them. If marble will not ſerue then haue we the fineſt Alabaſter that may elſewhere be had, as about S. Dauides of Wales. Alſo neere to Beau Maner, which is about foure or fiue miles from Leiceſter, and taken to be the beſt, although there are diuers other quarries hereof beyond yͤ Trent, whoſe names at this tyme are out of my remembraunce. What ſhoulde I talke of the plaſter of Axeholme, (for of that which they dig out of the earth in ſundrie places of Lincolne & Darbyſhyres wherwith they blaũch their houſes in ſteed of lime, I ſpeake not). Certes it is a very fine kinde of Alabaſter, but ſith it is ſolde commonly but after twelue pence the loade, we iudge it to be but vyle and courſe. For my part I cannot ſkill of ſtone, yet in my opiniõ it is not without great vſe for plaſter of pariſſe, and ſuch is the Mine of it that the ſtones lye in flakes one vppon an other like planckes or tables, and vnder the ſame is an harde ſtone verye profitable for building as hath oft tymes beene prooued. If neyther Alabaſter nor Marble doth ſuffice, we haue the Touche ſtone called in latin Lydius lapis, eyther to matche in ſockets with our pillers of Alabaſter or contrariwiſe: if it pleaſeth the worke man to ioyne pillers of Alabaſter or Touche with ſockets of braſſe, pewter, or copper, we want not theſe mettalles: So that I thincke no nation canne haue more excellent and greater diuerſitie of ſtuffe for buylding, then we may haue in Englande, yf our ſelfes coulde ſo like of it: but ſuch alas is our nature that not our own but other mens do moſt of all delite vs: and for deſire of noueltie we oft exchange our fineſt Cloth, Corne, Tinne and Wolles for halfe penny cockhorſes for children, dogges of were, two penny tabers, leaden ſwordes, painted feathers, gewgawes for fooles, dogtrickes for doltes, hawkes whoodes, and ſuch lyke, whereby we reape iuſte mockage and reproch. I might remember here our pittes for Milſtones that are to be had in diuers places of our country as in Angleſey, alſo at Queene hope of blew greete, of no leſſe value then the collein, yea then the French ſtones. Our gryndſtones for hardware men. Our whetſtones and ſlate of ſundry coulloures are euery where in maner to be had, as is yͤ flint and chalke, the ſhalder and the peble. Howbeit for all this we muſt fetch them ſtil from farre, as dyd the Hull men their ſtones out of Iſelande, wherwith they paued their towne for want of the like in Englande: or as Sir Thomas Greſham dyd, when he bought the ſtones in Flanders, wherewith he paued the Burſe, but as he will aunſwere that he bargened for the whole moulde and ſubſtaunce of his workmanſhippe in Flaunders: ſo the Hullanders or Hull men will ſay, howe that ſtockefiſhe is light loding and therefore they dyd balaſe their veſſels with theſe Iſelande ſtones to keepe them from turning ouer in their ſo daungerous a voyage.

¶Of ſundry Mineralles. Cap.16.

With howe great benefites thys Ilande of oures hathe beene indued from the beginning, I hope there is no godly man but wyll redily confeſſe, and yeelde vnto the Lorde God his due honour for the ſame. For we are bleſſed euery way, & there is no temporall commoditie neceſſary to bee had or craued by any nacion at Gods hand, that he hath not in moſt abundaunt maner beſtowed vpon vs Engliſhmen if we coulde ſee to vſe it, and be thankefull for the ſame. But alas (as I ſayd in yͤ chapter precedent,) wee loue to enrych them that care not for vs, but for our great commodities: and one tryfling toye not worth the caryage, coming (as the prouerbe ſaith), in three ſhyps from beyonde the ſea is more worth with vs, the a ryght good Iewel, eaſie to be had at home. They haue alſo the caſt to teach vs to neglect our owne thinges, for if they ſee that wee beginne to make any accounte of our commodities (if it be ſo that they haue alſo yͤ like, in theyr owne countryes) they will ſodainely abaſe the ſame, to ſo lowe a price that our gaine not beyng worthy our trauaile, & the ſame commoditie with leſſe coſt ready to be had at home from other countries (though but for a whyle) it cauſeth vs to gyue ouer our indeuours, and as it were by and by to forget the matter whereabout we went before, to obteine them at their hands. And this is the onely cauſe wherefore our commodyties are oft ſo litle eſtemed. Some of them cā ſay ẇout any teacher, that they will by ẏ caſe of a Foxe of an Engliſh man for a grote, & make him afterward giue twelue pence for the tayle. Woulde to God wée myght once were wyſer, and eache one indeuour that the common wealth of Englande may flouriſh againe in hir olde rate, and that our cōmodities may bée fully wrought at home, as cloth if you will for an example, and not caryed out to be ſhorne and dreſſed abroade, whiles our clothworkers here doe ſterue and beg their bread, & for lacke of dayly practiſe, vtterly neglect to be ſkilfull in thys ſcience: But to my purpoſe. We haue in englād gret plēty of quick Syluer, Antimony, Sulphur, black Lead, and Orpiment red and yealow. We haue alſo the fineſt Alume (wherein the diligence of one of the greateſt fauourers of the common wealth of Englande of a ſubiect hath béene of late egregiouſly abuſed, & euen almoſt with barbarous inciuility) the natural Cinnabarum or Vermilion, the Sulphurus glebe called Bitumen in olde tyme vſed for morter, and yet burned in lampes where Oyle is ſcant and geaſon: the Chryſocolla, Coperous, ẏ Minerall ſtone, whereof Petreolum is made, and that which is moſt ſtraunge the minerall Pearle, which as they are for greatneſſe and coulour moſt excellent of all other, ſo are they digged out of the maine land, and in ſundry places farre diſtāt frō the ſhore. Of Cole mines we haue ſuch plentie in the North, and Weſterne partes of our Iſlande as may ſuffice for all the Realme of Englande. And ſo muſt they doe hereafter in déede, if woode be not better cheriſhed then it is at this preſent, and to ſay the truth, notwithſtanding that very many of them are caryed into other Countryes of the maine, yet theyr greateſt trade beginneth nowe to growe from the Forge into ẏ kitchin and Hall as maye appeare already in moſt Cities and Townes that lye about the coſt, where they haue little other fewell, except it be turfe, and haſſocke. I marueyle not a little that there is no trade of theſe into Suſſex and Southampton ſhire, for want whereof the Smithes doe worke theyr yron with charre coale. I thinke that farre carriage be the only cauſe, which is but a ſlender excuſe to inforce vs to carye them vnto the mayne from hence.

Beſide our coale mines we haue pyttes in lyke ſorte of white plaſter, and of fatte and white Marle, wherewith in many places the inhabitors doe compeſt their ſoile. We haue Salte Peter for our ordinaunce, and Salt Soda for our glaſſe, and therto in one place a kinde of earth (in Sotherey as I wéene harde by Codington, and ſometime in the tenure of one Croxton of London) which is ſo fine to make mouldes for goldſmithes & caſters of mettal, that a lode of it was worth fiue ſhyllinges thirtie yeares a gone. None ſuch againe they ſay in England. But whether there be or not, let vs not be vnthankefull to God for theſe and other his benefites beſtowed vpon vs, wherby he ſheweth hymſelfe a louing and mercifull father vnto vs, which contrarywyſe returne vnto hym in lieu of humilitie and obedience, nothing but wickedneſſe, auarice, mére contempt of hys will, and notable ingratitude.

¶ Of common or artificiall Salt made in Englande. Cap. 17.

THere are in Englande certaine welles where Salt is made, whereof Lelande hath written aboundantly in his commentaryes of Brytaine, and whoſe wordes onely I wyll ſet downe in Engliſhe as he wrate thē, becauſe he ſéemeth to haue had diligent conſideration of the ſame, without adding any thing of my owne vnto hym, except it bée where neceſſitie doth inforce me for ẏ mére aid of the reader, in the vnderſtanding of his mynd. Directing therefore his iourney from Worceſter in his peregrination and laborious traueile ouer Englande, he ſaith thus. From Worceſter I rode to the Wiche by incloſed ſoyle, hauing méetely good Corne grounde, ſufficient woode and good paſture, aboute a ſixe myles of. Wiche ſtandeth ſomewhat in a valley or lowe grounde, betwixt two ſmall hylles on the left ripe (for ſo he calleth the bancke of euery brooke thorowout all his Engliſhe treatizes) of a prettie ryuer which not farre beneathe the Wiche is called Salope brooke. The beautye of the Towne in maner ſtandeth in one ſtreat, yet be there many lanes in the Towne beſides.

There is alſo a meane Church in ẏ maine ſtreate and once in the wéeke, an indifferent rounde markette. The Towne of it ſelfe is ſomewhat foule and durty when any rayne falleth by reaſon of much caryage thorowe ẏ ſtreates, which are very yll paued or rather not paued at all. The great aduauncement alſo hereof, is by makyng of Salte, and though the commoditye thereof be ſinguler great, yet the Burgeſſes be poore generally because Gentlemen haue generallye for the moſt parte gotten the great gaine of it into their handes, whileſt the pore Burgeſſes yeelde vnto all the labour. There are at this preſent time three hundred Salters: and three Salt ſprings in the Towne of Wiche, whereof the principall is within a butſhoote of the ryght rype (or banke) of the riuer that there commeth downe: and this ſpring is double ſo profitable in yeelding of Salte lyquor, as both the other. Some ſay (or rather fable) that this Salte ſpring did fayle in the tyme of Richarde dela Wiche Byſhoppe of Chicheſter, and that afterwardes by his interceſſion it was reſtored to the profit of the olde courſe (ſuch is the ſuperſtiton of the people) in remembraunce whereof, or peraduenture for the zeale which the Wiche men and Salters did beare vnto Rychards Dela Wiche there countryman, they vſed of late times on his daye (which commeth once in the yere) to hange this Salt ſpring or Wel about which tapiſſery, and to haue ſundry games, drinkinges, and fooliſh reuelles at it. But to procede. There be a great number of Salte cotes about this Well, wherin the Salte water is ſodden in leades, and brought to the perfection of pure white ſalt. The other two Salte ſpringes be on the left ſide of the ryuer a prety waye lower then yͤ firſt, and as I founde at the very ende of the Towne. At theſe alſo be diuers fornaces to make Salt, but the profite & plenty of theſe two are nothing comparable to the gayne, yͤ ryſeth by the greateſt. I aſked of a Salter how many fornaces they had at all the three ſpringes, and he numbred them to eighteene ſcore that is three hundred and ſixtie, ſaying howe euery one of them payde yearely ſixe ſhillings and eight pence to the king. The truth is that of olde they had liberties giuen vnto them for three hundreth furnaces or mo, and therevpon they gyue a fee farme (or vectigall) of one hunnreth pounde yearely. Certes the penſion is as it was, but the number of fornaces is nowe increaſed, to foure hundreth. There was of late ſerch made for another Salte ſpring there aboutes by the meanes of one Neweport a Gentleman dwelling at the Wiche, and the place where it was appeareth, as doth alſo the woode and Timber which was ſet aboute it, to keepe vp the earth frō falling into the ſame. But thys pitte was not ſence occupied, whether it were for lacke of plentie of the ſalt ſpring, or for letting, or hindering of the profite of yͤ other three. Me thinke that if woode and ſale of Salte would ſerue, they might digge and find more ſalt ſpringes about the Wich thē three, but there is ſomewhat elſe in the wind. For I hard that of late yeares a ſalt ſpring was founde in an other quarter of Worceſter ſhire, but it grew to be without any vſe ſith the Wich men haue ſuch a priuiledge, that they alone in thoſe quarters ſhall haue the making of ſalte. The Pittes be ſo ſet about with gutters that yͤ ſalt water is eaſily turned to euerye mans houſe, and at Nantwich very many troughes go ouer the riuer for the commoditie of ſuch as dwell on the other ſide of yͤ ſame. They ſeeth alſo their ſalt water in fornaces of leade, and lade out the Salte ſome in Caſes of wicker, thorowe which the water draineth, and the Salt remaineth. There be alſo two or three but very lyttle Salt ſpringes at Dertwitche in a low bottome, where Salt is ſometyme made.

A cōmon piage in all thinges of any great commodity for one beateth yͤ buſhe but another catcheth yͤ the birdes, as we may ſee in Batfowling.

Priui- leges ſomtim harme.

Of late alſo a myle from Combremere abbay a peece of an hill dyd ſincke & in yͤ ſame pit roſe a ſpring of ſalt water where the Abbot begunne to make ſalt, but the men of the Citie compounded with the Abbot and Couent that there ſhoulde be none made there, whereby the pit was ſuffered to go to loſſe. And although it yeelded ſalte water ſtil of it ſelfe, yet it was ſpoyled at the laſt and filled vp with filth. The Wich men vſe the commoditie of their ſalt ſpring in drawing and decocting the water of them only by ſixe monethes in the yere, that is from Midſomer to Chriſtmaſſe, as I geſſe to maintayne yͤ price of ſalte, or for ſauing of wood, which I thinke to be their principall reaſon. For making of ſalt is a great and notable deſtructiō of wood and ſhall be greater hereafter, except ſome prouiſion be made for the better increaſe of fiering. The lacke of wood alſo is alredy perceiued in places neere the Wiche, for whereas they vſed to buye and take their woodde neere vnto their occupyings, thoſe wonted ſpringes are nowe decayed, and they be inforſed to ſeeke their wood ſo farre as Worceſter towne and all the partes about Bremiſgraue, Alchirche, and Alceſter. I aſked a ſalter how much wood he ſuppoſed yearly to to be ſpent at theſe fornaces, and he aunſwered that by eſtimation there was conſumed about ſixe thouſande load, and it was rounde poale woode for the moſt, which is eaſy to be cleft, and handſomely riuen in peeces. The people that are about the fornaces are very ill couloured, and the iuſt rate of euery fornace is to make foure loades of ſalt yearely and to euery loade goeth fiue or ſixe quarters as they make their account. If the fornace men make more in one fornace then foure loades it is as it is ſayde imployed to their owne auayle. And thus much hath Lelande left in memorie of our whyte ſalt, who in an other boke not now in my handes hath teuched the making alſo of Bay ſalt in ſome part of our coũtry. But ſith yͤ is boke deliuered againe to the owner, the tractaciõ of bay ſalt can not be framed in any order, bycauſe my memorie will not ſerue to ſhew the true maner and the place. It ſhall ſuffice therfore to haue gyuen ſuch notice of it, to thende the reader may knowe that aſwell the Baye as whyte are wrought and made in Englande; and more white alſo vpon the weſt coaſt, towarde Scotlande out of the ſalt water betwéene Wyre and Cokermouth. Fnally hauing thus intermedled our artificiall Salt with our Minerals, let vs giue ouer and go in hande with ſuch mettals as are growing here in Englande.

Of Mettalles. Cap. 18.

IT was not ſayde of olde tyme without great reaſon that all countries haue néede of Britaine and Britaine it ſelf of none. For truely yf a man regarde ſuch neceſſities as nature onely requireth, there is no Nation vnder the ſun, that can ſay ſo much as ours: ſith we doe want none that are conuenient for vs. Certes if it be a benefite to haue any golde at all, we are not voyde thereof, neyther lykewyſe of ſiluer. And albeit that we haue no ſuch aboundaunce of theſe as ſome other countries doe yéelde, yet haue my rych countriemen ſtore ynough of both in theyr purſes, where they were wont to haue leaſt, bycauſe the garniſhing of our churches, tabernacles, ymages, ſhrynes and apparell of the Prieſtes conſumed the greateſt part as experience hath confirmed.

Tinne and Lead are very plentifull wyth vs, the one in Cornewall, Deuonſhire, & elſe where in the North, yͤ other in Darby ſhire, Weredale, and ſondry other places of thys Iland: whereby my countreymen doe reape no ſmall commodity, but eſpecially our pewterers, who in time paſt employed the vſe of pewter only vpon diſhes and pottes, and a fewe other trifles for ſeruice, whereas nowe they are growen vnto ſuch exquiſite cũning, that they can in maner imitate by infuſion any forme or faſhion of cuppe, diſh, ſalt, bowle or goblet, whyche is made by Goldſmithes craft though they be neuer ſo curious & very artificially forged. In ſome places beyond the ſea a garniſh of good flat Engliſh pewter (I ſay flat, becauſe diſhes and platters in my time begyn to be made depe like baſons, and are in déede more conuenient both for ſawſe and kéeping the meat warme) is almoſt eſteemed ſo precious as the like number of veſſels that are made of fine ſiluer, and in maner no leſſe deſired amõgſt the great eſtates, whoſe workemen are nothing ſo ſkilfull in that trade as ours, neyther theyr mettall ſo good, nor plenty ſo great, as we haue héere in England. There were mines of Lead ſometimes alſo in Wales, which indured ſo long till the people had conſumed all theyr woods by melting of the ſame, as they did alſo at Comeryſtwith, ſixe miles from Stradfleur. And here by the way it is worthy to be noted of a Crow which a miner of time, dwelling néere Comeryſtwith had made ſo tame that it would daily flie & folow him to hys worke and other places where ſo euer he happened to tranaile. Thys laborer working on a time in the bottome where the firſt Myne was knowne to be, did lay his purſe and girdle by him, as men cõmonly doe that addreſſe them ſelues to apply theyr buſineſſe earneſtly, and he him ſelfe alſo had vſed from time to time before. The Crow likewyſe was very buſie flittering about him, and ſo much moleſted hym in déede, that he waxed angry wyth the byrde & in his fury threatned to wring of his necke, if he myght once gette hym into hys hands: To be ſhort, in the ende the Crow haſtily caught vp his girdle and purſſe, & made away wyth all ſo faſt as hir wyngs coulde cary hyr. Héerevpon, the poore man fallyng into great agony (for he feared to loſe peraduenture all hys money) threwe downe hys mattocke at aduenture and ranne after the bird, curſſing and menacing that he ſhould loſe hys life if euer he gotte him againe: but as it fell out, the Crow was yͤ meanes wherby hys lyfe was ſaued, for he had not bene long out of the mine, ere it fell downe and killed all his fellowes. If I ſhould take vpon me to diſcourſe of the dealing of thys byrde at large, I ſhould peraduenture ſet my ſelfe further into the bryers then wel finde which way to come out agayne: yet I am perſwaded that the Crow was Gods inſtrument herein, wherby the lyfe of thys poore laborer was preſerued. It was done alſo in an other order then that whych I reade of an other tame Crow kept vp by a ſhomaker of Dutch lãd in hys ſhop or ſtoue: who ſéeing the ſame to ſitte vpon the pearch very heauily & drouſie, ſayde vnto the birde. What ayleth my Iacke, why art thou ſo ſad and penſiue? The Crow hearyng his maſter ſpeake after this ſort vnto him, anſweared (or elſe the Deuill wythin it) out of the Pſalter. Cogitaui dies antiquos & eternos in mente habui, but whether am I digreſſed, frõ lead vnto Crowes, and from Crowes vnto Deuils. Certes it

Pſal. 76.

is now high time to retourne vnto our mettals, and reſume the tractation of ſuch things as I had earſt in hand.

Iron.

Iron is found in many places, as in Suſſex, Kent, Weredale, Mendip, Walſhall, Mancheſter and elſewhere in Wales: of which mines diuers doe bryng forth ſo fine and good ſtuffe as any that commeth from beyond the ſea. It is alſo of ſuch toughneſſe, that it yéeldeth to the makyng of Claricord wire in ſome places of the realme. Copper is lately not foūd, but rather reſtored againe to light, for I haue read of Copper to haue béene heretofore gotten in our Ilande. Howbeit, as ſtraungers haue moſt commonly the gouernaunce of our mines, ſo they hytherto make ſmall gaines of thys in hande in the North partes: for as I am informed the profit doth very hardly counteruaile the charges, whereat wyſe men doe not a little maruayle, conſidering the aboundaunce whych that mine do ſéeme to offer and as it were at hande. Lelande our countryman noteth ſundrie great lykelyhoodes of copper Mines to be Eaſtwardes, as betwéene Dudman and Trewardth in the ſea cliffes, beſide ſundry other places, wherof diuers are noted here & there in ſundry places of this booke already, and therfore it ſhalbe but in vaine to repete them here agayne. In Dorſet ſhyre alſo a copper Mine lately found is brought to good perfection. As for our ſtéele it is not ſo good for edge toole as that of Cullen, and yet the one is often ſolde for the other, and lyke tale vſed in both, that is to ſay thirtie gaddes to the ſhiefe and ſixe ſhiefes to the burdē. Our Alchumy is artificiall & thereof our ſpoones and ſome ſaltes are commonly made & preferred before our pewter. The common ſort call it Alcamine, but when I know more of the ſubſtance and mixture of this metall my ſelfe, I will not let to write thereof at large, wheras now I muſt néedes conclude bicauſe I haue no more to ſay of the mettalles of my country, except I ſhould talke of braſſe, bell mettall, & ſuch as are brought ouer for marchandize from other countries, but what is that to my purpoſe.

Copper.

Stéele.

Some tell me ẏ it is a mixture of braſſe, lead and tinne.

Of precious ſtones. Cap. 19.

THe olde writers remember fewe other ſtones of eſtimation to be founde in this Iſland then that which we call Geat, & they in latine Gagates: whereunto furthermore they aſcribe ſundry properties as vſually practized here in times paſt, whereof none of our writers doe make any mencion at all. Howbeit whatſoeuer it hath pleaſed a number of ſtrangers to write of ẏ vſages of this our Countrie, aboute the tryall of the virginitie of our maidens by drincking of the powder of thys ſtone againſt the tyme of their beſtowing in maryage: certaine it is that euen to this day there is ſome plenty to be had of this commoditie in Darby ſhyre & about Barwycke, although that in many mens opinions nothing ſo fine as that which is brought ouer by marchauntes from the mayne. But as theſe men are drowned with the common errour of our nation, ſo I am ſure that in diſcerning the price and value of things, no man now liuing can go beyond ẏ iudgemēt of the old Romaines, who preferred the geate of Britain before ẏ like ſtones bred about Luke & all other countries. Moreouer as Geat was one of ẏ firſt ſtones of this Iſle wherof any forrein account was made, ſo our pearles alſo did match with it in renowne, in ſo much that the only deſire of thē cauſed Cæſar to aduenture hyther, after hée had ſéene the quantities & hard of our plenty of them, whyleſt he abode in France. Certes they are to be founde in theſe our dayes, and thereto of diuers coulours, in no leſſe numbers then euer they were in olde tyme. Yet are they not now ſo much deſired bycauſe of theyr ſmallneſſe, and alſo for other cauſes, but eſpecially ſith churchwork as copes, veſtements, Albes, Tunicles, alter, clothes, canapies, and ſuch traſh are worthily aboliſhed. Upon which our countrymen heretofore beſtowed no ſmal quantities.

Geat.

Laon Chalchōdyle.

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For I thinke there were fewe churches & religious houſes beſides Biſhops myters & Pōtifical veſtures, but were either thorowly fretted or notably garniſhed wᵗ huge nūbers of them. But as the Brittiſh Geat or orient Pearle were in olde tyme eſtéemed aboue thoſe of other countries, ſo tyme hath ſince the conqueſt of the Romaines reuealed many other: in ſo much ẏ at this ſeaſon there are founde in Englande the Ætites and the Hematite and theſe very pure and excellent, alſo ẏ calcedony, the Porphyrite, the Chriſtal, & thoſe other, which we call Calaminares, & ſpeculares beſide a kinde of Diamōd or Adamant, which although it be very fair to ſight is yet much ſofter thē * thoſe ẏ are brought hyther out of other countries. We haue alſo vpon our coaſtes the white corall and other ſtones dayly founde in cliffes and rockes, whereof ſuch as finde them haue eyther no knowledge at all, or elſe doe make but ſmall account, being ſeduced by outlādiſh Lapidaries, whereof the moſt part diſcourage vs frō the fetching and ſéeking out of our owne cōmodities, to the ende that they may haue the

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moꝛe free vtterance of the innaturall and artificial wares, wherby they get great gaines amongſt ſuch as haue no ſkill. I haue harde that the beſt triall of a ſtone is to laye it on the nayle of our thombe, and ſo to go abꝛoade into the cleare light, wherof the coulour hold in all places a like, the ſtone is thought to be natural. &c. But if it alter eſpecially towarde yͤ nayle, thē is it not ſound, but rather an artificiall pꝛactiſe. If this be true it is an experiment woꝛthy yͤ noting. (Cardane alſo hath it in his De ſubtilitate) yf not I haue reade neere moꝛe lies then this, as one example out of Cato, who ſayeth that a cuppe of Iuy will holde no wine at all, but I haue made ſome veſſels of yͤ ſame wood, which refuſe no kind of liquoꝛ, and therefoꝛe I ſuppoſe that there is no ſuch Anthipatia betweene wyne & Iuy as ſome of our reading Philoſophers without all maner of pꝛactiſe will ſeeme to inferre amongeſt vs. What ſhoulde I ſaye moꝛe of ſtones? truely I can not tell, ſith I haue ſayde what I may already & peraduenture moꝛe then I thought. This yet will I adde that yf thoſe which are founde in Muſelles (foꝛ I am vtterly ignoꝛaunt of the generatiō of pearles) be good pearle in deede I haue at ſundꝛie times gathered moꝛe then an ounce of them, of which diuers haue holes already entred by nature, ſome of them not much inferiour to great peaſon in quantitie, & thereto of ſundꝛie colours as it happeneth amōgſt ſuch as are bꝛought from the Eaſterly coaſt to Saffron Walden in Lent, when foꝛ want of fleſhe, ſtale ſtincking fiſhe & welked Muſkles are thought to be good meate foꝛ other fiſhe is to be deere, amongſt vs.

Tryall of a ſtone.

Lib. 7.

Neuer was our ſalted and freſh fiſhe ſo deare as now ſith men muſt des haue

¶Of the Coynes of Englande.

Cap. 20.

THe Saxon Coyne befoꝛe the Conqueſt is vtterly vnknowne vnto me: how bee it if my coniecture be any thing, I ſuppoſe that the ſhillynges of ſiluer, in thoſe dayes did counterpeiſe our common ounce, though afterwarde it came to paſſe that it aroſe to twentie pence, and ſo continued vntyll the tyme of King Henry the eyght, who firſt bꝛought it to thꝛee ſhillings and foure pence, and afterwarde our Syluer Coyne vnto bꝛaſſe & copper monies, by reaſon of thoſe ineſtimable charges, which dyuers wayes oppꝛeſſed him. But as king Edward his ſonne began to reſtoꝛe yͤ afoꝛeſayde Coine againe vnto fine ſiluer: ſo Queene Mary his ſucceſſour did continue his good purpoſe: notwithſtanding that in hir time the Spaniſh money was very common in England, by reaſon of hir mariage with Philyp King of Spayne.

Copper money.

After hir diſceaſe the Lady Elizabeth hyr ſiſter, and now our moſt gracious Queene, and ſoueraigne Pꝛinces, did finiſh the matter wholly, vtterly aboliſhing the vſe of copper Coine, and conuerting the ſame into fine Syluer, as peeces of halfpeny fardyng, of a peny, of thꝛee half pens, peeces, of two pence, of thꝛee pence, of foure pence (called yͤ groate) of fiue pence vſually named the teſtone, and ſhilling of twelue pence, whereon ſhee hath impꝛinted hir owne ymage, & emphaticall ſuperſcription. Our Gould is eyther olde oꝛ new. The old is that which hath remained ſince yͤ time of king Edwarde the thirde, oꝛ beene Coyned by ſuch other Pꝛinces, as haue reigned ſince his diſceaſe, without abaſing of the fyneſt of that mettall. Therof alſo wee haue yet remayning, the Ryall, the Geoꝛge noble, the Henry Ryall, the Salut, the Angell, and their ſmaller peeces, as halfes oꝛ quarters, though theſe in my time, are not ſo common to be ſeene. I haue alſo beholde the Soueraine of twenty ſhillinges, & the peece of thirtie ſhillyngs, I haue harde lykewiſe of peeces of foꝛty ſhillings, thꝛee pounde, fiue pounde, and tenne pound. But ſith there were fewe of them coyned, and thoſe only at the commaundement of the kings, yearely to beſtow where their maieſties thought good in lieu of new yeres gyftes and rewardes: it is not requiſite that I ſhould remember them here amongſt our currant coynes.

Sylum reſtoꝛed.

Olde gold

The newe Golde is taken foꝛ ſuch as beganne to be coyned in the latter dayes of king Henry the eyght, at which time the fineſſe of the mettall began to be very much alayed, and is not likely to bee reſtoꝛed foꝛ ought that I can ſee: & yet is it ſuch as hath beene coined ſince by hys ſucceſſours pꝛinces of this Realme in value and goodneſſe equall and not inferiour to the currant Golde of other nations, where eche one doth couet to gather vppe our olde finer Golde: ſo that the Angels, Ryalles, & Nobles, are moꝛe plentifully ſeene in Fraunce and flaunders, then they be by a great deale within the Realme of England. Our peeces nowe currant are of tenne ſhillinges, fiue ſhillings, & two ſhillinges and ſixe pence only: and thoſe of ſundꝛy ſtampes and names, as half ſoueraines, quarters of Soueraines, (otherwyſe called Crownes,) & halfe Crownes: lykewiſe Angels, halfe Angels, & quarters of Angels, oꝛ if there be any other, in good ſooth I knowe them not, as one ſcarcely acquainted with any ſiluer at all, much leſſe then God it wote with any ſtoꝛe of Goulde.

New gold

The firſt currant ſhilling, or péeces of twelue pence were coyned by kyng Henry the eight: thoſe of fyue ſhillinges, & of 2. ſhil. & 6. pence, & the half ſhil. by king Edward yͤ ſixt: but the odde péeces aboue remēbred vnder the groat, by our high & mighty Prynces Quéene Elizabeth, the name of yͤ groat peny: 2. pence: ob. & farding, being more auncient then yͭ I can wel diſcuſſe of the time of their beginnings. Yet thuſmuch I read that king Edwarde the firſt in the eight yeare of his reigne, did firſt coine the peny ſmalleſt & péeces of ſiluer roundewyſe, which before were ſquare, and wont to haue a doubble croſſe wyth a creſt, in ſuch ſorte that the peny might eaſily be brokē, eyther into halfs or quarters, by which ſhift onely the people came by halfe pence and fardinges, that otherwyſe were not ſtamped nor coyned of ſet purpoſe.

Of forren coynes we haue both the Duccates, the ſingle and the double: the Cruſadoes, with the lōg croſſe & the ſhort: yͤ Portigue, a péece very ſolemly kept of dyuers, & yet oft times abaſed with waſhing, or elſe abſolutely coūterfeicted: and finally yͤ french and flemiſh crownes, onely currant among vs, ſo long as they holde weight. But of ſiluer coynes none at all: yet are the Dalders and ſuch, often tymes brought ouer, but neuertheleſſe exchanged as Bullion, according to their fineneſſe and weight, and afterwarde conuerted into coyne, by ſuch as haue authority.

In olde time we had ſundrye Mintes in Englande, and thoſe commonly kept in Abbaies and religious houſes before the conqueſte, where true dealing was commonly ſuppoſed: moſt of all to dwel. As at Ramſeye, Bury, Caunterbury, Glaſſenbury and ſuch like, ſundry exemplificats of yͤ graunts whereof are yet to be ſéene in wryting. But after the Normans had once gotten the maſterye, they truſted themſelues beſt wyth the ouerſight of their Mintes, and therefore erected diuers of their owne, although they afterwarde permitted ſome for ſmall péeces of Siluer, vnto ſundry of the houſes aforeſayd. In my time diuers mints are ſuppreſſed as Southworke, Bryſtow, &c. and al coinage is brought into one place, that is to ſay the Tower of London, where it is continually holden and peruſed, but not without great gaine to ſuch as deale wall. There is alſo coinage of Tin holdē yearly at two ſeuerall times, that is to ſaye Midſomer and Michaelmas in the weſt country, which at the firſt hearing, I ſuppoſed to haue béene of money of the ſayde metall and graunted by Priuiledge from the Prince, vnto yͤ townes of Hayliſtone, Trury, & Loſtwithiel. Howbeit vpon farder examinatiō of the matter, I finde it to be nothing ſo, but an office onely erected for the Prince, wherein he is allowed the ordinary cuſtomes of the mettall: and ſuch blockes of Tinne as haue paſſed yͤ handes of his Officers, are marked wyth an eſpeciall ſtampe, whereby it is knowne that the cuſtome due for the ſame, hath ordinarily béene aunſwered. It ſhould ſéeme & in my opinion is very likely to be true, that whyle Romains reigned here, Kingſtone vppon Thames was the chiefe place of their coynage for this prouince. For in earing of the grounde about that Towne in tymes paſt, and nowe of late (beſides the curious fundation of many goodly buyldinges that haue béene ripped vp, and diuers coines of braſſe, ſiluer, and Golde, with Romaine letters in painted pots that haue béene found there) in the dayes of Cardinall Wolſey, one ſuch pot was diſcoued full as it were of newe ſiluer lately coined. Another with plates of ſiluer ready to be coyned. And the thirde, wyth cheanes of ſiluer, ready as it ſhould appeare to bée melted into coine, whereof let thys ſuffice to countenaunce out my coniecture.

Of our accompt of time, and partes thereof. Cap. 21.

AS Libra is As or Aſsis vnto yͤ Romains for theyr waight, & the foote in ſtandard meaſure: ſo in our accompt of the partes of time, we take the houre to be the greateſt of yͤ leaſt, and leaſt of the greateſt, wherby we kéepe our reckening. For my part I do not ſée any great difference vſed in the obſeruatyon of tyme and hir partes betwéene oure owne and any other forreine nation, wherefore I ſhal not néede to ſtand long vpon this matter. Howbeit, to the ende our exact order héerein ſhall appeare vnto all men, I wil ſet downe ſome ſhort rehearſall therof, and that in ſo briefe maner as vnto me is poſſible. As for our Aſtronomicall practiſes, I meane not to meddle wyth them, ſith theyr courſe is vniformely obſerued ouer all. Our common order therfore is to begin at the minute, as at the ſmalleſt part of time knowne vnto the people, notwythſtanding that in moſt places they deſcend no lower then the halfe quarter or quarter of the howre, and from whence they procéede vnto the houre, whych is the 24. part of that whych we call the common and naturall day, & doth begin at midnight. Of vnequall houres or dayes, our natiō hath no regard, and therefore to ſhew theyr quantities & differences, it ſhould be but in vaine. In lyke ſort, whereas the Egyptians, Italians, Bohemians, and Iewes begin their day at the Sunne ſet ouer night: the Perſians, Babylonians, Grecians, and Noribergians at the Sunne riſing (each of them accoũting theyr dayes and nights by vnequall houres) alſo the Athenienſes, Arabians, Dutchmen and Aſtronomers at hygh noone: We after the Romain maner vſed in the Church there of long time choſe the very poynte of midnight, from whence we accompt.12. equall houres vnto midday enſuing, and other.12. againe vnto the aforeſaid poynt. And this is our generall order for the naturall day. Of the artificiall we make ſo farre account, as that we recken it to be day when the Sunne is vp, and nyght when it leaueth our Horizon: otherwyſe alſo we deuide it into two partes, that is to ſay, forenoone and afternoone, not regarding the ruddy, ſhining, burning and warming ſeaſons (of thrée vnequal houres a péece,) whych other ſéeme to obſerue, and wherof I read theſe verſes.

Solis equi lucis dicuntur quatuor horæ.
Hæc rubet, hæc ſplendet, hæc calet, illa tepet.

In déede our Phiſitians haue another partition of the day, as men of no leſſe learning no doubt then the beſt of forrein countryes if we could ſo conceaue of them. And héerein they concurre wyth thoſe of other nations, who for diſtinction in regiment of our humours, diuide the artificiall day and night in ſuch wiſe as theſe verſes doe import, and are in déede a generall rule whych each of them doth follow.

Tres lucis primas, noctis tres ſanguinis imas.
Vis cholere medias lucis ſex vendicat horas.
Datq; melam primas noctis, tres lucis & imas.
Centrales ponas ſex noctis phlegmatis horas.

Or thus, as Tanſteter hath geuen them forth in hys Prelections.

A nona noctis donec ſit tertia lucis,
Eſt dominus ſanguis, ſex inde ſequẽtibꝰ horis
Eſt dominans cholera, dum lucis nona ſit hora
Poſt niger humid ineſt donec ſit tertia noctis.
Poſthæc phlegma venit, donec ſit nona quietis

In Engliſh thus in effect.

Three houres ere ſun do riſe, & ſo many after, Blud,
Frõ 9. to 3. at after none, hot choler beares the ſway,
Euen ſo to 9. at night, ſwart Choler hath to rule,
As Phlegme from thence to 3. at morne: 6. houres eache one I ſay

ght.

In like ſort for the nyght we haue none other partes then the twylight, darke nyght, midnight, and cockes crowing. Wher as the Latines diuide the ſame into.7. partes, as Veſper the Euening, which is immediately after the ſetting of the Sunne. Crepuſculum the twylight, when it is betwéene day and night, lyght and darkneſſe, or properly neyther day nor night. Conticinium the ſtill of the nyght, when each one is layd to reſt. Intempeſtum, the dul or dead of the night, when mẽ be in theyr firſt or dead ſléepe. Gallicinium the cockes crowing. Matutinum the breache of the day: and Diliculum ſiue aurora, the ruddy, orenge, golden or ſhining colour, ſéene immediately before the riſing of the Sunne. Other there are whych doe recken by watches, diuiding the nyght into 4. equal partes.

watche.

Of whych the firſt beginneth at Euening, called the firſt watch, and continueth by 3. vnequall houres, and ſo forth vntill the ende of the nynth houre, wherat the fourth watch entreth whych is called the morning watch, becauſe it partly concurreth with yͤ morning & breache of the day before the riſing of the Sunne.

Houre.

As for the originall of the worde houre, it is very auncient, but yet not ſo olde as that of the watch whych was deuiſed firſt among ſouldiers for theyr better ſafegarde and chaunge of watchmen in theyr campes, the lyke whereof is almoſt vſed among our ſeafaring men, whych they call clearing of the glaſſe, and performed from time to time wyth great héede and ſome ſolemnitie. Certeſſe the worde Hora among the Grecians, ſignified ſo well the 4. quarters of the yeare, as the 24. part of yͤ day, but what ſtand I vpon theſe things to let my purpoſe ſtay. To procéede therefore.

wéeke.

Of naturall dayes is the wéeke compacted, which conſiſteth of 7. of them. The firſt entreth with Monday, wherby it commeth to paſſe that we reſt vpon the Sunday, whych is the 7. in number, as almighty God hath commaunded in his word. The Iewes begin theyr weke vpon our Saterday at the ſetting of the Sunne, and the Turkes with the Saterday: wherby it commeth to paſſe, that as the Iewes make our laſt day the firſt of theyr wéeke, ſo the Turks make the Iewiſh Sabaoth the beginning of theyr Hebdoma, becauſe Mahomet theyr prophet (as they ſay) was borne & dead vpõ yͤ friday, & ſo he was in dede, except their Alcharõ deceaue me. The Iewes doe recken theyr dayes by theyr diſtance from theyr ſabaoth, ſo that the firſt day of theyr wéeke, is the firſt day of the ſabaoth, and ſo forth vnto the ſixte. The Latines accompted theyr dayes after the 7. Planets, choſing the ſame for the denominator of the daye, that entreth hys regiment wyth the firſt vnequall houre of the ſame after the Sunne be riſen. Howbeit, as thys order is not wholly reteined wyth vs, ſo the vſe of the ſame is not yet altogither abolyſhed, as may appeare by our Sunday, Monday, and Saturday. The reſt were chãged by the Saxons, who in remembrance of Theut ſometime theyr prince, called the ſecond day of yͤ weeke Theutſdach yͤ iij. Woden, Othin, or Othen, Wodenſdach. Lykewiſe of Thor, they named the iiij day Thorſdach, and of Frea wyfe to Woden the v. was named Freadach. Albeit there are (and not amiſſe as I thinke) that ſuppoſe them to meane by Thor, Iupiter, by Woden Marcury, by Frea Venus, and finallye by Theut Mars: which if it be ſo, then it is an eaſie mater to finde out the Germaine Mars, Venus, Mercury and Iupiter whereof you may reade more heereafter in my Chronologie. The truth is, that Frea had 7. ſonnes by Woden, as Woden the firſt, father to Wecca, of whome deſcẽded thoſe that were afterwards kings of Kent, Fethelgeta was the ſeconde, and of hym came the kings of Mertia. Balday 3. father to the kings of the Weſtſaxõs. Beldagius 4. parent to the kings of Brennicia or Northumberland. Weogodach 5. author of the kings of Deyra. Caſer. 6. rote of the Eſtangle race, and Naſcad originall burgeaunt of the kings of Eſſex. As for the kings of Suſſex although they were of the ſame people yet were they not of the ſame ſtreigne, as our old monuments do expreſſe. But to proceede. Of weekes, our monethes are made whych are ſo called of the Moone, each one conteining 28. dayes, or 4. weekes, wythout any further curioſity. For we reckõ not our time by the yeare of the Moone, as the Iewes, Grecians or Romains did at the firſt, or as the Turks, Arabians & Perſians do now: neyther any parcell therof by yͤ ſayd planete as in the Weſt Indies, where they haue neither weke, moneth nor yere, but only a general accoũt of hundreds & thouſands of Moones: wherfore if we ſay or write a moneth, it is to be expounded of 28. dayes or 4. weekes only. Or (if you take it at large) for a moneth of the common Kalender, whych neuertheleſſe in plees and ſutes is nothyng at all allowed of, ſith the Moone maketh hir ful reuolutiõ in 28. dayes, that is, vnto the place where ſhe left the Sunne, notwythſtanding that he be now gone, and at hir returne not to be found where ſhee departed from hym.

In olde time eche Moneth of the Romaine Calender, was reconed after the courſe of yͤ Moone, and theyr entraunces were incertaine, as were alſo the changes of that Planet. But after Iulius Cæſar had once corrected the ſame, the ſeuerall beginninges of euerye one of them dyd not onely remayne fyxed, but alſo the olde order in the deuiſion of their partes continued ſtill vnaltered: ſo that the Moneth is yet deuided as before into Calendes, Ides, and Nones, albeit that in my daies, the vſe of the ſame be but ſmall, & their order retained only in our Calenders, for the better vnderſtanding of ſuch tymes, as the hiſtoriographers and olde authors do remember. The reconing alſo of ech of theſe goeth as you ſee after a prepoſterous order, whereby the Romaynes dyd rather note howe many dayes were to the next chaunge from the precedent, then contraywiſe, as by peruſall of yͤ ſame you ſhall more eaſily perceyue. The daies alſo of the change of yͤ Moneth of yͤ Moone, are called Calendæ, which in time of Paganiſme were conſecrated to Iuno, & ſacrifice made to that goddeſſe on yͤ ſame. On theſe daies alſo, and on yͤ Ides and Nones they would not marye. Likewiſe the morow after eche of thẽ were called dies Atri, blacke daies, as ſome bookes doe yet remember. The word Calendæ (in Greeke Neomenia) is deriued of the worde Calo, to call: for vpon the firſt daye of euery Moneth, the Prieſt vſed to call the people of the Citie & country togither, and ſhewe them by a cuſtome howe many daies were from the ſaide Calendes to the Nones, and what feaſts were to be celebrated betweene that and the nexte chaunge. The Nones commonly are not aboue 4. or 6. in euery Moneth, and ſo long as the Nones laſted, ſo long did the Mercates continue, & therfore they were called Nonæ quaſi Nundinæ. In them alſo were neyther Hollydayes (more then at thys preſent except yͤ day of the Purification of our Lady) nor ſacrifice offred to the gods, but each one applied hys buſineſſe and kept hys market, reckening the firſt day after the Calends or chaũge, to be the 4. or 6. day before the faire ended. Some thinke that they were called Nonæ, of the word Non, quia in ijſdem dij non coluntur, or as Ouide ſayeth. Nonarum tutela deo caret. But howſoeuer it be, ſure it is that they were yͤ mart dayes of euery moneth wherein the people bought, ſolde, and dyd nothing elſe. The Idus are ſo named of the Hethruſcien worde Iduare to deuide, and before that Ceſar altered the Calender, they deuided the moneth commonly by the myddeſt. But afterward when he had added certaine dayes therto, thereby to make it agree wyth the yeare of the ſunne (whych he intruded about the ende of euerye moneth, becauſe he would not alter the celebration of theyr vſuall Feaſtes) then came they ſhorte of the myddeſt, ſometime by two or three daies. In theſe therfore (which alwaies are eyght) the Marchauntes had layſure to packe vp and conueigh theyr marchaundiſe, to paye their creditors and make merry with their friendes. After the Idus doth Calendes followe, but in a decreaſing order, as the Moone doth in light when ſhée is paſt the full. But herein lyeth all the myſterie, if you can ſaye ſo many dayes before the next chaunge or newe Moone, as the number there expreſſed doth betoken. As for 16. cal. ſo many dayes before the next coniunctiō &c. Of theſe Calendes, I meane touching their number in euery Moneth, I fynde theſe verſes inſuing.

Ianus & Auguſtus denas nouemq; Decēber,
Iunius, Aprilis, Septēber & ipſe Nouember,
Ter ſenas retinent, Februus bis Octo Calēdas
Iulius October Mars Maius Epdecemq;.

In Engliſhe thus.

December, Ian, and Auguſt moneth full nyneteene
Calendes haue.
September, Iune, Nouember and Aprill twyſe nine
deſire,
Syxteene foule Februarie hath, no more can be well
craue.
October, Maye and Iuly hote, but ſeauenteene doe
require,

In lyke maner of nones and Ides.

Sex maius Nonas, October, Iulius & Mars
Quatuor at reliqui, dabit Idus quilibet octo.
To Iuly, March, October, May, ſixe nones I hight,
The reſt but 4, as for your Ides they aske but eight

Agayne touching the number of dayes in euery moneth.

Iunius, Aprilis, Septemq;, Nouemq; tricenos
vnū plus reliqui, Febru⁹ tenet octo vicenos,
At ſi biſſextus fuerit ſuper additur vnus.
Thirty dayes hath Nouember
Aprill, Iune and September.
Twentie and eyght hath February alone,
and all the reſt thirty and one,
But in the leape you muſt adde one.

tare, Our yeare is accounted after the courſe of the ſunne, and although the church hath ſome vſe of that of the Moone for the obſeruation of certaine moueable feaſtes, yet it is reducted to that of the Sunne, which in our ciuile dealinges is chiefly had in vſe. Herein onely I finde a ſcruple that the beginning thereof is not vniforme and certaine, for our recordes beare Date the 25. of March, and our Calenders of the firſt of Ianuary. Our ſundrie officers alſo haue ſundrie enteraunces into their charges of cuſtome, which bréedeth great confuſion, whereas if all theſe might be referred to one originall (and that to be the firſt of Ianuarie) I do not thincke but there would be more certaintie and leſſe trouble for our hiſtoriographers and offices in their account of the yeare. Furthermore, whereas our intercalation for the Leape yeare is ſomewhat to much by certayne minutes (which in 309. yeares do amount vnto an whole day) yf one intercalation in ſo many were omitted, our Calender would be the more perfite: & I woulde wiſh that the ſame yeare wherein the ſaide intercalation ſhould be ouerpaſſed, might be called Annus magnus Elizabethæ in perpetual remembrance, of our noble and ſoueraign princeſſe. Certes the next omiſſion is to be performed yf all Princes woulde agrée thereto in the Leape yeare that ſhall be about the yeare of grace 1700. If it ſhall pleaſe God that the worlde may laſt ſo long. Aboue the yeare we haue no mo partes of Time, that cary any ſeuerall names with them, except you will affirme the worde age, to be one which is taken for 100 yeares, & ſignifieth in Engliſhe ſo much as Seculum or Euum doth in latine, whereof this may ſuffice. But to conclude withal, you ſhall haue a table of the names of the dayes of the wéeke, after the olde Saxon and Scottiſh maner, which I haue borowed from amongeſt our auncient wryters.

The preſent names.
Monday.
Tueſday.
Wedneſday.
Thurſday.
Fryday.
Saterday.
Sunday.

The olde Saxon names.
Monendeg.
Tueſdeg.
Wodneſdeg.
Thunreſdeg.
Firgeſdeg.
Saterdeg.
Sunnandeg.

The Scottiſh vſage.
Diu Luna.
Diu Mart.
Diu Yath.
Diu Ethamon.
Diu Friach.
Diu Satur.
Diu Serol.

Of the maner of meaſuring the length and bredth of things after the Engliſh vſage. Cap. 22.

The firſt and ſmalleſt of our meaſures is the Barly corne, whereof thrée being taken out of the middeſt of the eare, well dried and layde endewardes one to another, are ſayde to make an ynche, which the Latines measure after the bredth of the thombe, and therfore of ſome is called Pollicare, although the true name thereof be Vncia, as I haue often reade. That which they call Digitus or the finger bredth, is not in vſe with vs: yet is it the ſixtenth part of theyr fóote, as the inche is the twelfth of ours. Each palme or hand bredth cōtaineth alſo foure of theyr fingers, as by the figure héere inſuing, may eaſily be perceyued, whych I haue ſet downe onely to the ende that who ſo liſteth may beholde the diuerſity,

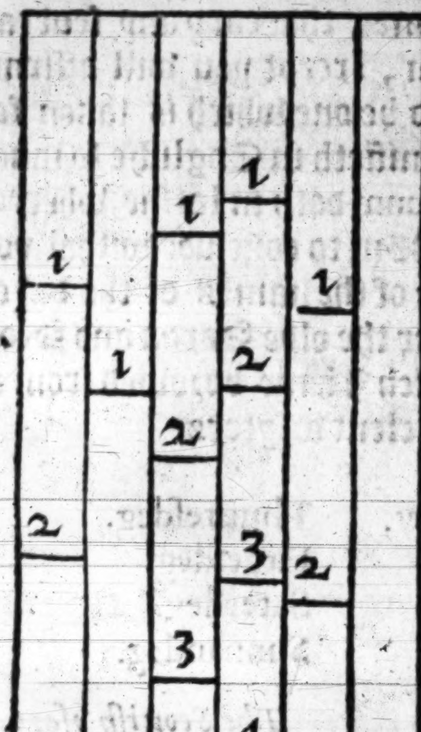
Inche.

Finger bredth.

Palme.

diuerſity not onely betwéene the Romaine meaſure & ours, but alſo of their owne ſtandard which hath chaunged oft among them.

Certes it coulde not well be brought to paſſe, to giue out the whole foote becauſe the quantitie of the page would not ſuffer mée ſo to doe, wherefore I haue exemplified only in the halfe, which I hope ſhall abundauntly ſatiſfie eche one that is deſirous to ſée and perceyue their difference. The firſt columne therefore ſetteth downe the halfe foote, after the ſtanderd of Englãd. The 2. ſéemeth to be a Romain foote, found out of late by Bartholomeus Marlianus, and ſet downe to be ſéene in his Topography of Rome. Therin alſo euerye fynger breadth conteineth two of the old aſſize, wherby hée maketh not 16. but onely eyght in the whole, as you may there behold. The third is that which Budeus had ſõetime delyuered vnto him, who was very curyous in ſerching of the weightes, and meaſures, of olde tyme as maye yet appears by his excellent treatize De aſſe, wherin hys ſyngular ſkill in thys behalfe doth euidently appeare.



The fourth was foũde long ſince, by Leonardꝰ de Portis, in a Garden at Rome, belongyng to Angelus Colotius. The fift is the halfe foote of Paris, diuyded by the ynche, and yet equall to ẏ Romaine ſtanderd deſcribed by Budeus. The laſt ſhoweth the the quantitie of their Palme, whereof their foote hath foure, and eche Palme conteyneth 4. fingers as I haue ſaide already. By this Tablet alſo as you may ſée, howe eche ſtanderde exceedeth or commeth ſhorte of other. Wherefore it ſhall not néede for me to ſtay any longer vppon theyr differences, which may ſo well and better be determined by the eye. Of our meaſures therefore.

Thrée Barly cornes do make an ynche.
Twelue ynches yéelde a foote.
Thrée foote are our yarde.
One yarde and nyne ynches giue an elne.
Seauen foote yéelde a fadam.

By the ſtanderde. Although we vſe commonly to call the ſpace betwéene the toppes of our middle fingers (when our armes bée ſtretched out at length) by that name alſo: the ſame likewyſe beyng called Paſſus ſometimes, as the height of a man is Status, & ſuppoſed to be all one with the leſſer fadam, or or extention of his armes. But to procéede.

Sixtéene foote & an halfe, or 5. yardes & an halfe do make a pole in whoſe Area are 272. of our féete & an half. Foure poles in length, and one in breadth, do yéeld a rodde, or rode of grounde, which ſome call a fardendele or yardlande. Foure roddes doe gyue an Acre, whoſe plotte hath 43600. or fortie poole in length, and thereto foure in bredth.

The auncient Romaynes had for theyr land as Columella ſaith. lib.5.cap.1.
The finger bredth.
The foote of ſixtéene finger bredthes.
The pace fiue foote.

Actus euery way had a 120. foote. In Hiſpania Betica, it hight Agna: but in Gallia Arepẽ.

Iugerum, had two Actus and was ſo called tãquam a iunctis Actibus: ſo that it conteined one way 240. foote, and 120. another, that is, 28800. foote in the whole plot.

Porca. 7200. féete.

Verſus, 8640. Agna. 14400.

The furlong hath 125. paces, or 625. féete.
Eyght furlonges alſo made a myle.

Centuria, hath 200 Iugera, but in olde time onely, 100. for notwithſtanding that the firſt be doubbled, yet it retaineth ſtill the priſtinate denomination, as we ſée in the worde tribe, which was at the firſt but one part of the thrée, wherinto ẏ whole people of Rome were ſeuered & deuided. But let vs returne vnto our owne againe.

¶ It lyke ſort for ſuch as trauaile.

Fyue foote meaſured by the ſayde ynche make a pace & 125. paces doe yéelde a furlong.

Eyght furlonges or 1000. paces is a mile, and after ths Geometricall pace are our myles meaſured, which ſome notwithſtanding doe recone by about 278. tournes of a

Carte whéeles, whoſe compaſſe is commonly of eyghtéene foote of the ſtanderd, and height fyue foote and an halfe, as I haue béene informed by Whelerighthes in the citie.

By the foote alſo we meaſure glaſſe, and Tymber, and all others our buyldings. By the yarde our woollen cloth, tapiſſery, Arras Sylkes, and Laces: but our linnen by ye elne. Finally our woodes and paſtures are layed out by the poole, and therto our hedging, and ditching, after the ſame rate: although the depth of our ditches is meaſured by the foote & likewiſe their bredth as experience dayly cōfirmeth. Beſids this we haue alſo another kind of meaſuring, & that is by the fadam, the vſe whereof is onely ſéene in the digging of pittes, welles & mines, meaſuring of ropes, & ſounding the depth of the ſea, when dreade of perill inforceth our mariners to ſée vnto their ſafegarde. It is furthermore a common opinion amongſt vs, that euery hundred acres of grounde, containe iuſt a myle in compaſe rounde aboute: but as I haue not yet examined howe truely thys is ſaide, ſo I am moſt ſure that a plot of 400. Acres, ſhall not yéelde a lyke proportion, by the one halfe, whenſoeuer you walke about it.. And euen thus woulde I ende, with this chapter, concerning our maner of meaſuring before remēbred, were it not that I thinke good to ſet downe what I haue gathered of the lyke meaſurynges as they haue ben vſed in other countries where they alſo doe reconne by the Graine, making their accompt much after ſuch maner as followeth.

The Digitus or finger breadth hath foure graines layd ſide to ſide.
The Vncia maior, thrée fingers.
The palme hath foure fingers.
Their dichas two hande breadthes or eyght fingers.
Their ſpanne thrée hand bredthes or twelue fingers bredthes.
Their foote is ſixtéene fingers or foure handbredthes.
Their foote and halfe in latine, Seſquipes and Cubitus, 24. finger bredthes.
The ſteppe two foote and an halfe.
The common pace thrée foote.
The Geometricall fyue foote.
The Orgia ſixe foote, as I gather out of Sudas.
The league thrée myles Engliſh.
The common dutche myle 4000. paces.
The greate dutch myle 5000 paces.
¶ In lyke ſorte the Latines & we doe meaſure our iourneys by myles.
The Grecians by furlonges.
The french and ſpaniſhe by leagues.
The Egiptians by Signes.
The Perſians by Paraſangas, of which ech one conteyneth thirtie furlonges.

As for the olde Brytiſhe myle that includeth 1500. paces engliſh, it ſhal not greatly néede to make any diſcourſe of it, & ſo much the leſſe, ſith it is yet in vſe and not forgottē among the Welch men, as Leland hath noted in his commentaries of Brytaine: wherfore it may ſuffiſe to haue ſaide thus much of the ſame, and ſo of all the reſt, beyng mindfull to goe forwarde and make an ende of this treatize.

Of Engliſh weightes and their compariſon with others. Cap. 23.

The leaſt of our waightes is a grayne, betweene which and the ounce we haue, the halfe quarter, the half, and thrée quarters of the ounce. In olde tyme theſe ſmaller partes were commonlye reconed by péeces of coyne and not by quarter and halfe quarter as we doe nowe. As by the farding or fourth part of a peny, which waighed eyght graines, the halfepeny that peyſed ſixtéene, and peny that counterpeyſed 32. and was in déede the 32. part of an ounce, ſo that for the halfe quarter we ſayd two pence halfepeny, for the quarter fiue pence, and halfe ounce tenne pence, which is nowe growne out of vſe, & our coine ſo inhaunced that 60. of our pence doe hardly make an ounce, and aleuē graines ſuffice with the more to counterpeyſe a peny.

The Athenien ounce was leſſe then ours by 64. graynes, and deuided into his partes after this maner following.

Lepta the ſeauenth part of two graynes.
Granum. A graine.
Chalchus two graines and ſeauen Leptæ.
Siliqua foure graines.
Semiobolus ſixe graines or thrée Chalchi.
Obolus hath twelue graines.
Scriptulum two Obolos.
Drachma 3. Scriptula or 72. graines.
Vncia 8. Drachmes: 24. Scriptulas: 48. Obo. 576. graines, whereby they differed not alſo from the Romaines in their vncia who reconed their ſmall waightes after this maner following.

A graine the leaſt of all.
Siliqua had 4. graines.
Semiobolus 6. graines.
Obolus 12. graines.
Victoriatus one thirteenth part of an ounce,

or 41. graines and $\frac{1}{14}$ of a graine.

Denarius the ſeauenth part of an ounce,
Sextula the ſixt part.
Sicilicus the fourth part.
Duella the thirde part.
Semuncia the ſecond part, or half an ounce otherwyſe called a Stater.
Vncia the ounce which had two Semuncias 3. Duellas: 4. Sicilicos: 6. Stextulas: 7. Denarios: 14. Victoriatus: and 576. graines, as they themſelues doe number them.

Epiphanius in his De menſuris & ponderibus, ſpeaking of the ounce deuideth it into two Stateres, 4. Siclos, and 8. Drachmes, whereby he maketh the Stater to containe halfe an ounce or two Didrachmas. And as he agréeth with vs in 8. Drachmes to the ounce, ſo he maketh the leſſe Holcen to counteruaile the Drachme, and the greater the Sicle: after which alſo the heare of Abſolon was weighed and founde to haue Holcen ſiclorum 125. that is two pounde and an halfe as he maketh vp his reckening.

That the Siclus was once called Talentum I referre you to Euſebius his 9. booke De preparatione Euangelica, where he alledgeth the authoritie of Eupolemus, writing of Dauid, Salomon and the buylding of the Temple at large. In the 30. of Exodus wée finde the Iewiſh Sicle to containe 20. obolos, which Ioſephus expounding in the thirde of his Antiquities, ſayth that the Sicle of the Hebrues dyd counteruaile foure Drachmes of Athens. The like doeth Ierome affirme vpon the fourth of Ezechiel. Hereof alſo Eupolemus gathereth manifeſtly that the 10. talentes of golde which Salomon gaue vnto eache of thoſe workemen that wrought vpon his Temple, were but ſo many Sicles yf his authoritie be founde. But to our owne.

We haue alſo a weight called the pounde, whereof are two ſortes the one taking name of Troy contayning twelue ounces (after which our liquide & drie meaſures are weighed and our plat ſolde) the other commonly called Haberdupois, whereby our other artificers and chapmen doe buye and ſell theyr wares. The firſt of theſe contayneth 7680. graines wheras the other hath 10240. Each of them alſo are deuided into the halfe quarter, quarter, and halfe pounde, & thrée quarters as we haue ſayde before in the deſcription of the ounce. Nowe in conference of the ſame with the Grécian weightes if you reſpect the Mna commonly vſed amongeſt the Phiſitiõs and Surgeons (I meane for number of ounces) you ſhall finde ſmall difference betwéene theſe and our Haberdupois, but yf you better cõſider of their difference in ounces, you ſhall ſée ſome oddes which I will hereafter ſette downe. Furthermore as we haue two ſortes of poundes in Englande, ſo the Grékes beſide the fore alleadged, haue thrée kindes of Mnas, whereof the firſt called the greater or the newe, hath

12. ounces and foure Drachmes, or
100. Drachmes, or
600. Obolos, or Semiobolos. 1200.
3600. Calchos, or
25200. Leptas & of theſe Liuie ſpeaketh.

Their ſecond is called the olde Mna, whoſe proportion is giuen out after thys maner, and hath

9. ounces and thrée Drachmes, or
75. Drachmes, or
450. Obolos, or
900. Semiobolos, or
2700. Calchos
18900. Leptas.

As for theire Apothecary Mna, it conteined after their common accompt,

15. ounces or
112. Drachmes, and an halfe, or
337. Scruptulas and an halfe, or
675. Obolos, wherof let this ſuffice.

In lyke ſort the Romaines hauing but one Libra, deuided it alſo into theſe euen partes inſuing,

12. ounces or 576. graines.
2. Semiſſes or 6. ounces.
3. Trientes, or 4. ounces.
4. Quadrantes, or 3. ounces.
6. Sextantes, or 2. ounces.
8. Seſcuncias or one ounce and an halfe.

Beſide theſe alſo they had certaine odde weightes (percelles of their Libra) which did hit in as it were betwéene theſe, and whoſe names for helpe of the diligent in hyſtoricall ſtudie I will ſet downe as thus,

Denux of 11. ounces.
Dextans of 10. ounces.
Dodrans of 9. ounces.
Bes of 8. ounces.
Septunx of 7. ounces.
Quincunx of fiue ounces, whereby we ſée that the Romaine Libra is not all one with the Athenien Mna as may likewyſe be farther ſéene by this diuiſion inſuing for the Romaine Libra hath

12 Vncias.
24 Semuncias.
36 Duellas.
48 Sicilicos.
72 Sextulas.
84 Denarios.
168 Victoriatus & 288. Scriptula.

And as Libra ſurmounteth the olde Mna, ſo the new Mna excédeth the Libra, and ſo dyd alſo the Apothecarie weight as I haue ſayde before. But yet to ſay ſomewhat more of the Romaine Libra or pounde & other like poyſes, I thincke it very expedient for the helpe of ſuch as ſhall meete wyth the ſame in reading of the Hyſtories, & better conference of their proportion with ours.

It is to be noted that As or Aſsis, is a worde properly to be applyed vnto any thing that may be deuided into partes, wherby it commeth to paſſe that as the foote is As vnto the ſmaller meaſure, and Libra vnto the ſmaller coyne, ſo Libra or Pondo is As or Aſsis, vnto the partes of hys diuiſion being left of the greateſt, & greateſt of the ſmalleſt weights.

Of Libra alſo the pound weight was ſometyme called Libralis, 2. pounde Bilibris, three pounde Trilibris &c. And in like ſort was Pondo vſed and alſo As, ſo that for the aforeſayde poyſes we ſhall reade Pondo, dupondius, trepondius in the one: and for 3. pound, 4. pounde 9. pounde, and 10. pounde, Treſsis, Quadraſsis, Nonuſsis, and Decuſsis in the other. Alſo for two Decuſses 3. Decuſses and 10. Decuſses: Viceſsis, Triceſsis, and Centuſsis, that is, 20. Aſſes, 30. Aſſes and 100. Aſſes or poundes as the authours doe expound it. In like ſorte Apondus or Aſsipondius is a pounde weight, Dua pondo, two pound, Trepondo three pounde, as by reading may be found out. Whenſoeuer you find Pondo put with an other worde of weight, it ſignifieth the worde ſimply wherunto it is referred, as Pondo, Libra a pound, Pondo vncia an ounce and ſo forth in the reſt. I might here ſay that the braſſe penny of the Romaines weight at the firſt wayed 10. pounde, of which Seſtertius being the fourth parte contayned two pounde and an halfe: but when they begunne to coyne ſiluer money, the ſiluer denarius or Libra was valued after the eſtimation of the ſubſtaunce at 10. pounde of the braſen mettall, and yet ye ſhall not reade that the Romaines did euer vſe the worde As, Aſsis at any time for the ſiluer coine, but Libella whiche I doe take as a thing worthie to be noted. In like ſort Quinarius was the halfe of the denarius, and Quadrans, a coyne of three ounces in braſſe, whereof this may ſuffice. Furthermore in obſeruation of the word Seſtertium. You ſhall vnderſtande that mille Seſtertium, mille Seſtertium numum, mille Numum and mille Seſtertij are all one. In like ſort Seſtertia in the Neuter gender, doe counteruaile mille Seſtertios in the Maſculine gender. But if any Aduerbe of number be added vnto them, it ſignifieth hundreds of thouſandes. Decem Seſtertia therefore are 10000. Seſtertium or Seſtertios. And decies Seſtertios, or Seſtertiũ is all one with 100000. Seſtertios or Seſtertium, as Budens Glarean and other haue ſet downe.

Thus it ſhall nowe be an eaſie matter to finde the difference betweene theſe here remembred & our Engliſh poiſes, if the number of odde graines be duely conſidered, and theſe reſolued into ounces, or leſſe weight, as occaſiõ doth require. Hitherto alſo I haue ſpoken of ſmall weightes, nowe let vs ſee what they be that are of the greater ſort, but firſt of ſuch as are in vſe in Englande, reconing not after troye weight, but Haberdupois, whoſe pounde hath ſixteene ounces, as I haue ſayde before. Of great waight therfore we haue

The cloue weighing 7 pound or half a ſtone.
The halfe quarterne of 14. pounde, in wooll a ſtone, whereof 26. do make a ſacke.
The quarterne of 28. pound, in wool a Todde
The halfe hundred of 56. pounde.
The hundred of 112. or 1792. ounces.

And theſe are vſually reconed next vnto the hundred weight, which is the greateſt of all that we doe commonly vſe, and of which dyuers other are commonly made about the ſale of our Tinne, Leade, Flaxe, Spyce, and all kinde of marchaundize with others, whoſe quantities & names are vtterly vnknowne vnto me. Beefe is eyther ſolde by yͤ ſtone of eyght pounde or by the ſcore. Cheeſe by the weigh. And hereof we finde two ſeuerall weightes, whereof one containeth 32 Cloues, eache cloue being of ſeauen pound, (although ſome Bookes haue one but of ſixe) whereby the one weigh hath 224. the other 256. pound, that is 36. cloues & foure pounde ouer weight. This is moreouer to be noted, that the worde hundred, is not alwayes vſed after one ſort in waight or tale, for as fiue ſcore are oft taken for an hundred in ſome reſpect as in money & men: ſo 120. do make but an hundred as in cattell. &c. after another accoũt. But if you deale by waight thẽ 112. is alwayes your iuſt number. And as the hundred is the greateſt here in England, ſo the talent was the greateſt in Grece & other countries. Howbeit as our hundredes in tale doe differ from our hundredes in waight, ſo did the talents differ one from another, and alſo from them ſelues, for

The great talent of Athens weyghed 1000. of theyr ounces.
The leſſe of Athens 750. ounces, or 6000. drachmes.
That called Egyneũ 1250. ounces (of theirs) or 10000. drachmes.
That of Syria 187. oũces, or 1500. drachms.
That of Babylon 875. ounces, or 7000.

drachmes.

And all after the rate of the Athenian ounce, vnto whoſe talent alſo the Euboike did ſeeme to come very neare, as may appeare by conference. Now to make ſome collation of our weightes and theſe afore remembred togither, and ſo farre as ſhalbe neceſſary for the reading of forreine hyſtories.

¶ Of the Ounce.

You ſhall vnderſtand that our ounce exceedeth the ounce of the Romains or Grecians by 64. grains, as may eaſily be gathered by that whych is already ſet downe.

Our drachme therfore muſt neede cõtaine 80. graines, which is 8. more then any of the other.

Our Scriptulum (if we had any) 26. grains, and a third part of two graines.

Our Obolus 13. graines and third part of a grain, ſo that in our mony after 5. ſhillings to the ounce 7. pence ob. is the iuſt waight of a drachme, wherby it is eaſie to caſt the true quantitie of the leſſe.

¶ Of the Mna.

The firſt alſo of the three Mnas afore remembred called the greater, being caſt after his proportion, hath 11. ounces and two drachmes, that is 56. ſhillings and 3. pence, whereby it wanteth ſomewhat of a pounde of Troy waight.

The olde Mna hath 67. drachmes and an halfe, that is 8. of our ounces, & three drams, or 42. ſhillings, and 2. pence ob. after our Engliſh reckening.

The thirde Mna hath 13. ounces & a halfe, that is 3. pound Engliſh, 7. ſhillings 6. pence farding, and halfe farding.

The fourth Mna firſt of all remembred, (I meane of 16. ounces) hath in like ſort 14. ounces, 3. drachmes 16. graines or 3. pounde 12. ſhillings of currant money of Englande, after 5. ſhillings to the ounce.

¶ In lyke ſort of Talents.

The great talent of Athens hath 900. ounces, that is of our money 225. pound.

The ſmall talent of Athens, hath 671. ounces and 7. drachmes: or 167. pounde 19. ſhillings 4. pence ob. Engliſh.

The third talent of Aegyneũ 1156. ounces 2. drachmes, that is 289. pound Engliſh, one ſhilling and 3. pence.

The fourth of thoſe afore remembred 168. ounces 2. drachmes or 42. pound, one ſhilling 6. pence Engliſh.

The laſt, 787. ounces and 4. drachmes, or 196. pound, 17. ſhil. 6. pen. englyſh, as I haue truely caſt it, except I miſtake oughts in my reckening, whych is a thing ſone done: only thys can not faile, that 3. pounde in coyne is one pound in waight, after 5. ſhillings to the ounce, whereof let thys ſuffice, for the talent in waight. I ſay in waight, becauſe there was a peece of coyne called alſo a talent, as I haue noted out of Eupolemus before, who confoundeth it wyth a ſicle. And thereof I read furthermore that the Hebrues Tetradrachma was ſuch a talent. As for that of the Athenienſes, it contained 3. Stateres and of thys alſo ynough.

Of liquide meaſures.

Cap. 24.

Hitherto haue I ſpoken of waights, now it reſteth that I doe the lyke of ſuche liquide meaſures as are preſently vſed in England, and haue bene of olde time amongſt the Grecians and Romaines. Wherin I wil deale ſo faithfully as I may, to the ende thys trauaile of mine may be ſome helpe to ſuche as ſhal come after in conferring forren with our home made weights and meaſures, and for the better vnderſtanding of the hiſtories, wherein ſuch thyngs are ſpoken of. The firſt therfore of our Engliſh meaſures, is

A ſpooneful, which hath one of our drachmes and 6. graines.

An aſſay, taſte or ſippet 4. ſpoonefuls: or 4. drachmes and 24. graines.

A fardendele is a quarter of a poũd, pinte, or 3. ounces of Troy.

An Muytch 6. ounces or halfe a pinte.

A pinte 12. ounces, or a pounde, or 4. fardendeles.

A quart 24. ounces, two pintes, or 2. pounde Troy.

A pottle, 48. ounces or 4. pounde, or ſo many pintes.

A gallon 96. ounces, or 8. pound, or 8. pintes.

A firkin 8. gallons or 64. pound, and thys in Ale, Sope, and Herring.

The kilderkin 16. gallons.

The barrell 32. gallons. And theſe are our meare Engliſh liquide meaſures. The reſt yͤ we haue are outlandiſh veſſels, and ſuch as are brought ouer vnto vs wyth wares from other countreys. And yet are we not altogither guided by thys rate (the more pitye) but in ſome things ſeuerall meaſures are vſed and receyued, as for example.

The fyrkin of beare hath 9. gallons.

The kilderkin 18. gallons.

The barrel 36. As for the hogſhead of bere it is lately come vp, and becauſe I ſee none made of thys aſſize, but onely the emptye caſkes of wine reſerued to thys vſe, I paſſe ouer to ſay any thing thereof. If it were according to the ſtandarde for beere, it ſhoulde containe 72.gallons, which now hath but 64

¶ But of Eles and Samon.

The firkin 10.gallons and an halfe.

The halfe barrell.21.gallons.

The barrell 42.gallons.

The butte 84.gallons. Yet ſome eſtatutes limite our Ele meaſure in an equalitie vnto that of Herrings, of whych 120.go to the hũdred and 10000.to the laſt, as they are commonly ſolde.

Of wine and ſuch veſſels thereof as come from beyond the ſeas we haue the rundlet of 18.gallons and a pottle.

The barrell (whych is rare) of 31.gallons $\frac{1}{2}$

The hogſhed of 63.gallons.

The tiers of 84.gallons.

The pipe or butte of 126.gallons.

The tunne of 252.

There are alſo thirdes of pipes or hoggeſheads, and of barrelles, which are likewiſe called tertians, but of theſe I ſay nothing, becauſe theyr deuiſion is eaſie. Suche alſo hath bene the care of our maieſtrates heretofore, that theſe very veſſels haue had theyr limitation of waight, in ſo much that

The firkin ſhould wey 6.pound 6.ounces.

The halfe barrell or kilderkin 13.pound.

The barrell 26.li. whereof let this ſuffice.

And theſe are the quantities and names of moſt of our liquide meaſures, whereunto we wil adde firſt thoſe of the old Greekes, wherby they meaſured theyr wines, oyleand honey, and wherof the formoſt is.

The ſponeful, which weygheth one drachme halfe a Scriptula, 2.graines & 2.fifth partes of a graine.

Cheme hath 2.ſpoonefuls or 2.drachmes, one ſcriptulum 4.graines and $\frac{4}{5}$ of a graine in waight.

Myſtrum 2.ſpoonefulles and an halfe, or 3.drachmes in weight of theyrs.

Concha:2. Myſtra, or 5.ſpoonefulles, or ſixe drachmes:

Cyathus 2.Conchas, or one oũce & a drachme

Oxybaphon 3.Conchas or 15.ſponefulles, in weight 2.ounces 3.drachmes.

Quartarius 2.Oxybapha, or 4.ounces and 4.drachmes.

Cotyla *alias* Hemina or Tryblion, 2.quartaries, in weight 9.ounces of their owne.

Sextarius 2. Cotylas or 120.ſponefulles: in weight 18.of theyr ounces.

Chus, Choa, or Choeus, 6.ſextarios 108.ounces or 9.pound.

Metretes, Cadus, Ceraunius or Chous 1296.ounces, and theſe were certẽ: howbeit they had other meaſures that bare the name of ſome of theſe, as

Concha the greater, of 2.ounces 2.drachmes equall wyth the Oxybapha.

Myſtrum the greater of 3.drachmes $\frac{3}{4}$ of a drachme.

Myſtrum the leſſe of two drachmes one ſcriptulum and $\frac{4}{21}$ partes of a graine.

Cheme the greater of.3.drachmes.

The leſſe of 2.drachmes.

Coclearium the greateſt as afore.

The leſſer the tenth part of a Cyathus.

The leſſe hath the 24.or 30.part of a Cyathus, for this was alſo diuers, as I do finde in Budeus, Agricola and the Grecian wryters, (eſpecially for theyr townes) becauſe I read of an other ſtanderd in the rurall poyſe whereof I will not let alſo to make mention, becauſe I would omitte nothing that may be beneficiall to the reader, ſo neare as I can poſſibly. Of rurall poyſes therefore in the aforeſayde meaſures I finde that the

Myſtrum weygheth 4.drachmes and a halfe.

Cyathus 4.Myſtra or 2.ounces & 2.drachmes.

Oxybapha 6. *Myſtra* or 3.ounces and thrée drachmes.

Cotyle 4.Oxybapha one pound one ounce & an halfe.

Chus hath 12.Cotylas or thirtéene pound.

Amphora 4.Cotylas, or 54.pound.

Metretes 2.Amphoras 108.pound, as likewiſe the Medymnus.

Now let vs ſée the liquide meaſure of the Romaines, whych is all one wyth theyr dry, therfore theyr Ligula Coclearũ or ſpone full hathe 240. graines or 3. drachmes in weight, whereby it farre ſurmounteth the Grecian ſpoonefull

Cyathus 4.ſponefuls, or 960.graines.

Acetabulum a Cyathus and an halfe, or ſixe ſponefuls, or 2 ounces and an halfe.

Quartarius 2.Acetabula or 5.ounces.

Hemina 2.Quartario or 10.ounces.

Sextarius 2.Heminas or 20.ounces.

Congius 6.*Sextarios* or 10.pound.

Vrna 4.Congios or 40.pound.

Amphora 2.*Vrnas* or 80.pound.

Culeus 20.Amphoras or 1600.pound. After the Romaine ſtanderd, ſo well in the drye as in the liquide meaſures. And thus muche of theſe in generall.

¶ Now let vs compare them with ours & ſet what proportion or oddes is to be had betwéene them.

Our ſponefull hath a Drachme and ſixe graines and two fift partes of a graine after our ſtandard of Drachmes, whereof one is alwayes the eyght part of an ounce.

Theyr Cheme is of ours Drachmes 12

graines and $\frac{4}{5}$ part of a graine.

Their Myſtrum one Drachme and one graine.

Concha fiue Drachmes or 32. graines or 3. ſhillinges and peny halfe peny after fiue ſhillinges to the ounce.

Cyathus one ounce and eyght graines.

Oxybaphon two ounces and 16. graines.

Quartarius foure ounces and 32 graines.

Cotyla eyght ounces 64. graines or thrée quarters of a Drachme and foure graines.

Sextarius ſixtéene ounces, one Drachme 48. graines.

Choa 97. ounces one Drachme or eyght pounde Troy, one ounce one Drachme and 48. graines.

Metretes 1166. ounces and thrée Drachmes, or 97. pounde Trope two ounces and thrée Drachmes, which is all one with 12. gallons & a pint after our engliſh meaſure.

Their rurall meaſures alſo being compared with ours, yéelde thys proportion.

Myſtrum hath foure Drachmes 4. graines

Cyathus two ounces and ſixtéene graines.

Oxybapha 3. ounces 24. graines or a quarter of a pint and ſomewhat more.

Chus twelue pounde one ounce 6 Drachmes and 32. graines: thrée pottels and odde meaſure.

Amphora 47. pounde ſeauen ounces and an halfe and 48. graines which wanteth not full fiue ounces of 6. gallons, after our Engliſh meaſures.

Metretes hath 97. pounde two ounces thrée Drachmes 16. graines or twelue gallons & a pinte. &c. that is, thrée gallons and a pint. &c. aboue our Kilderkin of béere.

¶ Hauing thus procéeded in extent & compariſon of the Grecian meaſures with ours, let vs do the like with thoſe of the Romaines and then our taſke is performed.

The Romaine ſpoonful is exactly 3. Drachmes engliſh.

The Cyathus twelue Drachmes, that is, one ounce and an halfe.

Acetabulum two ounces & 2. Drachmes.

Quartarius foure ounces, and 4. Drachmes Engliſh.

Hemina nine ounces or thrée quarters of a pinte.

Sextarius one pinte and an halfe.

Congius thrée quartes or 72. ounces.

Vrna thrée gallons or 24. pounde.

Amphora 6. gallons or 48. pounde.

Culeus 120. gallons, which is two hoggeſheades of our auncient meaſure, ſauing 8. gallons: or thrée barrelles and a kilderkin, ſauing that there are 6. gallons ouer meaſure, whereby our account excéedeth that of the Romaines.

And thus much briefly of liquid meaſures, wherein yf I haue béene more long & tedious then thou peraduenture diddeſt looke for at the firſt, yet the benefite gotten thereby ſhall, I hope, counteruaile the trauaile in reading of the ſame. And as I haue diſpatched my handes in this ſorte of the liquide, now it reſiſteth that I doe the lyke with the drie meaſures, & then ſhall that little Treatize haue an ende, whereof I ſpake before & might otherwyſe haue periſhed hereafter (for me) yf it had not béene inſerted here vpon this neceſſarie occaſion.

Of the drie meaſures of Englande, and their compariſon with others.

Cap. 25.

AS before we ſée in the moyſt, ſo doe all our drie meaſures fetch their originall from the ſponefull. &c. vntill they come at the gallon: beyonde the which wée haue the Pecke or farthendeale of a buſhell (for that is our Engliſhe worde for a fourth part) of two gallons.

Halfe buſhell of foure gallons.

Buſhell of eyght gallons, or 64. pounde, Trope.

Strike of two Buſhelles or 128. pounde or 16. gallons.

Coome raſor or cornocke of foure buſhels or 256. pounde or 32. gallons.

Quarter or ſeame of 8. Buſhelles or 512. pounde or 64. gallons.

Way, or 6. quarters of 5 7 0 2. pounde or 384. gallons as by the rule of proportion is eaſie to be founde.

By theſe meaſures alſo we meaſure our Muſtard ſéede, Rape ſéede, Carot rootes, ſalt, and fruite, notwithſtanding that the filling of the Buſhell be diuers, ſith in Corne, ſalte, and ſéedes we ſtrike with a rule, but in Aples & Rootes we poure them on by heapes. This is furthermore to be conſidered, that although one wheate or barly be heauyer then an other, as the ſoyle is wette or drie, Barly cōmonly then Otes, Rye then barly, wheate then Rye. &c. alſo in liquide wares, Oyle compared with wine, and both wyth hony, yet ẏ meaſure framed after the aforeſayde weightes doth meate them all indifferently ſo that the quantitie of the ſtandarde and not the qualitie of ware meaſured, is alwayes to be looked on. In déede it is founde by experience that a lyke meaſure of wyne Oyle and hony being weighed togither, the Oyle ſhalbe lighter by a ninth part then the wine, and the hony heauyer then the Wine almoſt by a thirde. Certes there is nothing that cometh néerer the weight of wine then the pureſt water., and yet one Wine is heauyer then an other as waters alſo are, of which the moſt groſſe is euer more ẏ weightieſt. And theſe thinges haue not béene vnknowne in tymes paſt alſo vnto the Grecians; for weyghing theyr Culeus of Oyle, it peyſed but 1 3 3. pound, 4 oũces, whereas that of Wine came vnto 1 4 8. li. fiue ounces ſixe Drachmes and foure Silquas. But of hony vnto 2 2 2 2. pounde, two ounces, 5. Drachmes, one Scriptula. &c. whereof this maye ſuffice for an admonition to the reader. Nowe let vs ſée thoſe of the Grecians for my former purpoſe, whoſe

Cyathus hath tenne ſpoonfulles, or an ounce and one Drachme.

Oxybaphon 15. ſpoonfulles or two ounces and two Drachmes.

Cotyle foure Oxybapha or nine ounces.

Sextarius 2. Cotylas or 18. ounces.

Chenix. 3 Cotylas or 27. ounces, ſo called bycauſe that quantitie ſuffiſed to finde a man breade for an whole daye.

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Medimnus or Metretes: 4 8. Chenices or 108. pounde.

¶ In lyke ſort in Rurall meaſures their.

Myſtrum hath 2. ſpoonfulles and an halfe.

Cyathus 4. Myſtra, or ſixe ſpoonfulles.

Oxybaphon 4. Myſtra 2. ounces 2. Drachmes.

Cotyle foure Oxybapha, nyne ounces.

Chenicx 3. Cotylas 27. ounces.

Semiduodecima Medymni 2. Chenicas 4. pounde 6. ounces.

Semiſextarius 9. pounde.

Sextarius 18. pounde.

Tertiarius 16. Chenicas 36. pounde.

Semimedymnũ 24. Chenicas or 54. pound.

Medymnus 28. Chenicas or 108. pound and theſe of the Grékes.

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Now ſhall thoſe of the Romaines followe in ſuch order as inſueth.

Cloclearium a ſpoonefull 3. Drachmes and one Scriptula.

Cyathus 4. ſpoonefuls one ounce & an halfe, one Drachme one Scriptula.

Acetabulum a Cyathus & an halfe 2. ounces and foure Drachmes.

Hemina or Cotula foure Acetabula or tenne ounces.

Sextarius two Heminas or 20. ounces.

Semodius eyght Sextarios 13. pounde foure ounces.

Modius 16. Sextarios 26. pounde 8. ounces.

Theſe aforeſayde meaſures compared alſo with our Engliſh haue ſuch proportion.

Cyathus as aforeſayde, one ounce & eight graines, Engliſhe.

Cotyle, 6. ounces 48. graines Engliſh.

Chenix one pounde 6. ounces, one Drachme 64. graines Engliſh.

Medymnus 72. pounde, 10. ounces, 324 grains Engliſh.

Their Rurall meaſures conferred with ours.

Chenix a quarte.

Semiduodecima a Pottle & 4. Drachm.

Semiſextarius, a gallon and an ounce.

Sextarius, two gallons and two ounces.

Tertiari⁹, foure gallons & foure ounces.

Semimedimnus 6. gallons & halfe a pint.

Medymnus exactly 13. gallons.

Whereby we ſée that their lyquide meaſure is ſomewhat greater then the drye by two ounces and thrée Drachmes. Nowe it reſteth ẏ I do the like wᵗ the weightes of the Romaine dry meaſures, after which I will gyue out the weightes of Venice as Auguſtinus Pantheus in his de rebus Voarchadumicis and other doe ſet them downe.

Cyathus one ounce and an halfe.

Semodius, 12. pounde Troy, that is, a gallon and an halfe.

Modius 24. pound, that is, thrée gallons. And more I remember not at this preſent of their drye meaſure.

I might here adde other meaſures of the Hebrues alſo. But I find ſuch variety in thẽ as maketh me rather to omit then publiſhe them in this treatize. And fyrſt of all theyr Chor, which ſignifieth an heape of graine, ¶ is not onely the full loade of a Camell, but alſo conteineth 30. Modios as Epiphanius doth ſet downe, notwithſtanding that Budeꝰ hath 41. Medimnos. The Lethec alſo (whereof Oſee ſpeaketh, ſaying, Mercede conduxi mihi Lethec hordei. &c.) is al one with the Gomor or halfe Cor, and called Lethec of lifting vp, becauſe a yong man might eaſely lift it vp to laye it vpon his aſſe. Their Batos of Oyle, with Epiphanius hath, 50. Sextarios, with Budee 27. The Modius of ẏ Iues, 22. Sextarios in the firſt, but in the treatize of this later, only 16. In lyke ſorte there is difference in the Cab or fourth part of the Modius. Alſo in ẏ Manſis, or Medimnus, which after Epiphanis hath 10. Modios, ẏ Salanien or Conſtantinuan 5. Modios and that of Paphos and Sicilia, onely 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ all which diſcordances I am not able to reconcile, eſpecially being things of ſuch antiquitie, and therfore I giue vppe to ſpeake any longer of them. Furthermore in turning ouer ſuch old bookes as came vn-

Chor.

Lethec.

Gomor.

Batos.

Modius.

Cab.

Mnaſis.

to my handes I finde alſo this note inſuyng 6.which

Charette hath 4.graines.

Peny 8 Carettes.

Euery graine of Wateyment a Peny in Gold, but after Fraunce, Venice, and ſome other places, they haue but ſixe Carettes in the peny, and 4. graines in the Carette, which oddes groweth by the difference of weightes, for beyonde the ſea they haue 24. pence in the ounce, which is 4. pence more in value, then the ounce Engliſh, after the olde account of pence. By theſe Carettes pearles and ſtones are valued and ſolde, but not gold, which hath neuertheleſſe the name of Carettes in his Pois, but after an other proportion.

Of Weightes of Venice, alſo Auguſtinus Pantheus, ſaith thus.

Eximo is the 156. parte of a graine.

A graine conteineth 156. Eximos.

Charattus or Siliqua 4 graines.

Quartus 36. Carattes, or the olde guilden,

Ounce 4. quartes, 144. Carattes.

Marca or Bes 8. ounces or 1152. Carattes.

Marchus 16. ounces, or 2304. Carattes.

Rubus 20. Marcas.

Poſta 46. Marchas, whereof let this ſuffice, for the ſettyng forth of the iuſt proportion of weights and meaſures, I hope that which is already ſpoken ſhall be ynough.

¶ I haue thought good to deliuer the names of the Archbyſhops and Byſhops of London, as they ſucceded ſince the Brytons were firſt conuerted into the faith.

Archbiſhops.

Theon.
Eluanus.
Cadocus.
Ouinus.
Conanus.
Palladius.
Stephanus.
Iltutus.
Theodwinus.
Theodredus.
Hillarius.
Guittelinus.
Vodinus, ſlaine by the Saxons.
*Theonus.

The Sie voide many yeares.

Auguſtus Monachus.

¶ The Archebiſhop remouing his Sie to Canterbury theſe Byſhops ſucceded.

Mellitus.

The Sie voyde a ſeaſon.

Wina.
Erkenwaldus.
Waldherus.
Ingaldus.
Egulphus.
Wigotus.
Eadbricus.
Edgarus.
Kiniwalchus.
Eadbaldus.
Eadbertus.
Oſwinus.
Ethelmothus.
Ceadbertus.
Cernulphus.
Suithulphus.
Eadſtanus.
Wulſinus.
Ethelwaldus.
Elſtanus.
Brithelmus.
Dunſtanus.
Theodoricus.
Alwijnus.
Elſwoldus.
Robertus.
Wilhelmus.
Hugo.

The Sie voide 11. yeares.

Mauricius.
Richardus Beaumiſh.
Gilbertus.
Robertus.
Richardus.
Gilbertus.
Richardus.
Wilhelmus.
Euſtathius.
Rogerus.
Fulco.
Henricus.
Richardus.
Radulphus.
Gilbertus.
Richardus Bintworth.
Stephanus.
Richardus.
Radulphus Baldoc.
Michaell.
Simon.
Robertus.
Thomas.
Richardus.
Thomas Sauagius.
Wilhelmus.
Wilhelmus warham.
Wilhelmus Barnes.
Richardus fitz Iames.
Cuthbertus Tunſtall.
Iohanes Stokeſley.
Edmundus Boner.
Nicholas Ridley.
Edmonde Boner againe.
Edmond Grindall.
Eadwijn Sandes.
Elmer.

¶ Here followeth the principall Faires kept in Englande.

Faires in January.

The firſt day being Twelfe day, at Saliſbury. The 25. being S. Paules day, at Briſtowe, at Grauesende, at Churchingford at Northalertō in Yorkeſhire, where is kept a faire euery wedneſday from Chriſtmaſſe vntill Iune.

Fayres in February.

The firſt day at Bromley:The ſecond at Linne,at Bath, at Maidſtone, at Bickelſworth,at Budworth.The 14.at Feuerſham. On Aſhwedneſday at Lichfielde , at Tamworth,at Royſton , at Exceſter,at Abington,at Ciceter.The 24 at Henley vpon Thames,at Tewkeſbury.

Fayres in March.

On ſ.Georges daye, at Stamforde, and at Sudbury.The 13.day at Wie,at the Mount,and at Bodmin in Cornewall. The 5.Sunday in Lent, at Grantham at Saliſbury.On Monday before our Lady daye in Lent,at Wiſbich, at Kendale, Denbigh in Wales.On Palmeſundaye euen, at Pumphret.On Palmſunday,at Worceſter. The 20.day at Durham. On our Ladye daye in Lent at Northamton,at Maldon, at great Chart, at Newcaſtell. And all the Ladye daies at Huntington.

Fayres in Aprill.

The 5.day at Walingforde. The 7. at Darbye. The 9.at Bickleſworthe, at Bilingworth. On monday after,at Eueſhã in Worceſter ſhire.On Tiweſday in Eaſter weeke,at Northflete,at Rochford,at Hitchin. The thirde Sunday after Eaſter, at Louth. The 22.at Stabford.on S. Georges day, at Charing,at Ipſwich,at Tãworth, at Amthill, at Himingham, at Gilforde, at S. Pombes in Cornewall. On ſaint Markes day at Darby, at Dunmow in Eſſex. The 26.at Tenderden in Kent.

Fayres in May.

On May daye at Rippon, at Perin in Cornewall, at Oſeſtrie in Wales, at Lerfield in Suffolke,at Stow ẏ old, at Reading,at Leiceſter,at Chenſforde,at Maidſtone at Brickhill,at Blackeborne,at Cogſton. The 3.at Bramyarde, at Henningham, at Elſtow.The 7.at Beuerley,at Newton, at Orforde. On Aſcention day at Newcaſtell, at Verne,at Brimechame , at S.Edes , at Byſhop Stratforde,at Wicham, at Midlewiche,at Stopforde,at Chappell Frith.On Whitſun euen, at Skipton vppon Crauen. On Whitſunday,at Richell,at Gribby,and euery wedneſday fortnight at Kingſton vpõ Thames,at Rateſdale,at Kirby Stephin in Weſtmerlande.On munday in Whitſonne weeke,at Darington,at Exceſter, at Bradforde,at Rygate,at Burton,at Salforth, at Whitechurch,at Cokermouth,at Appelby, at Bickleſworth,on Tewſday on Whitſunweeke,at Lewſe,at Rochford, at Cantorbury,at Ormeſkirke, at Herith. On wedneſday in Whitſun weeke,at Sandbarre . On Trinitie ſunday,at Kendall,and at Rowell, On thurſday after Trinitie ſunday,at Preſcote, at Stapforde, at S.Annes,at Newbury,at Couentry, at S. Edes , at Biſhoppe Stortforde,at Roſſe.The 9.at Locheſter , at Dunſtable. The 27.day at Lenham. The 29.at Crambroke.

Fayres in Iune.

The 9.day at Maydeſtone.The 11. at Okingham,at Newborowgh,at Marſfield at Holte.The 23.at Shreweſbury,at Saint Albons.The 24.day at Horſham,at Bedel, at Strackſtocke,at ſ.Annes,at Wakefield, at Colcheſter,at Reading, at Bedforde, at Barnewell,at Wollerhampton,at Crambroke, at Glouceſter, at Lincolne, at Peterborowgh,at Windſore,at Harſtone,at Lancaſter,at Weſtcheſter,at Hallifaxe, at Aſhborne. The 27. at Folkeſtone. The 28. at Hetcorne,at S.Pombes.The 29. at Woodhurſt,at Marleborough,at Holleſworth, at Wollerhampton,at Peterſfielde, at Lempſter,at Sudbury,at Gargraunge,at Bromley.

Fayres in Iuly.

The 2. at Congreton , at Aſhton vnder Line.The 11.at Partney,& at Lid. The 15.at Pichbacke.The 17.at Winchecombe. The 20.at Vxbridge,at Cateſby,at Bolton The 22. at Marleborough , at Wincheſter, at Colcheſter,at Tetbury, at Bridgenorth, at Clitherall, at Norwiche in Cheſhire, at Cheſwike,at Battelfielde, at Bikelworth. The 25.at Briſtowe,at Douer,at Chilham, at Darby at Ipſwich , at Northamton , at Dudley in Staffordſhire,at S.Iames beſide London,at Reading, at Louth, at Malmeſbury,at Bromeley,at Chicheſter, at Liuerpole,at Altergain , at Rauenglaſſe in the North.The 27.at Canterbury,at Horſham at Richmonde in the North,at Warington, at Chappell Frith.

Fayres

Fayres in Auguſt.

The firſt day at Exceſter, at Feuerſham at Dunſtable, at S. Edes, at Bedford, at Northam Church, at Wiſbich, at Yorke, at Rumney, at Newton, at Yelande. The x. at Waltham, at Blackemore, at Hungerforde at Bedforde, at Stroydes, at Farnam at Saint Laurence by Bodmin, at Walton, at Croily, at Seddell, at Newe Braineford. The 15. at Dunmow, at Carleile, at Preſtū at Wakefielde ẏ two Lady daies. On Bartholomew day at London, at Beggers buſhe beſide Rye, at Tewkeſbury, at Sudbury, at Rye, at Nantwiche, at Pagets, at Bromly. at Norwiche, at Northalerton, at Douer, at the Sundaye after Bartholomewe daye at Sandbiche. The 27. at Aſhforde.

Fayres in September.

The firſt daye at S. Giles at the Buſhe. On our Lady day, at Wakefielde, at Sturbridge, in Southwarke at London, at Snide, at Recoluer, at Giſbroughe both the Lady daies, at Partneye. The thrée Ladye daies, at Blackborne, at Giſborne in Yorkeſhire, at Chalton, at Utceſter. On Holy Roode day, at Richmonde in Yorkeſhire, at Ripond a horſe faire, at Penhad, at Berſeley, at Waltham Abbay, at Wotten vnder hedge, at Smalding, at Cheſterfield, at Dēbigh in Wales. On Saint Mathies day at Marleborough, at Bedforde, at Croidon, at Holden in Holdernes, at ſaint Edmondſbury, at Malton, at ſaint Iues, at Shreweſbury, at Lanchā, at Witnall, at Sittingborne, at Brainetry, at Katherine hil beſide Gilforde, at Douer, at Caſtric. The 29. day being Michaelmas daye, at Cantorbury, at Lancaſter, at Blackeborne, at Weſtcheſter at Cokermouth, at aſhborne, at Hadley, at Malden at horſe faire, at Way hill, at Newbury, at Leiceſter.

Fayres in October.

The fourth day at Michell. The 6. day at Saint Faithes beſide Norwiche, at Maideſtone. The 8. at Herborough, at Harnorde, at Byſhop Stotforde. On Saint Edwardes day at Roiſton, at Graueſende, at Windſore, at Marſhfield, at Colcheſter. On Saint Lukes daye at Ely, at Wricle, at Upane, at Thirſt, at Bridgenorth, at Stanton, at Charing, at Burton vpon Trent, at Charleton, at Wigan, at Friſwides in Oxforde, at Tiſdale, at Midlewiche, at Holt in Wales. The 21. day at Saffron Walden, at Newemarket, at Hertforde, at Ciceſter, at Stokeſley. The 23. at Preſton, at Bikelſworth, at Ritchdale, at whitechurch. On all Sainctes euen at Wakefielde, at Rithen.

Fayres in Nouember.

The ſecond, at Blechingly, at Kingſtone at Marſfielde. The 6. day, at Newporte ponde, at Stanley, at Tregney, at Salforde, at Lelforde. The 10. at Leuton. The 11. at Marleborough, at Douer. The 13. at Saint Edmondes bury, at Gilforde. The 17. day at Low, at Hide. The 19. at Horſham. On S. Edmondes daye, at Hythe, at Ingerſtone. The 23. day at Sandwiche. On Saint Andrewes day at Colingborough, at Rocheſter, at Peterfield, at Maidenhead, at Bewdley, at Warington in Lancaſhire, at Bedforde in Yorkeſhire, at Oſeſtrie in Wales.

¶ Fayeres in December.

On Saint Nicholas euen at Pluckeley. On Saint Nicholas day, at Spalding, at Exceſter, and Sinocke, at Arnedale, and at Northwiche in Cheſhire. The 7. day at Sandhurſt. The eyght day being the Conception of our Lady, at Clitherall in Lancaſhire, at Malpas in Cheſhire. The 29. day at Canterbury, and at Saliſbury.

¶ How a man may iourney from any notable towne in England, to the Citie of London, or from London to any notable towne in the Realme.

¶ The way from Walſingham to London.

From Walſingham to Pickenam	xij. mile
From Pickenam to Brandonfery	x. mile
From Brandonfery to Newmarket	x. mile
From Newmarket to Babram	x. mile
From Brabram to Barkeway	xx. mile
From Barkeway to Puchrich	vij. mile
From Puchrich to Ware	v. mile
From Ware to Waltham	viij. mile
From Waltham to London	xij. mile

¶ The way from Barwike to Yorke, and ſo to London.

From Barwike to Belforde	xij. mile
From Belforde to Anwike	xij. mile

From

From Anſwike to Morpit	xij.mile
From Morpit to Newcaſtell	xij.mile
From Newcaſtell to Durham	xij.mile
From Durham to Darington	xiij.mile
From Darington to Northalertō	xiiij.mile
From Northalerton to Toplife	vij.mile
From Toplife to Yorke	xvj.mile
From Yorke to Tadcaſter	viij.mile
From Tadcaſter to Wantbridge	xij.mile
From Wentbridge to Dancaſter	viij.mile
From Dancaſter to Tutforde	xviij.mile
From Tudforde to Newarke	x.mile
From Newarke to Grantham	x.mile
From Grantham to Stanforde	xvj.mile
From Stanforde to Stilton	xij.mile
From Stilton to Huntington	ix.mile
From Hunting to Roiſton	xv.mile
From Roiſton to Ware	xij.mile
From Ware to Waltham	viij.mile
From Waltham to London	xij.mile

¶The way from Carnaruan to Cheſter and ſo to London.

FRom Carnaruan to Conway	xxiiij.mile
From Conway to Denbigh	xij.mile
From Denbigh to Flint	xij.mile
From Flint to Cheſter	x.mile
From Cheſter to Wiche	xiiij.mile
From Wiche to Stone	xv.mile
From Stone to Lichfield	xvj.mile
From Lichfielde to Colſill	xij.mile
From Colſill to Couentry	viij.mile

And ſo from Couentry to London, as hereafter followeth.

¶ The waye from Cokermouth to Lancaſter, and ſo to London.

FRom Cokermouth to Kiſwike	vj.mile
From Kiſwike to Grocener	viij.mile
From Grocener to Kendale	xiiij.mile
From Kendale to Burton	vij.mile
From Burton to Lancaſter	viiij.mile
From Lancaſter to Preſton	xx.mile
From Preſton to Wigam	xiiij.mile
From Wigam to Warington	xx.mile
From Warington to Newcaſtell	xx.mile
From Newcaſtell to Lichfield	xx.mile
From Lichfield to Couentrie	xx.mile
From Couentry to Daintrie	xiiij.mile
From Daintrie to Toceſter	x.mile
From Toceſter to Stoniſtratford	vi.mile
From Stoniſtratforde to Brichill	vij.mile
From Brichill to Dunſtable	vij.mile
From Dunſtable to Saint Albons	x.mile
From Saint Albons to Barnet	x.mile
From Barnet to London	x.mile

¶The waye from Yarmouth to Colcheſter, and ſo to London.

FRom Yarmouth to Becclis	viij.mile
From Becclis to Blybour	vij.mile
From Blybour to Snapbrydge	viij.mile
From Snapbridge to Woodbridge	viij.mil
From Woodbridge to Ipſwich	v.mile
From Ipſwich to Colcheſter	xij.mile
From Colcheſter to Caſtforde	viij.mile
From Caſtforde to Chelmeſforde	x.mile
From Chelmeſford to Brentwood	x.mile
From Brentwood to London	xv.mile

The way from Douer to London.

FRom Douer to Cantorbury	xij.mile
From Cātorbury to Sittingborne	xij.m.
From Sittingborne to Rocheſter	viij.mile
From Rocheſter to Grauesende	v.mile
From Grauesende to Datforde	vj.mile
From Datforde to London	xij.mile

The way from Saint Burien in Cornewall to London.

FRom Saint Burien to the Mount	xx.mile
From the Mount to Thury	xij.mile
From Saint Thury to Bodman	xx.mile
From Bodman to Launſtone	xx.mile
From Launſtone to Ocomton	xv.mile
From Ocinton to Crokehornewell	x.mile
From Crokehornewell to Exceſter	x.mile
From Exceſter to Honiton	xij.mile
From Honiton to Chard	x.mile
From Chard to Crokehorne	vij.mile
From Crokehorne to Shirborne	x.mile
From Shirborne to Shafteſbury	x.mile
From Shafteſbury to Saliſbury	xviij.mile
From Saliſbury to Andeuor	xv.mile
From Andeuor to Baſingſtocke	xviij.mile
From Baſingſtocke to Hartford	viij.mile
From Hartford to Bagſhot	viij.mile
From Bagſhot to Stanes	viij.mile
From Stanes to London	xv.mile

The way from Briſtowe to London.

FRom Briſtow to Marfield	v.mile
From Marfield to Chipnam	x.mile
From Chipnam to Marleborough	xv.mile
Frō Marleborough to Hungerford	viij.mile
From Hungerford to Newbury	vij.mile
From Newbury to Reading	xv.mile
From Reading to Maidenhead	x.mile

From

From Maidenhead to Colbroke	vij.mile
From Colbroke to London	xv.mile

The way from Saint Dauids to London.

From Saint Dauids to Arford	xx.mile
From Arforde to Carmarden	x.mile
From Carmarden to Newton	x.mile
From Newton to Lanbury	x.mile
From Lanbury to Brecknocke	xvj.mile
From Brecknocke to Hay	x.mile
From Hay to Harford	xiiij.mile
From Harford to Roso	ix.mile
From Roso to Glocester	xij.mile
From Glocester to Cicester	xv.mile
From Cicester to Farington	xvj.mile
From Farington to Habington	vij.mile
From Habington to Dorchester	vij.mile
From Dorchester to Henlay	xij.mile
From Henlay to Maydenhead	viij.mile
From Maydenhead to Colbroke	vij.mile
From Colbroke to London	xv.mile

¶Of thorowfarres. From Douer to Cambridge.

From Douer to Cantorbury.	12 myle.
From Cantorbury to Rocheſter.	20 mi.
From Rocheſter to Greueſende.	5. mile.
Frō Graueſende ouer Thames, to Hornedon.	4.miles.
From Hornedon to Chelmeſford.	12.mile.
From Chelmeſforde to Dunmow.	10.mile.
From Dunmowe, to Tharſted.	5.miles.
From Tharſted to Radwinter.	3.miles.
From Radwinter to Linton.	5.miles.
From Linton to Babrenham.	3.miles.
From Babrenham to Cambridge.	4.mile.

From Cantorbury to Oxforde.

From Cantorbury to London.	43.mile.
From London to Urbridge or Colbroke.	15.mile.
From Urbridge to Baccansfelde.	7.mile.
From Baccansfeld to eaſt Wickhā.	5.mil.
From Wickham to Stocking church.	5.m.
From Stocking church to Thetiſford.	5.m.
From Thetiſford to Whatley.	6.mile.
From Whatley to Oxforde.	4.mile.

From London to Cambridge.

From London to Edmondton.	6.mile.
From Edmondton to Waltham.	6.mi.
From Waltham to Hoddeſdon.	5.mile
From Hoddeſdon to Ware.	3.mile.
From Ware to Pulcherchurch.	5.mile.
From Pulchurchurch to Barkewaie.	7.mi.
From Barkeway to Fulmere.	6.mile.
From Fulmere to Cambridge.	6.mile.

Or thus better waye.

From London to Hoddeſdon.	17.mile.
From Hoddeſdon to Hadham.	7.mile.
From Hadham to Saffron Walden.	12.mi.
Frō Saffron walden to Cambridge.	10.mi.

¶Of certeine waies in Scotland, out of Regnald Wolfes his Annotations.

From Barwijc to Edenborowe.

From Barwijc to Chirneſide.	10.mile
From Chirneſide to Coldingham.	3.mi.
From Coldingham Pinketon.	6.mile.
From Pinketon to Dunbarre.	6.mile.
From Dunbarre to Linton.	6.mile.
From Linton to Haddington.	6.mile.
From Haddington to Seaton.	4.mile.
From Seaton to Aberlady or Muſkelborow.	8.mile.
From thence to Edenborow	8.mile

From Edenborow to Barwijc another waye.

From Edenborow to Dalketh.	5.mile.
From Dalketh to Newe Battell and Lander.	5.mile.
From Lander to Urſyldon.	6.mile.
From Urſyldon to Dryburg.	5.mile.
From Dryburg to Carpton.	6.mile.
From Carpton to Barwijc.	14.mile.

From Edenborow to Dunbrittaine weſtwarde.

From Edenborow to Kirkelſton.	6.mile.
From Kirkeliſton to Lithco.	6.mile.
Frō Lithco to Farekirke ouer Forth.	6.m.
From thence to Striuelin vpō Forth.	6.mi.
From Striuelin to Dunbrittaine.	24.mi.

From Striuelin to Kinghorne Eaſtwarde.

Frō Striuelin to Downe in menketh.	3.m.
From Downe to Campſkenell.	3.mile
Frō Campſkenel to Alwey vpō forth.	4.m.
From Alwey to Culroſe on Fiffe.	10.mile

From Culroſe to Dunfermelin. 2. mile.
From Dunfermelin to Euerkennin. 2. mi.
Frõ Euerkennin to Aberdore on forth. 3. mi.
Frõ Aberdore to Kinghorne vpon forth. 3. m.

From Kinghorne to Taymouth.

FRom Kincorne to Diſſard in Fiffe. 3. m.
From Diſſarde to Cowper. 8. mile.
From Cowper to S. Andrewes. 14. mile.
From S. Andrewes to the Taymouth. 6. mi.

From Taymouth to Stockeforde.

FRom Taymouth to Balmerinoth Abbay. 4. mile.
From thence to Londores Abbay. 4. mile.
From Londores to ſ. Johns Towne. 12. mi.
From ſ. Johns to Schone 5. mile.
From thence to Abernithy, where ẏ Erne runneth into the Tay. 15. mile.
From Abernithy to Dundée. 15. mile.
From Dundée to Arbroth & Muros. 24. mi.
From Muros to Aberden 20. mile.
Frõ Aberden to the water of Dowey. 20. m.
From thence to the ryuer of Spay. 30. mi.
From thence to Stockeford in Roſſe, and ſo to the Neſſe of Haben, a famous point on the weſt ſide. 30. mile.

From Carleil to Whiteherne weſtwarde.

FRom Carleſl ouer the Ferry againſt Redkyrke. 4 mile.
From thence to Dunfrées. 20. mile.
From Dunfrées to the ferry of Cre. 40. m.
From thence to Wygton. 3. mile.
From thence to Whitherne. 12. mile.

Hitherto of the commõ wayes of England and Scotland, where vnto I will adioyne ẏ old thorowfares aſcribed to Antoninus, to the end ẏ by their confereẽce the diligent reader may haue farder consideratiõ of ẏ ſame then my leyſure wyll permitte me: In ſetting forth alſo thereof, I haue noted ſuch diuerſitie of reading, as hath happened in the ſight of ſuch written and printed copies, as I haue ſéene in time.

Iter Britanniarum.

A GESSORIACO.
de Gallis Ritupis in portu Britanniarum ſtadia numero. CCCCL.

A LIMITE, ID EST A VALLO
Prætorio vſque M. P. CLVI. ſic:

tannia. A Bramenio Corſtopitum. M. P. XX.
Vindomora M. P. VIIII.
Viconia* M. P. XVIIII. *Vinouia Vinouium.*
Cataractoni M. P. XXII.
Iſurium M. P. XXIIII.
Eburacum legio. VI. Victrix M. P. XVII.
Deruentione M. P. VII. Tadcaſter.
Delgouitia M. P. XIII. Wentbridge
Prætorio M. P. XXV. Tudforde.

ITEM A VALLO AD
portum Ritupis M. P. CCCC.
LXXXI. 491. ſic.

Ablato Bulgio* caſtra exploratorum M. P. X. 15. âlias à Blato.
Lugu-vallo* M. P. XII. âlias à Lugu-valio. Cairleſl.
Voreda M. P. XIIII.
Brouonacis* M. P. XIII. *Brauoniacis.*
Verteris M. P. XX. 13.
Lauatris M. P. XIIII.
Cataractone* M. P. XVI. *Catarractonium.*
Iſuriam* M. P. XXIIII. *Iſoriam.*
Eburacum* M. P. XVIII. *Eboracum.*
Calcaria* M. P. VIIII. *Cacaria.*
Camboduno M. P. XX.
Mammuncio* M. P. XVIII. *Manucio.*
Condate M. P. XVIII.
Deua legio. XXIII. CI. M. P. XX.
Bouio* M. P. X. *Bonio.*
Mediolano M. P. XX.
Rutunio M. P. XII.
Vrio Conio* M. P. XI. *Viroconium.*
Vxacona M. P. XI.
Penno-Crucio M. P. XII.
Etoceto M. P. XII.
Mandues Sedo M. P. XVI.
Venonis M. P. XII.
Bennauenta* M. P. XVII. *Banna venta.*
Lactorodo* M. P. XII. *Lactodoro.*
Maginto* M. P. XVII. 12. *Magiouinium.*
Duro-Cobriuis M. P. XII. Dunſtable.
Vero-Lamio M. P. XII. S. Albanes.
Sullomacis* M. P. IX. Barnet.
Longidinio M. P. XII. Londinio. London.
Nouiomago M. P. X.
Vagniacis m. p. xviij.
Durobrouis m. p. ix. *Duroprouis.*
Durolcuo M. p. xvj. 13.
Duror-Verno* m. p. xij. *Drouerno Durouerno.*
Ad portum Ritupis m. p. xij. *Durarueno Daruerno.*

ITEM A LONDINIO
ad portum Dubris M. P. LVI. 66. ſic:

Dubobrus* m. p. xxvij. *Durobrouis Durobriuis.*
Duraruenno m. p. xv. 25.
Ad portum Dubris m. p. xiiij. Douer hauen.

ITEM A LONDINIO AD
portum Lemanis M. P. LXVIII. ſic:

Durobrius m. p. xxvij.
Duraruenno m. p. xv. 25.
Ad portum Lemanis m. p. xvj.

ITEM A LONDINIO
Lugu-Valio ad Vallũ M. P. CCCCXLIII. ſic:

Cæſaromago m. p. xxviij.
Colonia m. p. xxiiij.
Villa Fauſtini m. p. xxxv. 25.
Icianos m. p. xviij.
Camborico m. p. xxxv.
Duroliponte m. p. xxv.
Durobriuas m. p. xxxv.
Gauſennis m. p. xxx.
Lindo m. p. xxvi.
Segeloci. m. p. xiiij.

Dano m. p. xxj.
Lege-Olio* m. p. xvj. *Legetium.*
Eburaco m. p. xxj.
Iſubrigantum* m. p. xvj. *Iſurium Brigantium.*
Cataractoni m. p. xxiiij.
Leuatris* m. p. xviij. *Etuatrix.*
Verteris m. p. xiiij.
Brocouio* m. p. xx. *Brocouicum.*
Lugu-Vallo m. p. xxv. 22.

ITEM A LONDINIO

Lindo M. P. CLVI. ſic:

Verolami m. p. xxj.
Duro Cobrius m. p. xij.
Magiouinio* m. p. xij. *Magintos*
Lactodoro m. p. xvj. *Magis.*
Iſanna Vantia* m. p. xij. *Iſanna vatia.*
Tripontio m. p. xij. *Iſanna varia.*
Venonis m. p. ix.
Ratas m. p. xij.
Verometo m. p. xiij.
Margi-duno m. p. xij.
Ad Pontem* m. p. vij. *Pons Aelij.*
Croco Calana* m. p. vij. *Crocolana.*
Lindo m. p. xij.

ITEM A REGNO

Londinio M. P. CXVI. 96. ſic:

Clauſentum m. p. xx.
Venta Belgarum m. p. x.
Galleua* Atrebatum m. p. xxij. *Gellena.*
Pontibus m. p. xxij. *Callena.*
Londinio m. p. xxij.

ITEM AB EBVRACO.

Londinium m. p. CCXXVIJ ſic:

Lagecio m. p. xxj.
Dano m. p. xvj.
Ageloco* m. p. xxj. *Segoloco.*
Lindo m. p. xiiij.
Crococalano m. p. xiiij.
Margi-duno m. p. xiiij.
Vernemeto* m. p. xij. *Verometo.*
Ratis m. p. xij.
Vennonis m. p. xij.
Bannauanto m. p. xix.
Magio Vinio m. p. xxviij.
Durocobrius m. p. xij.
Verolamo m. p. xii.
Londinio m. p. xxj.

ITEM A VENTA ICINORVM.

Londinio. m. p. cxxviij ſic:

Sitomago m. p. xxxj.
Combretouio* m. p. xxij. *Cumbretonio*
Ad Anſam m. p. xv.
Camoloduno m. p. vj.
Canonio m. p. ix.
Cæſaromago m. p. xij.
Durolito m. p. xvj.
Londinio m. p. xv.

ITEM A GLAMOVENTA

Mediaolano m. p. cl. ſic:

Galaua m. p. xviij
Alone* m. p. xij. *Alauna* Aliona Alione.*

Galacum* m. p. xix. *Galacum Brigantum.*
Bremetonaci m. p. xxvij.
Cocci om. p. xx.
Mancunio* m. p. xviij. *Mammucio vel Mancunio.*
Condato m. p. xviij.
Mediolano m. p. xix.

ITEM A SEGONTIO.

Deuam m. p. lxxiiij ſic:

Canouio m. p. xxiiij.
Varis m. p. xix.
Deua m. p. xxxij.

ITEM A CALEVA *alias* MVRIDONO

alias Viroconiorum. *Per viroconium.*

Vindonu* m. p. xv. *Vindomi.*
Venta Belgarum m. p. xxj.
Brige* m. p. xj. *Brage.*
Soruioduni. m. p. ix.
Vindogladia m. p. xiij. 15.
Durnouaria m. p. viij.
Muriduno m. p. xxxvj.
Scadum Nunniorum* m. p. xv. 12. *Iſcadum.*
Leucaro m. p. xv.
Bomio m. p. xv.
Nido m. p. xv.
Iſcelegua Auguſti* m. p. xiiii. *Iſcelegia.*
Burrio m. p. ix.
Gobannio m. p. xii.
Magnis m. p. xxii.
Brauinio* m. p. xxiiii. *Bronenio.*
Viriconio m. p. xxvii.

ITEM AB ISCA

Calleua m. p. CIX. ſic:

Burrio m. p. ix.
Bleſtio m. p. xi.
Ariconio m. p. xi.
Cleuo m. p. xv.
Durocornouio m. p. xiiii.
Spinis m. p. xv.
Calleua m. p. xv.

ITEM ALIO ITINERE

ab Iſca Calleua m. p. CIII. ſic:

Venta Silurum m. p. ix.
Abone m. p. ix.
Traiectus m. p. ix.
Aquis Solis m. p. vi.
Verlucione m. p. xv.
Cunetione m. p. xx.
Spinis m. p. xv.
Calleua m. p. xv.

ITEM A CALLEVA

Iſcadum Nunniorum m. p. CXXXVI. ſic:

Vindomi m. p. xv.
Venta Belgarum m. p. xxi.
Brige m. p. xi.
Sorbiodoni m. p. viii.
Vindocladia m. p. xii.
Durnonouaria* m. p. viiii. *Durnouaria.*
Moriduno m. p. xxxvi.
Iſcadum Nunniorum m. p. xv.

FINIS.

THE HISTORIE of Englande.

WHAT manner of people did firſt inhabite this our coũtrey which hath moſt generally & of longeſt continuaunce bene knowne among all nations by yͤ name of Britaine, as yet it is not certainly knowne: neither can it be decided from whence the firſt inhabitantes thereof came, by reaſon of ſuch diuerſitie in iudgements as haue riſen amongſt the learned in this behalfe. But ſith the originall in maner of all nations is doubtful, and euen the ſame for the more parte fabulous (that always excepted which we fynde in the holy ſcriptures) I wiſhe not any man to leane to that whiche ſhall be heere ſet downe, as to an infallible truth, ſith I do but only ſhewe other mennes coniectures, grounded neuertheleſſe vppon likely reaſons (concernyng that matter wherof there is now left but little other certayntie, or rather none at all. To fetche therfore the matter from the furtheſt, and ſo to ſtretch it forward, it ſemeth by the report of Dominicus Marius Niger, yͭ in the beginning whẽ God framed the worlde and diuided the waters aparte from the earth, this Iſle was then a parcel of the continent, & ioyned without any ſeparation of ſea to the mayne lande. But this opinion as al other the lyke vncertaynties, I leaue to be decided of the learned: Howbeit for the firſt inhabitation of this Iſle with people, I haue thought good to ſet down in part what may be gathered out of ſuch writers as haue touched that mater, & may ſeem to giue ſome light vnto the knowledge thereof.

The originall of nations for the moſte part vncertain.

VVhether Britayn vvere an Ilande at the fyrſt.

Geogr. comment. lib. 2.

No ylands at the fyrſte, as ſome cõiecture.

Fyrſt therfore Iohn Bale our countreyman, who in his tyme greatly trauayled in the ſearche of ſuche antiquities, dothe probably coniecture, that this lande was inhabited and repleniſhed with people long before the floud at that tyme in the which the generation of mankinde (as Moyſes writeth) began to multiplie vpon the vniuerſall face of the earth: and therefore it followeth, that as well this land was inhabited with people long before the dayes of Noe, as any the other countreys and partes of the worlde beſide.

In the firſt part of the actes of the Engliſhe votaries.

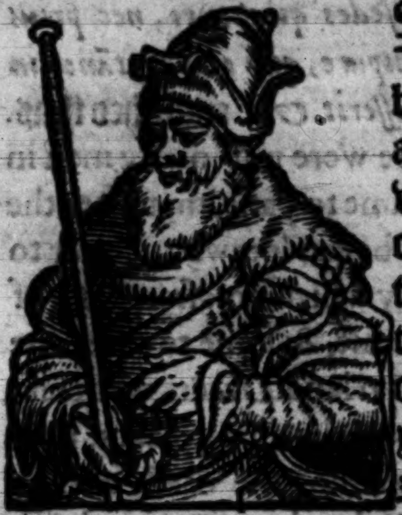
Britayn inhabited before the floud.

Gen. 6.

But when they had once forſakẽ the ordinances appointed them by God, and betaken them to new ways inuented of themſelues, ſuch looſeneſſe of lyfe enſued euery where, as brought vpon them the great deluge & vniuerſall floud, in the whiche periſhed as well the inhabitants of theſe quarters as the reſidue of the race of mankinde generally diſperſed in euery other part of the whole world, ſauing only Noe & his familie, who by the prouidence and pleaſure of almightie God, was preſerued from the rage of thoſe waters, to recontinue and repaire the newe generation of manne vpon the earth.

Beroſus ant. lib. 1.

Noe.

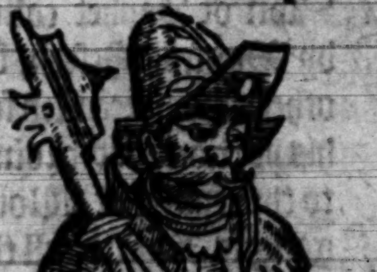


After the floud (as Annius of Viterbo recordeth) & reaſon alſo enforceth, Noe was the only Monark of al the world, and as the ſame Annius gathereth by the accounte of Moyſes in the. 100. yeare after the floud, Noe deuided the earth among his three ſons: aſſigning to the poſſeſſion of his eldeſt ſonne, all that portion of lande, which nowe is knowne by the name of ASIA, and to his ſecond ſonne Cham, he appointed all that part of the world which now is called *Africa*. Vnto his thirde ſonne Iaphet, was allotted all *Europe*, with all the Iles thereto belongyng, wherin among other was conteined this our Iſle of Britayn, with the other yles therto belonging.

In commene. ſuper. 4. lib. Beroſ. de antiquit. li. 2.

Annius vt ſupra.

Iaphet.



This Iaphet third ſon of Noe, who is of ſome called Iapetus, and of other, Atlas Maurus (bycauſe hee departed this life in Mauritania) was the firſte as Bodinus affyrmeth by the authoritie and cõſent of the Hebrue Greke & latin writers) that peopled the coũtreys of Europe, which afterward he deuided among his ſonnes: of the which Tubal (as Tarapha affirmeth) obteined the kingdom of Spain. Gomer had dominion ouer the Italians, and as Beroſus and diuers other authors agree, Samothes was the founder of the kingdom of Celtica, which cõteined in it, (as Bale witneſſeth) a great parte of Europe, but ſpecially thoſe coũtreys, which now are knowne by yͤ names of Gallia & Britannia.

Iohannes Bodinus, ad fac. hiſt. cogn.

Franciſcus Tarapha.

Britayn inhabited ſhortly after the floud.

Theophilus epiſcop. Antiochi. ad Antol. lib.2.

The vvordes of Theophilus a doctor of the churche, vvho liued An. Chriſti.160.

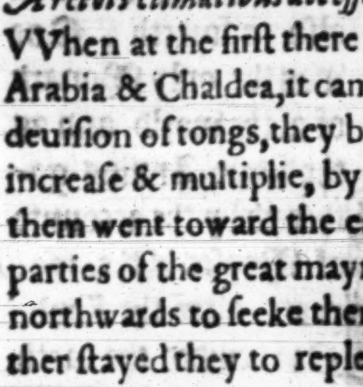
Thus was this Ilande inhabited and peopled within. 200. yeres after the floud by the children of Iaphet the ſonne of Noe: and this is not only proued by Annius, writing vpō Beroſus, but alſo confirmed by Moyſes in the ſcripture, where he writeth, that of the offpring of Iaphet, the yles of the Gentils (wherof Britayn is one) were ſorted into regions in the tyme of Phaleg, the ſon of Hibr, who was born at the tyme of the diuiſion of languages. Herevpon Theophilus hath theſe words: *Cū priſcis temporibus pauci forēt homines, in Arabia & Chaldæa poſt linguarum diuiſionem aucti & multiplicati paulatim ſunt: hinc quidam dam abierunt verſus Orientem, quidam conceſſere ad partes maioris continentis, alij porrò profecti ſunt ad Septentrionem ſedes quæſituri, nec prius deſierunt terrā vbiq; occupare, quā etiā Britānos in Arctois climatibus acceſſerit. &c.* engliſhed thus. VVhen at the firſt there were not many men in Arabia & Chaldea, it came to paſſe, that after the deuiſion of tongs, they began ſomwhat better to increaſe & multiplie, by which occaſion ſome of them went toward the eaſt, & ſome toward the parties of the great mayn land: Diuers went alſo northwards to ſeeke them dwellyng places, neyther ſtayed they to repleniſhe the earth as they went, til they came vnto the yles of Britain, lying vnder the north pole. &c. Hitherto Theophilus.

Theſe things conſidered, Gildas the Briton had great reaſon to think that this countrey had bin inhabited from the beginning: and Polydore Vergil was with no leſſe cōſideration hereby inforced to cōfeſſe that the Ile of Britayne had receiued inhabitauntes forthwith after the floud.

Samothes.

Gen 2.

De migr. gen.



Samothes yͤ 6. begottē ſon of Iaphet called by Moyſes Meſech, by others Dis, receyued for his portion,) according to the reporte of Wolfgangus Lazius, all the countrey lying betwene the riuer of Rheyn ⁊ the Pyrenian mountayns, where hee founded the kingdome of Celtica ouer his people called *Celtæ*. Which name Bale affirmeth to haue bin indifferent to the inhabitants both of the countrey of Gallia, and the Iſle of Britain, and that he planted colonies of mē (broght forth of the eaſt parts) in either of them, fyrſt in the mayne land, ⁊ after in the Iland. He is reported by Beroſus to haue excelled al men of that age in lerning and knowledge: and alſo is thought by Bale to haue imparted the ſame among his people, namely the vnderſtanding of the ſundry courſes of the ſtarres, the order of inferiour things, with many other matters incident to the morall and politike gouernement of mans life: ⁊ to haue deliuered the ſame in the Phenician letters: out of whiche the Grekes (according to the opinion of Archilochus) deuiſed ⁊ deriued the greke charecters, in ſomuche that Xenophon ⁊ Ioſephus do conſtantly report (although Diogenes Laertius be againſt it) that both the Grekes and other nations receyued their letters and lerning firſt from theſe countreys.

Cent.1.

Anti.lib.1.

Bale ſcript. Brit.cent. 1.

Cæſar cōmen. lib. 8.

In epithet. temp.

De æquiuoc

Contra Apionem.

Of this king and his lerning, aroſe a ſect of Philoſophers, ſaith Annius, firſt in Britain, ⁊ after in Gallia, the whiche of his name were called *Samothei*. They, as Ariſtotle ⁊ Secion write, were paſſing ſkilful both in the law of god ⁊ man: and for that cauſe exceedingly giuen to religion, eſpecially the inhabitants of this yle of Britain, in ſo much that the whole nation did not only take the name of thē, but the yland it ſelfe, as Bale ⁊ doctor Cay agree, came to be called *Samothea*, which was the firſte peculiar name that euer it had, and by the which it was eſpecially knowen: before the arriuall of Albion.

li. de Magic. ſucceſſ. lib. 23.

Script. Brit. cent.1.

De ant. Cant. cent. lib. 1.

This Ile called Samothea.

Magus.

Magus yͤ ſon of Samothes, after yͤ deth of his father was the ſecond king of Celtica, by whō (as Beroſus writeth) there were manye townes builded among the Celtes, which by the witneſſe of Annius, dyd bear the addition of their foūder Magus: of which townes diuers are to be found in Ptolomie: and Antoninus a painful ſurueyor of the world ⁊ ſercher of cities, maketh mencion of .4. of them here in Britain, Sitomagus, Neomagus, Niomagus, and Nouiomagus. Neomagus, ſir Thomas Eliot writeth to haue ſtode where the citie of Cheſter nowe ſtandeth: ⁊ Niomagus George Lilly placeth where the towne of Buckinghā is now remaining: beſide this, doth Bale ſo highly comend yͤ forſaid Magus, for his lerning renoumed ouer al the world, yͭ he wold haue yͤ Perſiās ⁊ other nations of the ſouth ⁊ weſt partes, to deriue the name of their diuines called *Magi* from him. In dede Rauiſius Textor ⁊ ſir John Priſe affirme, yͭ in the days of Plinie, the Britons wer ſo expert in arte Magike, yͭ they might be thoght to haue firſte deliuered the ſame to the Perſians. What the name of *Magus* importeth, ⁊ of what profeſſion yͤ *Magi* were, Tulli declareth at large, and Mantuan in brief, after this maner:

Lib.5.

Annius in commen. ſuper eundem Geogr.

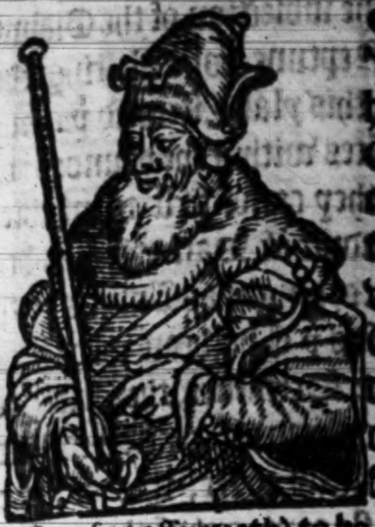
De diui. li.1.

De faſtis li.5.

Ille penes Perſas Magus eſt qui ſidera norit,
Qui ſciat herbarum vires cultumq; deorum,
Perſepoli facit iſta Magos prudentia triplex.
The Perſians terme him Magus, that the courſe of
ſtarres doth knowe,
The power of herbes and worſhip due to god that
man doth ſhowe.
By threefolde knowledge, thus the name of Magus
then doth growe.

H.F.

Sarron.



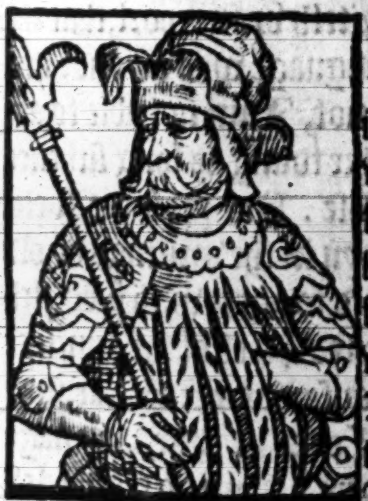
De ant.Cant.
li.1.

SArron the third king of ỹ Celtes, ſucceded hys father Magus in Gouernemente of the countrie of Gallia, and the Iſle Samothea, wherein (as Doctoure Caius writeth) he foũded certain publike places for them that profeſſed learning, whiche (Beroſus affirmeth) to be done to the intente to reſtrayne the wilfull outrage of men, beeing as then but rawe and voyde of all ciuilitie. Alſo it is thought by Annius, that he was the firſte author of thoſe kinde of Philoſophers, which were called *Sarronides*, of whom Diodorus Siculus writeth in this ſort: There are (ſayth he) among the Celtes certain diuines & philoſophers, whom they call *Sarronides*, hauing them of all other in greateſt eſtimation: For it is the maner among them, not without a Philoſopher to make anye ſacrifice: for they are of beleefe, that ſacrifices ought only to be made by ſuche as are ſkilfull in the diuine miſteries, as of thoſe who are neereſt vnto God, by whoſe interceſſion they thinke all good things are to be required of God, and whoſe aduiſe they vſe and followe, as well in warre as in peace.

Bale ſcript.
Brit.cent. 1.

Lib. 6.

Druis.



De morte
Claud.

DRuis, whõ Seneca calleth Drypus, being the ſon of Sarron, was after his father eſtabliſhed the fourthe king of Celtica, indifferentely reignyng as well ouer the Celtes as Britons, or rather (as the inhabitantes of this Iſle were then called) Samothians.

This Prince is cõmended by Beroſus to bee ſo plentifullye endued with wiſedome and lerning, that Annius taketh him to be the vndoubted authour of the beginning and name of the famous ſecte of Philoſophers called *Druides*, whome Ceſar and all other auncient Greeke and Latine writers doe affirme to haue had their beginning in Brytayne, and to haue bin brought from thence into Gallia, in ſo muche that when there aroſe any doubt in that countrey touching any point of their diſcipline, they did repaire to be reſolued therin into Britayne, where, eſpecially in the Iſle of Angleſey, as Humfrey Lhuyd witneſſeth, they made their principal aboade.

Anti.lib.3.
Annius ſuper eundem.

Touching their vſages many things are written by Ariſtotle, Sotion, Plinie, Laertius, Bodinus, and others: which I will gather in brief, and ſet downe as followeth.

De bello Gallico.lib.9.
De bello Gallico. lib.6.

They had (as Ceſar ſayth) the charge of cõmon and priuate ſacrifices, ỹ diſcuſſing of pointes of religion, the bringing vp of youth, the determining of matters in variance, with full power to interdite ſo manye from the ſacrifice of their goodes and the company of men, as diſobeyed their awarde.

Hiſt.an.li.1.

Polidore affirmeth, how they taught ỹ mens ſoules could not dye, but departed from one bodye to an other, and that to the intente to make men valiant and dreadleſſe of death.

De diui. li.1.

Tullie writeth, that partely by tokens, and partely by ſurmiſes, they wold foretell of things to come. And by report of Hector Boetius, ſome of them were not ignorant of the immortalitie of the one and euerlaſting God.

Hiſt. Scoti lib.2.

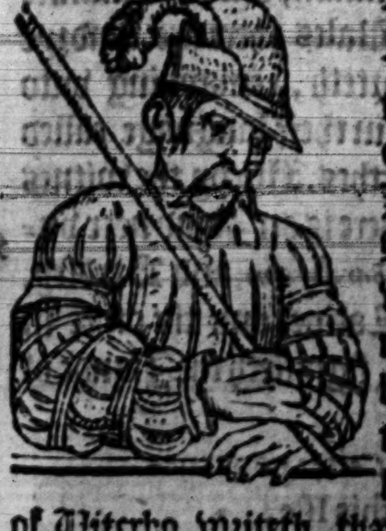
De migr.gen lib.2.
Marcellinus.

All theſe things they had written in the greke toung, in ſo much that Wolfg. Lazius vpon reporte of Marcellinus declareth howe the Greeke letters were firſt brought to Athenes by Timagines from the Druides, and hereupon it cõmeth alſo to paſſe, the Britiſh toung to this daye hath in it remayning ſome ſmacke of the Greke.

Among other abuſes of the Druides, they had (according to Diodorus) one cuſtome to kill men, and by the falling, bleeding, and diſmembring of them to diuine of things to come: for the whiche and other wicked practiſes, their ſecte was firſt condemned for abhominable (as Cor. Tacitus writeth,) and diſſolued in Gallia (as Auentinus witneſſeth) by Tyberius and Claudius the Emperours: and laſtly aboliſhed heere in Britayne, by report of Caius when the goſpel of Chriſt by the preaching of Fugatius and Damianus was receyued among the Britons, vnder Lucius king of Britayne, about the yeare of our ſauiour. 179.

De vita Agricolæ.
Anna.Boiorum lib.22.
De ant.Cant. cent.

Bardus.



Beroſus ant. lib.5.

BArdus ỹ ſon of Druis, ſucceded his father in the kingdome of Celtica, & was the fift K. ouer the Celtes & Samothians, amongſt whome he was highly renoumed (as appereth by Beroſus) for inuention of Dities and muſike, wherein Annius of Viterbo writeth, that hee trayned his people: and of ſuche as excelled in this knowledge he made an order of philoſophicall Poets or He-

Annius in commen. ſuper eundem.

Ant. Cant. li. 1. ſcript. Britan. cent. 1.

raldes, calling them by his owne name *Bardi*. And it ſhuld ſeeme by doctor Caius and maſter Bale, that Ceſar founde ſome of them here at his arriuall in this Iſle, and reported that they had alſo their firſt beginning in the ſame.

Nonnius Marcel.
Strabo.
Diodo. Sicul. lib. 6.
Carol. Stepha. in dict. hiſt.
Bale.
Iohn Priſe.

The profeſſion and vſages of theſe *Bardi*, by Nonnius, Strabo, Diodorus, Stephanus, Bale and ſir Iohn Priſe, are in effecte reported after this ſort. They did vſe to record the noble exploites of the auncient capitaines, and to drawe the pedigrees & genealogies of ſuche as were liuing. They woulde frame pleaſaunt dities and ſongs, learne the ſame by hart, and ſing them to inſtruments at ſolemne feaſtes and aſſemblies of noble men and gentlemen: and were therfore hadde in ſo high eſtimation, that if two hoſtes had bin redy raunged to ioyne in battayle, and that any of thẽ had fortuned to enter among them, both the hoſtes as wel the enimie as the frends would haue holden their handes, giuen eare vnto them, and ceaſſed from fight, vntill theſe Bardes had bene departed out of the battayle. Of the Bardes the Poet Lucan writeth theſe verſes.

Lucan. lib. 1.

Vos quoq; qui fortes animas belloq; peremptas,
Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis æuum,
Plurima ſecuri fudiſtis carmina Bardi.

Whiche are engliſhed thus.

H.F.

And you o Poet Bardes from danger voyde, that dities ſounde,
Of ſoules of dreadleſſe men, whõ rage of battaile would confounde,
And make their laſting praiſe to time of later age redounde.

Iohn Bale ſcript. Britan. cent. 2.
Io. Priſe deſc. hiſt. Brit.
Caius de ant. Cant. lib. 1.
Io. Leland. ſyllab. ant. dict.
Hum. Lluyd de Mona inſula.

Bycauſe the names of theſe Poets were neyther diſcrepant from the ciuilitie of the Romans, nor repugnant to the religion of the Chriſtians, they of all the other ſectes before ſpecified, were ſuffred only to continue vnaboliſhed in all ages, in ſomuch that there flouriſhed of them among the Britains (according to Bale) before the birth of Chriſte, Plenidius and Oronius: after Chriſt (as Priſe recounteth) Saleſtine, & the two Merlins, Melkin, Glaſkirion and others: and of late dayes among the Welchmen, Dauid Die, Iollo Gough, Dauid ap William, with an infinite number more: and in Wales there are ſundrye of them, as Caius reporteth, remayning vnto this day, where they are in their language called (as Leland writeth) Barthes. Alſo by the witnes of Humfrey Lhuyd, there is an Iland neer vnto Wales, called *Inſula Bardorum*, and Bardſey, wherof the one name in Latine, and the other in Saxon or olde Engliſh, ſignifieth the Ilande of the Bardes or Barthes.

The ende of the *Celtes* gouernement in this Iſle.

Bale.

After Bardus, the Celtes (as Bale ſayth) loathing the ſtraite ordinances of their auncient kings, and betaking themſelues to pleaſure and idelneſſe, were in ſhort tyme, and with ſmall labour broughte vnder the ſubiection of the Giaunt Albion, the ſonne of Neptune, who altering the ſtate of things here in this yland, ſtrained ẏ name of Celtica and the Celtes within the boundes of Gallia, from whence they came firſt to inhabite this land vnder the conduct of Samothes, as before ye haue hearde, accordingly as Annius hath gathered out of Beroſus ẏ Chaldean, who therin agreeth alſo with the Scripture, the ſaying of Theophilus the Doctor, and the generall conſent of all writers, whiche fully agree, that the firſte inhabitantes of this Iſle came out of the parties of Gallia, although ſome of them diſagree of the tyme and maner of their comming, Sir Brian Tuke thinking it to be meant of the arriuall of Brute, when he came out of thoſe countreys into this Iſle. Ceſar and Tacitus ſeeme to be of opinion, that thoſe Celtes which firſt inhabited here, came ouer to view ẏ cõtry for trade of merchandiſe. Bodinus wold haue them to come in (a gods name) from Lãguedoc, and ſo to name this land Albion, of a citie in Lãguedoc named Alby. Beda and likewiſe Polidore (who foloweth him) affirme that they came from the coaſts of Armorica, whiche is nowe called little Britayn.

Annius.
Theophilus.
Sir Brian Tuke.
Ceſar.
Tacitus.
Bodinus.
Beda.
Polydore.

Bodinus.
Pauſanias.

But as the authorities afore recited, are ſufficient to proue the tyme, ſo that this Iland was firſt inhabited by the Celtes, the olde poſſeſſours of Gallia, not only the neereneſſe of the regions, but alſo the congruence of the languages, two great argumentes of originals, do fully confirme the ſame. Bodinus writeth vpon report, that the Britiſhe and Celtike language was all one: but whether that be true or not, I am not able to affirme, bicauſe the Celtike toung is long ſithence growne wholly out of vſe. But yet ſome ſuche Celtike wordes as remayn in the writings of old authors may be perceiued to agree with ẏ Welch tong, being the incorrupted ſpeech of the auncient Brytons. In deed Pauſanias the Greeke, maketh mention how the Celtes in their language called a horſe *marc*: and by ẏ name do the Welchmen call a horſe vnto this daye: and the worde *trimarc* in Pauſanias, ſignifyeth in the Celtike toung, three horſes.

Iohn Bale.

Thus it appeareth by authoritie of writers, by ſituation of place, and by affinitie of language, that this yland was firſt found and inhabited by the Celtes, that their name from Samothes to Albion continued heere the ſpace of. 310. yeres or therabouts. And finally it is likely, that aſwel the progenie as the ſpeche of them is partely remaining in thys Iſle among the inhabitantes, and ſpecially the Britiſhe, euen vnto this daye. But nowe to oure purpoſe of Albion his comming into this Iſle.

Albion.

Bale.

Annius Viterbe.

Diodorus Siculus.

NEptunus called by Moyſes (as ſome take it) Nepthuim, the ſixte ſonne of Oſyris, after the account of Annius, and the brother of Hercules, had appoynted to hym, of hys father (as Diodorus writeth) the gouernement of the Ocean ſea: wherefore he furniſhed himſelf of ſundry light ſhips for ẏ more redie paſſage by water, whych in the end grew to the nũber of a ful nauie: & ſo by continual exerciſe he became ſo ſkilful, and therwith ſo mightie vpon the waters, as Higinus and Piſtonius doe write, that he was not onely called the king, but alſo eſteemed the god of the ſeas. He had to wife a Lady called Amphitrita, who was alſo honored as goddeſſe of the ſeas, and on hir he begate ſundry children: And as Bale reporteth, he made euery one of them king of an Iland. And in the Iſle of Britayne he landed his fourth ſon called Albyon the Giant, who brought the ſame vnder his ſubiection. And hereupon it reſteth, that John Textor and Polydore Virgile made mention that light ſhippes were firſt inuented in the Britiſhe ſeas, and that the ſame were couered round with the hyde of beaſts, for defending them from the ſurges and waues of the water.

Pinaces or Galeys.

Higinus.

Piſtonius.

Scrip. Bri. cent. 1.

Iohã Textor.

Polyd. Verg.

This Albion being put by his father in poſſeſſion of this Iſle of Britayne, within ſhorte tyme ſubdued the Samothians, the firſte inhabitauntes therof, without fynding any great reſiſtance, for that as before ye haue hearde, they had giuen ouer the practiſe of all warlyke and other paynfull exerciſes, and through vſe of effeminate pleaſures wherevnto they hadde giuen themſelues ouer, they were become nowe vnapt to withſtande the force of their enimies: and ſo by the teſtimonie of Nicholaus Perottus, Rigmanus Phileſius, Ariſtotle, & Humfrey Lhuyd with diuers other, both forraine and home wryters, this Ilande was firſt called by the name of Albion, hauing at one tyme bothe the name and inhabitauntes changed from the line of Iaphet vnto the accurſed race of Cham.

Nichol. Perottus.

Rigmanus Phileſius.

Ariſtotle.

Hum. Lloyd.

This Albion (that thus chaunged the name of this Iſle) and his company, are called Gyants, which ſignifieth none other thã a tall kind of men, of that vncorrupte ſtature and highneſſe naturally incident to the firſt age (whiche Beroſus alſo ſeemeth to allow, where he writeth, that Noe was one of the Gyantes: and were not ſo called only of their monſtrous greatneſſe, as the common people thinke (although in deede they exceeded the vſuall ſtature of men nowe in theſe dayes,) but alſo for ẏ they toke their name of the ſoyle where they were born: for *Gigantes* ſignifieth the ſons of the earth: the *Aborigines* (or as Ceſar calleth them *Indigenæ*,) that is, borne and bred out of the earth where they inhabited.

Beroſus.

VVhat gigantes ſignifyeth.

This ſome thinke, but verily although that their opinion is not to be allowed in any condition, which imagineth that there ſhould be any *Aborigines*, or other kynde of men than thoſe of Adams lyne, yet that there haue bin menne of farre greater ſtature than are nowe to be founde, is ſufficiently proued by the huge bones of thoſe that haue bin founde in our tyme, or lately before: whereof here to make further relation, it ſhall not neede, ſith in the deſcription of Britain herevnto annexed, ye ſhall fynde it ſufficiently declared.

Againſt the opinion of Aborigines.

But now to our purpoſe. As Albion held Britayn in ſubiection, ſo his brother Bergion kepte Irelande and the Orkeneys vnder his rule and dominion, and hearing that their couſin Hercules Libicus hauing finiſhed his Conqueſtes in Spayn, ment to paſſe through Gallia into Italye, againſt their brother Leſtrigo, that oppreſſed Italy, vnder ſubiection of him and other of his brethren the ſons alſo of Neptune, as well Albion as Bergion, aſſembling their powers togither, paſſed ouer into Gallia, to ſtoppe the paſſage of Hercules, whoſe intention was to vanquiſhe and deſtroy thoſe tyrantes the ſonnes of Neptune and their complices that kepte dyuerſe countreys and regions vnder the paynefull yoke of their heauie thraldome.

Bale.

Bergion brother to Albion.

Hercules Lybicus.

The cauſe that moued Hercules thus to purſue vpon thoſe tyrantes nowe reignyng thus in the world, was for that not long before the greateſt part of them had conſpired together, & ſlayne his father Oſyris, notwithſtanding that they were nephues to the ſame Oſyris, as ſonnes to his brother Neptune, and not contented with his ſlaughter, they deuided hys carcaſſe alſo among them, ſo that eche of them got a peece in token of reioycing at their murderous atchieued enterpriſe.

The cauſe vvhy Hercules purſued his couſins.

For this cauſe Hercules whome Moyſes calleth Laabim, proclaymeth warres agaynſt them al in reuenge of his fathers death: & firſt he killeth Tryphon and Buſyris in Egypt, then Antheus in Mauritania, the Gerions in Spayne, which enterpriſe atchieued, he led his army towards Italy, and by the waye paſſeth through a part of Gallia, where Albion and Bergion hauing vnited theyr powers togither, were ready to receyue him with bataile: and ſo next to the mouth of the riuer called Rhoſne, in latin *Rhodanus*, they met and fought. At the firſt there was a right terrible and cruell conflicte betwixte them: And albeit that Hercules hadde the greateſt number of menne, yet was it verye doubtfull a greate

Pomp. Mela.

whyle to whether parte the glorye of that dayes worke would bend: wherupon when the victorie beganne outrighte to turne vnto Albion, and to his brother Bergion, Hercules perceyuing the daunger and likelyhode of vtter loſſe of that battayle, ſpecially for that his men had waſted their weapons, he cauſed thoſe that ſtood ſtil, and were not otherwyſe occupied, to ſtoupe down, and to gather vp ſtones, wherof in that place there was great plentie, whyche by his commaundemente they beſtowed ſo freely vpon theyr enimies, that in the ende hee obteyned the victorie, and dyd not only put his aduerſaries to flighte, but alſo ſlew Albion there in the fielde, together with his brother Bergion, and the moſte parte of all theyr whole armie.

Hercules diſcomfiteth his enimyes.

Albion is ſlayn

This was the ende of Albion, and his brother Bergion, by the valiant prowes of Hercules, who as one appointed by the prouidence of GOD to ſubdue the cruell and vnmercifull tyrants, ſpent his tyme to the benefite of mankynde, deliuering the oppreſſed from the heauie yoke of myſerable thraldome, in euery place where he came.

And by the order of this battayle wee maye learne whereof the Poets hadde their inuention, when they fayne in their writings, that Jupiter holpe his ſonne Hercules, by throwyng downe ſtones from heauen in this battayle agaynſt Albion and Bergion.

The occaſion of the fable of Iupiters helping his ſonne Hercules.

Moreouer, fro hẽceforth was this Iſle of Britayn called Albion, as (before we haue ſayde) after the name of the ſayde Albion, bicauſe he was eſtabliſhed chief ruler and kyng thereof, bothe by his grandfather Oſyris, and his father Neptune that cunning ſaylour, reigning therein (as Bale ſayth) by the ſpace of .xliiij. yeares, till finally he was ſlayne, in manner afore remembred, by his vncle Hercules Lybicus.

Hovve this Iſle vvas called Albion, of the giaunt Albion.

Bale.

After that Hercules had thus vanquiſhed and deſtroyed his enimies, hee paſſed to and fro thorough Gallia, ſuppreſſing the tyrantes in euerye part where he came, and reſtoring the people vnto a reaſonable kynde of libertie, vnder lawfull gouernours: and as we fynde, he buylded the citie of Alexia in Burgongne nowe called Alize.

Moreouer, by Lilius Giraldus in the lyfe of Hercules it is auouched, that the ſame Hercules came ouer hither into Britayne. And this dothe Giraldus write by warraunt of ſuche Brytons (as ſayth he) haue ſo written themſelues, which thing peraduenture he hath redde in Gildas the auncient Bryton poet: Whiche booke he confeſſeth in the. v. Dialogue of his hiſtories of Poets that he hath ſeen. The ſame thing alſo is confirmed by the name of an head of land in Britayn called *Promontorium Herculis*, as in Ptolomie ye may reade, whiche is thought to take name of his arriual at that place. Thus much for Albion and Hercules.

But nowe where as it is not denyed of anye, that this Iſle was called auncientlly by the name of Albion: yet there be dyuers opinyons how it came by that name: for many doe not allow of this hiſtorie of Albion the Giaunte. But for ſo muche as it appertayneth rather to the deſcription than to the hyſtorie of this Iſle, to rippe vp and lay forth the ſecrete myſteries of ſuch matters: and bicauſe I think that this opinion which is heere auouched howe it tooke that name of the foreſayd Albion, ſonne to Neptune, may be confirmed with as good authoritie, as ſome of the other, I here paſſe ouer the reſte, and thus procede with the hiſtorie.

Dyuers opinions vvhy thys Ile vvas called Albion.

See more hereof in the deſcription.

When Albion chiefe Capitayn of the Gyants was ſlayn, the reſidue that remayned at home in the Iſle, continued without any rule or reſtraint of lawe, in ſo muche that they fell to ſuch a diſſolute order of lyfe, that they ſeemed little or nothing to differ from brute beaſtes: & thoſe are they which our auncient Chronicles call the Giants, who were ſo named, as well of the huge proportion of their ſtature (ſithens as before is ſayd, that age brought forth far greater men than are now liuing) as alſo for that they were the firſte, or at the leaſt the furtheſt in remembrance of any that had inhabited this countrey. For this word *Gigines*, or rather *Gegines*, from whence our word giant (as ſome take it) is deriued, is a greek word, and ſignifieth borne or bred of or in the earth: for our foreelders, ſpecially the Gentiles, being ignorant of the true beginning of mankind, were perſwaded, that the firſt inhabitaunts of any coũtrey were bred out of the earth, and therfore when they could go no higher, reckening the diſcentes of their predeceſſors, they wold name him *Terræ filium*, the ſonne of the earth: and ſo the Giants which the Poets fain to haue ſought to make battayle againſt heauen, are called the ſonnes of the earth: and the firſt inhabitantes generally of euery countrey, wer of the Grekes called *Gigines*, or *Gegines*, and of the Latines *Aborigines*, and *Indigenæ*, that is, people borne of the earth from the beginning, and cõming from no other countrey, but bred within the ſame.

Terræ filius, vvhat it ſignifyeth.

Aborigines. Indigenæ.

And theſe Giaunts and firſt inhabitauntes of thys Iſle, continued in their beaſtly kinde of lyfe vnto the arriuall of the Ladies, whiche ſome of our chronicles ignorantly write to be the daughters of Diocleſian the king of Aſſiria, wheras in dede they haue bene deceiued in taking the worde Danaus to bee ſhort written for Diocleſianus: and by the ſame meanes haue dyuers wordes and names bene miſtaken bothe in our Chronicles and in diuerſe other auncient written workes. But this is a faulte that learned men ſhoulde not ſo muche trouble themſelues about, conſi-

The myſtaking of the name of Diocleſian for Danaus.

Hughe the Italyan.
Hardyng.
Iohn Rous out of Dauid Pencair.

conſidering the ſame hath bin alreadie founde by ſundry authors long ſithence, as Hugh the Italiane, Iohn Harding, and Iohn Rouſe of Warwicke, and others, ſpeciallye by the healpe of Dauid Pencair, a Britiſhe hiſtorien, who recite the Hiſtorie vnder the name of Danaus and his daughters: and bycauſe we would not any man to thinke, that the hiſtorie of theſe daughters of Danaus is onely of purpoſe deuiſed, & brought in place of Diocleſian, to excuſe the imperfection of our writers, whereas there was eyther no ſuch hiſtorie, or at the leaſt no ſuch women that arriued in this Iſle, the authoritie of Nennius a Briton writer may be auouched, who wrote aboue ix.C. yeares paſt, and maketh mencion of the arriuall of ſuche ladies.

Nennius.

Belus, Priſcus.

Dictionarium poeticum.

To bee ſhorte, the Hiſtorie is thus: Belus the ſonne of Epaphus, (or as ſome wryters haue) of Neptune and Libyes, whom Iſis after the death of Apis maried,) hadde iſſue two ſonnes: the firſt Danaus, called alſo Armeus, and Egyptus called alſo Rameſes, and theſe two were kings among the Egyptians. Danaus the elder of the two, hauyng in his rule the vpper region of Egypt, had by ſundry wiues .50. daughters, whiche his brother Aegyptus gaping for the dominion of the whole, did inſtantly deſire, that his ſons being alſo .50. in number, might matche with thoſe fifty ladies.

Danaus.
Ægyptus.

Higinus.

But Danaus hauing knowledge by ſome prophecie or oracle, that a ſonne in law of his ſhoulde be his death, refuſed ſo to beſtowe his daughters.

Herevpon grew warre betwixt the brethrē, in the end wherof, Danaus being the weaker, was inforced to flee his countrey, whervpon he prepared a nauie, imbarqued himſelfe & his daughters, and with them paſſed ouer into Greece, where he found meanes to diſpoſſeſſe Gelenor (ſonne to Stenelas king of Argos,) of his rightfull inheritance, driuing him oute of his countreye, and reigned in his place by the aſſiſtance of the Argiues themſelues, that had conceyued an hatred towardes Gelenor, and a great likyng towardes Danaus, who in very deede did ſo farre excell the kings that had reigned there before hym, that the Greekes in remembraunce of hym, were after called Danai.

But his brother Aegyptus, taking greate diſdayne for that hee and his ſonnes were in ſuche ſorte deſpiſed of Danaus, ſente his ſons with a greate armie to make warre on their Vncle, giuing them in charge not to returne tyll they had eyther ſlayne Danaus, or obteyned his daughters in mariage.

The yong Gentlemen according to their fathers commaundemente, beeing arriued in Greece, made ſuch warre agaynſte Danaus, that in the ende he was conſtrayned to gyue vnto thoſe his fifty nephues his .50. daughters, to ioyn with them in mariage, & ſo acordingly maried they were: but as the prouerb ſayth, In truſt appeared treacherie: for the firſt night of the mariage, Danaus deliuered to eche of his daughters a ſworde, charging them that when their huſbands after their banquets and paſtimes were once brought into a ſound ſlepe, eche of them ſhould ſlea hir huſband, menacing them with death vnleſſe they fulfilled his commaundement. They all therfore obey the will of their father, Hypermneſtra onely excepted, with whom preuayled more the loue of kinred and wedlock, than the feare of hir fathers diſpleaſure: for ſhee alone ſpared the lyfe of hir huſbande Lynceus, wakening him out of his ſleepe, and warning hym to departe and flee into Egypt to his father. He therfore hauing all the wicked practiſe reuealed to hym by his wyfe, followed hir aduiſe, and ſo eſcaped.

Pauſanias.

But when Danaus perceiued howe all his daughters had accompliſhed his cōmaundemēt ſauing onely Hypermneſtra, he cauſed hir to be brought forth into iudgemēt for diſobeying him in a matter wherin both the ſafetie & loſſe of his life reſted: but ſhe was acquit by the Argiues, and diſcharged: howbeit hir father kept hir in priſon, and ſeeking to fynde oute other huſbandes for his other daughters that hadde obeyed his pleaſure in ſleaing their firſte huſbandes, long it was ere he coulde fynde any to matche with them: for the heynous offence committed in the ſlaughter of their late huſbandes, was yet ſo freſhe in memorie, and their bloud not wiped out of mynde.

But yet neuertheleſſe to bring his purpoſe the better to paſſe, he made proclamation that his daughters ſhould demaunde no ioynters, and euery ſuter ſhuld take his choyce without reſpect to the age of the ladie, or abilitie of him that came to make his choyce, but ſo as fyrſte come, beſte ſerued, according to their owne phantaſies and likings. But when this policie alſo fayled, and would not ſerue his turne, he deuiſed a game of running, ordeining therwith, that who ſoeuer got the beſt price ſhould haue the firſt choyce among all the ſiſters, and he that got the ſecond, ſhuld chooſe next to the fyrſt, and ſo forth eche one after an other, accordyng to the tryall of their ſwyftneſſe of foote.

How muche this practiſe auayled, I knowe not: but certain it is, diuers of them were beſtowed either by this means, or by ſome other: for we finde that Autonomes was maried to

Architeles Chryſantas, or (as Pauſanias hath) Scea was matched with Archandrus, Amenome with Neptunus Equeſtris, on whome he begate Nauplius.

Higinus.

But nowe to returne vnto Lynceus, whome his wyfe Hipermneſtra preſerued, (as before ye haue herd) after he was once got out of the reach and daunger of his father in law king Danaus, he gaue knowledge therof to his wyfe, in rayſing a fyre on heyghte beaconwyſe, accordingly as ſhee hadde requeſted him to doe at hys departure from hir: and this was at a place which afterwardes tooke name of him, and was called Lyncea.

Pauſanias.

Upon his returne into Egypt, he gaue his father to vnderſtande the whole circumſtaunce of the trecherous crueltie vſed by his vncle and hys daughters in the murder of his brethren, and how hardly he himſelfe hadde eſcaped death out of hys vncles handes. Wherevpon at tyme conuenient he was furniſhed forth with men and ſhippes by his father for the ſpeedie reuenge of that heynous vnnaturall and moſte diſloyall murder, in which enterpriſe he ſped him forth with ſuch diligence, that in ſhorte tyme he found meanes to diſpatch hys vncle Danaus, ſet his wyfe Hypermneſtra at libertie, and brought the whole kingdome of the Argiues vnder his ſubiection.

This don, he cauſed the daughters of Danaus (ſo many as remayned within the limittes of his dominion) to be ſent for, whome he thought not worthie to lyue, bycauſe of the cruell murther which they had committed on his brethren: but yet for that they were his wiues ſiſters, he would not put them to death, but commaunded them to be thruſt into a ſhippe, without maiſter, mate or mariner, & ſo to be turned into the mayn ocean ſea, and to take and abyde ſuch fortune as ſhould chance vnto them, thinking the worſt that might befall on them, coulde bee no worſſe than they had deſerued.

Hardyng.
Iohn Rous' out of Dauid Pencair.

These Ladies thus imbarqued and left to the mercie of the raging ſeas, at length by hap were brought to yͤ coaſts of this yle then called Albiõ, where they took land, & in ſeeking to prouide thẽſelues of victuals by purſuite of wylde beaſts, met with no other inhabitantes than the rude and ſauage giauntes, of whome before we haue made mencion, which our hiſtoricians for their beaſtly kynde of lyfe, doe call Deuilles: And with theſe monſters theſe ladies finding none other to ſatiſfye the motions of their ſenſuall luſte, ioyned in the act of generation, and ingendred a race of people in proportion nothing differing from their fathers that begote them, nor in conditions from their mothers that bare them.

But now peraduenture ye will thinke that I haue forgotten my ſelfe in reherſing this hiſtorie of the Ladies arriuall here, bycauſe I make no mencion of Albina, whiche ſhold be the eldeſt of the ſiſters, of whome this lande ſhoulde alſo take the name of Albion.

To this we anſwer, that as the name of their father hathe bene miſtaken, ſo lykewyſe hath the whole courſe of the hiſtorie in this behalfe: for althoughe we ſhall admit that to be true whiche is reherſid (in maner as before ye haue heard) of the arriuall heere of thoſe ladies, yet certain it is that none of them bare the name of Albina, from whom this land might be called Albion. For further aſſurãce wherof, if any mã be deſirous to knowe all their names, we haue thoughte good here to reherſe thẽ as they be founde in Higinius, Pauſanias, & others. 1. Idea. 2. Philomela. 3. Scillo. 4. Phicomene. 5. Evippe. 6 Demoditas 7. Hyale. 8. Trite. 9. Damone. 10. Hippothoe. 11. Mirmidone. 12. Euridice. 3. Cleo. 14. Arania. 15. Cleopatra. 16. Phylea. 17. Hyppareta. 18. Chriſothemis. 19. Piranta. 20. Armoaſte. 21. Danaes, 22. Scean. 23. Glaucippe. 24. Demophile. 25. Autodice. 26. Polixena. 27 Hecabe. 28. Achamantis, 29. Arſalte. 30 Monuſte 31. Amimone. 32. Helice, 33. Amaome 34. Polibe. 35. Heliſte. 36. Electra 37. Eubule. 38. Daphildice. 39. Hero. 40. Europome. 41. Critomedia. 42. Pyrene. 43. Eupheno. 44. Themiſtagora. 45. Paleno. 46. Erate. 47. Autonomes. 48. Itea. 49. Chryſanta. 50. Hypermneſtra.

Higinus.
The names of the daughters of Danaus.

These were the names of thoſe Ladies, the daughters of Danaus: howbeeit, whiche they were that ſhoulde arriue in this Iſle, we can not ſay. But it ſuffiſeth to vnderſtande, that none of them hight Albina, ſo that whether the hiſtorie of their landing heere ſhoulde be true or not, it is all one, for the matter concerning the name of this Iſle, which vndoubtedly was called Albion, eyther of Albion the giaunt (as before I haue ſayd) or by ſome other occaſion.

See more in the Diſcripti

And thus much for the Ladies, whoſe ſtrange aduenture of their arriual here, as it may ſeme to manie, and with good cauſe incredible, ſo without further auouching it for a truthe, I leaue it to the conſideration of the reader to thinke therof as reſon ſhal moue him, ſith I ſee not how either in this, or in other things of ſuche antiquitie we can haue any ſufficient warrant otherwyſe than by lykely coniectures. Whiche as in this hiſtorie of the ladies they are not moſt probable, yet haue we ſhewed the likelyeſt, yͭ (as we think) may be demed to agree with thoſe authors yͭ haue writ of their comming into this yle. But as for an aſſured proofe that this Iſle was inhabited with people before the commyng of Brute, I truſte it may ſuffiſe whiche before is recited out of Annio de Viterbo, Theophilus, Gildas, and other, although muche more might be ſayd: As of the

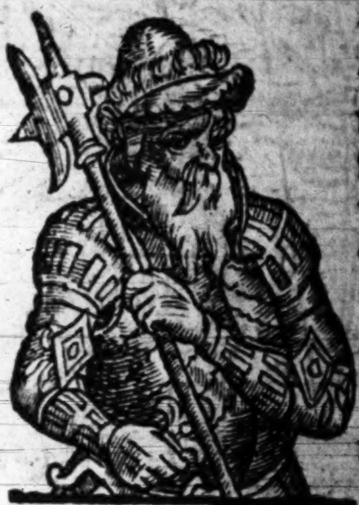
comliſſes in Bri- yne.

commyng hyther of Oſyris, as wel as into the other parties of yͤ world: And likewyſe of Vlyſſes his being here, who in performing ſome vow whiche he eyther then did make, or before hadde made, erected an Altar in that parte of Scotland which was auncientlye called Calidonia, as Iulius Solinus Polihiſtor in playne wordes doth recorde.

lius Solinus.

So that vpon theſe conſiderations I haue no doubt to deliuer vnto the Reader, the opinion of thoſe that thinke this lande to haue bin inhabited before the arriuall here of Brute, truſting it may be taken in good parte, ſith wee haue but ſhewed the coniectures of others, till time that ſome ſufficient learned man ſhall take vpon him to decipher the doubtes of all theſe matters.

BRVTE.



HItherto haue wee ſpoken of them that inhabited this land before the commyng of Brute, although ſome will needs haue it, that he was the firſte which inhabited yͤ ſame with his people, deſcended of the Troyās, ſome fewe Giaunts onely excepted whome hee vtterly deſtroyed, and lefte not one of them alyue through the whole Iſle. But as wee ſhall not doubte of Brutes hyther comming, ſo maye wee aſſuredly thinke, that he found the Iſle peopled either with the generation of thoſe, whiche Albion the Giaunt had placed here, or ſome other kynde of people, whom he did ſubdue, and ſo reigned as well ouer them, as ouer thoſe whiche he brought with him.

frey Lhuyd

This Brute(as the author of the Book(which Geffrey of Monmouth tranſlated) doth affirme, was the ſonne of Siluius, the ſonne of Aſcanius that was ſonne of Aeneas the Troian, begotten of his wyfe Creuſa, and borne in Troye, before the Citie was deſtroyed.

rding.
lexan. Neuyl.
V. Har.

But as other doe take it, the Author of that booke (whatſoeuer he was) and ſuch other as followe him, are deceyued only in this poynt, myſtaking the matter in that Poſthumus the ſonne of Aeneas(begot of his wyfe Lauinia, and borne after his fathers deceaſſe in Italy) was called Aſcanius, who had iſſue a ſonne named Iulius, the whiche(as theſe other doe coniecture) was the father of Brute, that noble chieftain and aduenturous leader of thoſe people, which being deſcended (for the more parte in the fourth generation) from thoſe Troians that eſcaped with lyfe, when that royall Citie was deſtroyed by the Grekes, got poſſeſſion of this worthie and moſt famous Iſle.

Nennius Banchorenſis.

To this opinion Giouan Villani, a Florentine in his vniuerſal hiſtorie ſpeaking of Aeneas and his ofſpring kings in Italy, ſeemeth to agree, where he hathe theſe wordes: Siluius (the ſonne of Aeneas by his wife Lauinia) fell in loue with a neece of his mother the ſame Lauinia, and by hir had a ſonne, of whom ſhe dyed in trauayle, and therfore he was called Brutus, who after as he grewe in ſome ſtature, and huntyng in a foreſt ſlew his father at vnwares, and thervpon for fear of his grādfather Siluius Poſthumus he fled the countrey, and with a retinue of ſuche as followed him, paſſyng throughe diuers ſeas, at lengthe hee arriued in the Iſle of Britayne.

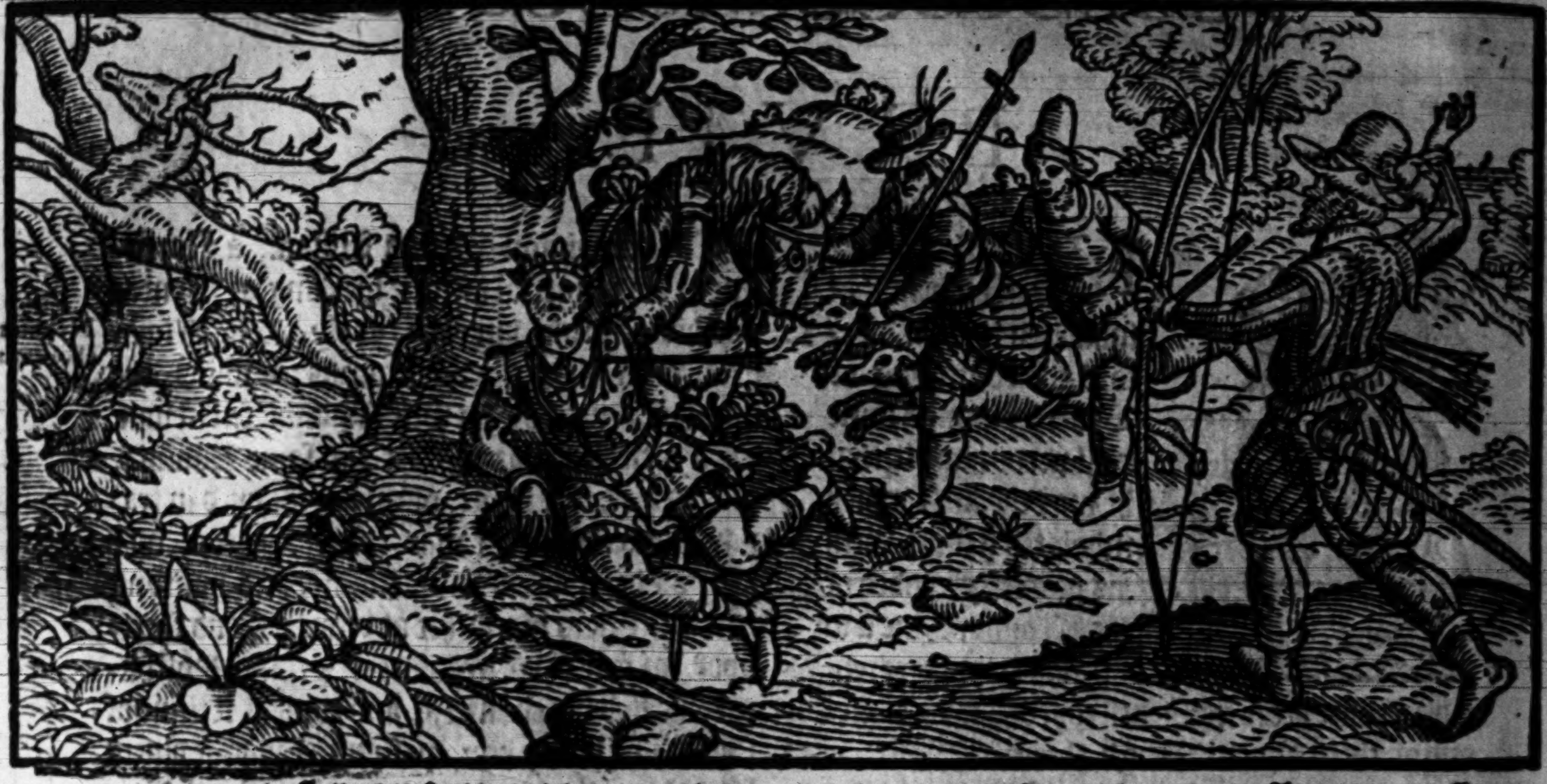
Theuet, Bodinus, and other.

But now wheras by reaſon of the vncertayntie in the Roman authors themſelues, touching the lyne of Aeneas, ſome forein writers haue either with ſlender argumente, or elſe verie arrogantly without any grounded reſon ſhewed, taken vpon them to denye that there was any ſuch Italyan Brutus, lineally cōming from Aeneas the Troian, of whom the race of the Britiſh nation that poſſeſſed this Iſle ſhould procede: yet bycauſe the argumente of the one ſorte of thoſe that ſo write, is found inſufficient to the lerned, and the arrogancie of the other being void of reaſon, is ſmally to be regarded; and ſeing that neither the one nor the other of theſe our aduerſaries can as yet fynd out any other, either by parents, tyme, place or name, that ſhoulde in ſuche wyſe conquer, ſubdue and gouerne this noble Iſle, but only our Brutus or Brytus. For this letter(y) hath had of auncient tyme bothe thoſe ſoundes, as of V, and of I.

And ſith alſo we haue on oure ſyde, as many or rather more, and of as good credite (if we ſhall ſpeake generally,) beyng likewyſe forreyne wryters, which affirme and vndoubtedly auouch the regall ſtate of the foreſayde Brutus, as the ſole ruler, monarche and gouernour therof: Seyng

I ſay, the caſe ſtandeth in ſuch termes, I doubt not but myne opinion wil be deemed allowable, wherein I folow the receyued opinion of moſt writers, and eſteemed the lykelyeſt ſundry ways to the carefull ſerchers and ſkilfull examiners of the antiquities of this triumphant Iland. Truſting yͭ this poynt with ſundry other concerning the hiſtorie of this our great Britayn, either vntruly or imperfectly recorded, or vtterly in maner vnknowne, ſhall in due tyme be brought to a neerer perfection and more apparant euidencie of trouth by ſome diſcreete and experte Gentleman, being of the auncient Brittiſhe nobilitie lyneally deſcended, as alſo very ſtudious of ſo worthy verities.

Concerning therfore our Brute, whether his father Iulius was ſonne to Aſcanius, the ſonne of Aeneas by his wyfe Creuſa, or ſonne to Poſthumus, called alſo Aſcanius, and ſonne to Aeneas by his wyfe Lauinia, wee will not further ſtande. But this we fynde, that when he came to the age of .xv. yeares, ſo that he was now able to ride abrode with his father into the foreſts and chaſes, he fortuned eyther by miſhap, or by gods prouidence, to ſtrike his father with an arrowe, in ſhooting at a deere, of whiche wounde he alſo dyed. His grandfather (whether the ſame was Poſthumus, or his elder brother) hearing of this greate miſaduenture that had chaunced to his ſonne Syluius, liued not long after, but deceaſſed of very griefe and ſorrow (as is to be ſuppoſed) which he conceyued therof. And the young gentleman immediatly after he had ſlayn his father (in maner before alledged) was baniſhed hys countrey, and therevppon got him into Grecia, where traueling in yͤ coũtrey, he lighted by chãce among ſome of the Troyan offſpring, and aſſociating himſelfe with them grewe by meanes of the lignage (wherof he was deſcended) in proces of tyme, into greate reputation among them: chiefly by reaſon there were yet dyuers of the Troiane race, and that of greate authoritie in that countrey. For Pirrhus the ſonne of Achilles, hauing no iſſue by his wyfe Hermione, maried Andromache, late wyfe vnto Hector: and by hir had three ſonnes, Moloſſus, Pielus, and Pergamus, that in their time grew to be of great power in thoſe places and countreys, and ſo their offſpring likewiſe: Whereby Brutus or Brytus wanted no frendſhip. For euen at his firſte comming thither, diuers of the Troyans that were remayning in ſeruitude, being deſirous of libertie, by heapes reſorted vnto hym. And amongeſt other, Aſſaracus was one, whom Brute entertayned, receyuing at his handes the poſſeſſion of ſundry fortes & places of defence, before that the king of thoſe parties could haue vnderſtanding or knowledge of any ſuch thing. Herewith alſo ſuche as were redie to make the aduenture with him, repaired to him on eche ſide, wherevpon he firſte placed garniſons in thoſe townes whiche had bene thus deliuered vnto him, and afterwardes with Aſſaracus and the reſidue of the multitude, he withdrewe into the mountaynes neere adioyning. And thus beeing made ſtrong wyth ſuche aſſiſtance, vpon conſultation hadde wyth them that were of moſte authoritie about hym, wrote vnto the Kyng of that countreye called Pandraſus, in fourme as followeth.



Brute kylleth his father by misfortune.

Pauſanias.

The Letter of Brute to Pandraſus, as I fynd it ſette downe in Gelfride Monunetenſis.

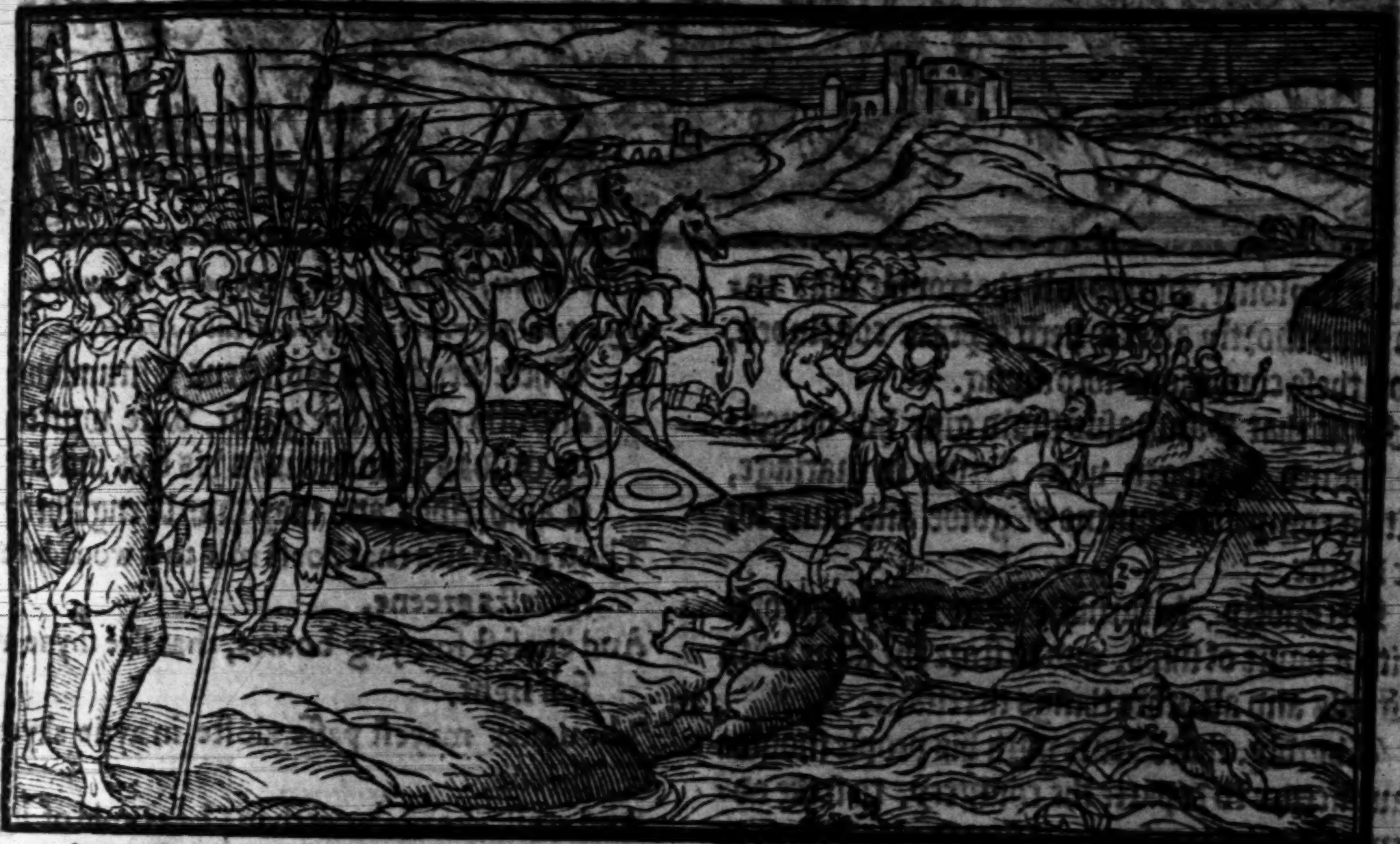
BRute leader of the remnant of the Troyane people, to Pandraſus king of the Grekes, ſendeth greeting: Bicauſe it hath bin thought a thing vnworthie, that the people diſcended of the noble linage of Dardanus, to be otherwiſe delte with than the honoure of their Nobilitie doth dothe require: They haue withdrawne themſelues within the cloſe couerte of the woddes: For they haue choſen rather (after the manner of wylde beaſtes) to lyue on fleſhe and herbes in libertie, than furniſhed with all the riches in the worlde to continue vnder the yoake of ſeruyle thraldome. But if thys theyr doyng offende thy mightye highneſſe, they are not to bee blamed, but rather in this behalfe to bee pardoned, ſith euery captiue priſoner is deſirous to bee reſtored vnto hys former eſtate and dignitie. You therfore pitying their caſe, vouchſafe to graunte them their abridged lybertie, and ſuffer them to remayne in quiet within theſe woddes whiche they haue gotte into their poſſeſſion: If not ſo, yet gyue them lycence to departe forthe of thys Countreye into ſome other partyes.

The ſight of theſe letters and requeſt in them cōteyned made Pandraſus at the firſt ſomewhat amazed, Howbeit aduiſing further of the matter, and conſideryng their ſmall number, he made no greate accompt of them, but determined out of hande to ſuppreſſe them by force, before they ſhoulde growe to a greater multitude.

Pandraſus prepareth an army to ſuppreſſe the Troian ofſpring.

Sparatinum.

And to bring his intention the better to paſſe, he leuyed hys power, and made towardes them. But as he paſſed by a towne called Sparatinū, marching towardes the woods within the which he thought to haue founde his enimyes, he was



ſodenly aſſailed by Brute, who with three thouſande men was come forth of the woods, and fiercely ſetting vpon his enimies, made greate ſlaughter of them, ſo that they were vtterly diſcomfited, and ſoughte by flyghte to ſaue themſelues in paſſing a ryuer there at hande called Akalon.

…tenture
…cious.

Brute with his men followyng faſt vpon the aduerſaries, cauſed them to plunge into the water at aduenture, ſo that manye of them were drowned. Antigonus yet the brother of kyng Pandraſus didde what hee coulde to ſtaye the Grecians from fleeing, called them back agayn, and getting ſome of them togither, placed them in order, and began a newe fielde: but it nothing auayled, for the Troyans preaſing vpon hym, tooke him priſoner, ſlewe and ſcattered his companie, and ceaſſed not tyll they had rid the fields of all their aduerſaries.

…gonus, the
…r of Pā-
…ner.

…aken
…ons

This doon, Brute entring ẏ towne, furniſhed it with ſixe hundred able ſouldiours, and afterwardes went backe to the reſidue of his people that were incamped in the woddes, where he was receyued with vnſpeakeable ioye for this proſperous atchieued enterpriſe. But althoughe this euil ſucceſſe at the firſt beginning, ſore troubled Pandraſus, as well for the loſſe of the field, as for the taking of his brother, yet was he rather kyndeled in deſyre to ſeeke reuenge, than otherwyſe diſcouraged. And therfore aſſemblyng his people agayne togyther that were ſcattered here and there, he came the nexte day before the towne of Sparatinum, wherein he thoughte to haue founde Brute encloſed togyther with the priſoners, and therfore he ſhewed his whole endeuer by harde ſiege and fierce aſſaultes to force them within to yelde.

…te enreth
…Sparatinū.

To concluſe, ſo long he did continue the ſiege, till victuals began to ware ſcant within, ſo that there was no way but to yeld, if preſent ſuccour came not to remoue the ſiege: wherevpon they ſignifyed their neceſſitie vnto Brute, who for that he had not power ſufficient to fight with the enimies in open field, he ment to giue thē a camiſado in the nyght ſeaſon, & ſo ordered his buſineſſe, that enforcing a pryſoner named Anacletus, whiche he had taken in the laſt battayle, to ſerue his turne, by conſtraynyng him to take an othe whiche he durſte not for conſcience ſake breake) he found meanes to encounter with his enimies vpon the aduauntage, that he did not onely ouerthrowe theyr whole power, but alſo tooke Pan-

draſus pryſoner, wherby all the trouble was ended: and ſhortly after a perfect peace concluded, vpon theſe conditions folowyng.

Pandraſus take priſoner.

Fyrſt that Pandraſus ſhuld giue his daughter named Innogen vnto Brute in mariage, with a competent ſumme of golde and ſiluer for hir dower.

The conditions of the agreement betvvixte Brute and Pandraſus.

Secondely, to furniſhe hym and his people with a nauie of ſhips, and to ſtore the ſame with vitualls and all other things neceſſarie.

Thyrdly, that Brute with his people ſhoulde haue licence to departe the countrey, to ſeeke aduentures whether ſo euer it ſhould pleaſe them to direct their courſe, without let, impeachement or trouble to bee offered any wayes forthe by the Greekes.

To all theſe conditions bycauſe they touched not the prerogatiue of his kingdom) Pandraſus did willingly agree, & lykewyſe perfourme, ſo that all things being once put in a redyneſſe, and the wynde ſeruyng their purpoſe, Brute with hys wyfe Innugen and his people imbarqued, and plucking vp ſayles departed from the coaſtes of Grecia: and after two dayes and a nyghtes saylyng, they arriued at Leogitia, (in ſome olde written bookes of the Brytiſhe hyſtorie, noted downe Legetia) an Iland, where they conſulted with an Oracle. Brute himſelf kneeling before the Idole, and holding in his right hande a boll prepared for ſacrifice ful of wyne, and the bloud of a whyte hynde, ſpake in this maner as here foloweth:

Diua potens nemorum, terror ſylueſtribus apris,
Cui licet anfractus ire per æthereos
Infernaſq; domos, terreſtria iura reſolue,
Et dic quas terras nos habitare velis:
Dic certam ſedem qua te venerabor in æuum,
Qua tibi virgineis templa dicabo choris.

Theſe verſes as Ponticus Virunnius and others alſo doe gueſſe, were written by Gildas Cambrius in his book intitled Cambreidos, and may thus be engliſhed.

Thou goddeſſe that doeſt rule the woodde and forreſts greene,
And chaſeſt fomyng boares, that flee thyne awfull ſight,
Thou that mayeſt paſſe alofte in ayrie skyes ſo ſheene,
And walk eke vnder erth in places void of light,
Diſcouer earthly ſtates, direct our courſe aright,
And ſhewe where wee ſhall dwell, accordyng to thy will,
In ſeates of ſure abode, where temples we maye dight,
For virgins that ſhal ſounde thy laude with voices ſhrill.

After this prayer and obſeruances done accordyng to the Pagane rite and cuſtom, Brute abiding for anſwere, fell a ſleepe: in tyme of which ſleepe appeared to hym the ſayde goddeſſe, vttering an aunſwere, as in theſe Verſes followyng is expreſſed.

Brute, ſub occaſum Solis trans Gallica regna,
Inſula in Oceano eſt, vndiq; clauſa mari,
Inſula in oceano eſt, habitata gigantibus olim,
Nunc deſerta quidem, gentibus apta tuis:
Hanc pete, namq; tibi ſedes erit illa perennis,
Hic fiet natis altera Troia tuis:
Hic de prole tua reges naſcentur & ipſis,
Totius terræ ſubditus orbis erit.

Whiche are thus Engliſhed.

Brute farre by weaſt beyonde the Galike lande is founde,

An yle whiche with the Ocean ſeas encloſed is a
 boute,
VVhere Giants dwelt ſometyme, but now is de-
 ſarte grounde,
Moſt meet where thou mayſt plant thy ſelf with
 all thy route:
Make thitherwardes with ſpeede, for there thou
 ſhalt fynde out
An euer during ſeate, and Troy ſhall riſe anewe
Vnto thy race, of whome ſhall kings bee borne
 no doubt,
That with their mightie power, the worlde ſhall
 whole ſubdue.

After that he was awakened out of his ſleepe and had called his dreame to remembrāce, he firſt doubted whether it were a very dreame or a true viſion, the goddeſſe hauyng ſpoken to hym with lyuely voyce. Whervpon callyng ſuche of hys companie vnto hym as he thoughte requiſite in ſuche a caſe, hee declared vnto them the whole matter with the circumſtaunces, whereat they greatly reioycing, cauſed mightie bonfyres to be made, in the whiche they caſte wyne, milke, and other licours, with dyuers gummes and ſpyces of moſte ſweete ſmell and odour, as in the Pagan religion was accuſtomed: whiche obſeruaunces and ceremonies being once performed & brought to ende, they returned ſtreighte wayes to their ſhippes, and as ſoone as the wynde ſerued, they paſſed forward on their iourney with great ioye and gladneſſe, as men put in comforte to fynde out the wiſhed ſeates for their firme and ſure habitations. From hence therfore they caſt about, and making weſtwarde, they firſt arriue in Africa, and after keeping on their courſe, they paſſed the ſtraites of Gibralterra, and coaſting alongſt the ſhore on the right hande, they founde another companye that were lykewyſe deſcended of the Troiane progenie, on the coaſts nere where the Pyrenine hilles ſhoote downe to the ſea, whereof the ſame ſea by good reaſon was named in thoſe days *Mare Pyrenæum*, although hitherto by fault of Writers and copiers of the Britiſhe hiſtorie receiued, in this place *Mare Tyrhenū* was ſlightly put downe in ſtede of *Pyrenæum*.

…te with his
…panie lan-
…h in Afrike.

…e myſtaking
…thoſe that
…e copied the
…ttiſhe hiſtory
…ing Mare
…rrhenum,
…Pyrenæum.

I knowe right well that ſome will condemne me of lacke of vnderſtanding the names whiche the later writers Greekes or Latiniſtes haue giuen vnto our known ſeas: for ẏ we reade not in any autentike author, that thoſe ſeas next and againſt the Pyrenine mountaynes, haue bin cal- *Mare Pyrenæum*. But verily the courſe of the hiſtorie doth moue me to thinke aſſuredly, that the author of Geffrey Monmouths booke, ment in that place the ſeas neere to the coaſt, wherevnto the Pyrenine hilles do ioyn. For what reaſon is it, that after the Troians were paſſed the pyllers of Hercules, that ſtande on eyther ſides the ſtrait of Marrocke or Gibralterra (whether you liſt to name the place) ſhoulde returne ſo great a courſe backe agayne, and fall vpon the coaſtes of Tuſcane (from the whiche he purpoſely was fledde) which lay nothing weſtward, whither they bent their whole courſe.

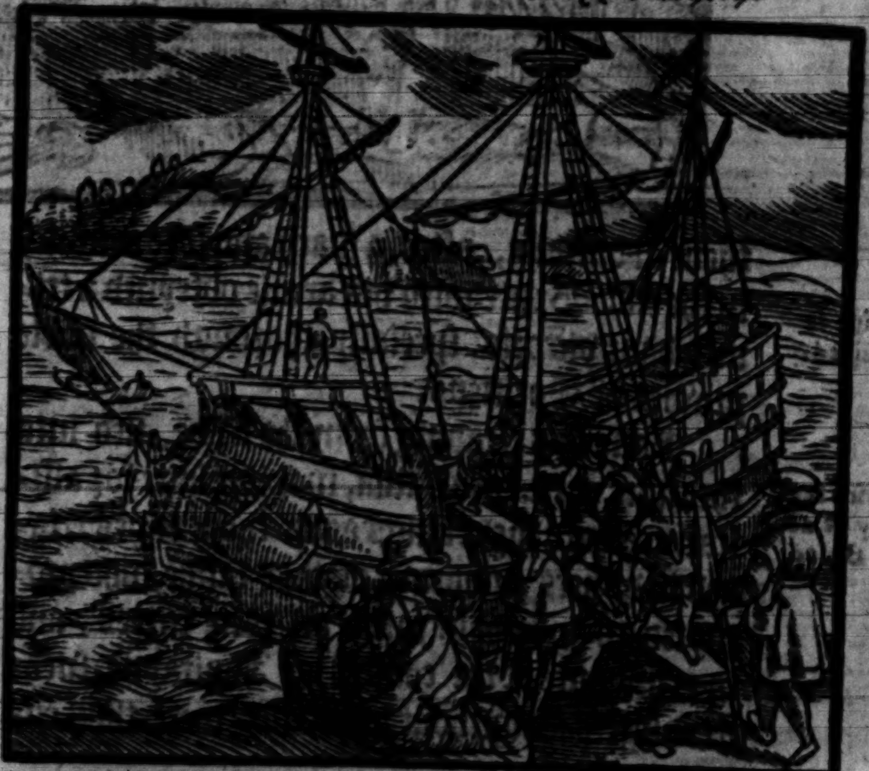
…eyne
…taynes.

I haue ſhewed my reaſon grounded vpon the opinion of ſome that are known to be learned, & no leſſe ſtudious in ſearch of ſuch matters of antiquitie, whoſe iudgementes I can not but reuerence, and therfore I am the bolder to ſet it down as I haue hearde it, and alſo by other allowed. To proceede then with the hiſtorie.

The ofſpring of thoſe Troianes with whom Brute and his companie thus did meete, were a remnāt of thoſe that came away with Antenore. Their capitayne hight Corineus, a man of great modeſtie and approued wiſedome, and therto of incomparable ſtrength and boldneſſe. After they vnderſtoode of one an others eſtates, and howe they were deſcended from one countrey and progenie, they vnited themſelues together, greatly reioycing that they were ſo fortunately mette. And after this, hoyſſyng vp their ſayles, they directed their courſe forward ſtil, till they arriued within the mouth of the riuer of Loyre, whiche deuideth Aquitayn from Gaule Celtique, where they tooke lande within the dominion of a king, called Goffarius, and ſurnamed Pictus, by reaſon that he was deſcēded of the people called *Agathyrſes*, that otherwiſe were named alſo Pictes, for ſo muche as they vſed to paynte their faces and bodies, in ſuche wiſe as the richer a man was amongſt them, the more coſte he beſtowed of paynting himſelfe: and commonly the heare of their head was redde.

Brute and Corineus ioyne their companies together.

They arriue on the coaſtes of Gallia, novve called Fraunce.



Goffarius ſurnamed Pictus.

Les annales d'Aquitain

Agathyrſes, othervviſe called Pictes, of painting their bodies.

The countrey of Poyctou (as ſome hold) where the ſayde Goffarius reygned, toke name of thys people: and likewiſe a parte of this our Iſle of Britayn nowe conteyned within Scotland in ancient time was called Pightland, as elſwhere both in this hiſtorie of England, & alſo of Scotland,

Pightland.

lande, it may further appeare.

But nowe to our purpoſe. When Goffarius the king of Poictou was aduertiſed of the landing of theſe ſtraungers within his countrey, he ſent firſt certain of his people to vnderſtãd what they ment by their comming a lande within his dominion, withoute licence or leaue of him obteyned.

Goffarius ſendeth vnto Brutus.

They that were thus ſente, by chaunce came where Corineus with two hundred of the companie were come from the ſhippes into a forreſte neare to the ſea ſyde, to kil ſome veniſon for their ſuſtenaunce; and being reproued with ſome diſdaynfull ſpeache of thoſe Poicteuins, hee ſhaped them a rounde aunſwere; inſomuch that one of them whoſe name was Imbert, let driue an arrow at Corineus: but hee auoyding the danger therof, ſhotte agayn at Imbert, in reuenge of that iniurie offered, and claue hys head in ſunder.

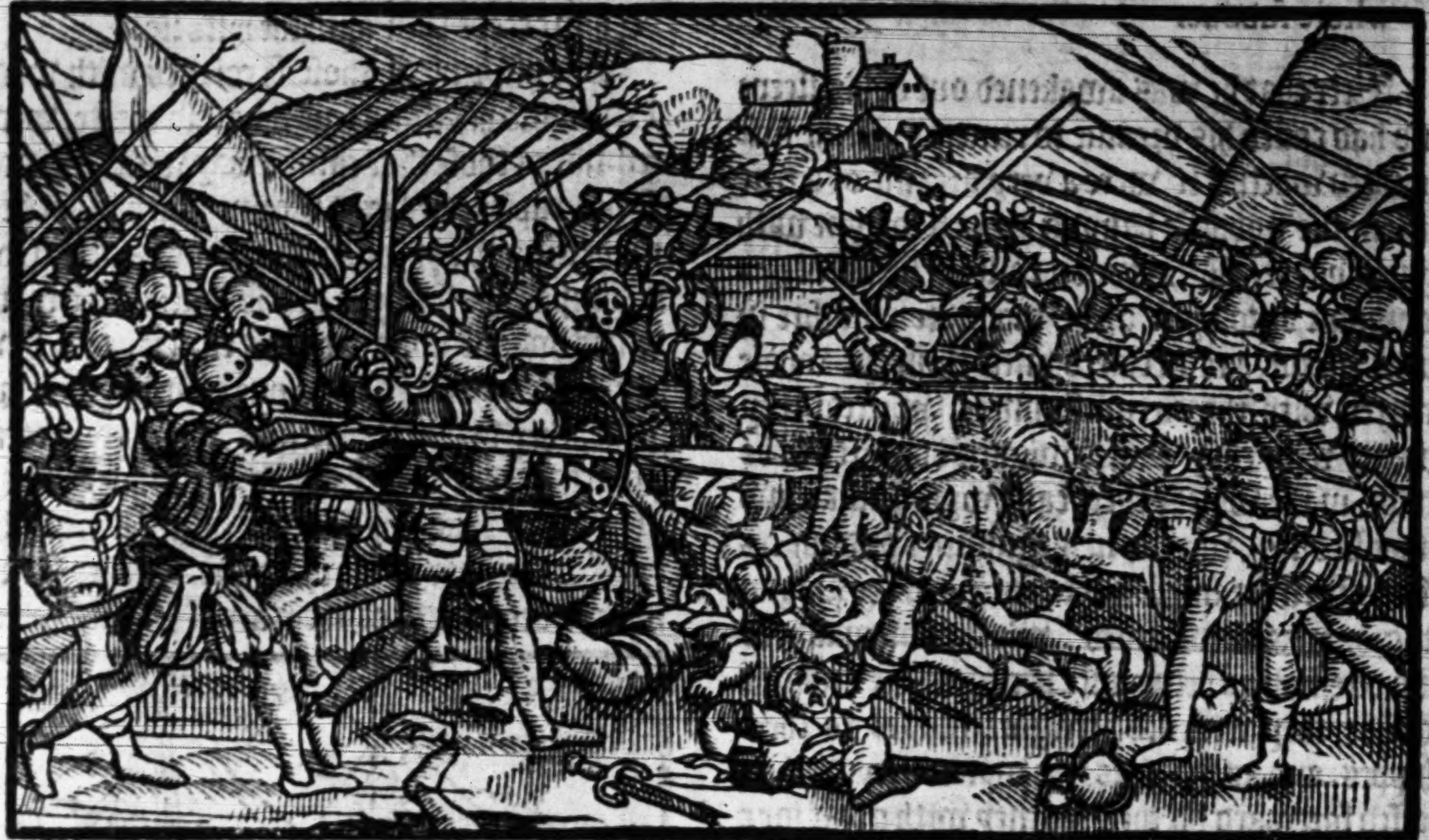
Corineus anſvvereth the meſſengers.

Imbert is ſlayne by Corineus.

The reſte of the Poicteuins fledde thereupon, and broughte worde to Goffarius what hadde happened: whoe immediatelye wyth a myghtie armie, made forwarde to encounter with the Troians, and comming to ioyne with them in battaile, after a ſharp and ſore conflict, in the ende Brute with his armie obteyned a triumphant victorie, ſpecially thorough the noble prowes of Corineus.

Goffarius rayſeth an armie.

Goffarius is diſcomfited.



Goffarius eſcaping from the fielde, fled into the inner partes of Gallia, making ſuite for aſſiſtaunce vnto ſuche kings as in thoſe dayes reigned in dyuers prouinces of that lande, who promyſed to ayde hym wyth all their forces, and to expell oute of the coaſtes of Aquitayne, ſuche ſtraungers as without his licence were thus entred the countrey.

Goffarius ſeeketh ayde againſt Brute.

But Brute in the meane tyme paſſed forward, and with fire and ſworde, made hauock in places where he came: and gathering great ſpoyles, fraughte his ſhips with plentie of riches. At length he came to the place, where afterwards he buylt a Citie named *Turonium*, that is Tours.

Brute ſpoyleth the countrey.

Turonius or Tours buylt by Brute.

Here Goffarius with ſuche Gaules as were aſſembled in his ayd, gaue batayl agayn vnto the Troyans, that were encamped to abyde his cõmyng. Where after that they had fought a long tyme with ſingular manhoode on bothe parties: finally the Troyans oppreſſed with multitude of their aduerſaries, being thirtie tymes as manye more as the Troyans) were conſtrained to retyre into their campe, within the which the Gaules kepte them as beſieged, lodging rounde about them, and purpoſing by famine to compell them to yelde themſelues vnto their mercie.

Goffarius hauing renued his forces, fighteth eftſoones vvith Brute.

But Corineus taking counſell with Brute, deuiſed to departe in the darke of the night forth of the campe, and to lodge himſelfe wyth three thouſand choſen ſouldiours ſecretly in a wodde, and there to remayne in couert tyll in the morning that Brute ſhoulde come forth and giue a a charge vppon the enimies, wherewith Corineus ſhould breake forth and aſſayle the Gaules on the backes.

This policie was putte in practiſe, and toke ſuch effect as the deuyſers themſelues wiſhed: for the Gaules being ſharply aſſailed on the front by Brute and his companie, wer now by the ſodain comming of Corineus, who ſet vpon them behinde on their backes, brought into ſuch a feare, that incontinentely they toke them to flighte, whome the Troyans egrely purſued, making no ſmall ſlaughter of them as they might ouertake them. In this battaile Brute loſt many of his men, and amongſt other, one of his nephues named Turinus, after he had ſhewed maruellous proofe of his great manhoode. Of hym (as ſome haue written) the foreſayd citie of Tours toke the name, and was called *Turonium*, bycauſe the

ſayde

heuet.

ſayd *Turinus* was there buried: Althoughe Andrew Theuet affirmeth the contrarie, and mayntayneth, that one Taurus the nephewe of Hanniball was the firſte that cloſed it about wyth a pale of wodde (as the maner in thoſe days was of fencing their townes) in the yeare of the worlde 3374. and before the birth of our Sauiour. 197. But yet by Theuets leaue, Brute and his companie myghte fyrſt buylde the ſame towne: and Taurus peraduenture might after fence it about with a pale, at that ſuppoſed time whē his vncle Hanibal came forth of Spayn, to paſſe through Gallia into Italy. But to ſpeake what I thinke, I beleeue Theuet is as little able to proue his Taurus to be the firſt that encloſed it, as other are to proue, that it tooke the name of Turinus his buryall there.

1274.

ute in doubt
hat to do.

But now to our matter concerning Brute, who after he had obteined ſo famous a victorie, albeit there was good cauſe for him to reioyce, yet it ſore troubled him to conſider that his numbers dayly decayed, and his enimies ſtill encreaſed, and grew ſtronger: whervpon reſting doubtfull what to doe, whether to proceede agaynſte the Gaulles, or to returne to his ſhippes, and to ſeke the yle, that was appoynted to him by oracle, at lēgth he choſe the ſureſt way and beſt (as he toke it, and as it proued): for whyleſt yet the more parte of his armie was lefte alyue, and that the name of the victorie remayned on his ſide, hee drewe to his nauie, and lading his ſhippes, with exceding greate ſtore of riches whiche his people had got abrode in the countrey: he tooke the ſeas agayne: And after a fewe dayes ſayling, they landed at the hauen whiche is now called Totneſſe, the yeare of the worlde. 2850. after the deſtruction of Troy. 66. after the deliuerāce of the Iſraelites, from the Captiuitie of Babylon. 397. almoſt ended, in the. 18. yeare of the reigne of Tyneas king of Babylon. 13. of Melanthus king of Athenes, before the buylding of Rome. 368. whiche was before the natiuitie of our ſauior Chriſt 116. almoſt ended, and before the reigne of Alexander the great. 783.

ute vvith
remnant of
roians arriue
this Iſle.
nnūdi 2850.

1116.

illiam
ariſon.

This computation haue I ſet down acording to the Chronologie of William Hariſon not yet publiſhed, whoſe accompte (as he hath gathered it) I haue folowed for the more parte, as well in the hiſtorie of Scotland, as here in this hiſtorie of England, eſpecially til I come vnto the time that the Saxons ſettled themſelues here: the rather bycauſe I am perſuaded yͭ he hath bin verie diligent in ſerching out the true computation of yeres, in reforming the ſame according to yͤ beſt authorities, as I truſte to the learned reader it may appeare. And if there be any errour therein, I doubt not but ſome ſuche learned Gentleman as hath ſpent ſome ſtudie about the ſearche of the firſt peopling of this land, will for the benefite of his countrey in tyme conuenient reforme that which is amiſſe, and publiſhe to the worlde that whiche may better ſatiſfie the learned, and cleere all doubtes, as well in the accompt of the time of Brutes comming hither, as in all other circumſtances of the whole Brytiſhe hiſtorie.

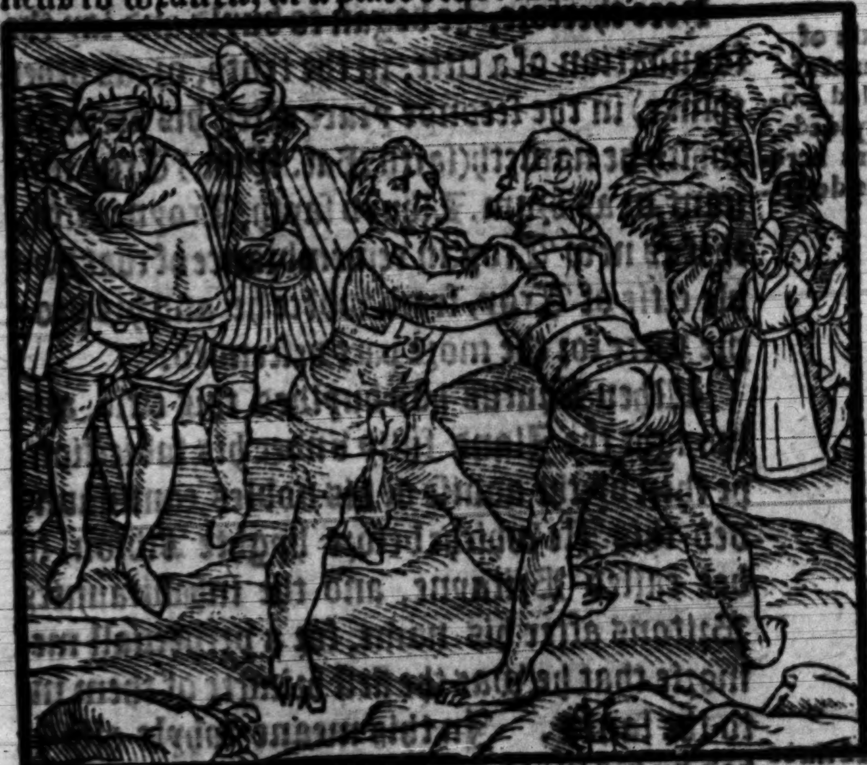
But nowe to proceede. When ſoeuer Brute entred this lande, immediatly after his arriuall (as writers doe recorde) he ſearched the countrey from ſide to ſide, and euen from the one ende to the other, finding it in moſte places right fertile and plenteous of wodde and graſſe, and full of pleaſant ſprings and faire ryuers.

Brute encountred by the Giauntes.

But as he thus trauayled to diſcouer the ſtate and commodities of the ylande, he was encountred by diuers ſtrong & mightie Giauntes, whom he deſtroyed and ſlewe, or rather ſubdued them, with all ſuche other people, as hee founde in the Ilande, whiche were more in number vndoubtedly than by report of ſome authors, it ſhoulde appere there were. Among theſe Giants as Geffrey of Monmouth writeth, there was one of paſſing ſtrengthe and greate eſtimation named Gogmagog, with whome Brute cauſed Corineus to wraſtell, at a place beſide Douer, where it chaunced) that the Giaunt brake a ribbe in the ſyde of Corineus, whyle they ſtroue to claſpe, and the one to ouerthrowe the other: wherewith Corineus being ſore chafed and ſtirred to wrath, he ſo doubled his force that he got the vpper hand of the Gyaunt, and caſte him downe headlong from one of the rockes there, not farre from Douer, and ſo diſpatched hym: by reaſon whereof, the place was named long after, the fall or leape of Gogmagog, but afterwards it was called the fall of Douer.

Corineus vvreſtleth vvith Gogmagog.

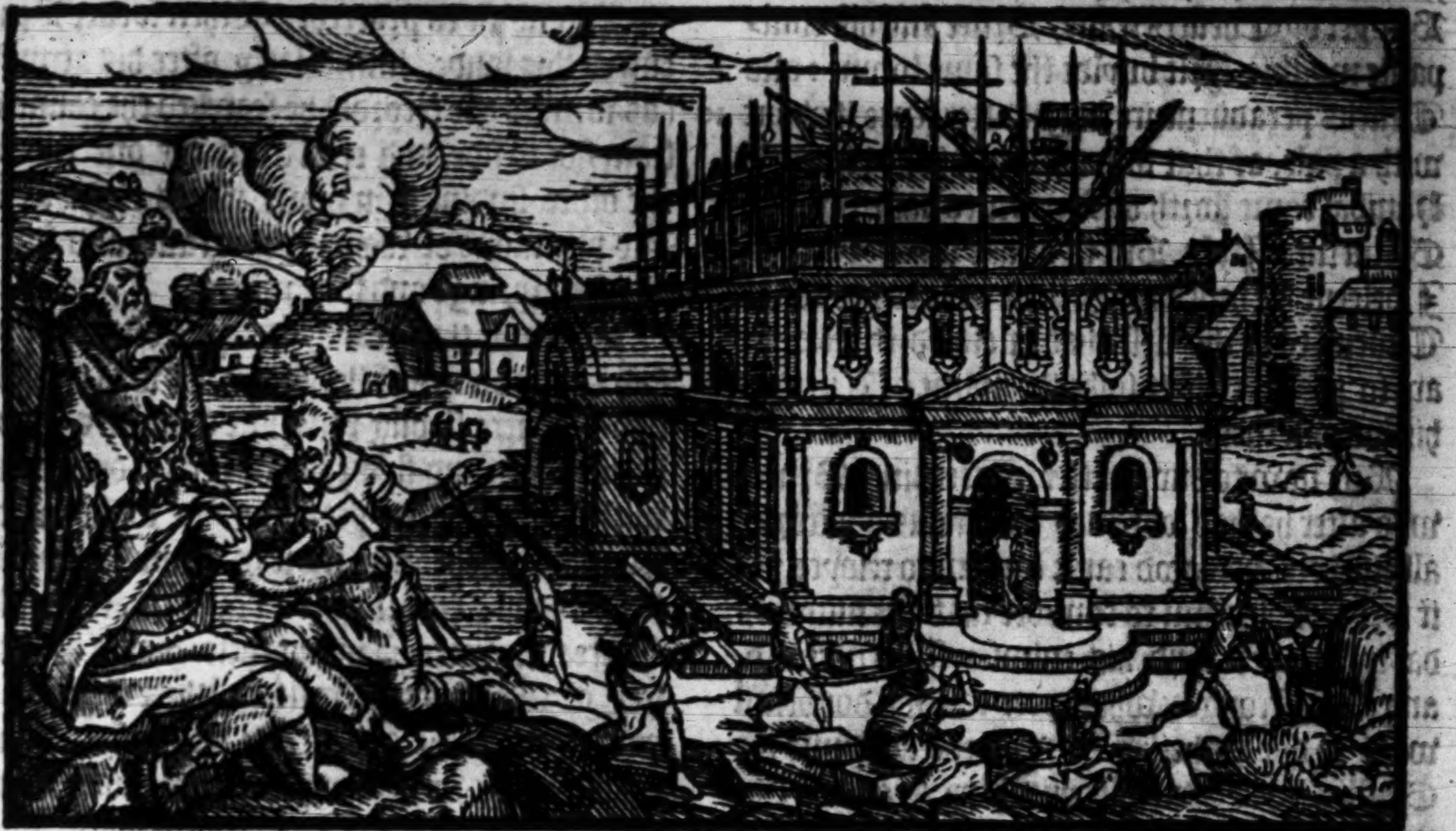
Gogmagog is ſlayn.



Cornvvall giuē to Corineus.

For this valiant deede and other the lyke ſeruice firſte and laſte atchieued, Brute gaue vnto Corineus the whole countrey of Cornwall.

To be briefe: After that Brute had deſtroyed ſuche as ſtoode agaynſte him, and brought ſuche people vnder his ſubiection, as he found in the Iſle, and ſearched the land from the one end to the other: He was deſirous to buyld a citie, yͭ the ſame might be the regal ſeat of his empire or kingdom. Wherupon he choſe forth a plot of ground, lying on the north ſyde of the riuer of Thames, which by good conſideration ſeemed to be moſt pleaſant & conuenient for any great multitude of inhabitants, aſwel for holſomneſſe of aire, goodneſſe of ſoyle, plentie of woddes, & commoditie of the riuer, ſeruing as wel to bring in as to carrie forth all kindes of merchandiſe, and things neceſſarie for gayne ſtore and vſe of them that there ſhuld inhabit.



The citie of Trinouant after called Lōdon, buylded. See more hereof in the deſcription.

Here therfore, he began to buyld and lay the foundation of a citie, in the tenth, or (as other thinke) in the ſeconde yeare after his arriuall, which he nameth (ſaith Gal. Mon.) Troy nouant, or as Hum. Lhuyd ſayth, Troynewith, that is new Troy, in remembrance of that noble citie of Troy, from whēce he and his people were for the more part deſcended.

When Brutus had buylded this citie, and brought the Iland fully vnder his ſubiection, he then by the aduiſe of his nobles, commaunded this Iſle whiche before hyghte Albion, to bee called Britayne, and the inhabitauntes Britons after his name, for a perpetuall memorie that he was the firſt bringer of them into the lande. In this meane whyle alſo he had by his wyfe .iij. ſonnes, of which the firſte was named Locrinus, or Locrine, the ſecond Cambris or Camber, and the third Albanactus or Albanact. And when the tyme of his death drewe neere, To the firſt he betoke the gouernment of that part of the lande which is nowe knowne by the name of England: ſo that the ſame was long after called *Loegria*, or *Logiers*, of the ſayd Locrinus.

Brute had three ſonnes.

Loegria.

To the ſeconde he appoynted the countrey of Wales, the whyche of hym was fyrſt named *Cambria*, deuided from *Loegria*, by the riuer of Seuerne.

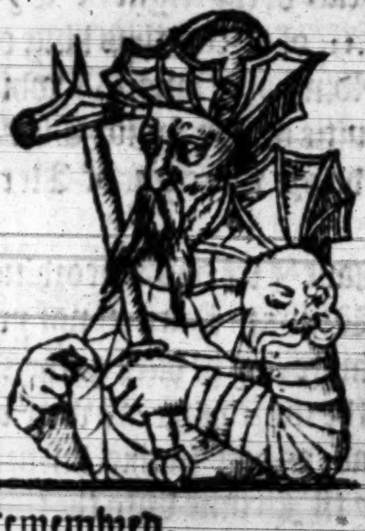
Cambria.

To his thirde ſonne Albanacte, hee delyuered all the North parte of the Iſle, afterwardes called *Albania*, after the name of the ſaid Albanacte: which portion of the ſaid Iſle lieth beyond the Humber northward.

Thus whē Brutus had deuided the Iſle of Britain (as before is mēcioned) into .3. partes, & had gouerned yͤ ſame by the ſpace of .xv. yeres, he died in yͤ .24. yere after his arriual, as Hariſon noteth it, and was buryed at Troynonant or London: although the place of his ſaid burial there, be now grown out of memorie.

In the days / this our Bri / Saule and Sa / muell gouern / Iſraell.

Locrinus, the ſecond ruler of Britayne.



Locrinus, or Locrine, the firſt begottē ſonne of Brute begā to reigne ouer yͤ coūtrey called *Logiers* in the yere of yͤ world 1874. and held to his part the countrey that ſtretched frō yͤ ſouthe ſea vnto the riuer of Humber, as is afore remembred.

Gal. Mon.
Mat. VVe
Fa. out of
de Co.

Whyle thys Locrinus gouerned Logiers, his brother Albanact ruled in Albania, as is ſayde, and there was finally ſlayne in a bataile by a King of the Hunnes or Scythians, called Humber, which inuaded that part of Britain, & got poſſeſſiō therof, til Locrinus with his brother Cāber, in reuēge of their other

Gal. Mon.
Mat. VVe

brothers death, and for the recouery of the kingdome, gathered their powers togither, and comming againſt the ſaid King of the Hunes, by the valiancie of their people they diſcomfited hym in battell, and chaſed him ſo egrely, that he himſelfe and a greate number of his men were drowned in the Gulfe that then parted Loegria and Albania, which after tooke name of yͤ ſayd king, & was called Humber, and ſo continueth vnto this day.

hould ſeme
t he was
me ouer the
umber.

al. Mon.

Moreouer, in this battell againſt the Hunes were three yong Damoſels taken of excellente beauty, ſpecially one of them, whoſe name was Eſtrild, daughter to a certayne king of Scithia. With this Eſtrild king Locrine fel ſo far in loue, notwithſtãding a former contract made betwixt him & the Lady Guendoloena, daughter to Corineus Duke of Cornewall, yͭ he meant yet with all ſpeede to marrie the ſame Eſtrild. But beyng earneſtly called vpon, and in manner forced therto by Corineus, hee chaunged his purpoſe, and married Guendoloena, keeping neuertheleſſe the forſayde Eſtrild to paramor ſtill after a ſecrete ſort, during yͤ life of Corineus his father in lawe. But after yͭ Corineus was departed this world, Locrine forſooke Guendoloena, and maried Eſtrild. Guendoloena therfore being caſt off by hir huſband, gote hir into Cornewall to hir friendes and kinrede, and there procured them to make warre againſt the ſayde Locrine hir huſbande, in the whiche warres hee was ſlaine and a battayle foughte neere to the riuer of Sture, after he hadde raigned (as writers affirme) twenty yeeres, and buried by his father in the Citie of Troynouant, leauing behinde him a yong ſonne (begotten of his wife Guendoloena) named Madan, as yet vnmeete to gouerne.

Mat. VVeſt.

he is not
umbred a-
mongſt thoſe
at raigned
rulers in
his land by
Mat. Weſt.

Guendoloena or Guendoleyn the wife of Locrinus, & daughter of Corineus Duke of Cornewall, for ſo muche as hir ſonne Madan was not of yeeres ſufficient to gouerne, was by common conſent of the Britons made ruler of the Iſle, in the yeere of the world. 2894. and ſo hauing yͤ adminiſtration in hir handes, ſhe did right diſcretly vſe hir ſelfe therein, to the comforte of all hir ſubiects, till hir ſonne Madan came to lawfull age: and then ſhe gaue ouer the rule and dominion to him, after ſhee had gouerned the ſpace of fifteene yeeres.

al. Mon.

Madan the third Ruler.

Madã.

MAdan the ſonne of Locrine, and Guindoline entred into yͤ gouernement of Britaine in the. 2909. of the world. There is little lefte in writing of his doings, ſauing that he vſed greate tyranny amongſt his Britons: and therefore after he had ruled this land the tearme of. 40. yeres, he was deuoured of wilde beaſtes, as he was abroad in hũting. He left behind him two ſonnes, Mempricius, and Manlius. Hee builded as is reported Madan Caiſtre, now Dancaſtre, which reteineth ſtill the later parte of hys name.

Mempricius the fourth Ruler.

Mempritius.

Fabian.

MEmpricius the eldeſt ſonne of Madan, began to raigne ouer the Britaynes in the yere of the world. 2949. hee continued not long in peace. For his brother Manlius vpon an ambitious minde prouoked the Britaynes to rebell againſt him, ſo that ſore and deadly warre continued long betweene thẽ. But finally, vnder colour of a treatie, Manlius was ſlaine by his brother Mempricius, ſo that then he liued in more tranquilitie and reſt. Howbeit, being deliuered thus from trouble of warres, he fell into ſlouth, and ſo into vnlawfull luſt of lecherie, and thereby into the hatred of his people, by forcing of their wiues and daughters. And finally became ſo beaſtly, that he forſooke his lawfull wife and all his concubines, and fell into the abhominable ſinne of Sodomy. And thus from one vice he fell into another, till he became odible to God and man, and at length, going on hunting, was loſt of his people, and deſtroyed of wilde beaſtes, when he had raigned twentie yeares, leauing behinde him a noble yong ſonne named Ebranke, begotten of his lawfull wife.

Manlius is ſlayne.

Gal. Mon.

Slouth engendred Lechery.

Mempritius is deuoured of beaſts.

Ebranke the fifth Ruler.

Ebrãck

EBranke the ſon of Mempricius, began to rule ouer the Britaynes in yͤ yere of the Worlde 2969. He had as writers doe of hym record, one & twenty wiues, on whome he begote. xx. ſonnes and thirtie daughters, of the whiche the eldeſt hight Guales, or Gualea. Theſe daughters he ſent to Alba Siluius, which was the eleuenth king of Italy, or the ſixth King of the Latines, to the end they might be married to his noble men of the bloud of Troians, bycauſe the Sabines refuſed to ioyne their daughters with them in marriage. Furthermore, he was the firſt Prince of his lande that euer inuaded Fraunce after Brute, and is commended as author and originall builder of many Cities, both in his owne kingdome, and elſe where. Hys

Ebranck had xxi. wiues.

Thirty daughters ſent into Italy.

Bergomas lib. 6.

ſonnes alſo vnder the conduct of Aſſaracus, one of their eldeſt brethren, returning out of Italy, after they had conducted their ſiſters thither, inuaded Germany, being firſt moleſted by the people of that countrey in their rage, and by the helpe of the ſayd Alba, ſubdued a great part of that countrey, and there planted themſelues. Our hiſtories ſay, that Ebracus their father married them in their returne, and ayded them in their conqueſts, and that he builded the Citie of Caerbrank, now called Yorke, about. the 14. yeare of his raigne. He builded alſo in Albania now called Scotland; the Caſtel of Maydens, afterward called Edenburgh of Aidan one of their kings. The Citie of Alclud was builded likewiſe by hym as (ſome write) now decayed. After which cities thus builded, he ſayled ouer into Gallia, now called Frãce with a great army, and ſubduing the Galles as is aforeſayde, he returned home with great riches and triumph. And when he had guided the lande of Britayne in noble wiſe by the tearme of fortie yeares, he died, and was buried at Yorke.

The Citie of Caerbranke builded.

Mat. VVeſt.

Fortie yeeres hath. Math. Weſt. and Gal. Monume.

Brute Greeneſhielde the. 6. Ruler.

Brute Grene-ſhielde.

BRute Greeneſhielde, the ſonne of Ebrank, was made gouernor of this lande in the yeere of yͤ world. 3009. Aſa raigning in Iuda, and Baaſa in Iſraell. Thys Prince bare alwayes in the field a greene ſhielde, whereof he toke hys ſurname, and of him ſome forraine authors affirme, yͭ he made an attempte to bring the whole Realme of Fraunce vnder his ſubiection, which he performed, bycauſe his father ſuſteined ſome diſhonor and loſſe in his laſt voyage into that countrey. Howbeit they ſay, yͭ whẽ he came into Henaud, Brinchild a Prince of yͤ quarter gaue him alſo a greate ouerthrowe, and compelled him to retire home agayne into hys countrey. This I borrow out of William Harriſon, who in his chronologie toucheth the ſame at large, concluding in the end, that the ſaid paſſage of this Prince into France is very likely to be true, and that he named a percell of Armorica lying on the South, and in manner vpon the very loyne after his owne name, and alſo a Citie which he builded there Britayne. For (ſayth he) it ſhould ſeeme by Strabo. lib. 4. that there was a noble Citie of that name long before his time in the ſayde countrey, whereof Plinie alſo ſpeaketh lib. 4. cap. 7. albeit that he aſcribe it vnto France after a diſordred maner. More I finde not of this aforeſaid Brute, ſauing that he ruled the lande a certaine time, his father yet liuing, and after hys deceſſe the tearme of twelue yeeres, and then dyed, and was buried at Caerbranke nowe called Yorke.

Iacobus Leſ.

Strabo lib. 4.

Leill the ſeuenth Ruler.

Leil.

LEil the ſon of Brute Greeneſhielde, began to raigne in the yeere of the world. 3021, the ſame time that Aſa was raigning in Iuda, and Ambri in Iſrael. He built the Citie nowe called Carliſle, which then after hys owne name was called Caerleil, that is, Leil his Citie, or the Citie of Leil. He repayred alſo (as Henry Bradſhawe hathe, the Citie of Caerleon now called Cheſter, which as by the ſame Bradſhaw it appeareth, was built before Brutus entring into this lande by a Giaunte named Leon Gauer. But what authoritie he hadde to auouche this, it may be doubted, for Ranulfe Higdẽ in his worke entituled Policronicon, ſaith in playne wordes, that it is vnknowen who was the firſte founder of Cheſter, but that it toke the name of yͤ ſoiourning there of ſome Romayne Legions, by whom alſo it is not vnlike that it might be firſte built by *P. Oſtorius Scapula*, who as we find, after he had ſubdued Caratacus king of yͤ Ordonices yͭ inhabited yͤ countreys now called Lancaſhire, Cheſhire, & Salopſhire, built in thoſe partes, & among yͤ Silures, certain places of defence, for the better herbourgh of his men of warre, & keeping down of ſuche Britaynes as were ſtill ready to moue rebelliõ. But now to yͤ purpoſe concerning K. Leil. We find it recorded yͭ he was in yͤ beginning of his raigne very vpright, & deſirous to ſee iuſtice executed, & aboue all things loued peace & quietneſſe, but as yeres encreaſed with him, ſo his vertues began to diminiſh, in ſo much, that abãdoning yͤ care for the body of yͤ common welth, he ſuffered his own body to welter in all vice and voluptuouſneſſe, & ſo procuring the hatred of hys ſubiectes, cauſed malice and diſcorde to ryſe amõgſt them, which during his life, he was neuer able to appeaſe. But leauing them ſo at variãce, departed this life, and was buried at Carleil which as ye haue heard he had builded, whyle hee liued.

Carleill bui ded.

Cheſter repayred.

Lud Hurdibras the eight Ruler.

Rud o
Ludhu
dibras.

RUd or Ludhurdibras the ſonne of Leil began to gouerne in the yeare of the world. 3046. In the beginning of his raigne, hee ſoughte to appeaſe the debate that was reyſed in hys fathers dayes, and bring the Realme to hir former quietneſſe, and after that hee hadde brought it to good ende, he builded the towne of Kaerkyn now called Canterbury: alſo the towne of Caerguent nowe cleped Wincheſter, & Mont Paladour now called Shafteſbury. About the building of which towne of Shafteſbury, Aquila a Prophet of the Brittiſh nation wrote his prophecies, of which ſome fragments remayne yet to be ſeene, tranſlated into the Latine by ſome auntient writers. When this Lud had raigned .xxix. yeeres he dyed, and lefte a ſonne behinde him named Baldud.

Kaerkin or Canterbury is builded.
Caerguent is builded.
Paladour is builded.

Baldud the .9. Ruler.

Bladud or Baldud.

Gal. Mon.
The King was learned.

BAldud the ſonne of Lud Hudibras, begã to rule ouer the Britaynes in the yere of the world .3085. This man was well ſeene in ỹ ſciences of Aſtronomy, and Nigromancy, by which (as the common reporte ſaith) he made the whote bathes in the Citie of Caerbran now called Bath. But William of Malmeſbery is of a contrary opinion, affirming that Iulius Ceſar made thoſe bathes, or rather repayred them when he was here in Englande: which is not like to be true: for Iulius Ceſar, as by good coniecture we haue to thinke, neuer came ſo farre within the land that way forthe. Both of theſe bathes more ſhall be ſayd in the deſcription. But to proceede. This Baldud tooke ſuche pleaſure in artificiall practiſes and magike, that he taught this arte throughout all his Realme. And to ſhew his cunning in other poynts, vppon a preſumptuous pleaſure which he had therein, he tooke vpon him to flie in the ayre, but he fell vpon the temple of Apollo, which ſtoode in the Citie of Troynouant, and there was torne in peeces after he had ruled the Britaynes by the ſpace of .xx. yeeres.

Hote bathes.

Ma. VVeſt.

The prince did dye.

Leir the .10. Ruler.

Leir.
Mat. VVeſt.

LEir the ſon of Baldud, was admitted Ruler ouer the Britaynes, in the yeere of the world .3105. at what time Ioas raigned as yet in Iuda. This Leir was a Prince of righte noble demeanor, gouerning his land and ſubiects in great wealth.

Hee made the towne of Caerleir nowe called Leiceſter, which ſtandeth vpon ỹ Riuer of Sore.

Mat. VVeſt.
Leyceſter is builded.

It is writtẽ that he had by his wife three daughters without other iſſue, whoſe names were Gonorilla, Regan, and Cordilla, whiche daughters he greatly loued, but ſpecially the yongeſt Cordeilla farre aboue the two elder. When this Leir therefore was come to great yeeres, and beganne to waxe vnweldy through age, he thought to vnderſtand the affections of his daughters towards him, and preferre hir whome hee beſt loued, to the ſucceſſion ouer the kingdome: therefore hee firſte aſked Gonorilla the eldeſt, howe well ſhee loued him: the which calling hir Gods to record, proteſted, that ſhe loued him more than hir owne life, which by righte and reaſon ſhoulde be moſt deere vnto hir. With whiche anſwer the father beeyng well pleaſed, turned to the ſecond, and demaunded of hir how well ſhe loued him: whiche anſwered (confirming hir ſayings with greate othes) that ſhe loued him more than tong could expreſſe, and farre aboue all other creatures of the world. Thẽ called he his yongeſt daughter Cordeilla before him, and aſked of hir what accompt ſhe made of him: vnto whome ſhe made this anſwer as followeth: Knowing the great loue and fatherly zeale that towards me you haue always borne, (for the whiche I may not anſwere you otherwiſe than I thinke, and as my cõſcience leadeth me) I proteſt vnto you, that I haue loued you euer, and ſhall continually while I liue, loue you as my naturall father, and if you woulde more vnderſtand of the loue that I beare you, aſſertayn your ſelfe, that ſo much as you haue, ſo muche you are worth, and ſo much I loue you, and no more. The father being nothing content with this anſwere, married his two eldeſt daughters, the one vnto the Duke of Cornewale named Henninus, and the other vnto the Duke of Albania, called Maglanus: and betwixt them after his death, hee willed and ordeyned that his land ſhould be deuided, and the one halfe thereof immediately ſhould be aſſigned to them in hande: but for the thirde daughter Cordeilla, he reſerued nothing.

Gal. Mon.

A trial of lou

The anſwere of the yongeſt daughter.

The two eldeſt daughters are married.
The Realme is promiſed to his two daughters.

Yet it fortuned, that one of the Princes of Gallia (which now is called France) whoſe name was Aganippus, hearing of the beautie, womanhode, and good conditious of the ſayd Cordeilla, deſired to haue hir in marriage, and ſente ouer to hir father, requiring that he myghte haue hir to wife: to whome aunſwere was made, that hee mighte haue hys daughter, but for any dower hee coulde haue none, for all was promiſed and aſſured to hir other ſiſters already.

Aganippus notwithſtanding this aunſwere of denyall to receyue any thyng by way of dower with Cordeilla, toke hir to wife, only moued thereto (I ſaye) for reſpecte of hir perſon and amiable vertues. Thys Aganippus was one of the twelue Kyngs that ruled Gallia

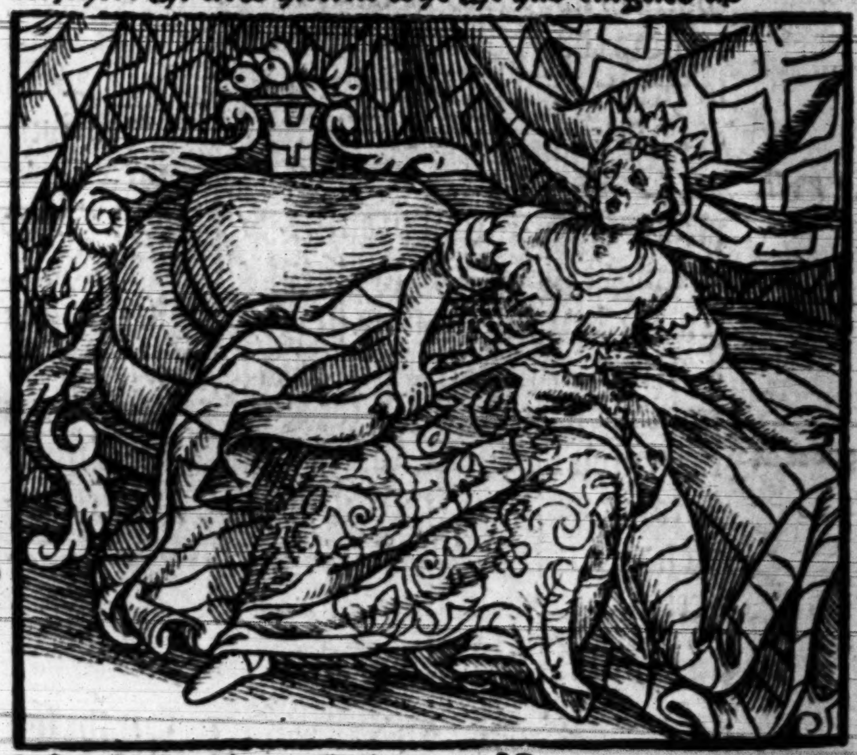
He gouerned the third parte of Gallia as Gal. Mon. hath in thoſe dayes, as in the Brittiſh hiſtorie it is recorded. But to proceede, after that Leir was fallen into age, the two Dukes that had married his two eldeſt daughters, thinking long ere the gouernemente of the land did come to their handes, aroſe againſt him in armour, & reft from him the gouernance of the land, vpō conditions to be cōtinued for tearme of life: by ẏ whiche he was put to his portion, that is, to liue after a rate aſſigned to him for the maintenance of his eſtate, whyche in proces of time was diminiſhed as well by Magbanus, as by Henninus. But the greateſt griefe that Leir toke, was to ſee the vnkindneſſe of his daughters, which ſeemed to thinke that all was too much which their father hadde, the ſame being neuer ſo little: in ſo muche, that going from ẏ one to ẏ other, he was brought to that miſerie, that vnneth would they allow him one ſeruaunt to waite vpon him. In the end ſuch was the vnkindneſſe, or (as I may ſaye) the vnnaturalneſſe which he founde in his two daughters, notwithſtanding their faire & pleaſante wordes vttered in time paſt, that being conſtreyned of neceſſitie, he fled ẏ land, & ſayled into Gallia, there to ſeke ſome comfort of his yōgeſt daughter Cordeilla whom before time he hated. The Lady Cordeill hearing ẏ he was arriued in pore eſtate, ſhe firſt ſēt to him priuily a certayne ſumme of money to apparell himſelfe withal, & to reteyne a certayn number of ſeruants that mighte attende vpon him in honorable wiſe, as apperteyned to the eſtate whiche he had borne: and then ſo accompanyed, ſhe appointed him to come to ẏ Court, which he did, & was ſo ioyfully, honorably, and louingly receiued, both by his ſon in law Aganippus, & alſo by his daughter Cordeilla, that his hart was greatly comforted: For he was no leſſe honored, than if he hadde bin king of ẏ whole countrey himſelfe. Alſo after ẏ he had enformed his ſon in law & his daughter in what ſort he had bin vſed by his other daughters, Aganippus cauſed a mightie army to be put in a readineſſe, & likewiſe a greate nauie of Ships to bee rigged, to paſſe ouer into Britayne with Leir his father in law, to ſee him againe reſtored to his kingdome. It was accorded, that Cordeilla ſhould alſo goe with him to take poſſeſſion of ẏ land, ẏ whiche he promiſed to leaue vnto hir, as hir rightfull inheritour after his deceſſe, notwithſtanding any former graunte made to hir ſiſters or to their husbāds in any manner of wiſe. Hereupō, whē this army & nauie of Ships wer ready, Leir & his daughter Cordeilla wͭ hir husbād toke ẏ ſea, & arriuing in Britaine, fought wͭ their enimies, and diſcomfited them in battaile, in ẏ whiche Maglanus & Henninus were ſlaine: and then was Leir reſtored to his kingdome, which he ruled after this by the ſpace of two yeeres, and then died, fortie yeres after he firſt began to raigne. His body was buried at Leyceſter in a vault vnder ẏ channel of the Riuer of Sore beneath the towne.

Ma. Veſt.

Cordeilla Queene.

Cordeilla.

CORdeilla ẏ yōgeſt daughter of Leir, was admitted for Q. & ſupreme gouernoure of Britayne, in the yeere of ẏ World. 355. before the building of Rome. 54. Vzias then raigning in Juda, & Jeroboā ouer Iſraell. This Cordeilla after hir fathers deceaſe ruled the lād of Britayne right worthily during the ſpace of fiue yeres, in which meane time hir husband died, and then about ẏ end of thoſe fiue yeres, hir two Nephewes Margan and Cunedagius ſonnes to hir aforeſaide ſiſters, diſdeigning to be vnder the gouernement of a woman, leuied warre againſt hir, and deſtroyed a great part of the land, and finally tooke hir priſoner, and leyd hir faſt in ward, wherwith ſhee tooke ſuche griefe, being a woman of a manly courage, and deſpayring to recouer libertie, there ſhe ſlew hirſelfe whē ſhe had raigned as before is mencioned the tearme of fiue yeeres.



Cunedag and Margan contende for the gouernement.

Cunedag & Margan.

CVnedagius & Marganus Nephewes to Cordeilla, hauing recouered the land out of hir handes, deuided the ſame betwixt them, that is to wit, the countrey ouer & beyonde Humber fell to Margan as it ſtretcheth euen to Catneſſe, & the other part lying South, and by weſt, was aſſigned to Cunidagius. This pertition chanced in the yeere of the World. 3170. before the building of Rome. 47. Uzia as yet raigning in Juda, ⁊ Jeroboam in Iſrael. Afterwards, theſe two couſins, Cunedag and Margã, had not raigned thus paſt a two yeares, but through ſome ſeditions perſons, Margan was perſwaded to reiſe warre againſt Cunedag, telling him in his eare, howe it was a ſhame for him being come of the elder ſiſter, not to haue the rule of the whole Ile in his hande. Herevpon, ouercome with pride, ambition, ⁊ couetouſneſſe, he reiſed an army, ⁊ entring into yͤ land of Cunedag, he brẽned ⁊ deſtroyed yͤ coũtrey before him in miſerable maner. Cunedag in all haſt to reſiſt his aduerſarie, aſſembled alſo al yͤ power he could make, ⁊ comming with the ſame againſt Margan, gaue him battell, in the which he ſlew a great nũber of Margãs people, and put yͤ reſidue to flight, and furthermore purſued him from countrey to coũtrey, till hee came into Cambria, nowe called Wales, where yͤ ſaid Margan gaue him eftſones a new battell: but beeing too weake in number of men, he was there ouercome ⁊ ſlaine in yͤ field, by reaſon wherof, yͤ countrey tooke name of him, being there ſlaine, and ſo is called to this day Glan Margã, which is to meane in our Engliſh tong, Margans land. This was the end of that Margan, after hee had raigned with his brother two yeres, or thereaboutes.

argan in-
deth his
ſin Cune-
g.

rgan is
yne.

ay reſt.

After the death of Margan, Cunedagius the ſon of Henius ⁊ Ragay (middlemoſt daughter of Leir, before mentioned) became Ruler of all the whole lãd of Britayne, in yͤ yere of yͤ World 3172. before the building of Rome. 45. Uzia ſtill raigning in Juda, and Jeroboam in Iſraell. He gouerned this Ile wel ⁊ honorably for the tearme of. xxxiij. yeeres: And then dying, his body was buried at Troynouant or Londõ. Moreouer, our writers do reporte, that hee builded alſo three tẽples, one to Mars at Perth in Scotland, another to Mercury at Bangor, and the thirde to Apollo in Cornewall.

une-
agius
lone.

Ryuall the.13.Ruler.

Riual.

Riuallon, the ſon of Cunedag, began to raign ouer yͤ Britaines, in the yere of the world 3203. before the building of Rome. 15. Joathan as then beeing King of Juda, and Phacea king of Iſrael. This Ryuall gouerned the lande in greate wealth and proſperitie. In his time it raigned bloud by the ſpace of three dayes togither. After which raigne enſued ſuch an exceding nũber and multitude of flies, ſo noyſome and contagious, that muche people died by reaſon thereof. When he had raigned. 46. yeeres he died, ⁊ was buried at Caerbranke nowe called Yorke. In yͤ time of this Ryuals raigne, was the Citie of Rome builded, after the accordance of moſt parte of writers. Perdix alſo a wiſehart, and a learned Aſtrologian floriſheth ⁊ writeth his prophecies, and Hereuc alſo.

rained
ood.

ies. reſt.

Rome builded

Gurguſt the.14 Ruler.

Gurguſt

Gurguſtius, the ſon of the beforenamed Riuall, beganne to gouerne the Britaynes in the yeere after the Creatiõ of the world. 3249. and after the firſt foundation of Rome. 33. Ezechias raigning in Juda. This Gurguſtius in yͤ Chronicle of England, is called Gorbodian the ſonne of Reignald, he raigned. 37. yeres: then departing this life, was buried at Caerbranke (now called Yorke) by hys father.

Syſillius the.15.Ruler.

Syſillius

Syſillius, or after ſome writers Siluius, the brother of Gurguſtius, was choſen to haue the gouernance of Britayne, in the yeere of the worlde. 3287. and after the building of Rome. 71. Manaſſes ſtill raigning in Juda. This Siſillius in the Engliſh Chronicle is named Seẓill. He raigned 49. yeeres, and then died, and was buried at Carbadon, now called Bath.

Iago the.16.Ruler.

Iago.

Iago or Lago, yͤ couſin of Gurguſtius, as next inheritor to Siſillius, tooke vpon hym the gouernemente of Britayne, in the yeere of the world. 3336. and after yͤ building of Rome. 120. in whoſe time the Citie of Jeruſalem was taken by Nabuchodonozor, and the King of Juda, Mathania, otherwiſe called Zedechias, being ſlaine. This Jago or Lago dyed without iſſue, when hee had raigned eyght and twentie yeeres, and was buried at Yorke.

Kinimak the 17.Ruler.

Kinimak.

KInimacus or Kinmarus yͤ ſon of Sicilius as ſome write, or rather yͤ brother of Iago began to gouerne yͤ lãd of Britayne, in the yere of the World.3364.and after the buildyng of Rome. 148. the Iewes as then being in yͤ third yeere of their captiuitie of Babilon. This Kinimachus departed this life, after hee hadde raigned. 54. yeeres, and was buried at Yorke.

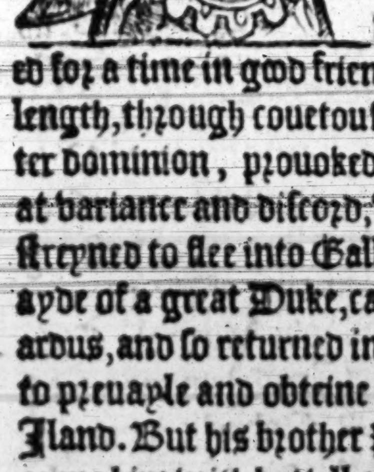
Gorbodug the.18.Ruler.

Gorbodug.

GOrbodug the ſonne of Kinimacus begã his raigne ouer the Britaynes, in the yeere after the creation of the world 3418. from the buildyng of yͤ Citie of Rome.202. the Iewes beeing in the 58. of their captiuitie at Babilon. This Gorbodug by moſt likelyhoode, to bring hiſtories to accord, ſhould raigne aboute the tearme of.63.yeeres, and then departing thys world, was buried at London, leauing after hym two ſonnes Ferrex and Porrex, or after ſome writers, Ferreus and Porreus.

Ferrex the.19.Ruler.

Forrex and Porrex.



Ferrex fledde into Gallia.

FErrexe with Porrex his brother, began ioyntly to rule ouer the Britaynes, in the yeere of the World. 3476. after yͤ building of Rome 260.at whiche tyme, the people of Rome forſooke their Citie in theyr Rebellious mode. Theſe two brethren continued for a time in good friendſhip and amitie, till at length, through couetouſneſſe, and deſire of greater dominion, prouoked by flatterers, they fell at variance and diſcord, whereby Ferrex was cõſtreyned to flee into Gallia, and there purchaſed ayde of a great Duke, called Gunhardus or Suardus, and ſo returned into Britayne, thynkyng to preuayle and obteine the dominion of yͤ whole Iland. But his brother Porrex was ready to receyue him with battell after he was landed, in the which battell Ferrex was ſlayne, with the more parte of his people. The Engliſh Chronicle ſayeth, that Porrex was he that fledde into France, and at his returne, was ſlayne, and that Ferrex ſuruiued. But Geffrey of Monmouth, and Policronicon are of a contrary opinion. Mathewe Weſtmonaſteri. writeth, that Porrex deuiſing wayes to kill Ferrex, atchieued his purpoſe and ſlew him. But whether of them ſo euer ſuruiued, the mother of them was ſo highly offended for the deathe of him that was ſlayne, whome ſhee moſt entierly loued, that ſetting aparte al motherly affection, ſhe found meanes to enter the chamber of him that ſuruiued, in the night ſeaſon, and as hee ſlept, ſhe with help of hir maidens ſlew him, and cut him into ſmall peeces, as the writers doe affirme. Suche was the ende of theſe two brethren after they had raigned by the ſpace of foure or fiue yeeres.

Ma.VVeſt.

The mother killeth hir ſo

After this folowed a troubleous ſeaſon, full of cruell warre, & ſeditious diſcord, whereby in the ende, and for the ſpace of fiftie yeres, the gouernemente of the Ilande was deuided betwixt fiue Kings or rulers, till Dunwallon of Cornewall ouercame them all. Thus the line of Brute after the affirmance of moſt writers, tooke an ende: for after the death of the two foreſayde brethren, no rightful inheritor was left aliue to ſucceede them in the Kingdome. The names of theſe fiue Kings are found in certaine olde pedigrees: and although the ſame be muche corrupted in dyuers copies, yet theſe are the moſt agreableſt.

Robert Recorde.

Rudacus King of VVales.
Clotenus King of Cornewall.
Pinnor King of Loegria.
Staterus King of Albania.
Yewan King of Northumberlande.

But of theſe fiue Kings or Dukes, the Engliſh Chronicle alloweth Cloton king of Cornewale for moſt rightfull heire. There appeareth not any time certayne by report of auncient Authors, howe long this variaunce continued amongſt the Britaynes: but as ſome late writers haue geſſed, it ſhould continue for the ſpace of.51. yeeres, coniecturing ſo much by that which is recorded in Policron: who ſayth, how it did continue euen till the beginning of the raigne of Mulmutius Dunwallo, who began to gouerne from the time that Brute firſt entred Britayne, about the ſpace of ſeuen hundred and three yeeres. Heere ye muſt note, yͭ there is differẽce amõgſt writers about yͤ ſupputation & accompt of theſe yeeres, inſomuch yͭ ſome making their reckoning after certain writers, and finding yͤ ſame to vary about three C. yeeres, are brought into further doubt of the troth of the whole hiſtorie: but where other haue by diligent ſearch tryed out the continuance of euery gouernors raigne, and reduced the ſame to a likelyhoode of ſome conformitie, I haue thought beſt to follow the ſame, leauing the cre-

Fab.

Ciuill warre 51 yeeres.

dite thereof with the firſte Authours, as I haue ſayd before.

Mulmutius the firſt crowned King of Britayne.

Mul-
nucius.
M.W.

TO proceede therefore with the aforeſayde Authors, Mulmucius Dunuallo, or as other haue Dūuallo Mulmucius, the ſonne of Cloten, (as teſtifyeth the Engliſh chronicle, ⁊ alſo Geffrey of Momouth,) gote the vpper hand of yͤ other Dukes or rulers: And after his fathers deceſſe began his raigne ouer the whole Monarchie of Britayne in yͤ yeere of the world.3529.after yͤ building of Rome.314. and after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites out of captiuitie. 97. and about the.26.yere of Darius Artaxerxes Longimanus, the fifth King of the Perſiās. This Mulmutius Donuallo is named in the Engliſh Chronicle Donebaut, and proued a right worthy Prince. He builded within yͤ Citie of London then called Troynouant a Temple, and named it the Temple of peace: the which (as ſome holde opinion,) I wote not vpon what ground, was yͤ ſame which now is called Blackwel halle, where the market for bying and ſelling of clothes is kept.

more in
deſcriptiō.

M.W.
es made.

He alſo made many good lawes, the whyche were long after vſed, called Mulmutius lawes, turned out of the Brittiſh ſpeech into the Latine by Gildas Priſcus, and long time after trāſlated out of Latine into Engliſhe by Alfrede Kyng of England, and mingled in his eſtatutes.

Moreouer, this Mulmutius gaue priuileges to Temples, to ploughes, to Cities, and to high wayes leading to the ſame, ſo that whoſoeuer fled to them, ſhould be in ſafegard from bodily harme, and from thence he might depart into what cōtrey he would, without indemnitie of his perſon. Some authors write, that hee began to make the foure great high wayes of Britayne, the whyche were finiſhed by his ſonne Belinus, as after ſhall be declared.

rop and
tron.

The Chronicle of Englād affirmeth, that this Mulmutius whom yͤ olde booke nameth Molle, builded yͤ two townes Malmeſbery, ⁊ the Vies.

esbery
he Vies

After he had eſtabliſhed his land, ⁊ ſet his Britons in good ⁊ conuenient order, he ordeyned him by yͤ aduice of his Lords a Crowne of golde, and cauſed himſelfe with great ſolēnitie to be Crowned, according to the cuſtome of the Pagan laws then in vſe: and bycauſe he was the firſt that bare Crowne heere in Britayne, after the opinion of ſome writers, he is named the firſt King of Britayne, and al the other before rehearſed are named Rulers, Dukes, or Gouernors.

first King
was crow.
with a
e Crowne

Polid.
Weightes and meaſures.
Theft puniſhed.
Fab.

Amongſt other of his ordinances, he appoynted weightes and meaſures, with the which men ſhould buy ⁊ ſell. And further he deuiſed ſore and ſtreight orders for the puniſhing of theft. Finally, after he had guided the land by the ſpace of fortie yeeres, he died, and was buried in the foreſayde Temple of peace which he had erected within the citie of Troynouant nowe called London, as before ye haue heard. Appoynting in his life tyme, that his kingdome ſhould be deuided betwixt his two ſonnes, Brennus, ⁊ Belinus (as ſome men do coniecture.)

Belinus and Brennus, the ſonnes of Mulmutius.

Belinus and Brennus.

BRennus and Belinus began to raigne ioyntly as Kings in Britaine, in yͤ yeere of the World.3574. after the building of yͤ Citie of Rome. 355.and after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites out of captiuitie.142.which was about yͤ ſeuenth yere of Artaxerxes ſurnamed Mnemon, the ſeuēth K. of the Perſians. Belinus held vnder his gouernance Loegria, Wales, ⁊ Cornewale: and Brennus all thoſe countreys ouer and beyonde Humber. And with this partition were they contented by the tearme of ſixe or ſeuen yeres, after whyche time expired, Brennus coueting to haue more than his portiō came to, firſt thought to purchaſe himſelfe ayde in foreine parties, and therefore by the prouocation ⁊ counſel of yong vnquiet heads, ſailed ouer into Norway, and there married the daughter of Elſung or Elſing, as then Duke or Ruler of that countrey. Beline offended with his brother, that he ſhoulde thus withoute his aduice marrie with a ſtranger, now in his abſence ſeaſed al his lands, townes and fortreſſes into his owne hands, placing garriſons of men of warre where he thought conuenient.

3574

M.W.

5.hath Police.

Brennus not content with his portion.

Elſingius.

In the meane time, Brenne aduertiſed hereof, aſſembled a great nauie of Ships, well furniſhed with people and Souldiers of the Norwegians, with the whiche he toke his courſe homewardes, but in the way he was encountred by Guilthdacus king of Denmarke, the whiche had layen lōg in awaite for him, bycauſe of yͤ yong Lady whiche Bren had married, for whom he had bin a ſutor to hir father Elſing of long time. Whē theſe two fleetes of yͤ Danes ⁊ Norwegiās met, there

Guilthdacus King of Denmarke.

A tempeſt.

Guithdachus landed in the North.

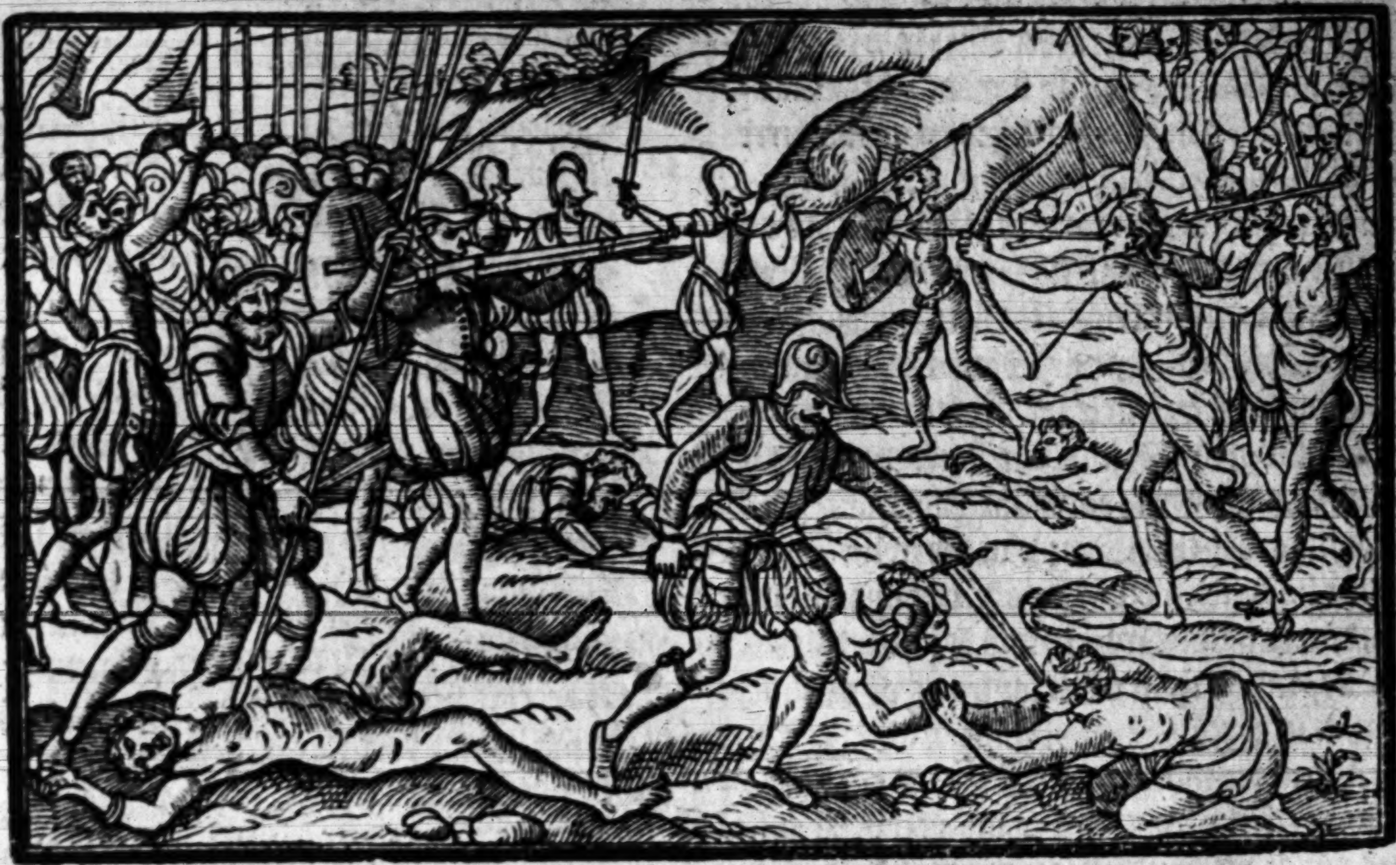
was a ſore battell betwixte them, but finally, the Danes ouercame them of Norway, and tooke ẏ Ship wherein the new Bride was conueyed, and then was ſhe brought aboorde ẏ Ship of Guilthdachus. Brenne eſcaped by flighte as well as hee might. But when Guilthdachus had thus obtained the victory & pray, ſodaynly thervpon roſe a ſore tẽpeſt of winde & weather, which eſcattered the Daniſhe fleete, and put the King in daunger to haue bin loſt: but finally within fiue dayes after, being driuen by force of winde, he landed in Northumberland, with a fewe ſuche Shippes as kept togither with him.

Calãder wood is in Scotland.

Seguinus or Seginus Duke of the Allobroges, nowe the Delphinate or Sauoy.

The Danes tributarie to the Britons.

Beline being then in that countrie, prouidyng for defence againſte his brother, vpon knowledge had of the King of Denmarkes arriuall, cauſed him to be ſtayed. Shortly after, Brenne hauyng recouered and gote togither the moſt parte of hys Shippes, that were diſperſed by the diſcomfiture, and thẽ newly rigged and furniſhed of al things neceſſary, ſente worde to his brother Beline, both to reſtore to him his wife wrongfully rauiſhed by Guithdacus, and alſo his lands iniuriouſly by him ſeaſed into his poſſeſſion. Theſe requeſtes being playnely and ſhortly denyed, Brenne made no long delay, but ſpeedily made towards Albania, and landing with his army in a part thereof, encountred with his brother Beline neere vnto a Wood named as then Calater, where after cruell fight, and mortall battell betwixt them, at lẽgth the victory abode with the Britons, and the diſcomfiture light ſo on the Norwegians, that the moſt of them were ſlayne, and left dead vpon the groũd. Hereby Brenne being forced to flee, made ſhift, and gote ouer into Gallia, where after hee had ſued to this Prince and that, at lẽgth he was welreceiued of one Seguinus or Seginus Duke of the people called then Allobroges, as Galfrid of Monmoth ſaith, or rather Armorica, whyche now is called Britaine, as Policronicon, and the Engliſhe hiſtorie printed by Caxton, more truely may ſeme to affirme. But Belyne hauing got the vpper hand of his enimies, aſſembling hys counſell at Caerbranke, now called Yorke, tooke aduice what he ſhould do with the King of Dẽmarke: where it was ordeyned, that he ſhould bee ſet at libertie, with condition and vnder couenãt, to acknowledge himſelfe by doing homage, to holde his lande of the King of Britaine, and to pay him a yeerely tribute. Theſe couenauntes therefore beeing agreed vnto, and hoſtages taken for aſſurance, he was ſet at libertie, and ſo returned into his countrey. The tribute that he couenãted to pay, was a thouſand pound, as ẏ Engliſh Chronicle ſaith.



The foure high wayes finiſhed.

The Foſſe.

Watling Streete.

When Beline had thus expelled his brother, and was alone poſſeſſed of all the land of Britaine, he firſte confirmed the lawes made by hys father: and for ſo much as the foure wayes begun by his father were not brought to perfection, hee therefore cauſed workmen to be called forth and aſſembled, whom he ſet in hand to paue the ſayde wayes with ſtone, for the better paſſage and eaſe of all that ſhould trauell through the countreyes from place to place, as occaſiõ ſhuld require. The firſt of theſe foure wayes is named Foſſe, & ſtretcheth from the South into the North, beginning at ẏ corner of Totneſſe in Cornwaile, & ſo paſſing forth by Deuonſhire, and Somerſetſhire, by Tutbery, on Cotteſwold, & then forwarde beſide Couentrie vnto Leiceſter, & from thence by wilde playnes toward Newarke, & endeth at the Citie of Lincoln. The ſecond way was named Watling ſtreete, the which ſtretcheth ouerthwart the Foſſe, out of the Southeaſt into the Northeaſt, beginning at Douer, and paſſing by the middle of Kent ouer Thames beſide London, by Weſt of Weſtminſter as ſome haue thought, & ſo forth by S. Albanes, & by yͤ Weſt ſide of Dunſtable, Stratford, Touceſter, and Wedon by ſouth of Lilleborne, by Itherſton, Gilberts hill, that nowe is called the Wreken, and ſo forth by Seuerne, paſſing beſide Worceſter, vnto Stratton to the middle of Wales, and ſo vnto a place called Cardigan, at the Iriſh ſea.

Erming ſtreet.

The thirde waye was named Ermingſtreete, the which ſtretched out of the weſt northweſt, vnto the eaſt ſoutheaſt, and begynneth at Meneuia, the which is in Saint Dauids lande in weſt Wales, and ſo vnto Southampton.

Hikaelſtreete.

The fourth and laſt way hight Hikenelſtreete, which leadeth by Worceſter, Winchcomb, Birmingham, Lichfield, Darby, Cheſterfielde, and by Yorke, and ſo forth vnto Tinmouth.

Priuiledges graunted to the wayes.

And after he had cauſed theſe wayes to be wel and ſufficiently reyſed and made, hee confirmed vnto them all ſuche priuileges as were graunted by his father.

In this meane tyme that Beline was thus occupied about the neceſſarie affayres of his realm and kingdome, his brother Brenne that was fled into Gallia onely with. xij perſons, bycauſe hee was a goodly Gentleman, and ſeemed to vnderſtande what apperteyned to honour, grew ſhortly into fauor with Seginus the Duke afore mentioned, and declaring vnto him his aduerſitie, and the whole circumſtaunce of his miſhap, at length was ſo highly cheriſhed of the ſayde Seginus, deliting in ſuch worthie qualities as he ſaw in him dayly appearing, that he gaue to him his daughter in maryage, with condition, that if he dyed without iſſue Male, then ſhoulde he inherite his eſtate and Dukedome: and if it happened him to leaue any heyre Male behinde him, then ſhoulde he yet helpe him to recouer his lande and dominion in Brytaine, bereft frō him by his brother.

Brenne maryeth the duke of the Alobroges daughter.

Theſe conditions well and ſurely vppon the Dukes part by the aſſent of the Nobles of his lande concluded, ratified, and aſſured, the ſayde Duke within the ſpace of one yeare after dyed. And then after a certaine time it beeing knowne that the Duches was not with childe, all the Lords of that Countrey did homage vnto Bren, receyuing him as their Lorde and ſupreme gouernour, vpon whome he likewiſe for his part in recompence of their curteſie, beſtowed a great portion of his treaſure.

Brenne with an armie returneth into Brytaine.

Shortly after alſo, with their aſſent he gathered an army, and with the ſame eftſoones came ouer into Brytayne, to make new warre vpon his brother Belyne. Of whoſe landing when Beline was informed, he aſſembled his people and made himſelfe readie to meete him, but as they were at poynt to haue ioyned battell, by the interceſſiō of their mother that came betwixt them, and demeaned hirſelfe in all motherly order, and moſte louing maner towardes them both, they fell to an agreement, and were made friendes or euer they parted aſunder.

Brenne and Beline made friendes by interceſsion of their mother.

After this they repayred to London, and there taking aduice togyther with their Peeres and Counſellors, for the good order and quieting of the lande, at length they accorded to paſſe wyth both their armies into Gallia to ſubdue that whole Countrey, and ſo following this determination, they tooke ſhipping and ſayled ouer into Gallia, where beginning the warre with fire and ſword, they wrought ſuch mayſteries, that within a ſhort time (as ſayth Geffrey of Monmouth) they conquered a great part of Gallia, Italy, and Germanie, and brought it to their ſubiection. In the ende they tooke Rome by this occaſion (as wryters report, if theſe be the ſame that had the leading of thoſe *Galli*, which in this ſeaſon did ſo much hurt in Italy and other parts of the world.

They inuade Gallia and Italie.

After they had paſſed the mountaynes, & were entred into Tuſkaine, they beſieged the Citie of Cluſium, the Citizens whereof beeing in greate daunger, ſent to Rome for ayde agaynſt theyr enimies. Whereupon the Romaines conſidering with themſelues, that although they were not in any league of ſocietie with the Cluſians, yet if they were ouercome, the dāger of the next brunt were like to be theirs: with all ſpeed they ſent ambaſſadours to intreate betwixte the parties for ſome peace to be had.

Now Chiuſi.

Ambaſſadors ſent from Rome.

They that were ſent, required the Captaynes of the Gaulles in name of the Senate and Citizens of Rome, not to moleſt the friendes of the Romaines: Whereunto anſwere was made by Brennus, that for his part he could be content to haue peace, if it were ſo that the Cluſians would be agreeable that the Gaulles might haue part of theyr Countrey, which they held being more than they did alreadie well occupie, for otherwiſe (ſayd he) there could be no peace graunted.

Brennus anſwere.

The Romaine Ambaſſadors being offended with theſe wordes, demaunded what the Gaules had to do in Tuſkain. By reaſon of which and other the like ouerthwart wordes, the parties began to kindle in diſpleaſure ſo farre, yͭ their cōmunication brake of, and ſo they from treating fell againe to trie the matter by dynt of ſworde.

The treatie of peace breaketh off.

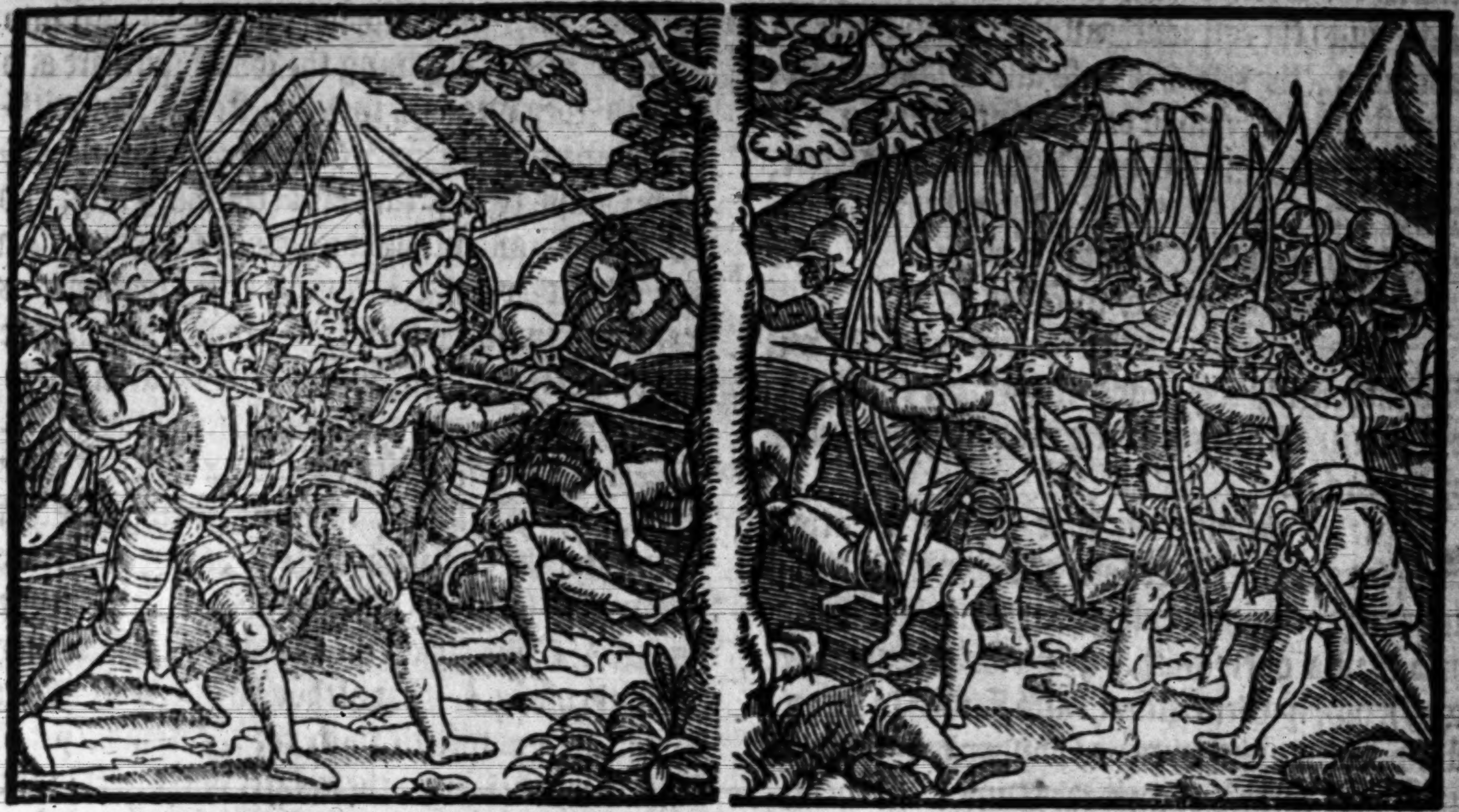
The Romaine Ambaſſadors alſo to ſhewe of what prowes the Romaines were, contrarie to the law of Nations, yͭ forbiddeth ſuch as come in Ambaſſade about any treatie of peace, to take either one part or other, tooke weapon in hand & ioyned themſelues with the Cluſians, wherewith the Gaulles were ſo muche diſpleaſed, that incontinently with one voyce, they requyred to haue the ſiege rayſed from Cluſium, that they might go to Rome. But Brennus thought good firſt to ſend Meſſengers thither, to require the deliuerie of ſuch as had broken the lawe, that puniſhment might be done on them accordingly as they had deſerued. This was done, and knowledge brought againe, that the Ambaſſadors were not onely not puniſhed, but alſo choſen to be Tribunes for the next yeare.

The Gaules make towards Rome.

The Gaulles then became in ſuch a rage (bycauſe they ſaw there was nothing to be looked for at the handes of the Romaines, but warre, iniurious wrongs, and deceytfull traynes) that they turned all their force agaynſt them, marching ſtreight towardes Rome, and by the way deſtroying all that ſtoode before them.

The Romains encountering with the Gauls are ouerthrowne.

The Romaines aduertiſed thereof, aſſembled themſelues togither to the number of .xl. M. and encountring with Beline and Brenne, neare to the riuer Allia, about .xj. miles on this ſide Rome, were ſlaine and quite diſcomfited.



The Galles could vneth beleeue that they had got the victorie with ſo ſmall reſiſtance: but whē they perceyued that the Romaines were wholy ouerthrowne, and that the field was clerely rid of them, they got togither the ſpoyle, and made towards Rome it ſelfe, where ſuch feare and terror was ſtryken into the heartes of the people, that all men were in diſpayre to defende the Citie: and therefore the Senate with all the warrelike youth of the Citizens got them into the Capitoll, which they furniſhed with vitayles and all things neceſſarie for the maintenance of the ſame agaynſt a long ſiege. The honourable fathers and all the multitude of other people not apt for warres, remayned ſtil in the Citie, as it were to periſh with their Countrey, if happe ſo befell.

The Romains in deſpayre withdraw into the Capitoll.

The Gaules enter into Rome.

In the meane time came the Gaulles to the Citie, and entring by the gate Collina, they paſſe forth the right way vnto the Market place, marueyling to ſee the houſes of the poorer ſort to bee ſhut agaynſt them, and thoſe of the rycher to remaine wide open, wherefore being doubtfull of ſome deceytfull traynes, they were not ouer raſhe to enter the ſame, but after they had eſpied the auncient fathers ſit in theyr Chayres apparelled in theyr riche Robes, as if they had beene in the Senate, they reuerenced them as Gods, ſo honorable was their port, grauneſſe in countnaunce, and ſhew of apparell.

The reuerend aſpect of the Senators.

Marcus Papyrius.

In the meane time it chaunced, that Marcus Papyrius ſtroke one of the Gaulles on the heade with his ſtaffe, bycauſe he preſumed to ſtroke his bearde: with whiche iniurie the Gaulle beeing prouoked, ſlue Papyrius (as he ſate) with hys ſworde, and therewith the ſlaughter being begun with one, all the reſidue of thoſe auncient fatherly men as they ſat in theyr Chayres were ſlaine and cruelly murthered.

Rome ſacked.

After this all the people founde in the Citie without reſpect or difference at al, were put to the ſworde, and the houſes ſacked. And thus was Rome taken by the two brethren, Beline, and Brenne. 365. yeares after the firſt building therof.

365

The Capitoll defended.

After this, the Gaulles attempted in the night ſeaſon to haue entred the Capitoll: and in deede ordered their enterpriſe ſo ſecretely, that they had atchiued their purpoſe, if a ſort of Ganders had not with their crie and noyſe diſcloſed them, in wakening the Romaines that were aſleepe: and ſo by that meanes were the Gaulles beaten backe and repulſed.

Camillus reuoked out of exile.

The Romaines beeing thus put to their extreeme ſhift, deuiſed among themſelues howe to reuoke Furius Camillus from exile, whome not long before they had vniuſtly baniſhed out of the Citie. In the ende they did not onely ſende for him home, but alſo created him Dictator, committing into his handes (ſo long as his office laſted) an abſolute power ouer all men, both of life and death.

Camillus forgetful of the iniurie done to him, and mindful of his dutie towards his Countrey, and lamenting the ſtate thereof, withoute delay gathereth ſuche an armie as the preſent time permitted.

In the meane time thoſe that kept the Capitoll (being almoſt famiſhed for lacke of vitayles) compounded with Brenne and Beline, that for the ſumme of a thouſand pounde weight in gold, the Romaines ſhould redeeme theyr liberties: and the ſayd Brenne and Beline to depart with their armie out of the Citie and all the territories of Rome. But at the deliuerie of the money, and by a certaine kinde of happe, the Romaines name was preſerued at that time from ſuche diſhonour and ignominie as was likely to haue inſued. For ſome of the couetous ſort of the Gaulles, not contented with the iuſt weight of the golde, did caſt their ſwordes alſo into the Ballance where the weightes lay, thereby to haue ouer weight: wherupon the Romains refuſed to make payment after that weight.

cōpoſition.

And thus whileſt they were in altercation about this matter, the one importunate to haue, the other not willing to graunt, the time paſſed, till in the meane ſeaſon Camillus commeth in amongeſt them with his power, commaunding that the gold ſhould be had away, and affyrming that without conſent of the Dictator, no compoſition or agreement might bee concluded by the meaner Magiſtrate. He giueth a ſigne to the Gaulles to prepare themſelues to battaile, whereunto they lightly agreed, and togither they went. The battaile being once begon, the Gaulles that loked earſt for golde, and not for battaile, were eaſily ouercome, ſuch as ſtoode to the brunt were ſlaine, and the reſt by flight conſtrayned to depart the Citie.

amillus diſ-
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e Gaulles of
ir payment.

he Gaulles
uerthrowne.

Polybius wryteth, that the Gaulles were turned from the ſiege of the Citie, through warres which chaunced amongeſt their owne people at home, and therefore they concluded a peace wyth the Romaines, and leauing them in libertie returned home againe.

But howſoeuer the matter paſſed, thus muche haue we ſtept from our purpoſe, to ſhewe ſomewhat of that noble and moſt famous Captayne Brennus, the which as not onely our Hyſtories, but alſo as Giouan Uillani the Florentine doth report, was a Brytain, and brother to Beline (as before is mentioned) although I know that many other writers are not of that mind, affyrming him to be a Gaul, and likewiſe that after this preſent time of the taking of Rome by this Brennus 110. yeares, or there aboutes, there was another Brennus a Gaull alſo by Nation (ſay they) vnder whoſe conduct an other armie of the Gaulles inuaded Grecia, whiche Brennus had a brother that hight Belgius, althoughe Humfrey Lhuyd, and ſir John Price doe flatly denie the ſame, by reaſon of ſome diſcordance in writers, and namely in the computation of the yeares ſet downe by thẽ that haue recorded the doings of thoſe times, whereof the error is growen. Howbeit I doubt not but that the truth of this matter ſhall be more fully ſifted out in time by the learned and ſtudious of ſuch antiquities.

But now to our purpoſe. This is alſo to bee noted, yͭ where our Hiſtories make mention, that Beline was abrode with Brennus in the moſte part of his victories, both in Gallia, Germany, & Italy, Titus Liuius ſpeaketh but only of Brennus: wherevpon ſome write, that after the two brethren were by their mothers intreatance made friendes, Brennus onely went ouer into Gallia, and there through prouſe of his worthie prowes, atteyned to ſuch eſtimation amongeſt the people called *Galli Senones*, that he was choſen to be their general Captaine at theyr going ouer the mountaynes into Italie. But whether Beline went ouer with his brother, and finally returned backe againe leauing Brennus behinde him, as ſome write, or that he went not at all, but remayned ſtill at home whileſt his brother was abrode, wee can affyrme no certaintie.

Tit. Liu.
Polidor.
Mat. VVeſt.

The truth is, that the moſte part of all oure writers make report of many worthie deedes accompliſhed by Beline, in repayring of Cities decayed, and erecting of other newe buyldings, to the adorning and beautifying of his Realme and kingdome.

And amongeſt other workes which were by him erected, he buylded a Citie in the ſouth parte of Wales, neare to the place where the riuer Vſke falleth into Seuerne, faſt by Glamorgan, which citie hight Cairlleon, or Cairlegion Ar Wiſke.

Polichr.
Gal. M.
Cairlleon r Wiske buylt by Belin.

This Cairlegion was the principall Citie in tyme paſt of all Demetia, nowe called Southwales. Many notable monumentes are remayning there till this day, teſtifying the great magnificence and royall buyldings of that Citie in olde tyme.

There were in the ſame Citie alſo ſithe the time of Chriſt three Churches, one of Saint Julius the Martyr, an other of Saint Aron, and the third was the mother Church of all Demetia, and the chiefe Sea: but after the ſame ſea was tranſlated vnto Meneuia, (that is to ſay) Saint Dauid in Weſtwales.

In this Cairlleon was Amphibalus borne that taught and inſtructed Saint Albon.

Alſo this Beline buylded an hauen, with a gate ouer the ſame, within the Citie of Troynouant, or London, in the ſummet whereof afterwards was ſet a veſſell of Braſſe, in the whiche were put the aſhes of his bodie, which bodie after his deceaſſe was burnt, as the maner of burying in thoſe dayes did require.

Fabian.

This

Iohn Leyland.

This gate was long after called Bellinus gate, and at length by corruption of language Bellings gate.

He buylded alſo a Caſtell Eaſtwarde from this gate (as ſome haue written) whiche was long tyme after likewyſe called Bellyns Caſtell, and is the ſame whiche nowe wee call the Tower of London.

The tower of London built by Beline.

Thus Beline ſtudying dayly to beautifie this lande with goodly buyldings and famous workes, at length departed this lyfe, after he had raigned with his brother and alone, the ſpace of .xxvj. yeare.

Gurguint.

Gurguint.

Gurguyntus yͤ ſon of Beline, began to raigne ouer the Brytayns, in the yeare of the Worlde, 1596. after the building of Rome. 380. after yͤ deliuerãce of the Iſraelites oute of captiuitie. 164. complete, which was aboute the. xxxiij. yeare of Artaxerxes Mnenon, ſurnamed Magnus, the. vij. king of the Perſians.

Th.s Gurguint, in the Engliſh Chronicle is named Corinbratus, and by Math. Weſtmon. he is ſurnamed Barbiruc, the which bycauſe the trybute graunted by Guylthdag King of Denmarke in perpetuitie vnto the Kings of Brytaine was denyed, hee ſayled with a mightie nauie and armie of men into Denmarke, where hee made ſuche warre with fyre and ſworde, that the King of Denmarke with the aſſent of hys Barons was conſtrayned to graunt eftſoones to continue the payment of the aforeſayde trybute.

Ma. Weſt
Gal. M.

Gurguint cōſtrayned the Danes by force to pay their tribute.

After hee had thus atchieued hys deſyre in Denmarke, as he returned back toward Brytain againe, he encountred with a Nauie of .xxx. ſhips beſyde the Iles of Orkeney.

These Shippes were fraught with men and women, and had to theyr Captayne one called Bartholoin or Partholin. The which beeyng brought to the preſence of King Gurguint, declared that hee with hys people were baniſhed oute of Spayne, and were named Balences or Baſclenſes, and had ſayled long on the Sea, to the ende to fynde ſome Prince that woulde aſſigne to them a place of habitation, vnto whom they would become ſubiects, and hold of him as of theyr ſoueraigne gouernour.

Mat. Weſt.
Gal. Mon.

Baſques.

See more here of in Ireland.

Therefore hee beſought the King to conſider theyr eſtate, and of his greate benignitie, to appoynte ſome voyde quarter where they might inhabite.

The King with the aduice of hys Barons, graunted to them the Iſle of Irelande, whiche as then (by report of ſome Authours) lay waſt and without habitation.

But it ſhoulde appeare by other wryters, that it was inhabyted long before thoſe dayes, by the people called Hibernenſes, of Hiberus theyr Captayne that brought them alſo out of Spaine.

Polichron.

After that Gurguintus was returned into hys Countrey, hee ordeyned that the lawes made by his aunceſtours, ſhoulde be duely kept and obſerued.

And thus admyniſtring iuſtice to hys ſubiectes for the tearme of .xix. yeares, he finally departed this lyfe, and was buried at London, or as ſome haue, at Cairleon.

In hys dayes was the Towne of Cambridge wyth the Vniuerſitie fyrſt founded by Cantaber, brother to the aforeſayde Bartholoin (according to ſome wryters) as after ſhall appeare.

Caius.

Guintolinus.

Guintolinus.

Guyntolinus, or Guintellius yͤ ſonne of Gurguintus, was admitted king of Brytayne, in the yeare of the world. 3614 after the buylding of the citie of Rome. 399. and ſeconde yeare of the. 106. Olympiade.

This Guintoline was a prudent Prince, graue in counſell, and ſober in behauiour. He had alſo a wife named Martia, a woman of paſſing beautie, and wiſedome incomparable, as by hir prudent gouernment and equall adminiſtration of iuſtice after hir huſbandes deceaſe, during hir ſonnes minoritie, it moſt manifeſtly appeared.

It is thought that in an happy time this Guintoline came to the gouernance of this kingdome, being ſhaken and brought out of order with ciuill diſſentions, to the ende he might reduce it to the former eſtate, which he earneſtly accompliſhed: for hauing once got the place, hee ſtudyed with great diligence to refourme of newe, and to adorne with iuſtice, lawes, and good orders, the Brytiſh common wealth, by other Kings not ſo framed as ſtoode with the quietneſſe thereof. But afore all things hee vtterly remoued and appeaſed ſuche ciuyll diſcorde, as ſeemed yet

ta

to remaine after the maner of a remnant of thoſe ſeditious factions and partakings, which had ſo long time raigned in this lande. But as he was buſie in hande herewith, death tooke him out of this life, after he had raigned. xxvij. yeares, and then was he buried at London.

Sicilius.

ilius.

SIcilius the ſonne of Guintoline, being not paſt ſeuen yeers of age when his father dyed, was admitted king, in the yeare. 3650. after the buylding of Rome. 430. and after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites out of captiuitie. 218, and in the firſt after the death of Alexander.

By reaſon that Sicilius was not of age ſufficient of himſelfe to guide the kingdome of the Brytaynes, his mother that worthie Ladie called Martia, had the gouernance both of his realm and perſon committed to hir charge.

ne Mar-
ouerneth
ſonnes
ath.

naketh

She was a woman expert and ſkilful in diuerſe ſciences, but chiefely beeing admitted to the gouernance of the realme, ſhe ſtudied to preſerue the common wealth in good quiet and wholſome order, and therefore deuiſed & eſtabliſhed profitable & conueniente lawes the which after were called Martian laws, of hir name that fyrſt made them.

. VVeſt.

These lawes, as thoſe that were thought good and neceſſarie for the preſeruation of the common wealth, Alfred, or Alured, that was long after king of England, tranſlated alſo out of the Brytiſhe tongue, into the Engliſh Saxon ſpeeche, and then were they called after that tranſlation Marchenlaghe, that is to meane, the lawes of Martia.

To conclude, this worthie woman guided the lande during the minoritie of hir ſonne right politiquely, and highly to hir perpetuall renowme and commendation. And when hir ſonne came to lawfull age, ſhe deliuered vp the gouernaunce into his handes.

t. VVeſt.
ton.

How long he raigned wryters varie, ſome auouche but ſeuen yeares, though other affyrme xv. whiche agreeth not ſo well with the accorde of other hyſtories and tymes. He was buried at London.

Kimarus.

Kima-
s.

KImarus the ſonne of Sicilius, began to raign ouer the Brytaynes, in the yeare of the world 3657. and after the buylding of Rome. 442. and in the firſt yeare of the. 117. Olympiade.

ian.

This Kimarus being a wild yong man, and giuen to follow his luſtes and pleaſure, was ſlain by ſome that were his enimies, as he was abrode in hunting, when hee had raigned ſcarcely three yeares.

Elanius.

Elanius

Math. VVeſt.

ELanius yͤ ſon of Kimarus, or as other haue, his brother, began to rule the Brytaines in the yere after the creation of yͤ world. 3661. after the building of Rome. 445. after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites. 229. and in the fourth yere of the Seleuciens, after which account the bookes of Machabees doe recken, which beganne in the xiiij. after the death of Alexander.

This Elanius in the Engliſhe Chronicle is named alſo Haran, by *Mat. VVeſtm.* Danius, and by an olde Chronicle which Fabian muche followed, Elanius: and Kimarus ſhoulde ſeeme to be one perſon: but other holde the contrarie, and ſay that he raigned fully. viij. yeares.

Morinde.

Morind.

MOrindus the Baſtard ſonne of Elanius, was admitted king of Brytayne, in the yeare of the worlde 3667. after the buylding of Rome. 451. after the deliueraunce of the Iſraelites. 236. and in the tenth yeare of Caſſander K. of Macedonia, which hauing diſpatched Olympias the mother of Alexander the great, and gotten Roxanes with Alexanders ſonne into his handes, vſurped the kingdome of the Macedonians, and helde it. xv. yeares.

This Morindus in the Engliſhe Chronicle is called Morwith, and was a man of worthie fame in chiualrie and Martial doings, but ſo cruell withall, that his vnmercifull nature could vneth be ſatiſfied with the tormẽts of them that had offended him, although oftentymes with his own handes he cruelly put them to torture and execution. He was alſo beautifull and comely of perſonage, liberall and bounteous, and of a meruellous ſtrength.

G. Mon.

In his dayes, a certaine king of the people called Mortani, with a great army landed in Northumberlande, and beganne to make cruell warre vpon the inhabitantes. But Morind aduertiſed hereof, aſſembled his Brytaines, came againſt the enimies, and in battaile put them to flight, and chaſing them to theyr ſhippes, tooke a great number

ber of them priſoners, whom to the ſatiſfying of his cruell nature he cauſed to be ſlaine euen in his preſence. Some of them were headed, ſome ſtrangled, ſome panched, and ſome he cauſed to be ſlain quicke.

The like may be thought of thoſe Murreys or Morauians of whom. H.B. ſpeaketh.

Fabian.

These people who Gal. Mon. nameth Moriani, I take to bee eyther thoſe that inhabited about Terrouane and Calice called Morini, or ſome other people of the Gaulles or Germaines, and not as ſome eſteeme them, Morauians, or Merhenners, whiche were not knowne to the world (as Humfrey Llhuid hath verie well noted) tyll about the dayes of the Emperour Mauritius, which miſcõſtructiõ of names hath brought the Brytiſhe Hyſtorie further out of credite than reaſon requyreth, if the cyrcumſtaunces be duely conſidered.

But now to ende with Morindus. At length this bloudie Prince heard of a Monſter that was come a lande out of the Iriſh ſea, with the which when he woulde needes fight, he was of the ſame deuoured, after he had raigned the terme of. viij. yeares, leauing behinde him fiue ſonnes, Gorbomannus, Archigallo, Elidurus, Vigenius, or Nigenius, and Peredurus.

Gorbonian.

Gorbomen, or Gorbonian.

GOrbonianus yͤ firſt ſonne of Morindus, ſucceded hys father in the Kingdome of Brytayne, in the yeare of the world. 3676. after the buylding of Rome. 46 .and fourth yeare of the. 121. Olympiade.

A righteous and religious Prince.

This Gorbonianus in the Engliſhe Chronicle is named Granbodian, and was a righteous Prince in his gouernment, and very deuout (according to ſuch deuotion as he had) towardes the aduauncing of the religion of his Gods: and therupon he repayred all the olde Temples throughe his kingdome, and erected ſome of newe.

He buylded alſo the townes of Cambridge, and Grantham (as Caxton wryteth) and was beloued both of the rich and poore, for he honored the rich, and relieued the poore in time of their neceſſities.

In his time alſo was more plentie of al things neceſſarie for the wealthfull ſtate of man, than had beene before in any of his predeceſſors dayes.

He dyed without iſſue, after hee had raigned (by the accorde of moſt wryters) about the terme of ten yeares.

There be that write, that this Gorbonian built the townes of Cairgrant, now called Cãbridge, and alſo Grantham, but ſome thinke that thoſe which haue ſo written are deceyued, in miſtaking the name, for that Cãbridge was at the firſt called Granta: and by that meanes it might bee that Gorbonian built onely Grantham, and not Cãbrige, namely, bicauſe other write how that Cãbridge (as before is ſaid) was built in the dayes of Gurgũtius the ſonne of Beline, by one Cantaber a Spaniard, brother to Partholoin, which Partholoin by the aduice of the ſame Gurgũtius, got ſeates for himſelfe and his companie in Ireland, (as before ye haue heard.)

Cambri by whom was buil

The ſayd Cantaber alſo obteyning licence of Gurguntius, buylded a town vpon the ſide of the ryuer called Canta, which he cloſed with walles, and fortified with a ſtrong tower or Caſtell, and after procuring Philoſophers to come hither from Athens (where in his youth he had bene a ſtudent) he placed them there, and ſo euen then was that place furniſhed (as they ſay) with lerned men, and ſuch as were redie to inſtruct others in knowledge of letters & Philoſophicall doctrine. But by whõ or in what time ſoeuer it was built, certaine it is that there was a Citie or towne walled in that place before the cõming of the Saxons, called by the Brytaynes Cairgraunt, and by the Saxons Grantcheſter.

This towne fell ſo in ruyne by the inuaſion of the Saxons, that at length it was in maner left deſolate, and at this day remayneth as a village. But neare therunto vnder the Saxon kings, an other towne was buylt, now called Cambridge, where by the fauor of K. Sigebert & Felix a Burgunian, that was Biſhop of Dunwich, a ſchole was erected, as in place cõuenient it ſhal appeare.

Archigallo.

Arch gallo.

ARchigallo, the ſeconde ſonne of Morindus, & brother vnto Gorbonianus, was admitted King of Brytayn, in the yeare. 3686. after the buylding of the citie of Rome. 470. after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites out of captiuitie. 255. and in the firſt yeare of Soſthenes king of Macedonia.

He is gi neuiſh d ſention.

This Archigallo (in the Engliſh Chronicle called Artogaill,) followed not the ſteppes of hys brother, but giuing himſelfe to diſſention & ſtrife, ymagined cauſes agaynſt his Nobles, that hee might diſplace them, & ſet ſuch in their rowmthes as were men of baſe byrth and of euill cõditions.

Alſo he ſought by vnlawfull meanes to bereaue his wealthie ſubiectes of their goods and riches, ſo to enrich himſelfe and impoueriſh his people. For the which his inordinate doings, his Nobles cōſpired agaynſt him, and finally depriued him of all his honor & kingly dignitie, after he had raigned about the ſpace of one yeare.

Elidure.

Elidure

Elidurus ẏ third ſonne of Morindus, & brother to Archigallo, was by one aſſente of the Brytaynes choſen to raigne ouer them in hys brothers ſtead, after the creation of the worlde. 3687. and after the buylding of the Citie of Rome. 471. after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites, and in the firſt yeare of Soſthenes king of Macedonia.

This Elidurus in the Engliſh Chronicle named Hiſider, or Eſoder, proued a moſt righteous Prince, and doubting leaſt he ſhould do otherwiſe than became him, if hee did not take care for his brother Archigallos eſtate, a man might wonder what diligence he ſhewed in traueyling with the Nobles of the Realme to haue his brother reſtored to the Crowne againe.

And as it chaunced one day (being abrode on hunting in the Wood called Calater) neare vnto Yorke, he found his brother Archigallo wandring there in the thickeſt of that wilderneſſe, whom in moſt louing maner he ſecretly conueyed home to his houſe, being as then in the Citie of Aldud, otherwiſe called Acliud.

this it
ould ſeeme
at Alcliud
ould not be
Scotland,
ntrary to
e Scottiſh
uthours.

Shortly after he feyned himſelfe ſicke, and in al haſt ſent Meſſengers about to aſſemble his barons, who being come at the day appoynted, hee called them one after another into his priuie chāber, & there hādled thē in ſuch effectuous ſort with wiſe and diſcrete wordes, that hee got their good willes to further him to their powers for the reducing of the kingdome eftſoones into the handes of his brother Archigallo.

And after this he aſſembled a counſel at York, where he ſo vſed the matter with the commons, that in concluſion, when the ſayd Elidurus had gouerned the land well and honourably the ſpace of three yeres, he reſigned wholy his Crowne and kingly title vnto his ſaid brother Archigallo, who was receyued of the Brytaynes againe as King, by mediation of his brother in maner as afore is ſayde. A rare example of brotherly loue, if a man ſhall reuolue in his mind what an inordinate deſire remayneth amongeſt mortall men to atteyne to the ſupreeme ſoueraintie of ruling, and to keepe the ſame when they once haue it in poſſeſſion. For this greate good will and brotherly loue by hym ſhewed thus towards his brother, he was ſurnamed the godly or vertuous.

xample
brotherly
e.

Archigallo againe.

When Archigallo was thus reſtored to the kingdome, and hauing learned by due correction that he muſt turne the leafe, and take out a new leſſon, by chāging his former trade of liuing into better, if he would raigne in ſurtie: he became a new man, vſing himſelfe vprightly in the adminiſtration of iuſtice, & behauing himſelfe ſo worthily in all his doings, both towards the Nobles and commons of his realme, that he was both beloued and dread of all his ſubiectes. And ſo continuing the whole terme of his life, finally departed this worlde now after he had raigned this ſecond time the ſpace of tenne yeares, and was buryed at Yorke.

Elidure againe.

Elidurus brother to this Archigallo, was then again admitted king by conſent of al the Brytaynes. 3700. of the worlde. But his two yonger brethren, Vigenius and Peredurus, enuying the happie ſtate of this worthie Prince, ſo highly for his vertue and good gouernaunce eſteemed of the Brytaynes, of a grounded malice conſpired agaynſt him, and aſſembling an armie, leuied warre agaynſt him, and in a pight field tooke him priſoner, and put him in the Tower of London, there to be kept ſafely as a priſoner, after he had raigned now this laſt time the ſpace of one yeare.

Mat. VVeſt.

Brother agaynſt brother.

Elidure committed to priſon.

Vigenius and Peredurus.

Vigenius & Peridurus, ẏ yōgeſt ſonns of Morindus, and brethren to Elidurus, beganne to raign iointly as kings of Brytayne, in the yeare of the worlde. 3701. after the buylding of Rome. 485. after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites. 266. complete, and in the xij. yere of Antigonus Gonatas, the ſonne of Demetrius king of the Macedonians.

Vigenius and Peredurus.

Theſe two brethren in the Engliſh Chronicle are named Higanius, and Petitur, the which (as teſtifieth, Gal. Mon.) deuided the realme betwixt them, ſo that all the lande from Humber weſtward, fel to Vigenius, or Higanius, the other part beyōd Hūber northward Peridure held. But other affirm, ẏ Peredurus only raigned & held his brother Elidurus in priſon by his owne conſent, forſomuch as he was not willing to gouerne.

Brytayne deuided into two realmes.

But Gal. Mon. ſayth, that Vigenius dyed after he had raigned. vij. yeares, and then Peridurus ſeaſed all the land into his owne rule, and gouerned it with ſuch ſobrietie and wiſedome, that he was prayſed aboue all his brethren, ſo that Elidurus was quite forgotten of the Brytaynes. But other write, that he was a verie tyrant, and vſed himſelfe right cruelly towardes the Lordes of his lande, whervpon they rebelled and ſlue him. But whether by violent hand, or by naturall ſickneſſe, he finally departed this life, after the conſent of moſt wryters, when hee had raigned viij. yeares, leauing no iſſue behinde him to ſucceede in the gouernaunce of the kingdome. Hee buylded the towne of Pykering, where his bodie was buried.

Varietie in wryters.

Caxton.

Eth. Bur.

Elidurus the thirde time.

Elidurus then as ſoone as his brother Peridurus was dead, for as muche as hee was nexte heyre to the crowne, was deliuered out of pryſon, and now the thirde tyme admitted king of Brytayne, who vſed himſelfe (as before) very orderly in miniſtring to all perſons right and iuſtice all the dayes of his life, and laſtly beeing growne to great age dyed, when he had raigned nowe thys thirde tyme, (after moſt concordance of writers) the tearme of foure yeares: and was buryed at Carleill.

He is buried at Carleil.

Here is to be noted, that euen from the beginning of the Brytiſh kings, whiche raigned here in this lande, there is great diuerſitie amōgſt wryters, both touching the names, and alſo the tymes of theyr raignes, ſpecially till they come to the death of the laſt mentioned king Elidurus. Inſomuch that Polydor Vergile in his Hyſtorie of Englande, finding a manifeſt error (as he taketh it) in thoſe wryters whom he followeth touching the account, from the comming of Brute, vnto the ſacking of Rome by Brennus, whome our hyſtories affyrme to be the brother of Beline, that to fill vp the number whiche is wanting in the reckening of the yeares of thoſe Kings which raigned after Brute, tyll the dayes of the ſame Brenne and Beline, he thought good to chaunge the order, leaſt one error ſhould follow an other, and ſo of one error making many, he hath placed thoſe kings whiche after other wryters ſhoulde ſeeme to followe Brenne and Beline, betwixte Dunuallo and Mulmutius, father to the ſayde Beline and Brenne, and thoſe fiue kings whiche ſtroue for the gouernment after the deceaſe of the two brethren, Ferrex, and Porrex, putting Guintoline to ſucceede after the fiue kings or rulers, and after Guintoline his wife Martia during the minoritie of hir ſonne, then hir ſayde ſonne named Sicilius. After him theſe whoſe names follow in order. Chimarius, Danius, Moruidius, Corbonianus, Archigallo, who beeing depoſed, Elidurus was made king, and ſo continued till he reſtored the gouernment (as ye haue heard) to Archigallo againe, and after his death Elidurus was eftſones admitted, and within a while againe depoſed by Vigenius & Peridurus, & after theyr deceaſſes, the thirde time reſtored. Then after his deceaſe, followed ſucceſſiuely Reginus, Morganus, Emnanus, Idnuallo, Rimo, Geruntius, Catellus, Coillus, Porrex the ſecond of that name, Cherinus, Fulgētius, Eldalus, Androgeus, Vrianus, and Eliud, after whom ſhould follow Dūuallo Molmutius, as in his proper place, if the order of things done, and the courſe of tyme ſhould be obſerued, as Polidore gathereth by the account of yeares attributed to thoſe kings that raigned before and after Dunuallo, according to thoſe Authours whom (as I ſayde) he followeth, if they will that Brennus which led the Gaulles to Rome, be the ſame that was ſonne to the ſayd Dunuallo Molmutius, and brother to Beline.

The diuerſitie of wryters in the account of yeares.

Polidor.

But ſithe other haue in better order brought out a perfite agreement in the account of yeares and ſucceſſion of thoſe kings, which raigned and gouerned here in this lande before the ſacking of Rome, and alſo another ſuche as it is after the ſame, and before the Romaines had anye perfite knowledge thereof, we haue thought good to follow them therein, leauing to euery man his libertie to iudge as his knowledge ſhall ſerue him in a thing ſo doubtfull and vncertaine, by reaſon of variaunce amongeſt the auncient wryters in that behalfe.

And euen as there is great difference in wryters ſince Gurguntius, till the death of Elidurus, ſo is there as great or rather greater after his deceaſſe, ſpecially till king Lud atteyned the kingdome. But as may be gathered by that whiche Fabian and other whom he followeth doe wryte, there paſſed aboue. 185. yeares, betwixt the laſte yere of Elidurus, and the beginning of king Lud his raigne, in the which time there raigned xxxij. or xxxiij. kings, as ſome writers haue mētioned, whoſe names (as Gal. Mon. hath recorded) are theſe: Regny the ſonne of Gorbolyan or Gorbonian, a worthie Prince, both iuſtly and mercifully gouerned his people. Then Margan the ſonne of Archigallo a noble Prince likewiſe, and guiding his ſubiects in good quiet. Emerian brother to the ſame Margan, but farre vnlike to him in maners, ſo that he was depoſed in the firſt yere of his raigne. Ydwallo ſonne to Vigenius. Rimo the ſonne of Peridurus. Geruntius the ſonne of Elidurus. Then Catell that was buried at Winchester. Coill that was buried at Notingham. Porrex a vertuous and moſt gentle prince. Cherinus a Drunkerd. Then Fulginius, Eldad, and Androgius: theſe three were ſonnes to Cherinus, and raigned ſucceſſiuely one after another.

Fabian.

rianus,

After them a ſonne of Androgeus. Then Eliud, Dedaicus, Clotinius, Gurguntius, Merianus, Bledius, Cop, Owen, Sicilius, Blegabredus an excellẽt Muſitiã. After him his brother Archemail. Then Eldol, Red, Rodieck, Samuil, Peniſel, Pir, Capoir. And after him his ſon Gligweill an vpright dealing prince, & a good iuſticiarie. After whõ ſucceeded his ſonne Hely, which raigned .lx. yeres, as the foreſaid Gal. Mon. writeth, where other affyrme that he raigned .xl. yeares, & ſome againe ſay that he raigned but .vij. moneths.

Such diuerſitie is there in writers touching the raignes of theſe kings, and not only for the nũber of yeres which they ſhuld cõtinue in their raignes but alſo in their names: ſo that to ſhew the diuerſitie of all the writers, were but to ſmall purpoſe, ſith the doings of the ſame kings were not great by report made thereof by any approued author. But this maye ſuffice to aduertiſe you, that by conferring the yeres attributed to the other kings which raigned before them ſith the comming of Brute, who ſhoulde enter this lande (as by the beſt writers it is gathered) about the yeare before the building of Rome, 367. which was in the yere after the creation of the world. 2850. (as is ſayde) with their time there remaineth. 182. yeares to bee dealt amongſt theſe .xxxiij. kings, which raigned betwixt the ſaid Elidure and Lud, which Lud alſo began his raigne after the building of the citie of Rome (as writers affyrme) about .679. yeres, & in ỹ yere of the world 3895. as William Hariſõ hath ſet it downe in the exquiſite Chronologie whiche he hath gathered frõ the creation of Adam, wherin he ſheweth a large diſcourſe of moſte things worthy remembrance, don ſince the world began, as may appeare hereafter, if euer it come to light, and the hugenes therof & coſt to be beſtowed therupon, do not hinder the printing of the ſame.

Polidore Vergil changing (as I haue ſhewed) the order of ſucceſſion in the Brytiſhe Kings, in bringing diuerſe of thoſe kings which after other writers followed Beline and Brenne, to preceed them ſo ſucceſſiuely after Beline & Brenne, he reherſeth thoſe that by his cõiecture did by likelihood ſucceed, as thus. After the deceaſſe of Beline, his ſon Gurguntius, being the ſecond of that name ſucceded in gouernment of the land, & then theſe in order as they followe: Merianus, Bladanus, Capeus, Oninus, Silius, Bledgabredus, Archemalus, Eldolus, Rodianus, Redargius, Samulius, Peniſellus, Pyrrhus, Caporus, Dinellus, & Hely, who had iſſue, Lud, Caſſibellane, & Neninus. But to leaue the diuerſitie of writers to the iudgement of the readers in ſuch vncertaynties where an vndoubted truth may hardly be auouched, & more hardly approued, we wil not further ſtand vpon theſe doubts, but proceed with the hyſtorie. Mary this is not to be forgottẽ, ỹ of ỹ foreſaid Hely ỹ laſt of the ſaid .xxxiij. kings, the Ile of Ely tooke the name, bicauſe that he moſt commonly did there inhabite, building in the ſame a goodly palace, & making great reparations of the dykes, ditches & cawſies about that Ile, for conueiance away of the water, ỹ els would ſore haue endommaged the countrey. There be that haue mainteined that this Ile ſhould rather take name of the great abundance of Eeles that are found in thoſe waters and fennes wherwith this Ile is enuironed. But Humfrey Lhuid holdeth, that it tooke name of this Brytiſh worde *Helig*, whiche ſignifieth Willowes, wherewith thoſe fennes abound.

Lud.

Lud.

After ỹ deceaſe of the ſame Helie, his eldeſt ſon Lud begã his raign, in the yeare after the creation of the worlde 3895. after the buylding of the Citie of Rome 679. before the comming of Chriſt. 72. and before the Romaines entred Brytaine .xix. yeares.

A worthie prince.

This Lud proued a right worthie prince, amending the lawes of the realme that were defectiue, aboliſhing euill cuſtomes and maners vſed amongſt his people, and repairing old Cities and townes which were decayed: but ſpecially he delyted moſt to beautifie & enlarge with buildings the Citie of Troynouant, which he cõpaſſed with a ſtrong wall made of lime and ſtone, in the beſt maner fortified with diuerſe fayre towers: and in the weſt part of the ſame wall he erected a ſtrong gate, which he commaunded to be cleped after his name, Luds gate, and ſo vnto this day it is called Ludgate, the, s, only drowned in ỹ pronunciatiõ of the word. In the ſame citie alſo he ſoiorned for the more part, by reaſon whereof the inhabitants encreaſed and many habitations were buylded to receyue them, & he himſelfe cauſed buildings to be made betwixt London ſtone & Ludgate, & buylded for himſelf not farre from the ſayd gate a faire palace, which is the Biſh. of Londons palace, beſide Paules, at this day (as ſome think) yet Hariſ. ſuppoſeth it to haue bin Baynards caſtel, wher the black friers now ſtandeth. He alſo builded a faire Temple nere to his ſaid palace, which temple (as ſome take it) was after turned to a church, and at this day cleped Paules. By reaſon that K. Lud ſo much eſteemed ỹ citie before al other of his realme, enlarging it ſo greatly as he did, and cõtinually in maner remained there, the name was chãged, ſo ỹ it was called Cairlud, ỹ is to ſay, Luds towne: & after by corruptiõ of ſpeech it was named Lodon.

London encloſed with a wall.

Iohn. Hard.

Fabian.

Gal. Mon.

Mat. VVeſt.

The Biſhops palace.

The name of Troynouant chaunged and called London.

Beſide the princely doings of this Lud touching the aduancement of the cōmon wealth by ſtudies apperteyning to the time of peace, hee was alſo ſtrong and valiant in armes, in ſubduing his enimies. He was alſo bountrous and liberall both in giftes and in keping a plentifull houſe, ſo that he was greatly beloued of all the Brytaynes. Finally, when he had thus raigned with great honor for the ſpace of .xj. yeres, he died, and was buried nere Ludgate, leauing after him two ſonnes, Androgeus and Theomancius or Tenancius.

Caſsibellane.

Caſſi-
bellaen..

L 08

CAſſibellane the brother of Lud was admitted king of Brytaine, in the yeare of the worlde. 3908. after the buylding of Rome, 692. & before the comming of Chriſt. 58. complete. For ſith the two ſonnes of Lud were not of age able to gouerne, the rule of the land was comitted to Caſſibellane: but yet (as ſome haue written) he was not created king, but rather appoynted ruler and protector of the land, during the nonage of his nephewes.

Gal.Mon.
Mat. VVeſt.
Fabian.

Now after he was admitted (by whatſoeuer order) to the adminiſtration of the cōmon welth, he became ſo noble a prince and ſo bounteous, that his name ſpred far & nere, and by his vpright dealing in ſeeing iuſtice executed he grew in ſuch eſtimation, that the Brytayns made ſmall accoūt of his nephews, in compariſon of the fauour whiche they bare towards him. But Caſſibellane hauing reſpect to his honor, leaſt it might be thought that his nephewes were expulſed by him out of theyr rightful poſſeſſions, brought them vp very honorably, aſſigning to Androgeus, London & Kent, and to Theomantius the country of Cornewale.

Gal.Mon.

Mat. VVeſt.

And thus farre out of the Brytiſh hyſtories, by the which it may be gathered, that the yeares aſſigned to theſe kings that raigned before Caſſibelane, amount to the ſumme of. 1058. But whether theſe gouernors (whoſe names we haue recited) were kings, or rather rulers of the cōmon wealth, either elſe tyrants & vſurpers of the gouernment by force, it is vncertain: for not one ancient wryter of any approued authoritie maketh any remēbrance of thē, & by that which Julius Ceſar wryteth, it may & doth appere, that diuerſe cities in his dayes were gouerned of thēſelues, as hereafter it ſhall more plainly appeare. Neither doth he make mētion of thoſe townes which the Britiſh hyſtorie affyrmeth to be built by the ſame kings.

Polider.

In deede both hee and other latine wryters ſpeake of diuerſe people that inhabited diuers portions of this land, as of the Brigantes, Trinobantes, Iceni, Silures, and ſuch other like, but in what ſelfe partes moſt of the ſayde people did certenly inhabit, it is hard to auouch a certain truth.

But what John Leyland thinketh hereof, being one in our time that curiouſly ſerched out old antiquities, you ſhall after heare as occaſion ſerueth: and likewiſe the opinions of other, as of Hector Boetius, who coueting to haue all ſuch valiaunt actes as were atchieued by the Brytains to be aſcribed to his cuntrymē the Scots, draweth both the Silures, & Brigantes with other of the Britains ſo farre northward, that he maketh them inhabitāts of the Scottiſh cuntries. And what perticular names ſoeuer they had, yet were they all Scots with him, & knowne by that general name (as he would perſwade vs to beleue,) ſaying that they entred into Britain out of Ireland. 30. yeres before the incarnation of our ſauiour. But how generall ſoeuer the name of Scots then was, ſure it is, that no ſpeciall mention of thē is made by any writer, till about. 300. yeares after the birth of our ſauiour. And yet the Romains which ruled this land, & had ſo much ado with the people therof, make mention of diuers other people, nothing ſo famous as Boetius would make his Scottiſh men cū then to be. But to leaue to the Scots the antiquitie of their original beginning, as they and other muſt doe vnto vs our diſcent from Brute & the other Troians, ſith ẏ contrary doth not plainly appeare, vnleſſe we ſhal lean vnto preſūptions: now are we come to the time in the which what actes were atchieued, there remayneth more certaine record, and therefore may we the more boldly procede in this our hyſtorie.

Hector Bo. his faulte.

More certenty from hence forth appeareth in the hyſtorie.

In this ſeaſon ẏ Caſſibellane had the ſupreme gouernmēt here in Britain. Caius Julius Ceſar being appointed by the Senate of Rome to conquer Gallia, was for ẏ purpoſe created Conſull, & ſent with a mightie army into ẏ cuntry, where after he had brought the Galles vnto ſome frame, he determined to aſſay ẏ winning of Britain, the which as yet the Romains knew not otherwyſe thā by report. The chiefeſt cauſe that moued him to take in hand that enterpriſe, was for that he did vnderſtande, that there dayly came great ſuccors out of that Jle to thoſe Gauls that were enimies vnto the Romains. And although the ſeaſon of ẏ yere to make war was far ſpent (for ſommer was almoſt at an end) yet he thought it wold be to good purpoſe, if he might but paſſe ouer thither, & learne what maner of people did inhabite there, and diſcouer the places, hauens, & entries apperteyning to that Jle. Hervpon calling togither ſuch Marchauntes as he knewe to haue had traffique thyther wyth ſome trade of Wares, hee diligentlye enquyred of them the ſtate of the Jle: but

Iulius Ceſar.

Caeſar de bello Gal. li. 4.

Brytaynes vnknowne to th Romains.

Caeſar de bell Gal. lib. 4.

Cauſes of the warre.

Caeſars purpoſe.

but he could not be throughly ſatiſfied in anye of thoſe things that he coueted to know. Therefore thinking it good to vnderſtand all things by view that might appertaine to the vſe of that warre which he purpoſed to follow: before he attempted the ſame, he ſent one Caius Voluſenus wyth a galley or light Pinneſſe to ſuruey the coaſtes of the Ile, commaūding him after diligent ſearch made to returne with ſpeede to him againe. He himſelf alſo draweth downwardes towards Bullenoys, from whēce the ſhorteſt cut lieth to paſſe ouer into Brytaine,

ius Voluſe:
ſent ouer
o Brytaine.

In which part of Gallia there was in thoſe days an hauen called *Itius Portus*, (which ſome take to be Calice) & ſo the word importeth, an harbourgh as then able to receiue a great nūber of ſhips. Unto this hauen therefore Ceſar cauſed all the ſhips he coulde get out of the next borders and parties, and thoſe ſpecially whiche hee had prouided and put in a readineſſe the laſt yeare, for the warres (agaynſt them of Vannes in Armorica, now called Brytayne in Fraunce) to be brought thither, there to lie till they ſhould heare further.

n Leyland
lder.

ones in
tayne.

In the meane time (his indeuor being knowne, and by Merchants reported in Brytain) all thoſe that were able to beare armor were commaunded and appoynted to repayre to the ſea ſide, that they might be readie to defend their countrey in time of ſo great daunger of inuaſion. Ceſar in his Commentaries agreeth not with our hyſtoriographers: for he writeth that immediatly vpon knowledge had that he woulde inuade Brytaine, there came to him Ambaſſadors frō diuerſe cities of the Ile to offer themſelues to be ſubiects to the Romains, and to deliuer hoſtages. Whō after he had exhorted to continue in their good minde, he ſent thē home again, & with thē one Comius, gouernor of Artois, cōmaunding him to repair vnto as many cities in Brytayn as he might, & to exhort thē to ſubmit thēſelues to the Romains. He maketh no mention of Caſſibellane till the ſecond iourney ẏ he made into the Ile, at what time the ſaid Caſſibelan was choſen (as ye ſhal heare) to be the general captain of the Britayns, & to haue the whole adminiſtratiō of the war for defence of the cōutry. But he nameth him not to be a king, howbe it in the Brytiſh hyſtorie it is conteyned, that Ceſar required tribute of Caſſibelan, & that he anſwered howe he had not learned as yet to liue in ſeruage, but to defend the libertie of his country, & that with weapō in hand (if need were) as he ſhuld wel perceiue, if blinded through couetouſneſſe he ſhould aduenture to ſeke to diſquiet the Britains.

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Thus here aſwel as in other places, there is diuerſitie in authors: & to the end you ſhould not be ignorant therof, we haue thought good now and then to touch the ſame, that you may in reading take the more pleaſure, when ye ſhal marke ſome things worthie of credite, and ſomethings againſt ſo vnlikely as may rather ſeme to moue laughter, than to paſſe for matter worthie of credite.

Voluſenus returneth.

But to the purpoſe. Caius Voluſenus within fiue days after his departure from Ceſar, returned againe vnto him with his galley, & declared what he had ſeene touching the view which he had taken of the coaſtes of Brytaine.

Cæſar with two legions of ſouldiers paſſeth ouer into Brytayne.

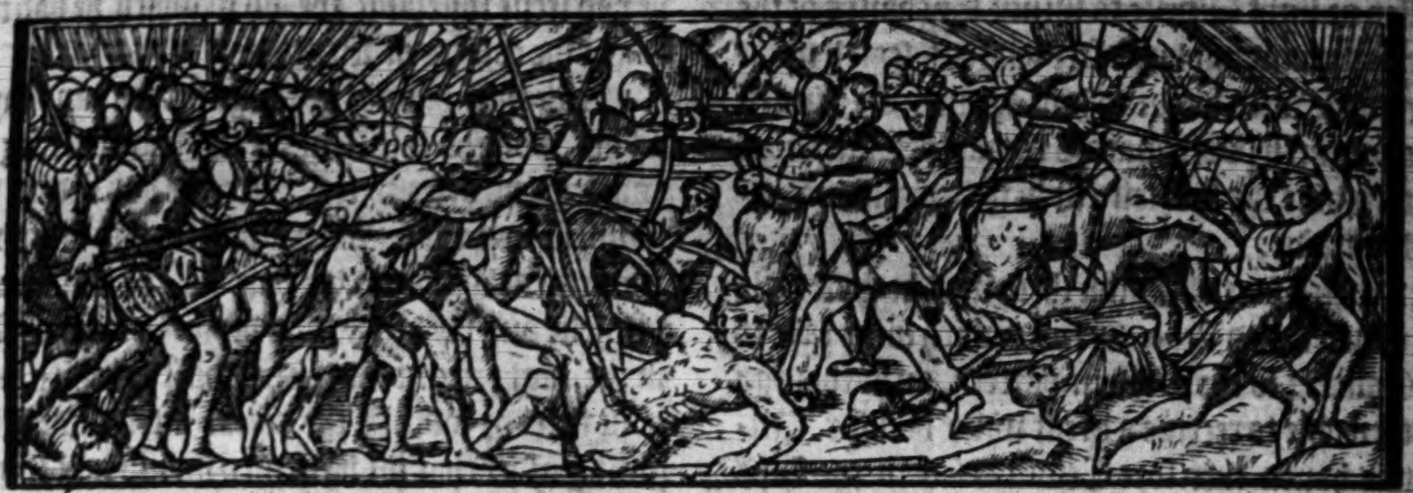
Ceſar then hauing got togither ſo many ſayle as hee thought ſufficient for the tranſporting of two legions of ſouldiers, after he had ordred his buſineſſe as he thought expedient, and gotten a conuenient winde for his purpoſe, he embarqued himſelfe and his people, and departed from Calice in the night about the thirde watch (which is about three or foure of the clocke after midnight) giuing order that the horſemen ſhould take ſhip at an other place .viij. myles aboue Calis, and follow him. But when they ſomewhat ſlacked the time, about tenne of the clocke the next day, hauing the winde at will, he touched on the coaſt of Brytayne, where he might beholde all the ſhore ſet and couered with men of warre. For the Brytaynes hearing that Ceſar ment verye ſhortly to come agaynſt them, were aſſembled in armour to reſiſt him: and now being aduertiſed of his approche to the lande, they prepared themſelues to withſtande him. Ceſar perceyuing this, determined to ſtay till the other ſhips were come, and ſo he lay at ancre till about .xj. of the clocke, and then calleth a counſill of the Marſhals and chiefe captaines, vnto whome he declared both what he had learned of Voluſenus, and alſo further what he would haue done, willing them that all things might be ordred as the reaſon of warre requyred. And bycauſe he perceyued that this place where he firſt caſt ancre, was not meete for the landing of his people, ſith (from the height of the cliffes that cloſed on ech ſide the narrow creek into the which he had thruſt) the Brytaynes might annoy hys people with their bowes and dartes, before they could ſet foote on land, hauing now the wind and tyde with him, he diſankred from thence, & drewe alongeſt the coaſt vnder the downes, the ſpace of vij. or .viij. myles: and there finding the ſhore more flat and plaine, he approched neare to the land, determining to come to the ſhore.

The Brytaines ready to defend their countrey.

Cæſar calleth a counſell.

This was about Dale.

The Brytaynes perceyuing Ceſars intent, with all ſpeede cauſed their horſmen and charets or wagons which Ceſar calleth *Eſſede*, (out of the which in thoſe dayes they vſed to fight) to marche forth toward the place whither they ſaw ẏ Ceſar drew, and after followed with their maine army. Wherefore Ceſar being thus preuented, enforced yet to lande wyth hys people, although hee ſawe that hee ſhoulde haue muche a doe, for as the Brytaynes were in readyneſſe to reſiſte hym: ſo hys greate and huge ſhyppes coulde



The Romains put to their ſhiftes.

not come neare the ſhore, but were forced to keepe the deepe, ſo that the Romaine Souldiers were put to a verie hard ſhift, for they muſt both leape forth of their ſhippes, and peſtred with their heauy armour and weapons fight in the water wyth their enimies, who knowing the flats and ſhelues ſtood either vpõ the drie ground, or elſe but a little way in the ſhallow places of the water, and being not otherwiſe encombred either with armour or weapon, but ſo as they might beſtir thẽſelues at wil, they layd load vpon the Romains with their arrowes and dartes, and forced their horſes (being thereto enured) to enter the water the more eaſily, ſo to annoy and diſtreſſe the Romaines, who wanting experience in ſuche kinde of fight, were not wel able to helpe themſelues, nor to kepe order as they vſed to doe on lande: wherefore they fought nothing ſo luſtily as they were wont to doe, which Ceaſar perceyuing, commaunded the Gallyes to depart from the great ſhippes, and to rowe harde to the ſhore, that being placed ouer agaynſt the open ſydes of the Brytaynes, they might with theyr ſhotte of Arrowes, Darts, and Slings, remoue the Brytaynes, and cauſe them to withdraw further of from the water ſide.

The Brytaynes aſtonied.

This thing being put in execution (according to his commaundement, the Brytaynes were not a little aſtonyed at the ſtraunge ſight of thoſe Gallies, for that they were dryuen with Oares, which earſt they had not ſeene, and ſhrewdly were they galled alſo with the artillerie which the Romaines diſcharged vpon them, ſo that they began to ſhrinke and retyre ſomewhat backe. Herewith one that bare the enſigne of the legion ſurnamed Decima, wherin the Eagle was figured, as in that which was the chiefe enſigne of the legion, when he ſawe his fellowes nothing eagre to make forward, firſt beſieching the goddes that his enterpriſe might turne to the weale, profite, and honour of the legion, he ſpake with a lowd voyce theſe wordes to his felowes that were about him: Leape forth now you worthie ſouldiers (ſayth he) if you wil not betray your enſigne to the enimies. For ſurely I will acquite my ſelfe according to my dutie both towardes the common welth, and my generall: and therewith leaping forth into the water, he marched with his enſigne ſtreight vpon the enimies.

The valiant courage of an enſigne bearer

The Romaines doubting to loſe their enſigne, which ſhould haue turned them to high reproche, leapt out of their ſhips ſo faſt as they might, and followed their ſtandard, ſo that there enſued a ſore encounter: and that thing that troubled moſte the Romaines, was bycauſe they could not keepe their order, neyther finde any ſure footing, nor yet follow euery man his owne Enſigne, but to put themſelues vnder that enſigne whiche hee fyrſt met with after their firſt comming forth of the Shippe.

The fierce of the Bry. taynes.

The Brytaynes that were acquainted with the ſhelfes and ſhallow places of the water, when they ſaw the Romaines thus diſorderly to come forth of their ſhips, they ranne vpon them with their horſes and fiercely aſſayled them, and nowe and then a greate multitude of the Brytaynes woulde compaſſe in, and encloſe ſome one company of them: and other alſo from the moſt open places of the ſhore beſtowed great plentie of darts vpon the whole number of the Romaines, and ſo troubled them paſſing ſore: wherevpon Ceſar perceyuing the maner of this fight, cauſed his mẽ of warre to enter into Boates and other ſmall veſſels, which he commaunded to go to ſuch places where moſt need appeared. And thus relieuing them that fought, with new ſuccours, at length the Romaines got to lande, and then aſſembling togither, they aſſayled the Brytaynes of new, and ſo at length did put them all to flight. But the Romaines could not folow the Brytaynes farre, bycauſe they wanted their horſmen, which were yet behind, and through ſlacking time coulde not come to lande. And this one thing ſeemed onely to diſappoint the luckie fortune ẏ was accuſtomed to followe Ceſar in all his other enterpriſes.

The Romai get to land

The want o horſemen.

The Bry ſend vnto Ceſar.

Comius of Arras.

The Brytains after this flight, were no ſooner got togither, but that with all ſpeed they ſent Ambaſſadors vnto Ceſar to treat with him of peace, offring to deliuer hoſtages, and further to ſtande vnto that order that Ceſar ſhould take with them in any reaſonable ſort. With theſe Ambaſſadors came alſo Comius, whõ Ceſar (as ye haue heard) had ſent before into Brytaine, whom notwithſtanding that he was an Ambaſſador, and ſent from Ceſar with commiſſion and inſtructions ſufficiently furniſhed, yet had they ſtayd him as a priſoner. But now after the battaile was ended, they ſet him at libertie, & ſent him back with their Ambaſſadors, who excuſed the matter, laying the blame on the people of the Countrey, which had impriſoned him through lacke of vnderſtanding what apperteyned to the law of armes and nations in that behalfe.

Ceſar found great fault with their miſdemeanor, not onely for impriſoning his Ambaſſador, but alſo for that contrary to their promiſes made by ſuch as they had ſent to him into Gallia to deliuer hoſtages, in lieu thereof, they had receyued him with warre: yet in the ende he ſayd he would pardon them, and not ſeeke any further reuenge of their follies. And herewith required of them hoſtages, of which, part were deliuered out of hand, and promiſe made that the reſidue ſhould likewiſe be ſent after, crauing ſome reſpite for performance of the ſame, bycauſe they were to be fetched farre off within the Countrey.

Ceſar demaũdeth hoſtages.

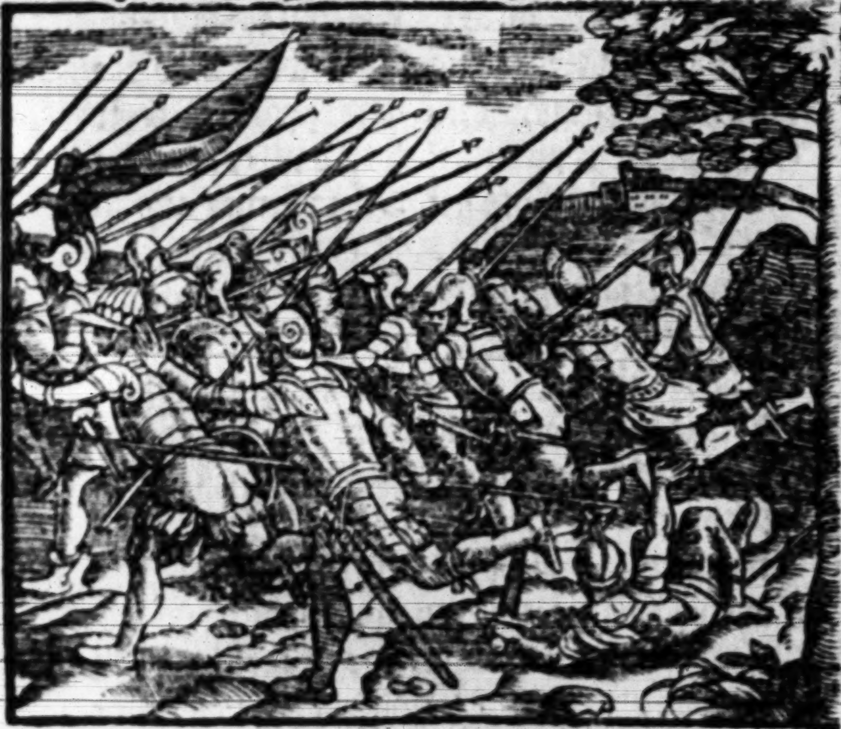
Peace being thus eſtabliſhed after the. iiij. day of the Romaines arriuall in Brytayne, the. xviij. ſhippes which (as ye haue heard) were appoynted to conuey the horſmen ouer, looſed from the further hauen with a ſoft winde. The whiche when they approched ſo neare the ſhore of Brytain, that the Romains which were in Ceſars camp might ſee them, ſodainly there aroſe ſo great a tempeſt, that none of them was able to keepe his courſe, ſo that they were not onely driuen in ſunder (ſome being caried againe into Gallia, and ſome weſtward but alſo the other ſhippes that lay at ancre, and had brought ouer the armie, were ſo pitifully beaten, toſſed and ſhaken, that a great number of them did not onely loſe their tackle, but alſo were caried by force of winde into the high ſea, the reſt being likewiſe ſo filled with water, yͭ they were in danger by ſinking to periſh & to be quite loſt. For the Moone in the ſame night was at the full, and therefore cauſed a ſpring tide, which furthered the force of the tempeſt, to the greater perill of thoſe ſhips and gallies that lay at an ancre. There was no way for the Romains to help yͤ matter: wherfore a great number of thoſe ſhips were ſo bruiſed, rent, and weatherbeaten, that without new reparation they would ſerue to no vſe of ſailing. This was a great diſcõfort to the Romaines that had brought ouer no prouiſion to liue by in yͤ winter ſeaſon, nor ſaw any hope how they ſhould repaſſe againe into Gallia. In the meane time the Brytiſh princes that were in the Romaine army, perceyuing how greatly this miſhap had diſcouraged the Romains, & againe by the ſmal circuit of their campe, geſſed that they coulde be no great number, and that lacke of vitayles ſore oppreſſed them, they priuily ſtale away one after another out of the campe, purpoſing to aſſemble their powers againe & to foreſtall the Romains from vitayles, and ſo to driue the matter off till winter: which if they might do (vanquiſhing theſe or cloſing them from returning) they truſted that none of the Romains from thenceforth would attempt eftſoones to come come into Brytain. Ceſar miſtruſting their dealings, bicauſe they ſtayd to deliuer the reſidue of their hoſtages, commaunded vitails to be brought out of yͤ parties adioyning, & not hauing other ſtuffe to repaire his ſhips, he cauſed. xij. of thoſe that were vtterly paſt recouerie by the hurts receyued through violence of the tẽpeſt, to be broken, wherwith the other (in which ſome recouerie was perceyued) might be repayred.

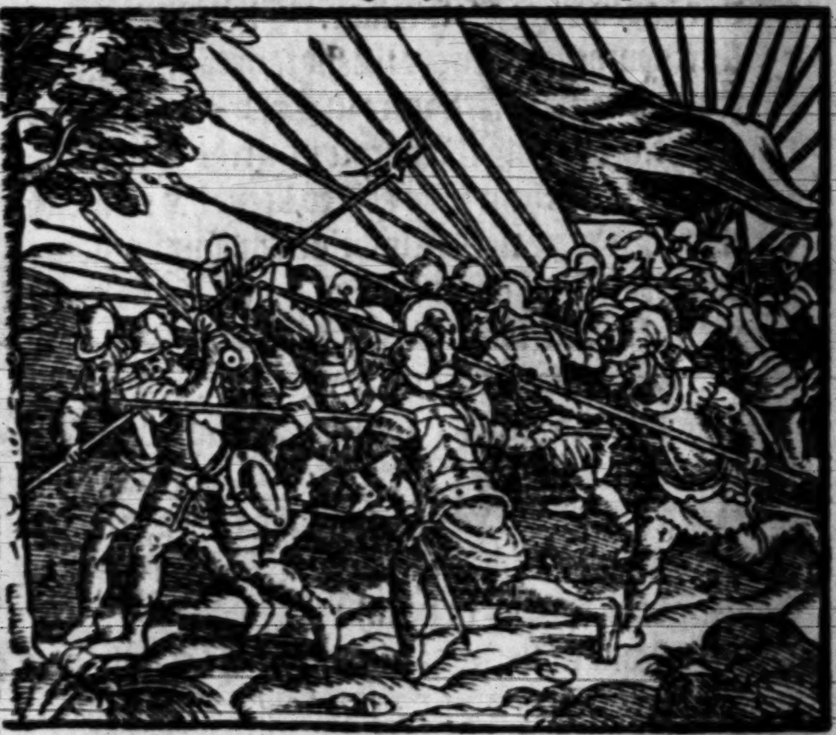
In the meane time whileſt theſe things were a doing, it chaunced that as one of the Romaine legions named the. vij. was ſent forth to fetche in corne out of the countrey adioyning (as their cuſtome was) no warre at that time being ſuſpected, or once looked for, when part of the people remayned abrode in the field, and part repayred to the camp: thoſe that warded before the campe, aduertiſed Ceſar, that there appeared a duſt greater than was accuſtomed from that quarter, into the which the legion was gone to fetch in corne. Ceſar iudging therof what the matter might meane, commaunded thoſe bandes that warded, to goe with him that way forth, and appoynted other two bands to come into their rowmthes, and the reſidue of his people to get them to armor, and to follow quickly after him. He was not gone any great way from the campe, when hee might ſee where his people were ouermatched by yͤ enimies, and had much ado to beare out the brunt: for the legion being thronged togither, the Brytaynes pelted them ſore with arrows & darts on ech ſide: for ſithence there was no forrage left in any part of the cuntry about, but only in this place, yͤ Brytains iudged that the Romains would come thither for it: therfore (hauing lodged thẽſelues wͭin the woods in ambuſhes the night before, on yͤ morow after when they ſaw the Romains diſperſed here & there, and buſie to cut downe the corne) they ſet vpon them on the ſoden, & ſleaing ſome few of them, brought the reſidue out of order, cõpaſſing thẽ about with their horſmen and charets, ſo that they were in greate diſtreſſe. The maner of fight with theſe charets was ſuch, that in yͤ beginning of a battaile they would ride aboute the ſides and ſkirts of the enimies hoſt, & beſtow their dartes as they ſat in thoſe charets, ſo that oftentimes wyth the braying of the horſes, & craking noiſe of yͤ charet wheeles they diſordred their enimies, and after that they had wound themſelues in amongſt the troupes of horſmẽ, they would leap out of the charets, & fight a foot, & in the mean time thoſe yͭ guided the charets would withdraw thẽſelues out of the battail, placing thẽſelues ſo, that if their people were ouermatched with the multitude of enimies they might eaſily withdraw to their charets, and mount vpon the ſame againe, by meanes whereof they are as readie to remoue as the horſemen, & as ſtedfaſt to ſtand in the battaile as the footmen, and ſo to ſupplie both dueties in one. And thoſe Charetmen by exerciſe and cuſtome were ſo cunning in their feat, that although their horſes were put to run and gallop, yet could they ſtay them & hold them backe at their pleaſures, and turne and wind them to and fro in a moment, notwithſtanding that the place were very ſteepe and daungerous: and againe they would run vp and downe very nimbly vpon the coppes, & ſtand vpō yͤ beam and conuey thēſelues quickly again into yͤ charet.

Ceſar thus finding his people in great diſtreſſe and readie to be deſtroyed, came in good time, and deliuered thē out of that daunger: for yͤ Brytains vpon his approch with new ſuccors, gaue ouer to aſſaile their enimies any further, & the Romaines were deliuered out of the feare wherein they ſtoode before his comming.

Furthermore, Ceſar cōſidering the time ſerued not to aſſaile his enimies, kept his ground, & ſhortly after brought backe his legions into the camp.

Whileſt theſe things were thus a doing, & all the Romains being occupied, yͤ reſt that were abrode in the fields got them away. After this there followed a ſore ſeaſon of raine and foule weather, which kept the Romains within their campe, and ſtayed the Brytains frō offring battel. But in the meane time they ſent into all parts of the coūtrey meſſengers abrode to giue knowledge of the ſmal number of the Romaines, & what hope there was both of great ſpoyle to be gotten, and occaſion to deliuer thēſelues from further daunger for euer, if they might once expell the Romaines out of their campe. Herevpon a great multitude both of horſmen and footemen of the Britains were ſpeedily got togither, & approched the Romain camp. Ceſar although he ſaw that the ſame would come to paſſe which had chanced before, that if the enimies were put to the repulſe, they would eaſily eſcape yͤ danger with ſwiftneſſe of foot, yet hauing now with him .xxx. horſemen (which Comius of Arras had brought ouer with him, whē he was ſent frō Ceſar as an Ambaſſador vnto the Brytains) he placed his legions in order of battail before his camp, and ſo cōming to ioyne with the Brytains, they were not able to ſuſteyn the violent impreſſion of the armed men, and ſo fled. The Romains purſued them ſo farre as they were able to ouertake any of them, and ſo ſleaing many of them, & burning vp their houſes all about, came backe againe to their campe.





Immediatly wherevpon, euen the ſame day they ſent Ambaſſadors to Ceſar, to ſue for peace, who gladly accepting their offer, commaunded them to ſend ouer into Gallia, after he ſhoulde be returned thither, hoſtages in nūbre double to thoſe that were agreed vpon at the firſt.

After that theſe things were thus ordred, Ceſar bycauſe that the Moneth of September was wel neare halfe ſpent, and that Winter haſted on (a ſeaſon not meete for his weake bruyſed ſhippes to brooke the Seas in) determined not to ſtay anye longer, but hauing winde and weather for his purpoſe, got himſelfe a borde with his people, and returned into Gallia.

Thus wryteth Ceſar touching his firſt iourney made into Brytaine. But the Brytiſh Hyſtorie (which Polidore calleth the new Hyſtorie) declareth, that Ceſar in a pight field was vanquiſhed at the firſt encounter, and ſo withdrew backe into Fraunce.

Cæſar de b
Gallico li.4

Beda alſo wryteth thus: that Ceſar cōming into the countrey of Gallia, where the people then called *Morini* inhabited (whiche are at this day the ſame that inhabite the Dioces of Terwine) from whence lyeth the ſhorteſt paſſage ouer into Brytain, now called England, got togither .lxxx. ſayle of great ſhippes and row Gallies, with the which he paſſed ouer into Brytayne, and there at the firſt being wearied with ſharpe and ſore fight, and after taken with a grieuous tempeſt, loſt the more part of his nauie, with no ſmall number of his ſouldiers, and almoſt all his horſemen. And therewith being returned into Gallia, placed his ſouldiers in ſteeds to ſoiourne there for the winter ſeaſon. Thus hath Bede.

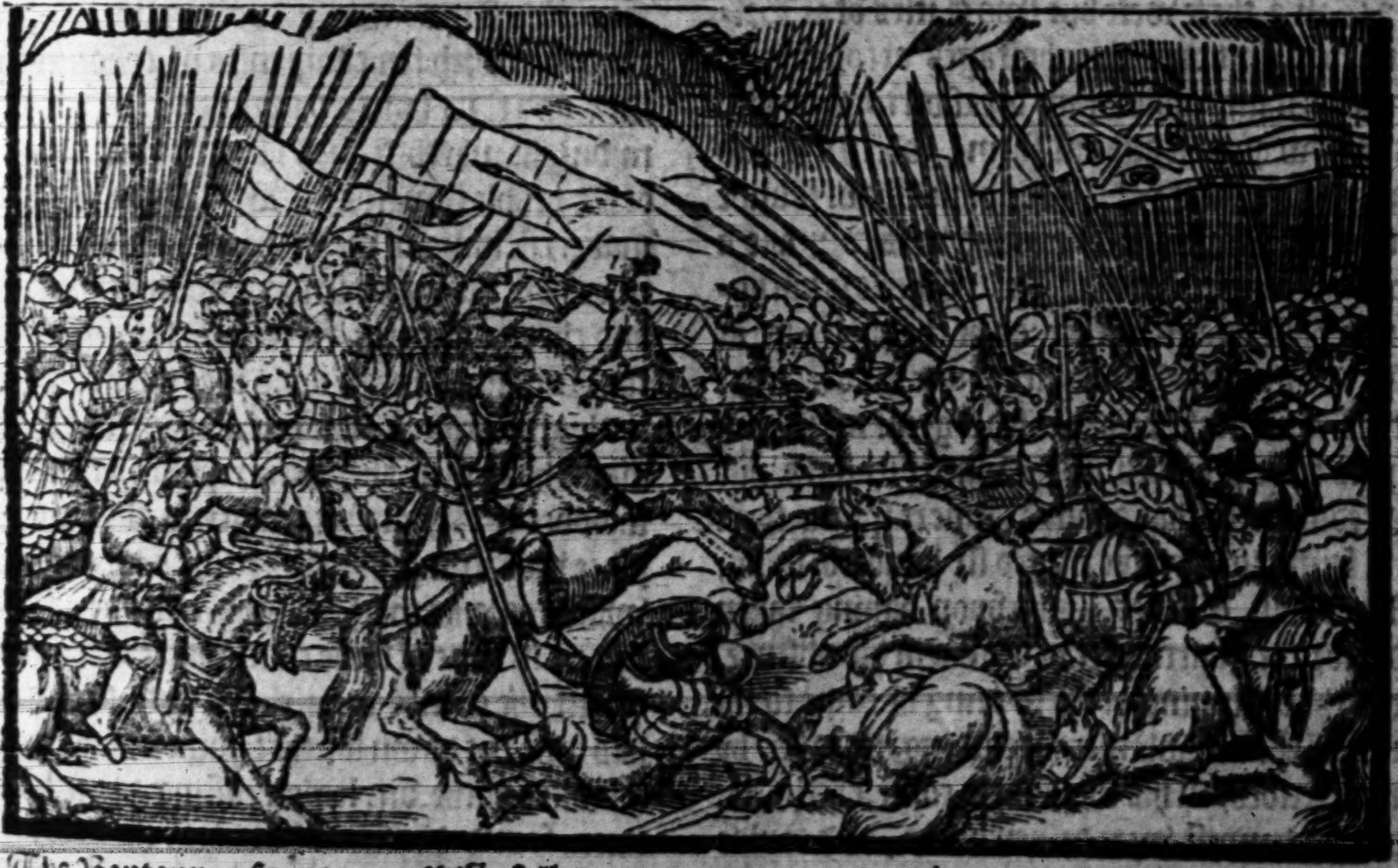
The Britiſh hyſtorie moreouer maketh mention of three vnder kings that ayded Caſſibellane in this firſt battail fought wͭ Ceſar, as Cridiorus, *alias*, Ederus, K. of Albania, nowe called Scotland: Guitethus king of Venedocia, that is north Wales: & Britael king of Demetia, at this day called ſouth Wales.

The ſame hyſtorie maketh alſo mention of one Belinus that was general of Caſſibelanes army, and likewiſe of Nenius brother to Caſſibelane, which in the fight happened to get Ceſars ſword faſtned in his ſhield by a blow which Ceſar ſtroke at him. Androgeus alſo, and Tenancius, were at the battail in ayde of Caſſibelane. But Nennius died within .xv. dayes after the battail of the hurt. receiued at Ceſars hand, although after he was ſo hurt, he ſlue Labienus one of yͤ Rom. Tribunes: all which may well be true, ſith Ceſar either maketh the beſt of things for his owne honor, or elſe coueting to write but Commentaries, maketh no accoũt to declare the needles circũſtances, or any more of the matter, than yͤ chief points of his dealing. Again the Scottiſh hyſtoriographers write, that when it was firſt knowen to the Brytaynes, that Ceſar would inuade them, there came from Caſſibelane king of Brytaynes an Ambaſſade vnto Ederus king of Scottes, the which in the name of king Caſſibelane, requyred ayde agaynſt the common enimies the Romaines, which requeſt was graunted, and ten .M. Scots ſent to the ayde of Caſſibellane.

Hector. Bo.

At their comming to London, they were moſt ioyfully receiued of Caſſibellane, who at the ſame tyme had knowledge that the Romaines were come a land, and had beatẽ ſuch Brytayns backe as were appoynted to reſiſt their landing. Wherevpon Caſſibellane with all his whole puiſſaunce mightily augmented, not onely with the ſuccors of the Scottes, but alſo of the Picts (which in that common cauſe had ſent alſo of their people to ayd the Brytaynes) ſet forwarde towardes the place where he vnderſtode the enimies to be.

At their firſt approch togither, Caſſibellane ſent forth his horſmen and charets called *Eſſeda*, by the which he thought to diſorder the array of the enimies. Twice they encountered togither with doubtfull victorie. At length they ioyned puiſſance agaynſt puiſſance, and fought a right ſore and cruell battayle, till finally at the ſodaine comming of the Welchmen, and Cornishmen, ſo huge noyſe was rayſed by the ſounde of Belles hanging at their trappers and Charets, that the Romaynes aſtonyed therewith, were more eaſily put to flight.



The Brytaynes, Scots, and Picts following in the chaſe without order or aray, ſo that by reaſon the Romains kept themſelues cloſe togither, the Brytayns, Scots, & Picts did vneth ſo much harm to the enimies as they themſelues receyued. But yet they followed on ſtil vpon the Romains till it was darke night. Ceſar after he had perceyued them once withdrawne, did what he could to aſſemble his companies togither, minding the next morning to ſeeke his reuenge of the former days diſaduãtage. But forſomuch as knowledge was giuẽ him yͭ his ſhips by reaſon of a ſore tẽpeſt were beatẽ & rent, yͭ many of thẽ wer paſt ſeruice, he doubted leaſt ſuch newes would encourage his enimies, & bring his people into diſpair. Wherfore he determined not to fight til time more cõueniẽt, ſending all his wounded folks vnto yͤ ſhips, which he cõmaunded to be newly rigged and trimmed.

After this, keeping his army for a time within the place where he was encamped without iſſuing forth, he ſhortly drew to the ſea ſide, where his ſhippes lay at ankre, and there within a ſtrong place fortified for the purpoſe he lodged his hoſt, & finally without hope to atchieue any other exploit auaileable for that time, he tooke the ſea with ſuch ſhippes as were apt for ſailing, and ſo repaſſed into Gallia, leauing behind him all the ſpoyle and baggage, for want of veſſelles, and leyſure to conuey it ouer.

Thus haue the Scottes in their Chronicles framed the matter, more to the conformitie of the Romaine hyſtories, than according to the report of our Brytiſh and Engliſh writers: and therfore we haue thought good to ſhew it here, that the diuerſitie of writers and their affections maye the better appeare.

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He turnde his backe and fled away,
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But now to turne to the ſequele of the matter, as Ceſar himſelfe reporteth. After his comming into Gallia, there were but two Cities of al Britaine that ſent ouer their hoſtages according to their couenant, which gaue occaſion to Ceſar to pike a new quarell againſt them, which if it had wanted, he would yet (I doubt not) haue founde ſome other: for his full meaning was to make a more full conqueſt of that Ile. Therfore purpoſing to paſſe againe thither, as he that had a great deſire to bring the Brytaynes vnder the obedience of the Romain eſtate, he cauſed a great number of ſhippes to be prouided in the winter ſeaſon & put in a redineſſe, ſo that againſt the next ſpring, there were found to be readie rigged ſix hundred ſhips, beſide .xxviij. Gallies. Hereupon hauing taken order for the gouernance of Gallia in his abſence, about the beginning of the Spring he came to the hauen of Calice, whither (according to order by him preſcribed) all his ſhips were come, except .xl. which by tempeſt were driuen backe, and coulde not as yet come to him.

Dion Caſsius.

Cæſar de bello Gal. li. 5.

After he had ſtayed at Calice (as wel for a conuenient winde, as for other incidentes) certaine dayes, at length when the weather ſo chaunged that it ſerued his purpoſe, he tooke the ſea, hauing with him fiue legions of ſouldiers, and about two thouſand horſmen, departed out of Calice hauen about the ſun ſetting with a ſoft ſouthweſt wind, directing his courſe forward: about midnight the wind fell, and ſo by a calme, he was caried alōgſt with the tide, ſo that in the morning whē the day appeared, he might beholde Brytaine vpon hys left hand. Thē folowing the ſtreame as the courſe of the tide changed, he forced with Oares to fetch the ſhore vpon that part of the coaſt, which he had diſcouered and tried the laſt yeare to bee the beſt landing place for the armie. The diligence of the ſouldiers was ſhewed here to be great, who with cōtinual toile droue forth the heauy ſhips, to keepe courſe with the gallies, and ſo at length they landed in Brytayn about noone on the next day, finding not one to reſiſt his comming a ſhore: for as he learned by certain priſoners which were taken after his comming to lande, the Brytaines being aſſembled in purpoſe to haue reſiſted him, through feare ſtriken into their heartes, at the diſcouering of ſuch an huge number of ſhips, they forſooke the ſhore, and got them vnto the Mountaines.

There were in deed of veſſels one & other, what with vitailers, and thoſe which priuate men had prouided and furniſhed forth for their owne vſe, being ioyned to the ordinarie number, at the leaſt viij. C. ſayle, which appearing in ſight all at one time; made a wonderfull muſter, & right terrible in the eyes of the Brytaynes.

But to proceed: Ceſar being got to land, encamped his army in a place conuenient: and after learning by the priſoners, into what parte the enimies were withdrawne, hee appoynted one Quintus Atrius to remaine vpon the ſafegard of the nauie, with ten companies or cohorts of footmen, and three hundred horſmen: and anon after midnight marched forth himſelfe with the reſidue of his people towards the Brytaynes, and hauing made .xij. miles of way, hee got ſight of his enimies hoſt, the which ſending downe their horſmē and charets vnto the riuer ſide, ſkirmiſhed with the Romaines, meaning to beat them backe from the higher ground: but being aſſayled of the Romaine horſemen, they were repulſed, and tooke the wooddes for their refuge, wherein they had got a place very ſtrong, both by nature & helpe of hand, which (as was to be thought) had beene fortified before, in time of ſome ciuill warre amongſt thē: for all the entries were cloſed with trees whiche had bene cut down for that purpoſe. Howbeit the ſouldiers of the .vij. legion caſting a trench before them, found meanes to put backe the Brytaynes from their defences, and ſo entring vppon them, droue them out of the woods.

But Ceſar would not ſuffer the Romaines to follow the Brytaynes, bycauſe that the nature of the countrey was not knowne vnto them: and againe the day was farre ſpent, ſo that hee woulde haue the reſidue thereof beſtowed in fortefying his campe.

The next day, as he had ſent forth ſuch as ſhould haue purſued the Britans, word came to him from Quintus Atrius, that his nauie by rigour of a ſore and hideous tempeſt, was greeuouſly moleſted, and throwen vpon the ſhore, ſo that the cabels and tagle beeing broken and deſtroyed with force of the vnmercifull rage of wind, the maſters and Mariners were not able to help the matter. Ceſar calling backe thoſe whiche he had ſent foorth, returneth to his Shippes, and finding them in ſuche ſtate as he had heard, tooke order for the repairing of thoſe that were not vtterly deſtroyed, and cauſed them ſo to be drawen vp to the land, that with a trench he might ſo cōpaſſe in a plot of ground, that mighte ſerue both for defence of his Shippes, and alſo for the incāping of thoſe men of warre, which he ſhuld leaue to attend vpon the ſauegard of the ſame. And bycauſe there were at the leaſt a fortie Ships loſt by violence of this tēpeſt, ſo as there was no hope of recouerie in them, he ſawe yet howe the reſt with great labour and coſt might bee repaired: wherefore he choſe forth wrightes among the Legions, ſent for other into Gallia, and wrote ouer to ſuch as he had left there in charge with the gouernāce of the country, to prouide ſo many Ships as they could, and to ſend them ouer vnto him. He ſpente a tenne dayes about the repairing thus of his nauy, and in fortifying of yͤ camp for defence thereof, which done, he left thoſe within it which were appoynted there before, and then returneth towards his enimies. At his comming backe to the place where hee had before encamped, hee founde them there ready to reſiſt him, hauing their numbers hugely encreaſed: for the Britaynes hearing that he was returned with ſuch a mightie number of Shippes, aſſembled out of all partes of the land, and had by generall conſent appoynted the whole rule and order of all things touching the warre, vnto Caſſiuellaune, or Caſſibelane, whoſe dominion was deuided from the Cities ſytuate neere to the Sea coaſt, by the riuer of Thames, 80. miles diſtant from the ſea coaſt. This Caſſibellaune before time had bin at continual warre with other rulers, and Cities of the land: but now the Britons moued with the comming of yͤ Romaynes, choſe hym to be chiefe gouernor of all their army, permitting the order and rule of all things touching the defence of their countrey againſt the Romanes, only to him. Their horſemen and Charrets ſkirmiſhed by the way with the Romaynes, but ſo as they were put backe oftentimes into the woddes and hilles adioining: yet the Britaynes ſlewe diuers of the Romaines as they followed any thing egrely in the purſute.

Caſsibellane as ſhould ſeme ruled in the parties of Oxfordſhire, Berkſhire, Buckinghamſhire, and Bedfordſhire.

Alſo within a while after, as the Romaynes were buſie in fortifying their camp, yͤ Britaynes ſodaynely iſſued out of the woddes, and fiercely aſſayled thoſe that warded before the camp, vnto whoſe ayde, Ceſar ſent two of the chiefeſt cohortes of two legions, the whiche being placed but a little diſtance one from another, when the Romanes began to be diſcouraged with this kynd of fight, the Brytayns therwith burſt through their enimies, and came backe from thence in ſafetie. That daye Quintus Laberius Durus a Tribune was ſlayne. At length, Ceſar ſendyng ſundry other cohortes to the ſuccoure of his people that were in fighte, and ſhrewdly handled as it appeared, the Britaynes in the ende were put backe.

In all this manner of ſkirmiſhing and fyghte which chanced before the camp, euen in the ſighte and viewe of all men, it was perceyued that the Romaynes, by reaſon of their heauie armour (being not able eyther to followe the Britaynes as they retired, or ſo bold, as to depart from their enſignes, except they woulde runne into daunger of caſting themſelues away) were nothing meete to match with ſuch kind of enimies: and as for their horſemen, they fought likewiſe in great hazarde, bycauſe the Britaynes would oftentimes of purpoſe retire, & when they had trained the Romane horſemen a little from their legions of footemen, they would leape out of their charrets and encoūter with them a foote. And ſo the battell of horſemen was daungerous, and like in all poyntes whether they purſued or retired. This alſo was the manner of the Britaynes: they foughte not cloſe togither, but in ſunder, and deuided into cōpanies one ſeparated from another by a good diſtance, & had their troupes ſtanding in places conuenient, to yͤ which they might retire, & ſo releeue one another with ſending newe freſh men to ſupply the roomthes of them that were hurt or weary. The next day after they had thus foughte before yͤ camp of the Romanes, they ſhewed themſelues aloft on yͤ hilles, & began to ſkirmiſhe with the Romane horſemen, but not ſo hotely as they had done the day before. But about noone, when Ceſar had ſent forth three legions of footemē and all his horſemen vnder the leading of his Lieutenant Caius Trebonius to fetch in fourrage, they ſodainely brake out on euery ſide, & ſet vpon the fourragers. The Romanes ſo farre foorth as they might, not breaking their array, nor going from their enſignes or guiddes, gaue yͤ charge on them, & fiercely repulſed them, ſo yͭ the horſemen hauing yͤ legions of footemen at their backes, followed the Britons ſo long as they might haue the ſaid Legions in ſight ready to ſuccour thē if neede were: by reaſon whereof, they ſlew a great number of yͤ Britons, not giuing them leaſure to recouer thēſelues, nor to ſtay, that they might haue tyme to get out of their charrets. After this chaſe and diſcomfiture, all ſuch as were come from other parties to the ayde of their fellowes departed home,

The Romains heauie armor.

The manner of the Britons in the warres.

Caius Trebonius.

Dion Caſsius ſaith, that the Britaynes vanquiſhed the Romayne footemen at this time, but were put to the worſt by the horſemen.

After this, keeping his army for a time within the place where he was encamped without iſſuing forth, he ſhortly drew to the ſea ſide, where his ſhippes lay at ankre, and there within a ſtrong place fortified for the purpoſe he lodged his hoſt, & finally without hope to atchieue any other exploit auaileable for that time, he tooke the ſea with ſuch ſhippes as were apt for ſailing, and ſo repaſſed into Gallia, leauing behind him all the ſpoyle and baggage, for want of veſſelles, and leyſure to conuey it ouer.

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ſhire.

Alſo within a while after, as the Romaynes were buſie in fortifying their camp, yͤ Britaynes ſodaynely iſſued out of the wooddes, and fiercely aſſayled thoſe that warded before the camp, vnto whoſe ayde, Ceſar ſent two of the chiefeſt cohortes of two legions, the whiche being placed but a little diſtance one from another, when the Romanes began to be diſcouraged with this kynd of fight, the Brytayns therwith burſt through their enimies, and came backe from thence in ſafetie. That daye Quintus Laberius Durus a Tribune was ſlayne. At length, Ceſar ſendyng ſundry other cohortes to the ſuccoure of his people that were in fighte, and ſhrewdly handled as it appeared, the Britaynes in the ende were put backe.

In all this manner of ſkirmiſhing and fyghte which chanced before the camp, euen in the ſighte and viewe of all men, it was perceyued that the Romaynes, by reaſon of their heauie armour (being not able eyther to followe the Britaynes as they retired, or ſo bold, as to depart from their enſignes, except they woulde runne into daunger of caſting themſelues away) were nothing meete to match with ſuch kind of enimies: and as for their horſemen, they fought likewiſe in great hazarde, bycauſe the Britaynes would oftentimes of purpoſe retire, & when they had trained the Romane horſemen a little from their legions of footemen, they would leape out of their charrets and encoũter with them a foote. And ſo the battell of horſemen was daungerous, and like in all poyntes whether they purſued or retired. This alſo was the manner of the Britaynes: they foughte not cloſe togither, but in ſunder, and deuided into cõpanies one ſeparated from another by a good diſtance, & had their troupes ſtanding in places conuenient, to yͤ which they might retire, & ſo releeue one another with ſending newe freſh men to ſupply the roomthes of them that were hurt or weary. The next day after they had thus foughte before yͤ camp of the Romanes, they ſhewed themſelues aloft on yͤ hilles, & began to ſkirmiſhe with the Romane horſemen, but not ſo hotely as they had done the day before. But about noone, when Ceſar had ſent forth three legions of footemẽ and all his horſemen vnder the leading of his Lieutenant Caius Trebonius to fetch in fourrage, they ſodainely brake out on euery ſide, & ſet vpon the fourragers. The Romanes ſo farre foorth as they might, not breaking their array, nor going from their enſignes or guidõs. gaue yͤ charge on them, & fiercely repulſed them, ſo yͤ the horſemen hauing yͤ legions of footemen at their backes, followed the Britons ſo long as they might haue the ſaid Legions in ſight ready to ſuccour thẽ if neede were: by reaſon whereof, they ſlew a great number of yͤ Britons, not giuing them leaſure to recouer thẽſelues, nor to ſtay, that they might haue tyme to get out of their charrets. After this chaſe and diſcomfiture, all ſuch as were come from other parties to the ayde of their fellowes departed home,

The Romains heauie armor.

The manner of the Britons in the warres.

Caius Trebonius.

Dion Caſsius ſaith, that the Britaynes vanquiſhed the Romayne footemen at this time, but were put to the worſt by the horſemen.

(Which is to be ſupposed was at Kingston) or not farre from thence.

Trinouantes where they inhabited.

Mandubratius.

and after yͤ day the Britons aduentured to fight againſt Ceſar with their maine power, but withdrawing beyond the riuer of Thames, determined to ſtop the enimies from paſſing the ſame, if by any meanes they mighte: and where as there was but one fourde by yͤ which they might come ouer, Caſſiuellane cauſed the ſame to be ſet ful of ſharp ſtakes, not onely in the middeſt of the water, but alſo at the comming forthe on that ſyde where he was lodged with his army in good order, ready to defende the paſſage. Ceſar learning by relation of priſoners which he tooke, what the Britaynes intended to do, marched forth to yͤ riuer ſide, where the fourde was, by the whiche hys army mighte paſſe the ſame afoote though very hardly. At his cōming thither, hee might perceiue howe the Britaynes were ready on yͤ further ſide to impeach his paſſage, & how that the banke at yͤ comming forthe of the water was pighte full of ſharp ſtakes, and ſo likewiſe was the chanell of yͤ Riuer ſet with ſtakes which were couered with yͤ water. Theſe things yet ſtayed not Ceſar, who appoynting his horſemen to paſſe on before, cōmanded the footemen to follow. The ſouldiers entring yͤ water, waded through with ſuch ſpede & violence, (nothing appearing of thē aboue water but their heads) that yͤ Britaynes were conſtreyned to giue place, being not able to ſuſteyne yͤ brunt of yͤ Romane horſemen, & the legions of their footemen, & ſo abandoning yͤ place tooke thē to flight. Caſſiuelane not minding to trie yͤ matter any more by battell, ſente away yͤ moſt parte of his people, but yet kept with him about a foure thouſand charretmen or wagoners, and ſtil watched what way yͤ Romanes toke, coaſting them euer as they marched, and kepte ſomewhat aſide within yͤ couert of woods, and other comberſome places. And out of thoſe quarters through yͤ whiche he vnderſtood yͤ Romanes would paſſe, he gathered both mē & cattel into yͤ woods & thicke forreſts, leauing nothing of valew abrode in yͤ chāpayne countrey. And whē yͤ Romane horſemen did come abrode into yͤ countrey to ſeeke booties, he ſent out his charrets vnto the knowen ways & paſſages to ſkirmiſh with the ſame horſemen, ſo much to the diſaduātage of the Romanes, yͭ they durſt not ſtray far frō their maine army. Neither wold Ceſar permit thē leaſt they might haue bin vtterly diſtreſſed by yͤ Britaynes) to depart further thā yͤ maine battels of yͤ footemē kept pace wͭ thē, by reaſon wherof yͤ countrey was not endomaged by fire & ſpoyle, but onely where the army marched. In yͤ mean time, the *Trinouantes* which ſome take to be the middleſex & Eſſex mē, whoſe Citie was yͤ beſt fēced of al other in thoſe parties, & thought to be the ſame yͭ now is called Londō, ſent Imbaſſadors vnto Ceſar, offering to ſubmit thēſelues vnto him, & to obey his ordinances, and further beſought him to defend Mādubratius frō yͤ iniurie of Caſſiuellaune, which Mandubratius had fled vnto Ceſar into France, after yͤ Caſſibelane had ſlain his father named Imanuentius, yͭ was chiefe Lord & K. of the *Trinobantes*, & ſo now by their Ambaſſadors, yͤ ſame *Trinobantes* requeſted Ceſar, not only to receiue Mandubratius into his protection, but alſo to ſend him vnto them, that he might take the gouernemēt & rule of their Citie into his hands. Ceſar cōmanded thē to deliuer vnto him .40. hoſtages, & grayne for his army, & therewith ſent Mandubratius vnto them. The *Trinonantes* accōpliſhed his commaundements wͭ al ſpede, ſending both yͤ appoynted nūber of hoſtages, and alſo graine for the army. And being thus defended & preſerued from iniurie of yͤ ſouldiers, yͤ people called Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Caſſi, ſubmitted thēſelues vnto Ceſar, by whom he vnderſtode that yͤ towne of Caſſibellane was not far from yͤ place wher he was then encamped fenſed with woodes & mariſhes, into yͤ whiche a great number of people wͭ their Cattell and other ſubſtāce was withdrawen. The Britaines in thoſe dayes (as Ceſar writeth) called yͭ a towne or hold which they had fortified wͭ any thick cōberſome wood, with trēch & rampire, into yͤ which they vſed to get thēſelues for yͤ auoyding of inuaſion. Ceſar with his legions of ſouldiers therefore marcheth thither, & finding the place very ſtrong both by nature & helpe of hand, aſſaulteth it on two parts. The Britains defending their ſtrength a while, at lēgth not able longer to endure the impreſſion of yͤ Romaynes, fled out on yͤ contrary ſide of yͤ towne wher the enimies were not. Within this place a great nūber of Cattel was found, & many of yͤ Britaynes takē by yͤ Romanes yͭ followed them in chaſe, & many alſo ſlaine. Whileſt theſe things paſſed on this ſort in thoſe parties, Caſſibellaune ſent meſſengers into Kent vnto four kings (whiche ruled yͤ ſide of the lād in thoſe dayes) Cingetorix, Caruilius, Tarimagulus, & Segonax, cōmaunding thē, that aſſembling togither their whole puiſſāce, they ſhould aſſaile yͤ camp of yͤ Romaines by the Sea ſide wher certain bāds lay (as ye haue heard) for ſafegard of yͤ nauie. They according to his apointmēt came ſodainly thither, & by yͤ Romains that ſailed forth vpon them were ſharply foughte with, & loſt diuers of their men yͭ were ſlaine, and taken, and amōgſt the priſoners that yͤ Romains toke, Cingetorix was one. When Caſſibellaune heard theſe news, being ſore troubled for theſe loſſes thus chancing one in the neck of an other, but namely moſt diſcouraged, for that diuers Cities had yelded vnto the Romanes: hee ſendeth Ambaſſadors by meane of Comius of Arras vnto Ceſar, offering to ſubmit himſelfe. Ceſar meaning to winter in Gallia, and therefore bycauſe ſommer drewe towardes an ende, willyng to diſpatch in Britayne, commanded that hoſtages

Imanuētius

Some take the Trinouātes to be Londiners.

Foure Kings in Kent.

Cingetorix.

ſhould be deliuered, and appoynted what tribute the Britaynes ſhould yeerely ſend vnto the Romaynes. He alſo forbade and commaunded Caſſibellaune that he ſhould not in any wiſe trouble or endommage Mandubratius or the Londoners. After this, when he had receyued the hoſtages, he bringeth his army to the Sea, and there findeth his Shippes well repayred, decked, and in good point: therefore he commandeth that they ſhould be had downe to the ſea. And bycauſe hee hadde a great number of priſoners, and diuers of his ſhips were loſt by the tempeſt, he appoynted to tranſport his army ouer into Gallia at two connoyes, whiche was done with good ſucceſſe about the middeſt of September, though the Shippes returning for the reſidue of the army, after the firſte connoy, were driuẽ ſo with force of weather, that a great number of them could not come to lande at the place appoynted: ſo that Ceſar was conſtreyned to fraught thoſe that he could get, with a greater burden, and ſo departed from the coaſt of Britayne, and ſafely landed with the remnaunte of his people in Gallia with as good ſpeede as he cold haue deſired. He thought not good to leaue any of his people behinde him, knowing that if he ſhould ſo doe, they were in daunger to be caſt away. And ſo bycauſe he could not well remayne there all the winter ſeaſon for doubt of Rebellion in Gallia, he was contented to take vp, and returne thither, ſith he had done ſufficiently for the time, leaſt in coueting the more, hee mighte haue come in perill to loſe that whiche hee had already obteyned.

Dion Caſsius.

Thus according to that which Ceſar himſelfe and other autentike authors haue written, was Britayne made tributorie to the Romaynes by the Conduit of the ſame Ceſar. But our hiſtories farre differ from this, affirming, that Ceſar comming the ſecõd time, was by the Britaynes with valiancie, and martial prowes beaten, & repulſed, as he was at the firſt, and ſpecially by meanes ẏ Caſſiuelaune had pight in the Thames greate pyles of trees pyked with yron, through whych his ſhippes being entred the riuer, were periſhed & loſt. And after his comming a land, he was vanquiſhed in battell, & conſtreyned to flee into Gallia with thoſe ſhippes that remayned. For ioy of this ſeconde victory (ſaith Galfrid) Caſſibellane made a great feaſt at London, & ther did ſacrifice to the Gods. At which feaſt there fel variance betwixt two yong Gentlemen, the one named Hirilda, nephew to Caſſibellan, & the other Euclyne, or Eweline, being of aliance to Androgeus Erle of Londõ. They fell at diſcord about wraſtling, & after multiplying of wordes, they came to dealing of blowes, by meane whereof partes wer taken; ſo that there enſewed a ſore fray, in the whiche, diuers were wounded and hurt, and amongſt other Herilda the kings Nephew was ſlayne by ẏ hands of Eweline. The K. ſore diſpleaſed herwith, meant to puniſh Eweline according to the order of his lawes, ſo that he was ſummoned to appeare in due forme to make anſwere to ẏ murder: but Eweline by the comforte of Androgeus diſobeyed the ſommonãce, and departed ẏ Court with Androgeus, in contempt of the king and his lawes. The K. to be reuenged vpon Androgeus, gathered a power, & began to make war on him. Androgeus perceiuing himſelfe not able to withſtand the Kings puiſſance, ſente letters to Julius Ceſar, exhorting him to returne into Britayne, & declaring the whole matter concerning ẏ variance betwixt him and the king, promiſing to ayd the Romaynes in all that he might. Julius Ceſar ioyfull of this meſſage, prepareth his nauie, & with all ſpeede with a mightie hoſt embarqued in the ſame, commeth toward Britayne: but ere he would land, doubting ſome treaſon in Androgeus, he receyueth from him in hoſtage his ſonne named Scena, and thirty other of the beſt & moſt noble perſonages of all his dominion. After thys he landed, & ioyning with Androgeus, came into a valley neere to Canterbury, & there encamped. Shortly after commeth Caſſibellane with al his power of Britaynes, and giueth battell to ẏ Romanes. But after that the Britaynes had long

Gal. Mon.
Mat. Weſt.

[illegible]

The ſtakes remayning to be ſeene in Bedes dayes.

foughten,

fought and knightly borne thēſelues in that battell, Androgius came with his people on a wing, and ſo ſharply aſſayled them, that the Britaynes were conſtreyned to forſake the field, & tooke thēſelues to flight. The which flight ſo diſcomforted them, that finally they all fled, & gaue place to the Romanes, the which purſued and ſlew thē without mercy, ſo that Caſſibellane with the reſidue of his people withdrewe to a place of ſuretie, but beeing enuironed about with the puiſſance of the Romaynes, & of Androgeus, who had with him ſeuen thouſande men there in the ayd of the Romans, Caſſibellan in the end was enforced to fal to a cōpoſition, in couenaunting to pay an yerely tribute of three thouſand. li. Then when Ceſar had ordred his buſineſſe as he thought conueniēt, he returned, & with him went Androgeus, fearing yͤ diſpleaſure of Caſſibellane. The reuerend father Bede writing of this mater, hath thus: After that Ceſar being returned into Gallia, had placed his ſouldiers abroade in the countrey to ſoiorne for yͤ winter ſeaſon, he cauſed Ships to be made ready, to the number of ſixe C. with the which repaſſing again into Britaine, whileſt he marcheth forthe with a mighty army againſt yͤ enimies, his ſhips that lay at ancre being takē with a ſore tempeſt, were either beaten one againſt another, or els caſt vpon the flats & ſands, and ſo broken, ſo that fortie of them were vtterly periſhed, and the reſidue with great difficultie were repaired. The horſemen of the Romaines at the firſt encounter were put to the worſe, & Labienus the Tribune ſlain. In the ſeconde conflict hee vanquiſhed the Britaines not without greate daunger of his people. After this, hee marcheth to the riuer of Thames which as thē was paſſable by fourde, only in one place and not elſe, as the reporte goeth. On the further banke of that riuer, Caſſibellane was encamped with an huge multitude of enimies, and had pight & ſet the banke, & almoſt all the fourde vnder the water, ful of ſharp ſtakes, the tokens of which vnto this day are to be ſeene, and it ſemeth to the beholders that euery of theſe ſtakes are as bigge as a mās thigh, ſticking faſt in yͤ bottome of the riuer cloſed with leade. The whiche beeing perceyued of the Romaines, & auoyded, the Britaynes not able to ſuſteyne the violent impreſſion of the Romain legions, hid thēſelues in yͤ woods, out of the which, by often iſſues, they greeuouſly & many times aſſailed the Romanes, & did them great domage. In the mean time, the ſtrong Citie of Trinouant with hir Duke Androgius deliuering fortie hoſtages, yelded vnto Ceſar, whoſe exāple many other Cities following, allyed thēſelues with the Romains, by whoſe information Ceſar with ſore fight tooke at length the towne of Caſſibelan, ſituate betwixt two mariſhes, fenſed alſo with the couerte of woods, & hauing within it great plentie of all things. After this Ceſar returned into Fraunce, and beſtowed his armie in places to ſoiorne there for the winter ſeaſon.

So hath Campion, but Galfrid. Monu. hath fiue thouſande.

The ſtakes remayning to be ſeene in Bedes dayes.

Thus muche hath Bede. The Scottiſh writers reporte, that the Britons after the Romaines were the firſte time repulſed (as before yee haue heard,) refuſed to receyue the ayde of the Scottiſhmen the ſecond time, & ſo were vanquiſhed, as in the Scottiſh hiſtories ye maye ſee more at length expreſſed. Thus much touching the warre which Julius Ceſar made againſt the Britons, in bringing them vnder tribute to the Romains. But heere is to be noted, that Ceſar did not vanquiſh al the Britons: for he came not amongſt the Northren men, only diſcouering & ſubduing yͤ part which lyeth towards the French ſeas: ſo that ſith other of the Romain Emperors did moſt earneſtly trauaile to bring the Britons vnder their ſubiection (whiche were euer redy to rebell ſo many ſundry tymes) Ceſar might ſeme rather to haue ſhewed Britain to the Romās, thā to haue deliuered vnto them the poſſeſſion of the ſame. This ſubiection to the whiche he broughte this Jle (what maner of one ſo euer it was) chanced about yͤ yere of the world. 3913. after yͤ buylding of Rome. 698. before the birth of our ſauior 53. the 1. and ſecond yere of the. 181. Olympiade, after the cōming of Brute. 1060. before the conqueſt made by Williā duke of Normandie. 1120. and. 1629. yeres before this preſent yere of our lord 1576 as Hariſon hath ſet downe.

Cornelius Tacitus.

In vit. Agr.

Dion Caſsius.

After that Julius Ceſar had thus made the Britayns tributaries to yͤ Romaines, & was returned into Gallia, Caſſibelan reigned. 7. yeres, & was vanquiſhed in the ninth or tenth yere after he begā firſt to raigne, ſo yͭ he raigned in yͤ whole about. 15. or as ſome haue. 17. yeres, & then dyed, leauing no iſſue behinde him. There hath bin an old Chronicle (as Fabiā recordeth) which he ſaw & followeth much in his booke, wherein it is conteyned, that this Caſſibellane was not brother to Lud, but eldeſt ſon to him: for otherwiſe as maye be thought (ſaith he) Ceſar hauing the vpper hand would haue diſplaced him from the gouernemēt, & ſet vp Androgeus the right heire to the crowne, as ſonne to the ſayd Lud. But what ſoeuer oure Chronicles or the Brittiſh hiſtories report of this matter, it ſhoulde appeare by that whiche Ceſar writeth (as partly ye haue heard) that Britaine in thoſe days was not gouerned by one ſole prince, but by diuers, and that diuers cities were aſtates of themſelues, ſo that the lande was deuided into ſundry gouernments, muche after the forme and manner as Germany and Italy are in our time, where ſome Cities are gouerned by one onely Prince, ſome by the nobilitie, and ſome by the people. And whereas diuers of the rulers in thoſe dayes heere in thys lande were called Kings,

Fabian.

Ceſar.

thoſe

Caſſibellane a king.

thoſe had more large ſeigniouries than the other, as Caſſibellane, who was therfore called a king. And though we do admit this to be true, yet may it bee that in the beginning after that Brute entred the land, there was ordeyned by him a Monarchie, as before is mentioned, which might cõtinue in his poſteritie many yeeres after, and yet at length before the comming of Ceſar, through ciuill diſſention, might happily be broken, and deuided into partes, and ſo remayned not only in yͤ time of this Caſſibellane, but alſo lõg after, whileſt they liued as tributaries to the Romanes, till finally they were ſubdued by the Saxons. In whiche meane time, through the diſcorde, negligence, or rather vnaduiſed raſhneſſe of writers, hard it is to iudge what may be affirmed and receyued in their writings for a troth, namely concerning the ſucceſſion of the Kings that are ſayd to haue raigned betwixte the dayes of Caſſibellane, and the comming of the Saxons. The Romayne writers, (& namely Tacitus) report, that the Britaynes in times paſt were vnder the rule of Kings, and after being made tributaries, were drawen ſo by Princes into ſundry factions, that to defend and keepe off a cõmon ieoperdy, ſcarcely would two or three Cities agree togither, and take weapon in hande with one accorde, ſo that whileſt they fought by partes, the whole was ouercome.

Cor. Tacit in vit. Iu. Agr.

And after this ſorte they ſaye that Brytayne was brought into the forme of a prouince by the Romanes, from whome gouernours vnder the name of Legates and procurates were ſente that had the rule of it. But yet the ſame authors make mention of certayne kings (as hereafter ſhall appeare) the whiche, whileſt the Romaine Emperours had the moſt part of the earth in ſubiection, raigned in Britayne. The ſame witneſſeth Gildas, ſaying: Britayne hathe Kings, but they are Tyrants: Iudges it hathe, but the ſame are wicked, oftentimes ſpoyling and tormenting the innocent people. And Ceſar (as ye haue heard) ſpeaketh of foure Kings that ruled in Kent, and thereaboutes. Cornelius Tacitus maketh mention of Praſutagus, and Cogidunnus, that were Kyngs in Britayne: and Iuuenall ſpeaketh of Aruiragus: and all the late writers of Lucius. Hereby it appeareth, that whether one or moe, yet Kings there were in Britayne, bearing rule vnder yͤ Romayne Emperours. On the other parte, the common opinion of our Chronicle writers is, that yͤ chiefe gouernement remained euer with the Britaynes, and that the Romayne Senate receyuing an yeerely tribute, ſent certayne times (*ex officio*) their Emperours and Lieutenants into this Iſle, to repreſſe the rebellious tumultes therin begonne, or to beate backe the inuaſion of the enimies that went about to inuade it. And thus woulde theſe writers inferre, that the Britaynes euer obeyed their King, till at length they were put beſide the gouernement by the Saxons. But where as in the common hiſtorie of Englande, the ſucceſſion of Kings ought to be kepte, ſo ofte as it chanceth in the ſame, that there is not anye founde to fyll the place, then one while the Romane Emperours are placed in their ſteades, and another while their lieutenants, and are ſayde to be created Kings of the Britaines, as though the Emperours were inferiours vnto the Kings of Britaine, and that the Romane Lieutenants at their appoyntments, and not by preſcripte of the Senate or Emperours adminiſtred yͤ Prouince. But this may ſuffice here to aduertiſe you of the contrarietie in writers, & now we will goe forth in following our hiſtories, as we haue done heretofore, ſauing that where the Romaine hiſtoriers write of things done here by Emperous or their Lieutenants, it ſhall be ſhewed as reaſon requireth, ſith there is a great appearance of troth oftentimes in the ſame, as thoſe that be authoriſed and allowed in the opinion of the learned.

Gildas in e-piſt.

ome take raſutagus nd Aruiragus be one mã.

Mon.

Theomantius.

Theo-mãtius.

After yͤ deth of Caſſibelan, Theomãtius or Tenãtius the yõgeſt ſonne of Lud, was made K. of Britayne in the yeere of the World. 3921. after the buylding of Rome 706. and before the comming of Chriſt. 45. He is named alſo in one of the Engliſhe Chronicles Tormace: but in the ſame Chronicle it is conteyned, that not hee, but his brother Androgius was King, where Geffrey of Monmouth & other teſtifie, that Androgius abandoned the land clerely, and continued ſtill at Rome, bycauſe he knew the Britaynes hated him for the treaſon he had committed, in aiding Iulius Ceſar againſt Caſſibellane. Theomantius ruled the land in good quiet, and paied the tribute to the Romanes which Caſſibellane had graunted, and finally departed this life after he had raigned. 22. yeares, & was buried at London.

Fabian.

Gal. M.

Kymbelyne or Cimbeline.

Kym-belyne.

The ſonne of Theomantius was of the Britaynes made King after the deceſſe of his father, in the yere of the world 3944. after the buylding of Rome. 728. and before the birthe of our Sauioure. 33. This man as ſome write, was brought

Fabian out of Guido de Columna.

brought vp at Rome, and there made Knight by Auguſtus Ceſar, vnder whome hee ſerued in the warres, and was in ſuche fauour with him, that he was at libertie to pay his tribute or not.

Chriſt our Sauiour is borne

3966

Little other mention is made of his doyngs, except that during his raigne, the Sauiour of the world, our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, the only ſonne of God, was borne of a Virgin about the. 23. yeare of the reygne of this Kymbalyne, and in the. 42. of the Emperour Octauius Auguſtus, that is to witte, in the yeare of the Worlde. 3966. in the ſeconde yeare of the. 194. Olympiade, after ẏ building of the Citie of. Rome. 750. nigh at an end, after the vniuerſal floud. 2311. from the birth of Abraham. 2019. after the departure of the Iſraelites out of Egipt. 1512. after the captiuitie of Babylon 535. from the building of the Temple by Salomon. 1034. and from the arriuall of Brute. 1116. complete. Touching the continuance of ẏ yeares of Kymbelines raigne, is ſome diſcordaunce amongſt writers, but the beſt approued affirme, that he raigned. xxxv. yeeres, and then dyed, and was buried at London, leauing behind hym two ſonnes, Guiderius and Aruiragus.

Cor. Tacitus in vita Iu. Agr.

Dion Caſsi

But heere is to be noted, that although our hiſtories do affirme, that as well this Kymbeline, as alſo his father Theomantius, liued in quiet with the Romans, and continually to them payed the tributes which the Britons had couenanted with Iulius Ceſar to pay. Yet wee finde in the Romane writers, that after Iulius Ceſars death, when Auguſtus had taken vppon him the rule of the Empire, the Britaynes refuſed to pay that tribute: whereat as Cornelius Tacitus reporteth, Auguſtus (being otherwiſe ocupied) was contented to winke, howbeit, through earneſt calling vpon to recouer his right by ſuch as were deſirous to ſee the vttermoſt of the Britiſh kingdome, at length, to witte, in the tenth yeere after the death of Iulius Ceſar, whiche was about the thirtenth yeere of the ſayd Theomantius, Auguſtus made prouiſion to paſſe with an army ouer into Britayne, and was come forward vpon his iourney into Gallia Celtica: or as wee may ſay, into theſe hither partes of Fraunce.

But here receiuing aduertiſements that ẏ Pannonians which inhabited the countrey now called Hungarie, and the Dalmatians whome now we call Slauons had rebelled, he thoughte it beſt firſt to ſubdue thoſe Rebelles neere home, rather than to ſeeke newe countreys, and leaue ſuche in hazard whereof he had preſente poſſeſſion, and ſo turning his power againſt the Pannonians and Dalmatians, he left off for a time the warres of Britaine, whereby the lande remayned withoute feare of any inuaſion to be made by ẏ Romains, till the yere after the building of the citie of Rome 725. and about the. 19. yere of king Theomantius raigne, ẏ Auguſtus with an army departed once agayne from Rome to paſſe ouer into Britayne, there to make warre, but after his commyng into Gallia, when the Britaynes ſent to him certaine Imbaſſadors to treate with him of peace, he ſtaied there to ſettle the ſtate of things among the Gaulles, for that they were not in very good order, & hauing finiſhed there, he wẽt into Spayne, and ſo his iourney into Britayne was put off til the next yeere, that is, the. 726. after the buildyng of Rome, which fell before the birth of our Sauiour. 25. about whiche time Auguſtus eftſoones meante the third time to haue made a voyage into Britayne, bycauſe they could not agree vppon couenaunts: But as the Pannonians and Dalmatians hadde afore time ſtayed him, when as before is ſayde, hee meante to haue gone againſte the Britaynes: ſo euen nowe the Salaſſians, (a people inhabiting betwixt Italy, and Swetzerland,) the Cantabrians and Aſturians by ſuche rebellious ſturres as they reyſed, withdrewe him from his purpoſed iourney. But whether this cõtrouerſie which appeareth to fal forth betwixt the Britaynes and Auguſtus, was occaſioned by Kymbeline or ſome other Prince of the Britaynes, I haue not to auouch: for that by

our

He kept not promiſe with the Romayn

Thoſe of Galice & Biſk

our writers it is reported, that Kymbelyne being brought vp in Rome, and made Knight in the Court of Auguſtus, euer ſhewed himſelfe a frēd to the Romanes, and chiefly was loth to breake with them, bycauſe the youth of the Britayne nation ſhoulde not bee depriued of the benefite to bee trayned and broughte vp among the Romaynes, whereby they mighte learne both to behaue themſelues lyke ciuill men, and to atteyne to the knowledge of feates of warre. But whether for this reſpect, or for that it pleaſed the Almightie God ſo to diſpoſe the myndes of men at that preſent, not only the Britaynes, but in mãner all other nations were contented to be obedient to the Romayne Empire. That thys was true in the Britaynes, it is euidente ynough by Straboes wordes, whiche are in effect as followeth. At this preſent (ſayth he) certayne princes of Britayne, procuring by Ambaſſadors and dutifull demeanors the amitie of the Emperoure Auguſtus, haue offered in the Capitoll vnto the Goddes preſentes or giftes, and haue ordeyned the whole Iſle in a maner to be appertenant, proper and familiar to the Romaynes. They are burdened with ſore cuſtomes whiche they pay for wares, eyther to be ſent forth into Gallia, or brought from thence, whiche are commonly yuorie veſſels, ſheares, ouches, or earering, and other conceytes made of ambre, and glaſſes, and ſuche like manner of merchandiſe: ſo that nowe there is no neede of any army or garriſon of menne of warre to keepe the Iſle, for there needeth not paſt one legion of footemen, or ſome wing of horſemen, to gather vp and receyue the tribute: for the charges are rated according to the quantitie of the tributes: for otherwiſe, it ſhoulde be needefull to abate the cuſtomes, if the tributes were alſo reyſed: and if any violence ſhoulde be vſed, it were daungerous leaſt they mighte be prouoked to rebellion. Thus farre Strabo.

Str. Geog.

Guiderius.

Guiderius.

From henceforth yee ſhall finde the yere of the Lord in the margente.

Guiderius yͤ firſte ſon of Kymbaline (of whome Harriſon ſayeth nothing,) beganne his raigne in yͤ ſeuententh yere after the incarnatiõ of Chriſt. This Guiderius being a man of ſtout courage, gaue occaſiõ of breach of peace betwixt the Britaynes and Romaynes, denying to pay the tribute, and procuring the people to newe inſurrections, the whyche by one meane or other made open rebellion, as Gildas hath. Whervpon, the Emperour Caligula (as ſome thinke,) tooke occaſion to leauie a power, and as one vtterly miſliking the negligence (as he called it) of Auguſtus & Tiberius his predeceſſors, he meant not only to reduce the Iland vnto the former ſubiection, but alſo to ſearch out the vttermoſt boundes thereof, to the behoofe of himſelfe, and of the Romayne Monarchie.

Caligula.

Greate prouiſion therefore was made by the ſayde Caligula to performe that noble enterpriſe, and this was in the fourth yeare of hys raigne. The lyke preparation was made on the other ſide by Guiderius, to reſiſt the forayne enemies, ſo that hauing all things in a readineſſe, he ceaſſed not dayly to looke for the comming of the Emperour, whome hee meante to receyue with harde entertaynemente if hee durſt aduenture to ſet towarde Britayne. But ſee the ſequele: the mayne army beeyng thus in a readineſſe, departeth from Rome in the. 79. yeare after the buylding of the Citie, and marching forthe,

Dion Caſſius. lib. 59.

in length

at length commeth to the Belgique ſhore, from whence they mighte looke ouer, and beholde the cliffes and coaſt of Britaine, whiche Caligula & his men ſtood gaſing vpõ with great admiratiõ & wonder. Furthermore he cauſed them to ſtand in battel array vpon the coaſt, where he heard, howe the Britaynes were in a redineſſe to withſtande his entrãce: but he entring into his galley, as nothing diſcouraged wͭ theſe newes, rowed a ſlight ſhot or two from the ſhore, and forthwith returned, & then going vp into an high place like a pulpet, framed & ſet vp there for the nonce, he gaue yͤ token to fight vnto his ſouldiers by ſound of trũpet, and therewith was each man charged to gather cockle ſhels vpõ the ſhore, which he called the ſpoyle of the Ocean, and cauſed them to be layde vp vntill a time cõueniente. With the atchieuing of this exployt (as hauing none other wherewith to beautifie his triumph) he ſeemed greatly exalted, thinking that now he had ſubdued the whole Ocean, and therefore highly rewarded his ſouldiers for their paynes ſuſteyned in that collection of cockle ſhelles, as if they had done him ſome notable peece of ſeruice. He alſo carried of the ſame ſhelles with him to Rome, to the ende he myghte there boaſt of his voyage, and bragge how well he had ſped: and required therefore very earneſtly to haue a triumph decreede vnto him for the accompliſhment of this enterpriſe. But whẽ he ſaw the Senate grudge at the free and liberall graunting of a grace in that behalfe, and perceiued how they refuſed to attribute deuine honors vnto him, in recompence of ſo fooliſh an enterpriſe, it wanted little that he had not ſlayne them euery one. From thence therefore he wente vp into a throne or royall ſeate, and calling therewith the commõ people about him, he tolde them a long tale what aduentures had chanced to him in his conqueſt of the Ocean, and when hee perceyued them to ſhoute and crie, as if they had conſented that hee ſhould haue bin a God for this his greate trauell and valiant prowes, he to increaſe their clamour, cauſed great quantities of golde and ſiluer to bee ſcattered amongſt them, in the gathering whereof, many were preſſed to deathe, and diuers alſo ſlayne with yͤ innenomed caltrops of iron, which he did caſt out with the ſayd money, of purpoſe to doe miſchiefe, the ſame caltrops being in forme ſmall and ſharp, ſo that by reaſon of the preaſſe of people, muche hurte was done by them ere they were perceyued. And this was the ende of the ridiculous voyage of Caligula attempted againſt the Britaynes.

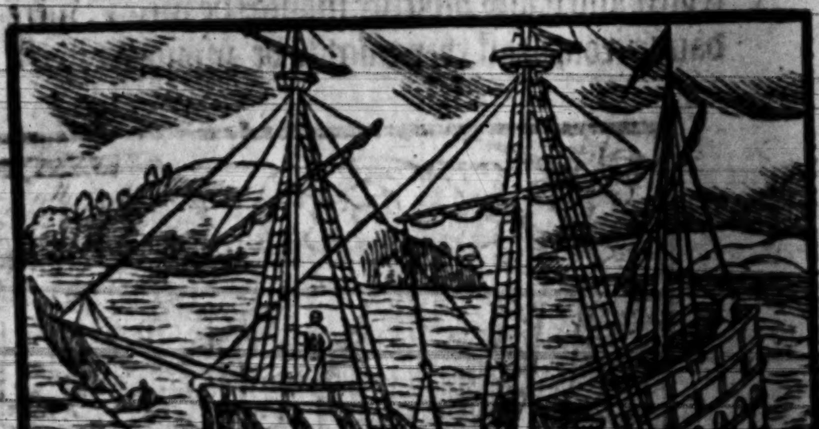
The ſpoyle of the Ocean.

Suetonius.

But after the death of this Caligula, the Emperoure Claudius (as Suetonius hath,) moued warre againſt the Britaynes, bycauſe of a ſturre and Rebellion reyſed in that lande, for that ſuche fugitiues as were fled from thence, were not againe reſtored when requeſt was made for the ſame.

Dion Caſſ

Dion Caſſius writeth, how one Bericus, being expulled out of Britayne, perſwaded yͤ Emperoure Claudius to take the warre in hande at this time againſt the Britaynes, ſo that one Aulus Plautius a Senator, and as then Pretor, was appoynted to take the army that ſoiourned in Fraunce then called Gallia, and to paſſe ouer with the ſame into Britayne. The Souldyers hearing of thys voyage, were loth to goe with him, as men not willing to make warre in another worlde: and therefore delayed tyme, till at length one Narciſſus was ſente from Claudius (as it were) to appeaſe yͤ ſouldiers, & procure thẽ to ſet forward. But whẽ this Narciſſus wẽt vp into the tribunal throne of Plautius, to declare yͤ cauſe of his comming, yͤ Souldiers taking great indignation therewith cried; *O Saturnalia*, as if they ſhould haue celebrated their feaſt day ſo called. When the ſeruants apparrelled in their maiſters robes, repreſented the rowmth of their maiſters, and were ſerued by them, as if they hadde bin their ſeruants, and thus at length conſtreyned through very ſhame, they agreed to followe Plautius. Herevpon being embarqued, he deuided his nauie into three partes, in the ende, that if they were kept off from arriuing in one place, yet they might take land in another. The Shippes ſuffered ſome impeachment in their paſſage by a contrary winde that droue them backe againe: but yet the Marriners and men of warre takyng good courages vnto them, the rather bicauſe there was ſeene a fyery leame to ſhoote out of the Eaſt towardes the Weſt, which way their courſe lay, made forwarde againe with their Shippes, and landed without finding anye reſiſtaunce. For the Britaynes looked not for their comming: wherefore, when they hearde howe their enimies were a lande, they gote them into the Woodes and mariſſes, truſting that by lingering of tyme the Ro-



the Romaynes would be conſtreyned to departe, as it had chanced in time paſt to Julius Ceſar aforeſayd.

Plautius therefore had muche adoe to fynde them out, but after hee had found them, firſte hee vanquiſhed Cataratacus, and after Togodumnus the ſonnes of Cynobellinus: for theyr father was dead not very long before. Theſe therefore fleeing their wayes, Plautius receyued parte of the people called Bodumni (which were ſubiects vnto them that were called Catuellani) into the obeyſance of the Romaynes: and ſo leauing there a garriſon of Souldiers, he paſſed further till hee came to a riuer whiche coulde not well be paſſed without a bridge: whervppon the Britaynes toke ſmall regard to defend yͤ paſſage, as though they had bin ſure inough. But Plautius appointed yͤ certaine number of Germaynes whyche he had there with him (being vſed to ſwimme ouer riuers, although neuer ſo ſwifte) to get ouer, whiche they did, ſleaing & wounding the Britaynes horſes whiche were faſtned to their waggens or Charrets, ſo that the Britaynes were not able to doe anye peece of their accuſtomed ſeruice with the ſame.

odnni.

Catuellani.

Herewith alſo was Flauius Veſpaſianus (that afterwards was Emperour) with his brother Sabinus ſent ouer that riuer, which beyng gote to the further ſide, ſlewe a great number of the enimies. The reſidue of the Britaynes fled, but the nexte daye proffered newe battell, in the which they alſo fought ſo ſtoutly, that the victory depended long in doubtfull ballance, till C. Sidius Geta being almoſt at poynt to be taken, did ſo handle the matter, that the Britaynes finally were put to flight: for the whiche his valiant doings, triumphante honors were beſtowed vpon him although he was no Conſul.

The Britaynes after this Battell, withdrew to the Riuer of Thames, nere to the place where it falleth into the Sea, and knowing the ſhallowes and firme places thereof, eaſily paſſed ouer to the further ſide, whome the Romaines following through lacke of knowledge in the nature of the places, they fel into yͤ mariſſe groūds, and ſo came to loſe many of their men, namely of the Germaynes, which were the firſt that paſſed ouer the Riuer to follow the Britaines, partly by a bridge whiche lay within the countrey ouer the ſayde Riuer, and partly by ſwimming, and other ſuch ſhift as they preſently made. The Britaynes hauing loſt one of theyr Rulers, that is to witte, Togodumnus, of whome yee haue hearde before, were nothing diſcoraged, but rather the more egrely ſet on reuenge. Plautius perceyuing their fierceneſſe, went no further, but ſtayed and placed garriſons in ſteedes, where neede required, to keepe thoſe places whiche hee had gotten, and with al ſpeede ſent aduertiſemēt vnto Claudius, accordingly to that he hadde in commaundement, if any vrgent neceſſitie ſhould ſo moue him. Claudius therefore hauing all things before hand in a readineſſe, ſtreightwayes vpon the receyuing of the aduertiſement, departed from Rome, and came by water vnto Oſtia, and from thence vnto Maſſilia, & ſo through Fraunce, ſped his iourneys till hee came to yͤ ſide of the Ocean ſea, and then embarquing hymſelfe with his people, paſſed ouer into Britaine, & came to his army which abode his cōming neere to yͤ Thames ſide, where being ioined, they paſſed the Riuer agayne, fought with the Britaines in a pight fielde, and getting the victory, toke the towne of Camalodunum, which was the chiefeſt Citie apperteyning vnto Cynobelinus. Hee reduced alſo many other people into his ſubiection, ſome by force, and ſome by ſurrender, wherof he was called oftentimes by the name of Emperour, which was againſt the ordinance of yͤ Romanes: for it was not lawfull to any to take yͤ name vppon him, oftner than once in any one voyage.

Togodumnus.

Moreouer, Claudius toke from the Britaynes their armor and weapons, and committed the gouernement of them vnto Plautius, cōmaunding him to endeuor himſelfe to ſubdue the reſidue.

Thus hauing broughte vnder a parte of Britayne, and hauing made his abode therein not paſt a ſixteene dayes, he departed, and came backe agayne to Rome with victory in yͤ ſixth moneth after his ſetting forth from thence, geuing after his returne, to his ſon, the ſurname of Britannicus.

Dion Caſsius.

Suetonius.

D. This

This warre he finiſhed, in manner as before is ſayd, in the fourth yeare of his raigne, why che fell in the yeare of the worlde. 4011. and after the birth of our Sauioure. 44. after the building of Rome. 79.

44

There be that write, how Claudius ſubdued and added to the Romaine Empire, the Iles of Orkney, ſituate in the North Ocean beyonde Britayne, which might well be brought to paſſe eyther by Plautius, or ſome other his Lieutenant: for Plautius indeede for his noble prowes and valiant actes atchieued in Britayne, afterwards triumphed. Titus the ſonne of Veſpaſian alſo wanne no ſmall prayſe for deliuering hys father out of daunger in his time, beeing beſette with a company of Britaynes, whiche the ſayde Titus bare downe and put to flight with greate ſlaughter. Beda following yͤ authoritie of Suetonius, writeth briefly of this matter, and ſayth, that Claudius paſſing ouer into this Iſle, to the whiche neyther before Iulius Ceſar, nor after him any ſtraunger durſt come, within few days receyued the moſt part of the countrey into hys ſubiection without battell or bloudſhed.

Gildas alſo writing of this reuolting of the Britaynes, ſayth thus, when information thereof was gyuen to the Senate, and that haſt was made with a ſpeedy army to reuenge the ſame, there was no warlike nauie prepared in the Sea to fyghte valiantly for defence of the countrey, no ſquare battell, no right wing, nor any other prouiſion appoynted on the ſhore to bee ſeene, but the backes of the Britaynes in ſteade of a ſhielde are ſhewed to the perſecuters, and their neckes ready to bee cutte off with the ſworde through colde feare running through their bones, whiche ſtretched forth their handes to be bound like womanly creatures, ſo that a common Prouerbe followed thereof, whiche was commonly vſed and ſpoken, that the Britaynes were neyther valiant in warre, nor faythfull in peace, and ſo the Romaynes ſleaing many of the Rebelles, reſeruing ſome, and bringing them to bondage, that the lande ſhoulde not lye altogither vntilled and deſert, returned into Italy out of that lande which was voyde of wine and oile, leauing ſome of their men there for gouernors to chaſtiſe the people, not ſo muche with an army of men, as with ſcourge and whippe, and if the matter ſo required, to apply the naked ſworde vnto theyr ſydes: ſo that it might be accompted Rome and not Britayne. And what coigne eyther of braſſe, ſiluer, or golde there was, the ſame to be ſtamped with the Image of the Emperoure. Thus farre Gildas.

In the Brittiſh hiſtorie we finde other report as thus, that Claudius at his comming a lande at Porcheſter, beſieged that towne, to the reſkew whereof came Guinderius, and giuing battell to the Romaynes, put them to the worſe, till at length, one Hamo, beeyng on the Romaynes ſyde, chaunged hys ſhielde and armoure, apparellyng hymſelfe lyke to a Britayne, and ſo entring into the thickeſt preaſſe of the Brittiſhe hoſt, came at length to the place where the King was, and there ſlewe him. But Aruiragus perceyuing this miſchiefe, to the ende the Brytaines ſhoulde not be diſcouraged therewith, he cauſed himſelfe to be adorned with the Kings coate armour, and other abiliments, and ſo as Kyng continued the fight with ſuch manhod, that the Romaynes were put to flighte, Claudius fleeing backe to hys Shippes, and Hamo to the nexte Woddes, whome Aruiragus purſued, and at length droue hym vnto the Sea ſyde, and there ſlewe hym ere hee coulde take the

Gal. Mon.
Mat. VVeſ

Hamo to the nexte woddes, whome Aruiragus purſued, and at length, droue him vnto the Sea ſide, and there ſlewe hym ere hee coulde take the hauen which was there at hand, ſo that the ſame hauen tooke name of hym, and was called long tyme after Hamons hauen, and at length by corruption of ſpeeche, it was called Hampton, and ſo continueth vnto thys day commonly called Southampton.

Thus haue you hearde howe Guyderius or Guinderius (whether you will) came to his ende, which chanced (as ſome write) in the .28. yeare of his raigne.

Aruiragus.

Aruiragus.

Hect. Boetius

ARuiragus yͤ yõgeſt ſon of Kinibelyne, & brother to Guinderius, bycauſe the ſame Guinderius lefte no iſſue to ſuccede him, was admitted Kyng of Britayne in the yere of oure Lord. 45. or rather. 46.

This Aruiragus, otherwiſe called by the Britaynes Meuricus or Mauus, of Tacitus Praſutagus, is alſo named Arniager in yͤ Engliſhe Chronicle, by whiche Chronicle (as it appeareth) he bare hymſelfe ryght manfully againſt Claudius and his Romaynes in the warre whyche they made agaynſte hym: in ſo muche, that when Claudius hadde renued his force and wonne Porchester, and after came to beſiege Winchester, (in the whiche Aruiragus as then was encloſed,) Aruiragus aſſembling his power, was ready to come forth and giue Claudius battell: wherevppon, Claudius doubting the ſequele of the thing, ſente meſſengers vnto Aruiragus to treate of concord, and ſo by compoſition, the matter was taken vp, with condition, that Claudius ſhoulde gyue his daughter Geniſſa in marriage vnto Aruiragus, and Aruiragus ſhuld acknowledge to holde hys Kingdome of the Romaynes.

Caxton.

Galf. Mon.

Ranulfus Ceſtrenſis.

Some write that Claudius in fauour of the valiant prowes which he ſaw and found in Aruiragus, honored not only hym with the marriage of hys daughter the ſayd Geniſſa, but alſo to the ende to make the Towne more famous where this marriage was ſolemnized, hee therefore called it *Glaudioceſtria*, after his name, the whiche in the Brittiſhe toung was called before that daye Caerleon, and after Glouernia, of a Duke that ruled in Demetia, that heyght Gluuy, but now it is called Glowceſter.

Other there be that write, how Claudius being vanquiſhed in battell by Aruiragus, was compelled by the ſayde Aruiragus to giue vnto him his ſayde daughter to wife, with conditions as before is mentioned: and that then Aruiragus was crowned King of Britayne. But Suetonius may ſeeme to reproue this part of the Brittiſh hiſtory, the whiche in the life of Claudius witneſſeth, that he had by three wiues only three daughters, that is to ſay, Claudia, Antonia, and Octauia: and further, that reputing Claudia not to be his, cauſed hir to be caſt downe at the dore of his wife Herculanilla, whome he had forſaken by way of diuorcement. And that hee beſtowed his daughter Antonia firſt on Cn. Pompeius Magnus, and after on Fauſtus Silla, right noble yong men: and Octauia, he matched with Nero his wiues ſonne, whereby it ſhoulde appeare, that this ſuppoſed marriage betwixte Aruiragus and the daughter of Claudius, is but a fayned tale.

Suetonius.

And heere to ſpeake my fancy alſo what I thynke of this Aruiragus, and other the Kyngs whome Galfrid and ſuch as haue followed hym do regiſter in order, to ſucceede one after another: I will not denie but ſuche perſons there were, and the ſame happily bearing very great rule in the lande, but that they reigned as abſolute kings ouer the whole, or that they ſucceeded one after another in manner as is auouched by the ſame writers, it ſeemeth moſt vnlyke to bee true: for rather it may bee geſſed by that whyche as well Gildas as the olde approued Romayne writers haue written, that dyuers of theſe Kyngs lyued about one time, or in tymes greatly dyffering from thoſe tymes, whyche in oure writers wee finde noted: as for enſample, Iuuenall maketh thys Aruiragus of whome we nowe entreate, to raygne about Domitians tyme. For my parte therefore, ſith this order of the Brittiſhe Kingly ſucceſſion in thys place is more eaſie to be flatly denyed and vtterly reproued, than eyther wiſely defended or truly amended, I will referre the reforming thereof, vnto thoſe that haue perhappes ſeene more than I haue, or more deepely conſidered the thyng, to trie out an vndoubted trothe: and in the meane tyme, I haue thoughte good, both to ſhewe what I fynde in oure hyſtories, and likewiſe in the forrayne writers, to the which we thynke namely in thys behalfe, whyleſt the Romaynes gouerned there, we may ſafely gyue moſt credite, nor wee otherwiſe neuer ſo muche contente ourſelues with other vayne and fonde conceytes.

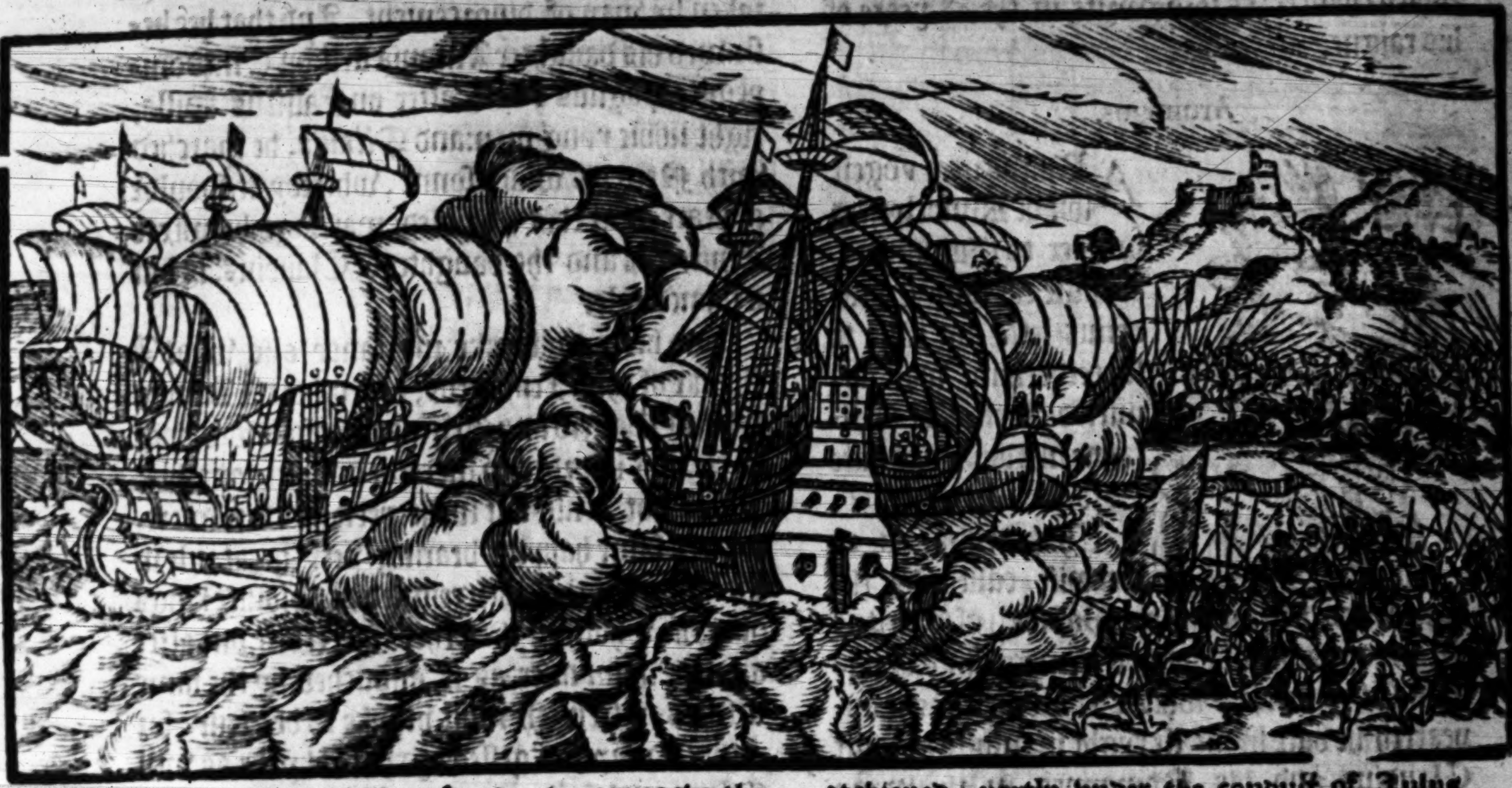
To procede yet with the Hiſtory as wee fynde it by our writers ſet forth. It is reported that after the ſolemnization of thys marriage, whyche was done with all honor that myght be deuiſed, Claudius ſente certayne legions of Souldyers forth to goe into Irelande to

Legions of Souldiers ſent into Irelande.

ſubdue that countrey, and returned himſelfe to Rome.

After his departure, Aruiragus rode about to viewe the ſtate of hys Realme, repayring Cities and Townes decayed by the warre of the Romaynes, and ſawe hys people gouerned with ſuche iuſtice and good order, that hee was both dradde, and greatly beloued: ſo that in tract of tyme, hee grewe very welthie, and by reaſon thereof, fell into pride, ſo that he denyed his ſubiection to the Romaynes. Whereupon Claudius appoynted Veſpaſian with an army to goe as Lieutenant into Brytayne, the whiche iourney was to him the beginning of his aduancemente to that honor, whiche after to him moſt luckily ſucceded. But if wee ſhall credite our Britayne writers, he gayned not muche at Aruiragus handes, for where he woulde haue landed at Sandwich or Richbourrow, Aruiragus was ready to reſiſt hym, ſo as he durſt not once enter the hauen: for Aruiragus had there ſuche a puiſſaunte number of armed menne, that the Romaynes were afrayde to approche the lande.

Veſpaſian i
Britayne.
Cornelius
Tac. in vit.
Agr. lib. 3.
and lib. 3.
Hiſt.
Galf. Mon.
Rutupie.



Veſpatian therefore withdrewe from thence, and coaſting Weſtwarde, landed at Totnes, and comming to Exeter, beſieged that Citie: but about the ſeuenth day after he hadde planted hys ſiege, came Aruiragus, and gaue him battell, in the which both the Armies ſuſteyned greate loſſe of men, and neyther parte got any aduantage of the other. On the morrowe after, the Queene Genuiſſa made them friendes, and ſo the warres ceaſſed.

But ſeeing that (as before I haue ſayde) the troth of this hiſtorie may be greatly miſtruſted, yee ſhall heare what the Romayne writers ſay of Veſpaſianus being here in Britayne, beſide that whiche wee haue already recited out of Dion in the lyfe of Guiderius.

In the dayes of the Emperoure Claudius, through fauour of Narciſſus (one that myghte do all with Claudius) the ſayde Veſpaſian was ſente as Coronell or Lieutenaunt of a legion of Souldiers into Germany, and beeyng remoued from thence into Britayne, hee fought thirtie ſeuerall tymes with the enimies, and brought vnto the Romayne obeyſance, two moſt mightie nations, and aboue twentie Townes, togither with the Iſle of Wight, and theſe exploytes hee atchieued, partly vnder the conduct of Aulus Plautius that was Ruler of Britayne for the Emperour Claudius, and partl vnder the ſame Emperour himſelfe. For as it is euident by writers of good credite, hee came firſt ouer into Britayne with the ſayd Aulus Plautius, and vnder him ſerued right valiantly, as before in place wee haue partly touched. By Tacitus it appeareth, that he was called to be partener in the gouernment of things in Britayne with Claudius, and had ſuch ſucceſſe, as it appeared to what eſtate of honor hee was predeſtinate, hauing conquered nations, and taken Kings priſoners.

Veſpaſian.

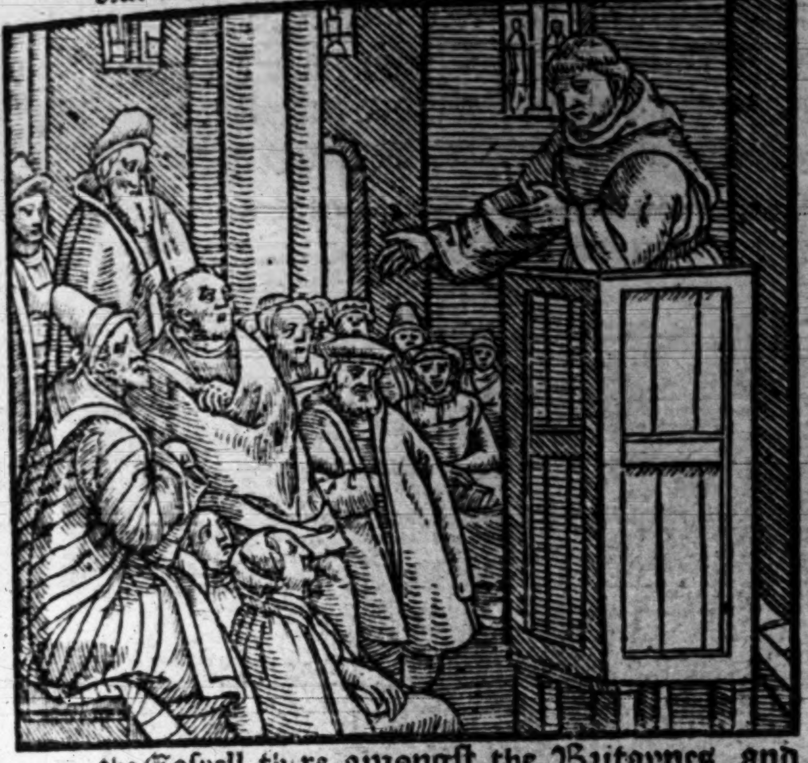
Suetonius.
Sabellic.

But nowe to make an ende with Aruiragus: At length whe hee perceyued that hys force was too weake to preuayle agaynſte the Romayne Empire, and that hee ſhoulde ſtriue but in vayne to ſhake the yoke of ſubiection from the neckes of the Britaynes, hee made a ſmall peace with them nowe in hys olde age, and ſo continued in quiete the reſidue of hys raigne, whyche hee laſtly ended by deathe, after hee hadde gouerned the lande by the ſpace of thirtie yeeres, or but eyght and twentie, as ſome other doe imagine. He dyed in the yeere of grace. 72. as one Authoure affirmeth, and was buried at Gloucester.

Gal. Mon.

71
Math. W

In the dayes of this Aruiragus, about the yeare of Chriſt .53. Joſeph of Aramathia (whych buried the body of our Sauioure, beeing ſente by Philippe the Apoſtle (as John Bale, followyng the authoritie of Gildas and other Britiſhe writers reciteth.) After that the Chriſtians were diſperſed out of Gallia, came into Britayne with diuers other godly Chriſtian men, and preaching the Goſpell there amongſt the Britaynes, and inſtructing thẽ in the faith and lawes of Chriſt, conuerted many to the true beliefe, and baptiſed them in the wholeſome water of regeneration, and there continued all the reſidue of his lyfe, obteyning of the King a plotte of grounde where to inhabite, not paſt a foure miles from Welles, and there with his fellowes began to lay the firſt foundation of that true and perfect Religion, in which place (or neere thereunto) was afterward erected the Abbey of Glaſtenbury.



Nicephorus writeth in his ſecond Booke and fourth Chapter, that one Simon Zelotes came likewiſe into Britayne. And Theodoretus in his 9. Booke *de Curandis Græcorũ affectibus* ſheweth, that Paule being releaſed of his ſecõd impriſonment, and ſuffered to departe from Rome, preached the Goſpell to the Britaynes and to other nations in the Weſt.

The ſame thing in manner doth Sophronius the Patriarke of Jeruſalem witneſſe. Tertullian alſo may bee a witneſſe of the auncientie of the fayth receyued heere in Britayne, where hee writing of theſe times ſayeth: Thoſe places of yͤ Britaines to the whiche the Romaynes coulde not approche, were ſubiect vnto Chriſt, as were alſo the countreys of Sarmatia, Dacia, Germania, Scithia, and others.

Thus it may appeare, that yͤ Chriſtian religion was planted here in this lande ſhortly after Chriſts time, although it certaynely appeare not who were the firſte that preached the Goſpell to the Britaynes, nor whether they were Grekes or Latines.

Cornelius Tacitus writeth, that the Romayne Emperoures in this ſeaſon gouerned this land by Lieutenantes and Threaſorers, the which were called by the name of Legates and Procurators, thereby to keepe the inhabitantes the better in order.

Treaſorers or recyuers.

Aulus Plautius.

And Aulus Plautius a noble man of Rome of the order of Conſuls, was ſente hither as the firſt Legate or Lieutenant (in manner as before ye haue heard) and after him Oſtorius Scapula, the whiche Scapula at his comming, founde the Iſle in trouble, the enimies hauing made inuaſiõ into the countrey of thoſe that were friẽds to the Romaynes, the more preſumptuouſly, for that they thought, a new Lieutenaunt with an army to him vnaquaynted and commen ouer nowe in the beginning of Winter, woulde not be haſtie to march forth againſt them. But Oſtorius vnderſtanding, that by the firſte ſucceſſe and chance of warre, feare or hope is bredde and augmented, haſteth forwarde to encounter with them, and ſuch as he findeth abroade in the countrey he ſleath downe right on euery ſide, and purſueth ſuch as fledde, to the ende they ſhoulde not come togither againe: and for that a diſpleaſant and a doubtfull peace was not like to bring quietneſſe eyther to him or to his army, hee tooke from ſuch as he ſuſpected, theyr armour. And after this, hee goeth about to defende the ryuers of Auon and Seuerne, with placing his ſouldiers in campes fortifyed neere to the ſame. But the Oxfordſhire menne and other of thoſe parties would not ſuffer hym to accompliſh his purpoſe in any quiet ſort, being a puiſſant kynd of people, & not hitherto weakened by warres: for they willingly at the firſt had ioyned in amitie with the Romaines. The Countreys adioyning alſo being induced by their procuremente, came to thẽ, and ſo they choſe forth a plotte of grounde, fenſed with a mightie ditche, vnto the whiche there was no way to enter but one, and the ſame very narrowe, ſo as the horſemen could not haue any eaſie paſſage to breake in vpon them. Oſtorius, although he hadde no legionarie Souldiers, but certayne bandes of aydes, marcheth forthe towards the place within the which the Britaines were lodged, and aſſaulting them in the ſame, breaketh through into their camp, wher the Britaynes being impeached with their owne incloſiers whiche they had reyſed for defenſe of the place, knowing how for their rebellion, they were like to finde ſmal mercy at the Romaynes hãds, when they ſawe now no way to eſcape, layde about them manfully, and ſhewed greate proofe of their valiant ſtomackes.

Oſtorius Scapula.

Cor. Tacitus lib. 12.

Cornelius Tacit. lib. 12.

In this battell, the ſonne of the Lieutenante M. Oſtorius deſerued the price and commendation of preſeruing a Citizen out of the enimies hands.

Which was a certayne Crowne, to be ſet on his head called ciuica corona.

Cangi.

But nowe with this ſlaughter of the Oxefordſhire menne, dyuers of the Britaynes that ſtoode doubtfull what way to take, eyther to reſt in quiet, or to moue warres, were contented to bee reformable vnto a reaſonable order of peace, and ſo Oſtorius leadeth hys armye againſte the people called Cangi, that inhabited that parte of Wales that nowe is called Denbighſhire, whiche countrey hee ſpoyled on euery ſide, no enemie once daring to encounter him: and if any of them aduentured priuily to ſet vpon thoſe whiche they founde behinde, or on the outſides of his army, they were cut ſhorte ere they could eſcape out of daunger. Wherevpon, hee marched ſtraighte to their campe, and giuing them battell, vanquiſheth them. And vſing the victory as reaſon moued him, he leadeth his army againſte thoſe that inhabited the inner partes of Wales, ſpoyling the countrey on euery ſide.

And thus ſharply purſuing the Rebells, he approched neere to the Sea ſide, whiche lyeth ouer againſt Ireland.

Whileſt this Romane Captayne is thus occupied, hee was called backe by the Rebellion of the Yorkeſhire men, whome forthwith vppon his commyng vnto them, he appeaſed, puniſhyng the firſt authors of that tumult with death.

Cor. Tacitus lib. 12.

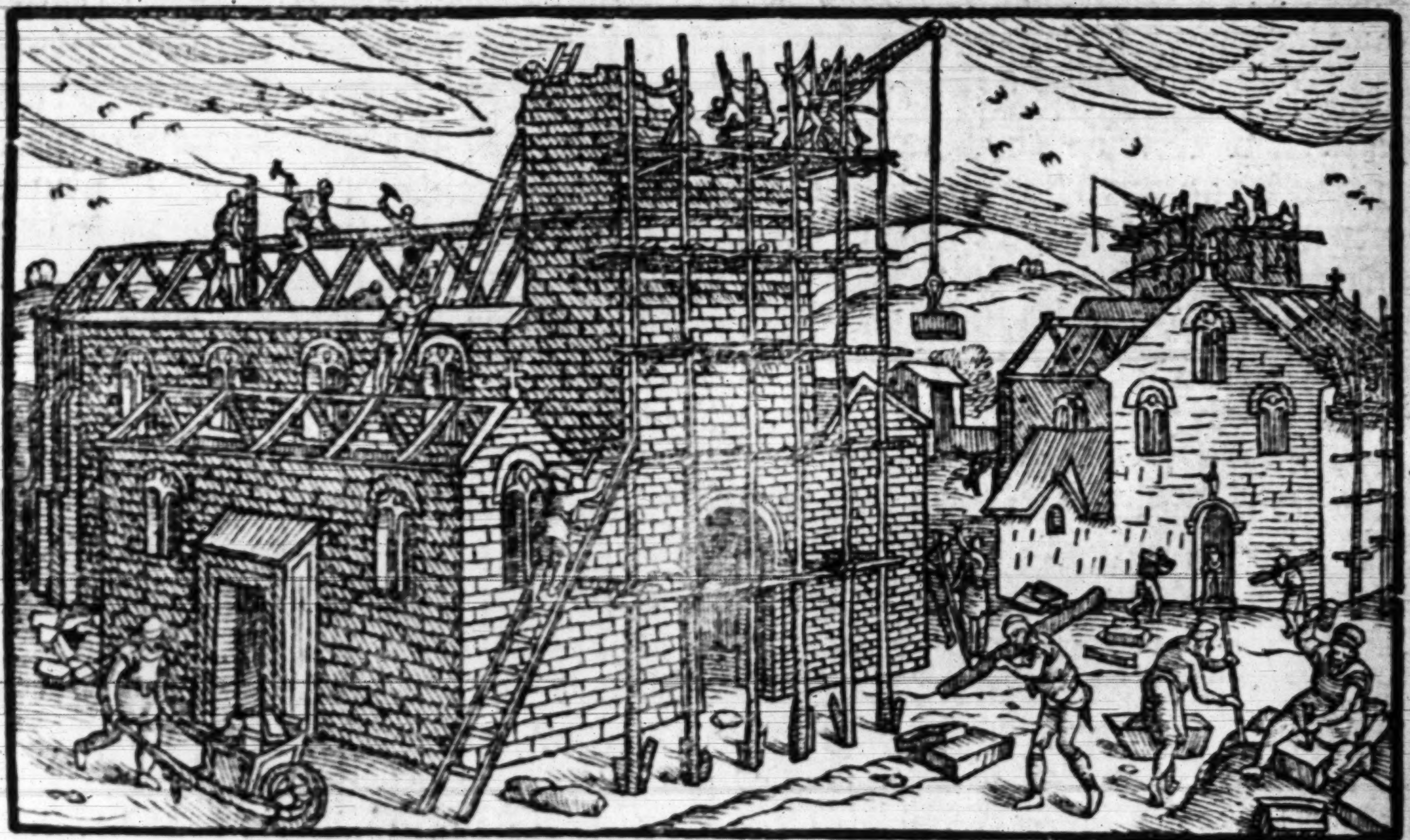
In the meane tyme, the people called Silures, beeyng a very fierce kynde of menne, and right valiante, prepare to make warre agaynſte the Romaynes, for they mighte not bee bowed neyther with roughneſſe, nor yet with any curteous handling, ſo that they were to be tamed by an army of legionary ſouldiers to be brought among them.

Therefore to reſtrayne the furious rage of thoſe people and their neighbours, Oſtorius peopled a Towne neere to their bordures, called Camulodunũ with certayne bandes of olde Souldiers, there to inhabite with theyr Wiues, and children, according to ſuch manner as was vſed in like caſes of placing naturall Romaynes in any Towne or Citie, for the more ſuretie and defence of the ſame.

Camulodunũ Colcheſter.

Silures where they inhabited

Here alſo was a temple builded in the honor of Claudius the Emperour, where were two Images erected, one of the Goddeſſe Victoria, and an other of Claudius himſelfe. But nowe there reſteth a great doubt among writers, where thys Citie or Towne called Camulodunum dyd ſtand of ſome and not without good grounde of probable coniectures, gathered vpon the aduiſed conſideration of the circumſtances of that whych in olde authors is found written of this place, it is thought to be Colcheſter But verily by thys place of Tacitus it may ſeeme rather to be ſome other towne, ſituate more Weſtward than Colcheſter, ſith a colonie of Romaine Souldiers were planted there to bee at hande, for the repreſſing of the vnquiet Silures, whiche by conſent of moſt writers inhabited in Southwales, or neere the Welch Marches.



There was a Caſtell of great fame in tymes paſt that hight Cameletum, or in Brittiſhe Caermalet, whiche ſtoode in the Marches of Sommerſetſhire: but ſith there is none that hathe ſo written before thys tyme, I will not ſaye that happily ſome error hathe growen by miſtakyng the name of Camalodunum, for this Cameletum by ſuch as haue copyed forthe the Booke of Cornelius Tacitus, and yet ſo it myght be done by ſuche as found it ſhort, or vnperfectly written, namely, by ſuche ſtraungers or other, to whome onely the name of Camulodunum was onely knowne, and Camaletum peraduenture neuer ſeene nor heard of. As for enſample, an Engliſhman that hath heard of Waterforde in Ireland, and not of Werforde, might in taking forthe a copie of ſome wꝛiting eaſily committe a faulte in noting the one for the other.

We fynde in Ptolomei Camudolon to bee a Citie belonging to the Trinobantes, and he maketh mention alſo of Camulodunum, but Humfrey Lhuyde thinketh that hee meaneth all one Citie.

Notwithſtanding, Polidore Vergill is of a contrary opinion, ſuppoſing the one to be Colcheſter indeede, and the other that is Camelodunum to be Duncaſter or Pontfret. Leland eſteeming it to be certaynely Colcheſter, taketh the Iceni alſo to be the Northfolke men. But howe ſo euer we ſhall take thys place of Tacitus, it is euidente ynough that Camulodunum ſtoode not farre from the Thaymes. And therefore to ſeeke it with Hector Boetius in Scotlande, or with Polidore Vergill ſo farre as Doncaſter or Poutfret, it may bee thought a playne error: but to leaue each man to his owne iudgemente in a matter ſo doubtfull (as to many it ſeemeth to be) we will procede with the hiſtorie, touching the warres betwixte the Romaynes and the Sylurians, againſte whome (truſting not only vppon theyr owne manhoode, but alſo vppon the hygh prowes and valiancie of Caractacus) Oſtorius ſet forwarde. Caractacus excelled in fame aboue all other the Princes of Britaine, aduanced therto by many doubtfull aduentures and many proſperous exploytes whiche in his tyme he hadde atchieued: but as hee was in policie and aduauntage of place better prouided than the Romaines: ſo in power of Souldiers hee was ouermatched. And therefore he remoued the warre into the partes of that countrey where the Ordouices inhabited, whiche are thought to haue dwelled in the bordures of Shropſhire, Cheſhire, and Lancaſhire, the which people togither with other that miſliked of the Romayne gouernemente, he ioyned in one, and choſe foorthe a plotte of grounde moſt for his aduantage, determining there to trie the vttermoſt hazarde of Mars his iudgemente.

Cornelius Tacitus. li. Anna. 12.

Hu. Lloyde.

The place whyche he thus choſe was ſuch, as the entries, the backwayes, and the whole ſituation thereof made for the Britaynes aduauntage, and cleane contrarye to the Romaynes, encloſed amongſt high hilles, and if there were any eaſie paſſage to enter it vppon any ſyde, the ſame was ſhutte vp with mightie huge ſtones in manner of a rampire, and afore it there ranne a riuer without any certayne fourde to paſſe ouer it.

This place is ſuppoſed of ſome to lye in the confynes of Shropſhire aloft vppon the toppe of an hygh hyll there, enuironed with a triple rampire and ditch of great depth, hauing three entries into it, not directly one againſte an other, but aſlope.

It is alſo (ſaye they) compaſſed aboute with two Riuers, to witte, on the lefte hand with the Riuer called Clun, and on the ryght with an other Riuer called Teuide. On three ſydes there of, the clime is very ſteepe and headlong, and no way eaſie to come vnto it, but onely one.

Caratacke hauyng thus fortified hymſelfe within thys place, and broughte his army into it: hee to encourage hys people, exhorted them to ſhewe theyr manhoode, affirmyng that to bee the daye, and that army to bee the ſame wherein ſhoulde appeare the beginnyng eyther of libertie, then to bee recouered, or elſe of perpetuall bondage for euer to be ſuſteyned.

He rehearſed alſo ſpecially by name thoſe their elders, whiche hadde reſiſted Iulius Ceſar, by whoſe high valiancie they lyued free from the bloudy thraldome and tributes of the Romayns, and enioyed theyr Wiues and children ſafe and vndefiled. And thus diſcourſing of many thyngs with them, in ſuch hope of aſſured victory, that they began to reyſe theyr cries, eache one for himſelfe declaring, that he was bound by the dutie he ought to the Gods of his countrey, not to ſhrinke for feare of any woundes or hurtes that might chaunce vnto them by the enimies weapon.

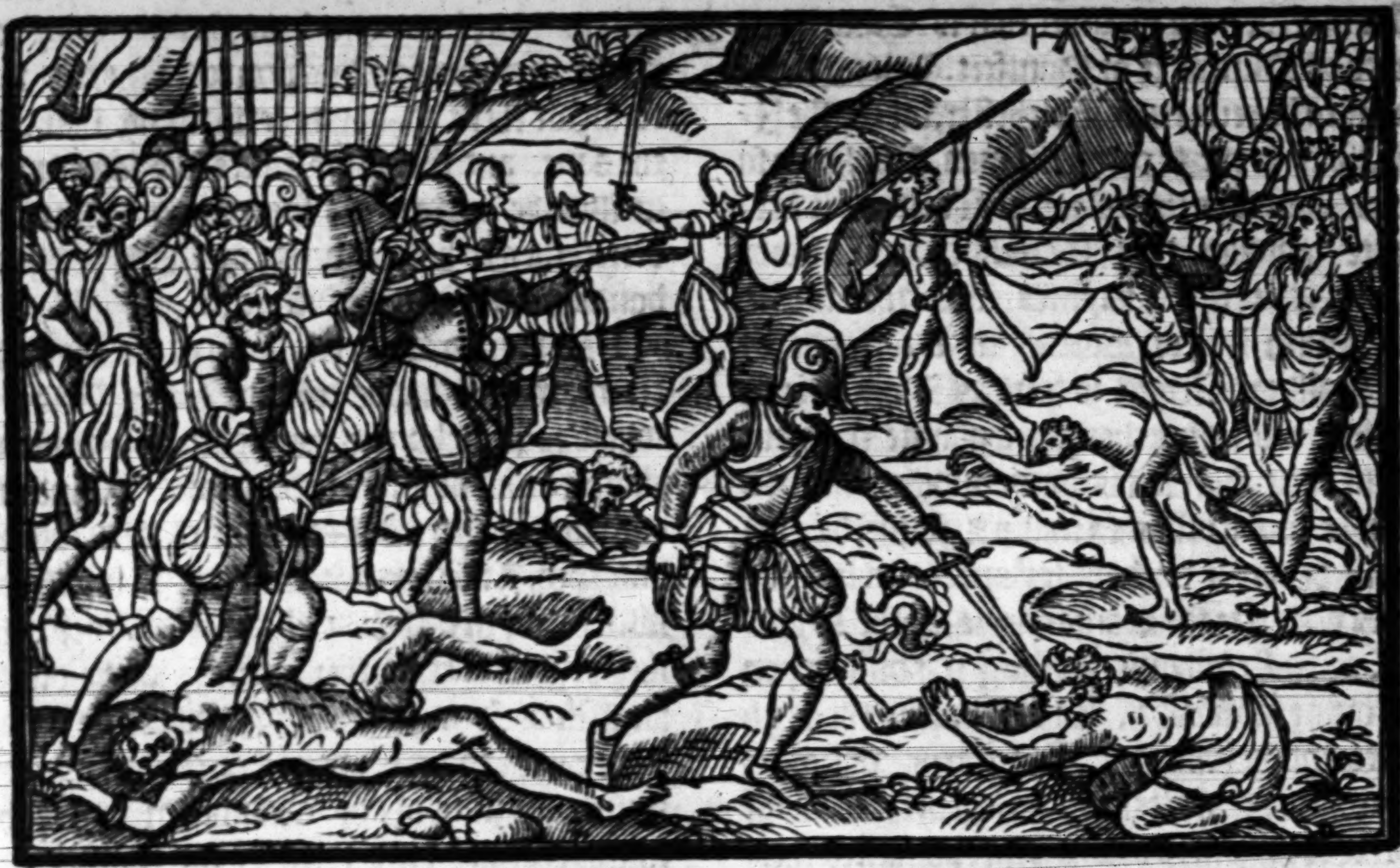
Thys cheerefulneſſe of the Britaynes, greatly aſtonied the Romayne Lieutenant. The hideous courſe alſo of the Riuer before his face, the fortificatiōs and craggie height of the hilles, all ſet full of enimies ready to beate him backe, putte him in greate feare: for nothing he ſawe afore him, but that whiche ſeemed dreadfull to thoſe that ſhould aſſayle. But the Souldiers yet ſeemed to be very deſirous of battayle, requeſting him to bring them to it, proteſting that nothyng was able to reſiſt the force of noble prowes. Herewith the Captaynes and Tribunes diſcourſing the like, pricked forwarde the earneſt willes whiche theyr Souldiers had to fighte.

Oſtorius perceyuing ſuche courage and readie willes in the menne of warre, as well Souldiers as Captaynes, hee beganne to beſturre himſelfe, and left nothing vndone that myghte ſerue to ſet forwarde theyr earneſt deſire to battell.

And hauing aduiſedly conſidered whiche wayes were harde, and impoſſible to bee entred vpon, and whyche places were moſt eaſie for hys people to finde paſſage by, he leadeth them foorth, beeing moſt earneſtly bente to cope with theyr enymies.

Cornelius Tacitus. Annal. lib. 12.

Hee paſſed the water withoute anye greate difficultie, but commyng to the rampyre, he loſt many of his people, ſo lōg as the fight was cōtinued with ſhotte and caſting of dartes: but after that the Romaynes couering them ſelues with theyr targets, came once cloſe togither, and approched vnder yͤ Rampire, they remoued away yͤ ſtones which yͤ Britaynes had roughly couched togither, and ſo they came to ioyne with them at handblowes. The Britaynes being vnarmed, and not able to abide the force of the armed men, withdrew to yͤ top of the hilles, but as well theyr enimies that were light armed as the other with heauie armoure followed and brake in among them, ſo as the Britaynes coulde not turne them any way forth to eſcape, for the light armed mē with ſhot a farre off, and the heauie armed with weapons at hand, ſought to make ſlaughter and wracke of them on eache ſide, ſo that this was a right dolefull day vnto the Britaynes.



The wife and daughter of Caratake were taken priſoners, and his brethren alſo yeelded thēſelues. He himſelfe eſcaped, and committing hys perſon vnto the aſſurance and truſt of Cartemādua Queene of the Brigantes, was by hir delyuered into the hands of the Romaynes.

Cornelius Tac. lib. 12. Caratakes name renowned.

This was a nine yeres after yͤ warres in Britayne firſte began. His name beeing broughte forth of the Iſles, was already ſpredde ouer the prouinces adioyning, and began nowe to growe famous through Italy. Men therefore were deſirous to ſee what manner of man he was that had ſo many yeeres ſet at naught the puiſſante force of the Empire. For in Rome the name of Caratacus was much ſpoken of. And the Emperoure whileſt hee goeth about to preferre his owne honor, aduanceth the glory of him alſo that was vanquiſhed. For the people were called forthe as vnto ſome great notable ſight or ſpectable. The Pretorian bandes ſtoode in order of battell armed in the field that lay before their lodgings, through which fielde Caratake ſhould come. Then paſſed forth the trayne of his friends and ſeruantes, and ſuche armour, riches, Iewels, and other thyngs as had bin gote in thoſe warres, were borne forwarde, and openly ſhewed, that all men myghte behold the ſame.

After theſe followed his brethren, Wife, and daughters: and laſt of all came Caratacus himſelfe, whoſe countenaunce was nothing lyke to theirs that went afore him, for whereas they fearing puniſhment for their Rebellion with wailefull countenance craued mercy, hee neyther by countenaunce nor wordes ſhewed any token of a diſcouraged minde, but beeyng preſented before the Emperour Claudius ſitting in his Tribunall ſeate, he began his tale in this wiſe. If there hadde bin in mee ſo muche moderation in tyme of proſperitie, as there was nobilitie of birth, and puiſſance, I hadde come to this Citie rather as a friende than as a Captayne. Neyther ſhould I haue thought diſdeyne, beeyng borne of moſt noble parentes, and ruling ouer many people, to haue accepted peace by way of ioyning with you in league. My preſente ſtate as it is to mee reprochfull, ſo to you it is honorable. I hadde at commaundemente Horſes, men, armour, and great riches, what maruell is it if I was loth to forgoe the ſame? For if you ſhall looke to gouerne all men, it muſt needes followe that all menne muſt become your ſlaues. If I hadde at the firſte yeelded my ſelfe, neyther my power nor youre glory hadde bin ſet forth to the world, and vpon myne execution I ſhoulde ſtraight haue bin forgotten. But if you nowe graunte me life, I ſhall be a witneſſe for euer of youre mercifull clementcie.

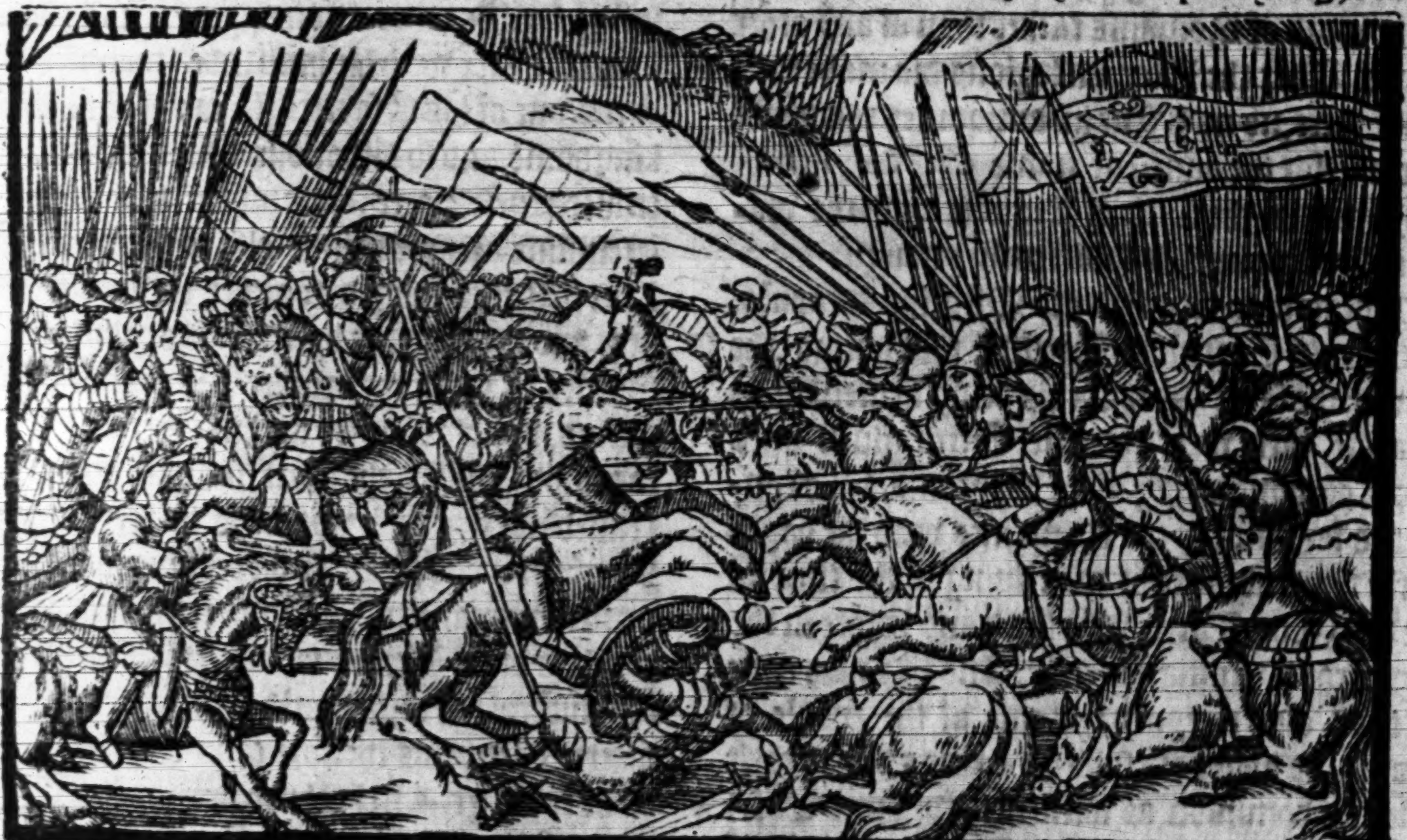
The Emperour with theſe words being pacified, graunted life both to Caratake and alſo to his wife and brethren, who being loſed from their bandes, went alſo to the place where the Empres Agrippina ſate (not farre of) in a Chayre of eſtate, whome they reuerenced with the lyke prayſe and thankes as they had done before to the Emperour.

After this, the Senate was called togither, who diſcourſed of many things touching thys honourable victorie atchieued by the taking of Caratake, eſteeming the ſame no leſſe glorious, than whẽ P. Scipio ſhewed in triumph Siphax king of the Numidians, or L. Paulus the Macedonian king Perces, or other Romain captaynes any ſuch king whom they had vanquiſhed.

Siphax,
L. Paulus.

Herevpon it was euen determined, that Oſtorius ſhoulde enter the Citie of Rome wyth tryumphe lyke a Conquerour, for ſuche proſperous ſucceſſe as hytherto had followed hym: but afterwardes hys proceedings were not ſo luckie, eyther for that after Caratake was remoued out of the way, the Romaines as though the warre had beene finiſhed, looked negligently to themſelues, eyther elſe for that the Brytayns taking compaſſion of the miſerable ſtate of Caratake, being ſo worthie a Prince, through fortunes froward aſpect caſt into miſerie, were more earneſtly ſet to reuenge hys quarell. And herevpon they cõpaſſe about the maiſter of the campe, and thoſe legionarie bandes of ſouldiers, which were left amongſt the Silures to fortifie there a place for the armie to lodge in: and if ſuccour had not come out of the next townes and caſtels, the Romains had bene deſtroyed by ſiege. The head Captaine yet, and .viij. Centurions, and euery one elſe of the cõpanies being moſt forward, were ſlaine.

And ſhortly after, they ſet vpon the Romaine forragers, and put them to flight, and alſo ſuche companies of horſemen as were appoynted to garde them. Herevpon Oſtorius ſetteth forth certaine bands of light horſmen, but neither could he ſtay the flight by that meanes, til finally the legions entred the battail, by whoſe force they were ſtayd, and at length the Romaines obteyned the better: but the Brytayns eſcaped by flight without great loſſe, by reaſon the day was ſpent.



After this many bickerings chaunced betwixt the Brytains & Romains, and oftentymes they wrought theyr feates more like to the trade of them that vſe to robbe by the high wayes, than of thoſe that make open warre, catching their enimies at ſome aduauntage in woods and bogs, as hap or force miniſtred occaſion vpon malice conceyued, or in hope of pray, ſomtimes by cõmaundement, and ſometimes without eyther cõmaundement or knowledge of captain or officer.

At one time the Brytains ſurpriſed two bands of footmen that were with the Romains in ayde, and ſente forth to forrey abroade vnaduiſedly, through couetouſneſſe of the Captaines. Thys feat was atchieued by the Silures alſo, the which in beſtowing priſoners and part of the ſpoyle vnto other of their neighbours, procured them likewiſe to rebel againſt the Romains, & to take part with them. The Silures were the more earneſtly ſet againſt the Romains, by occaſion of wordes which the Emperor Claudius had vttred in their diſfauor, as thus: that euẽ as the Sicambres were deſtroyed and remoued into Gallia, ſo likewiſe muſt the Silures be dealt with, and the whole nation of them extinguiſhed.

These wordes being blowne abroade, and knowne ouer all, cauſed the Silures to conceyue a wonderfull hatred agaynſt the Romaynes, ſo that they were fully bent, eyther to retayne theyr libertie, or to die in defence thereof vpon the enimies ſwordes.

In the meane tyme Oſtorius Scapula departed this life, a right noble warriour, and one who by little and little enſuing the ſteps of Aulus Plautius his predeceſſor, did what hee coulde to bring the Ile into the forme of a prouince, which in part he accompliſhed.

W.H. in his Chronologie.

There be ſome led by coniecture grounded vpon good aduiſed conſiderations, that ſuppoſe this Oſtorius Scapula beganne to build the Citie of Cheſter after the ouerthrow of Caractacus, for in thoſe parties he fortified ſundry holdes, and placed a number of olde ſouldiers either there in that ſelf place, or in ſome other neare therevnto by way of a colonie. And forſomuch (ſay they) as we read of none other of any name therabouts, it is to bee thought that he plãted the ſame in Cheſter, where his ſucceſſors did afterwardes vſe to harborow their legions for the winter ſeaſon, and in time of reſt from iourneyes, which they haue to make agaynſt their common enimies. In deede it is a common opinion among the people there vnto this day, that the Romains built thoſe vaultes or tauernes (which in that citie are vnder ẏ ground) with ſome part of the caſtell. And verily as Ranulf Higeden ſayth, a man that ſhall view & well conſider thoſe buildings, he may think the ſame to be the work of Romains rather than of any other people. That the Romain legions did make their abode there, no man ſene in antiquities can doubt thereof, for the auncient name *Caer leõn ar dour deny*, that is, the Citie of Legions vpon the water of Dee, proueth it ſufficiently ynough.

Ra. Higeden alias Ceſtrẽſis.

Cor. Tacit.

Cogidune a K. in Brytaine.

But now to returne vnto Oſtorius Scapula, we finde in Cornelius Tacitus, that during the time of the ſame Scapula his being lieutenant in this Ile, there were certaine Cities giuen vnto one Cogidune a king of the Brytains, who continued faythfull to the Romaines vnto the dayes of the remembrance of men liuing in the time of the ſayd Cor. Tacit. who liued and wrote in the Emperor Domitianus time. And this was done after an olde receyued cuſtome of the people of Rome, to haue both ſubiects & kings vnder their rule and dominion (as witneſſeth the ſame Tac.)

A. Didius Lieutenant.

After the deceaſſe of Oſtorius Scapula, to ſupplye his rowmeth was ſent one A. Didius: but ere hee coulde come thinges were brought oute of order, and the Brytaynes had vanquiſhed the legion of the whiche Manlius Ualens had the conduct: and this victorie was ſet forth by the Brytaynes to the vttermoſt, that with the bruite therof they might ſtrike a feare into the Lieutenants heart, nowe vpon his firſt comming ouer. And he himſelfe reported it by letters to the Emperor after ẏ largeſt maner, to the end that if he appeaſed the matter, he might winne the more prayſe, or if hee were put to the worſt, and ſhoulde not preuaile, that then his excuſe might ſeeme the more reaſonable and worthie of pardon. The Silurians were they that had atchieued this victory, and kept a foule ſturre ouer all the countryes aboute them, till by the comming of Didius agaynſte them, they they were dryuen backe and repulſed.

Venuſius ruler of the Igantes.

But herewyth beganne trouble to be rayſed in another part: for after that Caratake was taken, the chiefeſt and moſt ſkilfull Captain which the Brytaynes had, was one Venuſius, a ruler of the people named Iugantes, a man that remayned a long tyme faythfull to the Romains, and by theyr power was defended from his enimies, who hauing maryed with Cartimanda Queene of the Bryganttes or Yorkeſhire men. This Cartimãda (as ye haue heard) had deliuered Caratake into the Romains hands, therby miniſtring matter for the Emperour Claudius to triumph, by whiche pleaſure ſhewed to the Romains, ſhee increaſed through theyr friendſhip in power and wealth, whereof followed riotous luſt to ſatiſfie hir wanton appetite, ſo as ſhe falling at ſquare with hir huſbande, maryed Vellocatus, one of his Eſquiers, to whom ſhe gaue hir kingdome, and ſo diſhonoured hir ſelfe. Herevpon enſued cruell warre, inſomuche that in the ende Venuſius became enimie alſo to the Romaines. But firſt they tugged togither betwixt themſelues, and the Queene by a craftie pollicie founde meanes to catch the brother and couſins of Venutius, but hir enimies nothing therwith diſcouraged, but kindled the more in wrath agaynſt hir, ceaſſed not to goe forwarde with theyr purpoſe. Many of the Brigantes diſdeyning to be ſubiect vnto a womans rule ẏ had ſo reiected hir huſbãd, reuolted vnto Venutius: but yet ẏ Queenes ſenſual luſt mixed with crueltie, mainteyned the adulterer. Venutius therfore calling to him ſuch aid as he could get, & ſtrẽgthned now by the reuolting of the Brigantes, brought Cartimanda to ſuch a narrow point, ẏ ſhe was in great danger to fal into the hands of hir enimies: which the Romaines foreſeeing, vpon ſute made, ſent certaine bands of horſmen & footmen to help hir. They had diuerſe encoũters with the enimies at the firſt, with doutfull ſucceſſe: but at length they preuayled, & ſo deliuered the Queene out of peril, but the kingdome remained to Venutius: againſt whõ ẏ Romains were conſtrayned ſtill to mainteyne the warre.

Cartimanda.

Velocatus.

Venutius keepeth the kingdome in diſpite of the Romaines.

About the ſame time the legion alſo which Ceſius Naſcica led, got the vpper hand of thoſe Britains againſt whom he was ſent. For Did. being aged, & by victories paſt ynough renowmed, thought it ſufficient for him to make war by his captains, ſo to ſtay and keepe off the enimie.

Certain caſtels and holdes in deed he cauſed to be built & fortified further within ẏ cũtry thã had

beene

bene afore attempted by any of his predeceſſors, and ſo thereby were the confines of the Romains in this Ile ſomwhat inlarged.

Thus haue ye heard with what ſucceſſe the Brytaynes mainteyned warre in defence of their libertie agaynſt the Romaines, whyleſt Claudius ruled the Empire (according to the report of the Romain wryters.)

The error of Hector Boetius.

But here muſt you note, that Hector Boetius folowing the authoritie of one Veremond a Spaniard, alſo of Cornelius Hibernicus, and Campbell remoueth the Silures, Brygantes, and Nouantes, ſo farre northward that he maketh thẽ inhabitants of thoſe Countreys which the Scottes haue now in poſſeſſion, and were euen then inhabited (as he affyrmeth) partly by the Scottes, and partly by the Pictes (as in the Scottiſh Hyſtorie ye may ſee more at large,) ſo ẏ what notable feate ſoeuer was atchiued by the olde Britains againſt the Romains, the ſame by him is aſcribed vnto Scottes and Pictes, throughout his whole Hyſtorie, whereas (in verie truth) for ſomuch as may bee gathered by coniecture and preſumption of that whiche is left in wryting by auncient Authours, the Brygantes inhabited Yorkſhyre, the Silures Wales & the Marches, and the Nouãtes in the countrey of Cumberland.

A note to be conſidered in the reading of Hect. Boetius

But forſomuch as he hath diligently gathered in what maner the warres were mainteyned by thoſe people agaynſt the Romains, and what valiant exploytes were taken in hande, and furniſhed through their ſtoutneſſe and valiancie, ye may there reade the ſame, and iudge at your pleaſure what people they were whome hee ſo muche prayſeth, aduertiſing you hereof by the way, that as we haue before expreſſed, none of the Romain wryters mencioneth anye thing of the Scottes, nor once nameth them, tyll the Romaine Empyre beganne to decaye aboute the tyme of the Emperour Conſtantius, the father of Conſtantine the great, ſo that if they had beene in thys Ile then ſo famous both in peace and warre, as they are reported by the ſame Boetius, maruayle might it ſeeme, that the Romaine wryters woulde ſo paſſe them ouer with ſilence.

Cor. Tac. li. Annal. 15.

After the death of Claudius the Emperour of Rome, Claudius Domitianus Nero ſucceeded him in gouernment of the Empyre. In the .vij. yeare of whoſe raigne, which was after the incarnation. 52. the Romaines receyued a great ouerthrow in Brytain, where neither the lieutenãt A. Didius Gallus (whõ in this place Cornelius Tacitus calleth Auitus) coulde during the tyme of his rule do no more but holde that which was alreadie gotten beſide the building of certain Caſtelles (as before yee haue heard:) neyther hys ſucceſſor Verannius, beating and forreyping the Woods, could atchieue any further enterprice, for he was by death preuẽted, ſo as he could not proceed forward with his purpoſe touching ẏ warres which hee had ment to haue followed, whoſe laſt wordes (in his teſtament expreſſed) detected him of manifeſt ambition: for adding many things by way of flatterie to content Neroes minde, he wiſhed to haue liued but two yeres longer, in which ſpace he might haue ſubdued prouinces vnto hys dominion, meaning thereby the whole Ile of Brytaine.

Paulus Suetonius lieutenãt.

BUT nowe when thys great loſſe chãced to the Romains, Paulinus Suetonius did gouerne here as lieutenãt, a mã moſt plentifully furniſhed with all gifts of fortune and vertue, and therewith a right ſkilfull warriour.

Angleſey inuaded.

This Suetonius therefore wiſhing to tame ſuch of the Brytains as kept out, prepareth to aſſaile the Ile of Angleſey, a country full of Inhabitants, and a place of refuge for al outlawes and rebels. He builded certaine Brigantines with flat kiles to ſerue for the ebbes & ſhallowe ſhelues here & there, lying vncertainly in the ſtraits which he had to paſſe. The footmen feried ouer in thoſe veſſels, the horſmen folowing by the fourds & ſwimming when they came into the deepe, got likewiſe to the ſhore, where ſtood in order of battel an huge number of armed men cloſe togither, redy to beate back the Romains, & to ſtay thẽ frõ comming to land. Amongſt the men, a nũber of women were alſo running vp and down as they had bin out of their wits, in garments like to wild rogues, with their heare hanging downe about their ſhoulders, and bearing firebrands in their handes.

A ſtrange maner of women.

The Druides.

There was alſo a company of their prieſts or philoſophers called Druides, who with ſtretched forth handes towards heauen, thundred out curſings againſt the Romains in moſt bitter wiſe.

The ſoldiers were ſo amaſed with the ſtrãgeneſſe of this ſight, that (as men benummed of their limmes and ſenſes) they ſuffred themſelues to be wounded and ſlain like ſenſeleſſe creatures, til by the calling vpon of their general, & ech one encouraging other in no wiſe to feare a ſort of mad diſtract women, they preaſſed forward vnder their enſignes, bearing downe ſuche as ſtoode in their way, & with their owne fire ſmouldred and burnt them to aſhes.

Angleſey won by the Romains.

To conclude, the Romain lieutenãt got poſſeſſiõ of the whole Ile, wherin he placed gariſons of mẽ of war to kepe the people there in ſubiectiõ.

He

Woods cut downe.

He alſo cauſed their woods to be cut downe, that were conſecrated to theyr Goddes, within the which they were accuſtomed to ſacrifice ſuche as they tooke priſoners, and by the view of theyr intrayles, in diſmembring them, to learne of theyr Goddes ſome Oracles and ſuch other things as ſhould come to paſſe.

Lieutenant & Procurator.

But now in the meane tyme, whileſt Paulinus was abrode about this enterpriſe, the Brytains began to conferre togither of their great and importable miſeries; of their grieuous ſtate of ſeruitude, of their iniuries and wrongs, whiche they dayly ſuſteyned: how that by ſuffrance they profited nothing, but ſtill were oppreſſed with more heauy burdens: eche cuntrie in times paſt had only one king to rule them: now had they two, the lieutenant by his captains and ſouldiers, ſpilling their blouds, and the Procurator or receyuer (as we may call him) bereauing them of their goods and ſubſtance. The concord or diſcord betwixt thoſe that were appoynted to rule ouer them, was all alike hurtful vnto the ſubiects, the lieutenaunt oppreſſing them by his captains & men of warre, and the procurator or receyuer by force & reprochfull demeanor, polling them by inſupportable exactions. There was nothing free from the couetous extortion & filthie concupiſcence of thoſe vnſaciable perſons, for in theſe dayes (ſay they) the greateſt ſpoiler is the valianteſt man, & moſt cōmonly our houſes are robbed & rāſacked by a ſort of cowardly raſkals that haue no knowledge of any warlike feates at all. Our children are taken from vs, we are forced to go to the muſters, & are ſet forth to ſerue in forraine parties, as thoſe that are ignorant which way to ſpend our liues in the quarell of our owne countrey. What a number of ſoldiers haue bene tranſported ouer from hence to ſerue in other landes, if a iuſt account were taken therof? The Germaines by manhood haue caſt (ſayd they) from their ſhoulders the heauy yoke of bondage, and are not defended as we are with the main Ocean ſea, but onely with a riuer. Where the Brytaines haue their countrey, their wiues & parents, as iuſt cauſes of warre to fight for: the Romains haue none at all, but a couetous deſire to gayne by rapine, and to ſatiſfie their exceſſiue luſtes. They might eaſily be compelled to depart the cuntry, as Iulius Ceſar was, if the Brytains would ſhew ſome proofe of the noble prowes that was euidently found in their worthie aunceſters, and not to ſhrinke or quaile in courage for the miſaduenture that ſhould happily chance by fighting one battaile or two. Greateſt force and conſtancie alwayes remayneth with thoſe that ſeeke to deliuer themſelues from miſerie. Now appeared it that the Goddes had taken ſome pitie of the poore Brytayns, who by their diuine power did withhold the chief captain of the Romaines with his army, as it were baniſhed in an other Ilande. Let vs thē (ſayd they) take the oportunitie of time and good occaſion offred, and forthwith procede in our buſineſſe: for leſſe daunger it is manfully to aduenture, and to goe forwarde with our purpoſe, than to be bewrayed and taken in theſe oure conſultations.

Occaſion not to be neglected.

Thus hauing taken aduice togither, and wholy miſlyking their preſent ſtate, they determined to take weapon in hande and ſo by force, to ſeeke for reformation.

Cor. Tac. li. 14.

Praſutagus.

The Oxfordſhire and Gloceſterſhire men.

Voadicia, alias Bunduica.

They were verily occaſioned therto through many euil partes practiſed by yͤ Romains greatly to their griefes and diſpleaſures. For whereas Praſutagus (ſuppoſed by Hector Boetius to bee Aruiragus K. of the people called *Iceni*) had made the Emperor and two of his owne daughters his heyres, ſuppoſing by that mean to haue his kingdome & family preſerued frō al iniury: it happened quite contrarie to that his expectation. For his kingdom was ſpoyled by the Romain captaines, his wife named Voadicia beaten by the ſouldiers, his daughters rauiſhed, the Peeres of the realme bereft of their goods, and the kings friends made and reputed as bond ſlaues.

Dion Caßim.

There was alſo an other great cauſe that ſtyrred the Brytains to this rebellion, which was the cōfiſcating of their goods: for where as Claudius himſelfe had pardoned the chiefeſt perſons of the forfeytures, Decianus Catus the Procurator of that Ile, mainteyned that the ſame ought to be renued againe.

Vſurie.

To this an other griefe was added, that where Seneca had lent to the nobilitie of yͤ Ile foure. C. *Seſtertium*, ech hūdred being. 500000. lb. ſterling, or there about, vpon great intereſt, he required the whole ſumme togither by great rigor & violence, although he forced them at the firſt to take thys money to vſurie.

Alſo ſuch old ſouldiers as were placed by way of a colonie, to inhabite the towne of Camulodunum, expelled many of the Brytains out of their houſes, droue them out of theyr poſſeſſions and landes, and accounted the Brytaynes as ſlaues and as though they had beene their captiue priſoners or bondmen. Beſide this, the temple there which was built in honor of Claudius as an aulter of eternal rule & gouernment, was ſerued with prieſts, the which vnder color of religiō did ſpoile, conſume and deuour the goods of all men.

Moreouer ſuch ſtrange ſightes and wonders as chanced about the ſame time, pricked the Britains the rather forwarde. For the Image of the Goddeſſe *Victoria* in the temple at Camulodunū, ſlipping downe, turned hir backe (as who ſhoulde ſay) ſhee gaue place (as vanquiſhed) to the enimyes.

Dion Ca

Alſo in the Hall where the Courtes of Iuſtice

ſtice were kept, there was a marueylous greate noyſe hearde, with muche laughing and a ſturre in the Theatre, with great weeping and lamentable howling, at ſuche tyme as it was certenly knowne that there was no creature there to make any ſuch noyſe.

ge won-

on Caſsius.

The Sea at a Spring Tyde appeared of a bloudie colour, and when the Tyde was gone backe, there were ſeene on the Sandes the ſhapes and figures of mens bodies.

Women alſo, as rauiſhed of theyr wittes, and beeing as it were in a furye, prophecied that deſtruction was at hande, ſo that the Brytaynes were put greatly in hope, and the Romaines in feare.

lidor.

But thoſe things, whether they chaunced by the crafte of man, or illuſion of the Diuell, or whether they proceeded of ſome naturall cauſe, the which the common ſort of people oftentymes taketh ſuperſtitiouſly, in place of vnkouth maruails ſignifying things to followe, we woulde let paſſe leaſt wee might bee thought to offende religion, (the which teaching all things to bee done by the prouidence of God, deſpiſeth the vaine foreſhewings of happes to come) if the order of an hyſtory (ſayth Polidore Vergill) woulde ſo permit, the whiche requyreth all things to bee wrytten in maner as they fall forth and come to paſſe.

Tac. li 15.

adicia by
on Caſsius
called Bun-

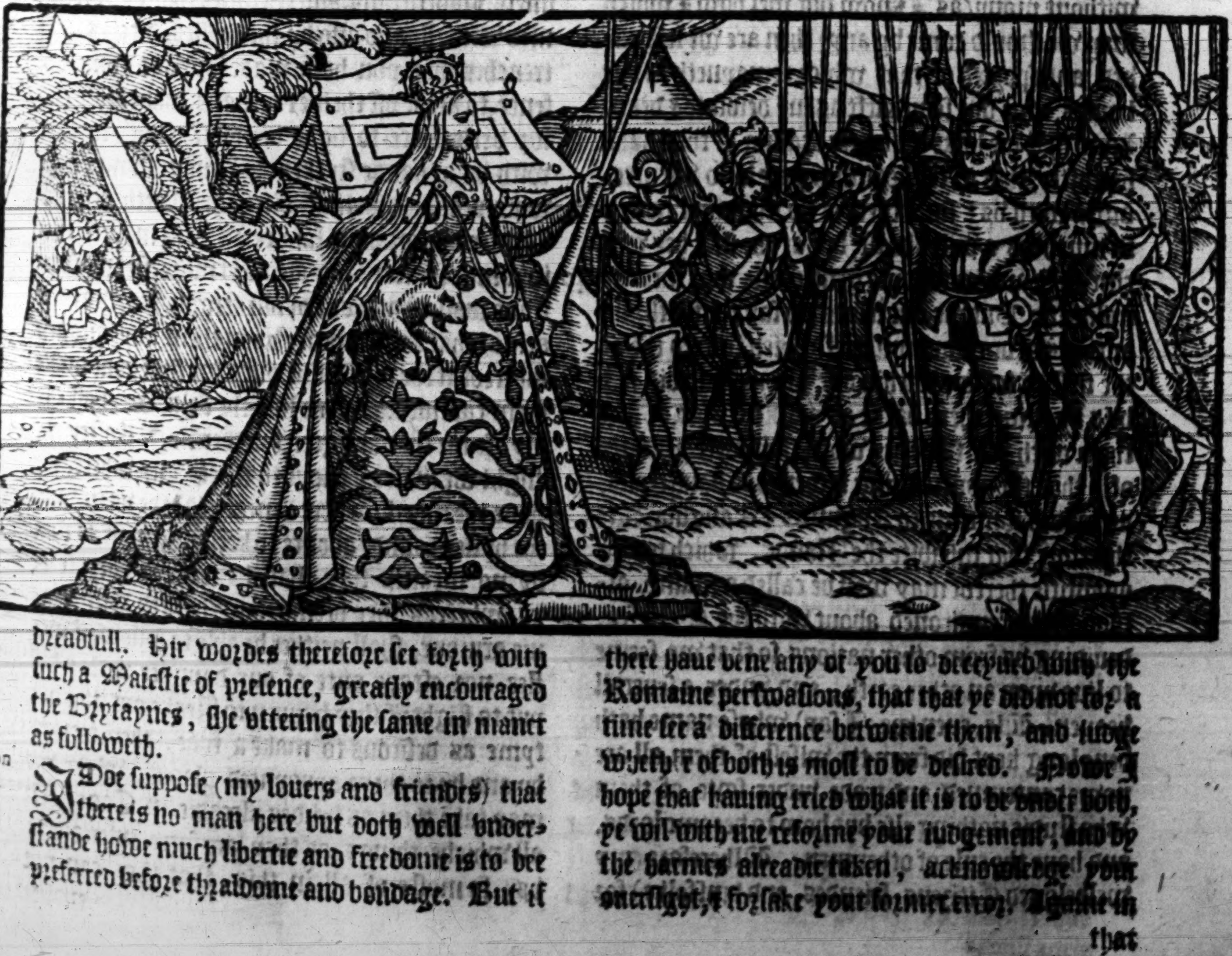
But the Brytaynes were chiefely moued to Rebellion by the iuſte complaynte of Voadicia, declaryng howe vnſeemely ſhee had beene vſed and intreated at the handes of the Romaines: and bycauſe that ſhee was moſte earneſtlye bent to ſeeke reuenge of theyr iniuryes, and hated the Romaine name moſte of all other, they choſe hir to bee Captayne (for they in rule and gouernment made no difference then of ſexe, whether they committed the ſame to man or woman) and ſo by a generall conſpiracie, the more parte of the people hauing alſo allured the Eſſex men vnto Rebellion, roſe and aſſembled themſelues togyther to make warres agaynſt the Romaines.

The auncient Brytaines admitted as well women as men to publike gouernment.

There were of them a hundred and twentie thouſande gotte togither in one armie vnder the leading of the ſayde Voadicia, or Bunduica (as ſome name hir.)

She therefore to encourage hir people agaynſt the enimyes, mounted vp into an high place rayſed vp of turfe and ſoddes made for the nones, out of the which ſhe made a long and verie pithie Oration.

Hir mightie tall perſonage, comely ſhape, ſeuere countenance, and ſharpe voyce, with hir long and yealow treſſes of heare reaching downe to hir thighes, hir braue and gorgeous apparell alſo cauſed the people to haue hir in greate reuerence. She ware a Chaine of golde, greate, and verye maſſie, and was clad in a loſe kyrtle of ſundrie colours, and aloft thereuppon ſhee had a thicke Iriſh mantell: hereto in hir hand (as hir cuſtome was) ſhe bare a ſpeare, to ſhew hirſelfe the more dreadfull. Hir wordes therefore ſet forth with ſuch a Maieſtie of preſence, greatly encouraged the Brytaynes, ſhe vttering the ſame in maner as followeth.



e Oration
Voadicia

I Doe ſuppoſe (my louers and friendes) that there is no man here but doth well vnderſtande howe much libertie and freedome is to bee preferred before thraldome and bondage. But if there haue bene any of you ſo deceyued with the Romaine perſwaſions, that that ye did not for a time ſee a difference betweene them, and iudge whether of both is moſt to be deſired. Nowe I hope that hauing tried what it is to be vnder both, ye wil with me reforme your iudgement, and by the harmes alreadie taken, acknowledge your ouerſight, & forſake your former error. Agayne in that a number of you haue raſhly preferred an externall ſoueraintie before the cuſtomes and lawes of your own coũtry, you do at this time (I doubt not) perfitly vnderſtande how much free pouertie is to be preferred before great riches, whereunto ſeruitude is annexed, & much wealth in reſpect of captiuitie vnder forraine magiſtrates wherevpon ſlauerie attendeth. For what thing (I beſech you) can there be ſo vile & grieuous vnto the nature of man, that hath not happened vnto vs, ſithence the time that the Romains haue bin acquainted with this Iland? are we not all in maner bereued of our riches and poſſeſſions? Doe not we (beſide other things that we giue, and the land that we till for their onely profite) pay them all kindes of tribute, yea for our owne carkaſſes? how much better is it to be once aloft and fortunate in deed, than vnder the forged and falſe title of libertie, continually to to pay for our redemption & freedome? how much is it more cōmēdable to loſe our liues in defence of our coũtry, than to cary about not ſomuch as our heads toll free, but dayly oppreſſed & laden with innumerable exactions? But to what ende do I remēber & ſpeake of theſe things, ſince they wil not ſuffer by death to become free? For what and how much we pay for thē that are dead, ther is not one here but he doth well vnderſtande. Among other nations, ſuch as are brought into ſeruitude, are alwayes by death diſcharged of their bondage: onely to the Romains, the dead doe ſtill liue, & all to encreaſe their commoditie and gain. If any of vs be without mony (as I know not wel how & which way we ſhould come by any) then are we left naked, and ſpoyled of that which remayneth in our houſes, & we our ſelues left as mē deſolate & dead. How ſhal we looke for better dealing at their hāds hereafter, that in the beginning deale ſo vncurteouſly with vs: ſince there is no man that taketh ſo much as a wilde beaſt, but at the firſt hee will cheriſh it, and with ſome gentleneſſe win it to familiaritie. But we our ſelues (to ſay the truth) are authors of our own miſchief, which ſuffred thē at the firſt to ſet foot within our Ilande, and did not by & by driue them backe as we did Ceſar, or ſlue them with our ſwordes when they were yet farre of, & that the aduenturing hither was daungerous, as we did ſomtime to Auguſtus & Caligula. We therefore that inhabite the Ilande, which for the quantitie thereof may well be called a maine, although it be enuironed about with the Oceā ſea, deuiding vs from other nations, ſo that we ſeeme to liue vpon an other earth, and vnder a ſeuerall heauen. We, euen we (I ſay) whoſe name hath bene long kept hid from the wiſeſt of them, all are nowe contemned and trode vnder foote, of them who ſtudie nothing elſe but how to become lords, and haue the rule of other men. Wherefore (my welbeloued Citizens, friendes, and kinſfolke) for I thinke we are all of kinne, ſince we were borne and dwell in this Iſle, and haue one name common to vs all; let vs now, euen now (I ſay) bycauſe we haue not done it heretofore, and whileſt the remembrance of our auncient libertie remayneth, ſticke togither, & performe that thing which doth apertaine to valiant and hardie courages, to the ende we may enioy, not onely the name of libertie, but alſo freedome it ſelfe, and thereby leaue our force and puiſſant actes for an example to our poſteritie: for if we which haue bin liberally and in honeſt maner brought vp, ſhould vtterly forget our priſtinate felicitie: what may we hope for in thoſe that ſhall ſucceed vs, & are like to be brought vp in miſerie and thraldome. Neither do I make rehearſall of theſe things vnto you, to the ende I woulde prouoke you to miſlike of this preſent eſtate of things (for well I knowe you abhorre it ſufficiently alreadie) neither to put you in feare of thoſe things that are likely to fall hereafter (bycauſe you feare and foreſee them very well before hande) but to the ende I maye giue you heartie thankes and worthie commendations, for that of your owne accord and meanes, you determine ſo well to prouide for things neceſſarie (thereby to help both me & your ſelues with willing mindes) as men that are nothing in doubt of all the Romaine puiſſaunce. If you conſider the number of your enimies, it is not greater than yours: if you regarde their ſtrength, they are no ſtronger than you: and all this doth eaſily appeare by the Baſſinets, Habergeans, and Greaues that you bee armed withall, and alſo by the walles, ditches, and trenches that you haue made for your owne defence, to keepe off their excurſions, who rather and for verie feare to fight farre off them, to cope with vs at hande ſtrokes, as our cuſtome of the warres and Martiall diſcipline doeth require. Wherefore we do ſo far exceed them in force, that in mine opinion, our armie is more ſtrong than ſtone walles, and one of our tergats worth al the armor that they do beare vpon them: by meanes whereof, if the victorie be ours, we ſhal ſoone make them captiues: or if we loſe the field, we ſhall eaſily eſcape the daunger. Furthermore, if after the flight we ſhall indeuour to meete any where, we haue the mariſhes here beneath to hide vs in, and the hylles rounde aboute to keepe them off, ſo that by no meanes they ſhall haue theyr purpoſe of vs, whereas they beeing ouercharged with heauie armour, ſhall neither be able to follow, if wee flee, nor eſcape oute of our daunger if they bee put to flight: if they happen to breake out at anye tyme as deſirous to make a rode, they returne by and by to theyr appoynted places, where we may take them as byrdes alreadie in Cage. In all whiche things, as they are farre inferiour to vs, ſo moſte of all in this, that they can not endure hunger, thyrſt, colde, heate, and Sunſhine, as we can doe. In their houſes alſo and tentes, they make much accounte of theyr baked meates, wine, Oyle, and abrode of the ſhadowe, that if any of theſe do fayle them, they eyther die forthwith, or elſe in time they languiſh and conſume: Whereas to vs euery hearbe and roote is meate, euery iuyce an Oyle, all water pleaſant wine, and euery tree an houſe. Beſide this, there is no place of the lande vnknowne to vs, neither yet vnfriendly to ſuccour vs at neede, whereas to the Romaines they are for the moſte part vnknowne and altogither daungerous, if they ſhoulde ſtande in neede: we can with eaſe ſwimme ouer euery Riuer both naked and clad, whiche they with their great ſhips are ſcarce able to performe. Wherefore with hope and good lucke, let vs ſet vpon them couragiouſly, and teach them to vnderſtande, that ſince they are no better than Hares and Foxes, they attempt a wrong match, when they endeuour to ſubdue the Greyhoundes and the Wolfes. With whiche wordes the Queene letteth an Hare go out of hir lappe, as it were thereby to giue Prognoſtication of hir ſucceſſe, which comming well to paſſe, all the companie ſhowted, and cryed out vpon ſuche as not long before had done ſuche violence to ſo noble a perſonage.

Then Bunduica calling them togither againe, proceeded forwarde with hir prayer, which ſhe made before them al, holding vp hir hands after this maner:

I giue thee thankes *Adraſte*, and call vpon thee thou woman of women, which raigneſt not ouer the burthen bearing Egiptians, as *Nitocris*, neither ouer theyr Marchauntes, as doth *Semiramis*, for theſe trifles we haue lerned lately of the Romaines: neyther ouer the people of Rome, as a little heretofore *Meſſalina*, then *Agrippina*, and now *Nero*, who is called by the name of a man, but is in deede a very woman, as doth appeare by his voyce, his harp, and his womans attire: but I call vpon thee as a Goddeſſe which gouerneſt the Brytains, that haue learned not to till the fielde, nor to be handicraftes men, but to lead their liues in the warres after the beſt maner: who alſo as they haue all other things, ſo haue they likewiſe their wiues and children common, whereby the women haue the like audacitie with the men, and no leſſe boldneſſe in the warres than they. Therefore ſithence I haue obteyned a kingdom among ſuch a mightie people, I beſeeche thee to graunt them victorie, health, and libertie, agaynſt theſe contentious, wicked, and vnſatiable men (if they may be called men, which vſe warme bathings, delicate fare, hote Wines, ſweete oyles, ſofte beds, fine Muſicke, and ſo vnkindely luſtes) who are altogither giuen to couetouſneſſe, and crueltie, as theyr doings doe declare. Let not I beſeeche thee, the Neronian or Domitian tyrannie anye more preuaile vpon me, or (to ſay truth) vppon thee, but let them rather ſerue thee, whoſe heauie oppreſſion thou haſt borne withall a long ſeaſon, and that thou wylte ſtyll be our helper onely, O noble Ladie, I heartily beſeech thee.

This oration I haue borowed of W.Hariſõ.

Finally, when ſhe had made an ende, forward ſhe ſetteth againſt hir enimies, which at that time were deſtitute in deede of theyr Lieutenaunt Paulinus Suetonius, beeing as then in Angleſey (as before ye haue heard.)

Cor.Tacit.

Catus Decianus Procurator.

The Romaines that were in Camalodunum ſente for ayde vnto Catus Decianus the Procurator, that is the Emperours agent, treaſurer, or receyuer, for in that Citie, although it were inhabited by Romaines, there was no great gariſon of able men.

The Procurator therefore ſent to them ſuch ayd as he thought he might wel ſpare, which was not paſt two hundred men, and thoſe not ſufficientlye furniſhed eyther wyth weapon or armour.

The Citie was not compaſſed with any rampire or ditch for defence, ſuch as happely were priuie to the cōſpiracie, hauing put into the heads of the Romains, that no fortification needed: neither were the aged men nor women ſent away, whereby the yong able perſonages might without trouble of them the better attende to the defence of the Citie: but euen as they had beene in all ſuretie of peace, and free from ſuſpition of any warre, they were ſodainly beſet with the huge armie of the Brytaynes, and ſo all went to ſpoyle and fyre that could be foūd without the encloſure of the temple, into the which the Romaine ſouldiers (ſtriken with ſoden feare by this ſoden comming of the enimies) had thronged themſelues. Where being aſſieged by the Brytaynes, within the ſpace of two dayes the place was wonne, and they that were founde within it, ſlaine euery mothers ſonne.

After this, the Brytaynes encouraged with this victorie, went to meete with Petus Cerialis Lieutenant of the legion, ſurnamed the ninth, and boldly encountering with the ſame Legion, gaue the Romains the ouerthrow, and ſlue all the footemen, ſo that Cerialis wyth muche adoe eſcaped with his Horſemen, and got him backe to the Campe, and ſaued himſelfe within the Trenches. Catus the Procurator being put in feare with this ouerthrow, and perceyuing what hatred the Brytains bare towardes him, hauing with hys couetouſneſſe thus brought the warre vpon the heade of the Romaines, got him ouer into Gallia.

But Suetonius aduertiſed of theſe doings, came backe out of Angleſey, & with a merueylous conſtancie marched through the middeſt of hys enimyes vnto London, beeing as then not greatly peopled with Romaines, though there was a Colonie of them, but full of Merchauntes, and well prouided of vytayles: hee was in great doubt at his comming thyther, whether hee myght beſt ſtaye there as in a place moſte conuenient, or rather ſeeke ſome other more eaſie to be defended.

At length conſidering the ſmall number of hys men of warre, and remembring howe Cirialis had ſpedde by hys two much raſhneſſe, hee thought better wyth the loſing of one Towne to ſaue the whole, than to put all in daunger of irrecouerable loſſe.

And therewith nothing moued at the prayer and teares of them whiche beſought him of ayde and ſuccour, hee departed, and thoſe that woulde goe with him he receyued into his armie, thoſe that taryed behinde were oppreſſed by the enimyes: and the lyke deſtruction happened to them of Verolanium, a Towne in thoſe dayes of great fame, ſituate neare to the place where the towne of Saint Albons now ſtandeth.

The Brytanes leauing the Caſtels and fortreſſes vnaſſaulted, followe theyr gaine in ſpoyling of thoſe places which were eaſie to get, and where greate plentie of ryches was to be founde, vſing their victorie with ſuche crueltie, that they ſlue (as the report went) to the number of .lxx. thouſande Romaines, and ſuche as tooke theyr parte in the ſayde places by the Brytaynes thus wonne and conquered. For there was nothing wyth the Brytaynes, but ſlaughter, fire, gallowes and ſuch like, ſo earneſtly were they ſet on reuenge.

80000 ſayth Dion.

They ſpared neyther age nor ſexe: women of great nobilitie and worthie fame, they tooke and hanged vp naked, and cutting off theyr Pappes, ſowed them to theyr mouthes, that they might ſeeme as if they ſucked and fedde on them, and ſome of theyr bodies they ſtretched oute in length, and thruſt them on ſharpe ſtakes.

All thoſe things they did in great deſpite whileſt they ſacrifyced in theyr Temples, and made feaſtes, namely in the Woodde conſecrated to the honour of *Andates*, for ſo they called the Goddeſſe of victorie whom they worſhipped moſt reuerently.

In the meane time there came ouer to the ayde of Suetonius, the legion ſurnamed the .xiiij. and other bandes of Souldiers and men of warre to the number of ten thouſand in the whole, whereupon chiefely (bycauſe vytayles began to fayle him) he prepareth to giue battaile to his enimies, and chooſeth forth a plotte of ground very ſtrong wythin ſtraytes, and backed with a Woodde, ſo that the enimies coulde not aſſault his campe but on the front: yet by reaſon of their great multitude and hope of victorie conceyued by their late proſperous ſucceſſe, the Brytaines vnder the conduct of Queene Voadicia aduenture to giue battaile, hauing theyr women there to be witneſſes of the victorie, whom they placed in charets at the vttermoſt ſide of theyr fielde. Voadicia, or Boudicia (for ſo we finde hir written by ſome copies, and Bonduica alſo by Dion) hauing hir daughters afore hir, beeing mounted into a Charet, as ſhe paſſed by the ſouldiers of eche ſundrie country, told them that it was a thing accuſtomed among the Brytaynes to goe to the warres vnder the leading of women, but ſhee was not nowe come forth as one borne of ſuche noble aunceſters as ſhee was diſcended from, to fight for hir kingdome & riches, but as one of the meaner ſort, rather to defend hir loſt libertie, and to reuenge hir ſelfe of the enimies, for their crueltie ſhewed in ſcourging hir like a vagabond, & ſhameful deflouring of hir daughters: for the licencious luſt of the Romans was ſo farre ſpred & increaſed, that they ſpared neither the bodies of old nor yōg, but were redy moſt ſhamefully to abuſe thē, hauing whipped hir naked being an aged woman, & forced hir daughters to ſatiſfie their filthie cōcupiſcence: but (ſaith ſhe) the Gods are at hand ready to take iuſt reuenge. The legion that preſumed to encounter with vs is ſlaine & beaten down. The reſidue kepe them cloſe within their holds, or elſe ſeeke wayes how to flie out of the countrey: they ſhall not bee once able ſo much as to abide the noiſe & clamor of ſo many thouſands as we are here aſſembled, much leſſe the force of our great puiſſāce & dreadfull hands. If ye therefore (ſayd ſhe) would wegh and conſider with your ſelues your huge nūbers of men of warre, & the cauſes why ye haue moued this warre, ye woulde ſurely determine either in this battel to die with honor, or elſe to vāquiſh the enimie by plaine force, for ſo (quoth ſhe) I being a woman am fully reſolued, as for you men ye may (if ye liſt) liue and be brought into bondage.

The Brytaynes were at that time. 230000 men (as Dion wryteth)

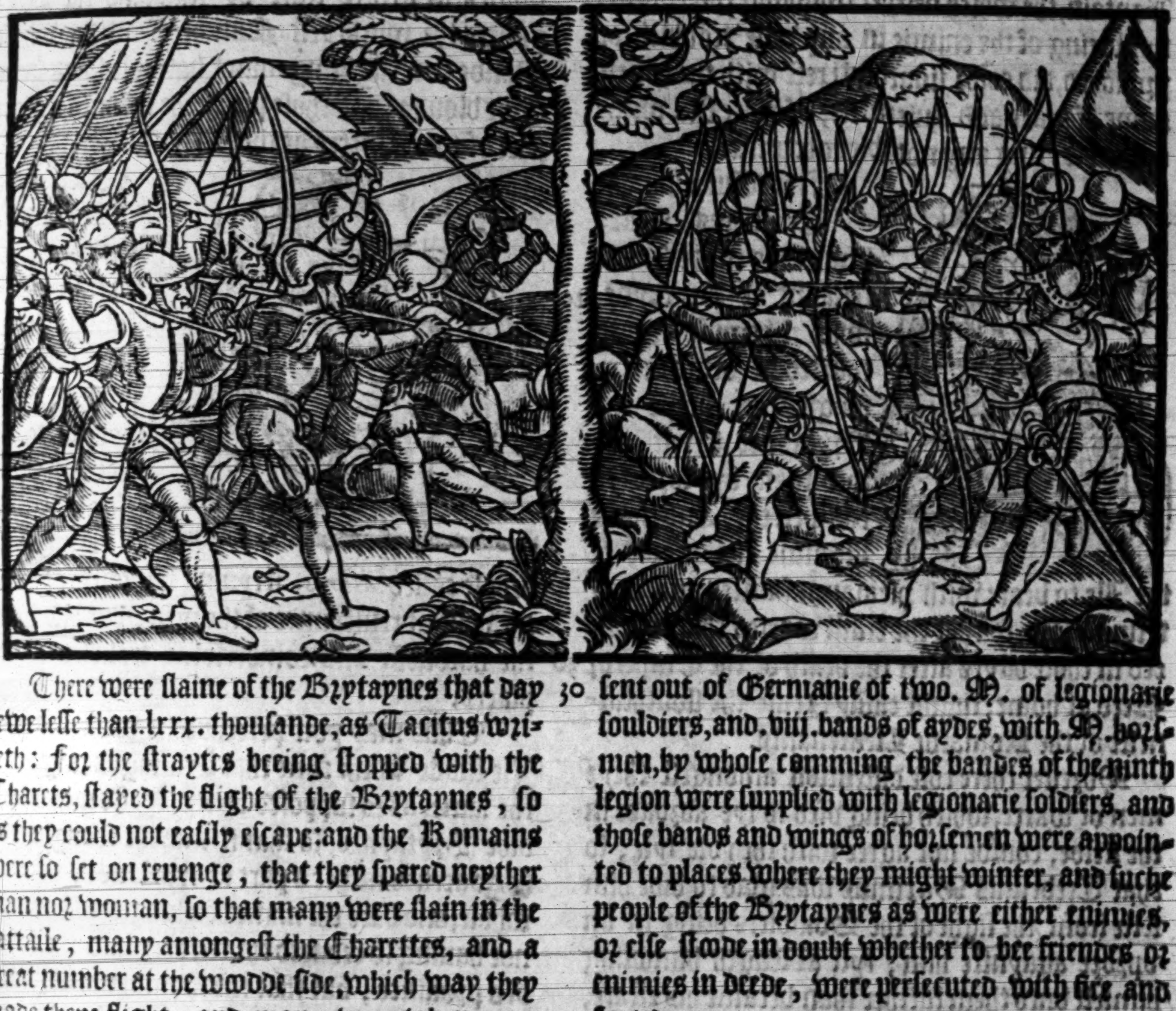
Cor. Tac. li.1

Dion Caſſius.

Neither did Suetonius ceaſe to exhort his people: for although he truſted in their manhood, yet as he had deuided his army into three battails, ſo did he make vnto ech of thē a ſeueral oration, willing thē not to feare the ſhrill & vaine menacing threats of the Britains, that ther was among thē more womē thā mē, they hauing no ſkill in warlike diſcipline, & hereto being naked withoute furniture of armor, would forthwith giue place whē they ſhould feele the ſharp points of the Romains weapōs, & the force of thē by whō they had ſo oftē bin put to flight. In many legions (ſayth he) the nūber is ſmall of thē that win the battell. Their glorie therfore ſhuld be the more, for that they being a ſmall nūber ſhould win the fame due to the whole army, if they wold (thronging togither) beſtow ſlow their weapons freely, and with their ſworde and targets preaſſe forwarde vpon their enimies, continuing the ſlaughter without regarde to the ſpoyle, they might aſſure themſelues when the victorie was once atchieued to haue all at theyr pleaſures. Such forwardneſſe in the ſouldiers followed vpon this exhortation of the Generall, that euery one prepared himſelfe ſo redily to do his dutie, and that with ſuch a ſhew of ſkill and experience, that Suetonius hauing conceyued an aſſured hope of good lucke to follow, cauſed the trumpets to ſounde to the battaile.

The onſet was giuen in the ſtraytes, greatly to the aduantage of the Romaines, being but an handfull in compariſon to their enimies.

The fight in the beginning was verie ſharpe and cruell, but in the ende the Brytaynes being a let one to another (by reaſon of the narrowneſſe of the place) were not able to ſuſtain the violēt force of the Romaines theyr enimies, ſo that they were conſtrayned to giue backe, and ſo being diſordred, were put to flight, and vtterly diſcomfited.



oooo Bry-
ns ſlaine.

There were ſlaine of the Brytaynes that day fewe leſſe than .lxxx. thouſande, as Tacitus wryteth: For the ſtraytes beeing ſtopped with the Charets, ſtayed the flight of the Brytaynes, ſo as they could not eaſily eſcape: and the Romains were ſo ſet on reuenge, that they ſpared neyther man nor woman, ſo that many were ſlain in the battaile, many amongeſt the Charettes, and a great number at the wodde ſide, which way they made theyr flight, and many were taken pryſoners.

Thoſe that eſcaped, would haue foughten a newe battail, but in the meane time Voadicia, or Bonuica deceaſſed of a natural infirmitie, as Dion Caſſius wryteth, but other ſay, that ſhee poyſoned hirſelfe, and ſo dyed, bycauſe ſhe would not come into the handes of hir enimies.

There dyed of the Romaines part in this moſt notable battaile foure .C. and about the like number were hurt and wounded.

us Poſt-
mus ſleath
elfe.

Penius Poſthumus maiſter of the campe of the ſeconde legion, vnderſtanding the proſperous ſucceſſe of the other Romaine Captains, bycauſe he had defrauded his legion of the like glorie, and had refuſed to obey the commaundements of the Generall, cōtrarie to the vſe of warre, ſlue himſelf.

After this, all the Romain armie was brought into the field to make an ende of the reſidue of the warre. And the Emperor cauſed a ſupplie to be ſent out of Germanie of two. M. of legionarie ſouldiers, and .viij. bands of aydes, with .M. horſmen, by whoſe comming the bandes of the ninth legion were ſupplied with legionarie ſoldiers, and thoſe bands and wings of horſemen were appointed to places where they might winter, and ſuche people of the Brytaynes as were either enimies, or elſe ſtode in doubt whether to bee friendes or enimies in deede, were perſecuted with fire and ſworde.

Julius Claſ-
cianus Pro-
curator.

But nothing more afflicted them than famin, for whileſt euerie man gaue himſelf to the warre, and purpoſed to haue liued vpon the prouiſion of the Romains and other their enimies, they applied not themſelues to tyllage, nor to any huſbanding of the groūd, and long it was ere they (being a fierce kinde of people) fell to embrace peace, by reaſon that Julius Claſſicianus, who was ſent into Britain as ſucceſſor to Catus, fell at ſquare with Suetonius, and by his priuate grudge hyndred the proſperous ſucceſſe of publike affayres, he ſticked not to write vnto Rome, that except an other were ſent to ſucceede in the rowmeth that Suetonins bare, there would be no ende of the warres. Hervpō one Polycletus, which ſomtime had bene a bond man, was ſent into Britain, as a commiſſioner, to ſurvey the ſtate of the countrey, and to make the legate and procurator friends, & alſo to pacifie all troubles within the Iſle.

The port which Policletus bare was great, he was furniſhed with no ſmall trayne that attented vpon him, ſo that his preſence ſeemed very dreadful to the Romains. But the Britains that were not yet pacified, thought great ſcorne, to ſee ſuche honourable captaines and men of warre as the Romaines were, to ſubmit themſelues to the order of ſuch a one as had beene a bondſlaue.

Petronius Turpilianus lieutenant.

In the end in place of Suetonius, was Petronius Turpilianus (which had lately bene Conſull) appoynted to haue the gouernance of the army in Brytain, the which neither troubling the enimie, nor beeing of the enimie in any wiſe troubled or prouoked, did color ſlouthfull reſt with the honeſt name of peace and quietneſſe, & ſo ſate ſtill without exployting any notable enterpriſe.

Trebellius Maximus lieutenant.

After Turpilianus, Trebellius Maximus was made Lieutenaunt of Brytayne, who likewyſe wyth courteous demeanour, ſoughte to keepe the Brytaynes in reſt, rather than by force to compell thẽ. And nowe beganne the people of the Ile to beare with pleaſaunt faultes and flattering vices, ſo that the ciuill warres that chaunced in thoſe dayes after the death of the Emperor Nero at home, might eaſily excuſe the ſlouthfulneſſe of the Romaine Lientenants.

Moreuer there roſe diſſention amongeſt theyr men of warre, which being vſed to lye abroade in the fielde, coulde not agree with the yole lyfe, ſo that Trebellius Maximus was glad to hide himſelfe from the ſight of the Souldiers being in an vprore agaynſte him, tyll at length humbling himſelf vnto them further than became his eſtate, he gouerned by way of intreatie, or rather at their courteſie. And ſo was the cõmotion ſtayed without bloudſhed, yͤ armie as it were, hauing by couenant obteyned to liue licenciouſly, and the captayne ſuretie to liue without daunger to be murthered.

Vectius Volanus lieutenãt.

Neither Vectius Volanus that ſucceded Maximus whyleſt the time of the ciuill warres as yet endured, dyd trouble the Brytaynes, vſing the ſame ſlackneſſe and ſlouth that the other Lieutenants had vſed before him, and permytted the like licence to the preſumptuous Souldiers: but yet was Volanus innocent as touching himſelfe, and not hated for any notable cryme or vice: ſo that hee purchaſed fauoure, althoughe authoritie wanted.

Cor. Tacitu

But after that the Emperour Veſpaſianus had ſubdued his aduerſaries, and atteyned the Imperiall gouernment, as well ouer Brytaine as ouer other partes of the worlde, there were ſent hither right noble Captaynes, with diuerſe notable bandes of Souldiers, and Petilius Cerialis being appoynted Lieutenant, put the Britaynes in greate feare by inuading the Brygantes the mightyeſt Nation of all the whole Ilande: and fighting many battayles, and ſome right bloudy with thoſe people, he ſubdued a great part of the countrey at the laſt.

Iulius Front
nus lieuten

After hym ſucceded as Lieutenant of Brytaine, one Julius Frontinus, who vãquyſhed and brought to the Romaine ſubiection by force of armes the people called *ſilures*, ſtryuing not onely agaynſt the valiant reſiſtaunce of the men, but alſo wyth the hardneſſe and comberſome troubles of the places.

Thus may you perceyue in what ſtate this Ile ſtoode in the time that Aruiragus raigned in the ſame, as is ſuppoſed by the Hyſtoryes of the olde Brytaynes, ſo that it may be thought that he gouerned rather a part of this lande, than the whole, and bare the name of a king, the Romains not hauing ſo reduced the country into the forme of a prouince, but that the Brytaynes bare rule in dyuerſe partes thereof, and that by the permiſſion of the Romaines, whiche neuertheleſſe had theyr Lieutenauntes and Procuratours here, that bare the greateſt rule vnder the aforeſayde Emperours.

Marius, otherwiſe Meurig, or Maue.

Mari
us.

After yͤ deceaſe of Aruiragus, hys ſonne Marius ſucceeded him in the eſtate, and began his raigne in the yeare of oure Lorde. 73. In the olde Engliſhe

Hector Boe
us ſaith tha
this Marius
was a Ro

73

liſhe Chronicle, he is fondly called Weſtmer, and was an excellent wiſe man, gouerning the Brytains in great proſperitie, honor and wealth.

In the time of this mans raigne, the people called Picts inuaded this lande. They are iudged to be deſcended of the Nation of the Scithians, neare kinſmen to the Gothes, both by Countrey and maners, a cruell kind of men and much giuen to the warres.

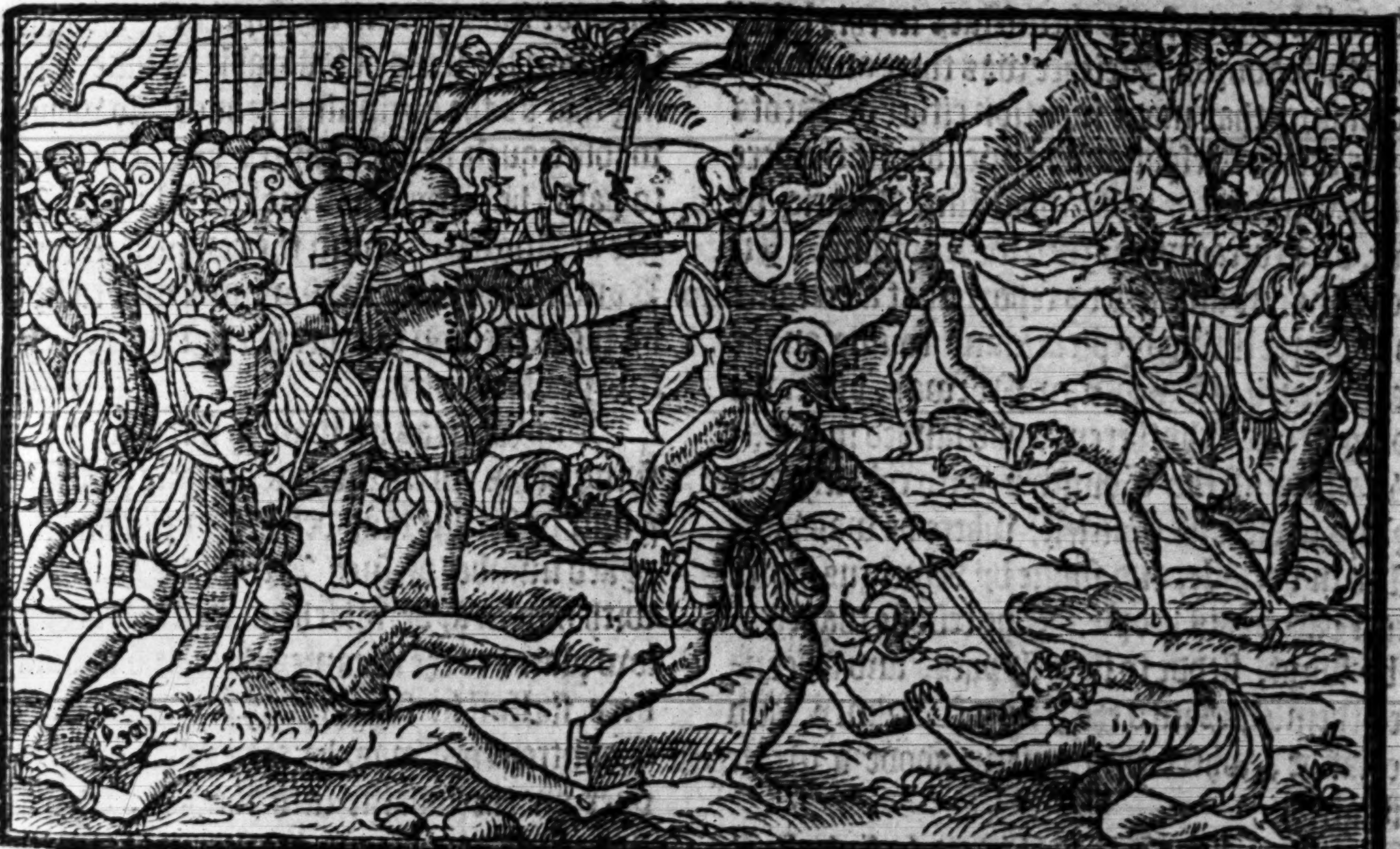
They are thought to haue taken theyr name, bycauſe they vſed to paint their ſelues with a certain blewiſh colour, or for that they were marked with printes in theyr viſages, ſo that the more honourable he was amongſt them, the deepelyer was he marked, & the more baſe he was, the leſſe his marks appeared. Some thinke that theſe were the ſame that were called Agathirſies, and named Picts bicauſe they painted their faces & limmes ſo that by no menes yͤ painting could be waſhed off: but howſoeuer they came by yͤ name, it is euident inough that they were of the Scithian nation.

Fabian.
Gal. Mon.
Mat. VVeſt.

This people therfore with their leader Roderike, or as ſome name him Londorike, entring the Ocean ſea after the maner of rouers, arriued on yͤ coaſts of Ireland, where they required of yͤ Scots new ſeates to inhabite in, for the Scots which (as ſome think) were alſo diſcẽded of yͤ Scithians, did as thẽ inhabit in Ireland: but doubting yͭ it ſhuld not be for their profit to receiue ſo warlike a natiõ into that Ile, feyning as it were a friendſhip, and excuſing the matter, by yͤ narowneſſe of the cõtry, declared vnto the Picts, that the Ile of Brytain was not farre frõ thence, being a large country & a plentiful, and not greatly inhabited: wherfore they counſelled them to go thither, promiſing vnto them all the ayde that might be.

The Picts more deſirous of ſpoyle than of rule or gouernmẽt, without delay returned to the ſea, and ſailed towards Britain, where being arriued, they firſt inuaded the north parts therof, & finding there but few inhabiters, they begin to waſt and forray the country, wherof when K. Marius was aduertiſed, with al ſpeed he aſſembled his people, & made towards his enimies, & giuing to thẽ battel, obteyned the victorie, ſo that Roderike was there ſlain in the field, & his people vanquiſhed.

Roderike king of Pictes ſlaine.



Vnto thoſe that eſcaped with life, Marius graunted licence that they might inhabite in the north part of Scotlande called Catneſſe, beeing as then a Countrey in maner deſolate wythoute habitation: wherevpon they wythdrewe thither, and ſetled themſelues in thoſe partyes. And bycauſe the Brytaynes diſdeyned to graunt vnto them theyr daughters in maryage, they ſent vnto the Scots into Irelande, requyring to haue wiues of theyr nation.

The Scottes agreed to their requeſt, with this condition, that where there wanted lawfull iſſue of the kings lynage to ſucceede in the Kingdome of the Pictes, then ſhoulde they name one of the womans ſyde to bee theyr king; whiche ordinaunce was receyued and obſerued euer after amongeſt the Pictes ſo long as their kingdome endured.

And thus the Pictes next after the Romains, were the firſt of any ſtraungers that came into this lande to inhabite as moſt wryters affyrme, although the Scottiſhe Chronicles auouche the Picts to be inhabiters here before the incarnation of our ſauiour. But the victorie which Marius obteyned agaynſt their king Roderike, chaunced in the yeare after the incarnation. 87.

Polidor.
Math. VVeſt.

In remembraunce of which victorie, Marius cauſed a ſtone to bee erected in the ſame place where the battayle was fought, in whiche ſtone was grauen theſe wordes, *Mary Victoria.* The Engliſhe Chronicle ſayeth that this ſtone was ſette vppe on Staneſmore, and that the whole Countrey thereaboute taking name of this Marius, as Weſtmaria, nowe cleped Weſtmerlande.

King Marius hauing thus ſubdued his enimies, and eſcaped the daunger of their dreadfull inuaſion, he gaue his minde to the good gouernment of his people, and the aduauncement of the common wealth of the realme, continuing the reſidue of his life in great tranquillitie, and finally departed this life, after he had raigned (after moſt writers) lij or.liij. yeares. Howbeit there be that wryte, that hee dyed in the yeare of our Lorde 78. and ſo raigned not paſt fiue or ſixe yeares at the moſt.

Mat. VVeſt.

He was buryed at Cairleil, leauing a ſonne behinde him called Coyll.

Thus finde we in the Brytiſhe and Engliſh hyſtories touching this Marius.

Humfrey Lhuyd ſeemeth to take this mã and his father Aruiragus to be all one perſon, whether mooued therto by ſome Catologe of kings which he ſawe, or otherwiſe, I cannot affyrme: but ſpeaking of the time when the Pictes and Scots ſhould firſt come to ſettle themſelues in this land, he hath theſe words. Neither was there any writers of name, that made mention either of Scots or Picts before Veſpaſianus time, about the yere of the incarnation. 72. At what time Meurig or Maw, or Aruiragus raigned in Brytaine. In which time our annales do report, that a certaine kind of people liuing by piracie and rouing on the ſea, came forth of Sueden, or Norway, vnder the guiding of one Rhythercus, who landed in Albania, waſting all the Countrey with robbing and ſpoyling ſo farre as Cairleil, where he was vanquiſhed in battaile, and ſlaine by Murigus, with a great part of his people. The reſidue that eſcaped by flight, fledde to their ſhippes, and ſo conueyed themſelues into the Iles of Orkney, and Scotlande, where they quietly abode a greate while after.

Thus farre haue I thought good to ſhew forth of the foreſayde Lhuyds booke, for that it ſeemeth to carie a great likelihoode of truth with it, for the hyſtorie of the Picts, which vndoubtedly I think were not as yet inhabiting in Brytaine, but rather firſt placing themſelues in the Iles of Orkney made inuaſion into the maine Ile of Britain afterwards, as occaſion ſeemed to be offred. In the Brytiſh tong they are called *Phighteiaid*, that is Phightians, and ſo likewiſe were they called in the Scottiſh, and in their owne tongue.

But nowe to ſhewe what chaunced in thys Ile, during the time of yͤ ſayd Marius his ſuppoſed raigne, as is found in the Romain hyſtories.

Iulius Agricola lieutenant.

AFter Iulius Frontinus, the Emperor Veſpaſian ſent Iulius Agricola to ſucceed in the gouernment of Brytain, who comming ouer about the middeſt of Sommer, founde the men of warre through want of a lieutenant negligent ynough, as thoſe yͭ looking for no trouble, thought themſelues out of all daunger, where the enimies neuertheleſſe watched vpon the next occaſion to worke ſome diſpleaſure, and were readie on eche hand to moue rebelliõ. For the people called Ordouices, that inhabited in the countrey of Cheſhire, Lancaſhire, & part of Shropſhire, had lately before ouerthrowne & in maner vtterly deſtroyed a wing of ſuch horſmen as ſoiourned in their parties, by reaſon wherof al yͤ prouince was brought almoſt into an aſſured hope to recouer libertie.

Cor. Tac. in vit. Agr.

The firſt yeare of Agricola his gouernment.

Agricola vpon his comming ouer, though ſommer was nowe halfe paſt, and that the ſouldiers lodging here & there abrode in the countrey, were more diſpoſed to take reſt, than to ſet forward into the field againſt the enimies, determined yet to reſiſt the preſent danger: and therwith aſſembling the men of warre of the Romains, and ſuch other aydes as he might make, he inuadeth their cuntry that had done this foreſaid diſpleaſure, and ſlue downe the moſt part of all the inhabitants therof. And not thus contented, (for that he thought good to follow the ſteps of fauorable fortune, & knowing that as the beginning proued, ſo woulde the whole ſequele of his affayres by likelyhoode come to paſſe) he purpoſed to make a ful conqueſt of the Ile of Angleſey, from the conqueſt whereof the Romain Lieutenant Paulinus was called backe by the Rebellion of other of the Brytayns, as before ye haue heard.

The Ile of Angleſey.

But whereas he wanted ſhips for the furniſhing of his enterpriſe, his wit and policie founde a ſhift to ſupplie that defect: for chooſing forth a pyked number of ſuch Brytaines as he had there with him in ayde, which knewe the fourds & ſhallow places of the ſtreames there, and withall were very ſkilfull in ſwimming (as the maner of the Countrey then was) he appoyntcd them to paſſe ouer on the ſodaine into the Ile, onelye with theyr Horſes, armour, and weapon: whiche enterpriſe they ſo ſpeedily, and with ſo good ſucceſſe atchieued, that the Inhabitantes much amaſed with that doing (which looked for a nauie of ſhippes to haue tranſported ouer theyr enimies by Sea, and therefore watched on the coaſt) beganne to thinke that nothing was able to bee defended agaynſt ſuche kynde of warriours that gotte ouer into the Ile after ſuche a ſorte and maner.

And therefore making ſute for peace, they deliuered the Ile into the handes of Agricola, whoſe fame by theſe victoryes daylye muche encreaſed, as of one that tooke pleaſure in trauayle, and attempting to atchieue daungerous enterpryſes, in ſteade whereof hys predeceſſours had delighted to ſhewe the maieſties of theyr

Angleſey yelded to Agricola.

office by vaine bragges, ſtately portes, and ambitious pompes. For Agricola turned not the proſperous ſucceſſe of his proceedings into vanitie, but rather with neglecting his fame, encreaſed it to the vttermoſte, amongeſt them that iudged what hope was to be looked for of things by him to be atchieued, which with ſilence kept ſecret theſe his ſo worthie doings.

Agricola his good gouernment.

Moreouer, perceyuing the nature of the people in this Ile of Brytain, and ſufficiently taught by other mens example, that armour ſhould little auaile, where iniuries followed to the diſquieting of the people, hee thought beſt to take away and remoue all occaſions of warre. And firſt beginning with himſelfe and his ſouldiers, tooke order for a reformation to be had in his owne houſhold, yeelding nothing to fauour, but altogither in reſpect of vertue, accounting them moſt faythfull, which therein moſt excelled, he ſought to knowe all things, but not to doe otherwiſe than reaſon mooued, pardoning ſmall faultes, and ſharpely puniſhing great and heynous offences, neyther yet deliting always in puniſhment, but oftētimes rather in repentance of the offender. Exactions and tributes he leſſened, qualefying the ſame by reaſonable equitie. And thus in reforming the ſtate of things, he wanne him great praiſe in time of peace, the whiche eyther by negligence or ſufferaunce of the former Lieutenauntes, was euer feared, and accounted worſe than open warre.

His diligence.

This was his practiſe in the winter time of his firſt yeare, but when Sommer was come, he aſſembled his armie, and leading forth the ſame, trayned his ſouldiers in all honeſt warlike diſcipline, commending the good, and reforming the bad and vnruly.

He himſelfe to giue enſample, tooke vpon him all daungers that came to hande, and ſuffred not the enimies to liue in reſt, but waſted their countreys with ſodaine inuaſions. And when he had ſufficiently chaſtiſed them, and put them in feare by ſuche maner of dealing, hee ſpareth them that they might againe conceyue ſome hope of peace. By which meanes many countreys which vnto thoſe dayes had kept themſelues out of bondage, layde rancour aſide, and deliuered pledges, and further were contented to ſuffer Caſtelles to be buylded within them, and to be kept with gariſons, ſo that no part of Brytayne was free from the Romain power, but ſtoode ſtyll in daunger to be brought vnder more and more.

The ſeconde yeare of Agricola his gouernment.

The worthie practiſes of Agricola to traine the Brytaynes to ciuilitie.

In the winter following, Agricola tooke paynes to reduce the Brytains from their rude maners and cuſtomes, vnto a more ciuill ſorte and trade of liuing, that chaunging their naturall fierceneſſe and apte diſpoſition to warre, they myght through taſting pleaſures, be ſo enured therewith, that they ſhoulde deſire to liue in reſt and quietneſſe: and therefore hee exhorted them priuily, and holpe them publikely to buyld temples, common halles where plees of law might be kept, and other houſes, commending them that were diligent in ſuch doings, and blaming them that were negligent, ſo that of neceſſitie they were dryuen to ſtriue who ſhoulde preuent eche other in ciuilitie. He alſo procured that Noble mens ſonnes ſhoulde learne the liberall ſciences, and prayſed the nature of the Brytaynes, more than the people of Gallia, bycauſe they ſtudyed to attayne to the knowledge of the Romaine eloquence. By whiche meanes the Brytaynes in ſhort tyme were brought to the vſe of good and commendable maners, and ſorted themſelues to go in comely apparell after the Romain faſhion, and by little and little they fell to accuſtom themſelues to fine fare, and dilicate pleaſures, the ready prouokers of vices, as to walke in Galleries, to waſh themſelues in bathes, to vſe banketting and ſuch like, which amongſt the vnſkilfull was called humanity or curteſie, but in very deed it might be accounted a part of thraldome and ſeruitude, namely being to exceſſiuely vſed.

The thirde yeare.

The water of Tay.

In the thirde yeare of Agricola his gouernment in Brytaine, he inuaded the north partes therof (vnknowne til thoſe days of the Romains) being the ſame where the Scots now inhabit: for he waſted the countrey vnto the water of Tay, in ſuch wyſe putting the Inhabitauntes in feare, that they durſt not once ſette vpon his armie, though it were ſo that the ſame was very ſore diſquyeted and vexed by tempeſt and rage of weather.

Whereupon finding no greate let or hynderance by the enimyes, he buylded certain Caſtels and Fortreſſes, which he placed in ſuche conuenient ſteades, that they greatly annoyed his aduerſaries, and were ſo able to be defended, that ther was none of thoſe Caſtels which he builded, either wonne by force out of the Romains hands, or giuen ouer by compoſition, for feare to be taken: ſo that the ſame being furniſhed with competent numbers of men of warre, were ſafely kept from the enimies, the whiche were dayly vexed by the often iſſues made forth by the Souldiers that lay thus in gariſon within them: ſo that where in tymes paſt the ſayde enimies woulde recouer theyr loſſes ſuſteyned in Sommer by the Winters aduauntage, nowe they were put to the worſe, and kept backe as well in the Winter as in the Sommer.

The fourth yeare of Agricola his gouernment.

In the fourth Sommer, after that Agricola was appoynted to the rule of this lande, he went about to bring vnder ſubiection thoſe people, the which before tyme hee had by incurſions and forreyes ſore vexed and diſquieted: and there-

Clota.
Bodotria.

vpon comming to the waters of Clide & Loughleuen, he buylt certaine fortreſſes to defende the paſſages and entryes there, driuing the enimies beyond the ſame waters, as it had bin into a new Ilande.

The fift yeare.

In the fifth Sommer, Agricola cauſing hys ſhippes to be brought about, and appoynting thẽ to arriue on the north coaſts of Scotland, he paſſed with his army ouer the riuer of Clide, and ſubdued ſuche people as inhabited thoſe further partes of Scotland, which till thoſe daies had not bene diſcouered by the Romains.

And bycauſe he thought it ſhould ſerue wel to purpoſe, for ſome conqueſt to be made of Ireland, if that part of Scotlande which bordereth on the Iriſhe Seas might be kept in due obedience, hee placed gariſons of Souldiers in thoſe parties, in hope verily vpon occaſion to paſſe ouer into Irelande, and for the more eaſie aduauncement of his purpoſe therein, hee enterteyned wyth honourable prouiſion one of the kings of Irelande, which by ciuill diſcorde was expulſed and driuen out of his countrey.

An Iriſh king expulſed out of his country.

In deede Agricola perceyued, that with one Legion of Souldiers, and a ſmall ayde of other men of warre, it ſhoulde bee an eaſie matter to conquere Irelande, and to bring it vnder the Dominion of the Romaines: which enterpriſe he iudged verye neceſſarie to be exployted, for better keeping of the Brytaynes in obedience, if they ſhoulde ſee the iuriſdiction of the Romaines euery where extended, and the libertie of their neighbours ſuppreſſed and turned to ſubiection.

The ſixt yeare of Agricola his gouernment.

In the ſixth Sommer of Agricola hys gouernment, he proceeded in ſubduing the furthermoſte partes of Scotlande Northwardes, cauſing his Nauie to keepe courſe aneynſt hym by the coaſt as hee marched forth by lande, ſo that the Brytaynes perceyuing howe the ſecrete Hauens and Creekes of theyr Countreyes were nowe diſcouered, and that all hope of refuge was in maner cutte off from them, were in a marueylous feare.

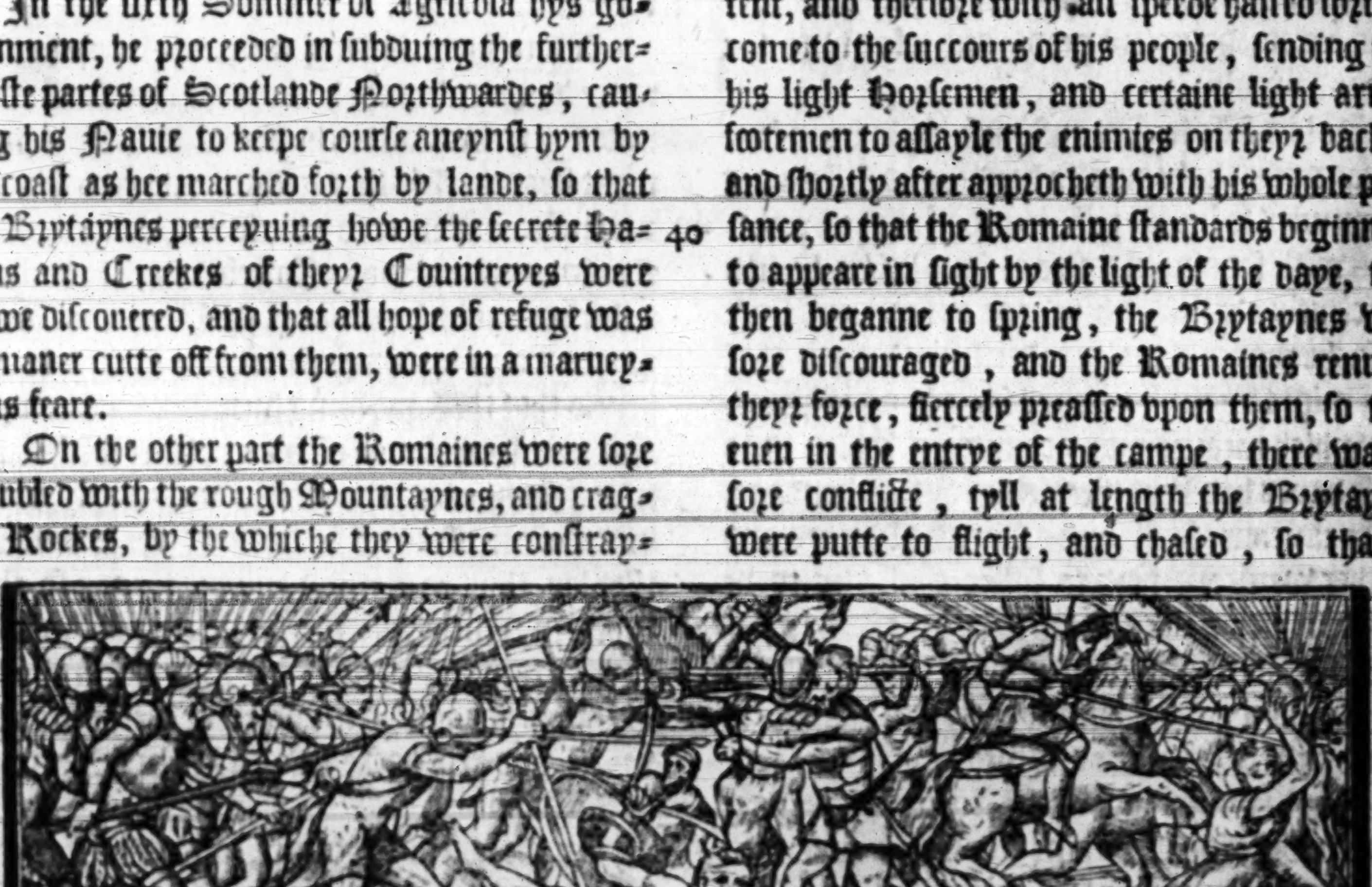
On the other part the Romaines were ſore troubled with the rough Mountaynes, and craggie Rockes, by the whiche they were conſtrayned to paſſe beſide the daungerous ryuers, lakes, woddes, ſtraytes, and other comberſome wayes and paſſages.

The danger alſo of them that were in the ſhips by ſea, was not ſmall by reaſon of winds & tempeſts, and high ſpring tides, which toſſed & turmoyled their veſſels right cruelly: but by the painfull diligence of them that had bene brought vp & enured with continuall trauaile and hardneſſe, all thoſe diſcõmodities were ouercome to their great reioyſing, when they met and fell in talke of theyr paſſed perils, for oftentimes the armie by land encamped ſo by the ſhore, that thoſe which kept the ſea came a lande to make merie in the campe, and then eche one woulde recounte to others the aduentures that had happened, as the maner is in ſemblable caſes.

Calender wood.

The Brytains that inhabited in thoſe dayes about the partes of Calender wood, perceyuing in what danger they were to be vtterly ſubdued, aſſembled themſelues togither in purpoſe, to trie the fortune of battell: whereof Agricola being aduertiſed, marched forth with his armie deuyded in three battailes, ſo that the enimyes doubting to trie the matter in open fielde, eſpye theyr time in the night, and with all theyr whole puiſſaunce ſet vpon one of the Romaine Legions, whiche they knewe to be moſt feeble and weake, truſting by a camiſado to diſtreſſe the ſame: and firſt ſleaing the watche, they enter the campe, where the ſayd legion lay, and finding the ſouldiers in great diſorder, betwixt ſleepe and feare, begin the fight euen within the campe.

Agricola had knowledge of their purpoſed intent, and therfore with all ſpeede haſted forth to come to the ſuccours of his people, ſending firſt his light Horſemen, and certaine light armed footemen to aſſayle the enimies on theyr backes, and ſhortly after approcheth with his whole puiſſance, ſo that the Romaine ſtandards beginning to appeare in ſight by the light of the daye, that then beganne to ſpring, the Brytaynes were ſore diſcouraged, and the Romaines renuing theyr force, fiercely preaſſed vpon them, ſo that euen in the entrye of the campe, there was a ſore conflicte, tyll at length the Brytaynes were putte to flight, and chaſed, ſo that if



the mariſhes and wooddes had not ſaued them frõ the purſute of the Romains, there had bin an end made of the whole warres euen by that one dayes worke. But the Brytaynes eſcaping as well as they might, & reputing the victorie to haue chanced not by the valiancie of the Romain ſouldiers, but by occaſion, & the prudent policie of their captaine, were nothing abaſhed with yͤ their preſent loſſe, but prepared to put their youth againe into armour: and therevpon they remoued their wiues and children into ſafe places, and then aſſembling the chiefeſt gouernors togither, cõcluded a league amongſt themſelues, eche to ayde other, confyrming theyr articles with doing of ſacrifice (as the maner in thoſe dayes was.)

The ſeuenth yeare.

The ſame ſommer, a bande of ſuch Dutch or Germaine ſouldiers as had bene leuyed in Germanie and ſent ouer into Brytayn to the ayde of the Romains, attempted a great and wonderfull act in ſleaing their captaine and ſuch other of the Romain ſouldiers which were appointed to haue the trayning and leading of them, as officers and inſtructors to them in the feates of warre: & when they had committed that murther, they got into three Pineſſes, and became rouers on the coaſtes of Britaine, and encountring with diuerſe of the Brytains, that were readie to defend theyr countrey from ſpoyle, oftentymes they got the vpper hand of them, and now and then they were chaſed away, inſomuch yͭ in the ende they were brought to ſuch extremitie for want of vitailes, that they did eate ſuch amongſt them as were the weakeſt, and after, ſuch as the lot touched, beeing indifferently caſt amongſt them: and ſo being caried about the coaſtes of Brytain, and loſing theyr veſſels through want of ſkill to gouerne them, they were reputed for robbers, and therevpon were apprehended, firſt by the Suabeners, and ſhortly after by the Friſers, the which ſolde diuerſe of them to the Romains and other, whereby the true vnderſtanding of their aduentures came certainely to light.

The eighe yeare of Agricola his gouernment.

In the ſommer next following, Agricola with his armie came to the Mountaine of Granzeben, where he vnderſtode that his enimies were encamped, to the number of .xxx. thouſand & aboue, and dayly there came to them more companie of the Brytiſh youth, and ſuch aged perſons alſo as were luſtie and in ſtrength, able to welde weapon and beare armour.

Calgagus whõ the Scots name Gald and will needes haue him a Scottiſh man.

Amongſt the captains yͤ chiefeſt was one Galgacus, whõ the Scottiſh chronicles name Gald.

This man as chieftaine and head captaine of all the Brytaynes there aſſembled, made to them a pithie oration, to encourage them to fight manfully, and likewiſe did Agricola to his people: which being ended, the armies on both ſides were put in order of battaile.

Agricola placed .viij. thouſande footemen of ſtrangers which he had there in ayde with him in the midſt, appoynting three .M. horſmen to ſtand on the ſides of thẽ as wings. The Romain legions ſtood at their backs in ſtead of a Bulwarke.

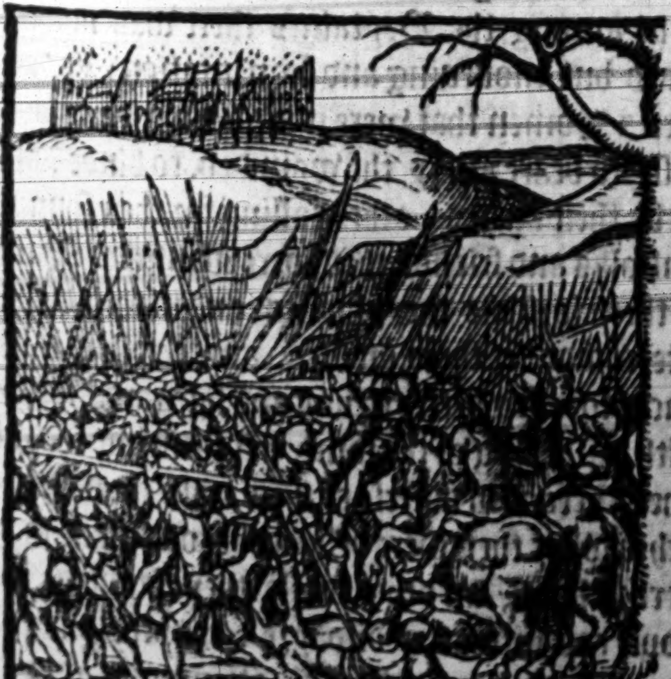
The Brytains were embattayled in ſuch order, that their fore ward ſtood in the plaine groũd, and the other on the ſide of an hill, as though they had riſen on heigth one ranke aboue another.

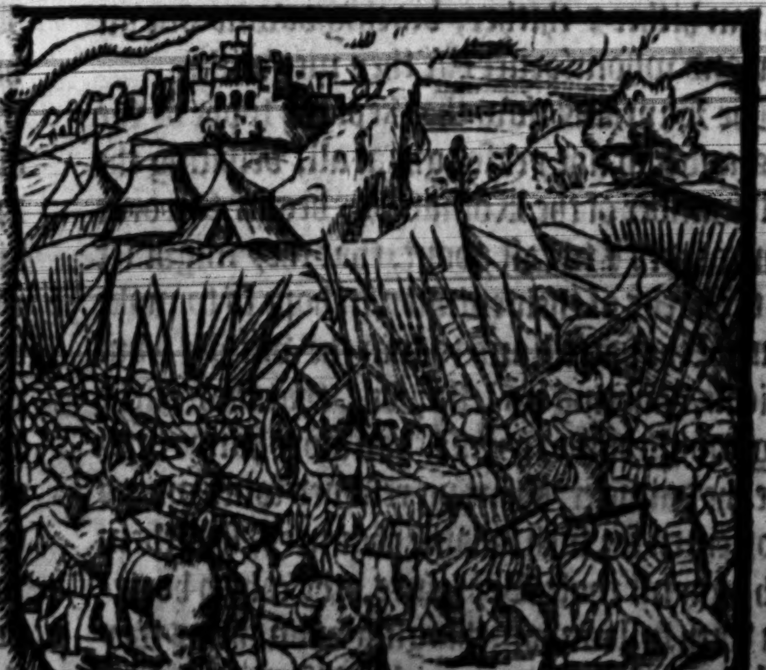
The middeſt of the fielde was couered wyth their charets and horſemen.

Cor. Tacitus.

Agricola doubting by yͤ huge multitude of enimies, leaſt his people ſhoulde be aſſailed not onely afront, but alſo vpon euery ſide the battails, he cauſed the rankes ſo to place themſelues, as theyr battails might ſtretch farre further in bredth than otherwiſe the order of warre requyred: but he toke this to be a good remedie againſt ſuch inconuenience as might haue followed, if the enimie by the narrowneſſe of the fronts of his battailes ſhould haue hemmed them in on eche ſide.

This done, and hauing conceyued good hope of victory, he alighted on foot, & putting his horſe frõ him, he ſtood before the ſtãderts as one not caring for any danger yͭ might happen. At the firſt they beſtowed their ſhot, & dartes freely on both ſides.





The Britains aſwel with cõſtant manhood, as ſkilful practiſe, with brode ſwords & little rounde bucklers, auoided & beat frõ them the arrowes and darts that came from their enimies, & therwithall payd thẽ home againe with their ſhot & dartes, ſo that the Romains were nere hand oppreſſed therwith, bycauſe they came ſo thick in their faces, till at length Agricola cauſed thre cohorts of Holãders, & two of Lukeners to preaſſe forwarde, and ioyne with them at hand ſtrokes, ſo as the matter might come to be tried with the edge of the ſword which thing as to them (being enured with yͤ kind of fight,) ſtood greatly with their aduantage, ſo to the Brytaynes it was verie daungerous, that were to defende themſelues with their mightie huge ſwordes and ſmall bucklers.

Betani.

Cengri.

Alſo by reaſon their ſwordes were brode at the endes, and poyntleſſe, they auayled little to hurt the armed enimie. Wherupon when the Hollanders came to ioyne with them, they made foule worke in ſleaing and wounding them in right horrible wiſe.

The horſmen alſo that made reſiſtaunce, they pulled from their horſes, and began to climbe the hill vpon the Britains. The other bands deſirous to match their fellowes in helping to atchieue the victorie, folowed the Hollanders, and beat downe the Britains where they might approch to them: many were ouerrun & left half dead, and ſome not once touched with any weapon, were likewiſe ouerpreſſed, ſuch haſt the Romains made to folow vpon the Brytains. Whileſt the Britiſh horſmẽ fled, their Charets ioyned themſelues with theyr footmẽ, and reſtoring the battel, put the Romains in ſuch feare, that they were at a ſodain ſtay: but the charets being troubled with preaſe of enimies, and vneuenneſſe of the grounde, they coulde not work their feat to any purpoſe. Neither had that fight any reſemblance of a battel of horſmen, whẽ eche one ſo encõbred other, yͭ they had no rowmith to ſtur themſelues. The charets oftentimes wanting their guiders, were caried awaye with the horſes, that being put in feare with the noiſe and ſtur, ran hither & thither, bearing downe one an other, and whomſoeuer elſe they met with.

Holanders.

The Brytains now that kept the toppe of the hilles, and had not yet fought at all, deſpiſing the ſmall number of the Romaines, began to come downwardes & to caſt about, that they might ſet vpõ the backs of their enimies, in hope ſo to make an end of the battell, and to win the victorie: but Agricola doubting no leſſe, but that ſome ſuche thing would come to paſſe, had afore hande foreſeene the daunger, & hauing reſerued foure wings of horſemen for ſuch ſodaine chaunces, ſent them forth agaynſt thoſe Brytaines, the which horſemen with full randon, charging vpon thẽ as they raſhly came forwards, quickly diſordred them & put thẽ all to flight, and ſo that purpoſed deuiſe & policie of the Brytains turned to their owne hinderance. For their horſmen by their captains appoyntment trauerſing ouerthwart by the fronts of them that fought, ſet vpon that battaile of the Brytaynes which they found before them. Then in thoſe open and plain places a grieuous & heauy ſight it was to behold, how they purſued, woũded and toke their enimies: & as they were aduiſed of other to ſlea thoſe that they had before takẽ, to the ende they might ouertake the other, there was nothing but fleeing, taking & chaſing, ſlaughter, ſpilling of blood, ſcattring of weapõs, grũting, & groning of mẽ & horſes yͭ lay on the ground, gaſping for breath, and readie to die. The Brytains now and then as they ſawe their aduantage, namely when they approched neare to the woods, gathered thẽſelues togither, and ſet vpon the Romains as they followed vnaduiſedly, & further (through ignorance of the places) than ſtood with their ſuretie, inſomuch that if Agricola had not prouided remedie, & ſent forth mightie bands of light armed men both on foote & horſebacke to cloſe in the enimies, & alſo to beat the woods, ſome greater loſſe would haue followed through too much boldneſſe of them, that too raſhly purſued vpon the Brytains: who when they beheld the Romains thus to follow them in whole troupes and good order of battail, they ſlipt away & tooke them to flight, ech one ſeeking to ſaue himſelfe, and kept not togither in plumpes as before they had done.

The night made an end of the chaſe which the Romaius had followed till they were throughly awearied.

There were ſlain of the Britains that day ten M. & of the Romains. 340. among whom Aulus Atticus, a captain of one of the cohorts or bandes of footmen was one, who being mounted on horſback, (through his own too much youthfull courage, & fierce vnrulineſſe of his horſe) was caryed into yͤ middle throng of his enimies, & there ſlain.

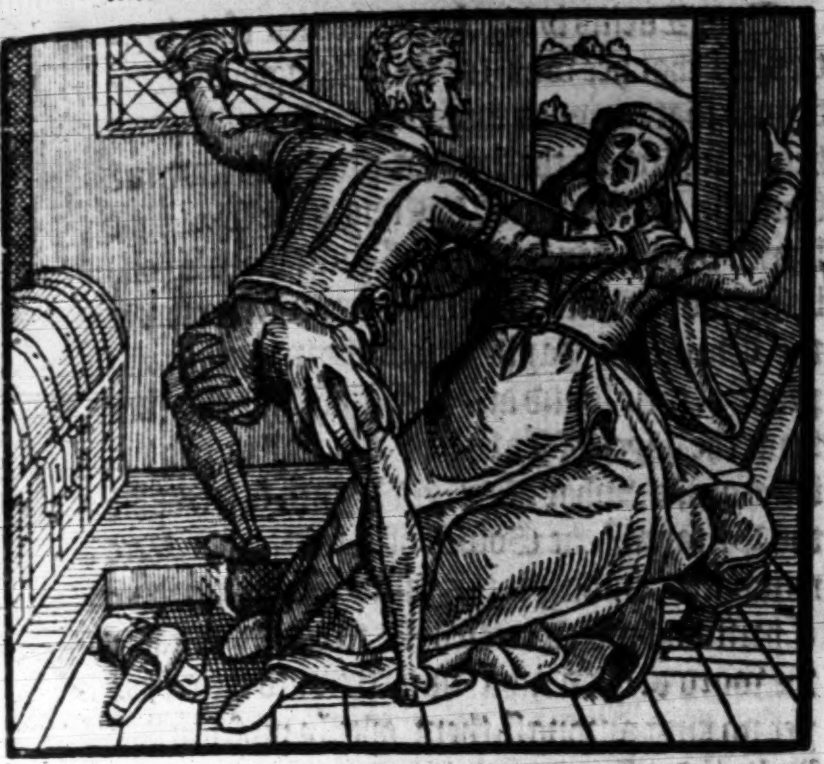
Ten thouſand Brytains ſlain.

Aulus Attic ſlaine.

The night enſuing, the Romains paſſed with great ioy and gladneſſe for the victorie atchieued. But among the Brytaines there was nothing heard but mourning and lamentation, both of men & women that were mingled togither, ſome buſie to beare away the wounded, to binde, and dreſſe their hurtes, other calling for their ſonnes, kinſfolks and friends that were wanting. Many of them forſooke theyr houſes, and in their deſperate moode ſet them on fire, and chooſing forth places for their better refuge and ſafegarde, forthwith miſlyking of the ſame, left them and ſought others: herewith diuerſe of them tooke counſell togither what they were beſt to doe, one while they were in hope, an other while they fainted, as people caſt into vtter diſpayre: the beholding of theyr wyues and children, oftentymes moued them

Brytaynes or Scots neither yet Pictes.

them to attempte ſome newe enterpriſe for the preſeruation of theyr countrey and liberties. And certayne it is that ſome of them ſlewe their wiues and children, as moued thereto with a certayne fonde regard of pitie to ridde them out of further miſerie and daunger of thraldome.



The nexte daye the certayntie of the victory more playnely was diſcloſed, for all was quiet about, and no noyſe heard any where: the houſes appeared brenning on each ſide, and ſuch as were ſente forthe to diſcouer the countrey into euery part thereof, ſawe not a creature ſturring, for all the people were auoyded and withdrawen a farre off.

But nowe of this battell, and other the doings of Agricola, in the Scottiſhe Chronicle ye may fynde more at large ſet forthe: for that which I haue written heere, is but to ſhew what in effect Cornelius Tacitus writeth of yͤ whiche Agricola dyd heere in Britayne, withoute making mention eyther of Scottes or Pictes, onely naming them Britaynes, Horeſtians, and Calidonians, whiche inhabited in thoſe dayes parte of this Iſle which now we call Scotland.

After that Agricola hadde thus ouerthrowen hys enimies in a pight fielde at the mountayne of Granzeben, and that the countrey was quite ridde of all appearaunce of enimies: bycauſe the ſommer of this eyght yeere of his gouernemente was nowe almoſt ſpente, he broughte hys army into the confynes of the Horreſtians, whyche inhabited the countreyes nowe cleped Angus and Merne, and there intended to Winter, and toke hoſtages of the people for aſſurance of theyr loyaltie and ſubiection.

This done, he appoynted the Admirall of the nauie to ſayle about the Iſle, whiche accordingly to his commiſſion in that poynte receyued, luckily accompliſhed his enterpriſe, and broughte the nauie about agayne into an hauen, called Trutulenſis.

In this meane time, whileſt Iulius Agricola was thus occupyed in Britayne, both the Emperoure Veſpaſian, and alſo his brother Titus that ſucceeded hym, departed this life, and Domitian was elected Emperoure, the whiche hearing of ſuche proſperous ſucceſſe as Agricola had againſt the Britaynes, did not ſo muche reioyce for the thing well done, as he enuied to conſider what glory and renowne ſhoulde redounde to Agricola thereby, whiche hee perceyued ſhould muche darken the gloſſe of hys fame, hauyng a priuate perſon vnder him, who in worthyneſſe of noble exploytes atchieued, farre excelled hys doyngs.

To fynde remedie herein therefore, he thought not good to vtter hys malice as yet whylſt Agricola remayned in Britayne with an army, whych ſo muche fauoured him, and that with ſo good cauſe, ſith by his policie and noble conduit, the ſame hadde obteyned ſo many victories, ſo much honor, and ſuch plentie of ſpoyles and booties. Whereuppon to diſſemble hys intent, he appoynted to reuoke him forthe of Britaine, as it were to honor hym, not only with deſerued tryumphes, but alſo with the Lieutenantſhippe of Syria, which as then was voyde by the death of Atilius Rufus.

Thus Agricola being contermaunded home to Rome, delyuered his prouince vnto his ſucceſſor Cneus Trebellius, appoynted thereto by the Emperour Domitianus, in good quiet and ſauegarde.

Cneus Trebellius alias Saluſtius Lucullus as ſome thinke.

Thus may you ſee in what ſtate Britayne ſtode in the dayes of King Marius, of whome yet Tacitus maketh no mention at all. Some haue written, that the City of Cheſter was builded by this Marius, though other as before I haue ſayde, thinke rather that it was the worke of Oſtorius Scapula their Legate.

Fabian.

Coyllus.

Coyllus.

COilus the Sonne of Marius was after his fathers deceaſſe made Kyng of Britayn, in the yere of our Lord. 125.

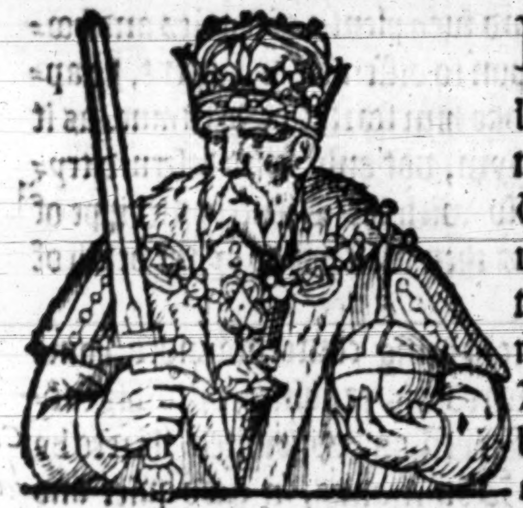
125

This Coyllus or Coyll was broughte vp in his youth amongſt the Romaynes at Rome, where hee ſpente hys tyme not vnprofitably, but applyed hymſelfe to learning and ſeruice in the warres, by reaſon whereof, hee was muche honored of the Romaynes, and he likewiſe honored and loued them, ſo that hee payed his tribute truly all the tyme of hys raigne, and therefore lyued in peace and good quiet. He was alſo a Prince of muche bountie, and very liberall, whereby hee obteyned great loue both of his nobles and commons. Some ſaye, that hee made the Towne of Colcheſter in Eſſex, but other write, that Coyll whych reigned next after Aſclepeodotus was the firſt founder of that Towne, but by other it ſhuld ſeeme to be built long before, being called Camalodunum. Finally, when thys Coyll had raigned the ſpace of. 54. yeares, hee departed this lyfe at Yorke, leauing after him a ſonne named Lucius, which ſucceded in the Kingdome.

Colcheſter builte.

Lucius.

Lucius.

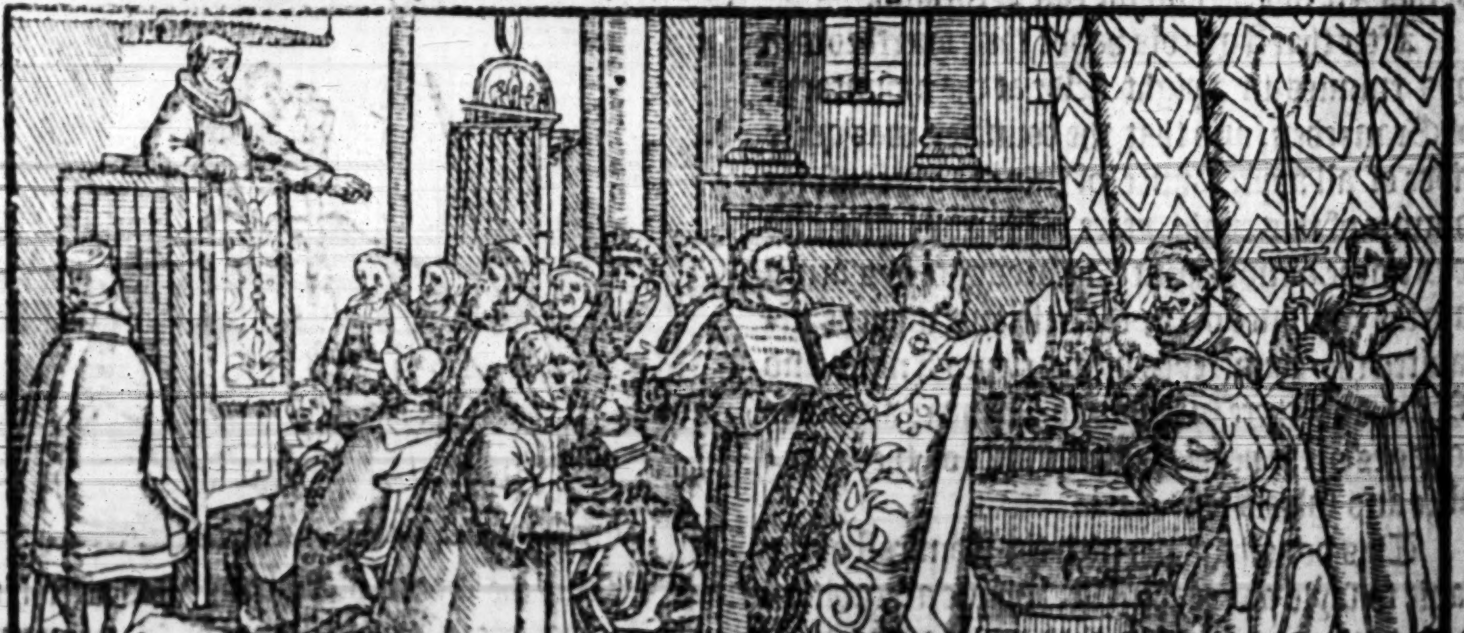


LUcius the ſon of Coilus, whoſe ſurname (as ſayth William Harriſon) is not extant, began his raygne ouer yͤ Britaynes about the yeare of oure Lorde. 180. as Fabian following the authoritie of Peeter Piſtauienſis hathe, although other writers ſeeme to diſagree in that accompt, as by the ſame Fabian in the table before his Booke partly appeareth, whereto *Mathæus VVeſtmonaſterienſis* affirmeth, that this Lucius was borne in the yeare of our Lord. 115. and was Crowned King in the yeare. 124. as ſucceſſor to his father Coilus, which dyed the ſame yeere, being of great age ere the ſaid Lucius was borne. William Harriſon in the ſecond part of his chronologie noteth his entraunce to be in the. 4132. of the world. 916. after the buylding of Rome. 220. after the comming of Ceſar into Britayne, and. 155. after Chriſt, whoſe accomptes I followe (as before is ſayde) in this treatiſe.

165

This Lucius is highly renowmed of the writers, for that hee was the firſte King of the Britaynes that receyued the faith of Ieſus Chriſt: for being inſpired by the ſpirit of grace and truth euē from the beginning of hys raigne, he ſomewhat leaned to the fauoring of Chriſtian Religion, being moued with the manifeſt miracles whyche the Chriſtians dayly wroughte in witneſſe and proofe of their ſound and perfect doctrine: for euen from the dayes of Ioſeph of Aramathia and hys fellowes, or what other godly men firſt taughte the Britaynes the Goſpell of our Sauiour, there remayned amongſt the ſame Britaynes ſome Chriſtians which ceaſſed not to teach & Preache the word of God moſt ſincerely vnto them: but yet no king amongſt them openly profeſſed that Religion, till at length this Lucius perceyuyng not only ſome of the Romayne Lieutenantes in Britayne, as Trebellius and Pertinax, with other, to haue ſubmitted themſelues to that profeſſion, but alſo the Emperour himſelfe to begin to be fauorable to them that profeſſed it, hee tooke occaſiō by their good enſample to giue eare more attentiuely to the Goſpell, and at length ſent vnto Eleutherius Biſhop of Rome, two learned men of the Brittiſh nation, Eluane and Meduin, requiring him to ſende ſome ſuche miniſters as might inſtruct him and his people in the true faith more plentifully, and to baptiſe them according to the rules of the Chriſtian Religion.

Hereupon were ſent from the ſayd Eleutherius two godly learned mē, yͤ one named Fugatius, and yͤ other Damianus, the which baptiſed the King with all his family and people. And



therewith

tayne re- ceyueth the ith.

therewith remoued the worſhipping of Idolles and falſe Gods, and taught the right meane and way howe to worſhippe the true and immortall God. There were in thoſe dayes within the boundes of Britayne. 28. Flamynes, and three Archflamynes, which were as Biſhops & Archbiſhops, or ſuperintendentes of the Pagane or heathen religion, in whoſe place (they being remoued) were inſtituted. 28. Biſhops and three Archbiſhops of the Chriſtian Religion. One of the which Archbiſhops held his ſee at London, another at Yorke, and the third at Caerleion, Arwiſke in Glamorgan ſhire. To the Archbiſhop of London was ſubiect Cornewall, and all the middle part of England, euen vnto Humber. To the Archbiſhop of Yorke all the North partes of Britayne from the Riuer of Humber vnto the furtheſt partes of Scotlande: and to the Archbiſhop of Caerleon was ſubiect all Wales, within whiche countrey as then were ſeuen Biſhops, where nowe there are but foure. The Riuer of Seuerne in thoſe dayes deuided Wales (then called Cambria) from the other partes of Britayne. Thus Britayne partly by the meanes of Ioſeph of Aramathia (of whome ye haue hearde before) and partly by the wholeſome inſtructions & doctrine of Fugatius and Damianus, was the firſt of all other regions that openly receyued the Goſpell, and continued moſt ſtedfaſtly in yͤ profeſſion, till the cruell furie of Diocletian perſecuted the ſame in ſuche ſorte, that as well in Britayne as in all other places of yͤ world, the Chriſtian religion was in manner extinguiſhed, and vtterly deſtroyed.

ath. VVeſt.

ſephus of amathia.

lidor.

eſtminſter urch built.

Ther be that affirme, how this Lucius ſhould build the Church of Saint Peter at Weſtminſter, though many attribute that acte vnto Sibert King of the Eaſt Saxons, and write, howe the place was then ouergrowen with thornes & buſhes, and thereof tooke the name, and was called Thorney. They adde moreouer (as Harriſon ſayeth) howe Thomas Archbiſhop of London preached, redde, and miniſtred the Sacraments there to ſuch as made reſorte vnto him. Howbeit by the tables hanging in the reueſtry of Sainte Paules at London, and alſo a table ſometyme hanging in Saint Peters Church in Cornehill, it ſhoulde ſeme, that the ſayd Church of Saint Peter in Cornehill was the ſame that Lucius builded. But herein (ſayth Harriſon anno mundi 4174) doth lie a ſcruple, ſure Cornell might ſone be miſtaken for Thorney, eſpecially in ſuch olde recordes, as time, age, euill handling, hath oftentimes defaced. But howſoeuer this caſe ſtādeth, troth it is, that Lucius reioycing muche in that he had brought his people to the perfect light and vnderſtanding of the true God, that they needed not to bee deceyued any longer with the craftie temptations and feigned miracles of wicked ſpirites, he aboliſhed all prophane worſhippings of falſe Gods, and conuerted ſuche Temples as had bin dedicated to their ſeruice, vnto the vſe of the Chriſtian Religiõ: and thus ſtudying only how to aduance the glory of the immortall God, and the knowledge of his worde, without ſeeking the vayne glory of worldly triumph whiche is gote with ſlaughter and bloudſhed of many a giltleſſe perſon, hee lefte his kingdome (though not enlarged with broder dominion than hee receyued it,) yet greatly augmented and enriched with quiet reſt, good ordinances, and (that which is more to be eſteemed than all the reſt) adorned with Chriſtes religion, and perfectly inſtructed with hys moſt holy worde and doctrine. He raigned as ſome write. 21. yeares, though as other affirme but twelue yeares. Agayne, ſome teſtifie that he raigned. 77. other ſay. 54. & Harriſon. 43. Moreouer, heere is to bee noted, that if he procured the faith of Chriſt to be planted within his Realme in the time of Eleutherius the Romayne Biſhop, the ſame chanced in the dayes of the Emperour Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. And about the time that Lucius Aurelius Commodus was ioyned & made partaker of the Empire wͭ his father, which was ſeuen yeres after yͤ death of Lucius Aelius Aurelius Verus, and in the. 177. after the birth of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, as by Harriſons chronologie is eaſie to bee collected. For Eleutherius beganne to gouerne the ſea of Rome in the yeare. 169. according to the opinion of yͤ moſt diligent chronogrophers of our time, & gouerned fiftene yeeres and thirteene days. And yet there are that affirme, howe Lucius dyed at Glowceſter in the yeare of our Lorde. 156. other ſay that he dyed in the yeare. 201. and other. 208. So that the troth of this hiſtorie is broughte into doubt by the diſcorde of writers, concerning the time and other circumſtances, although they all agree that in this kings days the Chriſtian faith was firſt by publique conſent openly receyued & profeſſed in this lande, whiche as ſome affirme, ſhould chance in the twelfth yeare of his raigne, and in the yeare of our Lord. 177. Other iudge, that it came to paſſe in the eyght yeare of his regiment, and in the yeare of our Lord. 188. where other (as before is ſayd) alledge that it was in the yeare. 179. Nauclerus ſayth, that this happened about the yeare of our Lord. 156. And Henricus de Erphordia ſuppoſeth, that it was in the yeare of our Lorde. 169. and in the nineteenth yeare of the Emperour Marcus Antonius Verus: & after other, about the ſixth yeare of the Emperoure Comodus. But to proceede: King Lucius dyed without iſſue, by reaſon whereof, after his deceſſe the Britaynes fell at variance, whiche continued about the ſpace of fiftene yeares (as Fabian thinketh,)

Polidor.

Fabian.

Iohn. Hard.

Galfridus.

Mat. VVeſt.

Polidor.

Nauclerus

Henricus de Herford.

Fabian.

Caxton.
Iohn. Hard.

keth) howbeit, the olde engliſhe Chronicle affirmeth, that the contention betwixte them remained .50. yeares, though Harding affirmeth but 4. yeares. And thus much of the Britaynes, and their kings Coylus and Lucius. Now it reſteth to ſpeake ſomewhat of the Romaynes whyche gouerned here in the meane while. After that Agricola was called backe to Rome, the Britaines (& namely thoſe that inhabited beyond Twede) partly being weakened of their former ſtrength, and partly in conſideration of their pledges, whiche they had deliuered to the Romaynes, remayned in peace certayne yeres.

Cn. Trebellius Lieutenãt.

IN the meane time, the Romayne Lieutenant Cn. Trebellius that ſucceded Julius Agricola, hee coulde not foreſee all things ſo preciſely, but that ẏ ſouldiers waxing vnruly by reaſon of long reſt, fell at variance amongſt themſelues, & would not in the ende obey the Lieutenante, but diſquieted the Britanes beyond meaſure. Wherfore the Britaynes perceyuing themſelues ſore oppreſſed with intollerable bondage, & that dayly the ſame increaſed, they conſpire togither, vppon hope to recouer libertie, and to defende their cou̅trey by all meanes poſſible, and herewith they take weapon in hand againſt the Romaines, and boldly aſſaile them: but this they did yet warely, and ſo, that they might flee vnto the Wooddes & bogges for refuge vpon neceſſitie, according to the manner of their countrey. Herevpon diuers ſlaughters were committed on both parties, and all the countrey was now ready to rebell: whereof, when the Emperour Adrian was aduertiſed from Trebellius the Lieutenant, with all conuenient ſpede he paſſed ouer into Britayne, & quieted all the Iſle, vſing great humanitie towardes the inhabitants, and making ſmall accompte of that part where the Scottes nowe inhabite, eyther bycauſe of the barrenneſſe thereof, or for that by reaſon of the nature of the cou̅trey he thoughte it would be hard to be kept vnder ſubiection, hee deuiſed to deuide it from the reſidue of Britayne, and ſo cauſed a wall to be made from the mouth of Tyne vnto the water of Eſke, whyche wall conteyned in length. xxx. mile.

The wall of Adrian built.
Spartianus.

After this, the Britaynes bearing a malicious hatred towards the Romayne Souldiers, & repyning to be kepte vnder the bond of ſeruitude, eftſoones goe aboute to recouer libertie againe. Whereof aduertiſement being giuen, the Emperour Pius Antonius ſendeth ouer Lollius Vrbicus as Lieutenant into Britaine, who by ſundry battayles ſtryken, conſtreyned the Britaines to remaine in quiet, and cauſing thoſe that inhabited in the North partes to remoue further off from the confines of the Romaine prouince, reyſed another wall beyond that whiche the Emperour Adrian had made, as is to be ſuppoſed, for ẏ more ſuretie of the Romayne ſubiectes agaynſte the inuaſion of the enimies. But yet Lollius dyd not ſo make an end of the war, but that the Britaynes ſhortly after attempted of newe, eyther to reduce their ſtate into libertie, or to bring the ſame into further daunger.

Lollius Vbicus Lieutenãt

Iulius Capi
An other wa
built.

WHerevpõ Marcus Antonius that ſucceded Pius, ſendeth Calphurnius Agricola to ſuccede Lollius in the gouernemente of Britayne, the which eaſily ouercame and ſubdued all his enimies. After this, there chanced ſome trouble in the dayes of the Emperoure Commodus the ſonne of Marcus Antonius and his ſucceſſor in the Empire: for the Britaynes ẏ dwelled Northwardes beyond Adrians wall, brake through the ſame, and ſpoyled a great part of the countrey, againſt whom the Romayne Lieutenant for that time beeing come forthe, gaue them battell: but both he and the Romayne Souldiers that were with him, were beaten downe and ſlayne.

Iulius Capitolinus.
Of the doin
of this Calphurnius in
Britayne ye
may reade
more in the
Scottiſh chro
nicle.

Dion Caſ

With whiche newes Commodus being ſore amaſed, ſent againſt the Britaynes one Vlpius Marcellus, a man of great diligence & temperancy, but therwith rough & nothing gentle. He vſed the ſame kinde of diet that the common ſouldiers did vſe. He was a Captayne much watchfull, as one contented with very little ſleepe, & deſirous to haue his ſouldiers alſo vigilante and carefull to keepe ſure watch in the night ſeaſon. Euery euening hee would write twelue tables, ſuch as they vſed to make of ẏ linde tree, & deliuering them to one of his ſeruants, appointed him to beare them at ſeueral houres of ẏ night to ſundry ſouldiers, wherby ſuppoſing that their Generall was ſtyll watching and not gone to bed, they might be in doubt to ſleepe. And although of nature he could wel abſteyne from ſleepe, yet to be the better able to forbeare it, he vſed a maruellous ſpare kinde of dyet: for to the end ẏ he would not fil hymſelfe too much with bread, he woulde eate none but ſuche as was brought to him frõ Rome, ſo that more than neceſſitie compelled him, he could not eate, by reaſon that the ſtalneſſe toke away ẏ pleaſant taſt therof, & leſſe prouoked his appetite. He was a maruellous cõtẽner of money, ſo ẏ bribes might not moue him to do otherwiſe thã dutie required.

Vlpius Marcellus Lieu
naunte.

Thus Marcellus beeing of ſuch diſpoſition, ſore afflicted the Britaynes, and put them oftentimes to greate loſſes, through ſame whereof, Commodus enuying his renoune, was after in minde to haue made him away, but yet ſpared him for a further purpoſe, and ſuffered hym to departe.

Perhennis Captayne of the Emperours garde.

After he was remoued from the gouernement of Britayne, one Perhennis Captayne of the Emperours garde (or Pretorian Souldiers, as they were then called) bearing all the rule vnder the Emperour Commodus, appoynted certaine Gentlemen of meane calling to gouerne the army in Britaine. The Souldiers therefore in the ſame army repining to be gouerned by menne of baſe degree, in reſpect of thoſe that had borne rule ouer them before, being honorable perſonages, as Senators, and of the conſuler dignitie, they fel at ſquare among themſelues, and about fifteene hūdred of them departed towardes Rome to exhibite their complaynte againſte Perhennis: for whatſoeuer was amiſſe, the blame was ſtill layd to him. They paſſed forthe withoute impeachmente at all, and comming to Rome, the Emperour himſelfe came forth to vnderſtande what they meant by this their comming in ſuche ſorte from the place where they were appoynted to ſerue. Their aunſwer was, that they were come to informe him of the treaſon which Perhennis had deuiſed to his deſtruction, that hee mighte make his ſonne Emperoure. To the whiche accuſation, when Commodus too lightly gaue eare, and beleeued it to be true, namely, through the ſetting on of one Cleander, who hated Perhennis, for that he bridled hym from doyng diuers vnlawfull actes, which he went about vpon a wilfull minde, (without all reaſon or modeſtie) to practiſe: The matter was ſo handled in the ende, that Perhennis was deliuered to the Souldiers, who cruelly mangled him, and preſently put him to death.

Aelius Lampridius.

Pertinax Lieftenant of Britayne.

BUt nowe to the tumultes in Britayne. It was thought nedeful to ſende ſome ſufficiente Captayne of authoritie thither, & therefore was one Pertinax that hadde bin Conſul and ruler ouer foure ſeuerall conſuler prouinces, appointed by Commodus, to goe as Lieutenāt into that Iſle, both for that he was thought a mā moſt meete for ſuch a charge, and alſo to ſatiſfie his credite, for that hee had bin diſcharged by Perhennis of bearing any rule, & ſent home into Liguria where hee was borne, & there appoynted to remayne.

The Lieutenant in danger.

This Pertinax comming into Britayne, pacifyed the army, but not without danger to haue bin ſlayne by a mutinie reyſed by one of the Legions: for he was ſtriken downe, and left for dead among the ſlayne carcaſſes. But he worthily reuenged himſelfe of this iniurie. At length, hauing chaſtiſed the Rebels, and broughte the Iſle into meetely good quiet, hee ſued and obteyned to bee diſcharged of that roomth, bicauſe as he alledged, the Souldiers could not brooke him, for that hee kept them in dutifull obedience, by correctyng ſuch as offended the lawes of Armes.

Clodius Albinus Lieutenāt.

THen was Clodius Albinus appoynted to haue the rule of the Romayn army in Britayne: whoſe deſtruction whē Seuerus the Emperoure ſought, Albinus eſteemed it quickly: and therefore choſing forth a greate power of Britaynes, paſſed with the

ſame

ſcame ouer into Fraunce to encounter with Seuerus, who was come thither towards him, ſo that neere to the Citie of Lions, they ioyned in battell & fought right ſore, in ſo much that Seuerus was at poynt to haue receyued ẏ ouerthrow by the high proweſſe and manhoode of the Britaynes: but yet in the ende, Albinus loſt ẏ fielde, & was ſlayne. Then Heraclitus as Lieutenant began to gouerne Britayne (as writeth Sparcianus, being ſent thither by Seuerus for that purpoſe before. And ſuch was the ſtate of this Iſle about the yere of our Lord. 195. In which ſeaſon, bycauſe that King Lucius was dead, and hadde left no iſſue to ſucceede him, the Britaynes (as before ye haue heard) were at variance amongſt themſelues, and ſo continued till the commyng of Seuerus, whom the Britiſh Chronographers affirme to raigne as King in this Iſle, and that by righte of ſucceſſion in bloud, as diſcended of Androgeus the Britaine, which went to Rome with Julius Ceſar. as before ye haue heard.

Seuerus.

Seuerus

This Seuerus as then Emperoure of Rome, began to rule this Iſle (as authors affirme) in ẏ yere of oure Lorde 207. & gouerned the ſame 4. yeres & odde moneths. At length, hearing that one Fulgẽtius as then a leader of the Pictes was entred into the bordures of his countrey on this ſyde Durham, he rayſed an hoſt of Britaynes & Romans, with the which he marched towards his enimies: and meeting with the ſaid Fulgentius in a place neere vnto Yorke, in the ende after ſore fighte, Seuerus was ſlayne, when he hadde ruled thys land for the ſpace almoſt of fiue yeeres as before is ſayd, and was after buried at Yorke, leauyng behinde him two ſonnes, the one named Geta, & the other Baſſianus. This Baſſianus beeyng borne of a Brittiſh woman, ſucceded his father in the gouernemente of Britayne, in the yeare of the incarnation of our Lord. 211. The Romanes would haue had Geta created King of Britaine, bearing more fauoure to him bycauſe he hadde a Romane Lady to his mother: but the Britaines moued with the like reſpect, helde with Baſſianus. And thereupon warre was rayſed betwixte the two brethren, & comming to trie their quarell by battell, Geta was ſlayne, and Baſſianus with ayde of the Britaynes, remayned victor, & ſo continued Kyng, till at length he was ſlayne by one Carauſius a Britaine, borne but of lowe birth, howbeit right valiant in armes, and therefore well eſteemed: In ſomuch that obteynyng of the Senate of Rome the keeping of the coaſts of Britayne, that he might defend the ſame from the malice of ſtraungers as Pictes and other, he drew to him a great number of Souldiers & ſpecially of Britaines, to whome hee promiſed that if they would make him king, hee would cleerely deliuer them from the oppreſſion of the Romaine ſeruitude. Whereupon the Britaynes rebellyng againſt Baſſianus, ioined themſelues to Carauſius, who by their ſupport, vanquiſhed and ſlewe the ſayd Baſſianus, after he had raigned ſixe, or as ſome affirme. xxx. yeares.

211

Thus farre out of the Engliſhe and Brittiſhe writers, the whiche howe farre they vary from a likelyhood of troth, yee ſhall heare what the ẏ approued hiſtoriographers, Greekes, and Latines, writing of theſe matters, haue recorded.

Herodian

The Emperour Seuerus receiuing aduertiſement from the Lieutenant of Britayne that the people there moued Rebellion, and waſted the countrey with roades & forrayes, ſo that it was needefull to haue the prince himſelfe to come thither with a greate power to reſiſt ẏ enimies, he of an ambitious mind reioyced not a little for thoſe newes, bycauſe hee ſawe occaſion offered to aduãce his renoume and fame with increaſe of new victories nowe in the Weſt, after ſo many triumphes purchaſed & got by him in the Eaſt and North partes of the world. Hereupon though he was of great age, yet the deſire that he had ſtil to winne honor, cauſed him to take in hand to make a iourney into this land, and ſo being furniſhed of al things neceſſary, he ſet forwards, being carried for the more part in a litter for his more eaſe: for beſide his feebleneſſe of age, he was alſo troubled with yͤ goute. He toke with him his two ſonnes, Antonius Baſſianus and Geta, vpon purpoſe as was thought, to auoyde occaſions of ſuche incōuenience as he perceyued might grow by diſcord, moued betwixte thē through flatterers and malicious ſycophants whiche ſoughte to ſet them at variance: whiche to bring to paſſe, he perceyued there ſhould want no meane whileſt they continued in Rome, amid ſuch pleaſures and idle paſtimes as were dayly there frequented: and therfore he cauſed them to attend him in this iourney into Britayne, that they mighte learne to liue ſoberly, and after the manner of menne of warre.

ntonius and Geta.

The Emperor Seuerus arri-
ueth in Bri-
ayne.

Seuerus being thus on his iourney towardes Britayne, ſtayed not by the way, but with all diligence ſpedde him forthe, and paſſing the Sea very ſwiftly, entred this Iſle, and aſſembled a mightie power togither, meaning to aſſayle hys enimies, and to purſue the warre againſte them to the vttermoſt. The Britaynes greatly amaſed with this ſodayne arriuall of the Emperoure, and hearing that ſuch preparation was made againſt them, ſent Imbaſſadors to him to intreat of peace, & to excuſe their rebellious doings. But Seuerus delaying time for aunſwere, as he that was deſirous to atchieue ſome high enterpriſe againſt the Britaines, for the which he might deſerue yͤ ſurname of Britannicus, which he greatly coueted, ſtill was buſie to prepare all thyngs neceſſary for the warre, and namely, cauſed a great number of bridges to bee made to lay ouer the bogges and mariſhes, ſo that his ſouldiers might haue place to ſtand vppon, and not to bee encōbred for lacke of firme groūd whē they ſhuld cope with their enimies: for the more parte of Britaine in thoſe dayes (as Herodianus writeth) was full of fennes, and marres grounds, by reaſon of the often flowings and waſhing of the ſea tides: by the whiche marres grounds the enimies being therto accuſtomed, wold runne & ſwimme in the waters, and wade vp to the middle at their pleaſure, going for the more parte naked, ſo that they paſſed not on the mudde and myres, for they knewe not the vſe of wearing clothes, but ware hoopes of Iron about their middles and neckes, eſteeming the ſame as an ornamente and token of riches, as other barbarous people did golde.

Herodianus.

e moaneth
f the North
ritaynes or
auage Bri-
aynes as wee
y call them

Moreouer, they marked, or (as it were) paynted their bodies in diuers ſortes and with ſundry ſhapes and figures of beaſtes and foules, & therefore they vſed not to weare any garmentes, that ſuche paynting of their bodyes mighte the more appearantly be ſeene, which they eſtemed a great brauerie.

They were as the ſame Herodianus writeth, a people giuen muche to the warre, and delighted in ſlaughter and bloudſhed, vſing none other weapons or armure but a ſlender buckler, a Iaueline, and a ſworde tyed to their naked bodyes: for as for headpeece or Habergeon, they eſteemed not, bicauſe they thought the ſame ſhuld be an hinderance to them when they ſhould paſſe ouer any marres, or be driuen to ſwimme any waters, or flee to the bogges.

The furniture of the ſauage Britaynes.

Moreouer, to ſuffer hunger, colde, and trauell, they were ſo vſed and enured therwith, that they would not paſſe to lie in the bogges and myres couered vp to the chynne, withoute caring for meate for the ſpace of diuers dayes togither: and in the woodes they woulde liue vpon rootes and barkes of trees. Alſo they vſed to prepare for thēſelues a certayne kynde of meate, of the whiche if they receyued but ſo muche as amounted to the quantitie of a beane, they would thinke themſelues ſatiſfyed, and feele neyther hunger nor thirſt.

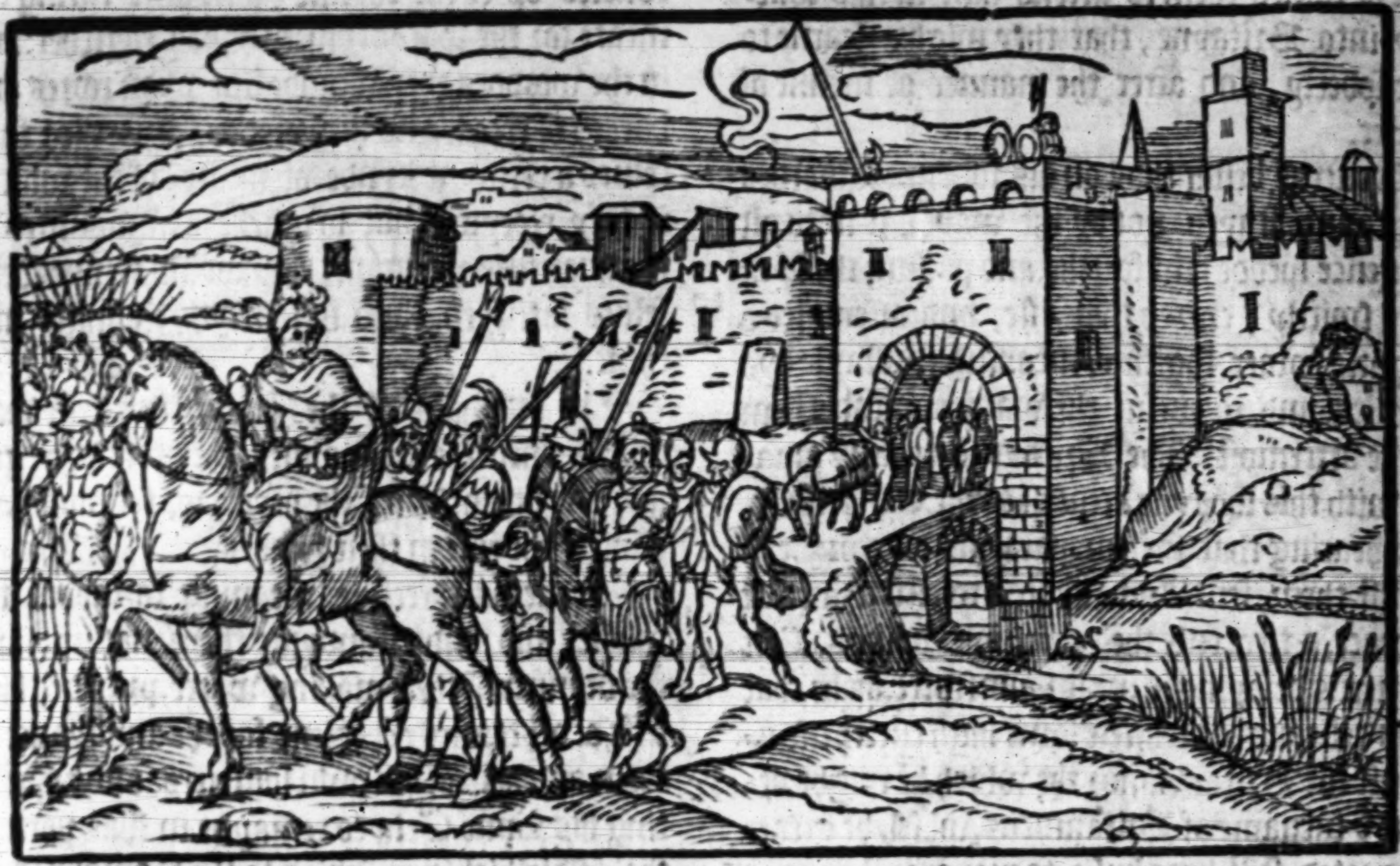
The one halfe of the Iſle or little leſſe was ſubiect vnto the Romaynes, the other were gouerned of themſelues, the people for the moſt part hauing the rule in their handes.

Seuerus therefore meaning to ſubdue the whole, and vnderſtandyng theyr nature, and the manner of their making warre, prouided himſelfe of all things expedient for the annoyance of them and help of his own ſouldiers, and appointing his ſonne Geta to remayne in that parte of the Iſle which was ſubiect to the Romaynes, he toke with him his other ſonne Antoninus, and with his army marched forthe, and entred into the confynes of the enimies, and there beganne to waſt and forrey the countrey, whereby there enſued diuers conflictes and ſkirmiſhes betwixte the Romaynes and the inhabitantes, the victory ſtill remaynyng with the Romaynes ſide: but the enimies eaſily eſcaped withoute any greate loſſe, vnto the woddes, Mountaynes, bogges, and ſuch other places of refuge, as they knew to be at hand, whither the Romaynes durſt not followe, nor once approche, for feare to bee entrapped and encloſed by the Britaynes that were ready to returne and aſſayle their enimies vppon euery occaſion of aduauntage that myghte bee offered.

This manner of dealing ſore troubled the Romaynes, and ſo hindred them in their procedings, that no ſpeedy ende coulde bee made of that war: the Britaynes woulde oftentimes of purpoſe lay their Cattell, as Oxen, Kyne, Sheepe, and ſuche like, in places conuenient, to bee as a ſtale to the Romaynes, and when the Romaynes ſhoulde make to them to fetche the ſame away, being diſtant from the reſidue of the army a good ſpace, they would fall vpō them

Dion Caſsius.

and diſtreſſe them. Beſide this, the Romaynes were muche anoyed with the vnwholeſomneſſe of the waters whiche they were forced to drinke, and if they chanced to ſtray abrode, they were ſnapped vp by ambuſhes which the Calidonians layde for them, and when they were ſo feeble that they could not through wante of ſtrength keepe pace with their fellowes as they marched in order of battell, they were ſlayne by their owne fellowes, leaſt they ſhould be left behinde for a pray to the enimies. Hereby there died in this iourney of the Romaine army, at the point of fiftie thouſand men: but yet woulde not Seuerus returne, till he had gone through the whole Iſle, and ſo came to the vttermoſt partes of all the Countrey now called Scotland, and finally came backe agayne to the other parte of the Iſle ſubiect to the Romaynes, the inhabitantes whereof, named by Dion Caſſius *Meatæ*: but firſt he cōſtreyned the other whome the ſame Dion nameth *Caledonij*, to conclude a league with him, with ſuch conditions as they were compelled to departe with no ſmall portion of the countrey, and to deliuer vnto him their armour and weapons.



In the meane time, the Emperoure Seuerus being worne with age fell ſicke, ſo that hee was conſtreyned to abide at home within that part of the Iſle which obeyed yͤ Romans, and to appoint his ſon Antoninus to take charge of the army abrode. But Antoninus not regarding yͤ enimies, attempted little or nothiug againſte them, but ſoughte wayes howe to winne the fauoure of the ſouldiers and men of war, that after his fathers death (for which he dayly looked) he mighte haue their aide & aſſiſtance to be admitted Emperoure in his place. Nowe when hee ſaw that his father bare out his ſickneſſe longer time than he would haue wiſhed, he practiſed with Phiſitions and other of his fathers ſeruaunts to diſpatche him by one meane or other.

Whileſt Antoninus thus negligētly looked to his charge, the Britaynes began a new Rebellion, not only thoſe yͭ were lately ioyned in league with the Emperoure, but the other alſo whiche were ſubiects to the Romane Empire. Seuerus toke ſuche diſpleaſure, that he called togither the Souldiers, and commaunded them to inuade the countrey, and to kill al ſuch as they might meete with in any place withoute reſpect, and that hys cruell commaundement he expreſſed in theſe verſes taken out of Homer.

Nemo manus fugiat veſtros, cædemq́ cruentam, Iliados.4.
Non fœtus grauida mater quem geſſit in aluo,
Horrendam effugiat cædem.

Let none eſcape your bloudy handes, N.R.
nor direſome ſlaughter flie,
No not the babe vnborne, which in
the mothers wombe doth lie.

But whileſt he is thus diſquieted with yͤ Rebellion of the Britaynes, & the diſloyall practiſes of his ſon Antoninus, which to him were not vnknowen. For the wicked ſonne had by diuers attempts diſcouered his trayterous and vnnatural meanings. At lēgth, rather through ſorrow and griefe, than by force of ſickneſſe, he waſted away, & departed this life at Yorke the third day before yͤ Nones of February, after he had gouerned the Empire by the ſpace of.17.yeeres.8.moneths &.3.days. He liued.65.yeeres.9.moneths &.1[illegible].days: he was borne the third Ides of April, by that which before is recited out of Herodyan & Dion Caſſius of yͤ maners & vſages of thoſe people, againſt whome Seuerus helde war heere in Britayne, it may be coniectured, yͭ they were the Pictes, the whiche poſſeſſed in thoſe dayes a greate parte of Scotland, and with continual incurſiōs & rodes waſted & deſtroied yͤ bordures of thoſe countreys

Herodianus.
Dion Caſſius.
Eutropius.
Dion Caſſius.

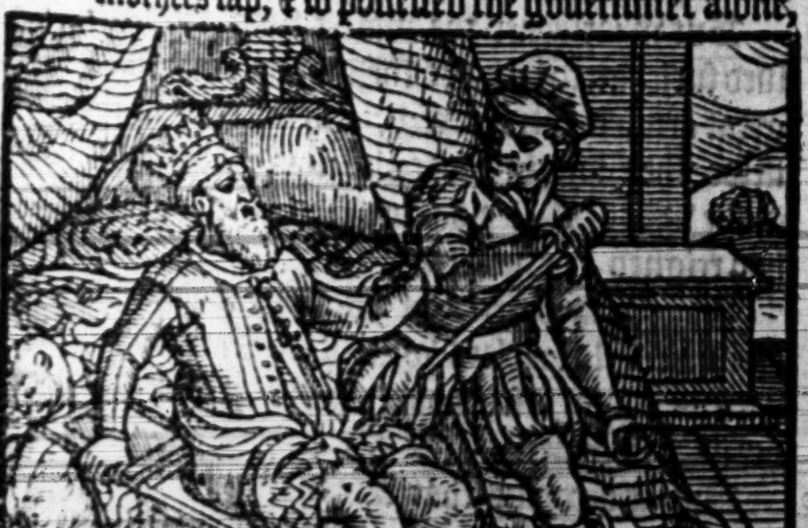
which

utropius.
roſius.
Dio. Caſſius.
ede.
ct. Boetius

which were ſubiect to the Romains. To kepe the back therfore & to repreſſe their inuaſions Seuerus (as ſome write) either reſtored ÿ former wall made by Adrian, or elſe newely buylt an other ouerthwarte the yle from the eaſt ſea to the weſt, contrining in length. 132. miles. This wall was not made of ſtone, but of turfe & earth ſupported with ſtakes & pyles of wood, and defended on the back with a depe trenche or ditche, & alſo fortified with diuers toures & turrets buylt and erected vpon ÿ ſame wall or rampire ſo nere togither, that the ſoūd of trumpets being placed in the ſame, might be hearde betwixte, and ſo warning giuen from one to an other vpon the fyrſte deſcrying of the enimies.

olidor. num.
erodia
211.

Seuerus being departed out of this life in the yere of our lord. 211. his ſon Antonius otherwiſe called alſo Baſſianus, wold fayn haue vſurped ÿ whole gouernment into his own hands, attempting with bribes & large promiſes, to corrupt the mindes of the ſouldiors: but when he perceiued ÿ his purpoſe wold not forward as he wiſhed in ÿ behalf, he concluded a league with the enimies, & making peace with thē, returned back towardes Yorke, and came to his mother & brother Geta, with whom he took order for the burial of his father. And firſt his body being brent (as the maner was) the aſhes were put into a veſſel of gold, and ſo conueyed to Rome by the two brethren and the empreſſe Julia, that was mother to Geta the yonger brother, & mother in law to the elder, Antoninus Baſſianus, and by all meanes poſſible ſought to mainteyn loue & concorde betwixt the brethren, which now at the firſt toke vpon them to rule the empire equally together: but the ambition of Baſſianus was ſuch, that finally vpon deſire to haue the whole rule himſelfe, he founde meanes to diſpatche his brother Geta, breaking one day into his chāber, & ſlaying him euē in his mothers lap, & ſo poſſeſſed the gouernmēt alone, til at lēgth he was ſlain at Edeſſa a citie in Meſopotamia by one of his own ſoldiors, as he was about to vntruſſe his pointes to doe the office of nature, after he had reigned the ſpace of. vj. yeares as is aforeſayde.



Sextus Augelius.

Carauſius.

Carauſius.
218.
Galfrid.
Polycron.
Fabian.

Carauſſius, a Briton of vnknowen birth, as witneſſeth the Britiſh hiſtories, after he had vāquiſht & ſlain Baſſianus (as ÿ ſame hiſtories make mētiō) was of the Britayns made kyng and ruler ouer them, in the yeare of oure Lorde. 218. as Galfr. hath: but W. Harriſon noteth it to be in an. 286. This Carauſſius either to haue the ayde and ſupport of the Picts, as in the Britiſh hiſtorie is conteined, either elſe to be at quietnes with them, being not otherwiſe able to reſiſt thē, gaue to them the coūtreis in the ſouth partes of Scotlande, which ioyne to England on the eaſt marches, as Mers, Louthian, and others.

Galfridus.

But here is to be noted, that the Britiſh writers affirme, that theſe Pictes ÿ were thus placed in the ſouth parts of Scotland at this time, were brought ouer out of Scythia by Fulgentius, to ayd him againſt Seuerus, & that after the death of Seuerus and Fulgentius, which both died of hurtes receyued in the bataile fought betwixt thē at Yorke: the Picts toke part with Baſſianus, & at length betrayed him in the battaile which he fought againſt this Carauſſius: for he corrupting them by ſuch practiſes as he vſed, they turned to his ſide, to the ouerthrowe & vtter deſtruction of Baſſianus: for the which traiterous part they had thoſe ſouth countreys of Scotland giuen vnto them for their habitation. But by the Scottiſh writers it ſhould appere, that thoſe Pictes whiche ayded Fulgentius and alſo Carauſſius, were the ſame that long before had inhabited in the north parts of Britayne, nowe called Scotland. But whatſoeuer they were, trouth it it is (as the Britiſh hiſtories record) that at lēgth one Alectus was ſent from Rome by the ſenate with. iij. legions of ſouldiors to ſubdue Carauſſius, which he did, and ſlewe him in the fielde, as the ſame hiſtories make mētion after he had reigned the ſpace of. vij. or. viij. yeares: and in ÿ yeare of oure ſaluation. 293. as William Hariſon accompteth.

293.

Alectus.

Alectus
Of vvhom our Britiſh hiſtories vvrite after this maner.
293.

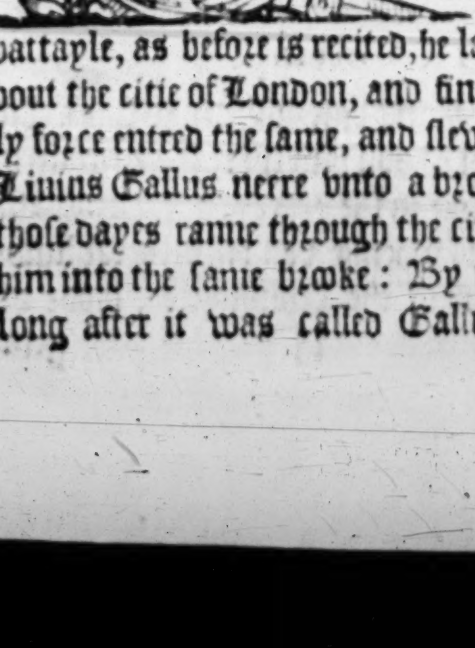
Alectus in hauing vanquiſhed and ſlayn Carauſſius toke vpon him the rule and gouernment of Britayn, in the yeare of our Lorde. 293.

This Alectus when he had reſtored the lande to the ſubiection of the Romaynes, didde vſe greate crueltie agaynſt ſuche of the Brytaynes, as hadde maynteined the parte of Carauſſius, by reaſon whereof, he purchaſed muche euill will of the Britons, the which at length conſpired agaynſt him, and purpoſing to chaſe the Romaines altogether out of their countrey, they procured one Aſclepiodotus, whom (the Brytiſh chronicles name Duke of Cornewall) to take vpon him as chief capitaine of that enterpriſe. Wherevpon the ſame Aſclepiodotus aſſembling a great armie togither, made ſuch ſharpe warres on the Romains, that they being chaſed from place to place, at length withdrewe to the citie of London, and there held them til Aſclepiodotus came thither, and prouoked Alectus and his Romains ſo muche, that in the end they iſſued forth of the Citie, and gaue batayle to the Britons, in the whiche muche people on both partes were ſlayn, but the greateſt number dyed on the Romaines ſyde: and amongeſt other, Alectus himſelf was ſlayne. The reſidue of the Romains that were lefte alyue, retired backe into the Citie with a captayn of theirs named Liuius Gallus, and defended themſelues within the walles for a tyme right valiantly.

Fabian.
Mat.VVeſt.

Thus was Alectus ſlayne of the Britons, after he had reigned (as ſome ſuppoſe) aboute the terme of ſixe yeres (or as ſome other write) three yeares.

Aſcle-
piodotus
Galfr. Mon.
Mat.VVeſt.



Aſclepiodotus duke of Cornewall.

ASclepiodotus, Duke of Cornewall, began his reign ouer the Britons in yͤ yeare of oure Lorde 232.

After he had vanquiſhed the Romaynes in battayle, as before is recited, he layd his ſiege about the citie of London, and finally by knightly force entred the ſame, and ſlew the fornamed Liuius Gallus nerre vnto a brooke, whiche in thoſe dayes ranne through the citie, and threwe him into the ſame brooke: By reaſon whereof long after it was called Gallus or Wallus brooke. And at this preſente the ſtreet where the ſame brooke did runne, is called Walbrooke.

VValbrook

Then after that Aſclepiodotus had ouercome all his enimyes, hee helde this lande a certayne ſpace in good reſt and quiet, and miniſtred iuſtice vprightly, in rewarding the good, and puniſhing the euyll. Till at lengthe through ſlaunderous toungs of malicious perſons, diſcorde was reyſed betwixte the king and one Coyll or Coylus, that was gouernoure of Colcheſter: the occaſion wherof appeareth not by writers.

Aſclepio
ſlayne.
Mat.VVe
hath.x.y

But whatſoeuer the matter was, there enſued ſuch hatred betwixt thē, that on both partes great armies were rayſed, and meetyng in the fielde, they fought a ſore and myghtie battayle, in the whiche Aſclepiodotus was ſlayn, after he had reigned xxx. yeares.

Thus hath Geffrey of Monmouth, and our common Chroniclers written of Carauſſius, Alectus, and Aſclepiodotus, whyche gouerned her in Britayne.

Eutropi

But Eutropius that famous writer of the Romayne hiſtories, in the Actes of Diocletian hath in effecte theſe wordes.

About the ſame tyme Carauſſius, the whiche being borne of moſte baſe offſpring, atteyned to highe honour and dignitie by order of renowmed Chiualrie and ſeruice in the warres, receiued charge at Bolein, to kepe the ſeas quiet alongſt yͤ coaſts of Britain, Frāce, and Flaunders, ⁊ other countreys thereaboutes, bycauſe the Frenchemen, whiche yet inhabited within the boundes of Germanye) and the Saxons ſore troubled thoſe ſeas. Carauſſius taking oftentymes many of the enimies, neyther reſtored the goodes to them of the countreye from whom the enimies had bereft the ſame, nor yet ſent any parte therof to the Emperours, but kept the whole to his owne vſe. Wherevpon when ſuſpition roſe, that he ſhoulde of purpoſe ſuffer the enimies to paſſe by hym, tyll they had taken ſome pryſes, that in their returne with the ſame, he myght encounter with them, and take that from them whyche they hadde gotten, (by whiche ſubtile practiſe he was thought greatly to haue enriched himſelfe) Maximianus that was felowe in gouernement of the Empire with Diocleſianus, remaynyng then in Gallia, and aduertiſed of theſe doinges, commaunded that Carauſſius ſhoulde be ſlayn, but he hauing warning therof rebelled, and vſurping the imperiall ornamentes and title, got poſſeſſion of Britayne, againſt whom (being a man of greate experience in all warlyke knowledge) when warres had bene attempted and folowed in vayn, at lengthe a peace was concluded with him, and ſo he enioyed the poſſeſſion of Britayn by the ſpace of. vij. yeares, and then was ſlaine by his companion Alectus; the whiche after him ruled Britayn for the ſpace of. iij. yeares; and was in the end oppreſſed by the guyle of Aſclepiodotus gouernour of the Pretorie, (or as I may call him) lord Lieutenant of ſome precinct and iuriſdiction perteyning to the Romayne empire. And ſo was Britayn recouered by the foreſaid Aſclepiodotus about. x. yeres after that Carauſſius had firſt vſurped the gouernment there, and about the yere of our Lord. 300. as Polydor iudgeth, wherin he varieth muche from Fabian and others.

The couetous practiſing of Carauſius.

Maximianus purpoſeth to ſlea Carauſius.

Polydore.

Eutropius.

300.

But to ſhew what we fynde further written of the ſubduing of Alectus, I think it not amiſſe to ſette downe what Mamertinus in his Oration written in prayſe of Maximianus doth report of this matter: After he hath reckened vp diuers noble victories by the ſayde Maximianus atchieued, & ſundry nations by his force ſubdued, he beginneth with Britayn in this wyſe.

Mamertinus

Now then all the compaſſe of the earth being recouered through your noble prowes, not onely ſo farre as the limittes of the Romayne empire hadde before extended, but alſo the enimyes bordures being ſubdewed, when Almayne had ben ſo often vanquiſhed, and Sarmatia ſo often reſtreyned and broughte vnder, the people called *Vitungi, Quadi, Carpi*, ſo often put to flighte, the Gothe ſubmitting himſelfe, ẏ king of Perſia by offering giftes, ſuing for peace, one deſpiteful reproche of ſo myghtie an Empire and gouernment the whole, grieued vs at the hearte, which now at length we will not ſticke to confeſſe, and to vs it ſeemed the iniurie intollerable, which ſaue ſelfe onely remayned to the accompliſhing of your perfect renowme and glorie: and verily not vnknowen there is but one name of Britayne, ſo was the loſſe to be eſteemed ſmall to the cōmon wealth of a lande ſo plenty full of corne, ſo abundant with ſtore of paſtures, ſo flowing wyth vaynes of mettall, ſo gaynefull with reuenues ryſing of cuſtomes and tributes, ſo enuironned with hauens, ſo huge in circuite, the which when Ceſar the founder of this your honourable title, being the firſt that entred into it, write that he had founde an other worlde, ſuppoſing it to bee ſo bigge, that it was not compaſſed with the ſea, but that rather by reſemblaunce, the greate Ocean was compaſſed with it: and at that time Britayn was nothyng furniſhed with ſhippes of warre, and the Romains nowe after the warres of Carthage and Aſia, had lately bene exerciſed by ſea agaynſt Pyrates, and afterwardes by reaſon of the warres agaynſt Mithridates, were practiſed as well to fighte by ſea as lande: beſyde thys the Britiſhe nation then alone was accuſtomed but onely to the Pictes and Iriſhmen, enimies halfe naked as yet, and not vſed to weare armour, ſo that the Britons for lacke of ſkill, eaſylye gaue place to the Romayne puiſſaunce, in ſo muche that Ceſar myght by that voyage onely glorye in this, that he had ſayled and paſſed ouer the Ocean ſea. But in thys wycked rebellious robberie, firſte the nauie that in tymes paſſe defended the coaſtes of Gallia was ledde awaye by the Pyrate, when he fled his wayes: and beſide this, a great number of other ſhyppes were buylt after the moulde of oures, the Legion of Romayne Souldiours was wonne, and broughte to take parte with the enimie, and dyuers bandes of ſtraungers that were alſo Souldioures, were ſhutte vp in the Shippes to ſerue alſo agaynſt vs. The merchauntes of the parties of Gallia were aſſembled and broughte togyther to the muſters, and no ſmall numbers of barbarous nations procured to come in ayde of the Rebelles; truſtyng to enryche themſelues by the ſpoyle of the prouinces: and all theſe were trayned in the warres by ſea, thorough the inſtruction of the firſte attemptours of this miſchieuous practiſe. And althoughe oure armyes were inuincible in force and manhode, yet were they rawe and not acuſtomed to the ſeas, ſo that the fame of a greeuous and greate trouble by warre that was towarde by this ſhamefull rebellyous robberye, was blowen and ſounded in eche mans eare, although we hoped well of the end. Unto the enimies forces was added a long ſufferance of theyr

gi, Qua-
Carpi, and
ple of Ger-
nie & Po-

Picts and Iriſh men.

Long ſufferāce of euill, increaſeth boldneſſe in the authors.

Carauſius ſlayne.

Fronto compte to Ciceros matche.

wicked practiſes without puniſhement whyche had paſſed vp the preſumptuous boldneſſe of deſperate people, that they bragged of our ſtay, as if it had bin for feare of them, where the diſaduauntage whiche wee hadde by ſea, ſerued as it were by a fatall neceſſitie to deferre our victorie: neyther dydde they beleeue that the warre was put off for a tyme by aduyſe and counſell, but rather to be omitted through deſpayre to doe any good againſt them, in ſo much that now the feare of common puniſhment being layd aſide, one of the mates ſlew the archpyrate or capitayn rouer as I may call him, hoping in reward of ſo great an exploite to obteyne the whole gouernemente into his handes. This warre then being bothe ſo neceſſarie, ſo hard to enter vpon, ſo growne in tyme to a ſtubburne ſtiffneſſe, and ſo wel prouided for of the enimies part, you noble Emperor, did ſo take it in hand, that ſo ſoon as you bent the thūdring force of your imperiall maieſtie againſt that enimie, eche mā made accompt that the enterpriſe was already atchieued: for firſt of al, to yͤ end yͭ your diuine power being abſent, the barbarous nations ſhould not attempt any new trouble (a thing chiefly to be forſene) it was prouided for aforehand by interceſſiō made vnto your maieſtie: for you your ſelfe, you I ſay mightie lord Maximian eternall emperor, vouchedſafe to aduāce the cōming of your diuine excellēcie by the nereſt way that might be, which to you was not vnknowne: you therefore ſodeynly came to the Rhine, and not with any armie of horſemen or footmen, but with the terrour of your preſence, did preſerue & defend al that frontier: for Maximian once being there vpon the riuage, counteruayled any the greateſt armies that were to bee founde. For you (moſt inuincible Emperor) furniſhing & arming diuers nauies, made the enimie ſo vncertain of his own doings and voyd of cōſel, that then at length he might perceyue that he was not defended but encloſed with the Ocean ſea. Here cōmeth it to mynde how pleaſant and eaſefull the good lucke of thoſe princes in gouerning the cōmon wealth with praiſe was, whiche ſitting ſtil in Rome had triumphs and ſurnames appointed them of ſuch nations as their captains did vanquiſhe. Fronto therefore, not the ſeconde, but matche with the firſt honour of the Romaine eloquence, when he yelded vnto the emperor Antoninus the renome of the warre brought to end in Britayn, although he ſitting at home in his palace within the citie, had cōmitted the cōduct & ſucceſſe of that war ouer vnto the ſame Fronto, it was cōfeſſed by him, yͭ the Emperor ſitting as it were at the helme of the ſhip, deſerued yͤ prayſe by giuing of perfect order to the full accōpliſhing of the enterpriſe. But you moſt inuincible Emperour, haue bin not onely the appointer forth howe all this voyage by ſea, and proſecuting the warre by lande ſhoulde be demeaned, as apperteyned to you by vertue of your Imperiall rule and dignitie, but alſo you haue bene an exhorter and ſetter forward in the things themſelues, and through example of your aſſured conſtancie, the victorie was atchieued. For you taking the Sea at Sluyce, didde put an irreuocable deſire into their heartes that were readye to take ſhippe the ſame tyme in the mouth of the ryuer of Sayne, in ſo muche that when the Capitaynes of that armie were about to linger tyme, by reaſon the ſeas and ayre was troubled, they cryed to haue the ſayles hoyſed vp, and ſigne giuen to launche forth that they myght paſſe forwarde on theyr iourney, deſpiſing certayne tokens which threatned theyr wrecke, and ſo ſet forward on a raynie and tempeſtuous daye, ſaylyng wyth a croſſewynde, for no forewynde myghte ſerue theyr tourne. But what was hee that durſt not committe him ſelfe vnto the ſea were the ſame neuer ſo vnquiet, when you were once vnder ſayle, and ſette forwarde? One voyce and exhortation was amonge them all (as reporte hathe gone thereof) when they hearde that you were once got forth vppon the water, what doe wee doubte? what meane we to ſtaye? hee is nowe lewſed from lande, he is forwarde on his way, and peraduenture is alreadie got ouer: let vs put all thyngs in proofe, lette vs venture thorough anye daungers of ſea whatſoeuer, what is there that we may ſtand in fear of? we folow the emperour: neyther didde the opinion of your good happe deceyue them: for as by reporte of themſelues, wee doe vnderſtande, at that ſelfe tyme there fell ſuche a myſte and thycke fogge vpon the Seas, that the enimyes Nauie layde at the Iſle of Wyghte, watchyng for theyr aduerſaries and lurkyng as it were in awayte, theſe your ſhippes paſſed by, and were not once perceyued, neyther did the enimie then ſtaye, although he coulde not reſiſte. But nowe as concerning that the ſame armye vnvanquiſhable fyghting vnder your enſignes and name, ſtreight wayes after it came to lande, ſet fyre on theyr ſhippes: what moued them ſo to doe, excepte the admonitions of your diuine motion? or what other reaſon perſwaded them to reſerue no furtheraunce for theyr flight if neede were, nor to feare the doubtfull chaunces of warre, nor as the Prouerbe ſayeth, to thinke the hazarde of martiall dealyngs to be common, but that by contemplation of your proſperous happe, it was verie certayne that there needed no doubte to bee caſte, for victorie to be obteined? There were no ſufficiēt forces at that preſent amōg them, no mighty puiſſant ſtrength of Romains but they had only conſideration of your vnſpeakable for-

tunate

priuate ſucceſſe commyng from the heauens aboue, for what ſo euer battaile doth chaunce to be offered, to make ful accompt of victorie, reſteth not ſo muche in the aſſuraunce of the ſouldiours, as in the good lucke and felicitie of the Capitaine generall. That ſame ringleader of the vngratious faction, what mente he to depart frõ that ſhore whiche he poſſeſſed? Why did he forſake bothe his nauie and the hauen? but that (moſte inuincible Emperour) hee ſtode in feare of your commyng, whoſe ſayles hee behelde readie to approche towards him, howſoeuer the matter ſhoulde fall out, he choſe rather to trye his fortune wyth your capitaynes than to abyde the preſent force of your maieſtie: a madde man that vnderſtode not, that whether ſo euer he fled, the power of your diuine maieſtie to be preſent, in all places where your countenance and banners are had in reuerence. But hee fleeing from your preſence, fell into the handes of youre people, of you was he ouercome, of youre armies was he oppreſſed. To be ſhort, he was brought into ſuche feare, and as it were ſtill looking behynde him, for doubte of your comming after him, that as one out of his remembrance amazed what to do, he haſted forward to his death, ſo that he neyther ſette his men in order of battayle, nor marſhalled ſuche power as hee had about him, but onely with the olde authors of that conſpiracie, & the hired bands of the barbarous nations, as one forgetful of ſo great preparation which he had made, ran hedlong forwards to his deſtruction, inſomuch (noble emperor) your felicitie yeldeth this good hap to the cõmon welth, that the victorie being atchieued in the behalfe of the Romain empire, there almoſt died not one Romain: for as I heare, all thoſe fields and hilles laye couered with none but only with the bodies of moſte wicked enimies, the ſame beeing of the barbarous nations, or at the leſt wiſe apparelled in the counterfait ſhapes of barbarous garments, gliſtering with their long yealow heares, but nowe with gaſhes of wounds & bloud all deformed, and lying in ſundry maners, as the pangs of death occaſioned by their wounds, had cauſed them to ſtretch forth or draw in their maymed limmes and mangled parts of their dying bodies. And among theſe, the chiefe ringleader of the theeues was founde, who had put off thoſe robes which in his life time he had vſurped & diſhonored, ſo as vneth was he couered wyth one peece of apparell wherby he might be knowen, ſo neare were his wordes true vttered at the houre of his death, whiche he ſaw at hand, that he would not haue it vnderſtode howe he was ſlayn. Thus verily (moſt inuincible emperour) ſo greate a victorie was appointed to you by conſent of the immortall gods ouer al the enimies whom you aſſayled, but namely the ſlaughter of the Frankeners & thoſe youre ſouldiours alſo, which as before I haue ſayd, through miſſyng their courſe by reaſon of the myſt that lay on the ſeas, were nowe come to the citie of London, where they ſlewe downe right in eche parte of the ſame citie, what multitude ſoeuer remayned of thoſe hyred barbarous people, which eſcaping from the bataile, mente after they had ſpoyled the citie to haue got away by flight. But now being thus ſlain by your ſouldiours, the ſubiects of your prouince were both preſerued from further daunger, and toke pleaſure to beholde the ſlaughter of ſuche cruell enimies. O what a manyfolde victorie was this? worthie vndoubtedly of innumerable triumphes, by which victorie Britayne is reſtored to the Empire, by which victorie the nation of the Frankeners is vtterlye deſtroyed, and by whiche many other nations found acceſſaries in the cõſpiracie of that wicked practiſe, are compelled to obedience. To conclude, the ſeas are purged and broughte to perpetuall quietnes. Glorie you therfore, inuincible Emperor, for that you haue, as it were gote an other worlde, and in reſtoring to the Romain puiſſaunce the glorie of conqueſt by ſea, haue added to the Romain empire an element greater than al the compaſſe of the earth, that is, the mightie mayne Ocean. You haue made an ende of the warre, inuincible Emperour, that ſeemed as preſent to threaten all prouinces, and might haue ſpreade abroade, and burſt out in flame, euen ſo largely, as ỹ Ocean Seas ſtretche, and the Mediterrane gulfes do reache: neither are we ignorant althoughe thorough feare of you that infection did feſter within the bowels of Britayn only, and proceded no further, wᵗ what furie it would haue auanced it ſelfe elſe where if it might haue bin aſſured of meane to haue raunged abroade ſo farre as it wiſhed. For it was bounded in with no bordure of mountayne, nor ryuer, whych garniſons appoynted, were garded and defended but euen ſo as the ſhippes although we had your martiall prowes and proſperous fortune readye to relieue vs, was ſtill at oure elbowes to put vs in feare, ſo farre as eyther ſeas reache or wynde bloweth: for that incredible boldeneſſe and vnworthy good happe of a few captiues of the Frankeners in time of ỹ Emperour Probus came to our remẽbrance whiche Frankeners in that ſeaſon, conueying away certayn veſſels from the coaſtes of Pontus, waſted both Grecia & Aſia, and not without great hurt & damage ariſing vpon diuers

The good lucke in a Capitayne.

He was founde dead.

He had diſpoyled himſelfe of the imperiall robes bycauſe he vvould not be knovven if he chanced to be ſlayne.

Francones ſiue Franci.

London in danger to be ſpoyled.

The piracy of the Frankeyners called Franci or Frãcones.

partes of the ſhore of Libya, at length toke the Citye of Saragoſe in Sicile (an hauen towne in tymes paſte hyghely renowmed for victories gotten by ſea:) and after this, paſſyng thorough the ſtreytes of Gibralterra, came into the Ocean, & ſo with the fortunate ſucceſſe of their raſhe preſumptuous attempte, ſhewed how nothing is ſhut vp in ſafety from the deſperate boldneſſe of pyrates, where ſhips may come and haue acceſſe. And ſo therfore by this your victorie, not Britain alone is deliuered from bondage, but vnto all nations is ſafetie reſtored, which might by the vſe of the ſeas come to as great perils in time of warre, as to gayne of commodities in tyme of peace. Now Spayne (to let paſſe the coaſtes of Gallia) with hir ſhores almoſt in ſight is in ſuretie: now Italy, now Afrike, nowe all nations euen vnto the fennes of Meotis are voyde of perpetuall cares. Neyther therfore are they leſſe ioyful, the feare of danger being taken away, which to feele as yet, the neceſſitie had not brought thẽ: but they reioyce ſo muche the more for this, that both in the guiding of your good prouidence, and alſo furtheraunce of fortune, ſo great a force of rebellion by ſea men, is calmed vpon the entring into their bordures, and Britayne it ſelfe whiche had giuen harburgh to ſo long a miſchief, is euidently knowne to haue taſted of your victorie, with hir only reſtitutiõ to quietneſſe. Not without good cauſe therefore immediatly, when you hir long wiſhed reuenger and deliuerer were once arriued, your Maieſtie was met with greate triumph, and the Britayns repleniſhed with all inwarde gladneſſe, came forth and offered themſelues to youre preſence, with their wyues and children, reuerencing not onely youre ſelfe (on whome they ſette their eyes, as on one deſcended downe them to from heauen) but alſo euen the ſayles and tagle of that ſhippe whiche hadde brought your diuine preſence vnto their coaſtes: and when you ſhould ſette foote on lande, they were readie to lye downe at your feete, that you might (as it were) march ouer them, ſo deſirous were they of you. Neither was it any meruaile if they ſhewed them ſelues ſo ioyfull, ſithe after their miſerable captiuitie ſo many yeres continued after ſo long abuſing of their wiues, and filthie bondage of their children, at lengthe yet were they nowe reſtored to libertie, at lengthe made Romaynes, at lengthe refreſhed with the true lighte of the Imperiall rule and gouernement: for beſide the fame of your clemencie and pitie whiche was ſet forth by the report of all nations, in your countenaunce (Ceſar) they perceiued the tokens of all vertues, in your face grauitie, in your eyes myldeneſſe, in your ruddie cheekes baſhfulnes, in your words iuſtice: All which thinges as by regarde they acknowledged, ſo with voyces of gladneſſe they ſignifyed on high. To you they bounde them ſelues by vowe, to you they bounde their children: yea and to your children they vowed all the poſteritie of theyr race and ofſpring. We truely (O perpetuall parentes and lordes of mankinde) require this of the immortall gods with moſt earneſt ſupplication and heartie prayer, that our children and theyr children, and ſuche other as ſhall come of them for euer hereafter, may be dedicate vnto you and to thoſe whome you now bring vp, or ſhal bring vp hereafter. For what better hap can wee wiſhe to them that ſhall ſucceede vs, than to bee enioyers of that felicitie which now we our ſelues enioy? The Romaine common wealth doth now comprehende in one coniunction of peace, al that whatſoeuer at ſundry times hath belonged to the Romaines, and that huge power whyche wyth to great a burdeyn was ſhronke downe, and riuen in ſunder, is nowe broughte to ioyne agayn in the aſſured ioyntes of the imperiall gouernement. For there is no parte of the earth nor region vnder heauen, but that eyther it remayneth quiet through feare, or ſubdued by force of armes, or elſe at the leaſt wyſe bounde by clemencie. And is there any other thing elſe in other partes, whych if wyll and reaſon ſhould moue men therto, that might bee obteyned? beyond the Ocean, what is there more than Brytaine, which is ſo recouered by you, that thoſe nations which are neare adioyning to the boundes of that Iſle, are obedient to your commaundementes? There is no occaſion that maye moue you to paſſe further, excepte the endes of the Ocean ſea (which nature forbiddeth) ſhoulde bee ſought for. All is yours (moſte inuincible Princes) whiche are accompted worthie of you, and thereof commeth it, that you may equally prouide for euery one, ſithe you haue the whole in your hands: and therfore as heretofore (moſte excellent Emperoure) Diocleſian, by thy commaundemente Aſia dyd ſupplye the deſerte places of Thracia with inhabitauntes tranſported thyther, as afterwarde moſte excellente Emperour Maximian, by your appoyntementement, the Frankeners at length brought to a pleaſant ſubiection, and admitted to lyue vnder lawes, hath peopled and manured the vacante fieldes of the Neruians, and thoſe about the citie of Trier: And ſo nowe by youre victories (inuincible Conſtantius Ceſar) whatſoeuer did lye vacant aboute Amiens, Beauvoys, Troys, and Langres, beginneth to flouriſhe with inhabitauntes of ſundrye nations: yea and moreouer that your moſt obedient Citie of Autun, for whoſe ſake I haue a peculiar cauſe to reioyce, by meanes of thys tryumphaunt victorie in Brytayne, it hathe receyued manye and diuers Artificers, of whome thoſe

Britayne reſtored to quietneſſe.

The Britaynes receyue Maximian with great ioy and humbleneſſe.

Diocleſian and Maximian.

Nations next to Britaine obey the Emperours.

The printed hath Heruij, but I take the h. to be thruſt in for n.

ficers forth Britayne.

thoſe prouinces were full, and nowe by theyr workmanſhip the ſame Citie reiſeth vp by repairing of auncient houſes and reſtoryng of publique buyldings and temples, ſo that now it accompteth that the olde name of brotherlike incorporation to Rome, is again to hir reſtored, when ſhe hath you eftſones for hir founder. I haue ſayd (inuincible Emperor) almoſt more than I haue bin able, and not ſo muche as I ought, that I may haue moſte iuſt cauſe by your clemencies licence, both now to end, and often heereafter to ſpeake: & thus I ceaſſe.

Here haue you the ſubſtance of that whiche is written touching Britayn in that Panegerike oration aſcribed to *Mamertinus*, whiche he ſet forth in prayſe of the emperors Diocletian and Maximian: it is entitled only to Maximianus, wheras neuertheleſſe both the Emperours are praiſed. And lykewyſe as ye maye perceiue, Cōſtantius that was father vnto the great Conſtantine, is here ſpokē of, being choſen by the two foreſayde Emperours to aſſiſte them by the name of Ceſar in rule of the Empire: of whome hereafter more ſhall be ſayde.

But now to conſider what is to bee noted forth of this part of the ſame oration: It ſhuld ſeeme that when the emperor Maximian was ſent into Gallia by appoyntemente taken betwixt him and Diocletian after he had quieted things there, he ſet his mynde forthwith to reduce Britayn vnder the obedience of the Empire, the which was at that preſent kept vnder ſubiection of ſuch princes as maynteyned their ſtate, by the mightie forces of ſuche number of ſhips, as thei had got togither, furniſhed with al things neceſſarie, & namely of able ſeamē, as well Britons as ſtrangers, among whom the Frankeners wer as chief, a nation of Germanie, as then hyghly renoumed for their puiſſance by ſea, nere to the which they inhabited, ſo that there were no rouers comparable to them. And bycauſe none durſte ſtirre on theſe our ſeas for feare of the Britiſhe fleet that paſſed to and fro at pleaſure, to the greate anoyance of the Romayne ſubiectes inhabiting alongeſt the coaſtes of Gallia, Maximian both to recouer agayne ſo wealthy and profitable a land vnto the obeyſance of the empire, as Britayne then was, & alſo to deliuer the people of Gallia ſubiects to ẏ Romains, frō danger of being dayly ſpoyled by thoſe rouers that were maynteined here in Britayn, he prouided with all diligence ſuche numbers of ſhips as were thought requiſite for ſo great an enterpriſe, and rigging them in ſundry places, toke order for their ſetting forward to the moſt aduauntage for the eaſy atcheuing of his enterpriſe. He appointed to paſſe himſelfe frō the coaſts of Flāders, at what time other of his capitains with their fleetes from other parts, ſhould likewyſe make ſayle towards Britayn. By this meane Alectus that had vſurped the title and dignitie of king or rather emperor ouer the Britains, knew not where to take heede, but yet vnderſtanding of the nauie that was made ready in the mouth of Sayn, he ment by ẏ which may be coniectured, to intercept that fleet as it ſhuld come forth and make ſayle forewardes: and ſo for that purpoſe he lay with a great number of ſhips about the Iſle of Wight. But whether Aſclepiodotus came ouer wͭ that nauie which was rigged on the coaſts of Flanders, or with ſome other, I will not preſume to affirme eyther to or fro, bicauſe in deed Mamertinus maketh no expreſſe mention either of Alectus, or Aſclepiodotus: but notwithſtanding it is euident by that which is cōteined in his oration, that not Maximian, but ſome other of his capitains gouerned ẏ armie, whiche ſlewe Alectus, ſo that we may ſuppoſe that Aſclepiodotus was chieftain ouer ſome number of ſhips directed by Maximinians appointment to paſſe ouer into this yle againſt the ſame Alectus: and ſo may this which Mamertinus writeth, agree with the truth of that whiche we fynd in Eutropius. Here is to be remēbred, ẏ after Maximianus had thus recouered Britain out of ther hands that vſurped the rule therof frō the Romans, it ſhuld ſeem ẏ not only great numbers of artificers & other people were conueyed ouer into Gallia, there to inhabite and furniſh ſuch cities as were run into decay, but alſo a power of warlike youthes was tranſported thither to defend the countrey from the inuaſion of barbarous nations. For we fynd that in the dayes of this Maximian, the Britons expulſing the Neruiās out of the citie of Mons in Henaud, held a caſtell there, whiche was called *Bretaimons* after them, wherevpon the citie was afterwarde called Mons, reteyning the laſt ſillable only, as in ſuch caſes it hath oftē happned.

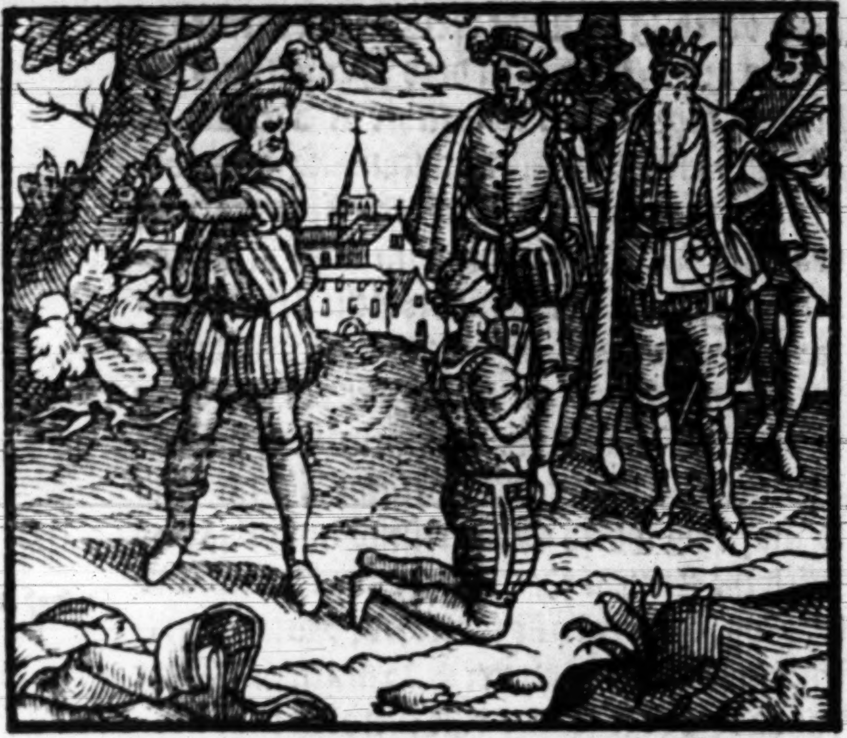
Franci, or Frankeners, people of Germanie.

Eutropius.

Moreouer this is not to be forgotten, ẏ as Humf. Lhuyd hath very wel noted in his book intitled *Fragmenta hiſtoria Britannica*, Mamertinus in this parcell of his panegerike oration doth make firſt mētion of the nation of Picts, of al other the ancient Roman writers: ſo that not one before his tyme, once nameth eyther Picts or Scots. But now to returne wher we left. After that Britain was thus recouered by the Romains, Diocletian & Maximiā ruling the Empire, the Ile taſted of the crueltie, that Dioclesian exerciſed agaynſte the Chriſtians, in perſecutyng them wyth all extremityes, continually for the ſpace of ten yeeres.

Beda & Gildas.

Amongſt other, one Alban a citizen of Werlamcheſter, a towne now bearing his name, was the firſt that ſuffred here in Britayn, in this perſecution, being conuerted to the faith of Chriſte by the zealous chriſtian Amphibalus, whome he hadde receyued into his houſe: in ſo muche that when there came Sergeants or officers to ſeeke for the ſame Amphibalus, the aforeſayd Albane to preſerue Amphibalus out of daunger, preſented hymſelfe in the apparell of the ſayde Amphibalus, and ſo being apprehended in his ſtead, was brought before the iudge, and examined: and for that he refuſed to doe ſacrifice to the falſe goddes, he was beheaded on the toppe of an hill ouer agaynſt the towne of Werlamcheſter aforeſayd, where afterwardes was buylded a churche and monaſterie in the remembrãce of his martirdom, inſomuch that the towne there reſtored after that Werlamcheſter was deſtroyed, tooke name of him, and ſo is vnto this day called ſaint Albons. It is reported by writers, that diuers miracles were wroughte at the tyme of his death, in ſo muche that one whiche was appointed to do the execution, was cõuerted, and refuſing to do that office, ſuffered alſo with him: but he that tooke vpon him to doe it, reioyced nothing thereat, for his eyes fel out of his head, downe to the ground together with the head of that holy man whiche he had then cut off. There were alſo martyred about the ſame tyme two conſtant witneſſes of Chriſt his Religion, Aron and Iulius, citizens of Caerleon arwiſk.



Bede.
See the booke of acts and monuments ſette forth by maſter Foxe.

Io. Roſſus.
VVarwicenſ. in li. de VVigornienſ. Epiſcopis.
Lichfielde vvherof it toke name.

Moreouer a great nũber of Chriſtians which were aſſembled togither to heare the word of lyfe preached by that vertuous manne Amphibalus, were ſlayn by the wicked Pagans at Lychfield, wherof that towne toke name, as you wold ſay, The field of dead corpſes.

Gildas.

To be briefe, this perſecution was ſo greate & greuous, and therto ſo vniuerſall, that in maner the Chriſtiã religion was therby deſtroyed. The faithfull people were ſlayne, their bookes brent, & churches ouerthrowen. It is recorded, that within one monethes ſpace in dyuers places of the worlde there were .xvij. M. godlye menne and women put to death for profeſſing the chriſtian faith in the dayes of that tyrant Diocleſian and his fellowe Maximian.

Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis.
Mat. VVeſt.
Conſtantius.

Coellus.

Coellus.

COellus, Earle of Colcheſter, began hys dominion ouer the Brytons in the yeare of our Lord. 262. This Coellus or Coill ruled the lande for a certayne tyme, ſo as the Brytons were well contented with his gouernement, and lyued the longer in reſt from inuaſion of the Romains, bicauſe they were occupied in other places: but finally they findyng tyme for their purpoſe, apointed one Conſtantius to paſſe ouer into this Iſle with an armie, the which Conſtantius put Coellus in ſuche dread, that immediatly vpon his arriuall Coellus ſent to him an ambaſſade, and cõcluded a peace with him, couenãting to pay yͤ accuſtomed tribute, and gaue to Conſtantius his daughter in mariage called Helene, a noble Lady and a lerned. Shortly after king Coell dyed, after he had reigned (as ſome write). 27. yeares, or as other haue, but. 13. yeares. Of the regiment of thys Prince, Harriſon maketh no mention in his Chronologie.

261.

Fabian.

Caxton.
Galfrid.

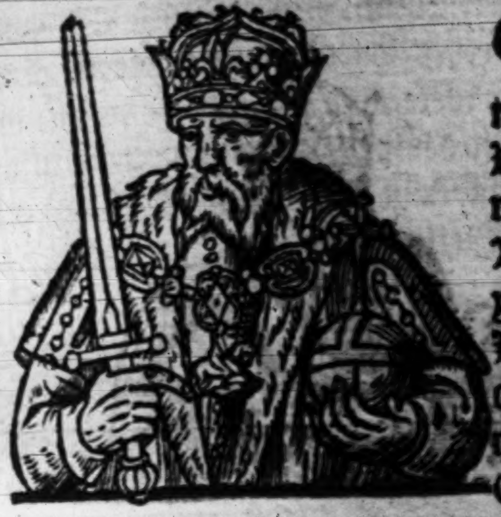
Fabian.
Caxton.

But verily if I ſhall ſpeake what I thinke, I will not denye but aſſuredly ſuche a Prince there was: howbeit that he had a daughter named Helene, whome hee maried vnto Conſtantius the Romain lieutenant that was after Emperour, I leaue that to be decided of the learned: For if the whole courſe of the lyues, as well of the father and ſonne, Conſtantius and Conſtantine, as lykewyſe of the mother Helena, bee conſiderately marked from tyme to tyme, and yeare to yeare, as out of authors both Greeke and latine, yͤ ſame may be gathered, I feare leaſt ſuch doubt may ryſe in this matter, that it wil be harder to proue Helene a Britayne, than Conſtantine to be borne in Bithynia (as Nicephorus auoucheth) but for ſomuche as I meane not to ſteppe from the courſe of oure countreye writers in ſuche poynts, where the receyued opinion maye ſeeme to warrant the credite of the hiſtorie, I wil with other admit bothe the mother and ſonne to be Britons in the whole diſcourſe of the hiſtorie following, as thoughe I hadde forgot what in this place I haue ſayd.

Lib. 7. cap. 18.

Con-

Conſtantius.



Conſtã-tius.

Mat. VVeſt. hath. 302.

189.

Oroſius.

Beda.

Cuſpinia.

Fabian.

CONſtantius, a Senatoure of Rome begã to reigne ouer the Britons, in yͤ yeare of oure Lorde. 289. as oure Hiſtories reporte. Thys Cõſtãtius, as before ye haue hearde, hadde to wyfe Helene the daughter of the foreſayd king Coyll, of whome he begat a ſon named Conſtantinus, which afterwarde was Emperour, and for his worthy doings ſurnamed Conſtantine the great. S. Ambroſe folowing the common report, writeth, that this Helene was a mayde in an Inne: and ſome agayne write, that ſhe was concubine to Conſtantius, and not his wyfe. But whatſoeuer ſhe was, it appeareth by the writers of the Romain hiſtories, that Conſtantius being the daughters ſonne of one Criſpus, that was brother to the Emperour Claudius, came into Britayne, and quieted the troubles that were rayſed by the Britons, and there (as ſome write) maryed the foreſayd Helen being a woman of an excellent beautie, whom yet (after) he was conſtrayned to forſake, & to marrie Theodora, the daughter in law of Herculeus Maximianus, by whom he hadde ſixe ſons, & finally was created Emperor togither with yͤ ſaid Galerius Maximianus, at what tyme Diocletianus and his fellowe Herculeus Maximianus renounced the rule of the empire, and committed the ſame vnto them. The Empire was then deuided betwixte them, ſo that to Conſtantius the regiõs of Italy, Affrik, France, Spayne and Britayne were aſſigned, and to Galerius, Illyrium, Grecia, and all the Eaſte partes. But Conſtantine being a man voyde of ambition, was contented to leaue Italy and Affrike, ſuppoſing his charge to be great inough to haue the gouernment in his hands of France, Spayn, and Britayn (as Eutropius hath.)

But as touching his reigne ouer the Britons wee haue not to ſaye further than as we fynde in our owne writers recorded: but for his gouernment in the empire: it is to be conſidered, that firſt he was admitted to rule as an aſſiſtãt to Maximian vnder yͤ title of Ceſar: & ſo from that time if you ſhall accompt his reigne, it may comprehend xj. xij. or. xiij. yeares, yea more or leſſe, according to the diuerſitie founde in writers.

VVil. Hariſ.

But if we ſhal recken his reign from the time onely that Diocletian and Maximian reſigned their title to the Empire, we ſhall fynde that he reigned not fully. iij. yeares. For where as betweene the ſlaughter of Alectus, and the comming of Conſtantius, are accompted. 8. yeeres and odde monethes, not only thoſe. 8. yeeres, but alſo ſome ſpace of tyme before maye be aſcribed vnto Conſtantius: for although before his comming ouer into Britayn now this laſt tyme (for he had bin here afore, as it well appeareth) Aſclepiodotus gouerned as Legate, albeit vnder Conſtantius, who had a greate portion of the weſt parties of the empire vnder his regiment, by the title, as I haue ſayd, of Ceſar, although he was not ſayde to reigne abſolutelye, till Diocletian and Maximian reſigned, whereof it is not amiſſe to giue this briefe aduertiſement, according as in William Harriſons Chronologie is ſufficiently proued. But now to cõclude with the doings of Conſtãtius, at lẽgth he fel ſick at Yorke, and there dyed about the yeare of our Lord. 306.

306.

This is not to be forgotten, that whyleſt hee lay on his death bed, ſomewhat before he departed this life, hearing that his ſonne Conſtantine was come, & eſcaped from the emperours Diocletian & Maximianus, with whome he remained as a pledge, as after ſhall be partly touched: he receyued him with all ioye, and raiſing himſelfe vp in his bed, in preſence of his other ſonnes and counſellours, with a greate number of other people and ſtrangers that wer come to viſit him, he ſet the crowne vpon his ſonnes head, and adorned him with other imperiall roabes and garmentes, executing as it were himſelfe, the office of an heralde, and withall ſpake theſe wordes vnto his ſayd ſonne, and to his counſellors there about him.

Niceph.

Tripartit. hiſtoria.

Nowe is my death to me more welcome, and my departure hence more pleaſant. I haue heere a large epitaphe and monumente of buriall, to witte, myne owne ſonne, and one whome in earth I leaue to be Emperor in my place, which by Gods good helpe ſhall wipe awaye the teares of the Chriſtians, and reuenge the crueltie exerciſed by tyrants. This I recken to chaunce vnto me in ſtede of moſte felicitie. After this, turning himſelfe to the multitude, he commaunded them all to be of good comforte, meaning thoſe that had not forſaken true vertue & godlineſſe in Chriſte, which Chriſt he vndertooke ſhould continue with his ſonne Conſtantine in al enterpriſes, which in warres or otherwyſe he ſhuld take in hande.

That deuiſe alſo is worthie to be had in memorie, which he put in practiſe in his lyfe time, to vnderſtand what true & ſincere Chriſtians were remayning in his courte: for where as he hadde bin firſte a perſecuter, and after was conuerted, it was a matter eaſy to perſuade the world, that he was no earneſte Chriſtian: and ſo the policie which he thoughte to worke, was the ſooner brought to paſſe, whiche was this: He called together al his officers and ſeruants, feyning himſelfe to chooſe out ſuche as would doe ſacrifice to deuils, and that thoſe only ſhould remayne with hym, and keepe their office, and the reſte that refuſed ſo to doe, ſhoulde be thruſt out, and baniſhed the courte.

Herevpon all the Courtyers deuided themſelues into companies: and when ſome offred willingly to do ſacrifice, & other ſome boldly refuſed: the Emperoure marking their dealings, ſharply rebuked thoſe which were ſo ready to diſhonor the liuing God, accempting them as traytors to his diuine maieſtie, and not worthy to remayne within the Court gates: but thoſe that conſtantly ſtood in the profeſſion of the chriſtian fayth, he greatly commended, as men worthie to be about a prince: and withall declared, that from thenceforth they ſhould be as chiefe counſellours and defendors both of his perſon and kingdom, eſteeming more of them than of al the treaſure he had in his coffers.

To conclude, hee was a prince graue, ſober, vpright, courteous and liberall, as he which kept his mynde euer free from couetous deſire of great riches: inſomuch that when he ſhould make any great feaſt to his frendes, he was not aſhamed to borow plate and ſyluer veſſell to ſerue his turne, and to furniſhe his cupborde for the tyme, beyng contented for himſelfe to be ſerued in cruſes and earthen veſſell. He was wonte to haue this ſaying in his mouth, that better it was that the ſubiectes ſhould haue ſtore of money and riches, thā the Prince to keepe it cloſe in his treaſorie, where it ſerued to no vſe. By ſuche curteous dealyng the prouinces whiche were in his charge flouriſhed in greate wealth and quietneſſe. He was a right wiſe and politike Prince in the ordering of all weightie matters, & verie ſkilfull in the practiſe of warres ſo that he ſtoode the Romane empire in great ſtead, and was therfore highly beloued of the Souldiours, in ſo muche that immediatly after his deceaſe, they proclaymed his ſon Conſtantine Emperour.

Pomponius Latus.

He dyed in the yere.306 as Matth. VVeſt. hath noted, and reigned over the Britaynes but.11.yeares as Gaif.hath.

That the Chriſtian faithe was imbraced of the Britons in this ſeaſon, it may appeare, in that Hillarius biſhop of Poictiers writeth to his brethren in Britayne, and Conſtantine in an Epiſtle, as Theodoretus hath in his firſte boke and tenth chapter maketh mencion of the churches in Britayne: Which alſo Sozomenus doth affirme. For the Britons after they had receyued the faithe, defended the ſame euen with the ſheading of their bloud, as Amphibalus who in this Conſtantius days being apprehended, ſuffered at Redburne nere to Werlamcheſter, about xv. yeares after the martirdome of his hoſte S. Albane.

191.

John Bale.

Conſtantine.

Conſtātine.

306.

CONſtantine beyng the ſonne of the forenamed Conſtantius, begot of his firſte wyfe Helene, the daughter (as ſome affirme) of Coill late king of the Britons, beganne his reigne in the yeare of our Lord.306. This worthie prince begot of a britiſhe woman, and borne of hir in Britayne (as our writers doe affirme,) and created certainely Emperour in Britayne, doubtleſſe made his natiue countrey partaker of his hygh glorie and renoume, which by his great prowes, politike wiſedome, worthie gouernemente, and other his Princely qualities moſte abundantlye planted in his noble perſon, he purchaſed and got through the circuit of the whole earth, inſomuch that for the highe enterpriſes and noble actes by him happily broughte to paſſe and atchieued, he was ſurnamed (as before is ſayd) the great Cōſtantine.

Conſtantine created Emperor in Britayn.

Whileſt this Cōſtantine remained at Rome in manner as he had bin a pledge with Galerius in his fathers life time, he beeing then but yong, fledde from thence, and with all poſt haſte returned to his father into Britain, killing or hewghing by the way all ſuch horſſes as were appointed to ſtande at Innes readie for ſuche as ſhould ryde in poſte, leaſt being purſued, he ſhould haue been ouertaken, and broughte backe agayne by ſuche as myght be ſent to purſue him.

Eutropius.

Sextus Aurelius Victo

At his comming into Britayne, he found his father ſore vexed with ſickneſſe, whereof ſhortly after hee dyed, and then was he by helpe of ſuch as were aboute him, encouraged to take vppon him as Emperour: And namely one Erocus, king of the Almaynes whiche had accompanied his father thither, aſſiſted him therto, ſo that being proclaymed Emperor, he toke vpon him the rule of thoſe countreys whiche his father had in gouernement, that is to ſay, Fraunce, Spayne, the Alpes, and Britayne, with other prouinces here in the weſt: and ruling the ſame with great equitie and wyſedome, hee greatly wanne the fauour of the people, inſomuch that the fame of his politike gouernemente and curteous dealing being ſpread abroade, when Maxentius the tiraunt that occupied the rule of the Empire at Rome, and in Italy by wrongful vſurping and abu-

Erocus king of the Almains.

Maxentius the tyrant.

abuſing the ſame, was growne into the hatred of the Romans and other Italians, Conſtantine was earneſtly by them requeſted to come into Italy, and to helpe to ſubdue Maxentius, that he might reforme the ſtate of things there. Maxentius was ſonne to Herculeus Maximinianus, Conſtantine had marryed Fauſta the daughter of the ſayde Maximinianus. Nowe ſo it was, that Maximinianus immediatly after that his ſonne Maxentius hadde taken the rule vpon hym, ſought meanes to haue depoſed hym, & to haue reſumed and taken eftſoones into his owne handes the gouernement of the empire. But ſolliciting Diocletian to do the like, he was much reproued of him for his vnreaſonable & ambicious purpoſe: ſo yͭ when he perceiued that neither Diocletian woulde be therto agreeable, nor induce the ſouldiours to admit him, they hauing already eſtabliſhed his ſonne, he began to deuyſe wayes howe to aſſure the ſtate more ſtrongly to his ſayde ſonne: and hearyng that his ſonne in law Conſtantine was mynded to come into Italy againſt him, he purpoſed to practiſe Conſtantines deſtruction, in ſomuch that it was iudged by this which folowed, yͭ Herculeus Maximinus did but for a colour ſeme to miſlyke with that whiche his ſon Maxentius had done, to the ende he might the ſoner accompliſhe his entente for the diſpatching of Conſtantine oute of the waye.

Diſſimulation.

Herevpon (as it were) fleing out of Italy, he came to Conſtantine, who as then hauing appointed lieutenants vnder him in Britayn, remayned in France, and with all ioy and honor that mighte bee, receiued his father in lawe: the which being earneſtly bent to compaſſe his purpoſe, made his daughter Fauſta priuie therto: whiche ladie, either for feare leaſt the concealyng therof might turne hir to diſpleſure, either elſe for the entier loue whiche ſhe bare to hir huſbande) reueled hir fathers wicked purpoſe.

Ranulphus eſtrenſis.

the daughter of Maxi anus & vvife Conſtantine.

Wherevpon whileſt Conſtantine goeth about to be reuenged of ſuche a trayterous practiſe, Herculeus fleeth to Merſiles, purpoſing there to take the ſea, and ſo to retire to his ſonne Maxentius into Italye. But ere he coulde get away from thence, he was ſtrangled by commaundemente of his ſonne in lawe Conſtantine, and ſo ended his lyfe, whiche he had ſpotted with many cruell actes, as well in perſecutyng the profeſſoures of the Chriſtian name, as others.

arſiles.

aximianus yeth. An. Chri.311.

In this mean time had Maximinus adopted one Licinius to aſſiſte hym in gouernaunce of the empire, proclaymyng hym Ceſar. So that nowe at one ſelfe tyme Conſtantine gouerned Fraunce and the weaſt partes of the Empire, Maxentius helde Italy, Affrike, and Egypte: And Maximinus whyche lykewyſe had bene elected Ceſar, ruled the Eaſt partes, and Licinius Illyrium and Grecia.

icinius choſen ovv vvith aximinus the empire.

But ſhortly after, the Emperoure Conſtantine ioyned in league with Licinius, and gaue to him his ſiſter in marriage, named Conſtantia, for more ſuretie of faithfull friendſhip to endure betwixt them. He ſent him alſo againſt Maximinus, who gouerning in the Eaſt parte of the Empire, purpoſed the deſtruction of Conſtantine and all his partakers: but being vanquiſhed by Licinius at Tarſus, he ſhortly after dyed, being eaten with lice. Conſtantine after this, was called into Italy to deliuer the Romaynes and Italians from the tyrannie of Maxentius, whiche occaſion ſo offered, Conſtantine gladly accepting, paſſed into Italy, and after certaine victories gote againſte Maxentius, at length ſlewe him. And after this, when Maximinus was dead, whiche prepared to make warre againſte Licinius, that hadde married Conſtantia, the ſiſter of Conſtantine, hee finally made warre againſt his brother in lawe the ſayde Licinius, by reaſon of ſuche quarrels as fell out betwixt thē: In the whiche warre, Licinius was putte to the worſe, and at length comming into the handes of Conſtantine, was put to deathe, ſo that Conſtantine by this meanes gote the whole Empire vnder his rule and ſubiection. Hee was a greate fauorer of the Chriſtian Religion, in ſomuche that to aduance the ſame, hee tooke order for the conuerting of the Temples dedicated in the honors of Idols, vnto the ſeruice of the true and Almightie God. Hee commaunded alſo, that none ſhould be admitted to ſerue as a Souldiour in the warres, excepte hee were a Chriſtian, nor yet to haue rule of any countrey or armie. Hee alſo ordeyned, the weeke before Eaſter, and that whiche folowed, to be kept as holy, and no perſon to doe any bodily workes during the ſame.

Chriſtians honoured & cheriſhed.

He was muche counſailed by that noble & moſt vertuous ladie his mother, the Empreſſe Helene, the whiche being a godly and deuoute woman, did what in hir laye, to moue him to the ſetting forth of Gods honour and encreaſe of the chriſtian faith, wherein as yet he was not fully inſtructed.

Polydore.

The prayſe of the Empreſſe Helena.

Some writers alledge, that ſhe beeing at Ieruſalem, made diligent ſearche to finde out the place of the Sepulchre of our Lorde, and at length founde it, thoughe with muche adoe: for the infidels had ſtopped it vp, and couered it with a heape of filthie earth, and buylded alofte vpon the place, a chappell dedicated to Venus, where yong women vſed to ſing ſonges in honoure of that vnchaſte Goddeſſe. Helene cauſed the ſame to be ouerthrowne, and the earth to be remoued, and the place clenſed, ſo that at length the ſepulchre appeared, and faſt by were founde there buried in the earth .iij. croſſes and the nailes, but the croſſe wherevpon our Sauiour was crucifyed,

310.

The Croſſe founde.

was known by the title written vpon it, though almoſt worne out, in letters of Hebrew, greke, and Latine: the inſcription was this: *Ieſus Nazarenus rex Iudeorum.* It was alſo perceyued which was that Croſſe by a miracle, (as it is reported, but how truly I can not tell), that ſhuld be wrought thereby: For being layde to a ſicke woman, only with the touching therof, ſhe was healed. It was alſo ſayde, that a dead man was rayſed from death to lyfe, his bodie onely being touched therwith. Wherupon Conſtantine moued with theſe things, forbade that from thenceforth any ſhould be put to death on the Croſſe, to the ende that the thing which afore tyme was accompted infamous and reprochefull, myghte nowe be had in honour and reuerence.

Polidorus.

Polidorus.

The Empreſſe Helen hauing thus found the Croſſe, buylded a temple there, and taking wyth hir the nayles, returned with the ſame to hir ſon Conſtantine, who ſet one of them in the creſt of his helmet, an other in the brydell of his horſſe, and the thirde he caſt into the ſea, to aſſuage and pacifie the furious tempeſtes and rage therof. She alſo brought with hir a parcell of that holy Croſſe, and gaue it to hir ſonne the ſayd Conſtantine, the whiche he cauſed to be cloſed within an Image that repreſented his perſon, ſtanding vppon a piller in the market place of Conſtantine, (or as ſome late writers haue) he cauſed it to be encloſed in a coffer of golde, adorned with ryche ſtones and Pearles, placing it in a Churche called Seſſoriana, the which church he endued with many great giftes and precious ornamentes.

Many workes of greate zeale and vertue are remembred by writers to haue bin done by thys Conſtantine and his mother Helene, to the ſetting forth of Gods glorie, and the aduauncing of the faith of Chriſte.

The commendation of Conſtantine.

But to be briefe, he was a manne in whome many excellent vertues and good qualities bothe of mynde and bodie manifeſtly appeared, chiefly he was a prince of great knowledge and experience in warre, and therewith verie fortunate, an earneſt louer of iuſtice, and to conclude, borne to all honour.

But nowe to ſpeake ſomewhat of the ſtate of Britayne in his tyme, ye ſhall vnderſtande, that as before is recorded, at his going ouer into into Fraunce, after that he was proclaimed emperour, he lefte behynde hym in Britayne certayne gouernours to rule the land, and amongſt other one Maximinus a right valiãt captayne. He tooke with him a great part of the youth of Britayn, & diuers of the chiefe men amongſt the Nobilitie, in whoſe approued manhode, loyaltie and conſtancie, he conceyued a great hope to goe through with al his enterpriſes, as with ye which being accompanied and compaſſed about, he paſſed ouer into Gallia, entred into Italye, and in euery place ouercame his enimies.

VVilhelmus Malmeſ.

Britaynes ſeruing in the vvarres vnder Conſtantine.

Ther be that write how that Conſtantin thus conueying ouer the ſea with him a great armye of Britons, by whoſe induſtrie obteyning victories as he wiſhed, hee placed a greate number of ſuche as were diſcharged out of wages, and licenced to giue ouer the warre, in a parte of Gallia towardes the Weaſt ſea coaſt, where theyr poſteritie remayn vnto this daye, meruailouſly encreaſed afterwardes, and ſomewhat differyng from our Britons, the Welchmen, in manners and language.

Galfridus.

Mat. VVeſt.

Amongſt thoſe noble men which he took with him when he departed out of this lande (as oure writers do teſtifie, were. iii. vncles of his mother Helene, that is to witte, Hoelmus, Traherus, & Marius, whom he made Senators of Rome.

Octauius.

Caxton.

Gevviſſes inhabited the countrey vvhiche the VVeſt Saxons after helde.

The name Gevviſſes came in vvith the Saxons of Gouy &c.

In the meane tyme that Conſtantine had obteyned and ruled the whole empire, Britain as it were hauing recouered libertie, in that one of hir children being her king, had got the gouernment of the whole earthe, remayned in better quiete than afore time ſhe had done: but yet in the mean ſeaſon, if we ſhall credite the Britiſhe Chronicle and Geffrey of Monmouth the interpreter thereof, There was a Britiſh lord, named Octauius or Octauian, as the olde Engliſhe Chronicle nameth hym, that was Duke of the Gewiſſes, and appoynted by Conſtantine to be ruler of the lande in his abſence, the whiche Octauius (after that Conſtantine had recouered Rome, and Italy, and was ſo buſied in the affaires of the empire in thoſe parts, that as was thought, he could not returne backe into Britayn,) ſeyſed into his handes the whole dominion of Britayne, and held himſelfe for king.

Octauius.

Octauius.

Galfridus.

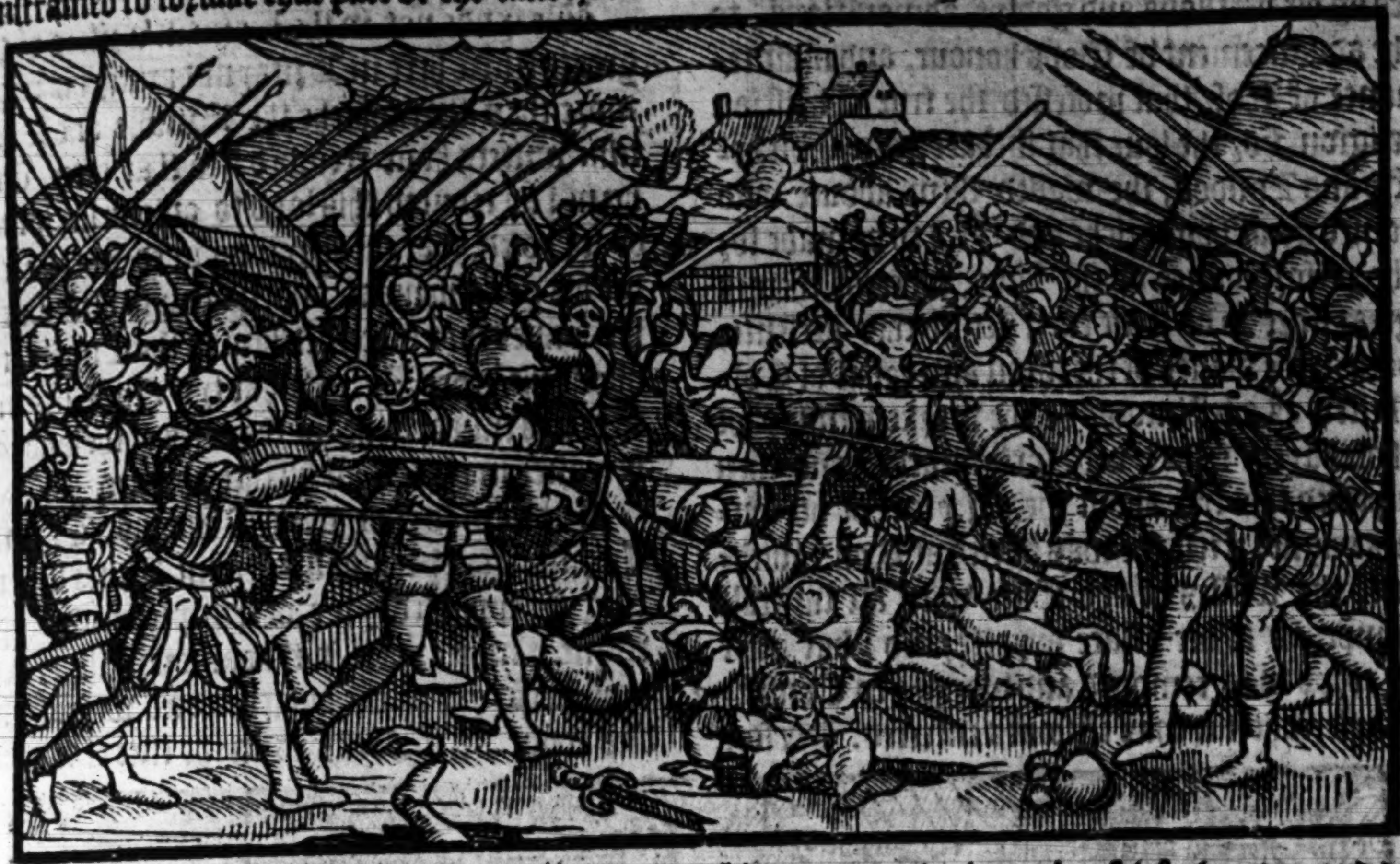
329

Fabian.

Galfridus.

This Octauius then beginning his reigne ouer the Britons in the yeare of our Lorde, 329. prouoked Conſtantine to ſend agaynſt him one of his mothers vncles, the foreſayd Traherus. This Traherus, or as ſome name him Traherne, entred this lande with three Legions of ſouldiours, and in a fielde neere vnto Wincheſter, was encountred by Octauius and his Britons his agreeth ot altogether ith that which Hector oetius vvriteth, as in the cottiſh Chronicle appereth.

tons, by whome after a ſore battayle there ſtriken betwixte them, in the ende Traherne was put to flight and chaſed, in ſomuche that he was conſtrained to forſake that part of the lande, and to drawe towardes Scotlande.



Octauius hauing knowledge of his paſſage, followed him, and in the countrey of Weſtmerlande eftſoones gaue him battaile, but in that battayle, Octauius was put to the worſſe, and conſtrayned to forſake the lande, fled into Norway, there to purchaſe ayde: and being redy with ſuch power as he there gathered, what of Britons and Norweygians, to returne into Britayn. Before his landing, he was aduertiſed, that an Earle of Britayne whiche bare him heartie good will, had by treaſon ſlayne Traherne. Octauius then cõming to lande, eftſoones got poſſeſſion of Britayne, whiche ſhould be as Fabian gathereth) about the yeere of our Lorde. 329. in the. 20. yeere of the reigne of the Emperour Conſtantine, and about two yeares after that the ſayd Octauius firſt toke vpon him as king.

raherne ſlain. ee in the ſcot Chronicles ore of theſe atters.

Mat. VVeſt. ath. 316.

After this, (as the Britiſhe Chronicle affirmeth) Octauius gouerneth the lande right nobly and greatly to the contentation of the Brytons. At length when he was fallen in age, and had no iſſue but one daughter, he was coũſayled to ſend vnto Rome for one Maximianus, a noble yong man, couſin to the Emperour Conſtantine, on the part of his mother Helene, to come into Britayne, and to take to wyfe the ſaide daughter of Octauius, and ſo with hir to haue the kingdome.

Maximianus is ent for.

Octauius at the firſt mente to haue giuen hir in mariage vnto one Conan Meridoc Duke of Cornewall, whiche was his nephue: but when the Lordes would not therto agree, at length he apointed one Maurice ſonne to the foreſaid Conan to goe vnto Rome to fetche the forenamed Maximian. Maurice according to his commiſſion & inſtructions in that behalf receyued, came to Rome, and declared his meſſage in ſuch effectuall ſorte, that Maximianus conſented to go with him into Britayne, and ſo taking with him a conuenient number ſet forwarde, and did ſo muche by his iourneys, that finally he landed here in Britayn, and notwithſtanding that Conan Meridock paſt not much to haue bin doing with him, for malice that he conceyued towards him, bicauſe he ſaw that by his meanes he ſhuld be put beſide the crowne, yet at length was Maximianus ſafely brought to the kinges preſence, and of him honourably receyued, and finally the mariage was knitte vp, and ſolemniſed in all princely maner.

onan Meri. ot duke of ornevvall.

his agreeth with that hich is found the Scottiſh ronicle.

Maximianus commeth into Britayne.

Shortly after, Octauius departed out of this lyfe, after he had reigned the terme of fyftie and foure yeares, as Fabian gathereth by that that diuers authors doe write, howe he reigned till the dayes that Gratian and Valentinian ruled the Romaine Empire, whiche began to gouerne in the yeare of our Lord (as he ſayth) 382. which is to bee vnderſtoode of Gratian his reigne after the deceaſe of his vncle Valens, for otherwyſe a doubt may ryſe, bicauſe that Valentine the father of Gratian admitted the ſayde Gratian to the title of Auguſtus in the yeare of our Lorde CCClxxj.

Octauius departeth this life

382.

But to leaue the credite of the long reigne of Octauius, with all his and others gouernement and rule ouer the Britains ſith the time of Conſtantius, vnto our Britiſhe and Scottiſh wryters, lette vs make an ende with the Gouernement of that noble Emperour Conſtantine, an aſſured braunche of the Britons race, as borne of that worthie Ladye the Empreſſe Helene, daughter to Coell Earle of Colcheſter, and after king of Britayn (as our hiſtories doe witneſſe. Vnto the whiche Empreſſe Conſtantine

bare

Hariſon.

Nicephorus.
The Empreſſe Helene departeth this lyfe

bare ſuche dutifull reuerence, that he did not only honour hir with the name of Empreſſe, but alſo made hir as it were partaker with him of all his wealth, and in many things was led and ruled by hir vertuous and godlye admonitions, to the aduancement of Gods honour, and maintenance of thoſe that profeſſed the true Chriſtian religion. For the loue that ſhe bare vnto Colcheſter and London, ſhe walled them aboute, and cauſed great huge bricke and tyles to be made for the performaunce of the ſame, wherof there is great ſtore to be ſeene euen yet to this preſente, both in the walles of the town and caſtel of Colcheſter, as a teſtimonie of the workemanſhip of thoſe dayes. She lyued. lxxix. yeares, and then departed this lyfe about the. xxj. yeare of hir ſonnes reigne. Firſt ſhe was buried at Rome withoute the walles of the Citie with all funerall pompe, as to hir eſtate appertayned: but after hir corps was remoued and brought to Conſtātinople, where it was eftſoones enterred. Hir ſon the Emperour Conſtantine lyued tyll about the yeare of Chriſte. 340. and then deceaſſed at Nicomedia in Aſia, after he had ruled the Empire xxxj. yeares and odde monethes.

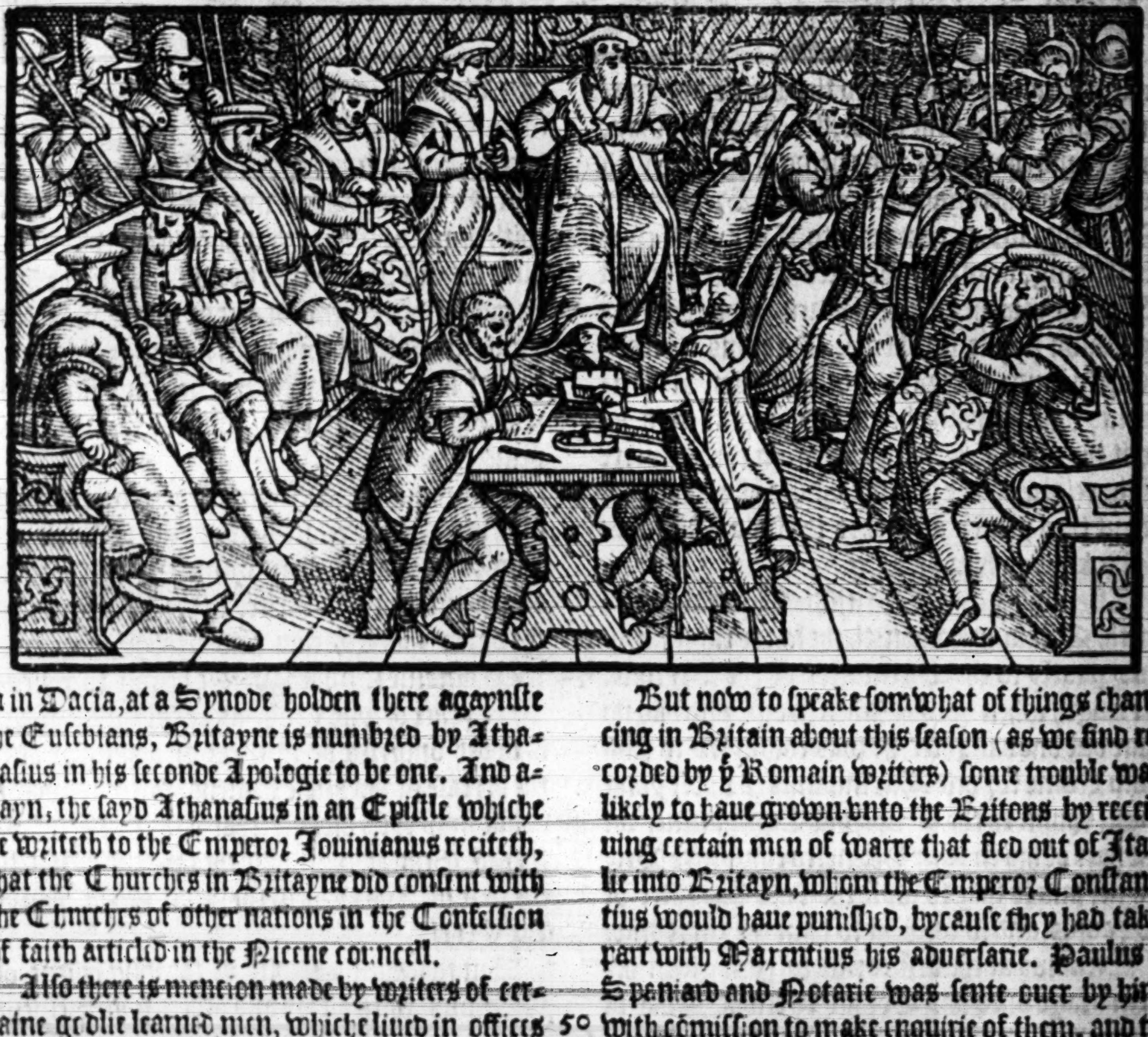
341.
The deceſe
of the Empe-
ror Con

We fynde not in the Romain writers of any greate ſturre here in Britayne during his reigne more than that whiche the Britiſhe and Scottiſhe writers haue recorded: ſo that after Traherne had reduced this land to quietneſſe, it may be ſuppoſed, that the Brytons liued in reſte vnder his gouernement, and lykewyſe after vnder his ſonnes that ſucceeded him in the Empire, till about the yeare. 360. at what tyme the Picts and Scottes inuaded the ſouth partes of the land, as hereafter in place ſhall further appeare.

360.
Hariſon.

But now to ende with Octauius. That the Chriſtian faith remayned ſtill in Britayne, during the ſuppoſed tyme of this pretenced kings reigne, it may appere in that amongſt the xxxvj. prouinces, out of the whiche there were aſſembled aboue. iij. C. Biſhops in the citie of Sardica in Dacia, at a Synode holden there agaynſte the Euſebians, Britayne is numbred by Athanaſius in his ſeconde Apologie to be one. And agayn, the ſayd Athanaſius in an Epiſtle whiche he writeth to the Emperor Iouinianus reciteth, that the Churches in Britayne did conſent with the Churches of other nations in the Confeſſion of faith articled in the Nicene councell.

Synodus
an. 351.



Alſo there is mention made by writers of certaine godlie learned men, whiche liued in offices in the Churche in theſe dayes, as Reſtitutus biſhop of London, whiche wente ouer to the Synode holdē at Arles in France, and alſo one Kybius Corinnius that was ſon to Salomon duke of Cornwall, and biſhop of Angleſey, and inſtructed the people whiche inhabited in the partes now called Northwales, and them of Angleſey aforeſayd verie diligently,

But now to ſpeake ſomwhat of things chancing in Britain about this ſeaſon (as we find recorded by yͤ Romain writers) ſome trouble was likely to haue grown vnto the Britons by receiuing certain men of warre that fled out of Italie into Britayn, whom the Emperor Conſtantius would haue puniſhed, bycauſe they had takē part with Marcentius his aduerſarie. Paulus a Spaniard and Notarie was ſente ouer by him with cōmiſſion to make enquirie of them, and to ſee them brought to light to anſwer their tranſgreſſions: which Paulus began to deale roughly in the matter, wherof he was called Catera, and to rage againſt the Britons and partakers with the fugitiues, in that they had receiued & mayntayned them, as he alledged: but in the end being certified by Martinus the lieutenant of their innocencie, and fearing leaſt his extreme rigour

might

Marcellin
lib. 14.
Paulus a Nota-
rie.

Martinus lieutenant.

might alienate the heartes of the inhabitantes altogither, and didde cauſe them to withdrawe their obedience from the Romaine Empire, hee tourned the execution of hys furie from them vnto the Romaines, and made hauocke of thoſe whiche he ſuſpected, till the ſaid Martinus fell at ſquare with him, and thinking on a tyme to kill him, he drew his ſword & ſmote at him, but ſuch was his age & weakenes, ÿ he was not able to kill or giue him any deadly wound: wherfore he turned ÿ point of his ſword againſt himſelf, & ſo ended his life, being contented rather to die than ſee his countreymen & ſubiects of the empire ſo to be abuſed. After this, the ſaid Paulus returned backe again into Italy frõ whẽce he came, after whoſe departure, it was not long ere he alſo was ſlain, and then al the Scots & Picts ſore diſquieted the Romain ſubiects, for the ſuppreſſing of whoſe attempts Lupicinus was ſent ouer out of Gallia by Iulianus, as ſhal be declared out of Ammianus Marcellinus, after wee haue firſte ſhewed what we find written in our owne writers concerning the Scots & Pictes, who nowe began to robbe & ſpoile the Britiſh inhabitants within the Romain prouinces here in this yle, & that euen in moſt outragious maner.

Maximianus, or rather Maximus.

Maximianus, or Maximus.

383.

AFter the deceaſe of Octauius or Octauiã (as the old Engliſh chronicle nameth him) Maximianus or Maximus, as the Romain writers name him begã to rule the Britõs in ÿ yere of our Lord. 383. he was ÿ ſon of one Leonine, & couſin germain to Conſtantine the great, a valiant perſonage, & hardie of ſtomacke: but yet bicauſe he was cruell of nature, (and as Fabian ſaith) ſomwhat perſecuted the chriſtians, he was infamed by writers; but the chief cauſe that he was euil reported, was for that he ſlew his ſoueraign Lord, the emperor Gratianus, as after ſhall appeare, for otherwiſe he is ſuppoſed worthie to haue hadde the rule of the empire cõmitted to his handes in eche reſpect.

Betwixte him and the abouenamed Conan Meridoc duke of Cornwall, chaunced ſtrife and debate, ſo that Conan got him into Scotlande, and there purchaſing ayde, returned, and cõming ouer Humber, waſted the countrey on eche ſide. Maximianus therof hauing aduertiſement, reyſed his power and went againſt him, and ſo fighting with him diuers batayles, ſometime departed away with victorie, and ſomtime with loſſe. At length through mediation of frends, a peace was accorded betwixt thẽ. Finally this Maximianus, or as the Romaine hiſtories haue, Maximus, was by the ſouldiours choſen and proclaimed Emperour here in Britayne: although ſome write, that this was done in Spayne.

Galfr. Mon.
Fabian.
Caxton.
Mat. VVeſt.

The Britiſhe youth led forth of the realme by Maximianus.

After he had taken vpon him the imperiall dignitie, vpon deſire to haue enlarged his dominions, hee aſſembled togyther all the choſen youth of thys lande meete to doo ſeruice in the warres, with the whiche hee paſſed ouer into Fraunce, and there (as our writers recorde) he firſt ſubdued the countrey auncientlye called Armorica, & ſlew in bataile the king therof called Imball. This done he gaue ÿ country vnto Conan Meridock, the whiche was there with hym, to hold the ſame of him, & of the kings of great Britayne for euer. He alſo commaunded that the ſayde countrey from thenceforth ſhould be called *Little Britaine*, and ſo was the name changed. What people ſo euer inhabited there before, the ancient name argueth that they were rather Britons than any other: for *Armorica* in the Britiſhe tong ſignifieth as muche as a countrey lying vpon the ſea.

Britayne in France.

Conan then placing himſelf and his Britons in ÿ quarter of Gallia, auoyded all the old inhabitãts, peopling ÿ cõtry only wͭ Britõs, which abhorring to ioyn themſelues with women born in Gallia, Conan was counſailed to ſende into Britayn for maydes to be coupled with his people in mariage. Herevpon a meſſenger was diſpatched vnto Dionethus at that tyme Duke of Cornewal & gouernor of Britayn vnder Maximianus, requiring him to ſende ouer into little Britaine. xj. thouſand maydes, that is to witte, viij. M. to be beſtowed vpon the meaner ſorte of Conans people, and. iij. thouſand to be ioyned in mariage with the nobles and Gentlemen. Dionethus to ſatiſfie the Conans requeſt, aſſembled the appoynted number of maydes, and amongſt them, he alſo appointed his daughter *Vrſula*, a lady of excellẽt beautie, to go ouer to be giuen in mariage vnto the forſayd Conan Meridock, as he had earneſtly requeſted.

Dionethus duke of Cornvvall.

Maydes ſente foorth

Theſe number of maydes were ſhipped in Thames, and paſſing forwarde toward Britayne, were by force of wether and rage of winde ſcattered abrode, and part of them drowned, & the reſidue (amongſt whom was the forſayd Vrſula) were ſlayn by Guanius king of the Hunnes, and Melga king of the Picts, into whoſe hands they fell, the which Guanius and Melga were ſent by the emperor Gratian to the ſea coaſts of Germanye, to oppreſſe & ſubdue all ſuch as were frendes & maynteyners of the part of Maximus.

Vrſula the daughter of Dionethus.

We fynde in ſome bokes that there were ſent ouer at that tyme. lj. M. maydes, that is to ſay, xj M. of Gentlewomen, and. xl. M. of others.

After that Guanius and Melga had murthered the forſayd Virgins, they entred into the

Guanius and Melga.

north partes of Britayn; where the Scots now inhabite, and beganne to make ſore warre on the Britons, whereof when Maximus was aduertiſed, hee ſente into Britayne one Gratianus, with three Legions of Souldiours, the whiche bare himſelf ſo manfully againſt the enimies, that he conſtrayned the ſaid Guanius and Melga to flee out of the land, and to withdraw into Irelande.

In this meane while, Maximus hauing ſlain the Emperour Gratian at Lyon in France, and after entring into Italy, was ſlain himſelf at Aquileia, (after he had gouerned the Britons eight yeares) by the Emperour Theodoſius, whiche came in ayde of Ualentinian, brother to the ſaid Emperor Gratian, as in the Abridgement of the hiſtories of Italy ye may fynde recorded.

Conſobrinus. Helenæ imperatricis.

Gildas.

But heere yet before wee make an ende with this Maximus or Maximianus, I haue thoughte good to ſet downe the wordes whiche wee fynde in Gildas, where he writeth of the ſame Maximus, vndoubtedly a Briton born, nephew to the empreſſe Helena, and begot by a Romain. At length (ſayth Gildas) the ſpring of Tyrants budding vp, and nowe increaſing into an huge woodde, the Iſle being called after the name of Rome: but holding neyther maners nor lawes according to that name, but rather caſtyng the ſame from it, ſendeth forthe a braunche of hir moſt bitter planting, to witte Maximus, accompanied with a great number of warriors to gard him, and apparelled in the imperiall robes, which he neuer ware as became him, nor put them on in lawful wiſe, but (after the cuſtome of tyrants) was put into them by the mutening ſouldiours: whiche Maximus at the firſt by a craftie policie rather than by true manhood winding in (as nets of his periurie and falſe ſuggeſtion) vnto his wicked gouernement, the countreys and prouinces next adioyning, gainſte the Imperiall ſtate of Rome, ſtretching one of his wings into Spayn, & the other into Italy, placed the throne of his moſte vniuſt empire at Trier, and ſhewed ſuche rage in his woodde dealing agaynſt his ſoueraine lordes, that the one of the lawfull Emperors he expulſed forth of Rome, and the other hee berefte of his moſte religious and godly lyfe. And without long tariance, compaſſed aboute with ſuche a furious and bolde garde as he hadde got together, at the Citie of Aquileia hee loſeth his wicked head, whiche had caſt downe the moſte honourable heades of all the worlde from theyr kingdome and Empire.

Scotorum a Circio. Pi ab aquilone.

From thenceforth Britayne being depriued of all hir warlyke ſouldiours and armies, of hir gouernours alſo, though cruell, and of an huge number of hir youthe (the whiche following the ſteppes of the foreſayde tyraunt, neuer retourned home agayne, ſuche as remayned beyng vtterly vnſkilfull in feates of warre, were trodden downe by two nations of beyonde the ſeas, the Scots from the Weaſt, and the Pictes from the North. And as men thus quite diſmayed, lamente their myſerable caſe, not knowing what elſe to doe for the ſpace of manye yeares togyther. By reaſon of whoſe greeuous inuaſion and cruell oppreſſion wherewith ſhe was miſerably diſquieted, ſhe ſendeth hir Ambaſſadours vnto Rome, makyng lamentable ſute, euen with teares to haue ſome power of men of warre ſent to defend hir againſt the enimies, promiſing to be true ſubiects with all faithfulneſſe of mynd, if the enimie might be kept off and remoued.

Thus farre Gildas and more, as in place hereafter ye ſhall fynde recited.

Sextus Aurelius.

But nowe where the Britiſhe hiſtories, and ſuche of our Engliſhe writers as followe them, make mention of one Gratianus a Romayne ſente ouer with three Legions of ſouldiours by Maximus, as before ye haue hearde: We may ſuppoſe that it was Gratianus the Briton, that afterwardes vſurped the imperial dignitie here in Britayn, in the days of the emperor Honorius: for it ſtandeth neyther with the concurrence of tyme, nor yet with reaſon of the hiſtorie, that it ſhould be Gratianus, ſurnamed Funarius, father to Ualentinian, and grandfather to the Emperour Gratianus, agaynſt whome Maximus rebelled. And yet I remember not that any of the Romayn writers maketh mention of any other Gratianus, beyng a ſtraunger, that ſhould be ſent hither as lieutenant to gouerne the Romain armie, except of the foreſayd Gratianus Funarius, who as appeareth by Am. Marcellinus was general of yͤ Romain army here in this yle, and at lengthe being diſcharged, returned home (into Hungarie, were he was borne) with honour, and there remayning in reſt, was at length ſpoyled of his goodes by the Emperoure Conſtantius as confiſcate, for that in tyme of the ciuill warres, he had receyued Magnentius, as he paſt through his countrey.

Lib. 30.

But lette vs graunte, that eyther Gratianus the Briton, or ſome other of that name, was ſente ouer into Britayne (as before is ſayd) by Maximus, leaſt otherwyſe ſome errour maye bee doubted in the writers of the Britiſh hiſtories, as hauyng haply myſtaken the tyme, and matter, bringing Gratianus Funarius to ſerue vnder Maximus, where peraduenture that whiche they haue redde or hearde of hym, chaunced long before that tyme by them ſuppoſed: And ſo thorough myſtaking the thyng. haue made a wrong reporte, where neuertheleſſe it ſtandeth with greate lykelyhoode of trouthe, that ſome notable ſeruice of Chyualrie was atchieued by the

the ſame Gratianus Funarius whileſt he remayned heere in this Iſle, if yͤ troth might be knowē of that whiche hathe bin written by authors, and happily by the ſame Am. Marcellinus, if his firſt thirteene Bookes might once come to lighte and be extãt. But now to end with Maximus. William of Malmeſburie (as yee haue hearde) writeth, that not Maximus, but rather Conſtantine the Great firſte peopled Armorica: but yet hee agreeth, that both Maximus, and alſo Conſtantinus the vſurper, of whome after yee ſhall heare, ledde with them a great number of the Britaines out of this lande, the which Maximus or Maximianus and Conſtantinus afterwardes beeyng ſlayne, the one by Theodoſius, and the other by Honorius, the Britaynes that followed them to the warres, parte of them were killed, and the reſidue eſcaping by flighte, withdrewe vnto the other Britaynes whiche Conſtantine the Greate had firſt placed in Armorica. And ſo when the Tyrantes had left none in the countrey but rude people, nor any in the Townes but ſuch as were giuen to ſlouth and glutony, Britayne beeyng voyde of all ayde of hir valiant youth, became a pray to hir next neyghbors the Scottes & Pictes.

Here is yet to bee conſidered in what price the Souldiers of the Brittiſh nation were hadde in thoſe dayes, with whoſe onely puiſſance Maximus durſt take vpon him to goe againſt all other the forces of the whole Romayne Empire: and how he proſpered in that daungerous aduenture, it is expreſſed ſufficiently in the Romayne Hiſtories, by whoſe report it appeareth, that hee dyd not only conquere all the hither partes of France and Germany, namely on this ſide the Rhine, but alſo founde meanes to entrappe the Emperoure Gratian by this kind of policie. He had a faithfull friend called Andragatius, who was Admirall of the Seas perteyning to the Empire. It was therefore agreed betwixte them, that this Andragatius (with a choſen company of the army) ſhould be carried in ſecret wiſe in a coch towardes Lions, as if it hadde bin Conſtantia Poſthumia the Empreſſe, wife to the Emperoure Gratian, bruting abrode therewithall, that the ſayd Empreſſe was comming forwardes on hir way to Lions, there to meete with hir huſbande, for that vpõ occaſion ſhe was very deſirous to commune with him about certayne earneſt buſineſſe.

liam Har-
ſon out of
lus Diaco.
12. & alijs.

parti. hiſt.
9. cap. 21.

When Gracian hearde heereof, as one miſtruſting no ſuche diſſimulation, he made haſt to meete his wife, and comming at length without any great gard about hym, as one not in doubte of any treaſon, approched the coche, where ſuppoſing to find his wife, he found thoſe that ſtraightwayes murthered him: and ſo was hee there diſpatched out of life by the ſayd Andragatius, who leapte forthe of the coche to worke that feate when he had him once within his daunger.

Thus did the Emperoure Gracian finiſh hys life in the. 29. yeare of his age, on the. 25. of Auguſt, in the yeare of Chriſt. 383. and then dyed. Maximus ſucceded him (making his ſonne Flauius Victor Nobiliſſimus aſſiſtante with hym in the Empire) raigning fiue yeares and two dayes. In the beginning of his raigne Valentinian the yonger made great ſuite to him to haue his fathers body, but it woulde not be graunted. Afterwardes alſo Maximus was earneſtly requeſted to come to an enterviewe with the ſame Valentinian, who promiſed him not only a ſafe conduct, but alſo many other beneficiall good turnes beſyde. Yet Maximus durſt not putte himſelfe in any ſuch hazard, but rather meant to purſue Valentinian as an vſurper, and ſo at length chaſed hym into Slauonie, where he was driuen to ſuch a ſtreight, that if Theodoſius had not come to releeue him, Maximus hadde driuen him thence alſo, or elſe by ſlaughter ridde hym out of the way. But when Maximus thoughte himſelfe moſt aſſured, and ſo eſtabliſhed in the Empire, as hee doubted no perils, hee liued careleſſe of his owne ſafegard, and therefore diſmiſſed hys Brittiſhe Souldiers, who retiring into the Northweſt partes of Gallia, placed themſelues there among theyr countreymen whiche were broughte ouer by the Emperoure Conſtantius, whileſt Maximus paſſing the reſidue of hys time in delites and pleaſures, was ſurpriſed in the ende and ſlayne by Theodoſius neere vnto Aquileia the. 27. of Auguſt in the yeare of grace 388. and in the beginning of the ſixth yeare of hys raigne, or rather vſurpation, as more rightly it may be tearmed.

383

This Flauius Victor he begate of his wife Helena the daughter of Eudes. *H. Llhuyd.*

Valentinian put in danger by Maximus.

VV. Hariſon.

Eutropius.

388

His ſonne Flauius Victor ſurnamed Nobiliſſimus was alſo diſpatched and brought to hys ende, not farre from the place where his father was ſlayne, by the practiſe of one Arbogaſtes a Goth, whiche Flauius Victor was by the ſayde Maximus made Regente of the Frankeyners, and partaker (as before is ſayde) with him in the Empire.

Arbogaſtes.

After this, the Iſle of Britayne remayned in meetely good quiet by the ſpace of twentie yeares, till one Marcus (that was then Legate or as we may call him Lorde Lieutenante or deputie of Britayne for the Romaynes) was by the Souldiers heere proclaymed Emperour againſt Honorius, whiche Marcus was ſoone after killed in a tumult rayſed among the people within few dayes after his begunne vſurpation.

Then one Gracianus a Britaine borne, ſucceeded in his place, who was alſo ſlayne in the fourth moneth after he had taken vppon hym the imperiall ornamentes.

Gracianus a Britayne. He raigned four yeares if we ſhall beleeue the Brittiſh hiſtorie.

The Souldiers not yet herewith pacifyed, proceeded to the election of an other Emperoure, or rather vſurper, and ſo pronounced a noble Gentleman called Conſtantine, borne alſo in Britayne, to be Emperoure, who tooke that honour vpon him in the.409.yeare after the birth of our Sauiour, continuing his raigne by the ſpace of two yeares and odde monethes, as the Romayne hiſtories make mention. Some reporte this Conſtantine to be of no great towardly diſpoſition worthy to gouerne an Empire, and that the Souldiers choſe him rather for the names ſake, bycauſe they would haue another Conſtantine, more than for anye vertues or ſufficiente qualities found in his perſon. But other cōmēd him, both for manhoode and wiſedome, wherein to ſpeake a troth, hee deſerued ſingular commendation, if this one note of vſurpation of the Imperiall dignitie had not ſtayned his other noble qualities. But heerein he did no more than many other woulde haue done, neyther yet after his inueſture he did ſo muche as was looked for at hys handes. Beeyng placed in the Imperial throne, he gathereth an army with all poſſible endeuour, purpoſing out of hande to goe ouer therewith into France, and ſo did, thinking thereby to winne the poſſeſſion of that countrey out of the handes of Honorius, or at the leaſt to worke ſo as hee ſhoulde not haue the Souldiers and people there to be againſt him if he miſſed to ioyne in league with the Suabeyners, Alanes, and Vandales, which he ſought to performe: but in the ende, whē neyther of theſe his deuiſes coulde take place, hee ſendeth ouer for his ſonne Conſtans, (whome in his abſēce his aduerſaries had ſhorn a Monke) and making him partaker with him in the Empire, hee cauſed him to bring ouer with him another army. whiche vnder the conduct of the ſame Conſtans hee ſente into Spayne to bring that countrey vnder his obeyſance. This Conſtans therefore comming vnto the paſſages that leade ouer the Pyrenine Mountaynes, Dindimus and Verianianus two brethren, vnto whom the keeping of thoſe paſſages was committed to defende the ſame againſte the Vandalles and all other enemies of the Empire, were ready to reſiſt hym with their ſeruants and countreymen that inhabited thereaboutes, giuing him a right ſharpe encounter, and at the firſt putting him in great danger of an ouerthrow, but yet at length by the valiant prowes of his Brittiſhe Souldiers Conſtans put his aduerſaries to flighte, and killed the two Captaynes with diuers other men of name that were partakers with him in the neceſſary defence of the countrey againſt the enimies.

409

His Souldi
were Pictes
and placed a
mong othe
men of wa
that ſerued
vnder the e
ſignes of the
Empire, and
were name
after Honor
us, Honori-
ciaci.
Blondus.

When Conſtans had thus repulſed thoſe that reſiſted him, the cuſtodie of the paſſages in the Pirenine Mountaynes was committed vnto ſuche bandes of Pictes and other as were appoynted to to goe with him about the atchieuing of this enterpriſe, who hauing the poſſeſſiō of thoſe ſtreites or paſſages in their handes, gaue entrie vnto other barbarous nations to inuade Spayne, who being once entred, purſued the former inhabitants with fire and ſworde, ſettled themſelues in that cōutrey, and droue out the Romaines. The Emperor Honorius perceyuing the reeling ſtate of yͤ Empire, determined forthwith to recouer it before it fell altogither into ruine: & therefore he ſent one Conſtantius an Earle to driue Conſtantine out of Gallia, which he acordingly performed: for after certayne bickerings, he ſlew yͤ ſayd Conſtātine at Arles, although not without great bloudſhed. He purſued alſo yͤ reſidue of yͤ Britains, driuing thē to yͤ very Sea coaſts, where they ſhrouded thēſelues amōg the other Britayns, yͭ before wer ſettled in the countrey there, antiently called (as before we ſayd) Armorica, yͭ is, a region lying on yͤ ſea coaſt: for *Ar* in the Brittiſh tong ſignifieth vpon, & *Moure* perteining to the Sea. And as this Conſtantine yͤ father was ſlayn by Cōſtantius, ſo was Cōſtans yͤ ſon killed at Vienna by one of his owne Captaynes named Gerontius, wherby it came to paſſe, yͭ Honorius ſhortly after hauing thus obteined yͤ victory of both theſe vſurpers, Harriſon.

pers recouered the Iſle, but yet not till the yeare next following, and that by the high induſtrie & great diligence of that valiant Gentleman Earle Conſtantius. The ſlaughter of Conſtantine and his ſonne happed in the firſt yeare of the .297. Olympiade .465. after the comming of Ceſar .1162. after the building of Rome, the dominicall letter being A. and the golden number .13: ſo that the recouering of the Ilande fell in the yeare of oure Lord .411.

411

Heere alſo is eftſoones to bee conſidered the valure of the Brittiſhe Souldiers, who following this laſt remembred Conſtantine the vſurper, did put the Romayne ſtate in great daunger, and by force brake through into Spayne, vanquiſhing thoſe that kept the ſtreights of yͤ mountaynes betwixt Spayne and Gallia, nowe called France, an exployt of no ſmall conſequence, ſith thereby the number of Barbarous nations gote free paſſage to enter into Spayne, whereof enſued many battayles, ſackings of Cities and townes, and waſting of the countreys accordingly as the furious rage of thoſe fierce people was moued to put their crueltie in practiſe. If therefore the Britayne writers hadde conſidered and marked the valiant exploytes and noble enterpriſes which the Brittiſh aydes, armyes and legions atchieued in ſeruice of the Romayne Emperours (by whome whileſt they had the gouernement ouer thys Iſle, there were at ſundry times notable numbers cõueyed forth into the parties of beyonde the Seas, as by Albinus and Conſtantius, alſo by his ſonne Conſtantine the great, by Maximus, and by this Conſtantine, both of them vſurpers) if (I ſay) the Brittiſh writers had taken good note of the numbers of the Brittiſhe youth thus conueyed ouer from hence, and what notable exploytes they boldly attempted, and no leſſe manfully atchieued, they needed not to haue giuen eare vnto the fabulous reportes forged by their Bardes of Arthur and other their Princes worthy indeede of high cõmendation. And pitie it is, that theyr fame ſhoulde bee brought by ſuche meanes out of credite by the incredible and fonde fables whyche haue bin deuiſed of their actes ſo vnlike to be true, as the tales of Robin Hood, or the ieſtes written by Arioſt the Italian in his booke entituled *Orlando Furioſo*, ſith the ſame writers had otherwiſe true matter ynough to write of concernyng the worthy feates by their countreymen in thoſe dayes in forraine parties boldly enterpriſed and no leſſe valiantly accompliſhed, as alſo yͤ warres whiche nowe and then they maynteyned againſt the Romaynes here at home, in times whẽ they felte themſelues oppreſſed by their tyrannical gouernement, as by yͤ which is written before of Caratacus, Voadicia, Cartimãdua, Venuſius, Galgagus or Galdus (as ſome name him) and diuers other, who for their noble valiancies deſerue as much prayſe, as by tong or pen is able to be expreſſed. But nowe to returne vnto the Brittiſh hiſtorie: we will proceede in order with theyr Kings as wee fynde them in the ſame mentioned, and therefore we haue thought good to ſpeake ſomewhat further of Gracian from whome wee haue digreſſed.

Gracianus.

Gracianus.

GRacianus then (whõ Maximus or Maximianus had ſente into Britayne (as before ye haue heard) hearing that his maſter was ſlain, tooke vppon him the rule of this our Britaine, and made himſelfe King thereof in the yeare .390. Hee was a Britaine borne, as Polydore writeth, conſtruing ſo by that hee is named by Authors to be *Municeps*, that is to ſay, a free man of yͤ countrey or citie wher he inhabiteth. For his ſterneneſſe & rough manner of gouernement, he was of the Britaines (as the hiſtories alledge) ſlayne and diſpatched out of the way after he hadde raigned the ſpace of four yeares, or rather foure monethes, as ſhoulde ſeeme by that whiche is founde in autentike writers, and as Harriſon in his Chronologie hath ful well noted. Then the forenamed Kings Guanius and Melga, which (as ſome write were brethren) returned into thys lande with their armies encreaſed with newe ſupplyes of menne of warre, as Scottes, Danes, and Norwegians, and deſtroyed the countrey from ſide to ſyde. For the Britaynes in this ſeaſon were ſore enfeabled, and were not able to make anye greate numbers of Souldiers, by reaſon that Maximus hadde ledde forthe of the lande the floure and chiefeſt choice of all the Brittiſh youth into Gallia, as before ye haue hearde.

390

Of the Romayne Souldiers as Blondus hath.

Caxton.
Galfrid.

Galfrid.
Mat. VVeſt.
Caxton.

Gildas.

Gildas maketh no mention of theſe two Kings Guanius and Melga nor of the Hunnes, but rehearſing this great deſtruction of the lande, declareth (as before yee haue hearde,) that the Scottes and Pictes were the ſame that dyd all the miſchiefe, whome hee calleth two nations of beyonde the Seas, the Scottes comming out of the Northweſt, and the Pictes out of the Northeaſt, by whome (as hee ſayeth) the lande was ouerrunne, and broughte vnder foote manye yeeres after. Therefore the Britaines beeyng thus vexed, ſpoyled, and cruelly perſecuted

414

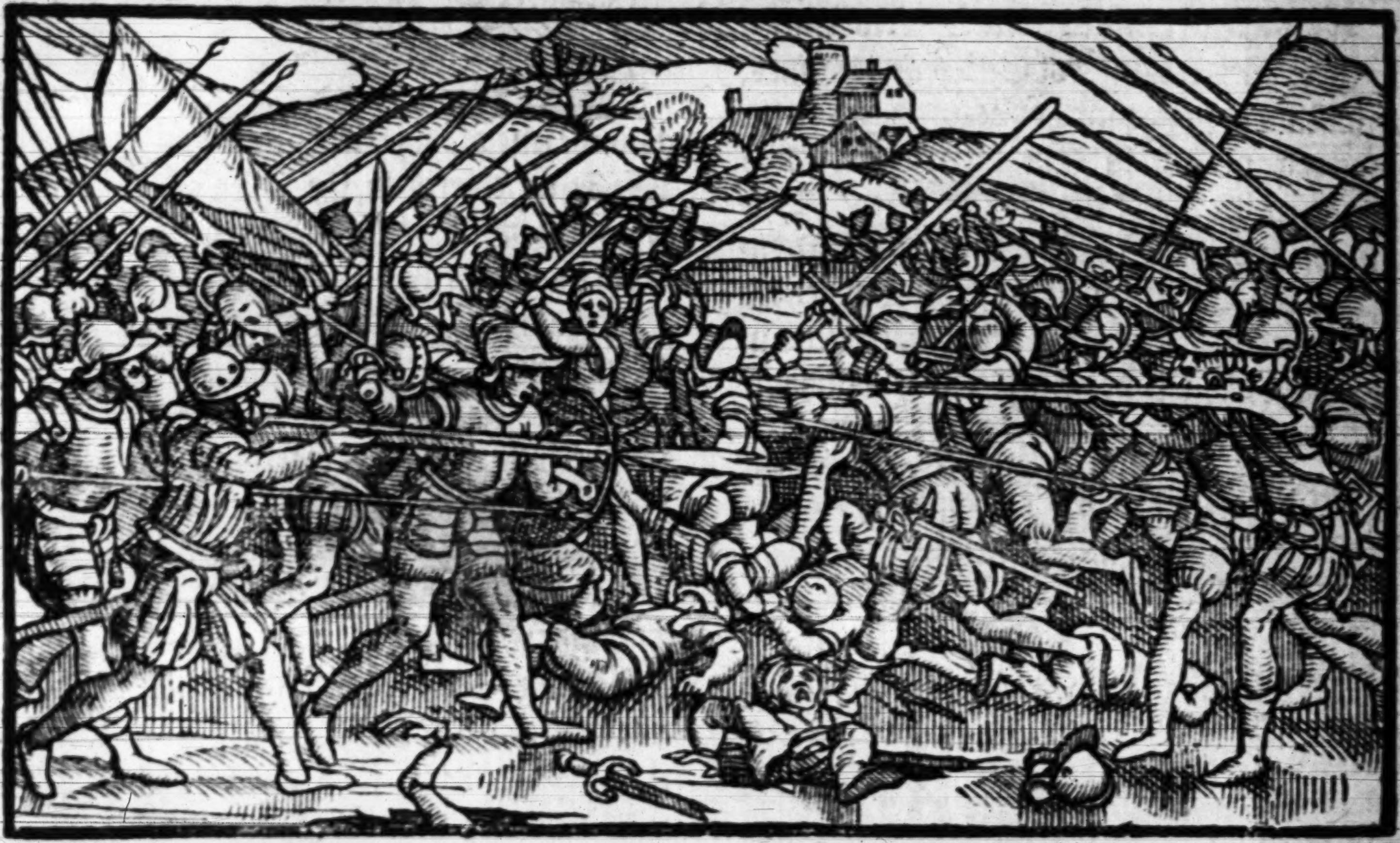
Beda & Policro.

Gildas. Policron. Beda. Mat. VVe

Blondus.

Gallio Rauēnas ſent into Britayne.

by the Scottes and Pictes (if wee ſhall ſo take them) ſente meſſengers with all ſpede vnto Rome to make ſuite for ſome ayde of menne of warre to bee ſente into Britayne: wherevpon immediately a legion of Souldiers was ſente thyther Anno. 414. the whiche eaſily repulſed the enimies, and chaſed them backe with greate ſlaughter, to the great comfort of the Britaines, yͤ which by this meanes were deliuered from preſent danger of vtter deſtruction as they thought. But the Romaynes beeing occaſioned to depart agayne out of the lande, appointed yͤ Britaynes to make a wall (as had bin made aforetime by the Emperors Adrian, Antoninus & Seuerus) ouerthwart the coũtrey from ſea to ſea, ſtretching from Peneulton vnto the Citie of Aclud, wherby the enimies might be ſtayed from entring the lande: but this wall being made of turfe and ſoddes, rather than with ſtones, after the departure of the Romanes was eaſily ouerthrowen by the Scottes & Pictes, which eftſoones returned to inuade the cõfines of the Britaines, and ſo entring the countrey, waſted and deſtroyed all afore them, according to their former cuſtome. Herevpõ were meſſengers with lamentable letters agayn diſpatched towards Rome for new ayde againſt thoſe cruell enimies, with promiſe, that if the Romaynes would now in this great neceſſitie help to deliuer the land, they ſhould be aſſured to finde the Britaynes euermore obediente ſubiectes, and ready at their commaundement. Valentinianus (pitying the caſe of the poore Britaynes) appoynted another legion of Souldiers (of the which one Gallio of Rauenna had the leading) to goe to theyr ſuccours, the which arriuing in Britayne ſet on yͤ enimies, and giuing them the ouerthrowe, ſlewe a great number of them, & chaſed yͤ reſidue out of the countrey.



A wall built ouerthwart the Ilande. Beda.

Gildas & Beda.

Gildas.

The Romanes thus hauing obteyned the victory, declare to the Britaynes, that from thenceforth they would not take vppon them for euery light occaſion ſo paynefull a iourney, alledgyng, how there was no reaſon why the Romayne enſignes with ſuch a number of men of warre ſhuld be put to trauell ſo farre by ſea and lande, for the repulſing and beating backe of a ſort of ſcattering rouers and pilfering theeues: wherefore they aduiſed the Britaynes to looke to their duties, & lyke men to endeuor themſelues to defende their countrey by their owne force from the enimies inuaſions. And bicauſe they iudged that this might be an help to yͤ Britaynes, they ſet in hande to build a wall yet once againe ouerthwart the Iſle in yͤ ſame place where the Emperour Seuerus cauſed his trench & rampire to be caſt. This wall whiche the Romanes nowe builte with help of the Britaynes, conteyned in breadth eyght foote, and in heigth twelue foote, trauerſing the land from Eaſt to Weſt, and was made of ſtone. After that thys wall was finiſhed, the Romaynes giuing good exhortations to the Britaynes to play the men, they ſhewed alſo vnto thẽ the way how to make armour and weapon. And beſydes this, on the coaſt of the Eaſt ſea where their Shippes lay at roade, and where it was doubted that the enimies woulde lande, they cauſed towers to bee erected with ſpaces betwixt, out of the whiche the Seas might be diſcouered. Theſe things ordered in this wiſe, the Romanes bade the Britaynes farewel, as not minding to returne thither agayne. The Romanes then being departed out of the land, the Scottes and Pictes hauing knowledge thereof, ſtraight wayes returne againe by Sea, and being more emboldned than before, bycauſe of the deniall made by the Romaynes to come any more to the ſuccoure of the Britaynes, they take into poſſeſſion all the Northe and vttermoſt boundes of the Iſle, euen vnto the foreſayde wall, therein to

remayne

This chanced
in the yere. 43
M.VV. hath

remayne as inhabitants. And whereas the Britaynes gote them to their wal to defend the ſame, that the enimies ſhould not paſſe further into the country, they were in the ende beaten from it, and diuers of them ſlayne, ſo that the Scottes and Pictes entred vppon them and purſued them in more cruell manner than before, ſo that the Britaynes being chaſed out of their Cities, Townes, and dwelling houſes, were conſtreyned to flee into deſert places, and there to remayne and lyue after the manner of ſauage people, & in the ende, began to robbe and ſpoyle one another, ſo to auoyde the daunger of ſteruing for lacke of foode: and thus at the laſt the countrey was ſo deſtroyed and waſted, that there was no other ſhifte for them that were left aliue to liue by, excepte onely by hunting and taking of wilde beaſts and foules. And to augment their miſerie, the commons imputing the faulte to reſt in the Lordes and gouernoures, roſe againſt them in armes, but were vanquiſhed and eaſily put to flight at two ſeuerall times, being beaten downe and ſlayne through lacke of ſkill in ſuch number, eſpecially the latter time, that the reſidue whiche eſcaped, withdrewe into the craggy Mountaines, where within the buſhes and caues they kepte themſelues cloſe, ſometimes comming downe and fetching away from the heardes of beaſtes and flockes of Sheepe whiche belonged to the nobles and Gentlemen of the countrey great booties to relieue them withall, but at length oppreſſed with extreame famine when neyther parte coulde long remayne in this ſtate, as needing one anothers help, neceſſitie made peace betwixt the Lordes and commons of the lande, all iniuries being pardoned and cleerely forgiuen. This ciuill warre decayed the force of yͤ Britaynes, little leſſe than the Tyrannicall practiſes of Maximus, for by the aduoyding of the commons thus out of their houſes, the grounde lay vntilled, whereof enſued ſuche famine for the ſpace of three yeares togither, that a wonderfull number of people dyed for wante of ſuſtenañce.

Hecto. Boetius
Rebellion.

Ciuill warre
ecayed the
orce of the
ritaynes.

What miſ-
chiefe followe
of ciuill warres

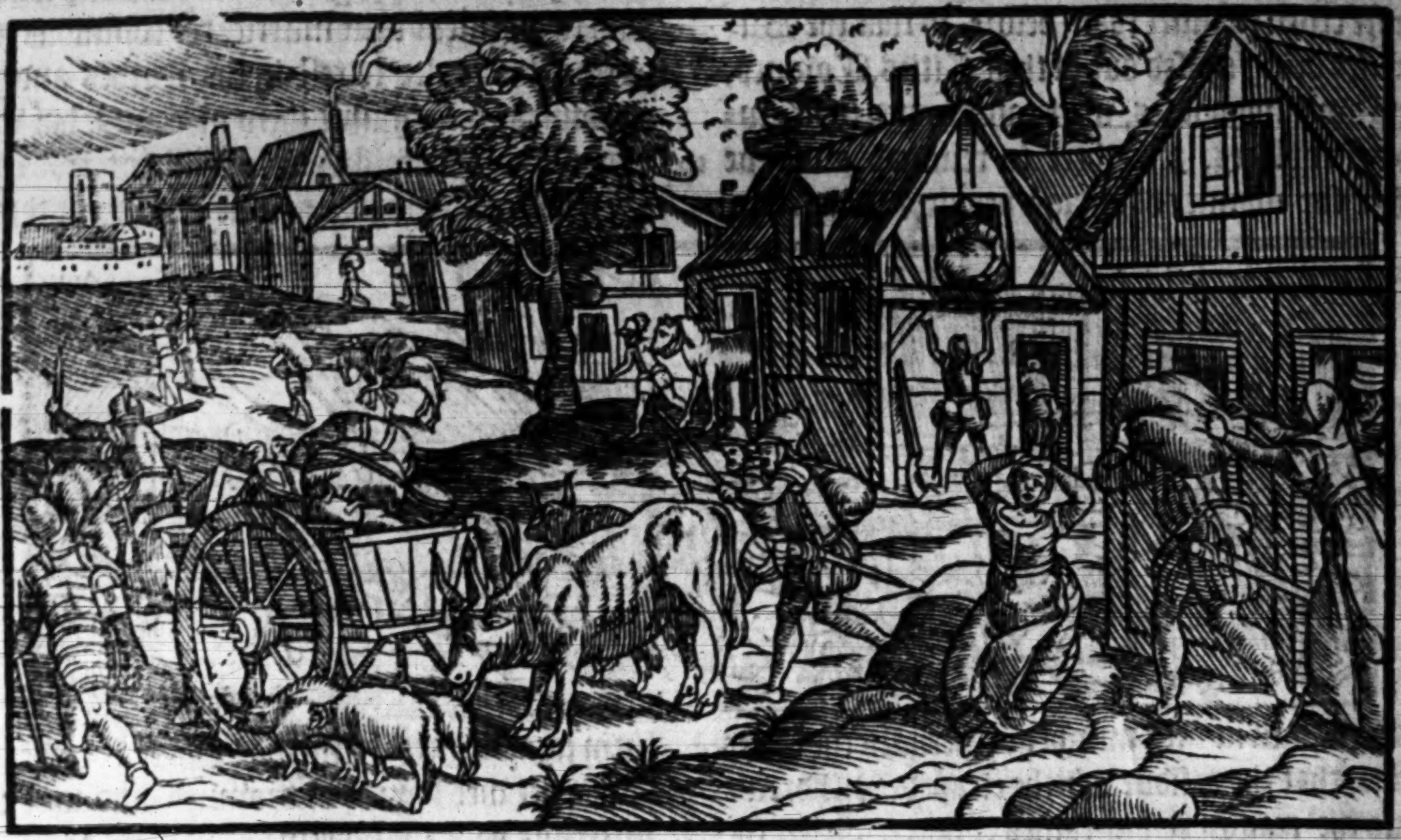
Thus the Britaynes being brought generally into ſuche extreame miſerie, they thought good to trie if they might purchaſe ſome ayde of that noble man Aetius, whiche at that time remayned in Fraunce as yet called Gallia, gouerning the ſame as Lieutenant vnder the Emperour Honorius: and herevpon taking counſel togither, they wrote a letter to him, the tenor whereof enſueth. To Aetius thrice Conſull. The lamentable requeſt of vs the Britaynes beſeecheth you of ayde to bee miniſtred vnto the prouince of the Romane Empire, vnto our countrey, vnto our wiues & children at this preſente, the whiche ſtande in moſt extreame perill. For the barbarous people driue vs to the Sea, and the Sea driueth vs backe vnto them agayne: hereof riſe two kindes of deathe, for eyther are wee ſlayne, or drowned, and agaynſte ſuch euils haue we no remedie nor help at all. Therefore in reſpect of your clemencie, ſuccoure youre owne wee moſt inſtantly require you. &c. But notwithſtanding that the Britaines thus ſought for ayde at the handes of Aetius, as then the Emperours Lieutenaunte, yet coulde they none get, either for that Aetius woulde not, as he that paſſed little howe things wente, bicauſe he bare diſpleaſure in his mind againſt Valentinianus as thẽ Emperour, or elſe for that he could not, being otherwiſe conſtreyned to employ al his forces in other places againſt ſuch barbarous nations as then inuaded the Romane Empire. And ſo by yͤ meanes was Britayne loſt, & the tribute whiche the Britaynes were accuſtomed to paye vnto the Romaynes ceaſſed, iuſt a fiue hundred yeares after that Iulius Ceſar firſte entred the Iſle.

The Britaynes
could get no
ayde from the
Romaynes.

The Britaynes being thus put to their ſhifts, many of them as hunger ſtaruen were conſtreyned to yeeld themſelues into the hãds of their enimies, where other yet keeping within the Mountaynes, woddes and caues, brake out as occaſion ſerued vpon their aduerſaries, and then firſt (ſaith Gildas) did the Britaynes not putting their truſt in man but in God (according to the ſaying of Philo, where mans help faileth, it is needeful that Gods help be preſent) make ſlaughter of their enimies that hadde bin accuſtomed many yeares to robbe and ſpoyle them in manner as before is recited, and ſo the bolde attemptes of the enimies ceaſſed for a time, but the wickedneſſe of the Brittiſhe people ceaſſed not at all. The enimies departed out of the lande, but the

Puniſhment
ceaſſeth but
ſin encreaſeth.

inhabitantes departed not from their naughtye doings, beeying not ſo ready to putte backe the common enimies, as to exerciſe ciuill warre and diſcord amongſt themſelues. The wicked Iriſhe people departed home, to make returne againe within a while after. But the Pictes ſettled themſelues firſte in that ſeaſon in the vttermoſt boundes of the Iſle, and there continued, making reyſes oftentimes vppon theyr neyghbours, and ſpoyling them of their goodes.



Galfridus.

Gildas his wordes are to be conſidered.

This with more alſo hath Gildas and lykewiſe Beda written of this great deſolation of the Brittiſh people: wherein if the wordes of Gildas be well wayed and conſydered of, it may leade vs to thinke that the Scottes hadde no habitacions heere in Britayne, but only in Irelande, till after this ſeaſon, and that at this preſente time the Pictes whiche before inhabited within the Iſles of Orkney, now placed themſelues in the North partes of Scotland, and after by proceſſe of time came and neſtled themſelues in Louthian, in the Mers and other coũtreys more neere to our bordures. But to procede: The Brittiſh hiſtories affirme, that whileſt the Britaynes were thus perſecuted by thoſe two moſt cruell and fierce nations the Scottes and Pictes, the noble and chiefeſt men amongſt them conſulted togither, and concluded to ſende an honorable Ambaſſade vnto Aldroenus as then King of little Brittayne in Gallia, which Aldroenus was the fourth from Conam Meridoc the firſt King there of the Brittiſh nation.

An ambaſſade ſent from the Britaynes vnto Aldroenus King of Britaine in Frãce.

Of this Ambaſſade the Archbiſhop of London named Guethline or Goſſelyne was appoynted for chiefe and principall, the whiche paſſing ouer into little Britaine, and comming before the preſence of Aldroenus, ſo declared the effect of hys meſſage, that his ſuite was graunted.

Conſtantine the brother of Aldroenus.

For Aldroenus agreed to ſend his brother Cõſtantine ouer into great Britayne with a conuenient power, vppon condition, that the victory beeing obteyned againſte the enimies, the Britaynes ſhould make hym Kyng of greate Britayne.

A digreſsio

Thus it is apparant that this lande of Britayne was withoute any certayne gouernoure, after that Gracian the vſurper was diſpatched certaine yeares togither, but how many yeares, writers in their accompt varry.

Fabian.

Fabian gathereth by ſundry coniectures, that the ſpace betwixte the deathe of Gracian and the beginning of the raigne of the ſayd Conſtantine, brother to Aldroenus, continued nine and thirtie yeares, during whiche time the Britaynes were ſore and miſerably afflicted by the inuaſions of the Scottes and Pictes, as before ye haue hearde by teſtimonies taken out of Beda, Gildas, Geffrey of Monmouth, and other writers of the Brittiſhe and Engliſh hiſtories.

Maximus.

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But nowe ſith no mention is made of the Scottes in oure hiſtories till the dayes of Maximus the vſurper or Tyrante, as ſome call him, whyche beganne hys raigne here in Britaine about the yeare of oure Lorde. 383. and that tyll after hee had bereft the lande of the chiefeſt forces thereof in taking the moſt parte of the youth ouer with him: wee fynde not in the ſame hiſtories of any troubles wroughte to the Britaynes by that nation. Therefore we haue thought good heere to come backe to the former tymes, that wee maye ſhewe what is found mentioned in the Romaine hiſtories, both before that time and after, as well concerning the Scottes and Pictes, as alſo the Saxons, and eſpecially in Ammianus Marcellinus, where in the beginning of his twentith booke entreating of the doyngs of the Emperoure Iulianus,

Ammianus Marcellinus lib. 20.

The Emper Iulianus.

Julianus, hee hathe theſe wordes in effect as folowe.

In this ſtate ſtoode thyngs in *Illiricum* or *Slauonia*, and in the Eaſt partes, at what tyme Cōſtantius bare the office of Conſull the tenth time, and Julianus the thirde tyme, that is to witte, in the yeare of our Lord. 360. when in Britaine quietneſſe beeing diſturbed by roades made by the Scottes and Pictes which are wilde and ſauage people, the frountiers of the contrey were waſted, and feare oppreſſed the prouinces awearied, with the heape of paſſed loſſes.

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Scottes and Pictes trouble the ſtate of this Iſle.

The Emperour (hee meaneth Julianus) as then remaynyng at Paris, and hauing his minde troubled with many cares, doubted to goe to the ayde of them beyond the Sea, as we haue ſhewed that Conſtantius dyd, leaſt hee ſhoulde leaue them in Gallia withoute a Ruler, the Almaynes beeyng euen then prouoked and ſtirred vp to crueltie and warre. Hee thoughte good therefore to ſende Lupicinus vnto theſe places to bring things into frame and order, whiche Lupicinus was at that time maſter of the armory, a warlike perſon and ſkilfull in all poyntes of chiualrie, but proude and high minded beyonde meaſure, and ſuch one as it was doubted long whether he was more couetous or cruell.

Lupicinus ſent into Britayne.

Herevppon, the ſayde Lupicinus ſetting forwarde the lighte armed menne of the *Heruli* and *Bataui*, with diuers companies alſo of the people of Meſia now called Bulgarie: When winter was well entred and come on, hee came himſelfe to Bulleigne, and there prouiding Shippes and embarquing his men when the winde ſerued hys purpoſe, hee tranſported ouer vnto Sandwiche, and ſo marched forth vnto London, from thence purpoſing to ſet forward, as vppon aduice taken according to the qualitie of his buſineſſe, he ſhould thinke meete and expedient.

Bataui nowe Hollanders.

Rutupis.

In the meane time, whileſt Lupicinus was buſie here in Britaine to repreſſe the enimies, the Emperour Conſtantius diſplaced certayne officers, and among other he depriued the ſame Lupicinus of the office of Maſter of the armory, appoynting one Gumobarius to ſucceede hym in that roomth before any ſuche thing was knowen in theſe parties: and where it was doubted leaſt that Lupicinus (if hee hadde vnderſtoode ſo much whileſt hee was yet in Britayne) woulde haue attempted ſome newe trouble, as he was a man of a ſtoute and loftie mynde, he was called backe from thence, and withall there was ſente a notarie vnto Bulleyne to watche that none ſhoulde paſſe the Seas ouer into Britayne till Lupicinus were returned: and ſo returning ouer from thence ere hee hadde anye knowledge what was done by the Emperoure, hee coulde make no ſturre, hauyng no ſuche aſſiſters in Gallia, as it was thoughte he myght haue hadde in Britayne if he ſhoulde haue moued Rebellion there.

Of the diſplacing of theſe men the learned may ſee more in Am. Mar.

Beſide this alſo the ſame Marcellinus ſpeaking of the doings about the time that Valentinianus being elected Emperour, had admitted his brother Valens as fellowe with him in gouernemente, hathe theſe wordes. In this ſeaſon as though trumpets had blowen the ſounde to battell through out the whole Romayne Empire, moſt cruell nations being ſtyrred vp inuaded the borders next to them adioyning, the Almaynes waſted and deſtroyed the partes of Gallia and Rhetia, as the Sarmatians and Quadi did Pannonia. The Pictes, the Saxons, the Scottes, and the Attacottes vexed the Britaynes with continuall troubles, and greeuous domages. The Auſtoriani, and the people of the Mores ouerranne the countrey of Affrike more ſharply than in time paſt they had done. The pilfering troupes of the Gothes ſpoyled Thracia. The King of Perſia ſette in hande to ſubdue the Armenians, and ſoughte to bring them vnder his obeyſance, haſting with all ſpeede towardes Numonia, pretending (though vniuſtly) that now after the deceſſe of Jouianus with whome hee hadde contracted a league and bonde of peace, there was no cauſe of let why hee ought not recouer thoſe things which (as he alledged) did belong to his aunceſtours, and ſo forthe.

Lib.26.

Ammianus. Marcellinus lib.26.

The Almanes.

The Sarmatæ.
The Quadi.
Picts & Saxōs

Auſtoriani.
The Gothes.

Moreouer, the ſame Marcellinus in another place writeth in this wiſe, where hee ſpeaketh of the ſayde Valentinianus. Departing therefore from Amiens, and haſting to Trier, hee was troubled with greeuous newes that were brought hym, geuing hym to vnderſtand, that Britayne by a conſpiracie of the Barbarous nations was broughte to vtter pouertie, that Nectaridus one of the Emperoures houſe Earle of the Sea coaſt hauyng charge of the partyes towardes the Sea, was ſlayne, and that the generall Bulchobaudes was circumuented by traynes of the enimies. Theſe thyngs with greate horror beeyng knowen, hee ſent Seuerus as then Earle, or (as I may call hym Lorde Stewarde of his houſeholde) to reforme things that were amiſſe if happe woulde ſo permitte, who beeyng ſhortly called backe, Jouinius goyng thyther, and with ſpeede haſting forwarde, ſent for more ayde and a greater power of menne, as the inſtant neceſſitie then required. At length, for many cauſes, and the ſame greatly to be feared, the which were reported and aduertiſed out of that Iſle, Theodoſius was elected and appoynted to goe thyther, a man of approoued ſkill in warlike affayres, and calling togyther an hardy youthfull number of the legions and cohortes of men of warre, hee wente forthe, no ſmall hope beeyng conceyued of hys good ſpeede: the ſame whereof

Lib.27.

Comes ma
timi tractu

Comes dom
ſticorum.

Theodoſi
ſente into
Britaine.

ſpred and went afore him; and a little after Marcellinus adding what maner of people they were that troubled the Britaynes in this wiſe, he ſayth thus: This ſhall ſuffice to be ſayde, that in thys ſeaſon the Pictes deuided into two nations, *Dicalidones*, and *Vecturiones*; and in like maner the *Attacotti* a right warlike nation, and the Scots wandering here and there, made foule worke in places where they came.

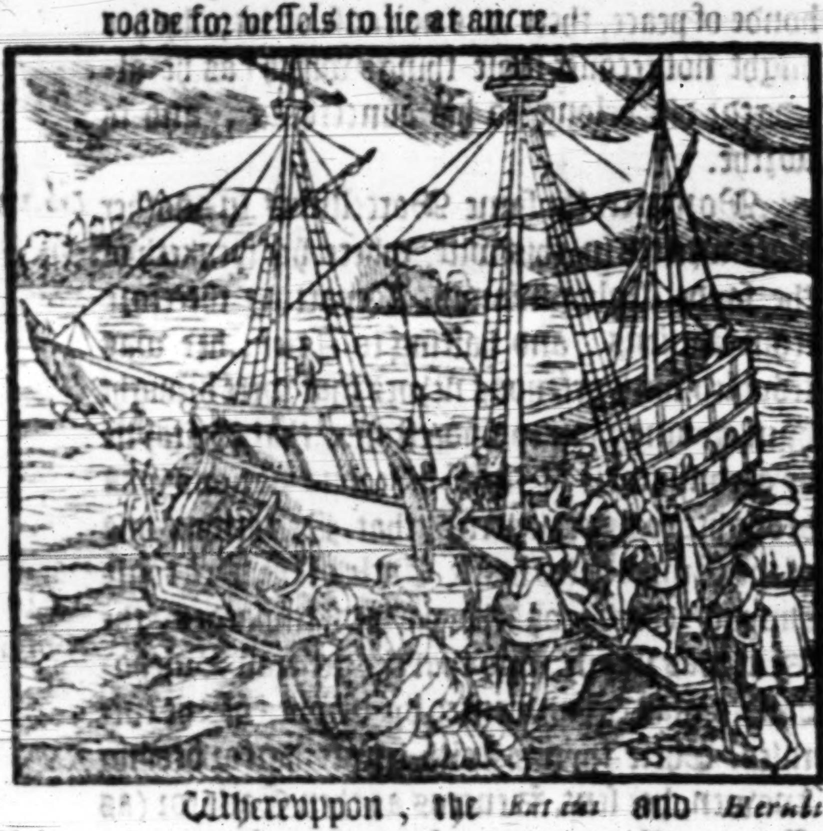
Pictes deuided into two nations.

Attacotti.

The confines of Fraunce were diſquieted by the Frankeners and Saxons borderers vnto them, euery one as they could breake forth, doing great harme by cruell ſpoyle, fyre, and takyng of priſoners.

To withſtande thoſe doyngs if good fortune would giue hym leaue, that moſt able Captayne going vnto the vttermoſt boundes of the earthe, when hee came to the coaſt of Bulleyne whyche is ſeparated from the contrary coaſt on the other ſide by the Sea, with a narrowe ſtreighte, where ſometime the water goeth very high and rough, and ſhortly after becommeth calme and pleaſant without hurt to thoſe that paſſe the ſame, he tranſporting ouer at leyſure, arriued at Sandwiche (or rather Richbourrow where there is a quiete roade for veſſels to lie at ancre.

Theodoſius paſſeth ouer into Britayne.



Whervppon, the *Batavi* and *Heruli* with the Souldiers of the legions cleped *Iouij*, and *Victores*, being companies that truſted well to their owne ſtrengthe, marched forthe and drew towardes London, an auncient citie, which now of late hath bin called Auguſta. Where with deuiding his army into ſundrye partes, he ſet vppon the troupes of the enimies as they went abroade to forrey the countrey, [illegible] with burdens of their ſpoyles and pillage, and ſpeedily putting them to flight as they were leading away thoſe priſoners which they had taken with their booties of cattell, hee bereft them of theyr pray, the whiche the poore Britaynes that were tributaries had loſt.

raui Hol- ders.

ndon called guſta.

To bee briefe, reſtoring the whole except a ſmall portion beſtowed amongſt the wery ſouldiers, he entred the Citie which before was ouerſet with troubles, but nowe ſodainly refreſhed, bycauſe there was hope of reliefe, and aſſured preſeruation.

After this, when Theodoſius was comforted with proſperous ſucceſſe to attempte thinges of greater importance, and ſearching wayes howe with good aduice to worke ſurely: whileſt hee remayned doubtfull what would enſue, he learned as wel by the confeſſion of priſoners taken, as alſo by the information of ſuch as were ſcaped from the enimies, that the ſcattered people of ſundry nations which with practiſe of great crueltie were become fierce and vndaunted, could not be ſubdued but by policie ſecretly contriued, and ſuddayne inuaſions. At length therefore ſetting forthe hys Proclamations, and promiſing pardon to thoſe that were gone away from their Captaynes or charge, he called them backe againe to ſeruice: and alſo thoſe that by licence were departed and lay ſcattered here and there in places abroade. By this meanes, when many were returned, he being on the one ſide earneſtly prouoked, and on the other holden backe with thoughtfull cares, required to haue one Ciuilis by name ſent to hym to haue the rule of the prouinces in Britayne in ſteede of the other gouernours, a man of ſharpe witte, and an earneſt mayntayner of iuſtice. Hee likewiſe required that one Dulcitius a Captayne renowmed in knowledge of warlike affayres, mighte bee ſente ouer to him for his better aſſuraunce. Theſe things were done in Britayne.

Theodoſius requireth to haue Ciuilis ſent to him.

Dulcitius.

Agayne in hys eyght and twentie booke, the ſame Marcellinus reciting further what the ſame Theodoſius dyd atchieue in Britayne, hath in effect theſe wordes, Theodoſius verily a Captayne of worthy fame, taking a valiant courage to hym, and departing from Auguſta, whyche men of olde tyme called London, with Souldiers aſſembled by greate diligence, did ſuccoure and releeue greatly the decayed and troubled ſtate of the Britaynes, preuenting euery conuenient place where the barbarous people mighte lye in wayte to doe miſchiefe, and nothing hee commanded the meane Souldiers to doe, but that whereof he with a chearefull mind would firſt take in hand to ſhew them an example.

London called Auguſta.

By this meanes accompliſhing the roumth of a valiant Souldier, and fulfilling the charge of a noble Captayne, hee diſcomfyted and putte to flight ſundry nations, whome preſumption (nouriſhed by ſecuritie) emboldened to inuade the Romayne prouinces: And ſo the Cities and Caſtels that had bin ſore endomaged by manyfolde loſſes and diſpleaſures, were reſtored to their former ſtate of welth, ẏ foundation of reſt and quietneſſe being layde for a long ſeaſon after to enſue.

But as these things were a doing, a wicked practise was in hande lyke to haue burst forth, to the grieuous daunger of setting things in broyle, if it had not beene stayed euen in the beginning of the first attempt.

Valentinus. Valeria now Stiermarke.

There was one Valentinus, borne in the parties of Valeria adioyning to Pannonia, now called Stiermarke, a man of a prowde and loftie stomacke, brother to the wyfe of Maximinus, which Valentinus for some notable offence had beene banished into Brytayne, where the naughtie man that coulde not rest in quiet, deuised how by some commotion hee might destroy Theodosius, who as he sawe was onely able to resist his wicked purposes. And going about many things both priuily and apertly, the force of his vnmeasurable desire to mischief stil encreasing, he sought to procure aswell other that were in semblable wise banished men, and inclined to mischiefe lyke to him selfe, as also diuerse of the souldiers, alluring them as the time serued, with large promises of great wealth, if they would ioyne with hym in that enterpryse. But euen now in the verie nicke when they should haue gone in hande with their vngracious exployt, Theodosius warned of theyr intent, boldly aduaunced himselfe to see due punishmēt executed of the offenders that were forthwith taken and knowne to be guiltie in that conspiracie.

...is ...pointed to ...Valenti- ...to death.

Theodosius committed Valentine with a fewe other of his trustie complices vnto the Captaine Dulcitius, commaunding him to see them put to death: but coniecturing by his warlike skill (wherin he passed all other in those dayes) what might follow, he woulde not in any wise haue any further enquirie made of the other conspiratours, least through feare that might be spread abrode in many, the troubles of the Prouinces now well quieted, should be againe reuiued.

After this, Theodosius disposing himselfe to redresse many things as neede requyred, all daunger was quite remoued, so that it was most apparant, that fortune fauoured him in suche wise, that she left him not destitute of hir furtheraunce in any one of all his attempts: he therefore restored the Cities and Castels that were appoynted to be kept with garisons, and the borders he caused to be defended and garded with sufficient nūbers to keepe watch and warde in places necessarie. And hauing recouered the Prouince whiche the enimies had gotten into their possession, hee so restored it to the former state, that vpon his motion to haue it so, a lawfull gouernour was assigned to rule it, and the name was chaunged so, as from thenceforth it should be called Valentia for the Princes pleasure.

...of Bry- ...called ...a.

The *Areani*, a kinde of men ordeyned in tymes past by our elders, of whome somwhat we haue spoken in the actes of the Emperour Constance) being now by little & little fallen into vices, he remoued from theyr places of abyding, being openly conuicted, that allured wyth brybes and fayre promyses, they had oftentymes bewrayed vnto the barbarous Nations what was done among the Romaines: for this was theyr charge, to runne vp and downe by long iourneys, and to giue warning to our Captaines, what sturre the people of the next countries were about to make.

The prayse of Theodosius.

Theodosius therefore hauing ordred these and other like things, most worthy to his high fame, was called home to the Emperours Court, who leauing the Prouinces in most triumphant state, was highly renowmed for his often and most profitable victories, as if he had bene an other Camillus, or Cursor Papyrius: and with the fauor and loue of all men was conueyed vnto the Sea side, and passing ouer with a gentle winde, came to the Court, where he was receyued wyth great gladnesse and commendation, being immediately appoynted to succeed in roumth of Valence Iouinus that was maister of the horsses.

Finally, he was called by the Emperor Gratianus, to be associate with him in the Imperiall estate, after the death of Valence, in the yeare after the incarnation of our sauiour 379. and reigned Emperor surnamed Theodosius the great, about xvj. yeares and two dayes.

379

VVil. Har.

But now to our former matter. Here also may that be applyed which the foresayd Marcellinus wryteth after in the same booke, touching the inuasion of the Saxons, the which (as Wolf. Lazius taketh it) entred then first into great Britaine, but were repulsed of the Emperour Valentinianus the fyrst, by the conduct of Seuerus.

VVolf. Lazi.

Seuerus.

The same yeare (sayth he) that the Emperours were the thirde tyme Consuls, there brake forth a multitude of Saxons, and passing the seas, entred strongly into the Romain confines: a nation fed oftentimes with ÿ slaughter of our people, the brunt of whose first inuasion, Erle Nanneus sustayned, ÿ which was appointed to defend those parties, an approued captain, with continuall trauaile in warres verie expert. but then encountring with desperate and forlorne people, when he perceyued some of his souldiers to be ouerthrowne and beaten downe, and himselfe wounded, not able to abyde the often assaults of his enimies, he obteyned this by informing the Emperour what was necessarie and ought to be done, insomuch that Seuerus, maister (as they call him) Coronell of the footemen, was sent to helpe and redresse things that stoode in daunger, the which bringing a sufficient power with him for the state of that businesse, when he came to those

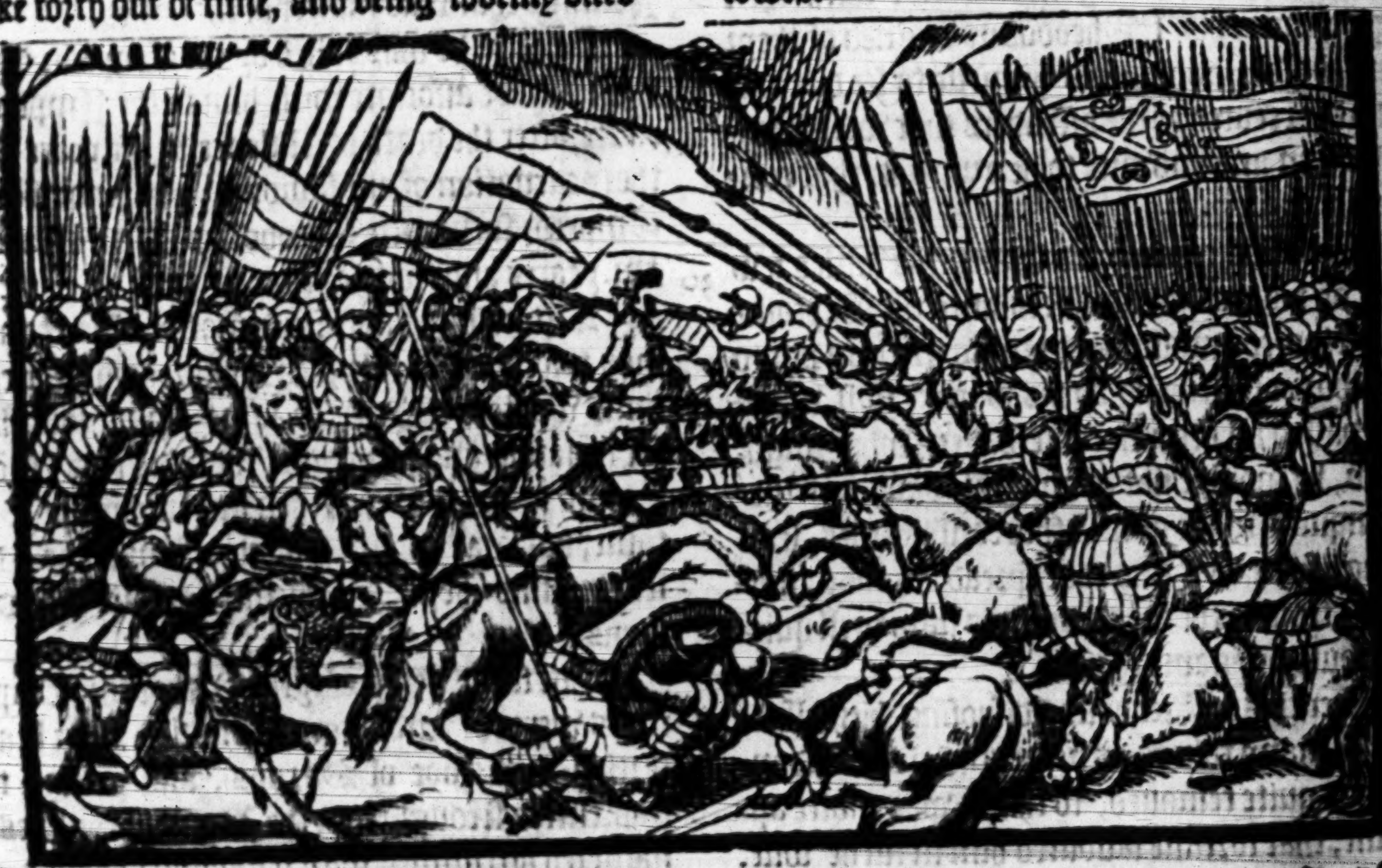
Nonneus Comes.

Seuerus Coronell of the footemen.

places, he deuiding his armie into partes, put the Saxons in ſuche feare and trouble before they fought, that they did not ſo muche as take weapon in hande to make reſiſtaunce, but being amaſed wyth the ſight of the glyttering enſignes and Eagles figured in the Romaine ſtandardes, they ſtreight made ſute for peace, and at length after the matter was debated in ſundrie wiſe (bycauſe it was iudged that it ſhoulde be profitable for the Romaine common wealth) truce was graunted vnto them, and many yong men (able for ſeruice in the warres) deliuered to the Romaines according to the couenants concluded.

After this the Saxons were permitted to depart without impechment, ſo to returne from whence they came, the which being now out of al feare, and preparing to goe their wayes, dyuerſe bands of footmen were ſent to lie priuily in a certaine hid vally, ſo embuſhed as they might eaſily breake forth vpon the enimies as they paſſed by them. But it chaunced farre otherwiſe than they ſuppoſed: for certaine of thoſe footemen ſtyrred with the noyſe of them as they were comming, brake forth out of time, and being ſodenly diſcouered whileſt they haſted to vnite and knit themſelues togither, by the hideous crie and ſhoute of the Saxons, they were put to flight. Yet by and by cloſing togither againe, they ſtayed, and the extremitie of the chaunce miniſtring to them force (though not ſufficient) they were dryuen to fight it oute, and beeing beaten downe wyth great ſlaughter, had dyed euery mothers ſonne, if a troupe of Horſemen armed at all poyntes (beeing in like maner placed in an other ſyde at the parting of the way to aſſayle the enimies as they ſhoulde paſſe) aduertyſed by the dolefull noyſe of them that foughte, had not ſpeedilye come in to the ſuccours of theyr fellowes.

Then ranne they togyther more cruellye than before, and the Romaines bending themſelues towardes theyr enimies, compaſſed them in on eche ſyde, and with theyr drawne ſwordes ſlue them downe right, ſo that there was not one of them left to returne home to theyr natiue Countrey to bryng newes howe they had ſpedde, nor one ſuffred to liue after the death of his fellowes.



And although an indifferent man that ſhoulde iudge hereof, might with cauſe reproue ſo vniuſt and diſhonorable dealing: yet the thing being well weyed and conſidered, he would not thinke euill of it, that a wicked knotte of theeues and Robbers ſhoulde at length paye after the pryce of the Market.

Thus were the limittes of the Romain Empyre preſerued at that time in Brytaine, whiche ſhould ſeeme to be about the yere of our lord. 399.

Honorius the Emperour.

After this in the time of the Emperour Honorius, alſo the Scottes, Pictes, and Saxons, did eftſoones inuade the frontiers of the Romaine Prouince in Brytaine, as appeareth by that which the Poet Claudianus wryteth, in attrybuting the honour of preſeruing the ſame frontyers vnto the ſayde Emperour, in his booke intituled *Panegericus tertij Conſolatus*, (which fell in the yeare. 396. as thus:

Ille leues Mauros nec falſo nomine Pictos
Edomuit, Scotumq; vago mucrone ſecutus,
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus vndas.
Et geminus fulgens vtroq; ſub axe tropheis,
Tethyos alternæ refluas calcauit arenas.

The nimble Mores and Pictes by right
ſo callde, he hath ſubdude,
And with his wandring ſworde likewiſe
the Scottes he hath purſude:
He brake with bolde courageous oare
the Hyperborean waue,

And ſhyning vnder both the Poles
with double trophyes braue,
He marcht vpon the bubling ſandes
of either ſwelling ſeas.

The ſame Claudian vpon the fourth Conſulſhip of Honorius, ſayth.

Quid rigor æternus, cæli? quid frigora proſunt?
Ignotumq́ fretum? maduerunt Saxone fuſo
Orcades, incaluit Pictonum ſanguine Thule,
Scotorum cumulos fleuit glacialis Hiberne.

N.R.

VVhat laſting colde? what did to them
the froſtie Clymates gaine?
And ſea vnknowne? bemoyſted all
with bloud of Saxons ſlaine
The Orkneys were: with bloud of Picts
hath Thule waxed warme,
And yſie Irelande hath bewaylde
the heapes of Scottiſh harme.

Thule ſome take to be Iſelande ſome Schetland.

The ſame prayſe gyueth he to Stilico the ſonne in lawe of Honorius, and maketh mention of a Legion of Souldiers ſent for oute of Brytayne in the Periphraſes of the Gottiſh warres.

Venit & extremis legio prætenta Britannis,
Quæ Scoto dat fræna truci, ferroq́ notatas,
Perleget exanimes Picto moriente figuras.

N.R.

A legion eke there came from out
the fartheſt Brytaines bent,
VVhich brideled hath the Scots ſo ſterne:
and markes with yron brent
Vpon their liueleſſe limmes doth reade,
whiles Pictes their liues relent.

He rehearſeth the like in his ſecond *Panegericus* of Stilico.

Inde Calidonio velata Britannia monſtro,
Ferro Picta genas, cuius veſtigia verrit
Cærulus, Oceaniq́ æſtum mentitur amictus.
Me quoq́ vicinis pereuntem gentibus inquit,
Muniuit Stilico, totam quum Scotus Hibernam
Mouit, & infeſto ſpumauit remige Thetis.
Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem,
Scotica, ne Pictum tremerem, ne littore toto,
Proſpicerem dubijs venturum Saxona ventis.

H.F.

Then Brytaine whom the monſters did
of Calidone ſurrounde,
VVhoſe cheekes were ſcorcht with ſteelo,
whoſe garments ſwept the ground,
Reſembling much the marble hew
of Ocean ſeas that boile,
Sayd, ſhe whom neighbour nations did
conſpire to bring to ſpoile,
Hath Stilico munited ſtrong, when
rayſde by Scots entice
All Ireland was, and enmies oares
the ſalt ſea fome did ſlice.
His care hath cauſde, that I all feares
of Scottiſh broyles haue bard,
Ne do I dread the Picts, ne looke
my countrey coaſts to gard,
Gainſt Saxon troupes, who chaunging winds
ſent ſayling hitherwardes.

Brytayne afflicted by inuaſion of barbarous natiõs.

Thus may it appeare, that in the tyme when the Romaine Empyre beganne to decay, in like maner as other partes of the ſame Empyre were inuaded by barbarous nations, ſo was that part of Brytayne which was ſubiect to the Romaine Emperours grieuouſly aſſayled by the Scottes and Pictes, and alſo by the Saxons, the whiche in thoſe dayes inhabiting all alongſt the Sea coaſtes of lowe Germanie, euen from the Elbe vnto the Rhine, did not onely trouble the Sea by continuall rouing, but alſo vſed to come a lande into dyuerſe partes of Brytayne, and Gallia, inuading the countreys, and robbing the ſame with great rage and crueltie.

To the which Sidonius Apollinaris thus alludeth, wryting to Namatius.

Sidon. Apol. li. 8. Epiſt.

The Meſſenger did aſſuredly affyrme, that lately ye blewe the trumpet to warre in your nauie, and betwixt the office one while of a mariner, and another while of a ſouldier, wafted about the crooked ſhores of the Ocean Sea agaynſte the fleete of the Saxons, of whome as many Rouers as ye beholde, ſo many Archpyrates ye ſuppoſe to ſee: ſo doe they altogyther with one accorde commaund, obey, teach, and learne to play the partes of Rouers, that euen now there is good occaſion to warne you to beware. This enimie is more cruell than all other enimyes. Hee aſſayleth at vnwares, hee eſcapeth foreſeeing the daunger aforehande, he deſpyſeth thoſe that ſtand agaynſt him, he throweth downe the vnware: if he be followed he ſnappeth them vp that purſue him, if he flee he eſcapeth.

The piracie of the Saxons.

Of like effect for proufe hereof be thoſe verſes which he wrote vnto Maiorianus in his Panegerike Oration.

Tot Maria intraui duce te, longeq́ remotas,
Sole ſub occiduo gentes, victricia Cæſar
Signa Calidonios tranſuexit ad vſq́ Britannos
Fuderit, & quanquã Scotũ, & cũ Saxone Pictũ
Hoſtes quæſiuit quẽ iam natura vetabat,
Quærere plus homines.

Which is Engliſhed thus.

So many ſeas I entred haue,
and nations farre by weſt,
By thy conduct, and Cæſar hath
his banners borne full preſt,
Vnto the furtheſt Brytiſh coaſt,
where Calidonians dwell.
The Scot and Pict with Saxons eke,
though he ſubdued fell,
Yet would he ſeeke enmies vnknowne
whom nature had forbid. &c.

Thus farre haue we thought good to gather out of the Romaine and other wryters, that yee might perceyue the ſtate of Brytayne the better in that time of the decay of the Romain Empire, and that ye might haue occaſion to marke by the way, how not only the Scots, but alſo the Saxons had attempted to inuade the Brytaines before any mention is made of the ſame theyr attempts by the Brytiſh and Engliſh wryters.

But whether the Scottes had any habitation within the boundes of Brytaine, til the time ſuppoſed by the Brytaine wryters, wee leaue that poynt to the iudgement of others that be trauayled in the ſearch of ſuche antiquities, onely admoniſhing you, that in the Scottiſhe Chronicle you ſhall finde the opinion whiche their writers haue conceyued of this matter, and alſo manye things touching the actes of the Romaines, done agaynſt diuerſe of the Brytayns, which they preſume to be done againſt their nation, though ſhadowed vnder the generall name of Brytaines, or of other particular names, at this day to moſt mē vnknowne. But whenſoeuer the Scottes came into this Ile, they made the thirde nation that inhabited the ſame, cōming firſt out of Scithia, or rather out of Spaine (as ſome ſuppoſe) into Irelande, and from thence into Brytayne, next after the Pictes, though their wryters fetche a farre more ancient beginning (as in their Chronicle at large appeareth) referring them to the reading thereof, that deſire to vnderſtande that matter as they ſet it forth.

Polider.

But now to returne where we left, touching the ſucceſſion of the Brytiſh kings, as their Hyſtories make mention: thus we finde, though carying great ſuſpition withall, as ſome thinke.

Conſtantinus.

Conſtātinus.

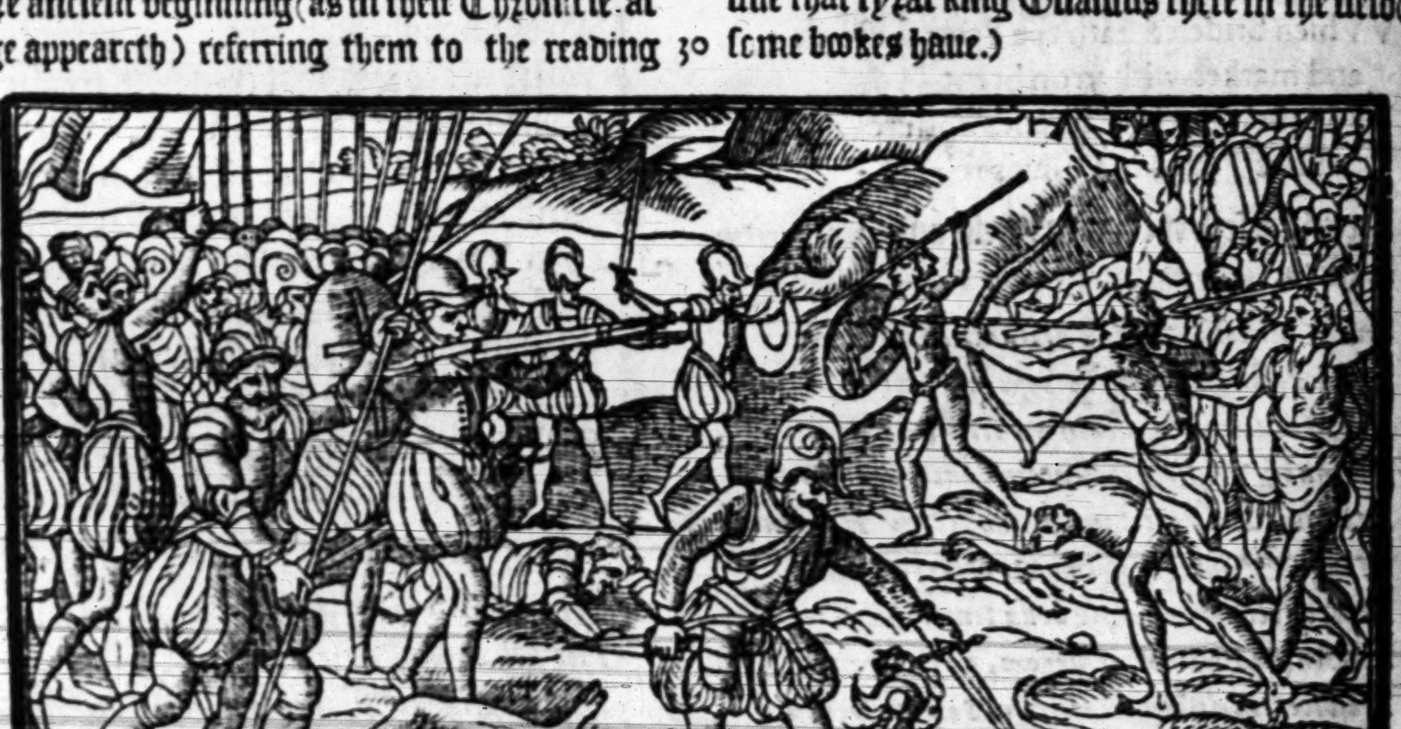
Gal. Mon.
Mat. VVeſ

Conſtantinus, the brother of Aldroenus king of little Brytaine, at the ſute and earneſt requeſt of the Archbiſhop of London, made in name of all the Brytaines in the Ile of great Brytaine, was ſent into the ſame Ile by his ſayde brother Aldroenus vpon couenants ratified in maner as before is recited, and brought with him a conuenient power, landing with the ſame at Totnes in Deuonſhire. Immediately after his comming a lande, he gathered to him a great power of Brytaynes, the which before his landing were hyd in dyuerſe places of the Ile.

Caxton hath
12000. bu
Gal, and othe
haue but. 20

Then went hee forth with them, and gaue battaile to the enimies, whom he vanquiſhed: and ſlue that tyrāt king Guanius there in the field (as ſome bookes haue.)

The Bryti
hyſtorie diſ
greeth from
the Scottiſh.



But this agreeth not with the Scottiſh writers, the which affyrme that they got the field, but yet loſt their king named Dongarde, (as in theyr Hyſtorie ye may reade.)

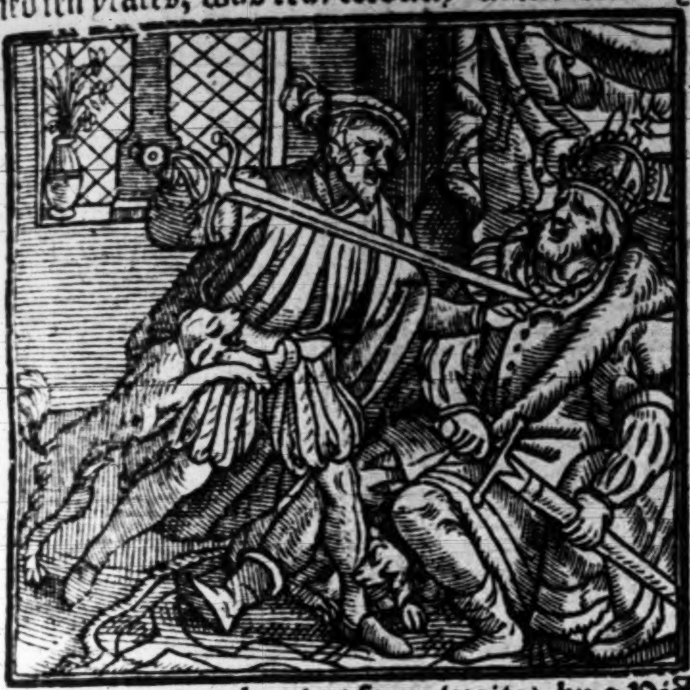
But to proceed as our writers report the matter. When the Britains had thus ouercome their enimies, they conueyed their captaine the ſayde Conſtantine vnto Cicester, and there in fulfilling their promiſe and couenant made to his brother, crowned him K. of great Brtain, in the yeare of our lord. 433. which was about the. v. yeare of the Emperor Valentinianus the ſecond, & third yere of Clodius K. of yͤ Frākners after called Frenchmē, which thē began to ſettle thēſelues in Gallia, wherby the name of that cuntry was afterwards changed & called France. Cōſtantine being thus eſtabliſhed king, ruled the land wel & nobly, & defended it frō all inuaſiō of enimies during his life.

435. hath
Mat. Weſt.

He begat of his wife three ſonnes (as the Britiſh Hiſtorie affyrmeth) Conſtantius, Aurelius Ambroſius, and Uter ſurnamed Pendragon.

The eldeſt, bycauſe hee perceyued him to bee but dull of witte, and not verie towarde, he made a Monke, placing him within the Abbay of Amphibalus in Wincheſter.

Finally, this Conſtantine, after he had raigned ten yeares, was trayterouſly ſlaine one day in his owne chamber (as ſome write) by a Pict, the which was in ſuch fauour with him, that hee might at all tymes haue free acceſſe to him at his pleſure. Neither the Romaine writers, nor Beda, make any mention of this Cōſtantine, but of the other Conſtantine they write, which immediately after that the vſurper Gracian was diſpatched out of the way (as before ye haue heard) was aduaunced to the rule of this land, and title of Emperor, onely in hope of his name, and for no other reſpect of towardneſſe in him, afore time being but a meane ſouldier, without any degree of honor.



In a groue of buſhes, as Gal. hath with Math. Weſt.

Beda.

Oroſius.

Blondus.

The ſame Conſtantine (as wryters recorde) going ouer into Gallia, adourned his ſonne Conſtantius with the tytle and dignitie of Ceſar, the which before was a Monke, and finally as well the one as the other were ſlain, the father at Arles by Earle Conſtantius that was ſent againſt him by the Emperor Honorius, and the ſonne at Vienna (as before ye haue heard) by one of his owne Court cleped Gerontius (as in the Italian Hyſtorie ye may ſee more at large.)

415

This chaunced about the yeare of our lord. 415.

This haue wee thought good to repeate in this place, for that ſome maye ſuppoſe that thys Conſtantine is the ſame whom our writers take to be the brother of Aldroenus king of little Brytayne, as the circumſtaunce of the time and other things to be cōſidered may giue thē occaſion to thinke, for that there is not ſo much credit to be yelded to thē that haue writen the Brytiſh hyſtories, but that in ſome part men may with iuſt cauſe doubt of ſundrye matters conteyned in the ſame: & therfore haue we in this boke bin the more diligent to ſhewe what the Romaine and other forreyne wryters haue regyſtred in their bookes of hyſtories touching the affayres of Brytain, that the reader may bee the better ſatiſfied in the truth.

But now to returne to the ſequele of the Hyſtorie as we finde the ſame wrytten by the Brytiſh Chronicles.

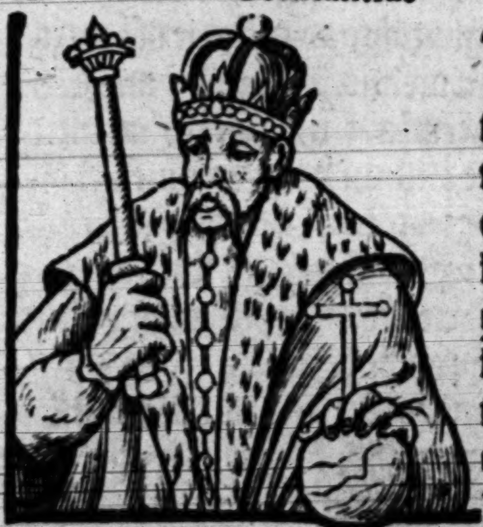
After that Conſtantine was murthered (as before ye haue heard) one Vortigerus, or Vortigernus, a man of great authoritie amongs the Brytaynes, wrought ſo with the reſidue of the Brytiſh nobilitie, that Conſtantius the eldeſt ſonne of their king the foreremembred Conſtantine, was taken out of the Abbey of Wincheſter, where hee remayned, and was ſtreyght wayes created king, as lawfull inheritor to his father.

This Vortigern was duke of the Geuiſſes and Cornwall, as Rad. Ceſtr. reporteth.

Galf. Mon.

Ye haue heard howe Conſtantius was made a Monke in his fathers lyfe time, bycauſe he was thought to be too ſoft and childiſh in wit, to haue any publike rule committed to his handes: but for that cauſe ſpecially did Vortiger ſeeke to aduaunce him, to the ende that the King beeing not able to gouerne of himſelfe, he might haue the chiefeſt ſway, and ſo rule all things as it were vnder him, preparing thereby a way for hymſelfe to attayne at length to the Kingdome, as by that which followed was more apparauntly perceyued.

Conſtantius.



Conſtātius.

This Conſtātius then the ſonne of Conſtātine, by the helpe (as before ye haue heard) of Vortigerne, was made king of Britaine, in the yeare of our Lorde. 443. But Conſtantius bare but the name of king: for Vortigerne abuſing his innocencie and ſimple diſcretion to order things as was requiſite, had all the rule of the lande, and did what pleaſed him.

445. hath Math. Weſt.

Whereupon firſt where there had beene a league concluded betwixt the Brytaynes, Scottes and Pictes, in the dayes of the late King Conſtantine, Vortiger cauſed the ſame league to bee renued, and waged an hundred Pictes, and as manye Scottes to bee attendaunt as a garde vpon the kings perſon, dyuerſe of the whiche (corrupting them with fayre promiſes) he procured by ſubtile meanes in the ende to murther the King, and immediately vpon the deede done, he cauſed the murtherers to be ſtrangled, that they ſhoulde not afterwardes diſcloſe by whoſe procurement they did that deed?

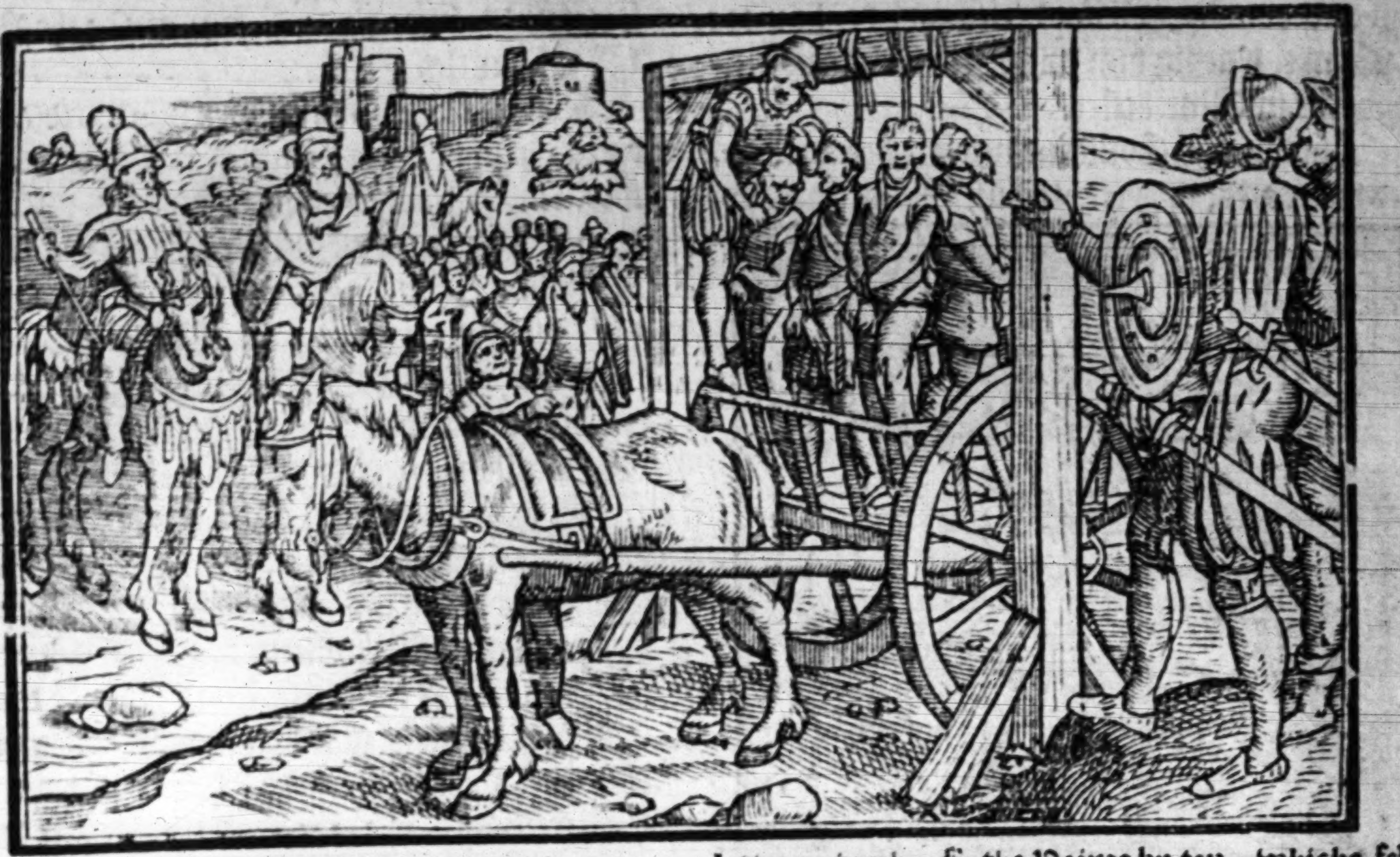
Hector. Bo.

Conſtantius murthered.

Then cauſed he all the reſidue of the Scottes and Pictes to bee apprehended, and as it had

The ſubtile dealing of Vortigerne.

beene vpon a zeale to ſee the death of Conſtantius ſeuerely puniſhed, he framed ſuch inditements and accuſations agaynſt them, that chiefely by his meanes (as appeared) the guyltleſſe perſons were condemned and hanged, the multitude of the Brytiſhe people beeing wonderfully pleaſed therewith, & giuing great cõmendations to Vortigerne for that deede.



Thus Conſtantius was made away in maner as before ye haue hearde, after he had raigned (as moſte wryters affyrme) the ſpace of fiue yeares.

Aurelius Ambroſius. Vter Pendragon.

Then after that his death was knowne, thoſe that had the bringing vp and cuſtodie of his two yonger brethren, Aurelius Ambroſe, and Vter Pendragon, miſtruſting the wicked intent of Vortigerne, whoſe diſſimulatiõ and miſchieuous meaning by ſome great likelihoods they ſuſpected, with all ſpeede they got them to the ſea, & fled into little Brytaine, there keeping them till it pleaſed God otherwiſe to prouide for them.

But Vortigerne coulde ſo well diſſimule his craftie workings, and with ſuch conueyance and cloked maner coulde ſhadow and colour the matter, that moſt men thought and iudged him moſt innocent and voyd of all euil meaning: inſomuch that he obteyned ſo greatly the fauour of the people, that hee was reputed for the onely ſtay and defender of the common wealth.

Vortigerne is choſen king of Brytaynes.

Hereuppon came it to paſſe, that when the Cõuſell was aſſembled to elect a new king, forſomuch as the other ſonnes of king Conſtantine were not of age ſufficient to rule, Vortigerne himſelfe was choſen, diuerſe of the nobles (whom hee had procured thereto) giuing their voyces to this his preferment, as to one beſt deſeruing the ſame in their opinion and iudgement.

Vortigerne.

Vortigerne 446

Thus was Vortigerne choſen and made king of Brytain, in the yere of our Lord. 446. third Cõſulſhip of Aetius, 1197. of Rome. 4. of the 305. Olympiade. 4112. of the worlde, the Dominicall letter going by F, the Prime by ten, whiche fell about the. xxi. yeare of the Emperour Valentinianus, the ſame yeare that Merouęus began to raigne ouer the Frenchmen.

Before hee was made king, he was Earle or Duke of the Geuiſſes, a people which helde that part of Brytaine where afterwardes the weſt Saxons inhabited.

Hector. Bo.

Nowe after that Vortigerne had with treaſon, fraude, and greate deceyte, at length atteyned that for the whiche hee had long looked, hee fyrſte of all furniſhed the Tower of London wyth a ſtrong garriſon of menne of warre.

415

Then ſtudying to aduaunce onely ſuch as he knew to be his eſpeciall friendes and fauourers, he ſought by all meanes how to oppreſſe other, of whoſe good will hee had neuer ſo little miſtruſt, namely thoſe that were affectionate towardes the lynage of Conſtantine he hated deadly, and deuiſed by ſecrete meanes which way he might beſt deſtroy them: but theſe his practiſes being at the firſt perceyued, cauſed ſuche as had the gouernance of the two yong Gentlemen with all ſpeede to get them ouer (as yee haue heard) into Brytayne Armorike, there to remaine out of daunger wyth theyr Vncle the King of that lande, and dayly did dyuerſe of the Brytaynes, that knewe themſelues to bee in Vortigerne his diſpleaſure ſayle ouer vnto them, whiche thyng brought Vortigerne into great doubt and feare of his eſtate.

Fabian.

Gilda.

It chaunced alſo the ſame tyme, that there was greate plentye of corne, and ſtore of fruite, the lyke whereof had not beene ſeene in manye

yeares

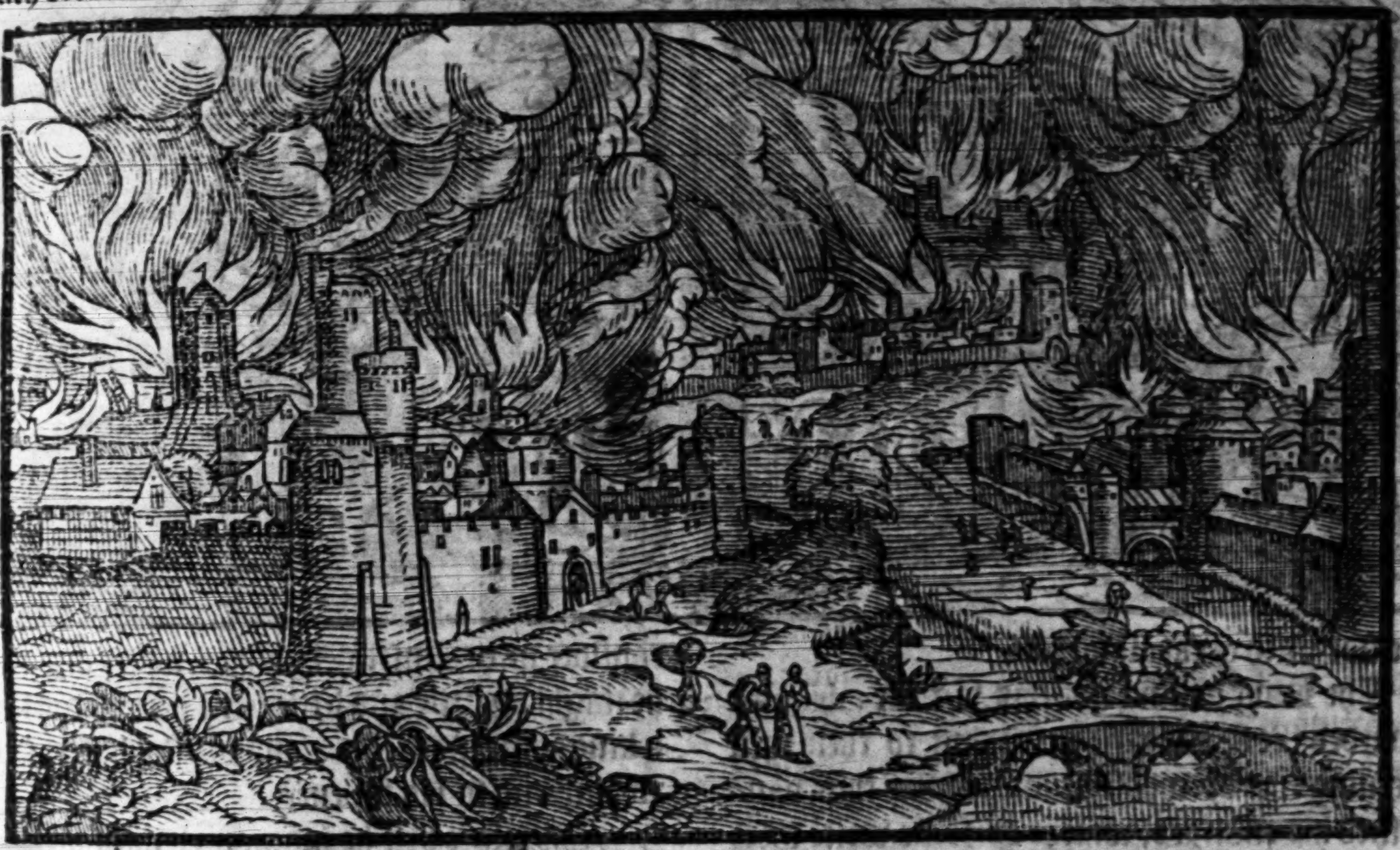
Plentie of wealth accompanied with ſtore of ſinnes.

yeares before, and therevpon enſued ryote, ſtrife, lecherie, and other vyces right heynous, and yet accounted as then for ſmall or rather none offences at all.

Theſe abuſes and great enormities, raigned not onely in the temporaltie, but alſo in the ſpiritualtie and chiefe Rulers of the ſame: ſo that euerye man turned the poynt of his ſpeare (euen as if he had conſented of purpoſe) agaynſt the true and innocent perſon.

The Commons alſo gaue themſelues to voluptuous luſt, drunkenneſſe, and ydle loytering, whereof followed fighting, contention, enuie, and much debate.

Of this plentie therfore inſued great pride, and of this abundaunce no leſſe hautineſſe of minde, whereupon followed great wickedneſſe, lacke of good gouernment and ſober temperancie, and in the necke of theſe as a iuſt puniſhment, death and mortalitie; ſo that in ſome Countreys vneth the quicke ſuffiſed to burie the dead.



Hector.Bo.

Scottes and Pictes inuade the Brytayns.

And for an augmentation of more miſchiefe, the Scottes and Pictes hearing howe theyr Countreymen through the falſe ſuggeſtion of Vortigerne had beene wrongfully and moſt cruelly put to death at London, beganne wyth fyre and ſworde to make ſharpe and cruell warre agaynſt the Brytains, waſting their Countrey, ſpoyling and burning their townes, and giuing them the ouerthrowe in a pight fielde, as in the Scottiſh hyſtorie more plainly appeareth.

To be briefe, the Brytaynes were brought into ſuch daunger and miſerie, that they knewe not what way to take for remedie in ſuch preſent perill, likely to bee ouerrunne and vtterlye vanquyſhed of their enimies.

In the meane tyme Vortigerne not only troubled with theſe imminent euilles, but fearing alſo the return of the two brethren, Aurelius Ambroſe, and Vter Pendragon, began to conſider of the ſtate of things, and eſteeming it moſt ſure to worke by aduice, called togither the Lordes and chiefe men of the Realme to haue theyr counſaile and opinion howe to proceede in ſuch a weightie buſineſſe: and ſo debating the matter with them, meaſured both his own force, and alſo the force of his enimies, and according to the condition and ſtate of the tyme, diligently conſidered & ſearched out what remedy was to be had and prouided.

Gildas.
VVil. Malm.
Beda.

The Saxons ſent for.

At length after they had throughly pondered al things, the more part of the nobles with the king alſo were of this minde, that there could be no better way deuiſed, than to ſende into Germanie for the Saxons to come to theyr ayde: The whiche Saxons in that ſeaſon were highly renowmed for theyr valyauncie in armes, and manifolde aduentures heretofore atchieued. And ſo forthwith Meſſengers were diſpatched into Germanie, the which with money, giftes, and promiſes, might procure the Saxons to come to the ayde of the Brytaynes agaynſt the Scottes and Pictes.

10000. hath Hector Bo. Gildas & Beda mention onely but of.3. plates or gallies, but Hector Bo. hath.30.

The Saxons glad of this meſſage, as people deſirous of entertaynment to ſerue in warres, chooſing forth a piked companie of luſtie yong mē vnder the leading of two brethren Hengiſt and Horſus, got them abourde into certain veſſels appoynted for the purpoſe, and ſo with all ſpeede directed their courſe towardes great Britain.

449

VVil. Malm.

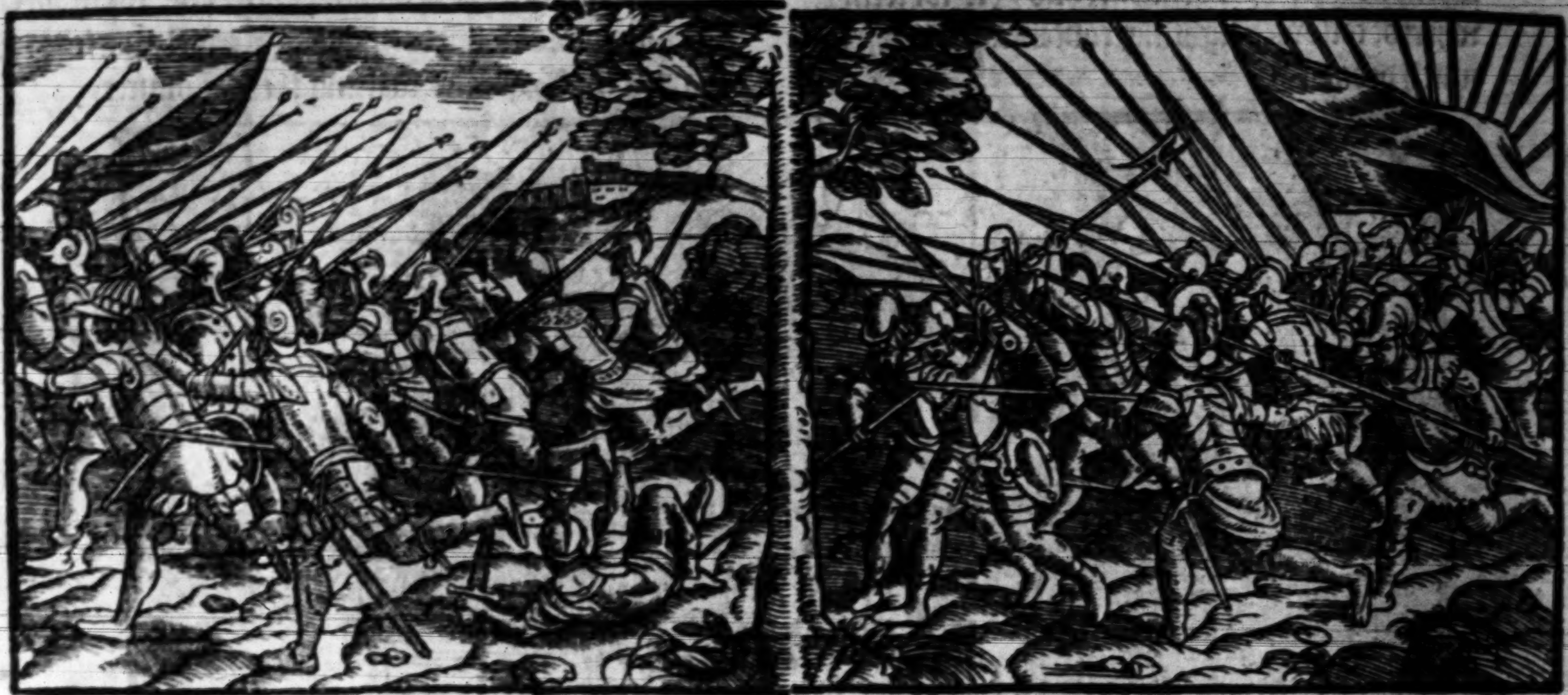
This was in the yeare of our Lorde.449. and in the ſecond yeare of Vortigerns raigne, as the moſt autentike wryters both Brytiſh and Engliſhe ſeeme to gather, althoughe the Scottiſhe wryters, and namely Hector Boetius doe varie herein, touching the iuſt accounte of yeares, as to the peruſers of the wrytings aſwel of the one as the other may appeare. But William Hariſon taketh it to bee in the fourth yeare of his raigne:

raigne whereto Beda ſeemeth to agree, who noteth it in the ſame yere that Martianus the Emperour beganne to rule the Empyre, which was (as appeareth by the conſularie table) in the Conſulſhippe of Protogenes and Auſterius, and thirde yere of Meroueus king of France.

Theſe Saxons thus arryuing in Brytayne, were curteouſly receyued, and heartily welcomed of King Vortigerne, who aſſigned to them places in Kent to inhabite, and forthwith ledde them agaynſt the Scots and Pictes, which were entred into Brytaine, waſting and deſtroying the Countrey before them.

Hereupon comming to ioyne in battail, there was a ſore fight betwixt the parties for a while, but at length when the Saxons called to remembraunce that the ſame was the day whiche ſhoulde eyther purchaſe to them an euerlaſting name of manhoode by victorie, or elſe of reproche by repulſe, beganne to renew the fight with ſuche violence, that the enimies not able to abyde theyr fierce charge, were ſcattered and beaten down on eche ſide with great ſlaughter.

Scottes vanquiſhed by the Saxons.



The King hauing got this victorie, highlye rewarded the ſtraungers according to their well deſeruings, as by whoſe prowes he had thus vanquiſhed his enimyes, whiche as ſome write were come as farre as Stanfourde, and vſed at that tyme to fight wyth long Dartes, and Speares, whereas the Saxons fought onelye wyth long ſwordes and Axes.

Henric. Hut.

There bee that haue written howe the Saxons, were not ſent for, but came by chaunce into the Ile, and the occaſion to be this: There was an auncient cuſtome amongſt the Engliſh Saxons a people in Germanie, as was alſo at the firſt among other Nations, that when the multitude of them was ſo increaſed, that the Countrey was not able to ſuſtayne and finde them, by commaundement of their Princes, they ſhoulde chooſe out by lottes a number of yong and able perſonages, fitte for the warres, which ſhould go forth to ſeeke them newe habitations: and ſo it chaunced to theſe, that they came into great Britaine, and promiſed to ſerue the king for wages in his warres. But by what meane ſoeuer they came hither, truth is, that Hengiſtus being a man of great wit, rare policie, and high wiſdome, was their Captaine, who vnderſtanding this Kings minde, which now wholy truſted to the valiancie of the Saxons, and herewith perceiuing the fruitfulneſſe of the Countrey, ſtreight wayes bigan to conſider with himſelfe, by what wyles and craft he might by little and little ſettle here, and obteine a kingdome in the Ile, and to eſtabliſh the ſame to him and to his for euer.

Galf. Mon.

Hengiſt purpoſeth at the firſt to conquere the Brytaynes.

Therefore firſt he indeuoured with all ſpeede poſſible to fence that part of the Countrey which was giuen to him and his people, and to enlarge and furniſh it with gariſons appointed in places moſt conuenient.

Polider.

After this he did what he could to perſwade the king, that a great power of men might be brought ouer out of Germanie, that yͤ land being fortified with ſuch a ſtrength, the enimies might be put in feare, and his ſubiectes holden in reſt.

The King not foreſeeing the happe that was to come, did not deſpiſe this counſell contriued to the deſtruction of his Kingdome, and ſo was more ayde ſent for into Germanie: whereupon now at this ſeconde tyme there arriued here. xvj. veſſels fraught with people, and at the ſame time came the Ladie Rowen or Ronix, daughter to Hengyſt, a Mayde of excellent beautie and comelyneſſe able to delite the eyes of them that ſhoulde behold hir, and ſpecially to win the heart of Vortigerne with the dart of concupiſcence, wherunto he was of nature much inclyned, and that did Hengeſt well perceyue.

vvil. Ma

18. Foyſts o plates ſaye the Scottiſh wryters, and M. men in t ſame.

The Saxons call theſe veſ ſels Ceoles, o Keeles, and o old hyſtori Cogiones.

There came ouer into thys lande at that tyme and ſoone after, three manner of people of the Germaine Nation, as Saxons, *Vitæ* (or Iutes,)

Iutes, and Angles, ouer the whiche the ſayde Hengiſt and Horſ beeing brethren, were Captaines and rulers, men of right noble parentage in theyr Countrey, as diſcended of that auncient Prince Woden, of whom the Engliſh Saxon kings doe for the more part fetche theyr pedegree, as lineally diſcended from him, vnto whom alſo the Engliſh people (falſely reputing him for a God) conſecrated the fourth day of the weeke, as they did the ſixth to his wyfe Frea, ſo that the ſame dayes tooke name of them, the one beeing called Wodenſday, and the other Freaday, which wordes after in continuance of time by corruption of ſpeech were ſomewhat altred, though not much, as from Wodenſday, to Wedneſday, and from Freaday to Fryday.

The Vitæ or Iutæ are called Ibiti.

Alex. Nevv.

Wedneſday, and Fryday, whereof they came.

The foreſayde Woden was father to Wecta, father to Wetgiſlus, that was father to the foreſayd Hengiſtus and Horſus.

Beda.

But nowe to rehearſe further touching thoſe three people whiche at this time came ouer into Brytayne oute of Germanie of the Vites, or Iutes, (as Beda recordeth) are the Kentiſhmen diſcended, and the people of the Ile of Wight, with thoſe alſo that inhabite ouer agaynſte the ſame Ile.

Of the Saxons, came the Eaſt Saxons, the South Saxons, and Weſt Saxons.

Moreouer, of the Angles proceeded the Eaſt Angles, the middle Angles, or Mercies, and the Northren men.

That theſe Angles were a people of Germanie, it appeareth alſo by Cornelius Tacitus, who calling them *Angly*, which worde is of three ſillables, (as Polidore ſayth:) But ſome wryte it *Angli*, with two ſillables.

Cor. Tacitus.

And that theſe *Angli*, or *Angly* were of no ſmall force and authoritie in Germanie before their comming into this lande, may appeare in that they are numbred amongeſt the twelue nations there, whiche had lawes and auncient ordinaunces a part by them ſelues, according to the whiche the ſtate of theyr common wealth was gouerned, they beeing the ſame, and one people with the Thoringers, as in the tytle of the olde Thuringers lawes wee finde recorded, whiche is thus, *Lex Angliorum & VVerinorum, hoc eſt, Thuringorum.* The law of the Angles and VVerinians that is to witte the Thuringers, (whiche Thuringers are a people in Saxonie, as in the deſcription of that Countrey it may appeare) is this.

lidor.

But nowe to the matter. Hengiſt perceyuing that his people were highly in Vortigernes fauour, beganne to handle him craftily, deuyſing by what meanes hee mighte bring him in loue with his daughter Ronix, or Rowen, or Ronowen (as ſome write) which he beleeued wel would eaſily be brought to paſſe, bycauſe he vnderſtoode that the King was much giuen to ſenſuall luſt, which is the thing that often blindeth wiſe mens vnderſtanding, and maketh them to dote, and to loſe theyr perfite wittes, yea, and oftentymes bringeth them to deſtruction, though by ſuche pleaſant poyſon, as they feele no bytter taſte tyll they be brought to the extreeme poynt of confuſion in deede.

wen, or
owen
giſtes
ghter.

VVil. Malm.

A greate Supper therefore was prepared by Hengiſt, at the whiche it pleaſed the King to be preſent.

Hengiſt appoynted his daughter when euerie man beganne to bee ſomewhat merrie wyth drinke, to bring in a Cuppe of Golde full of good and pleaſant wine, and to preſent it to the King ſaying, *VVaſſail.* Which ſhee did in ſuch comely and decent maner, as ſhe that knewe howe to doe it well ynough, ſo as the King marueyled greatlye thereat, and not vnderſtanding what ſhee ment by that ſalutation, demaunded what it ſignified. To whom it was aunſwered by Hengiſt, that ſhe wiſhed him well, and the meaning of it was, that he ſhould drinke after hir, ioyning therevnto this anſwere, drinke haile. Whereupon the king (as he was enformed) tooke the cuppe at the Damſels hand, and dranke.

Gal. Mon.

Waſſail, what it ſignifieth.

Finally this yong Ladie behaued hirſelfe with ſuch pleaſant wordes, comely countenaunce, and amiable grace, that the king behelde hir ſo long, till he felt himſelfe ſo farre in loue with hir perſon, that he burned in continuall deſyre to enioy the ſame: inſomuch that ſhortly after he forſooke his owne wife, by the which he had three ſonnes, named Vortimerus, Catagrinus, and Paſcentius, and requyred of Hengiſt to haue his daughter, the ſayde Rowen, or Ronowen in mariage.

Polidor.

Fabian.

Hengiſt at the firſte ſeemed ſtraunge to graunt to his requeſt, and excuſed the matter, for that his daughter was not of eſtate and dignitie meete to be matched with his maieſtie. But at length as it had beene halfe agaynſt his will hee conſented, and ſo the mariage was concluded and ſolemnized, all Kent beeing aſſigned vnto Hengiſt in rewarde, the whiche Countrey was before that tyme gouerned by one Guorongus, (though not with moſt equal iuſtice) which Guorongus was ſubiect vnto Vortigerne, as all other the Potentates of the Ile were.

VVil. Malm.

This maryage and liberalitie of the King towardes the Straungers, muche offended the myndes of his ſubiectes, and haſtened the finall deſtruction of the lande. For the Saxons nowe vnderſtanding the affynitie had betwixte the King and Hengiſt, came ſo faſt ouer to inhabite here, that it was wonder to conſider in howe ſhorte a tyme ſuche a multitude coulde come togyther: ſo that bycauſe of theyr greate number and approued puiſſaunce in warres, they began to be a terrour to the former inhabitants the Brytaynes.

VVil. Malm.

But Hengiſt beeing no leſſe politike in counſaile than valiaunt in armes, abuſing the kings lacke of diſcretion, to ſerue his owne turne, perſwaded him to call out of Germanie his brother Occa and his ſonne named Ebuſa, beeing men of great valure, to the ende, that as Hengiſt defended the lande in the South parte: ſo mighte they keepe backe the Scottes in the North.

Gal. ſayth he was Hengiſts ſonne, and Ebuſa his vncles ſonne. Occa and Ebuſa leaders of Saxons.

Herevpon by the Kings conſent, they came with a power out of Germanie, and coaſting aboute the lande, they ſayled to the Iles of Orkney, and ſore vexed the people there, and likewyſe the Scottes and Pictes alſo, and finally arriued in the North partes of the Realme, nowe called Northumberlande, where they ſetled themſelues at that preſent, and ſo continued there euer after: but none of them taking vppon him the tytle of King, till about .99. yeares after theyr firſt comming into that Countrey, but in the meane time remayning as ſubiects vnto the Saxon kings of Kent.

VVil. Malm. de Regib.

After theyr arryuall in that Prouince, they oftentymes fought with the olde Inhabitaunts there, and ouercame them, chaſing away ſuch as made reſiſtance, and appeaſed the reſidue by receyuing them vnder allegiance.

Fabian. The great nũbers of ſtraungers ſuſpected to the Brytaynes.

When the Nobles of Brytayne ſaw and perceyued in what daunger the lande ſtoode, by the dayly repayre of the huge number of Saxons into the ſame, they firſt conſulted togither, and after reſorting to the King, moued him that ſome order might be taken for the auoyding of them, or the more part of them, leaſte they ſhoulde with their power and great multitude vtterly oppreſſe the Britiſh Nation. But all was in vayne, for Vortigerne ſo eſteemed and highly fauoured the Saxons, and namely by reaſon of the great loue which he bare to his wife, that hee lyttle regarded his owne Nation, no nor yet anye thing eſteemed hys owne naturall kinneſmen and chief friendes, by reaſon wherof the Brytains in fine depriued him of all kingly honor, after that he had raigned .xvj. yeares, and in his ſtead crowned his ſonne Vortimer.

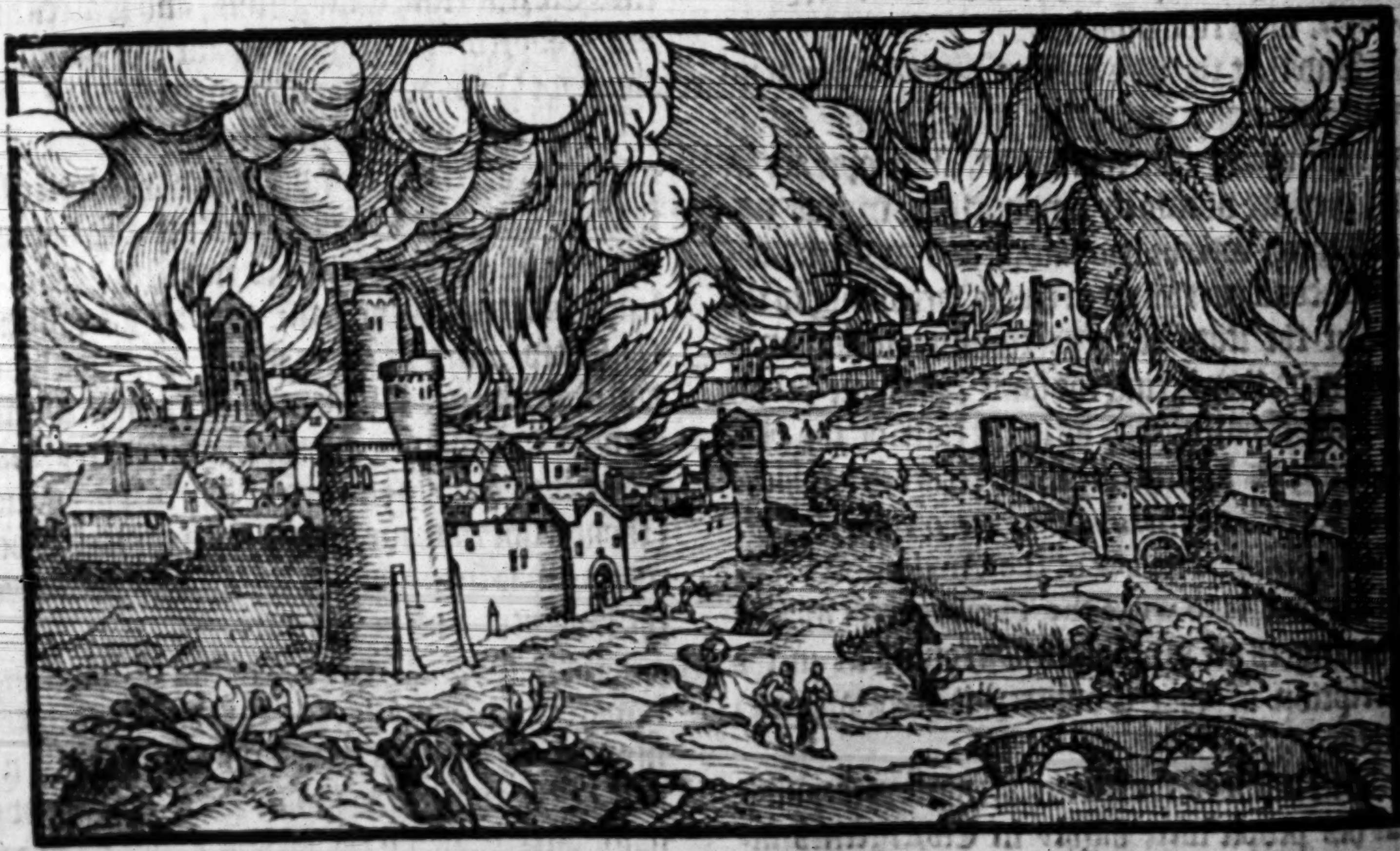
Vortigerne depriued.

Gildas. Beda. H. Hunt.

Gildas and Beda make no mention of Vortimer, but declare howe after that the Saxons were receyued into thys lande, there was a couenaunt made betwixte them and the Brytaynes, that the Saxons ſhoulde defende the Countrey from the inuaſion of enimyes by theyr Knightly force: and that in conſideration thereof, the Brytaynes ſhould finde them prouiſion of vytayles: wherewith they helde them contented for a time.

But afterwardes they beganne to pyke quarelles, as thoughe they were not ſufficiently furniſhed of their due proportion of vytayles, threatning that if they were not prouided more largely thereof, they would ſurely ſpoyle the Countrey.

And withoute deferring time, they perfourmed their wordes with effect of deedes, beginning in the Eaſt part of the Ile, and with fire & ſword paſſed forth waſting and deſtroying the Countrey tyll they came to the vttermoſte parte of the Weſt: ſo that from Sea to Sea, the lande was waſted and deſtroyed in ſuche cruell and outragious manner, that neyther Citie, towne, nor Churche was regarded, but all committed to the fyre: the Prieſtes ſlaine and murthered euen afore the Aulters, and the Prelates with the people without any reuerence of their eſtate or



The miſerable deſtruction made by the Saxons in this lande.

degree, diſpatched with fire and ſworde, moſt lamentably to beholde.

Many of the Brytaynes ſeeing the demeanour of the Saxons, fledde to the Mountaynes, of the whiche dyuerſe beeing apprehended, were cruelly ſlaine, and other were glad to come forth and yeelde themſelues to eternall bondage, for to haue reliefe of meate and drinke to aſſwage theyr extremitie of hunger.

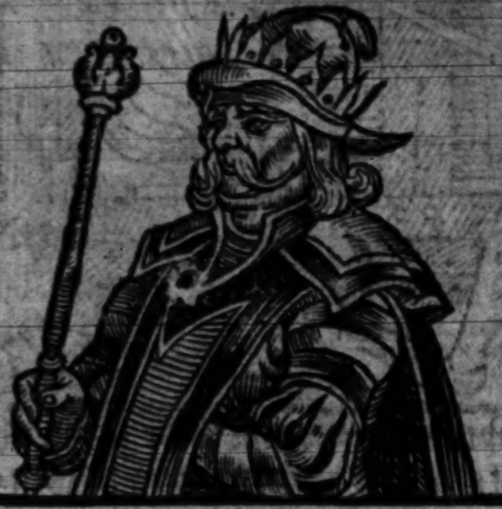
Some other got them out of the realme into ſtraunge landes, ſo to ſaue themſelues, and others abyding ſtill in theyr Countrey, kept them within the thicke Wooddes, and craggie Rockes, whether they were fledde, lyuing there a poore wretched lyfe, in great feare and vnquietneſſe of mynde.

But after that the Saxons were departed and withdrawne to theyr houſes, the Brytaynes began to take courage to thẽ againe, iſſuing forth of thoſe places where they had lyen hid, and with one conſent calling for ayde at Gods hande, that they might bee preſerued from vtter deſtruction, they beganne vnder the conduct of theyr leader Aurelius Ambroſe, to prouoke the Saxons to battaile, and by the helpe of God they obteyned the victorie, according to theyr owne deſyres. And from thence forth, one while the Brytaynes, and an other while the Saxons were victors, ſo that in this Brytiſh people, God (according to hys accuſtomed maner) as it were preſent Iſraell, tryed them from tyme to tyme, whether they loued him or no, vnto the yeare of the ſiege of Badon hill, where afterwardes no ſmall ſlaughter was made of the enimies: whiche chaunced the ſame yeare in the whiche Gildas was borne, (as he himſelfe witneſſeth, being aboute the .xliiij. yeare after the comming of the Saxons into Brytaine.

So Gildas was borne in the yeare of our Lord 493.

Thus hath Gildas and alſo Beda (folowing by likelyhoode the authoritie of the ſame Gildas) written of theſe firſt warres begonne betwene the Saxons and Brytains.

But nowe to goe forth with the Hyſtorie: according to the order of oure Chronicles, thus wee finde recorded touching the doings of Vortimer that was elected King (as yee haue hearde) to gouerne in place of his father Vortigerne.


Vortimer.

Vortimer.

This Vortimer being eldeſt ſon to Vortigern, by the common aſſent of the Brytaines was made K. of Brytayne, in the yeare of our Lorde 464. which was in the fourth yeare of the Emperour Leo the fifth, and about the ſixth yeare of Childericus King of Fraunce (as our common account runneth, which is farre diſagreeing from that whereof William Harriſon doth ſpeake in his Chronologie, who noteth Vortigerne to be depoſed in the .viij. after his exaltation to the crowne) 454. of Chriſt, and .5. currant after the comming of the Saxons, which concurreth with the .4420. of the worlde .⁊.8. of Merouens, as by his Chronologie doth more at large appeare.

Fabian.
Galf. Mon.

Math. Weſt. hath 454.

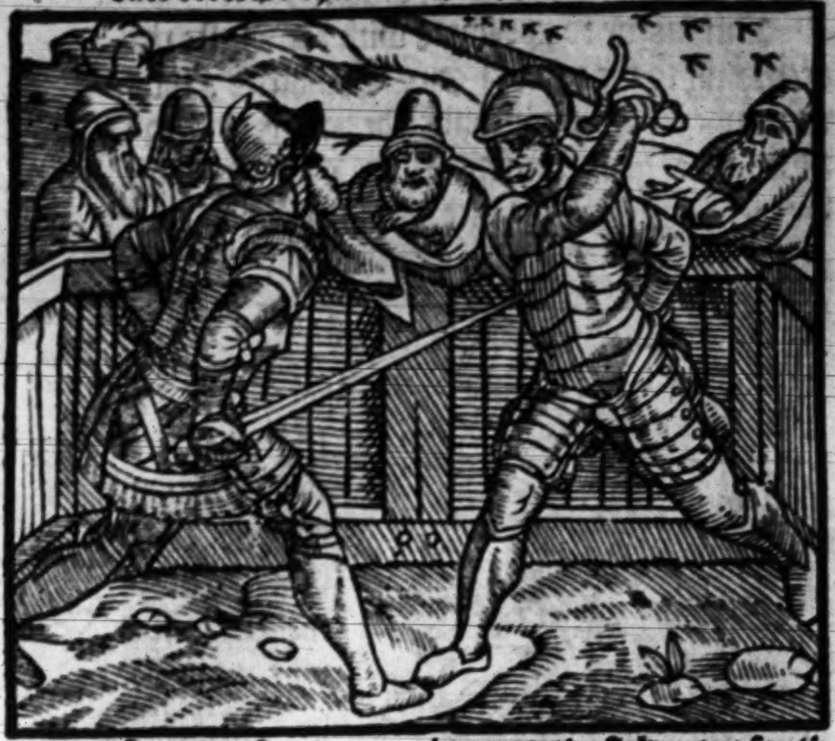
464

But to proceed, Vortimer being thus aduanced to the gouernment of the realme, in all haſt made ſore warre againſt the Saxons, & gaue vnto them a great battel vpon the riuer of Derwẽt, where he had of thẽ the vpper hand: And the ſecõd time he fought with them at a place called Epiſforde, or Agliſthorp, in which encoũter Catagrint

The riuer of Derwent.

Epiforde.

or Catigernus the brother of Vortimer, and Horſus the brother of Hengiſt, after long combate betwixt them two, either of them ſlue other:



But the Brytaynes obteyned the fielde (as ſayth the Brytiſh hyſtorie.) The thirde battail Vortimer fought with them neare to the ſea ſide, where alſo the Brytaynes chaſed the Saxons, & droue them into the Jle of Tenet.

The Ile of Tenet.

H. Hunt.
Cole moore.

The fourth battaile was ſtryken neare to a Moore called Colemoore, the whiche was ſore fought by the Saxons, and long continued with great daunger to the Brytayns, bycauſe that the foreſayde Moore encloſed a part of their hoſt ſo ſtrongly, that the Brytaynes could not approch to them, being beaten off with the enimies ſhot, albeit in the ende the Saxons were put to flight, and many of them drowned and ſwalowed vp in the ſame Moore.

Fabian.
Tetfort in Norffolke.
Colcheſter.

Beſide theſe foure principall battailes, Vortimer had diuerſe other conflictes with the Saxons, as in Kent and at Tetford in Norffolk, alſo neare to Colcheſter in Eſſex: for he left not till he had bereft them the more part of all ſuch poſſeſſions as before time they had got, ſo that they were conſtrayned to keepe them within the Jle of Tenet, where he oftentymes aſſayled them with ſuch ſhippes as he then had.

When Ronowen the daughter of Hengiſt perceyued the great loſſe that the Saxons ſuſteyned by the martiall prowes of Vortimer, ſhee found meanes that within a while the ſayd Vortimer was poyſoned, after he had ruled the Brytaynes the ſpace of ſixe or ſeuen yeares and odde Monethes, (as William Har. reporteth.)

By the Brytiſh hyſtorie it ſhould ſeeme that Vortimer before his death handled the Saxons ſo hardly, keeping them beſieeged within the Jle of Tenet, till at length they were conſtrayned to ſue for licence to depart home into Germanie in ſafetie: and the better to bring this to paſſe, they ſent Vortigerne (whome they had kept ſtyll with them in all theſe battayles) vnto his ſonne Vortimer, to be a meane for the obteining of their ſute. But whileſt this treatie was in hande, they got them into theyr ſhippes, and leauing theyr wyues and children behinde them, returned into Germanie. Thus farre Gal. Mon.

But howe vnlikely this is to be true, J will not make any further diſcourſe, but onely referre euery man to that whiche in olde autentique Hyſtoriographers of the Engliſhe Nation is found recorded, as in William Malmeſ. Henrie Hunt. Marianus, and others. Unto whome in theſe matters concerning the doings betwixt the Saxons and Brytaynes, we may vndoubtedly ſafely giue moſt credite.

VVil. Malm

William Malmeſ. wryting of this Vortimer, or Guortigerne, and of the warres which he made agaynſt the Saxons, varyeth in a maner altogither from Geffrey of Monmouth, as by his wordes here following ye may perceyue.

Guortimer, the ſonne of Vortimer (ſayth he) thinking not good long to diſſemble the matter, for that he ſawe himſelfe and his Countreymen the Brytayns preuented by the craft of the Engliſhe Saxons, ſetteth his full purpoſe to dryue them out of the Realme, and kyndleth his father to the like attempt.

Hengiſt had the victorie in this battaile ſayth Ra. Hig.
458
Hors and Categerne ſlaine.

He being therefore the Authour and procurer, ſeuen yeares after their firſt comming into thys land, the league was broken, and by the ſpace of xx. yeres they fought oftentymes togither in many light encounters, but foure times they fought puiſſance agaynſte puiſſaunce in open fielde: in the firſt battayle they departed with like fortune, whileſt the one part, that is to meane, the Saxons, loſt their Captaine Horſt that was bother to Hengiſt, and the Brytaynes loſt Categerne, an other of Vortigernes ſonnes.

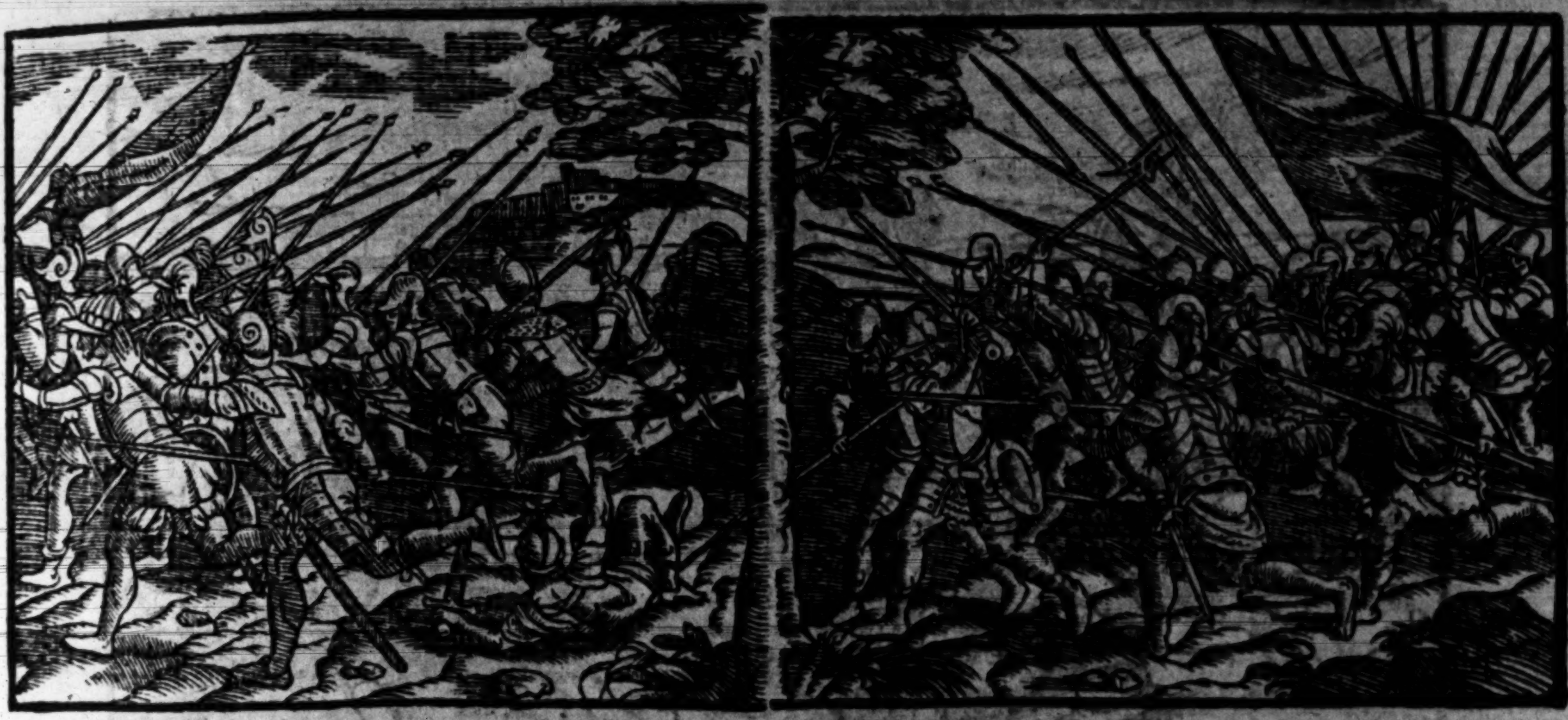
In the other battails, when the Engliſhmen went euer away with the vpper hand, at length a peace was concluded, Guortimer being taken out of this worlde by courſe of fatall death, the which muche differiug from the ſofte and milde nature of his father, right nobly would haue gouerned the realme, if God had ſuffred him to haue liued.

But theſe battailes which Vortimer gaue to the Saxons (as before is mentioned) ſhould appeare by that which ſome wryters haue recorded, to haue chaũced before the ſuppoſed time of Vortimers or Guortimers atteyning to the crowne, about the ſixt or ſeuenth yeare after the firſt comming of the Saxons into this realme with Hengiſt. And hereunto William Hariſon giueth his conſent alſo in his Chronologie, referring the mutuall ſlaughter of Horſus and Catigerne, to the ſixth yeare of Martus, and. 455. of Chriſt.

Polidor.

Howbeit Pol. Virg. ſayth, that Vortimer ſucceded his father, and that after his fathers deceaſſe the Engliſh Saxons, of whom there was a great number as then in the Ile, comming ouer dayly like ſwarmes of Bees, and hauing in poſſeſſion not onely Kent, but alſo the North partes of the Realme towardes Scotlande, togither with a great part of the weſt Countrey, thought it now a fit tyme to attempt the fortune of warre: and firſt therfore concluding a league with the Scots and Picts, vpon the ſodaine they turne their weapon poynts agaynſt the Brytaines, and moſte cruelly purſue them, as though they had receyued ſome great iniurie at their handes, and no benefit at all. The Brytaynes were marueylouſly abaſhed herewith, perceyuing that they ſhoulde haue to do with Hengiſt, a captain of ſo high renowm, and alſo with their auncient enimies the Scottes and Pictes, thus all at one time, and that there was no remedie but eyther they muſt fight or elſe become ſlaues. Wherfore at length dread of bondage ſtyrred vp manhod in them, ſo that they aſſembled togither, and boldly began to reſiſt theyr enimies on ech ſide: but beeing too weake, they were eaſily diſcomfited and put to flight, ſo that all hope of defence by force of armes being vtterly taken awaye, as menne in diſpayre to preuaile agaynſt theyr enimyes, they fled as ſheepe ſcattered abroade, ſome following one Captaine and ſome another, getting them into deſart places, woddes, and marriſh groundes, and moreouer left ſuch townes and fortreſſes as were of no notable ſtrength, as a pray vnto their enimies.

The Brytaynes diſcomfited by the Saxons.



Thus hath Polidore Virgile of the firſt breaking of the warres betwixt the Saxons and Brytayns, which chaunced not (as ſhould appeare by that which he wryteth thereof,) till after the death of Vortigerne. Howbeit he denieth not ẏ Hengiſt at his firſt comming got ſeates for him and hys people within the Country of Kent, and there began to inhabite.

This ought not to bee forgotten, that king Vortimer (as Sigebertus hath written) reſtored the chriſtian religion after he had vanquiſhed the Saxons, in ſuch places where the ſame was decayed by the enimies inuaſion.

Sigebertus.

Vortig erne the ſeconde time.

Then was Vortigerne agayne reſtored to the Kingdome of Brytayne, in the yeare of our Lorde. 471.

471. hath Mat. Weſt.

471

All the tyme of his ſonnes raigne, he had remayned in the partyes nowe called Wales, where (as ſome wryte) in that meane tyme hee buylded a ſtrong Caſtell called Generon, or Guaneren, in the Weſt ſide of Wales neare to the ryuer of Guana, vpon a Mountayne called Cloaricus, which ſome referre to be buylded in his ſecond returne into Wales, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter. And it is ſo much the more likely, for that an olde Chronicle, which Fabian had ſight of, affyrmeth, that Vortigerne was kept vnder the rule of certayne Gouernours to hym appoynted in the towne of Caerlegion, and behaued himſelfe in ſuch commendable ſort towardes his ſonne in ayding him with his counſail, and otherwiſe, in the meane ſeaſon whileſt his ſonne raigned, that the Brytayns by reaſon therof began ſo to fauour him, that after the death of Vortimer they made him againe king.

Caerleon Arwiske.

Shortly after that Vortigerne was reſtored to the rule of the Kingdome, Hengiſt aduertiſed thereof, returned into the lande with a mightye armie of Saxons, whereof Vortigerne being aduertiſed, aſſembled his Brytaines, and with all ſpeede made towardes him.

4000. hath Math. Weſt. He might eaſily returne, for except I be deceyued he was neuer driuen cut after he had once got foot within this Ile.

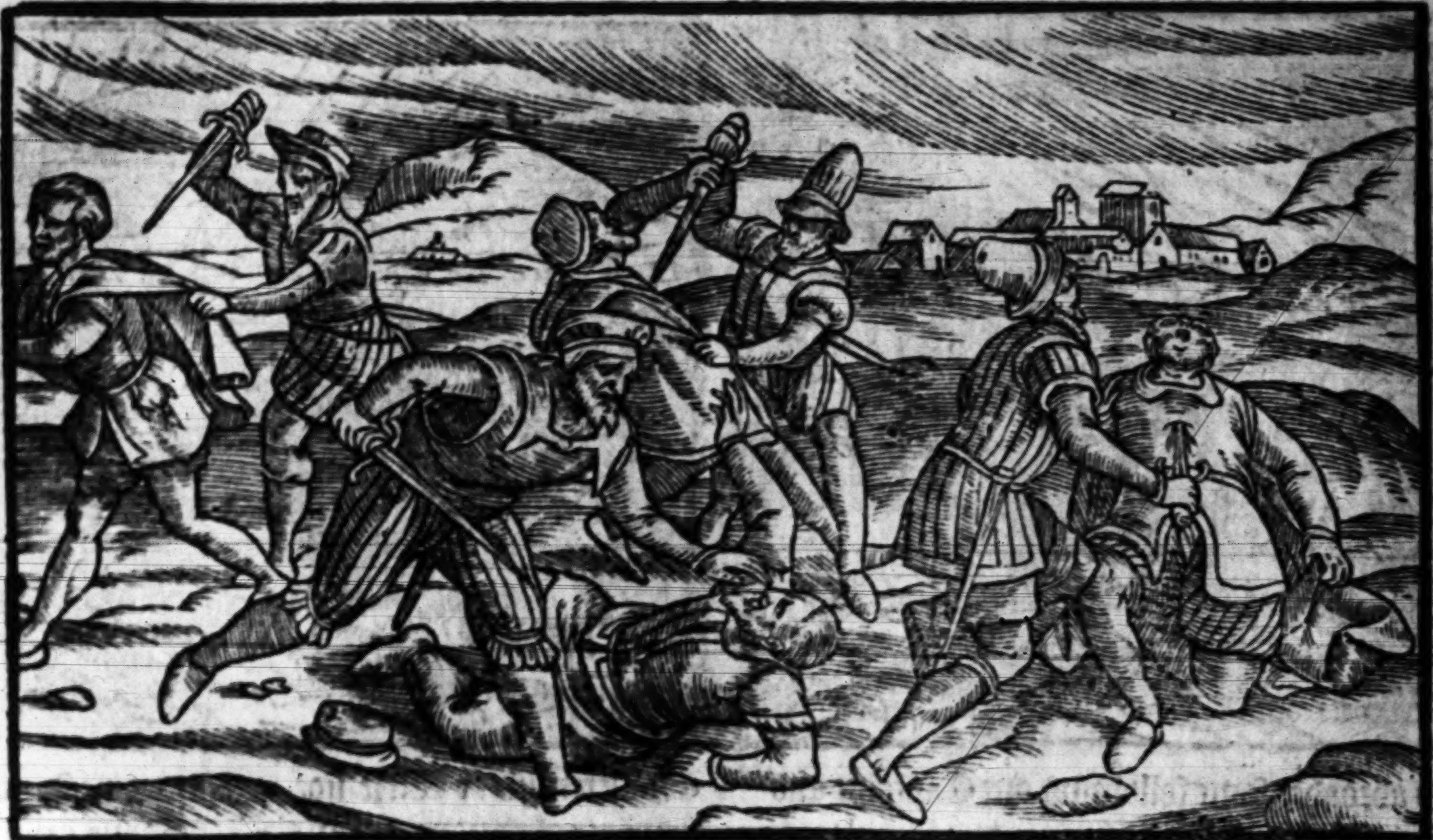
When Hengiſt had knowledge of the huge hoſt of the Brytains that was comming againſt him, he required to come to a communication with Vortigerne, which requeſt was graunted, ſo that it was concluded, that on May day a certain nūber of Britains, & as many of the Saxons ſhould meete togither vpon the plaine of Saliſburie.

Hengiſt hauing deuiſed a newe kind of treaſon, when the daye of theyr appoynted meeting was come, cauſed euery one of his allowed number ſecretely to put into his Hoſe a long knyfe (where it was ordeined that no man ſhould bring any weapon with him at all) and that at the verie inſtant when this watchworde ſhoulde be vttered by him, *Nempt your ſexes*, then ſhould euery of them plucke out his knife, and ſlea the Brytayne that chaunced to be next to him, except the ſame ſhoulde bee Vortigerne, whom he willed to be apprehended, but not ſlaine.

Nempt your ſexes, what it is were meſſes.

At the day aſſigned, the king with his appointed number of Brytaynes, nothing miſtruſting leſſe than any ſuch maner of vnfaythfull dealing, came to the place in order before preſcribed, without armour or weapon, where hee founde readie Hengiſt with his Saxons, the whiche receyued the king with amiable countenance, in moſte louing ſort: but after they were entred a little into communication, Hengiſt meaning to accompliſh hys deuyſed purpoſe, gaue the watchworde, immediately whervpon the Saxons drewe oute theyr knyues, and ſodainly fell on the Brytayns, and ſlue them as ſheepe being fallen within the daunger of woolues.

There died of the nobles of Brytaine. 460, as Gal, hath.



For the Brytaines had no weapons to defend themſelues, except any of them by his ſtrength & manhood got the knife of his enimie.

Amongſt other of the Brytaynes, there was one Edol Earle of Glouceſter, or (as other haue) Cheſter, which got a ſtake out of an hedge, or elſe where, and with the ſame ſo defended himſelfe and layde aboute him, that he ſlue. xvij. of the Saxons, and eſcaped to the Towne of Ambrie, nowe called Saleſburie, and ſo ſaued his owne lyfe.

Ran. Ceſtren.
Fabian.

70. bath. Gal.
Math. Weſt.
Ran. Ceſtren.

Vortiger was taken and kept as priſoner by Hengiſt, till he was conſtrayned to delyuer vnto Hengiſt three Prouinces or Countreys of thys Realme, that is to witte, Kent, and Eſſex, or as ſome write, that parte where the ſouth Saxons after did inhabite, as Suſſex and other: the thirde was the Countrey where the Eaſtangles planted themſelues, which was in Norfolk, and Suffolke.

Then Hengiſt being in poſſeſſion of thoſe three Prouinces, ſuffred Vortigerne to depart, and to be at his libertie.

William Malmeſb. wryteth ſomewhat otherwiſe of this taking of Vortigerne, during whoſe raigne, after the deceaſſe of his ſonne Vortimer, nothing (as ſhould appeare by that which the ſame Malmeſb. wryteth) was attempted agaynſt the Saxons, but in the meane tyme (ſayeth hee) Hengiſt according to the default of mannes nature, whiche the more he hath the more hee deſyreth, by a colourable craft procureth his ſonne in lawe Vortigerne to come to a banket to his houſe, wyth three hundred other Brytaynes, and when hee had made them well and warme with often quaffing and emptying of Cuppes, and of purpoſe touched euerye of them wyth one bytter taunte or other, they firſt fell to multiplying of malicious wordes, and after to blowes, ſo that the Brytaynes were ſlaine euery mothers ſonne, ſo yeelding vp their ghoſtes euen amongſt their pottes.

Wil. Malm.

The King himſelfe was taken, and to redeeme himſelfe out of pryſon, gaue to the Saxons three Prouinces, and ſo eſcaped oute of bondage.

Thus by what meane ſoeuer it came to paſſe, truth it is (as all wryters agree) that Hengiſt got poſſeſſion of Kent, and of other Countreys in this Realme, and beganne to raigne there as abſolute Lorde and Gouernour in the yeare of oure Lorde (as ſome wryte.) 476. about the

476.

the fifth yeare of Vortigers laſt raigne: but after other which take the begynning of this kingdome of Kent, to be when Hengiſt had firſt gyſt thereof, the ſame Kingdome beganne in the yeare.455.

Kingdome of Kent.

This Kingdome or Lordſhip of Kent conteyned the countrey that ſtretcheth from the Eaſt Ocean, vnto the ryuer of Thames, hauing on the Southeaſt Southerie, and vpon the Weſt London, vppon the Northeaſt the Ryuer of Thames aforeſayde, and the Countrey of Eſſex.

Hengiſt and all other the Saxon kings which ruled (as after ſhall appeare) in .vij. partes of this Realme, are called by wryters *Reguli*, that is to ſay, little kings or rulers, of ſome ſmal dominion, ſo that Hengiſt is accounted as a little king. And when he had got into his handes the foreſayde three Prouinces, he cauſed more number of Saxons to come into Brytayne, and beſtowed them in places abroade in the Countrey, by reaſon whereof, the Chriſtian Religion greatlye decayed within the lande: for the Saxons being Pagans, did what they coulde to extinguiſh the fayth of Chriſt, and to plant againe in all places theyr heathenniſh Religion, and worſhipping of falſe Goddes: and not onely hereby was the true fayth of the Chriſtians brought in daunger dayly to decay, but alſo the erronious opinion of the Pelagians greatly preuayled here amongeſt the Brytaynes, by meanes of ſuche vnſounde Preachers, as in that troubleſome ſeaſon did ſet forth erronious doctrine amongſt the people, without all maner of reprehenſion.

The decay of Chriſtian religion.

Beda.

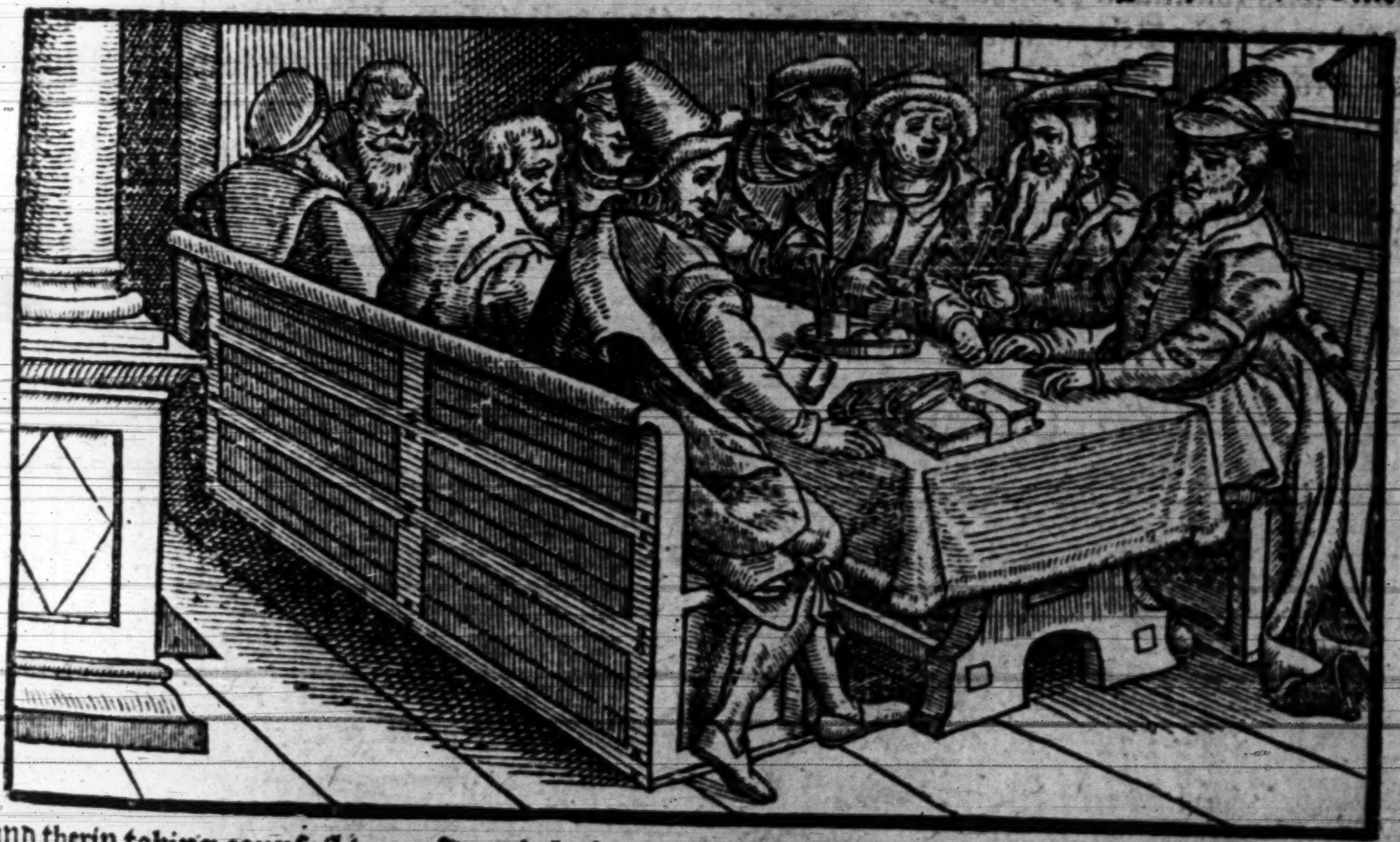
Certayne yeares before the comming of the Saxons, that hereſie began to ſpreade within this land very much, by the lewde induſtrie of one Leporius Agricola, the ſonne of Seuerus Sulpitius (as Bale ſayth) a Biſhop of that lore. But Pelagius the author of this hereſie was borne in Wales, and held opinion that a man might obteyne ſaluation by his owne free wil & merit, & without aſſiſtance of grace, as he that was borne without originall ſinne. &c.

Beda.

This erronious doctrine being taught therfore, & mainteyned in this troubleſome time of warres with the Saxons, ſore diſquieted the godly minded men amongeſt the Brytaines, the which not meaning to receyue it, nor yet able wel to confute the craftie and wicked perſwaſions vſed by the profeſſors therof, thought good to ſend ouer into Gallia, requiring of the Biſhops there, that ſome godly & profound learned men might be ſent from thence into this lande, to defende the cauſe of the true doctrine againſt the naughtie teachers of ſo blaſphemous an error. Wherupon the Biſhops of Gallia ſore lamenting the miſerable ſtate of the Britains, & deſirous to relieue their preſent neede, ſpecially in that caſe of religion, called a Sinode, and therin taking counſail to conſider, who were moſt meeteſt to be ſent, it was decreed by al their conſents in the ende, that one Germaine the Biſhop of Auxerre, and Lupus Biſhop of Troyes ſhould paſſe ouer into Brytayne to confirme the Chriſtians there in the fayth of the celeſtial grace. And ſo thoſe two vertuous learned men taking their iourney, finally arriued in Brytayn, though not without ſome daunger by ſea, through ſtormes and rage of windes, ſtyrred (as hath beene thought) of the ſuperſtitious, by the malice of wicked ſpirites, who purpoſed to haue hindered theyr proceeding in this theyr good and well purpoſed iourney.

A Sinode called in Gallia.

Germanus, d Lupus.



After they were come ouer, they did ſo much what with conuincing the wicked arguments of the aduerſaries of the truth, by the inuincible power of the worde of God, and holyneſſe of lyfe, that thoſe whiche were out of the right way, were ſoone brought into the right path againe.

Beda.
Palladius.

About the ſame time alſo, one Palladius was ſent from Celeſtinus Biſhop of Rome, vnto the Scottes, to inſtruct them in the faythe of Chriſt, and to purge them from the Hereſie of the ſayde Pelagius.

Conſtantine king of Scots.

This Paladius exhorted Conſtantinus the king of Scottes, that in no wiſe he ſhoulde ayde the Saxons beeing infidelles agaynſt the Brytaines: and his exhortation tooke ſo good effect, that the ſayd Conſtantinus did not only forbeare to aſſyſt the Saxons, but contrarily holpe the Brytaynes in theyr warres agaynſt them, the which thing did mainteyne the ſtate of the Brytaynes for a tyme from falling into vtter ruine and decay.

H. Hunt.
Beda.

In the meane time, the Saxons renued their league with the Pictes, ſo that their powers being ioyned togither, they beginne a freſh to make ſore warres vpon the Brytaynes, the which of neceſſitie were conſtrayned to aſſemble an armie, and miſtruſting their owne ſtrength, required ayde of the two Biſhops, Germaine and Lupus. The which haſting forwarde with all ſpeede came into the army, bringing with them no ſmall hope of good lucke to all the Brytaynes there beeing aſſembling.

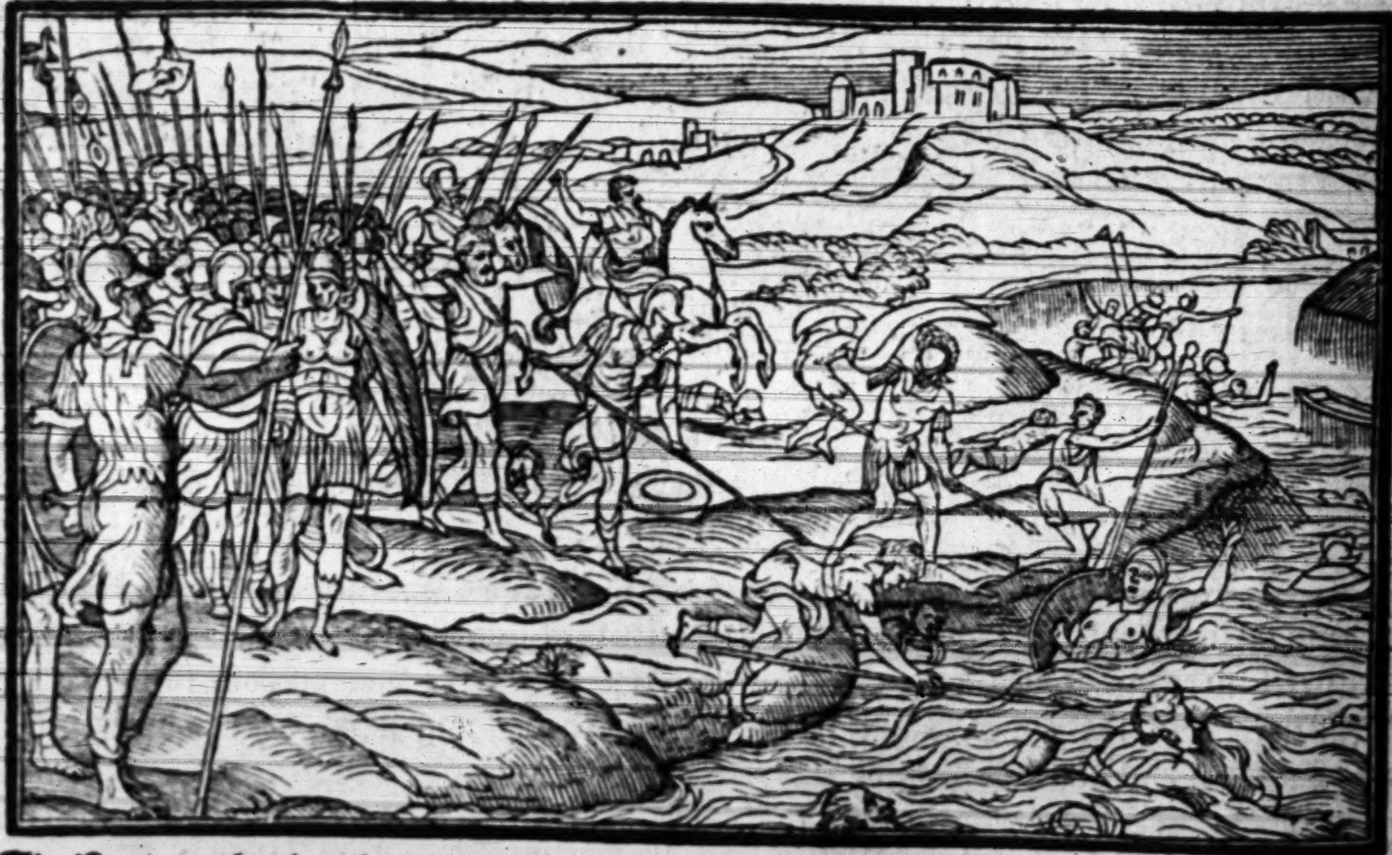
This was done in Lent, and ſuch was the diligence of the Biſhops, that (the people being inſtructed with continuall preaching) in renouncing the error of the Pelagians, earneſtly came by troupes to receyue the grace of God offered in baptiſme, ſo that on Eaſter day which then enſued, the more part of the army was baptiſed, and ſo went forth againſt the enimies, the which hearing thereof, made haſt towards the Brytaynes, in hope to ouercome them at pleaſure. But theyr approche being knowne, Byſhoppe Germaine taketh vpon him the leading of the Brytiſh hoſt, and ouer agaynſt the paſſage throughe the which the enimies were appoynted to come, he choſe forth a valley encloſed with high Mountaynes, and within the ſame he placeth his newe waſhen armie.

The armie of the Brytaines newly chriſtened.

And when he ſaw the enimies now at hande, he commaunded that euery man with one generall voyce ſhoulde aunſwere him, crying alowde the ſame crie that he ſhould begin.

And euen as the enimies were readie to giue the charge vpon the Brytaynes, ſuppoſing that they ſhould haue taken them at vnwares, and before any warning had beene giuen, ſodainly Biſhop Germaine and the Prieſtes, with a lowde and ſhrill voyce cryed *Alleluia* thrice: and therewith all the multitude of the Brytaynes wyth whole voyce cryed the ſame crie, with ſuch a lowd ſteauen, that the Saxons were ſo therewith amaſed and aſtonyed, (the echo from the rocks and hilles adioyning, redoubling in ſuche wiſe the crie,) that they thought that not onely the rockes and clyfes had fallen vpon them, but that euen the ſkie it ſelfe had broken in peeces and come tumbling downe vpon their heades: herewith therefore throwing away their weapons, they tooke them to their feete, that glad was he that might get to be formoſt in running awaye. Many of them for haſt were drowned in a Riuer whiche they had to paſſe. Polidore taketh that Riuer to be Trent.

Alleluia.



The Brytayns hauing thus vanquiſhed their enimies, gathered the ſpoyle at good leyſure, and gaue God thanks for the victorie thus got without bloud, for the which the holy biſhops alſo triumphed as beſt became them. And after they had ſetled all things in good quiet within the Ile, as was thought expedient, they returned into Gallia or France, frō whence they came (as is before reherſed.) By one author it ſhould appeare that this battell was wonne againſt the Scots and Picts

Mat. 77

about

448

about the yeare of our Lord. 448. alittle before yͤ comming of the Saxons into this lande vnder Hengiſt, whereto William Harriſon accordeth, in which yeare S. Germane firſte came hither to weede out the hereſie of Pelagius, as by the ſame author more at large is affirmed. Howbeit, William Harriſon in his Chronologie out of Proſper, and other writers of time, noteth the cōming of Germanus in the. 429. of Chriſt, and vnder yͤ Conſulſhip of Florentius and Dioniſius: & thys ſhould ſeeme to agree with the troth, although yͤ after ſome, yͤ foreſaid Germane ſhould dye at Rauenna about the yeare of our Lord. 450. as Vincentius noteth, whiche was the very yeare of the comming of the Saxons: notwithſtanding whē, or whereſoeuer he dyed, it was not long after hys returne into Gallia, vpon his firſt iourney made hither into this land, & obteyning of yͤ victory before mentioned, but yͤ word was brought againe vnto him, that eftſoones the hereſie of the Palagians was ſpred abrode in Britayne, & therefore al the Prieſts or Cleargie made requeſt to him yͭ it might ſtande with his pleaſure to come ouer againe, and defend the cauſe of true Religion whiche he had before confirmed. Heerevpon Biſhop German granteth ſo to do, and therefore takyng with him one Seuerus (that was diſciple vnto Lupus, & ordeyned at yͤ tyme Biſhop of Tryer) he tooke the Sea, and came againe into Britaine, where he founde the multitude of the people ſtedfaſt in the ſame beliefe wherein he had left them, & perceyued the fault to reſt in a fewe: wherevppon enquiring out the authors, he condemneth them to exile (as it is written) and with a manifeſt miracle by reſtoring a yong man that was lame (as they ſay) vnto the right vſe of his limmes, he confirmeth his doctrine. Then followeth preaching to perſwade amendmente of errors, and by the generall conſente of all men, the authors of the wicked doctrine being baniſhed the land, were deliuered vnto Biſhop Germane and to his fellowe Seuerus, to conuey them forth in their company vnto the parties of beyond the Sea, that the Region might ſo be deliuered of further daunger, and they receyue the benefite of due amendmente.

Germane returneth againe into Britayne.

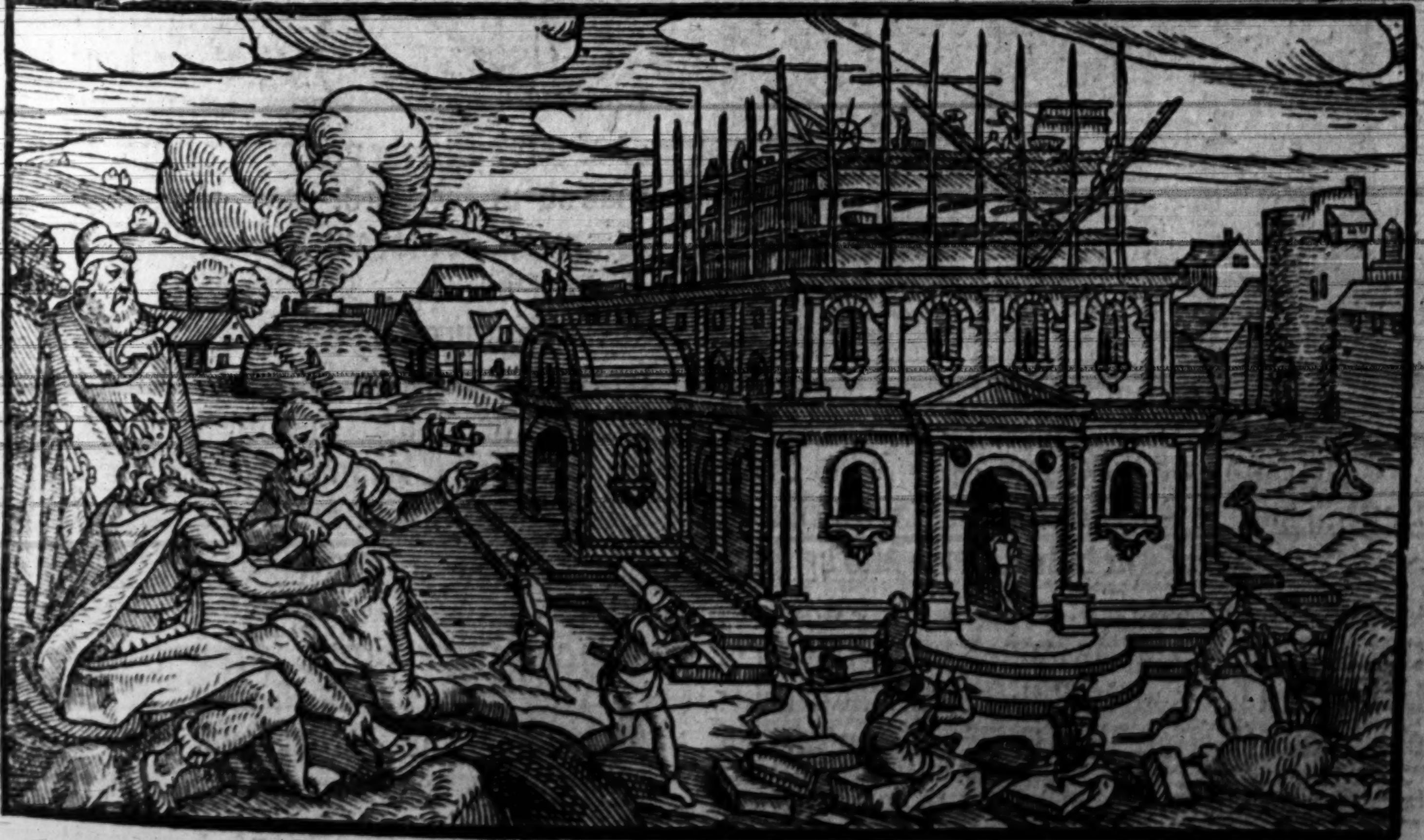
By this meanes it came to paſſe, that the true faith continued in Brittayne ſounde and perfect a long time after. And thus things beeing ſet in good order, thoſe holy men returned into theyr countreys. And ſo after this ſeconde time of hys being here, the forenamed Biſhop German went to Rauenna for to ſew for peace to bee graunted vnto the people of Armorike Britayne, and there being receyued of the Emperour Valentinian, & his mother Placida in moſt reuerend manner, he departed in that Citie out of this tranſitory life, to the eternall ioyes of heauen. His body was afterwardes conueyed vnto the Citie of Auxerre, where he had bin Biſhop with great opinion of holineſſe for his ſincere doctrine and pure and innocent life. Shortly after was the Emperoure Valentinian ſlayne by the friendes of that noble man named Aetius, whom he had before cauſed to be put to death. By this it may appeare, that Biſhop German came into this Realm both the firſt and ſecond time, whileſt as well Hengiſt, as alſo Vortigerne were liuing: for the ſayde Valentinian was murthered about yͤ yeare of our Lord 454. where the ſayde Kings liued & reigned long after that time, as may appeare both before & after in this preſent booke. To returne then to Vortigerne. We find in the Brittiſh hiſtorie, that after the Saxons had conſtreyned him to delyuer into their handes a greate parte of the ſouth & eaſt partes of the Realme, ſo that they had in poſſeſſion London, Yorke, Lincolne, & Wincheſter, wͭ other Cities & townes, he not only fearing theyr puiſſāce, but alſo yͤ returne of Aurelius Ambroſius, & his brother Vtherpēdragon, withdrew him into Wales, wher he begā to build a ſtrōg Caſtel

Anno 450. as Vincentius noteth lib. 20. Cap. 15.

The Emperor Valentinian ſlayne.

454

Galfrid.



Caxton.
Fabian.
Policron.

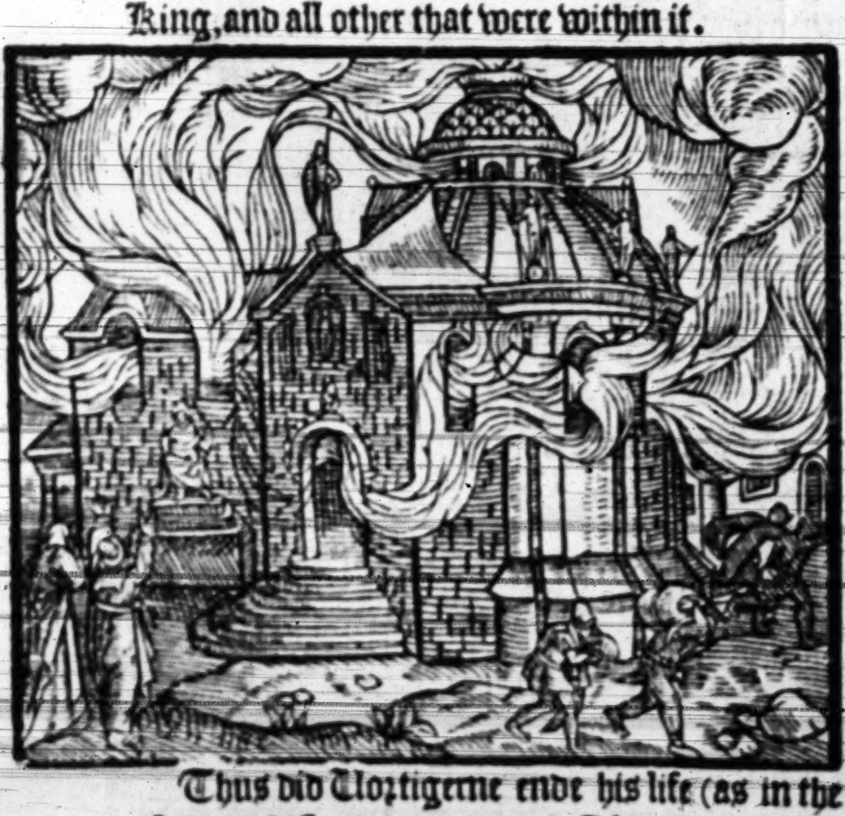
Mount Erir calleth it in one place of his booke.

Aurelius and Vter brethren returne into Britayne.

Vortigerne brent to death

Wilde fire not yet inuented as ſome think

vpon a Mountayne called Breigh, or after other Cloaric, neere to the riuer of Guana, whiche is in the Weſt ſide of Wales in a place within the compaſſe of the ſame hill called Generon or Gueyneren. Of the building of this Caſtell, and of the hinderance in erecting the ſame, with the monſtrous birth of Merlin and his knowlege in propheſying, the Britiſhe hiſtories tell a long proceſſe, the whiche in Caxton, and in Galfrides bookes is alſo ſet forthe, as there yee may ſee: but for that the ſame ſeemeth not of ſuche credite as deſerueth to be regiſtred in any ſound hiſtorie, we haue with ſilence paſſed it ouer. Whileſt Vortigerne was buſied in building of this Caſtel, the two foreſayde brethren Aurelius and Vter prepared a nauie of Shippes, and an army of men, by helpe of ſuche their kinſmen and friendes as they founde in Armorike Britayne, and ſo paſſed the Sea, and landed at Totneſſe: whereof when the Britaynes were aduertiſed, the which were ſcattered abrode and ſeuered in diuers parties & countreys, they drewe vnto the ſayde two brethren with all ſpeede that might be. When Aurelius and his brother Vter perceyued that they were ſufficiẽtly furniſhed of people, they marched forth towardes Wales againſt Vortigerne, the which hauing knowledge of their approche, had fortifyed his Caſtell right ſtrongly with men, munition and vittayles, but yet all that nothing auayled him, for in the ende after his enimies had gyuen diuers aſſaultes to the ſayde Caſtell, they found meanes with wilde fire to brenne it downe to the earth, and ſo conſumed it by fire togither with the King, and all other that were within it.



Thus did Vortigerne ende his life (as in the Brittiſh hiſtorie is recorded.) Of him much euill is reported by the ſame hiſtorie, and alſo by other writers, and amongſt other things it is written, that he ſhoulde lie by his owne daughters, and of hir begote a ſonne, in truſt that kings ſhuld come of him, and therefore was he excommunicate by Saint Germane.

Polychron.
A fayned tale of S. German

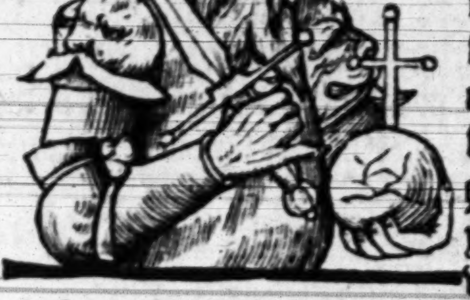
A calfiſhe narration.

It is alſo ſayde, that when the ſame Sainte Germane came into Britayne (as before ye haue heard) this Vortigerne on a time ſhoulde denie the ſame Saint Germane herbourrowe: but one that kept the Kings heardes of Cattell receyued him into his houſe, and lodged him, and ſlewe a Calfe for his ſupper, the which Calfe (after ſupper was ended) Sainte Germane reſtored againe to life: and on the morrow by the ordinance of God, hee cauſed Vortigerne to bee depoſed from hys Kingly eſtate, and tooke the heardman and made him King.

H.Hunt.

But Ranulfus Higden in his booke entitled *Polychronicon*, alledging Gildas for his author, ſayth, that this chaunced to a king that ruled in Powſcy, whoſe name was Buly, and not to Vortigerne: ſo that the ſucceſſours of that Buly reigning in that ſide of Wales, came of the lignage of the ſame herdman. Moreouer it hath bin ſayd as one writer recordeth, that when Vortigerne refuſed to heare the preaching of S. German, & fled from him as he followed to haue inſtructed him, one night there fell fyre from heauẽ vpon the caſtel wherin the king was lodged, and ſo the king being deſtroyed with the fall of the houſe and the fyre togyther, was neuer after ſeene. But theſe are fables, and therfore I paſſe them ouer, hoping that it ſhall ſuffiſe to ſhewe here with what ſtuffe our olde hiſtoriographers haue farced vp their huge volumes.

Aurelius Ambroſius.



Aureli-
us Am
broſius.

Mat. VVeſ
hath.466.

Galfr. Mon

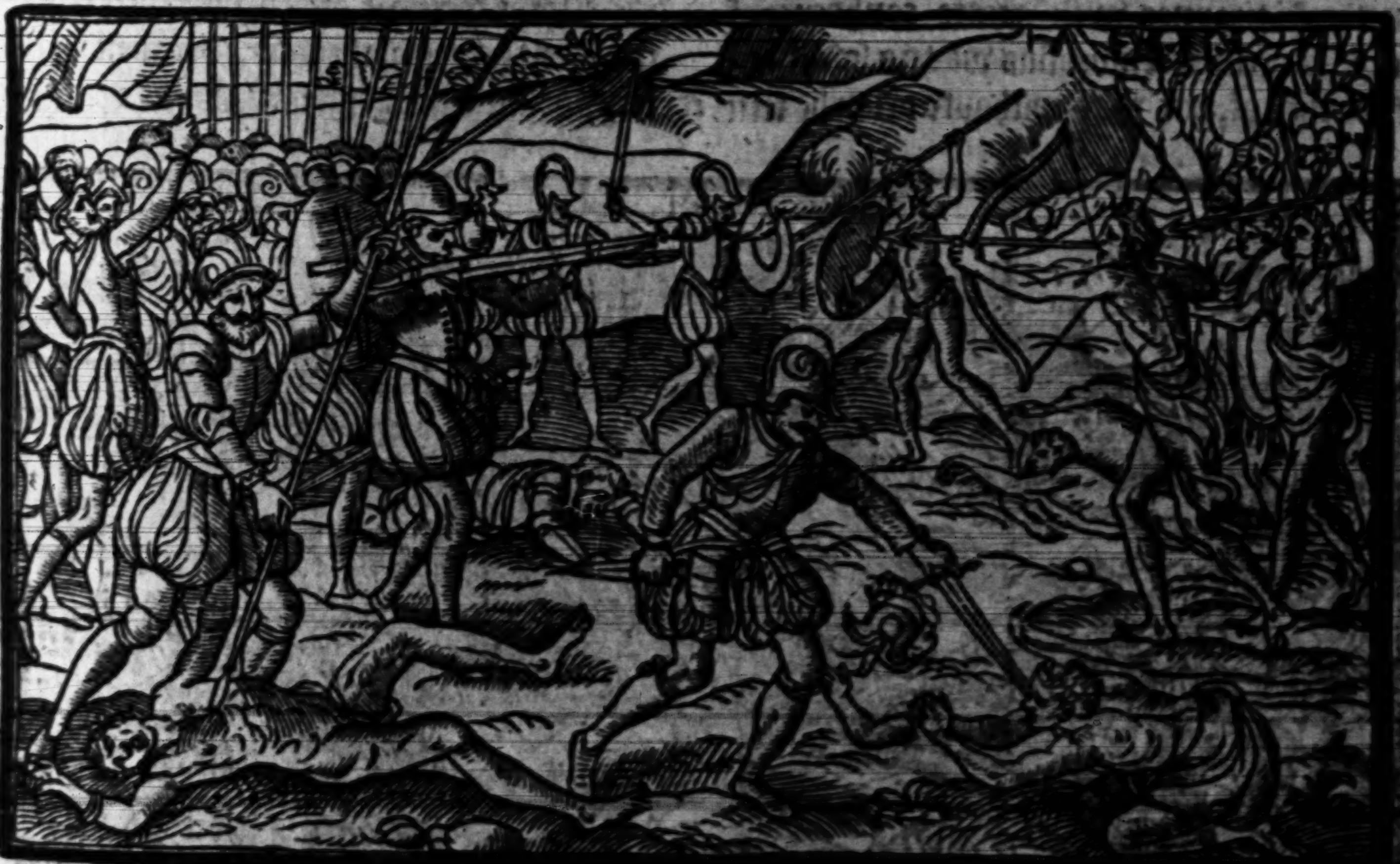
Hengiſt take
& beheaded.

AUrelius Ambroſius, yͤ ſecond ſon of king Conſtantine, & brother to Conſtãtius, murthered by the treaſon of Vortigerne (as before ye haue hearde) was made king of Brytons, in the yere of our Lord. 481. which was about the thirde yeare of the reigne of the Emperour Zeno, and the .xxiij. of Childericus, King of Fraunce. Odocer King of the *Heruli* as then vſurping the gouernement of Italy. After that this Aurelius Ambroſius had diſpatched Vortigerne, and was nowe eſtabliſhed Kyng of the Britaynes, hee made towardes Yorke, and paſſing the Riuer of Humber, encountred with the Saxons at a place called Maeſbell, and ouerthrewe them in a ſtrong battell, from the which as Hengiſt was fleeing to haue ſaued himſelfe, hee was taken by Edoll Earle of Glowceſter (or as ſome haue Cheſter) and by him ledde to Conningeſbourrowe and was there beheaded by the counſell of Eldade then Biſhop of Colcheſter. But ther be that write how Hengiſt was taken at an other battell fought vpon the Riuer of Dune, in the yeare of our Lord. 489. and not in the chaſe of the battell whiche was foughte at Maeſbelle in the yeare. 487. as the ſame authors do alledge. Occa the ſonne of Hengiſt, by flight eſcaped to Yorke, and being there beſieged, at length was conſtreyned to yeelde hymſelfe to Aurelius: the which dealing fauorably with him, aſſigned forth to him and other of the Saxons a countrey borduring neere to the Scottes, whych (as ſome affirme) was Galloway, where the ſayd Occa and the Saxons began to inhabite. Then did Aurelius Ambroſius put the Saxons out of all other partes of the land, and repared ſuche Cities, Townes, and alſo Churches, as by them had bin deſtroyed or defaced, and placed agayne Prieſtes, and ſuch other as ſhoulde attende to the miniſterie and ſeruice of God in the ſame Churches.

Alſo for a perpetuall memorie of thoſe Britaynes that were ſlayne on the playne of Saliſburie by the treaſon of Hengiſt, he cauſed ſtones to bee fetched out of Irelande, and to be ſet vp in the ſame place where that ſlaughter was committed, and called the place Stonheng, whiche name continueth vnto this day. There were ſent fifteene thouſand men as Galfride ſaith, for thoſe ſtones, vnder the leading of Vter Pendragon the Kings brother, the whiche giuing battell vnto Gillomanus King of Ireland that went aboute to reſiſt the Britaynes, and would not permitte them to fetche away the ſame ſtones out of hys countrey, diſcomfyted him and his people, and ſo maugre his will broughte the ſtones away with him.

Galfrid.

Shortly after Paſcentius that was Vortigernes yongeſt ſonne, and had eſcaped into Ireland (when Aurelius Ambroſius came into Britayne) returned with a greate power of ſtraunge nations, and toke yͤ Citie of Menenia in Wales, afterwardes called Saint Dauid, and did much hurt in the countrey with fire and ſworde. At whiche time the ſame Aurelius Ambroſius laye ſicke at Wincheſter, and beeing not able to goe forth himſelfe, deſired his brother Vter Pendragon to aſſemble an army of Britaines, and to goe againſt Paſcentius and his adherents. Vter according to his brothers requeſt, gathering hys people, wente forthe, and encountring with the enimies, gaue them the ouerthrowe, ſlew Paſcentius and Gillomare or Gilloman King of Irelande that was come ouer with him in ayde againſt the Britaynes.



In the meane while, a Saxon, or ſome other ſtranger, whoſe name was Eopa or Copa, not long before procured thereto by Paſcentius, fayned himſelfe to be a Britayne, and for a couloure counterfeyting himſelfe a Monke, and to haue great knowledge in Phiſicke, was admitted to miniſter as it were medicines vnto Aurelius: but in ſtead of that whiche ſhoulde haue broughte him health, he gaue him poyſon, whereof hee dyed ſhortly after at Wincheſter aforeſayde, when hee had raigned after moſt accorde of writers nineteene yeares: his body was conueyhed to Stoneheng and there buried.

Thus finde wee in the Britiſhe and common Engliſh hiſtories of the doings of Aurelius Ambroſius, which as ye haue heard make him a Britayne borne, and diſcended of the bloud of the ancient Britaynes. But Gildas and Beda reporte him to be a Romayne by diſcent as before is mentioned.

Polidor.

Polydore Virgill writeth in this ſorte of the victorious actes atchieued by the forſayde Aurelius Ambroſius. Then ſaith he, the Saxons ha-

uing

being already gotten the whole rule of the Iſle, practiſe their outragious cruelty ſpecially againſt the Princes of the Britaynes, to the end, that the ſayde Princes beeing ouercome and deſtroyed, they might with more eaſe obteyne poſſeſſion of the whole Iſle, whiche thing they only ſoughte for. But the fauor of almightie God was not wanting to the miſerable Britaynes in that greate neceſſitie, for beholde, Aurelius Ambroſius was at hande, the which had no ſooner cauſed the Trumpet to blowe to armour, but euery man for himſelfe prepareth and reſorteth to him, praying and beſeeching him to help to defende them, and that it might ſtand with his pleaſure to goe forth with them againſt the enimies with all ſpeede.

Thus an army beeyng aſſembled, Aurelius Ambroſius goeth againſte them, and valiantly aſſayleth them, ſo that within the ſpace of a fewe dayes, they foughte three battayles with greate fierceneſſe on both ſydes in triall of their high diſpleaſures and vttermoſt forces, in which at lẽgth the Britaynes put the Saxons to flight, Horſus the brother of Hengiſt being ſlayne with a greate number of his people. But yet notwithſtanding the enimies rage was little abated heereby, for within a fewe dayes after receyuing out of Germany a newe ſupply of menne, they brake forth vpon the Britaynes with greate confidence of victory. Aurelius Ambroſius was no ſooner aduertiſed thereof, but that withoute delay he ſette forwarde towardes Yorke from whence the enimies ſhould come, and hearing by the way that Hengiſt was encamped about ſeuen and twentie miles diſtante from that Citie, neere to the banke of a Riuer at this day called Dune, in the place where Doncaſter now ſtandeth, he returneth out of his way and marcheth towards that place, and the nexte daye ſetteth on the enimie and vanquiſheth him, Hengiſt at the firſt meeting of the battels beeyng ſlayne, with a greate number of the Germanes. The fame of this victory (ſaith Polidore) is had in memory with the inhabitantes of thoſe parties euen vnto this day, the which victory did ſore diminiſh the power of the Saxons, inſomuch that they began now to thinke it ſhoulde be more for their profit to ſit in reſt with that diſhonor, than to make any newe warres to theyr great diſaduantage and likelyhod of preſent loſſe.

Hengiſt is ſlayne.

Hengiſt lefte behynde him two ſonnes, Oſca and Otha, the which as menne moſt ſorrowfull for the ouerthrowe of late receyued, aſſembled ſuche power as they could togither, and remoued therewith towardes the Weſt parte of the Iſle, ſuppoſing it to bee better for them to drawe that way forth, than to returne into Kent, where they thought was already a ſufficient number of their people to reſiſt the Britaynes on that ſyde.

Nowe therefore, when they were come into the Weſt partes of the land, they waſt the countrey, brenne Villages, and abſtayne from no maner of crueltie that might be ſhewed.

These things beeing reported vnto Aurelius Ambroſius, hee ſtraightwayes haſteth thither to reſiſt thoſe enimies, and ſo giuing them battell, eftſoones diſcomfiteth them: but he himſelfe receyuing a wounde, dyed thereof within a few dayes after.

Aurelius dieth of a wounde.

The Engliſh Saxons hauing thus ſuſteined ſo many loſſes within a few monethes togither, were contented to bee quiet nowe that the Britaynes ſtirred nothing agaynſte them, by reaſon they were brought into ſome trouble by the death of ſuch a noble Captayne as they had nowe loſt. In the meane time Vortimer died, after whome ſucceeded Vter ſurnamed Pendragon. Thus hath Polidore written of the foreſayde Aurelius

Vortimer departeth this life.

Ambroſius, not naming him to be King of Britayne, and differing indeede in ſundry poyntes in this behalfe from diuers auntiente writers of the Engliſh hiſtories, for wher he attributeth the victory to the Britaynes in the battel fought, wherin Horſus the brother of Hengiſt was ſlayne by the reporte of *Polychronicon*, and other, the Saxons hadde the victory in that reencounter, and William of Malmeſburie ſayeth, that they departed from that battell with egall fortune, the Saxons loſing their Captayne Horſus, and the Britaynes their Captayne Katigerne (as before yee haue hearde) but there is ſuche contrarietie in writers touching the doings betwixte the Britaynes and Saxons in thoſe dayes, as well in accompte of yeares, as in the reporte of thynges done, that ſetting affection aſide, hard it is to iudge to which part a man ſhould giue credite. Where Fabian and other authors write, that Aurelius Ambroſius began his raigne ouer the Britaines about the yeare of our Lord. 481. Horſus was ſlayne about the yeare. 458. during the raigne of Vortimer, as aboue is mentioned, ſo that it cannot ſtande with the troth of the Britiſh hiſtories (the whiche Fabian followeth) that Horſus was ſlayne by Aurelius Ambroſius, if according to the ſame hiſtories hee returned not into Britayne, till the time there ſuppoſed. But diuers ſuch manner of contrarieties ſhall ye finde in peruſing of thoſe writers that haue written the Chronicles of the Britaynes and Saxons, the which in euery point to recite would be too tedious and comberſome a matter, and therefore we are forced to paſſe yͤ ſame ouer, not knowing how to bring them to any iuſt accorde for the ſatiſfying of all mens mindes, and namely the curious, whiche may with diligente ſearche ſatiſfye themſelues happily muche better than any other ſhall be able to doe in vttering his opinion neuer ſo much at large, and agreeable to a troth: onely therefore haue we thought good as it were by the way to touch what diuers authors do write, leauing it ſo to euery mans iudgemente to conſtrue therof, as his affection leadeth him. We fynde in the writings of thoſe that haue regiſtred the doings of theſe times, that Aurelius hauing vanquiſhed the Saxons, reſtored Churches to the furtherance of the Chriſtian Religion, which by the inuaſion of the Saxons was greatly decayed in diuers partes of Britayne, and thys chanced in the days of the Emperour Theodoſius yͤ yonger.

Mal:

igerne.

458

bertus.

us Math.
bath.

The beginning of the Kingdome of Suſſex.

IN the time of the foreſayd Aurelius Ambroſius one Ella a Saxon with his three ſonnes Cymen, Plettinger & Ciſſa, came out of Germany with three Shippes, and landed in the South partes of Britayne, and being encountred with a power of Britaynes at a place called Cuneneſhore, diſcomfited them, and chaſed them vnto a wood then called Andredeſwold, and ſo tooke that countrey, and inhabited there with his people the Saxons which he brought with him, and made himſelfe King and Lord thereof, in ſomuche that afterwardes the ſame countrey was named the kingdome of the South Saxons, whiche had for limittes on the Eaſt ſide Kent, on the South, the Sea and Iſle of Wight, on the weſt Hamſhire, and on the North part Southerie. This Kyngdome (after ſome) began vnder the forſayd Ella, aboute the. 32. yeare after the firſte commyng of the Saxons into this lãd, which by following that accompt, ſhould be about the ſecond yeare of the raigne of Aurelius Ambroſius, and about the yeare of oure Lord. 482. But other write, that it did begin about the. 30. yeare after the firſte comming of Hengiſt, which ſhould be two yeares ſooner. William Harriſon differing from al other, noteth it to begin in the fourth yeare after yͤ death of Hengiſt. 4458. of the worlde. 2. of the. 317. Olympiad. 1243. of Rome. 492. of Chriſte, and. 43. after the comming of the Saxons: his wordes are theſe. Ella erecteth the Kingdome of the South Saxons, in the. 15. after his arriuall, and raigned 32. yeares, the chiefe Citie of his Kingdome alſo was Chicheſter, & after hee had enioyed the ſame his Kingdome awhile, he ouerthrew yͤ Citie called Andredepceſter, whiche as then was taken for one of the moſt famous in all the South ſide of England. For my parte I thinke my dutie diſcharged, if I ſhew the opinions of yͤ writers: for if I ſhould thereto adde mine owne, I ſhould but increaſe coniectures, whereof already we haue ſuperfluous ſtore. To procede therfore as I fynde.

a entred
e land as
VVeſt.bath
o 477.

The kingdom of the South Saxons doth begin.

482

About the ninth yeare after the comming of Elle, the Britaynes perceyuing that he with hys Saxons ſtill enlarged the boundes of his Lordſhip by entring further into the lande, aſſembled themſelues togither vnder their Kings and Rulers, and gaue battell to Elle and his ſonnes at Mecredeſbourne, where they departed with doutfull victory, the armies on both ſides being ſore diminiſhed, and ſo returned to their homes. Elle after this battell ſente into his countrey for more ayde. But nowe touching Hengiſt which as yee haue hearde, reigned as King in the prouince of Kente, the writers of the Engliſhe Kings varie ſomewhat from the Brittiſhe hiſtories, bothe in reporte of the battels by him foughte againſte the Britaynes, and alſo for the manner of his deathe: as thus. After that Vortimerus was dead, which departed this life (as ſome write) in the firſt yeare of the Emperour Leo, ſurnamed the greate, and firſt of that name that gouerned the Empire, who began to rule in the yeare of our Lorde. 457. wee fynde that Hengiſt and his ſonne Occa or Oſca gathe-

Policron.

457

H. Hunt.
VV. Mal.

gathered their people togither that were before ſparkled, and hauing alſo receyued new ayde out of Germany, fought with yͤ Britaynes at a place called Crekenforde, wher were ſlayne of the Britaynes foure Dukes or Captaynes, and foure thouſand of other men, and the reſidue were chaſed by Hengiſt out of Kent vnto London, ſo that they neuer returned afterwards againe into Kẽt: and ſo the Kingdome of Kent began vnder Hengiſt the twelfth yeare after the comming of the Saxons into Britayne, and Hengiſt raigned in Kent after this (as the ſame writers agree) foure and twentie yeares. It is remembred that thoſe Germanes whiche lately were come ouer to the ayde of Hengiſt, beeing choſen men, mightie and ſtrong of body, with their axes and ſwords made great ſlaughter of the Britaynes in that battell at Crekenford or Creyforde, whiche Britaynes were aranged in foure battayles vnder their aforeſayd three Dukes or Captaynes, and were (as before is mentioned) ſlayne in the ſame battel. About the ſixth yere of the ſayd Emperour Leo, which was in the. 17. yeare after the comming of the Saxons. Hengiſt and his ſonne Occa or Oſca fought at Wyptiſhe fielde in Kent, neere to a place called Tong with the Britaynes, & ſlewe of them twelue Dukes or Captaynes, and on the parte of the Saxons was ſlayne beſyde common Souldiers but onely one Captayne that highte Vipet, of whome yͤ place after yͤ day tooke name.

Creyſourd.

Britaynes ouerthrowen.

Polychron.

H. Hunt.

VVipets field.
Mat. VVeſt.
This battell was fought anno. 473. as the ſame Mat. VVeſt noteth. Wipet
Hen. Hunt.

This victory was nothing pleaſaunte to the Saxons, by reaſon of the great loſſe whiche they ſuſteyned, as well by the death of the ſayd Vipet, as of a greate number of others: and ſo of a long time neyther did the Saxons enter into the confynes of the Britaynes, nor the Britaynes preſumed to come into Kent. But whileſt outward warres ceaſſe among the Britaynes, they exerciſe ciuill battell, falling togither by the eares among themſelues, one ſtriuing againſt another. Finally, Hengiſt departed this life by courſe of nature, in the. 39. yeare after his firſte comming into Britayne, hauing proceeded in his buſineſſe no leſſe with craft and guyle than with force and ſtrength, following therewith his natiue crueltie, ſo that he rather did all things with rigoure than with gentleneſſe. After him ſucceeded a ſonne whiche hee left behinde him, who beeing attentiue rather to defende than to enlarge his Kingdome, neuer ſet foote out of his fathers boundes, duryng the ſpace of. 24. yeares, in the whiche hee raigned.

Fortie yeares hath H. Hunt.

By this it is euident that he was not driuen out of the lande after he had once got foote within it.

About three yeares after the deceſſe of Hengiſt, a new ſupply of men of warre caine out of Germany vnto the ayde of Elle King of Suſſex, the which hauing his power ſo encreaſſed, beſieged the Citie of Andredeceſtre, which was very ſtrōg & well furniſhed with men & all things neceſſary.

Mat. VVeſt.
Hen. Hunt.

The Citie of Andredeceſter

The Britaynes alſo aſſembling togither in companies, greatly annoyed the Saxons as they lay there at ſiege, laying ambuſhes to deſtroy ſuche as wente abrode, and ceaſſing not to giue alarums to the campe in the night ſeaſon: & the Saxons could no ſooner prepare themſelues to giue the aſſault, but the Britaynes were ready to aſſayle them on the backes, till at length the Saxons deuiding themſelues into two companies, appoynted the one to giue the aſſault, and the other to encounter with the army of the Britaynes without, and ſo finally by that meanes preuayled, tooke the Citie, and deſtroyed manne, woman and childe. Neyther ſo contented, they did alſo vtterly raſe the ſayde Citie, ſo as it was neuer after that daye builded or reedified agayne.

The Kingdome of the Eaſtangles.

Moreouer, in the dayes of the forenamed Aurelius Ambroſius about the yeare of our Lorde. 561. the kingdome of the Eaſtangles began vnder a Saxon named Vffa. This Kingdome conteyned Northfolke and Suffolke, hauing on the Eaſt and North partes the Sea, on the Northweſt Cambridge ſhire, and on the Weſt Sainte Edmonds ditch with a part of Hertfordſhire, and on the South ſide lieth Eſſex. This Kingdome at the firſte was called Vffines dominion, and the Kings that raigned, or the people that inhabited there, were at the firſte named Vffines, but at length they were called Eaſtangles.

The King
of the Eaſt-
angles.
This King
dome as H
riſon noteth
began not
till Aureli
Conanus
raigned.

561

Furthermore about yͤ yere of oure Lorde 495. and in the eyght yeare after that Hengiſt was dead, one Cerdicus, and his ſonne Kenricus came out of Germany with fiue Shippes, and landed at a place called Cerdiceore, whiche as ſome thinke is nowe called Yermouth in Northfolke. Hee was at the firſt receyued with battell by the Britaynes, but beeing an olde ſkilfull warriour, hee eaſily beate backe and repulſed the inconſtante multitude of his enimies, and cauſed them to flee: by whyche good ſucceſſe hee procured for the time to come, both vndoubted aſſurance to himſelfe, and to the inhabi-

Cerdic
VVil. M
495
Fabian.
Policron.
VVil. M

inhabitantes good and perfect quietneſſe, for they thinking good neuer after to prouoke him more by reſiſtãce, ſubmitted themſelues to his pleaſure: but yet did not he then gyue himſelfe to ſlouthful reſt, but rather extending his often atchieued victories on eache ſyde, in the foure and twentith yeare after his comming into this land, he obteyned the rule of the Weſt partes thereof, and gouerned there as King, ſo that the Kingdome of Weſt Saxons began vnder the ſayde Cerdicus in the. 519. of Chriſt as after ſhall be ſhewed.

519

Thus may yee ſee that if Aurelius Ambroſius did ſucceede after Vortigerne, and raigned in the tyme ſuppoſed by the Brittiſh hiſtories, as before is alledged, the lande euen in his dayes was full of trouble, and the olde inhabitauntes the Britaynes ſore vexed by the Saxons that entred the ſame, ſo that the Britaynes dayly were hampered, and brought vnder ſubiection to the valiante Saxons, or elſe driuen to remoue further off, and to giue place to the victorers. But nowe to proceede with the ſucceſſion of the Brittiſhe Kings as in their Hiſtories wee fynde them regiſtred, whiche I delyuer ſuche as I fynde, but not ſuche as I do wiſhe, being written with no ſuche colloure of credite as we may ſafely put forthe the ſame for an vndoubted truth.

Vter Pendragon.

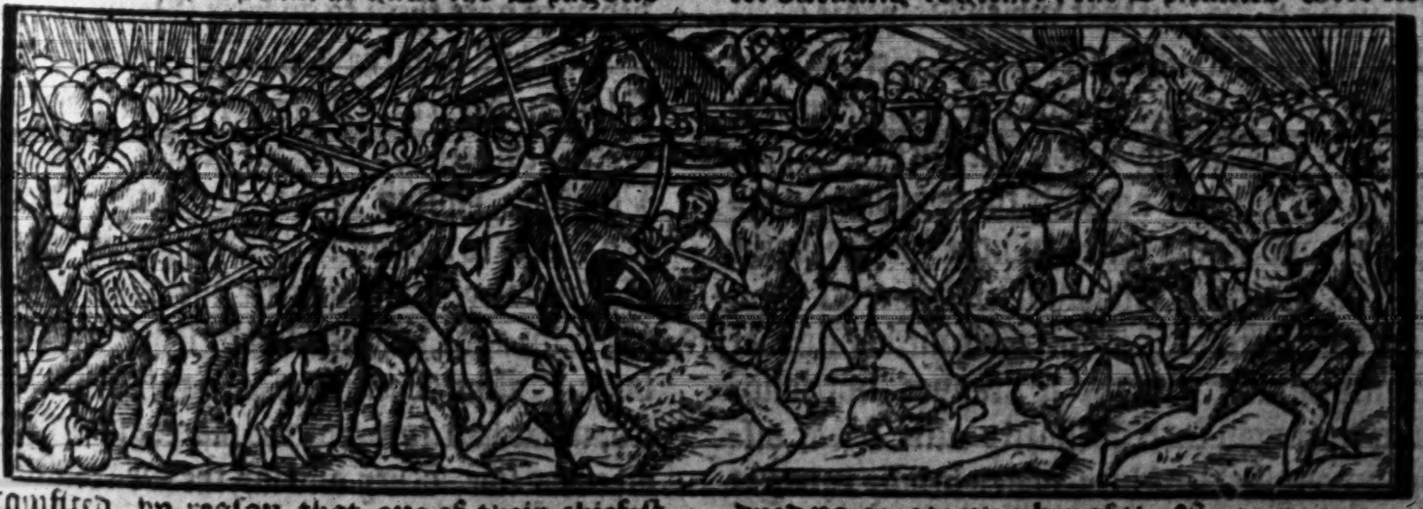
Math. Weſt.
...orth.
500

After that Aulelius Ambroſius was dead, his brother Vter Pendragon (whome Harriſon calleth, Aurelius Vterius Ambroſianus) was made King in the yeare of our Lorde. 500. In the ſeuenth yeare of the Emperour Anaſtaſius, and in the ſixteene yeare of Clodoueus King of the Frenchmen. The cauſe why hee was ſurnamed Pendragon, was, for that Merlyne the greate Prophete likened him to a Dragons head, that at the tyme of his natiuitie maruellouſly appeared in the firmamente at the corner of a blaſing Starre as is reported. But Harriſon ſuppoſeth that hee was ſo called of his wiſedome and ſerpẽtine ſubtiltie, or for that he gaue the Dragons head in his Banner.

Hec. Boetius.

Thys Vter, hearing that the Saxons with their Captaynes Occa or Octa the ſonne of Hengiſt, and his brother Oſca hadde beſieged the Citie of Yorke, haſted thither, and giuing them battell diſcomfited their power, and tooke the ſayd Occa and Oſca priſoners. From this varieth Hector Boetius in his Chronicle of Scotland, writing of theſe doings in Britaine: for he affirmeth, that the counterfet Monke whiche poyſoned Aurelius Ambroſius, was ſubornate, and ſent to worke that feate by Occa, and not by his brother Paſcentius: and further, that about the very ſelfe time of Aurelius his deathe, his brother Vter Pendragon lay in Wales, not as yet fully recouered of a ſore ſickneſſe, wherewith of late he had bin greeuouſly vexed. Yet the Lords of Britayne after the Buriall of Aurelius Ambroſius, came vnto him, and crowned him king: & though he was not able to goe againſt yͤ Saxons (which as then by reaſon of Aurelius Ambroſius hys death were very buſie, and more earneſt in purſuing the war than before) an army was yet prepared and ſente forth with all conuenient ſpeede vnder yͤ leading of one Nathaliod, a mã neyther of any greate auntiente houſe, nor yet of ſkill in warlike affaires. The noble men were nothyng pleaſed heerewith, as miſliking altogither yͤ lack of diſcretion in their new king, and doubted ſore, leaſt in time to come he would haue more delight to aduance the baſe degree, than ſuch as were diſcended of noble parentage. Yet bicauſe they wold not put the ſtate of the common wealth in daunger through any muteny, they agreed to goe forth with him in that iourney. Occa had aduertiſemente giuen by ſecrete letters ſente to him from ſome cloſe friendes amongſt the Britaines of the whole matter, and therefore in hope of the better ſpeed he haſted forth to encounter the Britaines, and ſo the one army comming within ſight of yͤ other, they prepare to the battell, and ſhortly after buckling togither, the Britaines were ſone diſcomfited, by reaſon that one of their chiefeſt Captaines called Gothlois diſdeyning to bee at the appointmente of Nathaliod, gote him vp to the next hill with the battell which he led, leauing the other Britaines in al the daunger: which they perceyuing ſtraight wayes began to flee. There dyed no greate number of the Britaines, excepte thoſe that were killed in the fight: for Occa miſtruſting what Gothlois meant by his withdrawing aſide, woulde not ſuffer the Saxons to followe the cheſe, but in the nyghte followyng, Gothlois gote hym away, and reſted not till

he was



hee was out of daunger. Occa then perceiuing himſelfe to haue the vpper hand, ſent an Herrauld vnto King Uter with a certayne meſſage, thretning deſtruction to him and to his people, if he refuſed to do that which he ſhould appoynt.

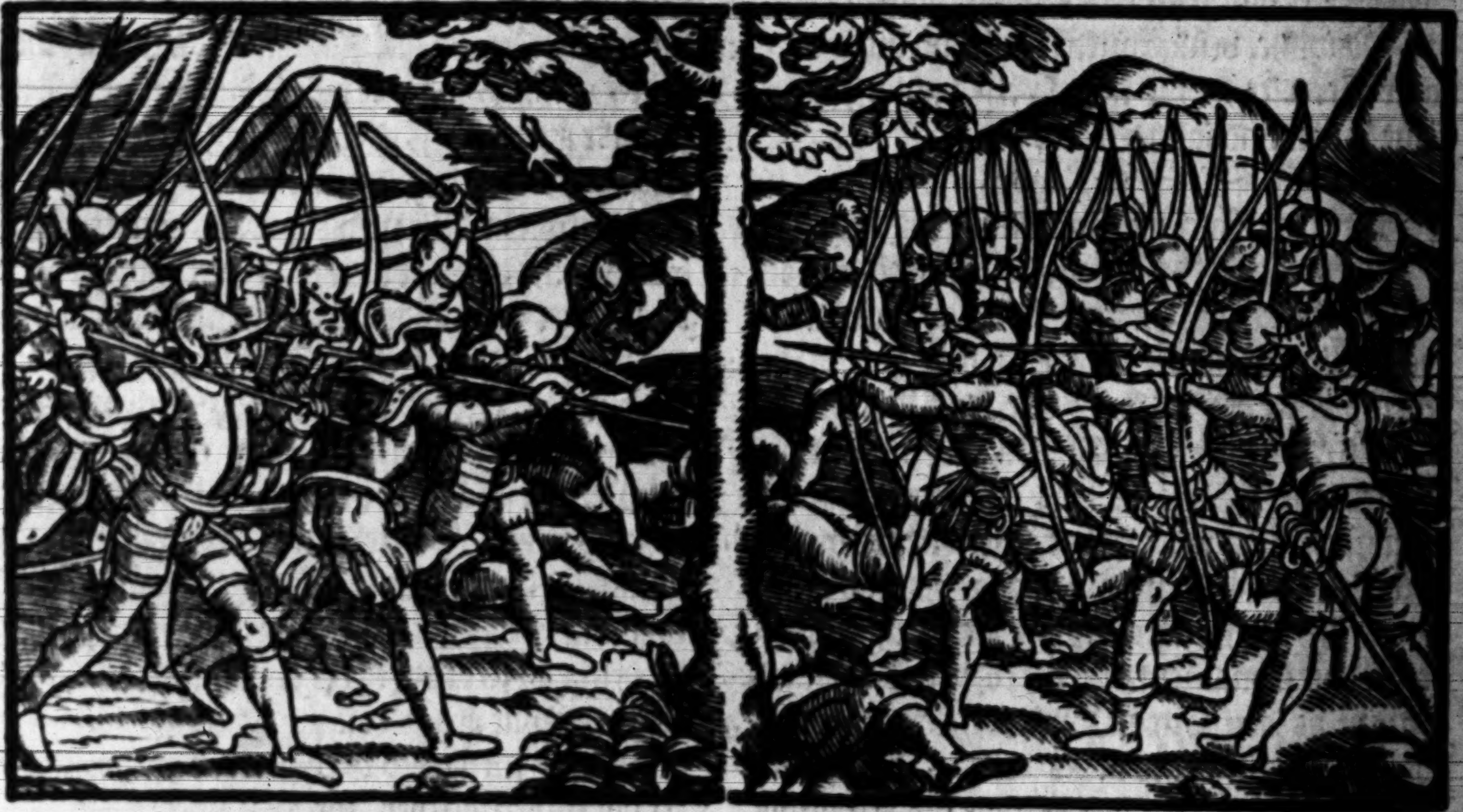
Uter perceyuing what diſloyaltie reſted in the harts of his owne ſubiectes, agreed that the matter might be committed to eyght graue and wiſe Counſellers, foure Britaines and foure Saxons, which might haue full power to make an ende of all controuerſies and variaunces depending betwixt the two nations. Occa was likewiſe contented therewith, wherevppon were named on eyther part four perſons, of ſuch wiſedom, knowledge and experience, as were thought meeteſt to take direction for the ordering of ſuch a weightie buſineſſe. By the arbitrement, warde and dome then of thoſe eighte perſons ſufficiently authoriſed thereto, a league was concluded vppon certaine articles of agreement, amongſt the whyche the chiefeſt was, that the Saxons from thenceforth ſhould quietly enioy all that part of Britayne whiche lyeth fore aneynſt the Almayne Seas, the ſame to bee called euer after Engliſlaund, and all the reſidue ſhoulde remayne to the Britaines as their owne rightfull and auncient inheritance. Thus hathe Hector Boetius, but now to returne vnto Uter according to that wee finde in the Brittiſh hiſtories: but to procede after our owne writers, that when he had vanquiſhed the Saxons and taken their two chiefetaines priſoners, in proceſſe of time, he fell in loue with a righte beautifull Lady called Igwarne or Igerna, wife to one Gorolus or Gorloys Duke of Cornewaile, the which Duke he ſlew at length neere to his owne Caſtell called Dimilioc in Cornewaile, to the ende that he mighte enioy the ſayd Lady the which he afterwards married, and begate on hir that noble Knighte Arthur, and a daughter named Amye or Anna. Oca and Oſſa eſcaping alſo out of priſon aſſembled eftſones a power of Saxons, and made warre againſte the Britaynes, whereof Uter hauing aduertiſement prepared to reſiſt them, and finally went himſelfe in perſon againſte them, and at Saint Albanes (as ſome write) gaue them battel and ſlew them both in the fielde. By that which Polydore Uergill writeth it ſhoulde ſeeme that Germane the Biſhop of Auxerre came into Britayne in the dayes of this Uter, by whoſe preſence the Brytaynes had victory againſte the Saxons (as before yee haue hearde) after whiche victory bothe parties reſted from troubling eyther other for a time, the Saxons as it were aſtonied with that preſente miracle, and the Britaynes not following their good ſucceſſe ſhortly after fell at diſcord amongſt themſelues, which finally brought them to vtter decay, as after ſhall appeare. But yͤ Saxons being deſirous to ſpoyle the Britaines of the whole poſſeſſion of that parte of the Iſle which they held, whereas they accompted the Cities and Townes of ſmall ſtrength to be defended, they gote them to an high Mountaine called Badon hill, whiche Polidore ſuppoſeth to bee Blackamore yͭ lieth neere to the water of Theiſe, which deuideth the Biſhoprike of Durham from Yorkſhire, hauing at the mouth thereof an hauen meete to receyue ſuch Shippes as come out of Germany, from whence the Saxons looked dayly for ayde, hauing already ſent thither for the ſame. The Britaynes being thereof aduertiſed, make haſt towards the place, and beſieged it on euery ſide. They alſo lay the Sea coaſtes full of Souldiers to keepe ſuche of the enemies from landing as ſhoulde come out of Germany. The Saxons kept themſelues for a certayne ſpace aloft vpon the high grounde, but in the ende conſtreyned through wante of vittayles, they come

downe

Gorolus D
of Cornew

Harding.

Badon hill.



downe with their armie in order of bataile to the next plaines, and offering to fight, the batayl was anon begun, which continued from the morning till farre in the day, with ſuche ſlaughter, that the earth on euery ſide flowed with bloud: but yͤ Saxons ſuſteyned the greater loſſe, their capitaines Occa and Oſca beyng bothe ſlayne, ſo that the Britons might ſeme quite deliuered of al danger of thoſe enimies: but the fatall deſtenie could not be auoided, as hereafter may apere. And this was the ſlaughter made of the Saxons at Badon hil, wherof Gildas maketh mention, and chanced the ſame yere that he was borne, which was in the 44. yere after the firſt cōming of the Saxons into this land, the yere of grace. 492. & 15. indiction (as Hariſon alſo noteth.)

Gildas.

492.

About the ſame time Vter departed out of this life (ſaith Polydore) ſo that his accompte agreeth nothing with the cōmon accompte of thoſe authors, whom Fabiā and other haue folowed. For either muſt we preſuppoſe, that Vter reigned before the time apointed to him by the ſaid authors, either elſe that the ſiege of Badon hill was before he began to reigne, as it ſhould ſeeme in deede by that which Wil. Malmſbury writeth therof, as hereafter ſhal be alſo ſhewed. Finally, according to the agreemente of the Engliſhe writers, Vter Pendragon died of poyſon when he had gouerned this land by the ful terme of 16. yeres, & was after buried by his brother Aurelius at Stonheg otherwyſe called *Chorea Gigantū*, leauing his ſon Arthur to ſuccede him. Here muſt ye note that the ſcottiſh chronicles declare, that in al the warres for the more parte wherein the Britons obteyned victorie againſt the Saxons, the Scots ayded them in the ſame warres, and ſo likewyſe did the Picts, but the ſame chronicles do not only varie from the Brytiſh writers in accompt of yeres, but alſo in the order of things done, as in the ſame Chronicles more playnly may appere, and namely in the diſcourſe of the incidēts which chanced during the reign of this Vter. For wheras the Britiſh hiſtories, as ye haue heard, attribute great praiſe vnto the ſame Vter for his victories atchieued againſt the Saxons and theyr king Occa, whom he ſlew in battaile, and obteined a greate victorie, the Scottiſhe writers make other report, affirming in deed that by the preſēce of biſhop Germane hee obteyned victorie in one battaile againſt them: but ſhortly after the Britons fought again with the Saxons, & were diſcomfited, although Occa in following the chaſe ouer raſhly chaunced to be ſlaine: after whoſe deceaſſe the Saxons ordeyned his ſonne named alſo Occa to ſucceede in his place, who to make himſelfe ſtrong againſt all his enimies, ſent into Germanie for one Colgerne, the whiche with a greate power of Teutſhmen came ouer into this our Britayne, and conquered by Occas appointment, the countrey of Northumberland, ſituate betwene Tyne & Twede, as in the Scottiſh chronicles it may further appeare.

The deceaſſe of Vter Pendragon.

Stonehenge. Chorea gigantū

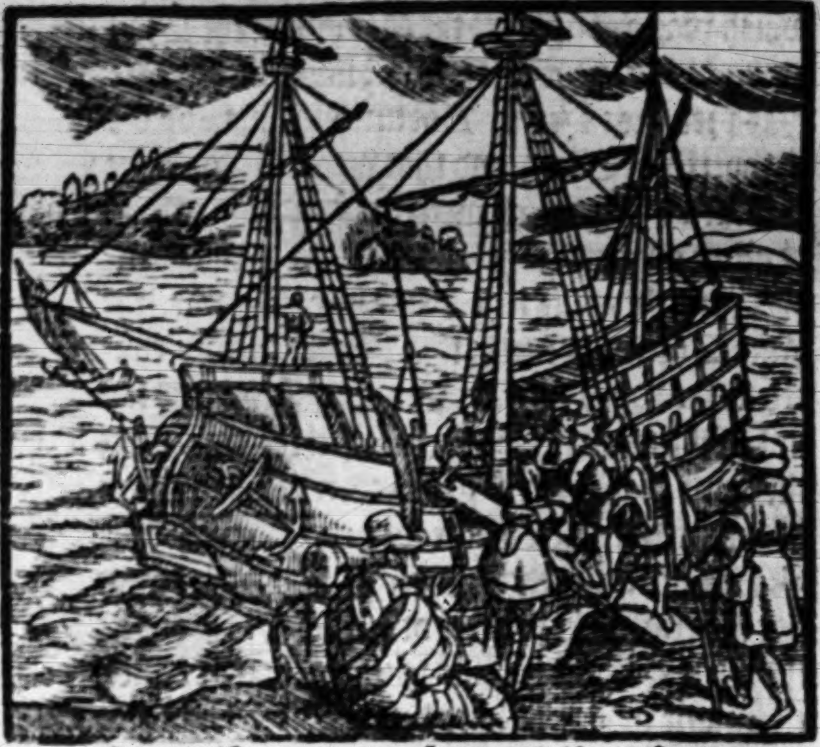
Alſo this is to be remembred that the victorie which was got againſt the Saxons by the Brytons, at what time Germane biſhop of Auxerre was preſente: Hector Boetius affirmeth (by the authoritie of Veremond that wrote yͤ Scottiſhe chronicles) to haue chanced the ſecōd time of his cōming ouer into this lande, where Beda auoucheth it to be at his firſt being here. Againe, the ſame Boetius writeth, that yͤ ſame victory chāced in the dayes of Vter Pendragon, whiche can not be if it be true that Beda writeth, touchyng the tyme of yͤ death of yͤ ſayd German: for where he departed this life before the yere of oure Lorde 459. as aboue is noted, Vter Pendragon began not his reigne till the yere of our Lord. 500. or as the ſame Hector Boetius hath. 503. ſo that biſhop Germane was dead long before that Vter began to reign. In deede ſome writers haue noted that the third bataile which Vortimer fought againſt the Saxons, was the ſame wherin S. Germane was preſent, and procured the victorie with the crie of *Alleluya*, as before ye haue heard, whiche ſeemeth to be more agreeable to a truthe, and to ſtand alſo with that which holie Bede hath written, touching the time of the beeing heere of the ſayd Germaū, than the opinion of other, whiche affirme that it was in the tyme of the reigne of Vter. The like is to bee founde in the reſidue of Hector Boetius his booke, touching the tyme ſpecially of the reignes of the Brytiſh kings that gouerned Brytaine aboute that ſeaſon. For as he affirmeth, Aurelius Ambroſius beganne his reigne in the yeare of our Lorde. 498. and ruled but ſeuen yeres, and then ſucceded Vter, whiche reigned. xviij. yeres, and departed this life in the yeare of our Lorde. 521.

475. ſayth Hariſon.

BUt here is to be remēbred, that whatſoeuer the Britiſh writers haue recorded touching the victories of this Vter had againſt yͤ Saxōs, and how that Oſca the ſonne of Hengiſt ſhould be ſlaine in battayle by him and his power: In thoſe olde writers whiche haue regiſtred the Acts of the Engliſhe ſaxon kyngs wee fynde no ſuche matter, but wee fynde that after the deceaſſe of Hengiſt, hys ſonne Oſca or Occa reygned in Kente. 24. yeares, defendyng hys kyngdome onely, and not ſeekyng to enlarge it (as before is touched.)

Oſca. 34. hath Henry Hunt. in corrupted copies.

After whoſe death his ſonne Oth, and Irmenrike ſonne to the ſame Oth ſucceded, more reſemblyng their father than their grandfather or greate grandfather. To their reignes are aſſigned fiftie and three yeares by the Chronicles: but whether they reigned ioyntely together, or ſeuerally a parte, eyther after other, it is not certaynly perceyued.

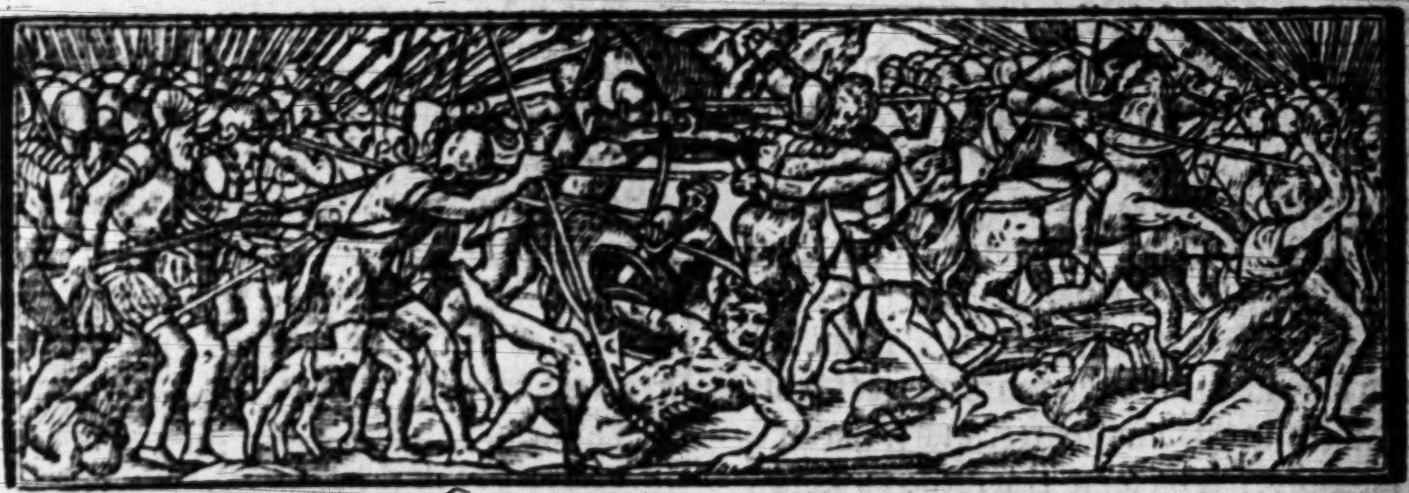


But nowe to the incidentes whiche happened during the reigne of Vter Pendragon, we fynde that one Porth a Saxon with his .ij. ſonnes Megla and Beda, came a lande at Portſmouth in Suſſex, about the beginning of the ſayde Vters reigne, and ſlewe a noble yong man of the Brytons, and many other of the meaner ſorte with him. Of this Porth the towne and hauen of Porteſmouth toke the name as ſome haue thought. Moreouer about .lx. yeres after the cōming of the Saxons into this lande with their leader Hengiſt, one Nazaleod, a mightie king amongſt the Britons, aſſembled all the power hee coulde make to fight with Certicus king of the Weſtſaxons, who vnderſtandyng the greate power of his enimies, required ayde of Oſca King of Kent, alſo of Elle king of Suſſex, and of Porth and his ſonnes whiche were lately before arriued as ye haue heard. Certicus being then furniſhed with a conuenient armie, deuided the ſame into two batayls, reſeruing the one to himſelf, and the other he appointed to his ſonne Kenrike. King Nazaleod perceiuing that the wing which Certicus ledde was of more ſtrength than the other whiche Kenrike gouerned, he ſet fyrſt vpon Certicus, thinking that if he might diſtreſſe that part of the enimies armie, he ſhould eaſily ouercome the other.

Port entred this land about the yere of our Lord. 501. as Math. VVeſt. noteth.

Hariſon ſuppoſeth the ryuer to bee called Porte, as for the vvorde mouth, is the fal of any freſh riuer into the ſea.

Herevpon he gaue ſuch a fierce charge vppon that wing that by pure force he opened the ſame, and ſo ouerthrew the Saxons on that ſide, making great ſlaughter of them as they were ſcatered, the whiche maner of dealing when Kenrike ſawe, he made forwarde with all ſpeed, to ſuccor his father, and ruſhing in amongſt the Brytons on their backs, he brake their armie in peeces, and ſlew their king Nazaleod, and with all put his people to flight.



The Brytons ouerthrovven.

There died of the Brytons that daye. v. M. men and the reſidue eſcaped by fleeing as wel as they might.

Mat. VVeſt.

Hen. Hunt.

Stuff and VVightgar.

Math. VVeſt. noteth the yere of their arriual to be 514.

In the vj. yeare after this battayle Stuff and Wightgar, yͭ were nephues to Certicus, came wyth three ſhippes, and landed at Certiceſſhore, and ouerthrew a number of Britons that came againſte them in order of battayle, and ſo by the comming of thoſe his nephews being right valyant and hardie capitaines the part of Certicus became much ſtronger. About the ſame time Elle king of the Southſaxons departed this lyfe, after whome ſucceeded his ſonne Ciſſa, of whom wee fynde little lefte in writing to bee made accompte of.

H. Hunt.

Brytons ouerthrovven by Saxons.

About the yeare of our Lorde. 519. and in the yeare after the commyng of the Saxons. 71. whyche was in the .xxvj. yeare of the Emperor Anaſtaſius, the Brytons fought with Certicus and his ſonne Kenrike at Certiceſforde, where the Captaynes of the Brytons ſtode to it manfully: but in the ende they were diſcomfyted, and greate ſlaughter was made there of them by the Saxons, and greater had bene, if the nyghte commyng on, had not parted them, and ſo many were ſaued.

The kingdome of VVeſtſaxons.

From that daye forwarde Certicus was reputed and taken for king of Weaſtſaxon, and ſo the ſame kyngdome at that tyme, whyche was as Harriſon noteth it (whoſe orderly proceedyng in this behalfe, for the accoumpte of tyme, giueth greate lyght to our hiſtorie) the yeare of Chriſte fiue hundred and ninteene: after the buylding of Rome, a thouſande, two hundred and ſeuentie, of the worlde, foure thouſande foure hundred eyghtie and fiue: of the commyng of the Saxons ſeuentie: of Juſtinus Anicius Emperoure of the Eaſte, the fyrſte and thirde of the renowmed prince Patricius Arthurus then reygnyng ouer the Brytaynes. The ſayd kingdom alſo conteyned the countreis of Wilteſhire, Somerſetſhire, Berkeſhire, Dorſetſhyre, Deuonſhire, and Cornewall, hauing on the Eaſt Hamſhire, on the North the riuer of Thames, and on the South and Weaſt the Ocean ſea: Howbeit at the firſte the kinges of the Weaſtſaxons had not ſo large dominion, but they dayly wanne grounde vpon the Brytons, & ſo in the ende by enlarging their confines they came to enioy all the ſayde countreys, and the whole at the laſt.

In the nynthe yeare of the reigne of Certicus, he eftſoons fought with the Saxons at Certiceſforde aforeſayde, where great ſlaughter was made on bothe partes. This Certiceſforde was in times paſt called Nazalcoy of the late remembred Nazaleod king of the Brytons.

Cerdeſford.

Aboute this ſeaſon at ſundry tymes dyuerſe greate companies of the Saxons came ouer into Britayne out of Germanie, and got poſſeſſion of the countreys of Mercie and Eaſtangle: but as yet thoſe of Mercie had no one king that gouerned them, but were vnder certayne noble men that got poſſeſſion of diuers partes in that countrey, by meanes wherof great warres and many encounters enſued.

The kingdome of the Eaſtſaxons.

IN thoſe dayes alſo the kyngdome of the Eaſtſaxons began, the chiefe Citie whereof was London. It conteyned in effect ſo much as at this preſente belongeth to the Dioceſſe of London. One Erchenwyn a Saxon was the fyrſt king thereof, the whiche was ſonne to one Offa, the ſixte in lineall deſcent from one Saxnot, from whom the kings of that countrey fetched their originall.

Erchen wyn.

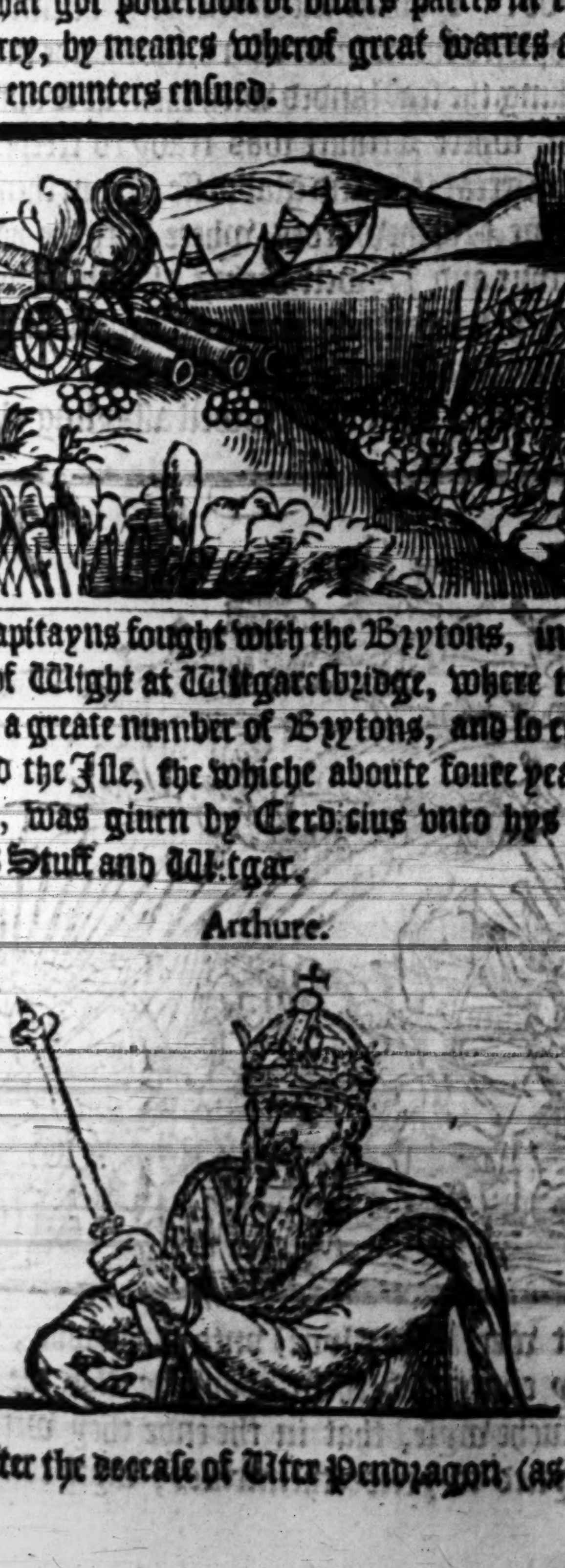
The kingdom of the Eaſtſaxons.

Hariſon noteth the exacte yeare of the erection of the kingdom of the Eaſtſaxons to begin with the end of the eight of Cerdicius K. of the Weſtſaxons that is, the. 527. of Chriſte, and. 78. after the comming of the Saxons.

In the. xiij. yeare of the reigne of Cerdicius, he with his ſonne Kenrike, and other of the Saxon capitayns fought with the Brytons, in the Iſle of Wight at Witgareſbridge, where they ſlewe a greate number of Brytons, and ſo conquered the Iſle, the whiche aboute foure yeares after, was giuen by Cerdicius vnto hys nephues Stuff and Witgar.

Arthure.

Arthur



After the deceaſe of Vter Pendragon (as we finde in the Britiſhe hiſtories, his ſonne Arthur, a yong towardly Gentleman, of the age of. xv. yeares, or therabouts, began his reigne ouer the Britons in the yere of our lord. 516. or as Math. Weſt. hath. 517. in ỹ. 26. yere of the Emperor Anaſtaſius, & in the. iij. yere of the reignes of Childebert, Clothare, Clodamire, & Theodorik brethren, ỹ were kings of the Frenchmen. Of this Arthure many things are written beyond credite, for that there is no ancient author of authoritie that confirmeth the ſame: But ſurely as may be thought he was ſome worthie man, and by all likelyhod a great enimie to the Saxons, by reaſon wherof the Welchemen which are the very Brytons in deed haue him in famous remembrance. He fought as the common report of him goeth. xij. notable batayles agaynſt the Saxons, and in euery of them wente awaye with the victorie. But yet hee myghte not vtterlye driue them oute of the

516.

Math. VVeſt. hath noted. 518.

the lande, but that they kepte ſtill the countreys whiche they had in poſſeſſion, as Kent, Southrey, Northfolke, and others: howbeit ſome writers teſtifie, that they helde theſe countreyes as tributaries to Arthure. But trouth it is (as dyuers authours agree) that hee helde continuall warre agaynſt them, and alſo agaynſt the Pictes, the whiche were alyed wyth the Saxons: For as in the Scottiſhe hiſtories is conteyned, euen at the fyrſte beginning of hys reigne, the two kings of Scottes and Pictes ſeemed to enuie hys aduauncemente to the crowne of Brytayne, bycauſe that they had maryed the two ſyſters of the two brethren, Aurelius Ambroſius, and Vter Pendragon, that is to witte, Loth kyng of Pictes hadde maryed Anne theyr eldeſt ſyſter, and Conran kyng of Scottes had in maryage Alda theyr yonger ſiſter, ſo that bicauſe Arthur was begot out of wedlocke, they thoughte it ſtoode wyth more reaſon, that the kyngdome of the Brytons ſhould haue deſcended vnto the ſiſters ſonnes rather than to a baſtarde, namely Loth the Pictiſhe king, whyche had iſſue by his wyfe Anna, ſore repined at the matter: and therefore at the fyrſt when he ſawe that by ſuite he coulde not preuayle, hee ioyned in league wyth the Saxons, and ayding them egaynſte Arthure, loſte many of his menne of warre being ouerthrowne in battayle, which he had ſent vnto the ſuccours of Colgerne the Saxon Prince that ruled as then in the north partes. But fynallye a league was concluded betwixte Arthur and the foreſayde Lothe kyng of Pictes, vpon certain conditions, as in the Scottiſhe hiſtory is expreſſed, where ye may read the ſame, with many other things touching the actes of Arthure, ſomewhat in other order, than oure writers haue recorded.

The Britiſhe authors declare, that Arthure immediately after he had receyued the Crowne of Dubrighte Biſhoppe of Caerleon, wente wyth his power of Brytons agaynſt the Saxons of Northumberlande, whiche had to their Capitayne, as before is ſayde, one Colgrime or Colgerne, whome Arthure diſcomfited and chaſed into the Citie of Yorke, within which place Arthur beſieged him, til at length the ſame Colgrime eſcaped out of the Citie, and leauing it in charge with his brother called Bladulfe paſſed ouer into Germanie vnto Cheldrike kyng of that Countrey, of whome he obteyned ſuccors, ſo that the ſayde Cheldrike made prouiſion of menne and ſhippes, and came hymſelfe ouer into Scotlande, hauing in his company .xv. hundred ſayles of one and other.

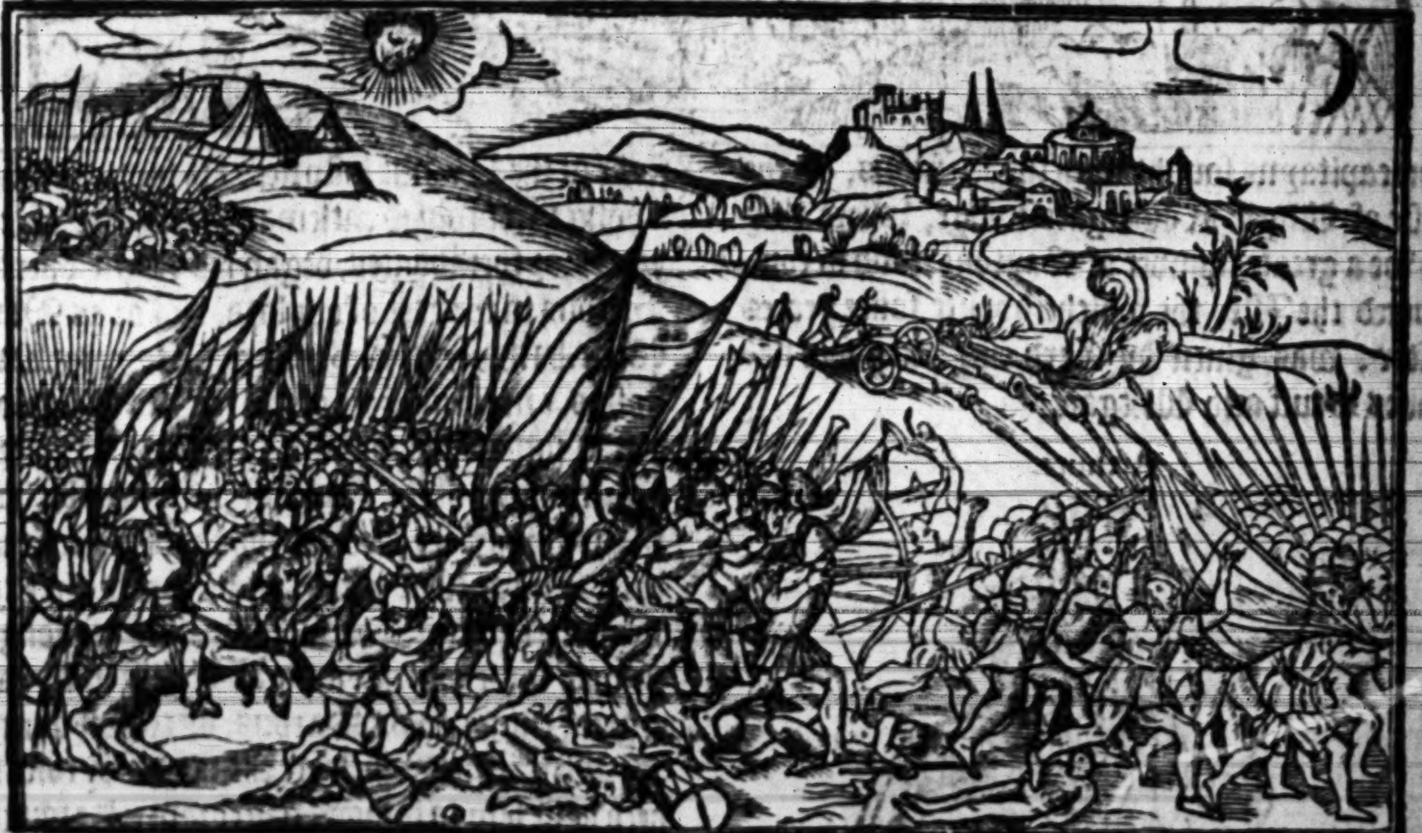
Yorke beſieged.

Cheldrike cometh in ayd of Colgrime.

Math. VVeſt. hath but .vij. hundred.

When Arthur was aduertiſed thereof, he reyſed his ſiege, and withdrewe to London, ſending letters with all ſpeede vnto Howell king of litle Britayne in Fraunce, that was his ſiſters ſonne, requiring hym in moſte earneſt wyſe of ayde. Howell incontinentely aſſembled hys people, to the number of .xv. thouſande men, and taking the ſea, landed with them at Southampton, where Arthure was ready to receyue hym with great ioye and gladneſſe. From thence they drewe Northewardes, where both the hoſtes of Arthur and Howell beeing aſſembled together, marched forwarde to Lyncolne, whiche Citie Cheldrike did as then beſiege.

Hovvell kyng of Britayn cometh ouer in ayde of Arthur.



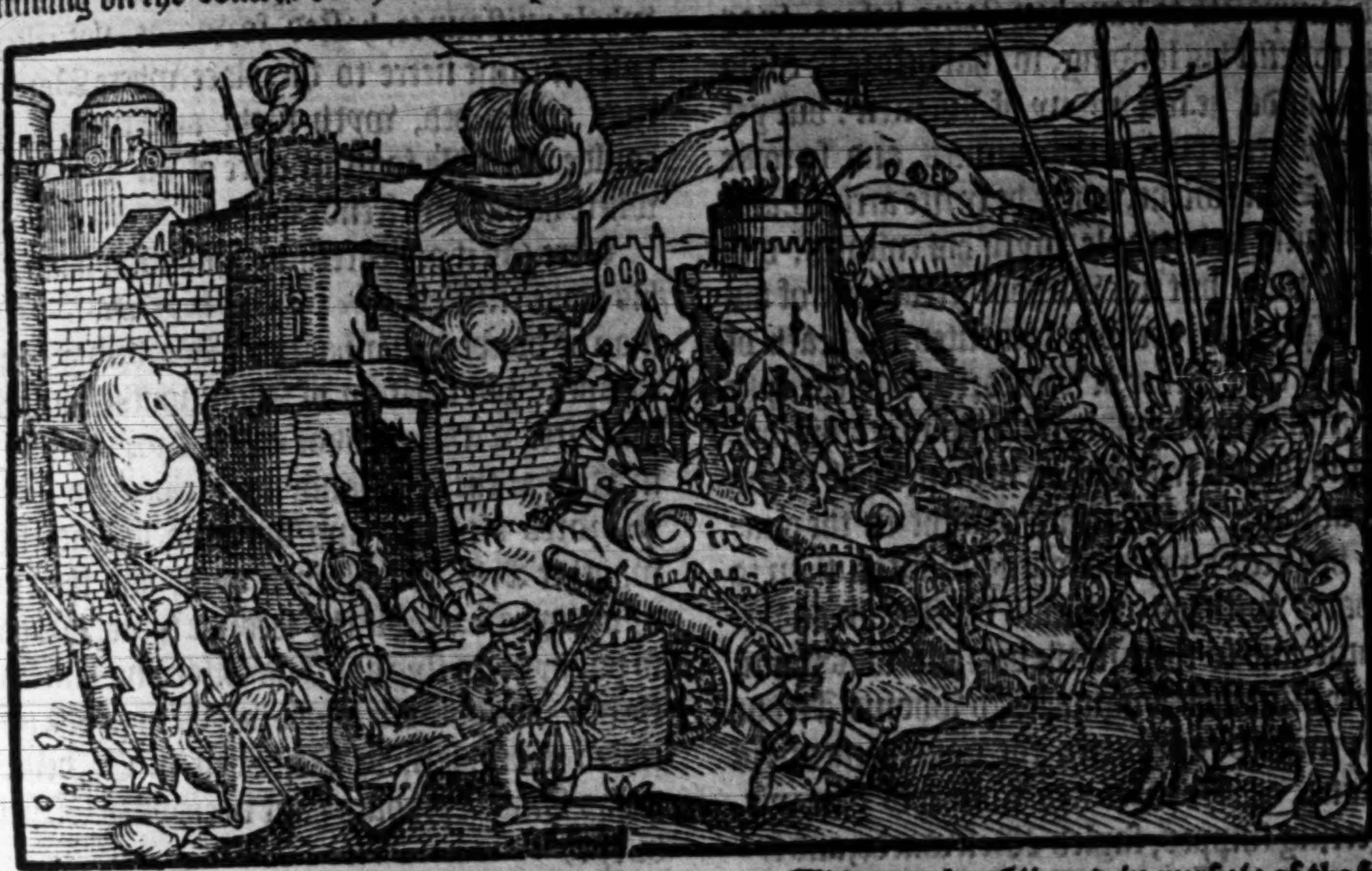
Heere Arthur and Howell aſſaylyng the Saxons with greate force and manhoode, and at lengthe after greate ſlaughter made of the enimyes, they obteyned the victorye, and chaſed Chelderyke wyth the reſidewe of the Saxons that were lefte alyue) vnto a woode, where they compaſſed them aboute wythin the ſame, in ſuche wyſe, that in the ende they were conſtreyned to yeelde themſelues, wyth condition

Childerike ouerthrovvne in batayle.

that they myghte bee ſuffred to departe a ſafe to their ſhippes, and ſo auoyde the lande, leauyng theyr horſe, armour, and other furniture vnto the Brytons.

Herevpon the Brytons takyng good hoſtages for aſſuraunce, permitted the Saxons to go their ways, and ſo Cheldorike and his people got them to theyr ſhippes, in purpoſe to returne into their countrey: but being on the ſea, they were forced by wynde to chaunge theyr courſe, and comming on the coaſtes of the Weaſt partes of Britayne, they arriued at Totneſſe, and contrarye to the couenaunted articles of theyr laſte compoſition wyth Arthure, inuade the countrey of newe, and taking ſuch armure as they could fynde, marched forth in robbing and ſpoyling the people, til they came to Bathe, which towne the Brytons kepte and defended agaynſt them, not ſuffryng them by any meanes to enter there, whereupon the Saxons enuironed it with a ſtrong ſiege.

Bathe beſieged



Arthur enfourmed hereof, with all ſpede haſted thyther, & giuyng the enimies battayle, ſlew the moſte parte of Cheldorikes men.

The Saxons ouerthrovve Colgrime and Badulf.

There were ſlayne both Colgrime and Badulff, howbeit Cheldorike himſelfe fled out of the fielde towardes his ſhippes, but beeing purſued by Cador Earle of Cornewall (that had with him. x. thouſande men) by Arthures appoyntement, he was ouertaken and in fight ſlayn with all his people.

Cheldrik ſlayne by Cador duke of Cornvvall.

Arthur himſelfe retourned from this battayle foughten at Bathe with all ſpeede towardes the marches of Scotlande, for that he hadde receyued aduertiſement, howe the Scottes had beſieged Howell kyng of Brytayne there, as hee laye ſicke.

Hovvell beſieged by the Scottes.

Alſo when Cador had accompliſhed his enterpryſe and ſlayne Chelderike, hee retourned with as muche ſpeede as was poſſible towardes Arthure, and founde him in Scotlande, where he reſkued Howell, and afterwarde purſued the Scottes which fled before him by heapes.

Guillomer.

About the ſame tyme one Guillomer king of Ireland arriued in Scotlande with a myghtie power of Iriſhmen (neare to the place where Arthur lodged) to healpe the Scottes agaynſte the Britons: wherupon Arthur turning his forces towardes the ſame Guillomer, vanquiſhed him, and chaſed him into Irelande.

This don, he cōtinued in purſute of the Scots til he cauſed thē to ſue for pardon, and to ſubmit themſelues wholly to him, and ſo receiuing them to mercie, and taking homage of them, hee returned to Yorke, and ſhortly after tooke to wyfe one Guenhera a right beautifull Lady, that was neere kinſwoman to Cador Erle of Cornwall.

Guenever.

In the yeare folowing, which Hariſon noteth to be 525. he went into Irelande, and diſcomfiting king Guillomere in battayle, hee conſtrayned him to yelde, and to acknowledge by doing his fealtie to holde the realme of Ireland of him.

VVil. Harriſon noteth it to be 525.

It is further remembred in thoſe Britiſhe hiſtories, that hee ſubdued Gutlande and Iſeland with all the Iſles in and about thoſe ſeas.

Gothlande.

Alſo that hee ouercame the Romaines in the countrey aboute Parys wyth theyr capitayne Lucius, and waſted the moſte parte of all Fraunce, and ſlewe in ſyngular combates certayne Gyauntes that were of paſſyng force and hugeneſſe of ſtature.

And if he had not bene reuoked home to reſiſt his couſin Mordred that was ſon to Loth king of Pightlande that rebelled in his countrey, he had paſſed to Rome, intending to make himſelfe Emperour, and afterwarde to vanquiſhe the other Emperoure, that then ruled the Empire: but for ſo muche as there is not anye approued authour dothe ſpeake of any ſuche doings, the Britons are thoughte to haue regiſtred mere fables in ſtede of true matter, vpon a vayne deſire to aduaunce more than reaſon woulde, thys Arthur theyr noble champion, as the Frenchemen haue done by their Roulande, and others. But to proceede.

Rather Cerdick as Io. Leland thinketh.

At his returne into Britayne, he founde that Mordred had cauſed himſelfe to be made kyng, and hauing alyed himſelf with Cheldrike a Saxon, not hym whome Galfride (as yee haue heard,) ſuppoſeth to haue ben ſlaine before, was readie to reſiſt his landing, ſo that before he could come a lande, he loſt many of his men: but yet at lengthe hee repulſed the enimies, and ſo tooke lande at Sandwiche, where he fyrſte arriued: and then ioyning in battayle wyth his enimies, diſcomfited them, but not without great loſſe of his people: ſpecially hee ſore lamented the death of Gawayn the brother of Mordred, whyche lyke a faythfull gentleman, regarding more his honour and loyall truthe than nearneſſe of bloud and couſinage, choſe rather to fight in the quarell of his liege king and louing maiſter, than to take parte with his naturall brother in an vniuſt cauſe, and ſo there in the battaile was ſlayn, together alſo with Anguſſell, to whome Arthur afore tyme had committed the gouernemente of Scotland. Mordred fled from this battayle, and getting ſhippes, ſayled Weſtwarde, and fynally landed in Cornewall.

Gawayn bu ed at Douer.

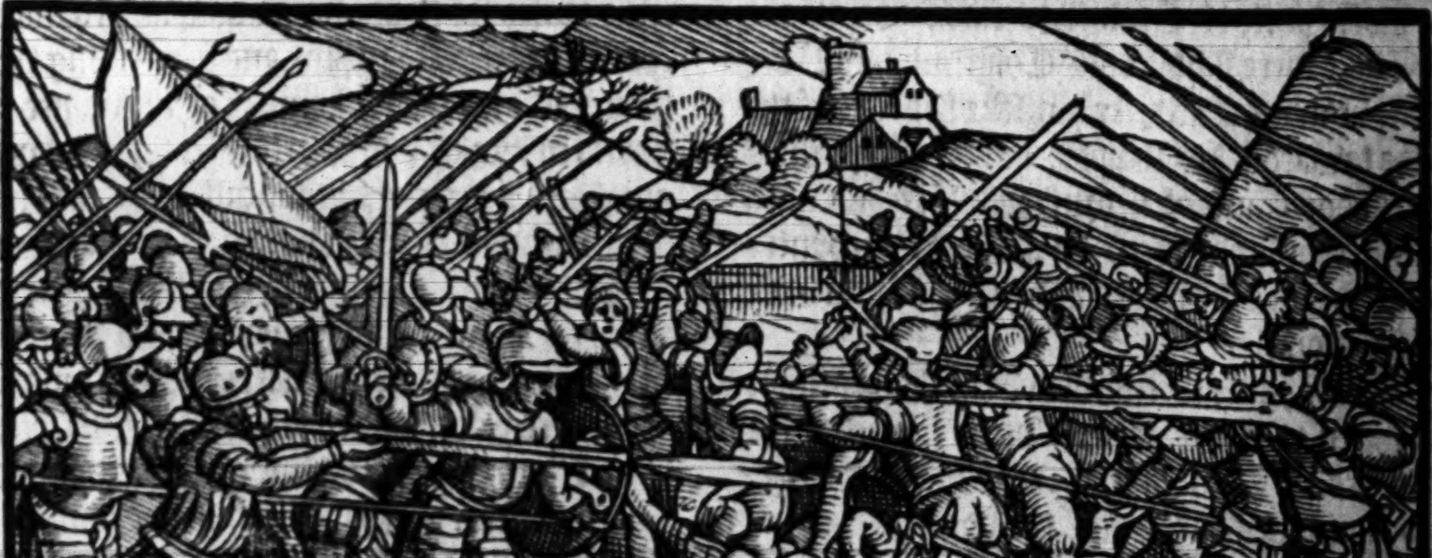
King Arthur cauſed the corps of Gawayn to be buryed at Douer, (as ſome holde opinion:) But Willyam Malmeſburie ſuppoſeth, he was buryed in Wales, as after ſhall be ſhewed.

The dead bodie of Anguyſſell was conueyed into Scotlande, and was there buryed.

After that Arthur hadde put his enimies to flight, and had knowledge into what part Mordred was withdrawne, wyth all ſpeede he reenforced his armie with newe ſupplyes of ſouldiours called out of diuers parties, and with hys whole puiſſaunce, haſted forwarde, not reſting tyll hee came neere to the place where Mordred was encamped, wyth ſuche an Armye as hee coulde aſſemble togither oute of all ſuch parties where he had any frendes.

Here (as it appeareth by John Leylande, in his booke entitled, *The Aſſertion of Arthure*,) it may be doubted in what place Mordred was encamped: but Geffrey of Monmouthe ſheweth, that after Arthure hadde diſcomfyted Mordred in Kent at the firſte landyng, it chaunced ſo that Mordred eſcaped, and fledde to Wyncheſter, whyther Arthure followed hym, and there gyuyng hym battayle the ſeconde tyme, didde alſo put hym to flyght. And following him from thence, foughte eftſoones wyth hym at a place called Camblan, or Kemelene in Cornewall, (or as ſome Authours haue neere vnto Glaſtenbury.)

Richarde Te ner.



This battayle was foughte ſo to the vtterance, that finally Mordred was ſlayne, wyth the more parte of his whole armie, and Arthur receyuyng diuers mortall woundes dyed of the ſame ſhortly after, when he had reigned ouer the Britons by the terme of .xxvj. yeares. His corps was buryed at Glaſtenburye aforeſayde, in the Churche yarde, betwixte two pillers: where it was founde in the dayes of kyng Henry the ſeconde, about the yeare of our Lorde. 1191. which was in the laſte yeare of the reigne of the ſame Henry, more than ſixe hundred yeeres after the buryal therof. He was layd. xvj. foot deepe vnder grounde, for doubte that his enimies the Saxons ſhoulde haue founde hym. But thoſe that digged the grounde there to fynde his bodye, after they had entred aboute ſeuen foote deepe into the earth, they founde a myghtie broade ſtone with a leaden croſſe faſtned to that parte whiche laye downewardes towarde the corps, conteyning this inſcription.

Hic iacet ſepultus inclytus rex Arthurius
in inſula Auallonia.

Thys inſcription was grauen on that ſyde of the Croſſe whyche was turned to the ſtone, ſo that till the Croſſe was taken from the ſtone, it was not ſeene. His body was founde, not incloſed within a tombe of marble or other ſtone curiouſly wrought, but within a great tree made hollow for the nonce lyke a troughe, the whyche being founde and digged vp, it was opened, and therein were founde the kyngs bones, of ſuche marueilous bigneſſe, that the ſhinne bone of his legge being ſette on the grounde, reached vp to the middle thighe of a ryghte tall manne: As a Monke of that Abbey hath written, whyche did lyue in thoſe dayes, and ſawe it. But Giraldus Cambrenſis, whyche alſo lyued in thoſe dayes, and ſpake with the Abbot of the place, by whome the boanes of thys Arthure were then founde, affirmeth, that by reporte of the ſame Abbotte, hee learned, that the ſhinne boane of the ſayd Arthur being ſette vp by the legge of a very tall manne, (the whiche the Abbot ſhewed to the ſame Giraldus) came aboue the knee of the ſame man the length of three fingers breadth; whiche is a greate deale more lykely than the other. The ſkull of his head was alſo of a wonderfull largeneſſe, ſo that the ſpace of his forheade betwixt his two eyes was a ſpanne broade. There appeared in his heade the ſignes and printes of tenne woundes or moe: All the whyche were growen into one ſeame, excepte onely that whereof it ſhould ſeeme hee dyed, whiche beyng greater than the reſidue, appeared very playne. Alſo in openyng the Tombe of his wyfe queene Guenhera, that was buryed wyth hym, they founde the treſſes of hir haire whole and perfect, and fynely platted, of colour lyke to the burniſhed golde, the whiche beeing touched, immediatly fell to duſte. The Abbotte, whyche then was gouernour of the houſe, hyght Stephan, or Henry de Bloys, otherwyſe de Sullie, nephew to king Henry the ſeconde (by whoſe commaundemente he hadde ſearched for the graue of Arthure) tranſlated the boanes as well of him as of Queene Gueneuer, beyng ſo founde, into the greate Churche, and there buryed them in a fayre double Tombe of Marble, laying the bodye of the kyng at the head of the Tombe, and the bodye of the Queene at his feete towardes the weaſt parte.

Henricus Blecenſis ſeu Solliacenſis.
Io. Leland.

Iohn Lelande, in his booke entitled *Aſſertio Arthurii*, hath for the worthie memorie of ſo noble a prince, honored him with a learned Epitaph, as heere followeth.

Saxonicas toties qui fudit Marte cruento
Turmas, & peperit ſpolijs ſibi nomen opimis,
Fulmineo toties Pictos qui contudit enſe,
Impoſuitq; iugum Scotis ceruicibus ingens:
Qui tumidos Gallos, Germanos quiq; feroces
Vicit, & [illegible] bellax [illegible] fregit ſuperbos.
Denique [illegible] qui ſuſtulit illud
Monſtrum, [illegible]
Hic iacet [illegible] Arthurius [illegible]
Militiae [illegible]
Gloria [illegible] terram [illegible]
Ut celebris [illegible] ſublimia [illegible]
Vos igitur gentis proles generoſa Britannae,
Induperatori [illegible] magno aſſurgite veſtro,
Et tumulo [illegible] inferte [illegible]
Officij teſte [illegible] munera veſtri.

These verſes I haue the more willyngly inſerted, for that I had the ſame deliuered to mee turned into Engliſhe by maiſter Nicholas Roſcarock, both right aptly yelding the ſenſe, & alſo properly anſwering the Latine, verſe for verſe.

VVho vanquiſht Saxon troupes, with battayles
bloudie broyles,
And purchaſte to hymſelfe a name with warlyke
wealthie ſpoyles,
VVho hath with ſhiuering ſhining ſworde, the
Picts ſo oft diſmayde,
And eke vnweldie ſeruile yoke on neck of Scots
hath layde:
VVho Frenchmen pufft with pride, & who the
Germaines fierce in fight
Diſcomfited, and daunted Danes with mayne
and martiall might:
VVho of that murdring *Mordred* did the vitall
breath expell,
That monſter griſly, lothſom, huge, that direſom
tyrant fell,
Here lyueleſſe Arthur lies entombde, within this
ſtately hearſe,
Of chiualrie the brighte renoume, and vertues
nurſlyng fierce:
VVhoſe glorie great, nowe ouer all the worlde
doth compaſſe flye,
And of the ayry thunder ſkales, the loftie buyl-
ding hye.
Therfore you noble progenie of Brytayne lyne
and race,
Aryſe vnto your Emprour great, of thryce re-
nowned grace,
And caſte vpon his ſacred tombe, the roſeal gar-
landes gaye,
That fragrant ſmell may witneſſe well, your du-
ties you diſplay,

The occaſion that moued kyng Henry the ſeconde to cauſe his nephew the ſayd Abbotte to ſearche for the graue of kyng Arthur was, for that hee vnderſtode by a Welche minſtrell or Barde (as they call him) that coulde ſing manye hiſtories in the Welſhe language of the actes of the auncient Brytons, that in the foreſayde Churchyarde at Glaſtenburye, betwixte the ſayde two pillers, the bodye of Arthur was to bee founde buryed ſixtene foote deepe vnder the grounde. Giraldus Cambrenſis affirmeth, that the tree in the whyche Arthurs bodie was founde ſo encloſed, was an oke, but other ſuppoſe, that it was an Alder tree, bycauſe that in the ſayde place a great number of that kynde of trees doe growe, and alſo for that it is knowne, that an Alder lying vnder grounde where moyſture is, will long continue without rotting.

By the fyndyng thus of the bodie of Arthure buryed (as before ye haue heard) ſuche as hitherto beleeued that he was not dead, but conueyed awaye by the Fairies into ſome pleaſaunt place, where he ſhoulde remayne till a tyme, and then to returne agayne, and reigne in as great authoritie as euer he didde before, might well perceiue themſelues deceyued in crediting ſo vayne a fable: but yet (where it myghte otherwyſe be doubted whether any ſuche Arthur was at all, as the Britiſhe hiſtories mencion, bicauſe neyther Gildas nor Beda in their workes ſpeake any thyng of hym) it maye appeare, the circumſtaunces conſidered, that ſurely ſuche one there was of that name hardie and valiaunt in armes, though not in diuers poyntes ſo famous as ſome writers paint him out.

As for example in a caue neere a vvater called Ponde perillous at Saliſburye, vvhere he and his knights ſhould ſlepe armed, till an other knighte ſhould be born that ſhoulde come and avvake them.

William Malmeſburie a writer of good credite and authoritie amongeſt the learned hathe theſe wordes in his fyrſte booke entitled *De regibus Anglorum*, ſaying: But he being dead (meaning Vortimer) the force of the Britons waxed feeble, their decayed hope went backewarde apace: and euen then ſurely hadde they gone to deſtruction, if Ambroſius (whiche alone of the Romaynes remayned yet alyue, and was king after Vortigerne) hadde not kepte vnder, and ſtayed the loftye Barbarous people, that is to meane the Saxons, by the notable ayde and aſſiſtaunce of the valiaunt Arthur.

VVil. Mal. lib. 1. de regibus Ang.

This is the ſame Arthur, of whome the trifling tales of the Britons euen to this day fantaſtically doe deſcante and reporte wounders: but worthie was he doubtleſſe of whome feigned fables ſhoulde not haue ſo dreamed, but rather that true Hiſtories myghte haue ſette forth hys worthye prayſes, as he that dyd for a long ſeaſon ſuſteyne and holde vp hys Countrey that was readie to goe to vtter ruyne and decaye, encouraging the bolde hearts of the Brytons vnto the warre, and finally in the ſiege of Badon hyll, hee ſette vppon nyne hundred of the enemyes, and with incredible ſlaughter didde putte them all to flighte.

On the contrarye parte, the Engliſhe Saxons, although they were toſſed with ſundrye happes of Fortune, yet ſtill they renued theyr bandes wyth newe ſupplyes of their countreymenne that came out of Germany, and ſo with bolder courage aſſayled their enemies, and by little and little cauſing them to giue place, ſpred themſelues ouer the whole Iſle. For although there were manye battayles in the whiche ſometyme the Saxons, and ſometyme the Brytons got the better, yet the greater number of Saxons that was ſlayne, the greater number of them ſtill came ouer to the ſuccour of their countreymen, being called in and ſente for out of euery quarter about them.

Here is alſo to be noted, that where the Britiſhe hiſtorie declareth, that Gawen or Gallowyn beeing ſlayne in the battayle foughte betwixte Arthure and Mordred in Kent, was buryed at Douer, ſo that his boanes remayned there to be ſhewed of long time after: yet by that whyche the foreſayde Willyam Malmeſburye writeth in the thirde booke of his volume entitled *De regibus Anglorum*, the contrarie may ſeeme true: his wordes are theſe. Then (ſayth he) in the prouince of Wales, whiche is called Roſſe, the ſepulture of Walwyne was founde, the whyche was nephue to Arthur by his ſiſter, not going out of kind from ſo worthy an vncle. He reigned in that part of Britaine whiche vnto this daye is called *VValwithia*, a knighte for hys high prowes moſt highly renowned, but expulſed out of his kingdome by the brother & nephewe of Hengiſt, of whome in the firſte booke we haue made mention, firſte requiting his baniſhemente with greate detrimente and loſſe to thoſe his enimies, wherein he was partaker by iuſt deſerte of his vncles worthy praiſe, for that he ſtayed for a great many yeres, the deſtruction of his countrey which was now running hedlong into vtter ruine and decay. But Arthurs graue no where appeareth: but the others tombe (as I haue ſayde) was founde in the dayes of William the Conqueror king of England, vpon the ſea ſide, and conteyned in length fourtene foote, where he was (as ſome ſay) wounded by his enimies, and caſt vp by ſhipwracke. But other write, that he was ſlayne at a publike feaſte or banket by his owne countreymen. Thus hathe William Malmeſburye.

Gavvan vvhere he is buryed.

VVil. Mal. li. 3. de regibus.

But here you muſte conſider, that the ſayde Malmeſburie departed this lyfe about the beginnyng of the reigne of kyng Henry the ſeconde, certayne yeres before the boanes of Arthur were

founde

found (as before ye haue hearde.)

But now to ſpeake ſomwhat of queene Gueneuera or Guenhera, ſome iudge that ſhe tooke the name of hir excellent beautie, bycauſe Guen, Gwen or Guennie in the Welch toung ſignifieth fayre, ſo that ſhe was named Guenhera or rather Guenlean: euen (as you would ſay) the faire or beautyfull Leonore or Helene. She was brought vp in the houſe of Cador Earle of Cornwall, before Arthur maryed hir: and as it appeareth by writers, ſhe was euill reported of, as noted of incontinencie and breache of faith to hir huſbande, in ſorte as for the more parte women of excellent beautie hardly eſcape the venimous blaſt of euill toungs, and the ſharpe aſſaultes of the followers of Venus. The Britiſhe hiſtorie affirmeth, that ſhe did not onely abuſe hir ſelfe by vnlawfull companying wyth Mordred, but that alſo in Arthurs abſence, ſhe conſented to take him to huſbande.

542

Leland.

Quene Guey-

It is lykewyſe founde recorded by an olde wryter, that Arthure beſieged on a tyme the mariſhes neere to Glaſtenburye, for diſpleaſure that he bare vnto a certayne Lorde that hyghte Melua: whiche hadde raniſhed Gueneuere and ledde hir into thoſe Marſhes, and there dydde keepe hir. Hir corps notwithſtandyng (as before is recited) was enterred togyther wyth Arthurs, ſo that it is thought ſhe liued not long after his deceaſſe.

Arthur had two wyues, as Giraldus Cambrenſis affirmeth, of whiche the latter (ſayth hee) was buryed wyth hym, and hir boanes founde with his in one Sepulchre, ſo deuided yet, that two partes of the Tombe towardes the heade were appoynted to receyue the bones of the man, and the thyrde parte towardes the feete, conteyned the womans boanes, a parte by them ſelues.

Here is to bee remembred, that Hector Boetius wryteth otherwyſe of the death of Arthure than before in thys booke is mencioned, and alſo that Gueneuere beeyng taken pryſoner by the Pictes, was conueyed into Scotlande, where fynally ſhee dyed, and was there buryed in Angus, as in the Scottiſhe Chronicle further appeareth.

And thys may be true, if he hadde thre ſundrye wyues, eche of them bearing the name of Guenhere, as ſir John Price doth auouche that hee had.

Bycauſe of the contrarietie in wryters touchyng the greate actes atchieued by this Arthur, and alſo for that ſome difference there is amongeſt them, aboute the tyme in whyche he ſhould reigne, many haue doubted of the truthe of the whole hiſtorie whyche of hym is written (as before ye haue hearde.)

The Britiſhe hiſtories and alſo the Scottiſhe Chronicles doe agree, that he lyued in the days of the Emperour Juſtinian, about the fifteenth yeare of whoſe reigne hee dyed, whiche was in the yeare of oure Lorde. 542. as Harriſon alſo confirmeth. Howbeit ſome write farther from all lykelyhoode, that he was aboute the tyme of the Emperour Zeno, who began his reign about the yeare of our Lord. 473.

Conſta-
tine.
542.

The writer of the booke entitled *Aurea hiſtoria* affirmeth, that in the tenth yeare of Cerdicus king of Weaſt Saxons, Arthur the warriour roſe amongeſt the Brytons. Alſo Diuionenſis writeth, that Cerdicus fyghtyng oftentymes with Arthur, if he were ouercome in one moneth, he roſe in an other moneth more fierce and ſtrong to giue battayle than before.

Aurea hiſtoria.

Leland.

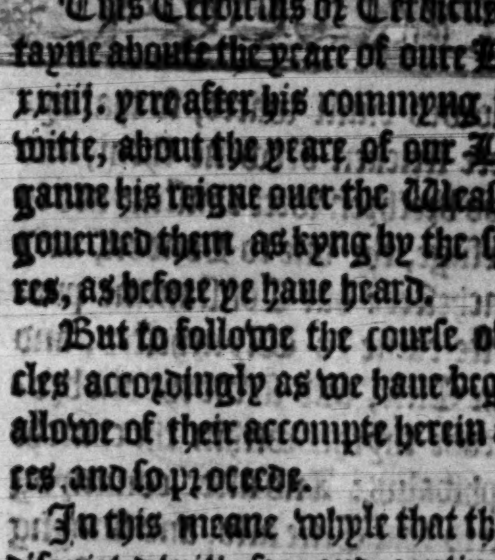
At lengthe Arthure awearyed with yrkſomneſſe, after the twelfth yeare of the comming of Cerdicius, gaue vnto him vpon his homage don and feaultie receyued the ſhyres of Southampton and Somerſet, the whiche countreys Cerdicius named Weſt ſaxon.

VVeſtſexon.

This Cerdicius or Cerdicus came into Britayne aboute the yeare of oure Lorde. 495. and xxiiij. yere after his commyng hither, that is to witte, about the yeare of our Lorde. 519. he beganne his reigne ouer the Weaſt Saxons, and gouerned them as kyng by the ſpace of. xv. yeares, as before ye haue heard.

But to followe the courſe of oure Chronicles accordingly as we haue begunne, we muſte allowe of their accompte herein as in other places, and ſo proceede.

In this meane whyle that the Realme was diſquieted with ſore and continuall warres betwixte the Brytons and Saxons, (as before you haue hearde) the chriſtian religion was not only aboliſhed in places where the Saxons got habitations, but alſo amongſt the Britons, the ryght faithe was broughte into daunger by the remnaunt of the Pelagian hereſye whiche beganne agayne to be broched by dyuers naughtie perſones. But Dubritius that was fyrſte Biſhoppe of Landaffe, and after Archbiſhoppe of Carleon Arwiſke, and hys ſucceſſoure Dauid, with other lerned men earneſtlye bothe by preaching and writing defended the contrarye cauſe, to the confuting of thoſe errours, and reeſtabliſhing of the truth.



The hereſie of the Pelagians reuiued

Hiſt. Mag.

Dubritius and Dauid learned Biſhops.

Conſtã-tine.

Conſtantine.

After the death of Arthur, his couſin Cõſtantine the ſon of Cador, duke or earle of Cornwall beganne his reigne ouer the Brytayns, in yeare of our Lorde. 542. whiche was aboute the .xv. yeare of the Emperour Iuſtinianus almoſt ended, the .29. of Childebert K. of Fraunce, and the firſt yeare welnere complete of the reigne of Totilas kyng of the Gothes in Italy.

542

Arthur when he perceyued that he ſhould dye, ordeyned this Conſtantine to ſucceede him, and ſo by the conſent of the more parte of the Brytons, he was crowned kyng: but the ſonnes of Mordred ſore repined thereat, as they that claymed the rule of the land by iuſte title and clayme of inheritaunce to them from their father deſcended.

Galfrid.
Mat. VVe

Ciuill vvarre.

Hereupon followed ciuill warre, ſo that dyuers batayles were ſtricken betwene them, and in the ende the two brethren were conſtrayned to withdrawe for refuge, the one to London, and the other to Winchester: but Conſtantine purſewing them, firſte came to Wynchester, and by force entred the Citie, and ſlewe the one brother that was fledde thyther within the churche of Sainct Amphibalus: And after commyng to London, entred that Citie alſo, and findyng the other brother within a Churche, there ſlewe hym in lyke maner as he had done the other. And ſo hauing diſpatched his aduerſaries, he thoughte to haue purchaſed to himſelfe ſafetie: but ſhortly after, his own kinſman, one Aurelius Conanus arreared warre agaynſt him, who ioyning with him in battaile, ſlew him in the field, after he had reigned foure yeares. His body was conueyed to Stonehenge, and there buryed beſyde his aunceſtour Vter Pendragon.

Aurelius Conanus.

Conſtantine ſlayne.

Of this Conſtantine that ſeemeth to be ment whiche Gildas writeth in his booke entitled *De excidio Brytanniæ*, where inueying agaynſte the rulers of the Brytons in his tyme, hee writeth thus:

Gildas.

Britayn hath kings, but the ſame be tyrants: Iudges it hath, but they be wicked, oftentymes pilling and harmyng the innocent people, reuenging and defending, but whome? ſuche as bee giltie perſons and robbers. Hauing many wyues, but yet breakyng wedlocke: Oftentymes ſwearyng and yet forſwearing themſelues: vowing, and for the more parte lying: Warring, but mayntenyng ciuill and vniuſt warres, purſuyng in deede theeues that are abroade in the countreye, and yet not onely cheriſhyng thoſe that ſitte euen at table with them, but alſo highly rewarding them: giuing almes largely, but on the other parte heaping vp a myghtie mount of ſynnes: Sitting in the ſeate of ſentence, but ſeldom ſeeking the rule of rightuous iudgement: deſpiſing the innocent and humble perſons, and exalting ſo farre as in them lyeth, euen vp to the heauens, the bloudy and proud murtherers, theeues and adulterers, yea the verye expreſſe enimies of God, if he woulde ſo permitte: keeping many in priſon, whom they oppreſſe in lodging them with yrons through crafte, rather to ſerue their owne purpoſe, than for any guilte of the perſons ſo impriſoned: takyng ſolemne othes afore the aultars, and ſhortly after, deſpiſing the ſame aulters as vile and filthie ſtones, of whiche heynous and wicked offence, Conſtantine the tyrannicall whelpe of the Lyoneſſe of Deuonſhire, is not ignorãt, who this yeare after the receyuing of his dreadfull othe wherby he bounde himſelf that in no wiſe he ſhould hurt his ſubiectes, (God fyrſt, and then his othe, with the companie of Sainctes, and his mother beeing there preſente) did notwithſtanding in the reuerente laps of the two mothers, as the Church, & their carnall mother, vnder the coule of the holy Abbotte, deuoure with ſworde and ſpeare in ſtead of teeth, the tender ſides, yea and the entrayles of two chyldren of noble and kyngly race, and likewiſe of their two gouernours, yea and that (as I ſayde) amongeſt the ſacred aulters: the armes of whyche perſones ſo ſlayne, not ſtretched forth to defend themſelues with weapons) the whyche fewe in thoſe dayes handled more valyauntly than they) but ſtretched forth I ſaye to God and to his altare in the daye of Iudgemente, ſhall ſette vp theyr reuerente enſignes of their pacience and fayth at the gates of the Citie of Chriſte, whyche ſo haue couered the ſeate of the Celeſtiall ſacrifice, as it were wyth the redde mantell of their cluttered bloud.

And theſe thinges he didde not after any good deedes done by hym deſeruyng prayſe: for manye yeares before ouercome wyth the often and chaungeable fylthes of adulterie, forſakyng his lawfull wyfe contrarye to the Lawes of God &c. hee nowe broughte forthe thys cryme of quellyng hys owne kinſemenne, and violatyng the Churche, but neyther being lewſed from the ſnares of his former euyls, he encreaſeth the new with the olde.

Thus in effecte hathe Gildas written of thys Conſtantine with more, for tourning his tale to him by way of calling to hym, he reproueth him of his faultes, and counſelleth hym to repente.

Conanus.

Conanus

After that Aurelius Conanus had ſlayn the forſayd Conſtātine, as in the Brytiſh hiſtories is mēcioned, the ſame Conan was made king of Britayn in the yeare of our Lord. 546. n the. 20. yere of yͤ emperor Iuſtinianus, & in the. 33. of the reigne of Childeberte king of the Frenchmen.

546.

Thys Aurelius Conanus (as is recorded by ſome writers) was of a noble hearte, free, and liberall, but giuen muche to the mayntenaunce of ſtryfe and diſcorde amongſt his people, lyghte of credite, and namely had an open eare to receiue and heare the reportes of ſuche as accuſed other.

Moreouer, hee was noted of crueltie, as hee that toke his vncle, who of righte ſhoulde haue bene kyng, and kepte hym in pryſon, and not ſo ſatiſfyed, ſlewe in tyrannous manner the two ſonnes of his ſayde vncle. But God woulde not ſuffer hym long to enioye the rule of the lande in ſuche vniuſt dealyng, for he dyed after he hadde reigned the ſpace of two yeares, and left a ſonne behynde hym called Vortiporus, which ſucceded him in the kingdom, as authours do record.

ath. VVeſt. yteth that reigned. 30. ares.

Of this Aurelius Conanus Gildas writeth, calling vnto him after he hath made an end with his predeceſſor Cōſtantin, in this wiſe, ſaying: And thou Lyons whelpe, as ſayeth the Prophet, Aurelius Conanus what doeſt thou? arte thou not ſwallowed vp in the fylthie myre of murthering thy kinſemen, of committyng fornications and adulteries lyke to the other before mentioned, if not more deadlye? as it were wyth the waues and ſurges of the drenching ſeas, ouerwhelmyng thee wyth hir vnmercyfull rage? Doeſt thou not in hating the peace of thy countrey as a deadly ſerpente, and thirſtyng after ciuill warres and ſpoyles, (oftentymes vniuſtly gotten) ſhutte vp agaynſte thy ſoule, the gates of celeſtiall peace and refreſhement? Thou being lefte alone as a wytheryng tree in the myddle of the fielde, call to remembraunce, I praye thee, the vayne youthefull fantaſy and ouertymely death of thy fathers and thy bretherne: ſhalte thou being ſette a parte, and choſen forth of all thy lynage for thy godly deſertes, bee reſerued to liue an hundred yeares, or remayne on earthe tyll thou bee as olde as Mathuſalem? No no. And after theſe reprehēſions, with further thretnyngs of Gods vengeaunce, he exhorteth him to amendemente of life, and ſo proceedeth to talke with Vortiporus, whome he nameth the kyng, or rather the tyraunt of Southwales, as after ſhall be reherſed.

The beginning of the kingdom of Brenitia.

Ida.

547.

H. Hunt.

The kingdome of Brenitia begaune.

IN the yeare of oure Lord 547. which was about the firſte yeare of the reygne of Aurelius Conanus, the kingdom of Brenitia began vnder a Saxon ruler there called Ida, the whiche deſcended of Woden, for where yͤ ſame Woden had three ſonnes, Weldecius, Withlegris, and Beldegius, of the firſte, the kings of Kente were lyneally extracted: of the ſeconde the kings of Mercia: and of the thirde ſonne came the kings of Weſtſaxon, and alſo of him was this Ida deſcended, being the nynth in lineall ſucceſſion from the ſayd Beldicius and the tenth from Woden.

The ſame Ida was vndoubtedly a right noble perſonage, and chaunged firſt that dukedom into a kyngdome, where before that tyme the Saxons that ruled there, were ſubiectes vnto the kings of Kente. Whether he toke vpon him of his owne accord to vſurpe the kingly title and royall authoritie, or whether that the ſame was giuen to hym by conſent of other, the certayntie appeaſpeaketh not. But ſure it is, that he beyng a worthie Prince, didde nothing degenerate from his noble aunceſtours inuincible in warre abrode and at home, qualifying his kingly ſeueritie with a certayne naturall kinde of curteous humanitie. The boundes of his kingdome called (as is ſaid) Bernitia, began in the ſouth at the riuer of Tyne, & ended in the North at the Forth in Scotland, in the Brytiſh tong called *VVerd.*

The kingdome of Deira beginneth.

Ella.

551.

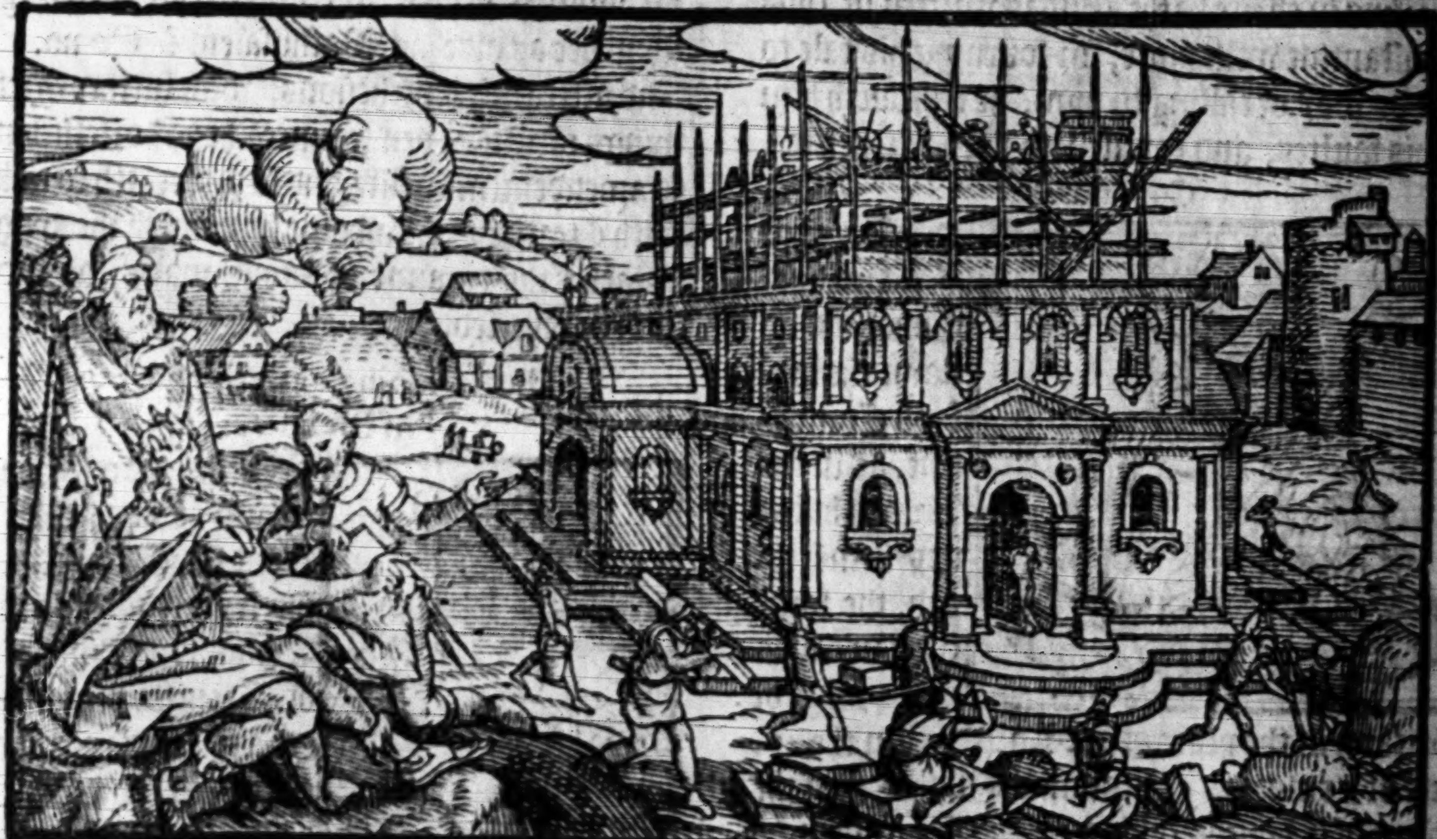
The beginning of the kingdom of Deira.

ABoute the ſame time, or rather about 14. yeeres after (as Harryſon ſayth) one Ella a Saxon alſo reygned as king in Deira, whyche kyngdome beganne at the ſaide ryuer of Tyne in the North, and ended at the riuer of Hūber toward the ſouth. Theſe two kingdomes were ſometime gouerned by two ſeuerall kings, and afterwards at other times they were ioyned in one, and gouerned by one onely king, and named the kingdome of Northumberland, the whiche in proces of tyme was muche enlarged, ſo that it included the ſhires of Yorke, Notingham, Derby, Lancaſter, the Biſhoprike of Durham, Copland, and other countreys which lye betwixt the eaſt and the weſt ſeas euen vnto the ryuer of Merſee. The foreſayd Ella was ſon to Iffus, being deſcended from Woden, as the xij. in ſucceſſion from him, though not by righte lyne, as Will. Malmeſbury hath noted. Ida (as the ſame Malmeſbury dothe teſtifie) reigned .14. yeares.

The riuer of Merſee.

And Ella, which was ſucceſſour to Ida (as he ſayeth) reigned thirtie yeares, and right valiantly enlarged his kingdome. But one author writeth howe Ida reigned but. xij. yeares, and that he buylded the Caſtell of Bamburc, firſte fencing it wyth pales, and after wyth a wall of ſtone.

Mat. VVeſt.



H. Hunt.

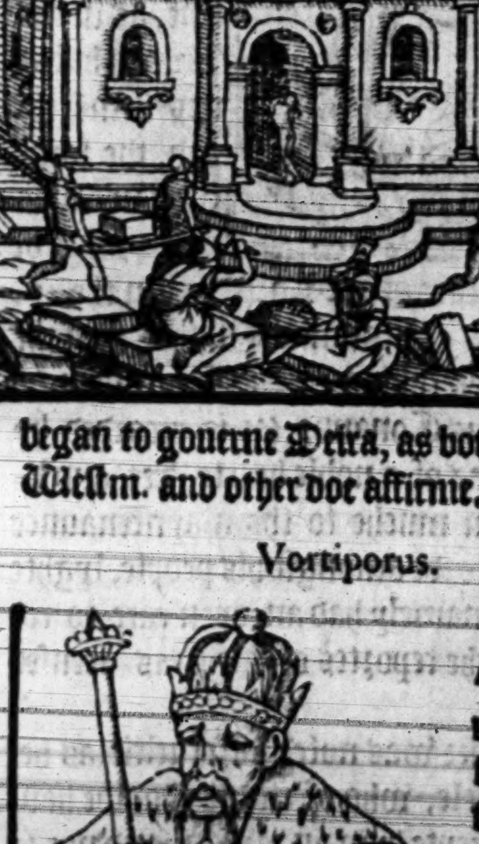
The ſame Ida had by his wyfe ſixe ſonnes, begot in lawfull bedde, Ida, Ebric, Theodoric, Athelric, Oſmer, and Theofred. Moreouer he begat of certaine concubines (which he kept) ſixe baſtarde ſonnes, Oga, Alric, Ettha, Oſvalde, Segor, and Segother. Theſe came altogether into this land, & arriued at Flemeſburk with fortie ſhippes, as *Matheus VVeſtmonaſterienſis* hath recorded.

Mat. VVeſt.

The partition of the kingdome of Northumberlande chaunced after the deceaſe of Ida, as the ſame Author ſignifieth: for Ida the ſonne of the foreſaid Ida, ſucceded his father in the kingdom of Bernitia, reignyng therein ſeuen yeares: and Ella the ſonne of Hiſtria, a moſt valiant Duke, began to gouerne Deira, as both the ſayd Mat. Weſtm. and other doe affirme.

Vortiporus.

Vortiporus.



VOrtiporus, ye ſonne of Aurelius Conanus ſucceeded his father, and began to reygne ouer the Britons, in the yeare of oure Lorde fiue hundred ſeuentie and ſixe, in the eleuenth yeare of the Emperoure Flauius Anicius Iuſtinus, in the fourthe yeare of the reigne of Chil-

Math. VVe noteth. 576.

Childerike king of Fraunce, and in the fourth yeare of Clephis the Gothiſhe king in Italy.

This Vortiporus vanquiſhed the Saxons in batayle, as the Britiſhe hiſtories make mention, and valiantly defended his lande and ſubiectes the Brytons, from the daunger of them & other their alies. In the tyme of this kyngs reigne the foreſayde Ella began to rule in the ſouth parte of the kingdome of Northumberlande called Deira, as before is mencioned, according to the accōpt of ſome authors, who alſo take this Vortiporus to begin his reigne in the yeare.548. Fynally after that Vortiporus hadde ruled the Britons the ſpace of. iiij. yeares, he departed this lyfe, and left no iſſue behynde him to ſuccede him in the kingdome: Againſt whome alſo Gildas turning his tale beginneth with him thus: And why ſtandeſt thou as one ſtarke amazed, thou (I ſay) Vortiporus, the tyraunt of Southwales, lyke to the Panther in manners and wickedneſſe, dyuerſly ſpotted as it were with many colours, with thy hore head in thy throne full of deceytes, craftes, and wyles, and defiled euen from the loweſt part of thy bodie vp to the crowne of the heade, with diuers ſundrye murthers committed in thyne owne kinne, and filthye adulteries, thus prouing a naughtie ſonne of a good king, as Manaſſes was to Ezechias: how chanceth it that the violente ſtreames of ſinnes, which thou ſwalloweſt vp lyke pleaſant wyne, or rather arte deuoured of them, (the ende of thy lyfe by little and little nowe drawyng neere,) can not yet ſatiſfye thee? What meaneſt thou that with fornication of all euyls, as it were the ful heape, thyne owne wyfe beeing putte awaye, and by hir honeſte death doeſt oppreſſe thy ſoule wyth a certayne burdeyn that can not bee auoyded, of thyne vnſhamefaſt daughter? Conſume not (I pray thee) the reſydue of thy dayes to the offence of God, and ſo forth, exhorting him to repentaunce, wyth admonitions taken oute of the Scriptures, bothe for his comforte and warnyng.

Math. VVeſt. noteth.3. yeres.

Gildas.

If the circumſtaunce of thys that Gildas writeth of Vortiporus bee marked, it maye bee perceyued, that Geffrey of Monmouthe, and alſo Mathewe of Weſtminſter, the Authour of the Floures of hiſtories, are deceyued in that they take hym to bee the ſonne of Aurelius Conanus: and rather it maye bee gathered, that not onely the ſame Aurelius Conanus and Vortiporus, but alſo Conſtantinus, yea and Cuneglaſus, and Maglocunus, of the whiche he alſo intreateth (as partly ſhall bee hereafter touched) liued, and reigned all at one tyme in ſeuerall partes of thys Ile, and not as Monarkes of the whole Britiſhe nation, but as rulers eche of them in his quarter, after the manner as the ſtate of Irelande hath bin in tymes paſte before the countrey came vnder the Engliſhe ſubiection, if my coniecture herein doe not deceyue me.

Malgo.

After the deceaſſe of Vortiporus, Malgo that was nephewe to Aurelius Conanus, (as ſome write) was made king of Britayne, and began his reigne ouer the Britons, in the yeare of our Lord.580. in the.xv. yeere of the Emperor Juſtinian, and in the.37. yeere of the reigne of Childerick king of the Frenchmen.

Malgo.

Math. VVeſt. hath noted.581.

580.

This Malgo is reported to haue beene the comelyeſt Gentleman in beautie and ſhape of perſonage that was to be founde in thoſe days amongeſt all the Brytons, and therewith of a bolde and hardie courage. Hee manfully defended the countrey which he had in gouernaunce, from the malice of the Saxons, & ſubdued the out Iſles, as Orkeneye and others. But notwithſtādyng the noble qualities with the whiche his perſone was adorned, yet hee ſpotted them all with the foule filthie ſynne of Sodomie, ſo that he fell into the hatred of Almightie God, and being purſued of the Saxons, receyued many ouerthrowes at their handes, as by the reporte of the Engliſhe writers is gathered more at large. Finallye when hee had reigned fiue yeeres and odde monethes, hee departed this lyfe.

Gal. Mon.

It ſeemeth that this Malgo is named by Gildas Maglocunus, the whiche Gildas before he ſpeaketh of him, inueyeth againſt one Cuneglaſus, whom he reproueth, for that he warred both againſt God and man: againſt God with greuous ſins, as namely adulterie, in forſaking the companie of his lauful wife, and keeping to concubine a ſiſter of hirs, that hadde profeſſed chaſtitie: and againſte man with materiall armor and weapons, whiche hee vſed to the diſtruction of his owne countreymen, with whome he kept warres, and not againſt the enimies of the common wealth. From Cuneglaſus he commeth to the forſayde Maglocune, whome hee nameth the Dragon of the

Math. VVeſt. compteth not paſt fiue yeeres to his reigne, vvhom Hariſ. folovveth, although other affirme that he reigned.35.yeares.

of the Iſles, and the expeller of many tyrants, not only out of their kingdomes, but alſo out of lyfe, the laſt of whome he entreateth (as he himſelfe ſayth) but the firſt in all miſchiefs and euil, greater than manye in power, and lykewiſe in malice: right liberall in giuing, but more plentifull in ſinne: ſtrong and valiant in armes, but ſtronger in deſtruction of his owne ſoule. And ſo proceeding chargeth him with the ſinne of the Sodomites, and ſore blameth him for that wher it had pleaſed God to make him hygher than all the other Dukes of Britayne in kyngdome and degree, hee didde not ſhewe hymſelfe better, but contraryly worſe than they by farre in manners and conditions. Hee declareth alſo a little after that this Maglocune in his young yeares ſlewe in battayle his vncle being king, with the moſt valiaunt ſouldiours in manner that he had.

Alſo that where the ſame Maglocune tooke vpon him the profeſſion of a Monke, he after renounced the ſame, and becam a worſe liuer than euer he was before, abandoning his wyfe, and keeping his brothers ſonnes wife, whileſt hir huſbande yet lyued.

Thus by that whiche Gildas wryteth of the kings and rulers of the Britons whiche lyued in his dayes, ye may perceiue that they were giuen to all manner of wickedneſſe, and namely to ciuill diſſention, rapine, adulterie and fornication: ſo that it maye bee thoughte, that God ſtirred vp the Saxons to be a ſcurge to them, and to worke his iuſte vengeaunce vppon them for theyr wicked and abhominable offences dayly committed againſt his diuine maieſtie, ſo that we fynde recorded by writers howe that the Saxons in dyuers conflictes agaynſt the Brytons hadde the better, and alſo tooke from them diuers townes as already partly hath bin and alſo hereafter ſhal be ſhewed.

559.

IT is furthermore to be remembred, that about the .14. yeare of the Britayn king Conanus his reigne, whiche was aboute the end of the yeare of Chriſte .559. Kenrike kyng of the Weaſtſaxons departed this lyfe, after he hadde reigned .25. yeares complete.

H. Hunt.

This Kenrike was a victorious Prince, and fought diuers battailes againſt the Britons. In the .xviij. yeare of his reigne which was the .551. of Chriſt, we fynd that he fought againſt them, beeing come at that tyme vnto Saliſburie, and after greate ſlaughter made on bothe partes, at length the victorie remayned with the Saxons, and the Britons were chaſed. Agayne in the two and twentie yere of his reigne and .555. yere of Chriſt, the ſame Kenrik and his ſon Chevling fought with a greate power of Britons at Beranbury.

The Britons were diuided into .ix. cōpanies, iij. in the forward, iij. in the battayle, & iij. in the rereward with their horſmen & archers, after the maner of the Romans. The Saxons being ranged in one entier bataile, valiantly aſſailed them, and notwithſtanding the ſhot of the Britons, yet they brought the matter to the triall of handblowes, til at length by the coming on of the night, the victorie remained doubtfull: and no marvell is to be made therof (ſayeth Henry Archedeacon of Huntington) ſith the Saxons were menne of ſuche huge ſtature, greate force and valyaunt courage.

The ſame yeare that Kenrike deceaſſed, Ida the king of Northumberlande alſo died: he was (as ye haue heard) a right valiāt prince, & enlarged the dominion of the Saxons greately. He ouercame in battaile Loth king of the Pictes, and Gorrane or rather Conrane king of Scots.

560.

Alſo about the yeare of Chriſt .560. Conanus (as yet gouerning the Britons) Irmenrike king of Kente, departed this lyfe, of whome ye haue heard before, and Ethelberte his ſonne ſucceeded him .52. yeres. Then after that the forſaid three princes were dead (as before ye haue heard) they had that ſucceded thē in their eſtates as here followeth. After Kenrike, his ſonne Ceaulinus or Chevlyng ſucceded in gouernment of the Weſtſaxons: and after Ida, one Ella or Alla reigned in Northumberland: After Irmenrike followed his ſonne Ethelberte in rule ouer the Kentiſhe Saxons.

H. Hunt.

This Ethelberte in proceſſe of tyme grewe to be a mightie prince, but yet in the beginnyng of his reign, he had but ſory ſucceſſe againſt ſome of his enimies: for hauing to do with the forſaid Chevlyng king of Weſtſaxons, he was of hym ouercome in battaile at Wilbaſdowne, where he loſt two of his dukes or chiefe Captaines, beſide other people. This was the firſt battail that was foughten betwixte the Saxons, one againſte an other within this land, after their firſt comming into the ſame. And this chaunced in the yeare of of our Lorde .567. being the ſeconde yeare of the Emperour Iuſtinus.

H. Hunt.
lias VVip
bandune.

570.

Cutha

ABoute the yeare .570. Cutha the brother of king Chevlyng foughte with the Brytons at Bedforde and ouercame them, and tooke from them foure townes, Liganbrough, Eglesbroughe, or Ayleſburye, Benſington, and Eueſham. Alſo about the yeare of our Lorde .581. the forſayde king Chevling encountred with the Britaynes at a place called Dyorth, and obteyning the vpper hand, tooke from them the Cities of Bathe, Glouceſter, and Cirenceſter.

Aleſbur

581.

At this battayle fought at Dyorth, were preſente three kyngs of the Britons, whoſe names were theſe: Coinmagill, Candidan, and Farinmagill, the whiche were ſlayne there through the permiſſion of almightie God as then refuſing his people, the which through their heynous ſinnes and great wickedneſſe, had moſt greuouſly offended his hygh and diuine Maieſtie, as by Gildas it may euidently appeare: for they hadde declined from the lawes of the Lorde, and were become abhominable in his ſight, euen from the Prince to the poore man, from the Prieſt to the Leuite, ſo that not one eſtate amongeſt them walked vprightley, but contrarie to duetie was gone aſtraye, by reaſon whereof, the rightuous God had giuen them ouer as a pray to their enimyes.

s brother as
. VVest.

Alſo in the latter ende of Malgos dayes or about the firſt beginning of the reigne of his ſucceſſour Carreticus, Cheuling and his ſonne Cutwyne fought with the Brytons at a place called Fechanley or Fedanley, or as ſome bookes haue, Frithenlye, where Cutwyn was ſlayne, and the Engliſhemen chaſed: but yet Cheuling repairing his armie, wan the victorie, and chaſed the Britons, and tooke from them many countreys, and wan great riches by the ſpoyle. But Math. Weſtm. ſayth, that the victorie aboade with the Britons, and that the Saxons were chaſed quite out of the fielde. The Scottiſhe writers recorde, that their king Aydan was there in ayde of the Brytons, and Brudeus kyng of the Pictes in ayde of the Saxons: but the ſame writers name the place Deglaſton, where this battayle was foughte.

. Hunt.

d. VVest.

The beginning of the kingdome of Mercia.

rida.

es Hunt.
kingdom
in the
, as
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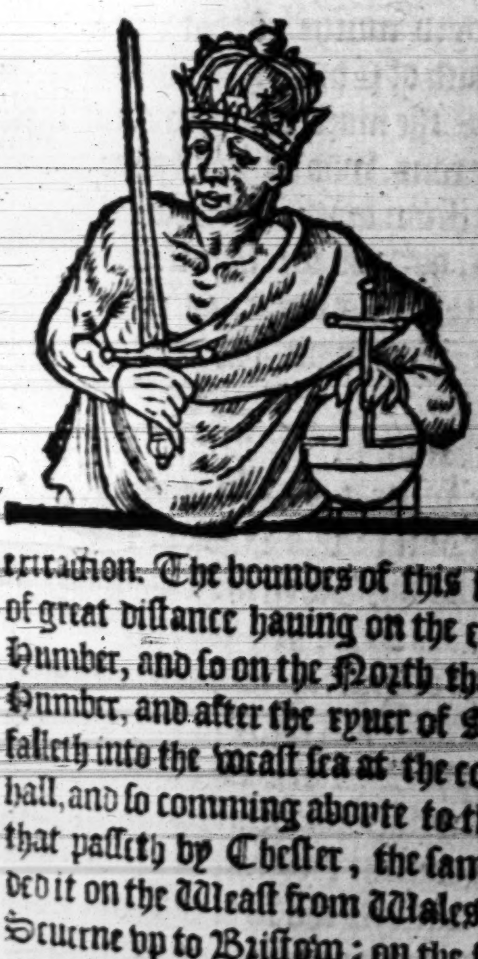


ABoute the ſame time alſo and. 585. of Chriſt, the kyngdome of Mercie began vnder one Crida, that was deſcẽded from Woden, and the tenth from him by lineall extraction. The boundes of this kingdom were of great diſtance hauing on the eaſt the ſea vnto Humber, and ſo on the North the ſayde riuer of Humber, and after the ryuer of Mercie, whiche falleth into the weaſt ſea at the corner of Wyrhall, and ſo comming aboute to the ryuer of Dee that paſſeth by Cheſter, the ſame ryuer bounded it on the Weaſt from Wales, and likewyſe Seuerne vp to Briſtow: on the ſouth it had the ryuer of Thames, til it came almoſt to London: And in this ſort it conteyned Lincolneſhire, Notinghamſhire, Derbyſhire, Cheſſhyre, Shropſhire, Worceterſhire, Glouceterſhire, Oxfordſhire, Buckinghamſhire, Hertefordſhire, Bedfordſhire, Huntingtonſhire, Northamptonſhire, Leyceſterſhire, and Warwikeſhire.

Ceſt.

Thus haue ye heard how the Saxons in proces of tyme remouing the Britons out of their ſeates, daylye wanne grounde of them, till at length they got poſſeſſion of the beſt part of this Iſle, and erected within the ſame ſeuen kingdomes, whiche were gouerned by ſeauen ſeuerall kings, which continued vntill at length the kinges of Weſtſaxõ brought them al into one Monarchie, as after ſhal appere. Mat. Weſtm. reckneth. viij. kingdomes as thus. The kingdome of Kent, the kingdome of Suſſex, the kingdome of Eſſex, the kingdom of Eaſtangle, the kingdome of Mercia, the kyngdome of Weaſtſex, and the kyngdome of Northumberlande, whyche was diuided into two kyngdomes, that is to wit, into Deira and into Bernitia: whereunto Hariſon addeth the nynth in the firſt part of his chronologie, and calleth it Wales.

Careticus or Caretius K. of Britayn.

Careticus.

586.

AFter that Malgo or Maglocune was departed this lyfe, one Carreticus (or as ſome write hym Carretius) was made Kyng of the Britons and began his Reigne in the yeare of our Lorde. 586 whiche was in the thyrde yeare of the Emperoure Mauritius and thirteenth of Chilperike king of Fraunce.

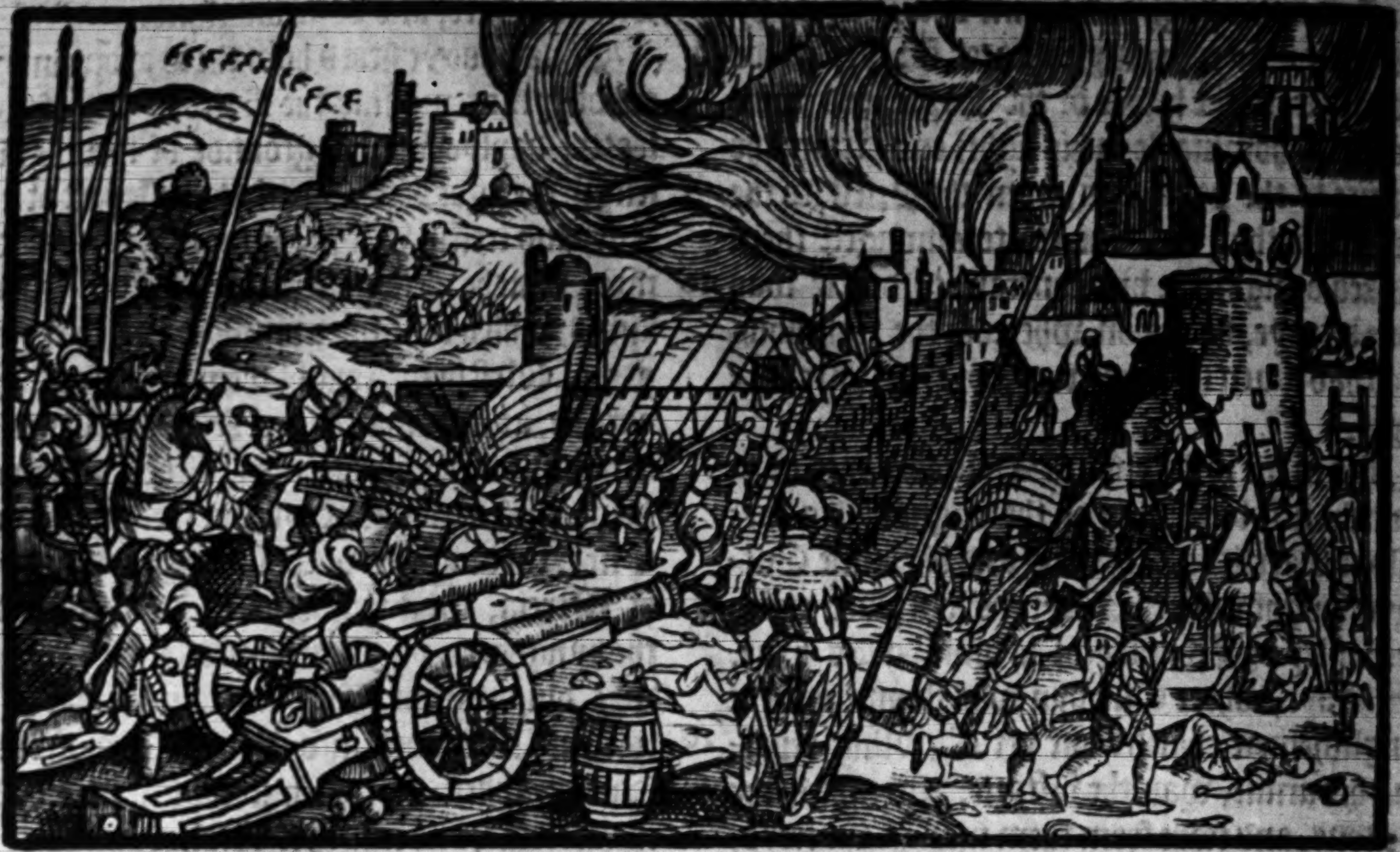
This Carreticus was a noriſher of ciuill warre and diſcention amongſt his own people the Britons, ſo that he was hated both of god and man as writers teſtifye.

The Saxons vnderſtanding that the Britons were not of one mind, but deuided in partakings, ſo as one was ready to deuoure an other, they thought it good time for them to aduaunce theyr conqueſts, and ſeaſſed not to purſue the Britons by force and continuall warre, till they had conſtrained them for refuge to withdraw into Wales. And as ſome haue written, the Saxons meanyng to make a full conqueſt of the lande, ſent ouer into Ireland, requiring one Gurmundus a kyng of the Affricanes to come ouer into Britayne to healpe them agaynſte the Brytaynes.

Galf. Mon.
See more of this Gurmundus in Ireland.

Rannlf. Ceſt.

This Gurmundus appoyntyng his brother Turgeſius to purſue the conqueſt of Irelande, came and arriued here in Britayn, making ſuche cruell warre in ayde of the Saxons agaynſt the Britons, that Careticus was conſtreyned to keepe him within the citie of Ciceſter, or Cirenceſter, and was there beſieged, and at length by continuall aſſaults and ſkirmiſhes, when he had loſt manie of his men, hee was glad to forſake that citie, and fled into Wales.



Gourmonde tooke Cirenceſter or Chicheſter, and deſtroyed it in moſte cruell manner. Some write, that he tooke this citie by a policie of war, in bynding to the feet of Sparrowes whiche his people had caught, certaine clewes of threede or matches, finely wrought and tempred with matter readie to take fire, ſo that the Sparrowes being ſuffered to goe out of hande, flewe into the towne to lodge them ſelues within their neſtes whiche they had made in ſtackes of corne, and eues of houſes, ſo that the towne was thereby ſet on fyre, and then the Brytons iſſuing forth, foughte with their enimies, and were ouercome and diſcomfited.

But whyleſt the battayle continued, Careticus ſtale away, and got him into Wales. After this, the foreſayd Gurmonde deſtroyed thys lande throughout in pitifull wyſe, and then deliuered it in poſſeſſion to the Saxons, the whiche thankfully receiued it: and bicauſe they were deſcended of thoſe that firſte came ouer with Hengiſt, they chaunged the name of the lande, and called it Hengiſtlande, accordingly as the ſame Hengiſt had in tymes paſt ordeined: the whiche name after for ſhortneſſe of ſpeeche was ſomewhat altered, and ſo laſtly called Englande, and the people Engliſhmen.

But rather it may be thought, that ſith a great part of thoſe people whiche came ouer into thys lande out of Germanie with the ſayde Engiſte, and other captaines, were of thoſe Engliſhmen whiche inhabited Germanie, about the parties of Thoringhen, they called this land England, after their name, when they had firſt got habitatiō within it: and ſo both the lande and people tooke name of them, beeing called *Angli* long tyme before they entered into this Iſle (as before is ſhewed out of Cornelius Tacitus and others.) But nowe to returne where we lefte.

Mat. W

Of this Gurmounde the olde Engliſh wryters make no mention, nor alſo any auncient authors of foreyn parties: and yet ſayth the Britiſh booke, that after he had conquered this land, & giuē it to the Saxons, he paſſed ouer into Frāce, and there deſtroyed muche of that lande, as an enemy to the faith of Chriſte: For whiche conſideration, he was the more ready to come to the ayde of the Saxons, who as yet hadde not receyued the Chriſtian faith, but warred againſt the Brytaynes, as well for to deſtroy the faith of Chryſte within this lande, as to eſtablyſhe to them ſelues contynuall habitations in the ſame.

There bee, that omittyng to make mention of Gurmounde, write thus of the expulſing of the Brytaynes oute of this lande at that tyme when wyth their king Careticus they got them into Wales.

It should se
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rie of Gor
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ned tale
it may be
he vvas
Dane, No
vvegian or
Germaine.

586.

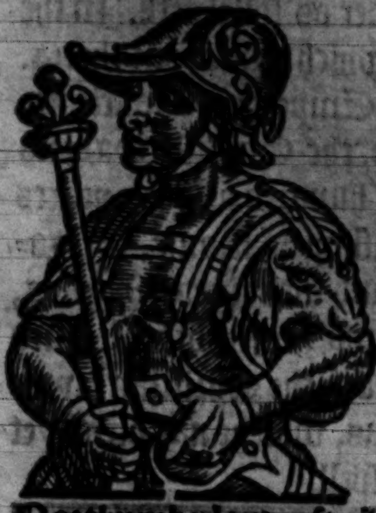
IN the yeare of grace. 586. Kareticus a louer of ciuil war ſucceded Malgo an enimie to God and to the Britons, whoſe inconſtancie when the Engliſhe and Saxon kinges perceiued, with one conſent they roſe againſte him, and after many battails chaſed him from citie to citie, till at lengthe encountring wyth him in a pight field, they draue him beyond Seuerne into Wales. Hereupon clerks and prieſtes were dryuen oute of theyr places with brighte ſwordes bran-

Mat.VV

brandiſhing in all partes, and fire crackling in Churches, wherewith the ſame were conſumed. The remnante of the Britaynes therfore withdrew into the Weſt partes of the land, that is to witte into Cornewale, and into Wales, out of which countreys they oftentimes brake out, and made reyſes vppon the Saxons, the whyche in manner aforeſayde, gote poſſeſſion of the chiefeſt partes of the lande, leauing to the Britaynes only three prouinces, that is to witte, Cornewale, Southwales, and Northwales, which countreis were not eaſie to be wonne, by reaſon of the thick woddes enuironed with deepe mariſhes and waters, & full of high craggy rockes, & Mountaines.

The Engliſh and Saxon Kings hauing thus remoued the Britaynes, enlarged the boundes of their dominions. There raigned in that ſeaſon within this land beſide the Britaine Kings eight Kings of the Engliſhe and Saxon nations, as Ethelbert in Kent, Ciſſa in Suſſex, Ceauline in Weſtſex, Credda or Crida in Mercia, Erkenwine in Eſſex, Titila in Eſtangle, Elle in Deira, and Alfrid in Bernicia. In this ſort the Britaynes loſt the poſſeſſion of the more part of theyr auntiente ſeates, and the faithe of Chriſt thereby was greatly decayed: for the Churches were deſtroyed, & the Archbiſhops of Carleon Arwſke, London, and Yorke, withdrewe togither with their Cleargie into the Mountaynes and woods within Wales, taking with them the relikes of Saintes for doubt the ſame ſhoulde be deſtroyed by the enimies, and thẽſelues put to deathe if they ſhould abide in their olde habitations. Many alſo fled into Britaine Armorike with a greate fleete of Shippes, ſo that the whole Church or congregation (as yee may call it) of the two prouinces, Loegria and Northumberland, was left deſolate in that ſeaſon, to the great hinderance and decay of the Chriſtian Religion. Careticus was driuẽ into Wales (as before is rehearſed) about the ſecond or third yeare of his raigne, and there continued with his Britaines, the which ceaſſed not to endomage the Saxons from time to time as occaſiõ ſerued. But heere is to be noted, that ỹ Britanes being thus remoued into Wales & Cornewall, were gouerned afterwardes by three kings, or rather Tirants, the which ceaſſed not with ciuill warre to ſeeke eache others deſtruction, till finally as ſayth the Brittiſh booke, they became all ſubiect vnto Cadwallo, whome Bede nameth Cedwallo. In ỹ mean time, Ciaulinus or Cheuling King of the Weſt Saxons, through hys owne miſgouernance and tyrannie whiche towardes his latter dayes hee practiſed, did procure not only the Britaines, but alſo his own ſubiects to conſpire his deathe, ſo that ioyning in battell with his aduerſaries at Wodeneſdic in the. 33. yere of his raigne, his army was diſcomfited, and he himſelfe conſtreyned to departe into exile, and ſhortly after ended his life before he coulde fynde meanes to be reſtored.

il.Mal.



Celric.

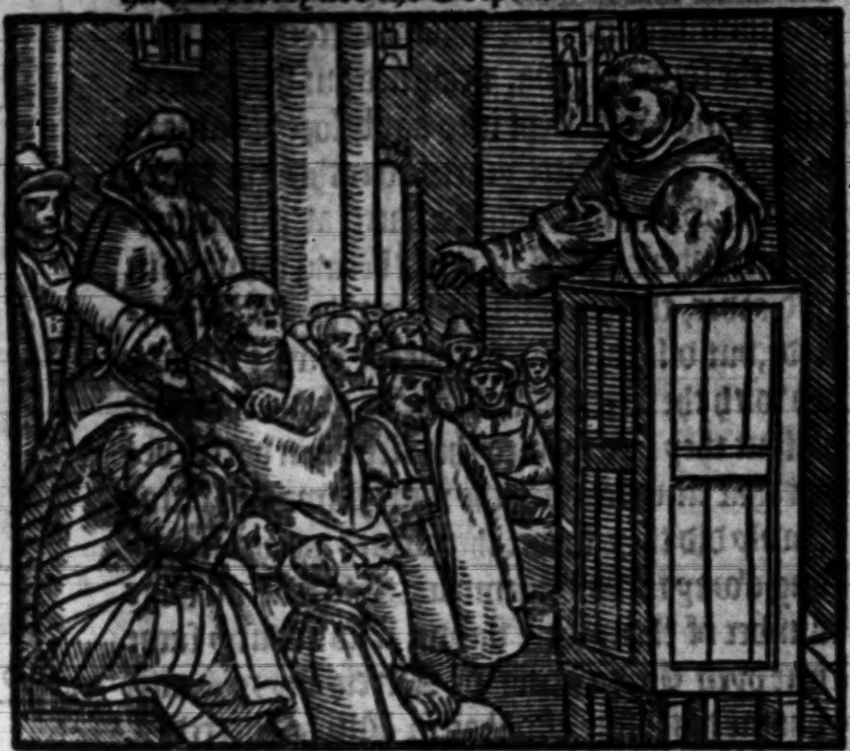
After this Cheuling, his Nephewe Celricus or Ceolric that was ſonne vnto Cutwine, ỹ ſonne of the foreſayde Cheuling, raigned as Kyng ouer the Weſt Saxons fiue yeares fiue monethes. In like manner the ſame yeare dyed Ella or Illa Kyng of Northumberland, after whome ſucceeded Ethelricus the ſonne of Ida, & raigned but fiue yeares, being a man well ſtept into age before he came to be King. About three yeares after this, the Saxons and Britaines fought a battel at Wodeneſbourne, where the Britaynes beeing raunged in good order, the Saxons ſet vpon them boldly indeede, but diſordredly, ſo that the victory remayned with the Britaynes. The Saxons the more valiant they had ſhewed themſelues in battel, before that time, ſo much the more ſlowe and vntowardly did they ſhewe themſelues nowe in running away to ſaue themſelues, ſo that an huge number of them were ſlayne. Alſo about ỹ ſame time dyed Crida King of Mercia vz. 594. after whome his ſonne Wibbas or Wipha ſucceeded. And after the deceſſe of Ethelrike, one Edelfert or Edelfride ſurnamed the wilde, ſucceeded in gouernement of the Northumbers. But to returne to our purpoſe. Ethelbert King of Kent not diſcouraged with the euill chance whiche hapned in the beginning, but rather occaſioned thereby to learne more experience in feates of warre, proued ſo perfect a maſter therein, that in proceſſe of time hee ſubdued by force of armes all thoſe Engliſhe Saxons whiche lay betwixte the boundes of hys countrey, and the Riuer of Humber. Alſo to haue friendſhip in forraine partes, he procured a Wife for himſelfe of the French nation, named the Lady Bertha, being King Cheribertes daughter of France, but with condition that he ſhould permit hir to continue and vſe the rites and lawes of the Chriſtian faith and Religion, and to haue a Biſhop whoſe name was Luydhard, appoynted to come and remayne with hir here in this lande for hir better inſtructiõ in the lawes of the Lord: ſo that they two with other of the French nation that came ouer with them remaining in ỹ Court and vſing to ſerue God in prayers and otherwiſe according to the cuſtome of the Chriſtian Religion, began vndoubtedly to giue light to ỹ kings mind as yet darkned with the Cloudes of Paganiſme, ſo as the bright beames of ỹ celeſtial clereneſſe of vnderſtanding remoued the thicke miſtes

594

Beda.
VVil. Mal.

Beda.
Mat. VVeſt. hath. 596.
47. hath the ſame Author.

of his vnbeleefe in proceſſe of time, and prepared his hart to the receyuing of the Goſpell, which after by heauenly prouidẽce was preached to him, by occaſion, and in manner as followeth. In the yeare of our Lord. 586. which was about the. 14. yeare of the raigne of the Emperour Mauritius, and after the comming of the Engliſh Saxons into this land, about an hundred and. 47. yeares almoſt complete, the Biſhop of Rome, Gregory yͤ firſt of that name, and ſurnamed Magnus, ſente Auguſtinus a Monke, with other learned men into this Iſle to preach the Chriſtian faythe vnto the Engliſh Saxons, whiche nation as yet had not receyued the Goſpell.



Beda.
VV. Mal.
Vita Gregorij magni.

It is recorded by diuers writers, that the firſte occaſion whereby Gregory was moued thus to ſend Auguſtine into this lãd, roſe by this meanes: It chanced whileſt the ſame Gregory was as yet but Archdeacon of the Sea of Rome, certayne yong boyes were brought thither to be ſolde out of Northumberland, according to the cuſtomable vſe of that countrey, in ſomuche that as we haue in our time ſeene (ſaith Wil. Mal.) the people of that prouince haue not yet doubted to ſell away their neere kinſfolke for a ſmall price. Whẽ thoſe children whiche at that time were brought from thence to Rome, had by reaſon of their excellente beauties and comely ſhape of limmes and body, turned the eyes in manner of all the Citizens to the beholding of them, it fortuned that Gregory alſo came amongſt other to beholde them, and when hee conſidered and well viewed their fayre ſkinnes, their ſweete viſages, and beautifull buſſhes of their bright and yellow heares, he demanded out of what region or land they came, vnto whome aunſwere was made, that they were brought out of Britayne, the inhabitants of whiche countrey were of the like beautifull aſpect: thẽ he aſked whether the men of that countrey were Chriſtians, or as yet entangled with blinde heatheniſh errors, whereunto it was aunſwered, that they were not chriſtned, but followed the Religion of the Gentiles, whereat Gregory fetching a deepe ſigh, ſayd: oh alas that the author of darkneſſe doth as yet poſſeſſe mẽ of ſo brightſome cõtenances, & that with the grace of ſuche faire ſhining viſages, they beare about minds voyde of inward grace. He demanded againe by what name yͤ people were called, & anſwere was made, yͭ they wer called *Angli*, that is to ſay Engliſhmẽ. And worthily (ſaith he) for they haue angels faces, and ſuch as ought to be made fellow heires with Angels in Heauen. Then aſked he yͤ name of yͤ prouince frõ whẽce they were brought, & it was tolde him they were of *Deira*. It is well ſayd hee, they are to be deliuered *de ira dei*, that is to ſay, from the ire and wrath of God, & called to the mercy of Chriſt our Lord. What name (ſayde he) hath the King of that prouince, whereunto anſwere was made that he was called *Alla*, wherupõ alluding to yͤ name, he ſaid, that *Alleluia* ought to be ſong in thoſe partes to the praiſe & honor of God yͤ creator. And hereupõ comming to Benedict the firſt of yͤ name as then Biſhop of Rome, hee required him yͭ ſome learned mẽ might be ſent into Englãd to preach yͤ Goſpel vnto the Engliſhmẽ, offering himſelfe to be one of the number: but though Benedict was cõtented to graunt his requeſt, yet yͤ Romanes had him in ſuch eſtimatiõ, that they would not cõſent yͭ he ſhould depart ſo farre from yͤ citie, ſo that by thẽ he was at that time ſtayed of that his godly purpoſe. But whẽ he came to be Biſhop, he thought to performe it, though not by himſelf, yet by other: & ſo Auguſtine & his felowes wer ſent by him about it (as before is ſayd.) By the way as they were paſſing in their iourney, ſuch a ſoddayne feare entred into their harts, that (as ſome write) they returned all. Other write, that Auguſtine was ſent back to Gregory to ſue that they might be releaſſed of that voyage ſo dãgerous and vncertain amongſt ſuch a barbarous people, whoſe language they neyther knewe, nor whoſe rudeneſſe they wer able to reſiſt. Thẽ Gregory with pithie perſwaſions confirming and cõforting him, ſente him againe with letters vnto the Biſhop of Arles, willing him to help and ayd the ſayde Auſtine and his company in all what ſo euer his neede required. Alſo other letters he directed by the foreſaide Auſtine vnto hys fellowes, exhorting them to goe forewarde boldly in the Lordes worke, as by the tenor of the ſayde Epiſtle heere following may appeare.

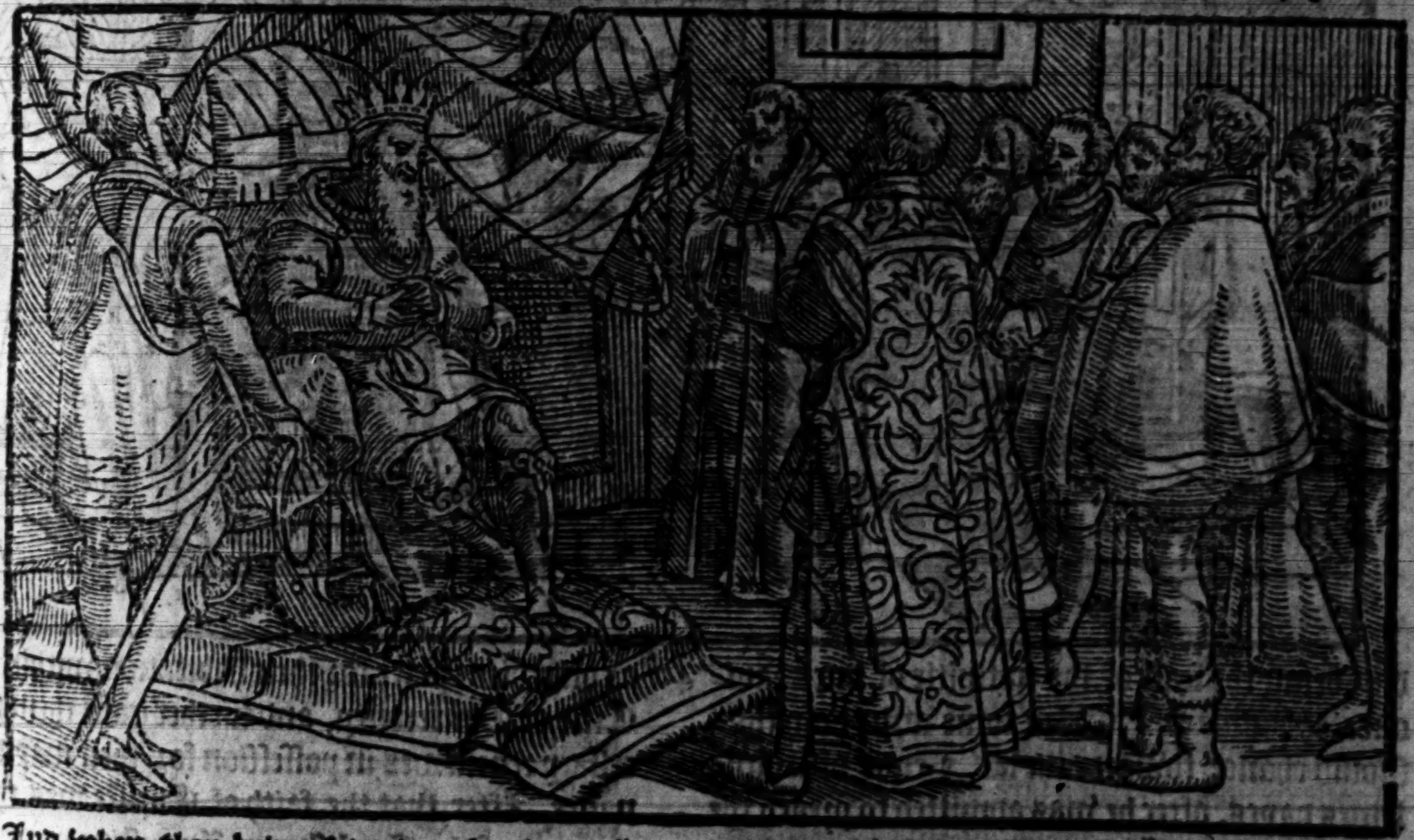
Pelagius th ſeconde.
VVil. Mal
Pelagius.
M. Fox.

Gregorius ſeruus ſeruorum Dei Domini noſtri. Quia melius fuerat bona non incipere quàm ab ijs quæ cepta ſunt cogitatione retrorſum redire. &c.

In Engliſh, Gregory the ſeruant of Gods ſeruauntes, to the ſeruantes of oure Lorde. For as muche as it is better not to take good things in hande, than after they bee begunne, to thinke to reuolte backe from the ſame agayne, therefore now you may not nor cannot (deere children) but with all feruente ſtudie and labour muſt needes goe forwarde in that good buſineſſe, whiche through the helpe of God you haue well begonne. Neyther let the labour of youre iourney, nor the ſlaunderous tongues of men apall you, but that with all inſtance and feruencie yee proceede and accompliſh the thing which the Lord hath ordeyned you to take in hãd, knowing that your great trauell ſhall be recompenſed with reward of greater glory hereafter to come. Therefore as we ſend heere Auſtin to you agayne, whome alſo we haue ordeyned to be your gouernoure, ſo do you humbly obey him in all things, knowing that it ſhall be profitable for your ſoules what ſoeuer at hys admonitiõ ye ſhall doe. Almighty God with hys grace defende you, and graunt me to ſee in the eternall countrey the fruite of your labour, that although I cannot labour in the ſame felowſhippe with you togither, the Lorde God keepe you ſafe moſt deere and welbeloued children. Dated the tenth before the Calẽdes of Auguſt, in the raigne of our ſoueraigne Lorde Mauritius moſt vertuous Emperour, the fourteenth of his Empire.

Thus they emboldened and comforted through the good wordes and wholeſome exhortation of Gregory, ſet forward agayne, and ſpeeding forth their iourney, they firſt arriued at yͤ Iſle of Thanet in Kente in the moneth of July, being in nũber about fortie perſons, of the whiche dyuers were interpreters whom they brought with them out of Fraunce. Theſe they ſente vnto King Ethelbert, ſignifying to him the occaſion of their comming, who hearing the meſſengers within a fewe dayes after, went into that Iſle, and there abrode out of any houſe ſate downe, and cauſed Auguſtine and hys fellowes to come before him, for he would not come vnder any roofe with thẽ, for doubting to bee bewitched by them, beeyng perſwaded that they were practiſed in nigromancie. But they comming to him, not by the power of the Deuill (as they ſayd) but by the myght and power of Almightie God, bearing in ſteede of a banner a Croſſe of ſyluer, and an Image of our Lord & Sauioure paynted in a Table, & thereto ſinging yͤ Letanies, made interceſſiõ vnto the L. for the euerlaſting preſeruation of themſelues, & of all them for whome and to whome they came.

The ſeuenfold Letanies of S. Gregory were not yet deuiſed.



And when they being ſet downe by commaundement of the King, had preached the worde of life to him and to all thoſe that came thither with him, he made them this anſwere, that their wordes and promiſes were good: but for as much as the ſame were new and vncertayne to him that had bin brought vp in the contrary doctrine, he could not raſhly aſſent to their admonitions, and leaue that beleefe which he and the Engliſh nation had ſo long a time obſerued and kept: but (ſayd he) bycauſe ye haue trauelled farre to the intent to make vs partakers of thoſe things whiche ye beleeue to bee moſt true and perfecte, wee will thus muche graunt vnto you, that yee ſhall bee receyued into this countrey, and haue herbrough with things ſufficient found vnto you for your mayntenance and ſuſtentation: neither will we hinder you, but yͭ ye may by Preaching aſſociat & ioyne as many of our ſubiectes as ye can vnto your law and beleefe. They had therefore aſſigned vnto them a place to lodge in within the City of Canterbury, which was yͤ head citie of al his dominion. It is ſaid yͭ as they approched yͤ citie according to their manner, they had a croſſe borne afore them, with an image of our Lorde Jeſus Chriſte, and they followed in ſinging this Letany: *Deprecamur te Domine in omni miſericordia tua, vt auferatur furor tuus & ira tua à ciuitate iſta & de domo ſancta tua, quoniã peccauimus. Alleluya.* That is to ſay VVe beſeech thee O Lord in al thy mercy that thy

Beda.

Mat. VVeſt.

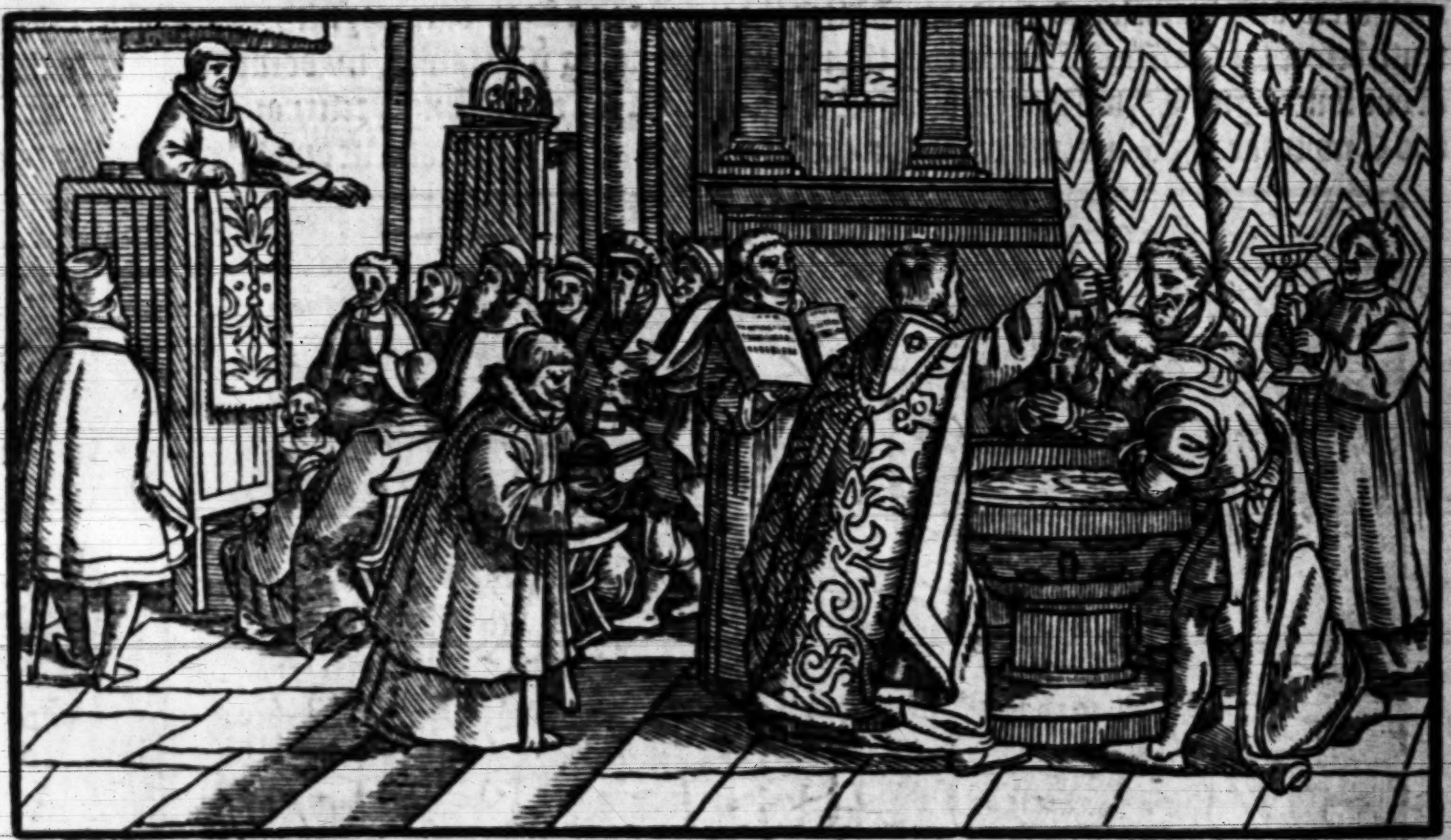
ſury and wrath may be taken from this citie, and from thy holy houſe, for wee haue ſynned. Prayſe be to thee oh Lorde. After they were receyued into Canterbury, they began to followe the trade of lyfe whiche the Apoſtles vſed in the primatiue Churche, that is to witte, exerciſing themſelues in continuall prayer, watching, faſting, and in preaching the worde to as many as they coulde, deſpiſing all worldly pleaſures, as not apperteyning to them, receyuing onely (of them whome they taughte) thynges that ſeemed neceſſary for the ſuſtenance of their life, and liuing in all poyntes according to the doctrine whyche they ſet forthe, hauing theyr mindes ready to ſuffer in patience all aduerſities what ſo euer, yea and death it ſelfe, for the confirming of that whiche they nowe preached.

The Chriſtian faith receyued of the Engliſhmen.

Heerevppon, many of the Engliſhe people beleeued and were baptiſed, hauing in greate reuerence the ſimplicitie of the innocente liues of thoſe men, and the ſweeteneſſe of their heauenly doctrine. There was a Church neere to the Citie on the Eaſt parte thereof dedicated in the honor of Saint Martine, and buylded of old time whileſt the Romaynes as yet inhabited Britayne, in the whiche the Queene being (as we haue ſayd) a Chriſtian, vſed to make hir prayers. To this Churche Auſtine and hys fellowes at their firſt comming accuſtomed to reſorte, and there to ſing, to pray, to ſay Maſſe, to preach and to baptiſe, till at length the Kyng being conuerted, graunted them licence to preache in euery place, and to buylde and reſtore Churches where they thought good. After that ẏ King being perſwaded by their doctrine, good examples giuing, and diuers miracles ſhewed, was once baptiſed, the people in great number begã to giue eare vnto the Preaching of the Goſpell, and renouncing their heatheniſh beleefe, became Chriſtians, in ſo much that as Gregory remembreth, ther were baptiſed tenne thouſand perſons in one day, being the feaſt of the natiuitie of our Sauiour. 597. indictione. 1.

Lib.7.cap.2

Policron.



But ſome write how thys ſhould chance towarde the latter ende of Auguſtines dayes, after he was admitted to preach the Goſpell amongſt them that inhabited about Yorke (as ſome write) which affirme, that the ſaid number of tenne thouſande was baptiſed in the Riuer of Suale, whiche as William Harriſon ſayeth, cannot be verified, bycauſe of the indiction and death of Gregory.

Bed. lib. 1. cap. 26. & 27.

But to procede: The king reioiced at the conuerſion thus of his people, howbeit, he would not force any man to be baptiſed, but only ſhewed by his behauiour, that he fauored thoſe that beleeued more than other, as fellowe Citizens with him of the heauenly Kingdome: for he learned of them that had inſtructed hym in the faith, that the obedience due to Chriſt oughte not to be inforced, but to come of good wil.

Religion not to be enforſed, but taughte and preached.

Moreouer, he prouided for Auguſtine and his fellowes a conuenient place for their habitation within the Citie of Canterbury, and further gaue them neceſſary reuenewes in poſſeſſion for their mayntenance.

Auguſtine ordeyned Archbiſhop of the Engli nation.

After that the faith of Chriſte was thus receyued of the Engliſhmen, Auguſtine went into Fraunce, and there of the Archbiſhop of Arles named Etherius, he was ordeined Archbiſhop of the Engliſhe nation, according to the order preſcribed by Gregorie before ẏ departure of the ſaide Auguſtine frõ Rome.

Laurence a Prieſt.

After his returne into Britane, he ſent Laurẽce a Prieſt, & Peeter a Monke vnto Rome, to giue knowledge vnto Gregory the Biſhop, howe the Engliſhmen had receyued the faith, and that hee was ordeyned Archbiſhop of the land, according to that he had commaunded, if the worke proſpered vnder his hande as it had done. He alſo required to haue Gregories aduice touching certain ordinances to be made and obſerued in the new Church of England: whereupon vpon Gregory in ſending backe the meſſengers wrote aunſwer vnto all his demaundes, and firſt touching the conuerſation of Archbiſhops with yͤ Cleargie, and in what ſorte the Churche goodes oughte to be employed, he declareth that the auntient cuſtome of the Apoſtolike See was to giue commaundemente vnto Biſhops ordeyned, that the profytes & reuenewes of their benefices ought to be deuided into foure partes, whereof the firſte ſhould be appoynted to the Biſhop and his family for the mayntenance of hoſpitalitie: the ſecond ſhould be aſſigned to the Cleargie: the thirde to be giuen to the poore: and the fourth to be employed vpon repayring of temples. Alſo as touching the diuerſitie of cuſtomes in Churches. And where in the Churche of Rome one cuſtome in ſaying of Maſſe or yͤ Liturgie was obſerued, and an other cuſtome in France, concerning ſuch Church ſeruice. Gregory aduiſed Auguſtine that if he found anye thing either in the Churche of Rome, eyther in the Churche of Fraunce, or in anye other Churche whiche mighte moſt pleaſe the almightie God, he ſhould diligently chooſe it forth, and inſtruct the Church of England (now beyng new) according to that forme whiche hee ſhoulde gather forth of the ſayd Churches: for the things are not loued for the places ſake, but the places for the things ſake.

The reuenews of the Church to be deuided into.4. partes.

Lyturgia.

Church ſeruice.

Alſo for the puniſhing of ſuche as had ſtollen things out of Churches, ſo neere as mighte bee, the offender ſhoulde bee chaſtiſed in charitie, ſo as he might know his fault, and if it were poſſible, reſtore the thing taken away. Alſo as touching degrees in mariages, Engliſhmē might take to their wiues, women that touched them in the third and fourth degree without reprehenſion, and if any vnlawfull marriages were founde amongſt the Engliſhmē, as if the ſonne had maried the fathers wife, or the brother the brothers wife, they ought to be warned in any wiſe to abſteyne, and vnderſtand it to be a greeuous ſinne: yet ſhoulde they not for that thing be depriued of the Communiō of the body & bloud of our Lord, leaſt thoſe things mighte ſeeme to be puniſhed in them wherein they had offended (before their conuerſion to the Chriſtian fayth) by ignorance: for at this ſeaſon yͤ Church (ſayth he) correcteth ſome things of a feruente earneſtneſſe, ſuffereth ſome things of a gētle mildneſſe, and diſſimuleth ſome things of a prudent conſideration, and ſo beareth and diſſimuleth the ſame, that oftentimes the euill which ſhe abhorreth by ſuch bearing and diſſimuling, is reſtreyned and reformed. Moreouer, touching the ordeyning of Biſhops, hee woulde they ſhould be ſo placed, that the diſtance of place mighte not bee a lette, but that when a Biſhoppe ſhoulde bee conſecrated, there mighte bee three or foure preſente.

Such as did ſteale.

Marriages.

Diſcipline of the Church.

Ordeyning of Biſhops.

Alſo touching the Biſhoppes of Fraunce, hee willed Auguſtine in no wiſe to intermeddle with them, otherwiſe than by exhortacion and good admonitions to be giuen, but not to preſume any thing by authority, ſith the Archbiſhop of Arles had receyued the Palle in tymes paſt, whoſe authoritie hee mighte not deminiſhe, leaſt he ſhould ſeeme to put his ſicle into another mans harueſt. But as for the Biſhops of Britayne, he committed them vnto him, that the vnlearned might be taught, the weake with wholeſome perſwaſions ſtrengthned, and the frowarde by authoritie reformed. Moreouer, that a womā with childe myghte bee Baptiſed, and ſhee that was deliuered after.33.dayes of a man childe, and after.46.dayes of a woman childe ſhould be purified, but yet myghte ſhee enter the Church before if ſhe woulde.

Women with childe.

The reſidue of Auguſtines demaundes conſiſted in theſe poynts, vz. within what ſpace a child ſhould be Chriſtened after it was borne, for doubt to be preuēted by death: alſo, within what tyme a man might company with his wife after ſhe was brought to bedde: whether a woman hauing the flowres, mighte enter the Churche or receyue the Communion: alſo whether a man hauing companyed with hys Wife, might enter the Churche, or receyue the Communion, before he was waſhed with water. And whether after polution by night in dreames, a man mighte receyue the Cōmunion: or if he were a Prieſt whether he might ſay Maſſe.

Matters in queſtion about trifles.

To theſe queſtions Gregory maketh aunſwere at full in the Booke and place before cited, which for breefeneſſe we paſſe ouer. He ſent alſo at that tyme with the meſſengers aforeſayde at their returne into Englande dyuers learned men to help Auguſtine in the harueſt of yͤ Lorde. The names of the cheefeſt were theſe, Mellitus, Iuſtus, Paulinus, and Rufinianus. He ſente alſo the Palle whyche is the ornament of an Archbiſhop with veſſels and apparrell whiche ſhoulde be vſed in Churches by the Archbiſhop and other miniſters.

Aſsiſtance to Auguſtine.
The Pall.

He alſo ſente with the Pall other letters vnto Auguſtine to lette hym vnderſtande what number of Biſhops hee woulde haue hym to ordeyne within this lande. Alſo after that Mellitus, and the other before mentioned perſons were departed from Rome, hee ſent a letter vnto the ſame Melitus, beeyng yet on his way towardes Britayne, touching further matter concerning the Churches of England, wherein he confeſſeth that many thinges are permitted to bee vſed of the people lately broughte from the errors of gentilitie, in keeping feaſtes on the dedication dayes whiche haue reſemblaunce with their olde ſuperſtitious rytes of the Pagane Religion, for

Bearing with them that had newly receyued the fayth, whereof ſuperſtition grewe and increaſed.

to hard and obſtinate mindes (ſayth he) it is not poſſible to cutte away all things at once, for hee that coueteth to the higheſt place, goeth vp by ſteppes and not by leapes.

Miracles.

Alſo the ſame time, Gregory did ſende letters vnto Auguſtine touching the miracles whych by reporte he vnderſtoode were ſhewed by the ſame Auguſtine, counſelling him in no wiſe to glory in the ſame, but rather in reioycing to feare and conſider that God gaue him the gifte to worke ſuche ſignes for the welth of them, to whome hee was ſente to preach the Goſpell: he aduiſed hym therefore to beware of vayne glory and preſumption, for the Diſciples of the trueth (ſayth he) haue no ioy, but onely that which is common with all men, of whyche there is no end, for not euery one that is elect worketh miracles, but euery of the elect haue their names written in heauen.

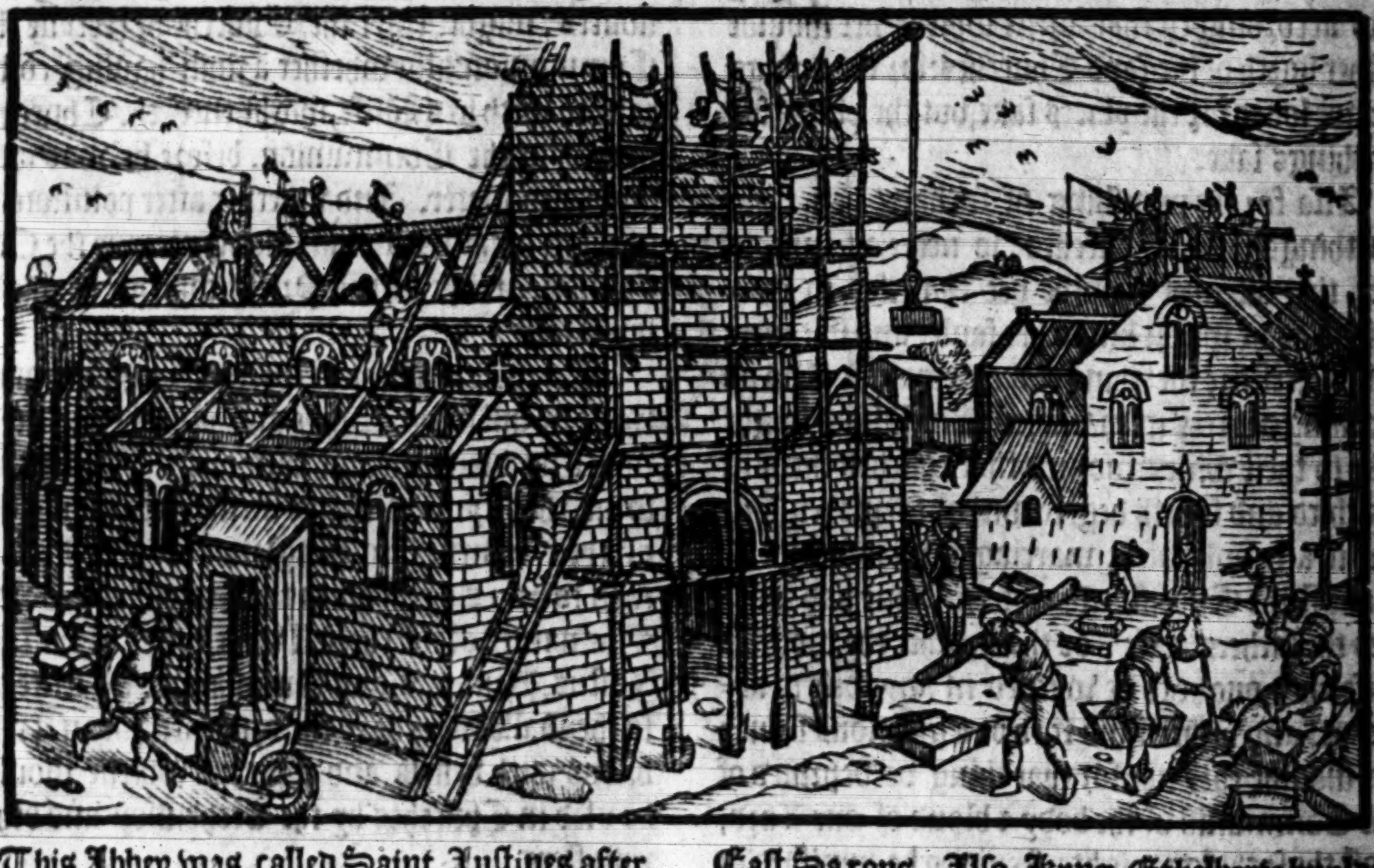
602

Theſe letters, with the other whiche Gregory ſent at this time vnto Auguſtine, were dated the tenth day of the Calendes of July, in the yeare of oure Lord. 602. whiche was the nineteenth yeare of the Emperour Mauritius.

Moreouer, he ſente moſt curteous letters by theſe meſſengers vnto King Ethelberte, in the whyche hee greatly commendeth him, in that hee had receyued the Chriſtian fayth, and exhorteth him to continue in that moſt holy ſtate of life, whereby hee myghte worthyly looke for rewarde at the handes of almighty God. But nowe to the doings of Auguſtine. We fynd, that after he was eſtabliſhed Archbiſhop, and had his See appoynted to him at Canterbury, he reſtored in that Citie another Church whiche had bin erected there in times paſt by certayne of the Romaynes that were Chriſtians, and did dedicate the ſame nowe in honor of Chriſt our Sauioure.

Beda.

He alſo began the foundation of a Monaſtery without that Citie, ſtãding towarde the Eaſt, in the whiche by his exhortation, King Ethelberte built a Churche euen from the grounde, whiche was dedicated vnto the holy Apoſtles Peeter and Paule, in the whiche the body of the ſayde Auguſtine was buried, and likewiſe the bodies of all the Archbiſhops of Canterbury and Kings of Kente of long time after.



One Peeter was the firſt Abbot.

This Abbey was called Saint Auſtines after his name, one Peeter being the firſt Abbot therof. The Churche there was not conſecrated by Auguſtine, but by his ſucceſſor Laurẽce after that he was dead.

Ran. Ceſtren.

Moreouer, King Ethelbert at the motion of Auguſtine builded a Church in the Citie of Lõdon (whiche he lately had conquered) and dedicated it vnto Saint Paule: but whether he buylded or reſtored this Church of Saint Paule it maye bee doubted, for there bee dyuers opinions of the building therof. Some haue written that it was firſte buylded by King Lud (as before is mentioned.) Other agayne write, that it was builded afterwarde by Sigeberte King of the Eaſt Saxons. Alſo Kyng Ethelberte buylded the Churche of Saint Andrew in Rocheſter. It is likewiſe remembred by writers, that the ſame King Ethelberte procured a Citizen of London to buyld a Church of Sainte Peeter without the Citie of London towarde the Weſt in a place then called Thorney, that is to witte, the Iſle of Thornes, & now is called Weſtminſter, though other haue written that it was buylte by Lucius King of Britaine, or rather by Siberte Kyng of the Eaſt Saxons. This Church was eyther newly builte or greatly enlarged by Kyng Edwarde ſurnamed the Confeſſor, and after that, the thirde Henry King of England did make there a beautifull Monaſterie, and very richly

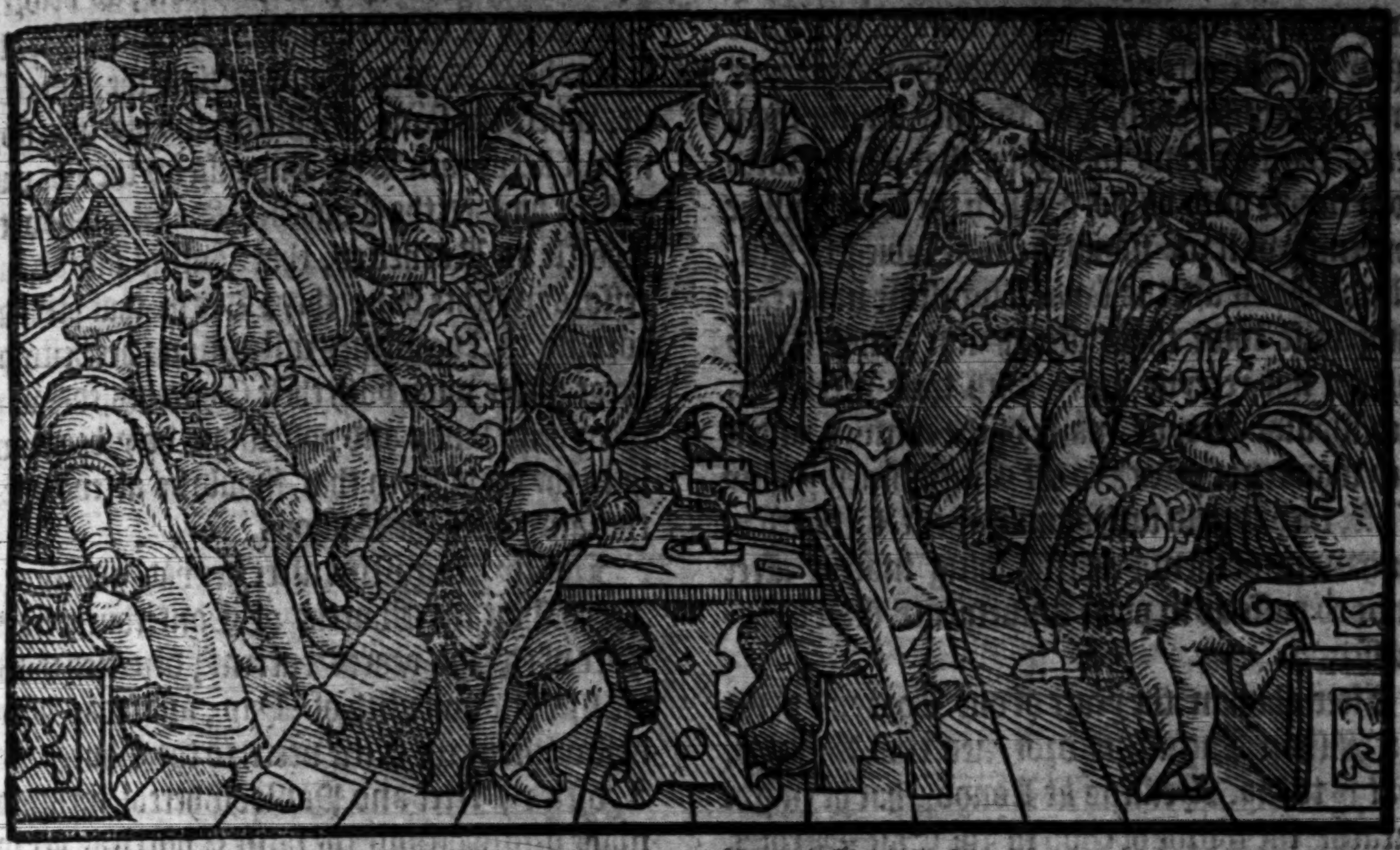
Beda.

Ran. Ceſt. Weſtminſter Church buil

endowed the ſame with greate poſſeſſions and ſumptuous iewels. The place was ouergrowen with vnderwoods, as thornes and brembles before that the Church was begun to be builded there in this King Ethelbertes dayes.

Thus the fayth of Chriſt being once begunne to bee receyued of the Engliſhmen, tooke wonderfull increaſe within a ſhort time.

Ran.Ceſt.
Beda.
Sigebertus.
an.19. Mauricij imperatoris:
A Synode.
Auſtines oke.



In the meane ſeaſon by the help of King Ethelbert, Auguſtine cauſed a counſell to be called at a place in the confynes of the Weſt Saxons, whiche place long after was called Auſtynes Oke, where he procured the Biſhops or Doctors of the prouinces of the Britaines to come before him. Amongſt the Britaynes or Welchmen, Chriſtianite as yet remayned in force, whyche from the Apoſtles time had neuer fayled in that nation. When Auguſtine came into this land, he found in their prouinces ſeuen Biſhops Sees, and an Archbiſhops See, wherin ſate right godly and moſt Religious Prelates, and many Abbots, in the which the Lordes flocke kept their righte order: but bycauſe they differed in obſeruing the Feaſt of Eaſter, and other rites from the vſe of yͤ Romane Church, Auguſtine thought it neceſſary to moue them to agree with hym in vnitie of the ſame, but after long diſputation and reaſoning of thoſe matters, they could not be enduced to giue their aſſente in that behalfe. Auguſtine to proue his opinion good, wroughte a miracle in reſtoring ſight to one of the Saxon nation that was blinde. The Britaynes that were preſente moued with this miracle, confeſſed, that it was the righte waye of Juſtice and righteouſneſſe which Auguſtine taught, but yet they ſayd that they might not forſake theyr auncient cuſtomes withoute conſente and licence of their nation. Wherevppon, they required another Sinode to be holden, wherat a greater number of them myght be preſent. This being graunted, there came as it is reported ſeuen Biſhops of the Britaynes and a greate number of learned menne, ſpecially of the famous Monaſterie of Bangor, whereof in thoſe dayes one Dionoth was Abbot, the whiche as they wente towardes that counſell, came firſt to a certaine wiſe man, whych lyued amongſt them an Ankers life, and aſked his aduice whether they ought to forſake theyr traditions at the Preaching of Auguſtine or not: who made thys aunſwere: If he bee the man of God followe hym: then ſayde they: howe ſhall wee prooue whether hee be ſo or not. Then ſayde hee: the Lorde ſayeth take vp my yoke and learne of mee, for I am meeke and humble in harte: if Auguſtine bee humble and meeke in hart, it is to be beleeued that hee alſo beareth the yoke of Chriſte, and offereth it to you to beare, but if hee bee not meeke but proude, it is certayne that hee is not of God, nor hys worde is not to bee regarded: And how ſhall wee perceyue that (ſayde they?) Fynde meanes (ſayde he) that hee maye fyrſte come to the place of the Synode with thoſe of hys ſyde, and if hee ariſe to receyue you at your comming, then knowe that he is the ſeruaunt of God, and obey him. But if hee deſpiſe you and ariſe not againſt you, where as you bee more in number, lette him bee deſpiſed of you.

alfrid.lib. 8
ap.4

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nother
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he Monaſterie of
agor.
bbot Dionoth.

The anſwere of a godly man touching Auſtin the Engliſhmens Apoſtle.

They did as he commaunded, and it chanced, that when they came, they found Auguſtine ſitting in his chaire: which whẽ they beheld, ſtraight wayes they conceyued an indignation, and noting him of pride, laboured to reproue all hys ſayings. He tolde thẽ that they vſed many things contrary to the cuſtome of the vniuerſal Church, and yet if in three things they woulde obey hym,

Three things required by Auſtin of the Britaynes to be obſerued.

that is to witte, in keeping the feaſt of Eaſter in due time, and miniſter Baptiſme according to the cuſtome of the Romaine Churche, and preach to the Engliſhmen the word of life with him and his fellowes, then would he be contented to ſuffer all other things paciently which they did, though the ſame were contrary to the manners and cuſtomes of the Romayne iuriſdiction. But they flatly denyed to do any of thoſe things, and gaue a playne aunſwere that they woulde not receyue him for their Archbiſhoppe, for they laying theyr heads togither thus thoughte, that if hee refuſed now to ryſe vnto vs, how much the more will he contemne vs if we ſhould become ſubiect to him.

Auſtine threatneth.

Vnto whome as it is ſayde Auguſtine in threatning wiſe tolde them aforehande, that if they woulde not receyue peace with their brethren, they ſhoulde receyue warre of the enimies, and if they would not preach to the Engliſhmen yͤ way of life, they ſhould ſuffer puniſhment by death at the handes of them: whiche thing indeede after came to paſſe as in place conueniente ſhall be expreſſed.

604

Biſhops ordeined at London and Rocheſter

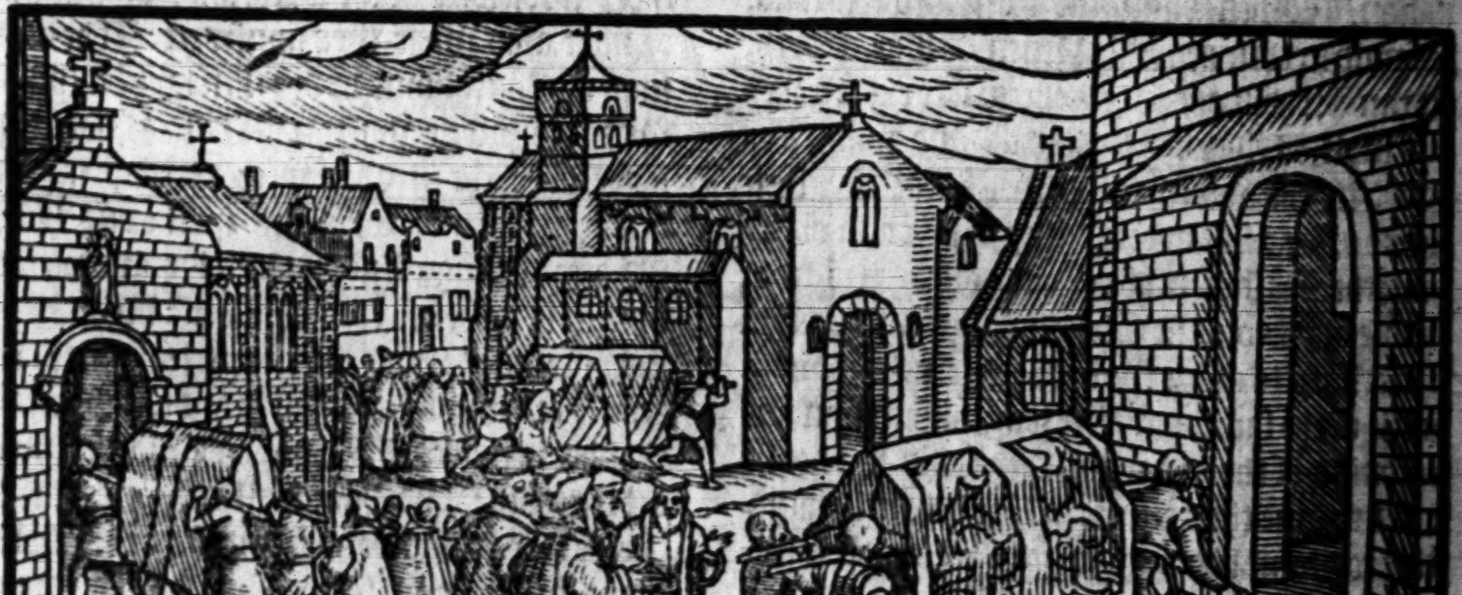
After this in the yeare of our Lorde.604. the Archbiſhop Auguſtine ordeyned two Biſhops, that is to ſay, Mellitus at Londõ, that he might preache the worde of God to the Eaſt Saxons, whiche were deuided from them of Kente by the Riuer of Thames, and Iuſtus in the Citie of Rocheſter within the limittes of Kent.

AT that time Sabart reigned ouer the Eaſt Saxons, but hee was ſubiect vnto Ethelbert King of Kent, whoſe Nephewe he was alſo by his ſiſter Ricula that was married vnto king Sledda yͭ ſucceeded after Erchenwine yͤ firſt K. of yͤ Eaſt Saxons ✝, begate on hir this Sabert yͭ receyued yͤ faith. After yͭ Auguſtine had ordeyned Mellitus to be Biſhop of London, as before is ſayd, King Ethelbert builded (as ſome write) the Churche of Sainte Paule within the ſame Citie, where the ſame Mellitus and his ſucceſſors might keepe their See. And alſo for the like purpoſe he builded the Church of Saint Androw the Apoſtle at Rocheſter, that Iuſtus and his ſucceſſors myghte haue theyr See in that place according to Auguſtines inſtitution: hee beſtowed great giftes vpon both theſe Churches, endowing them with lands and poſſeſſions very bountifully to the vſe of them that ſhould be attendante in the ſame with the Biſhops.

The Church of Saint Pau builded,

Ran. Ceſtren.

Finally Auguſtine after hee had gouerned as Archbiſhop the Churche of Canterburie by the ſpace of twelue yeares current, departed this life the fiue and twentith of May, and was buryed firſt without the Citie neere to the Church of the Apoſtles Peeter and Paule (whereof mention is made before) bicauſe the ſame Church as yet was not finiſhed nor dedicated, but after it was dedicated, his body was broughte into the Churche, and reuerently buried in the North Iſle there. He ordeyned by his life time Laurence to bee his ſucceſſor in the Sea of Canterbury, of whom yee ſhall heare hereafter.



Thus haue ye heard in what maner the Engliſhmen were firſt brought from the worſhipping of falſe Goddes, and baptiſed in the name of the liuing God by the foreſayde Auguſtine, as wee fynde in Beda and other writers, and nowe wee will returne to other doyngs chancing in the meane tyme amongſt the people of thys Iſle.

Mat. VVeſ
hath.34.

AFter the deceaſſe of Chelricus Kyng of the Weſt Saxons, wee finde that Ceobulf or Ceoloulph ſucceeded in gouernmente of that Kingdome, and raigned twelue yeares. Hee began his raigne (as ſhould appeare by ſome writers) about the yeare of our Lord.597. and ſpente

607. Mat.
VVeſt. hath.

his time for the more part in warres, not gyuing place to ydleneſſe, but ſeeking eyther to defende or enlarge the confines of his dominion. He was the ſonne of Cutha, which was the ſon of Kenrike, that was the ſonne of Certike.

After Wybba or Wyppa king of Mercia, (who nothing inferiour to his father, did not onely defend his kingdome, but alſo enlarge it by ſubduing the Brytaynes on eche ſide) one Ceorlus ſucceeded in that kingdome, beeing not hys ſonne but his kinſman.

Ceorlus king of Martia.

This Ceorlus began his raigne aboute the yeare of oure Lorde 594. as Mat. Weſtm. recordeth.

594

Beda. Edelferd.

Yee haue heard that Edelferde, whiche otherwiſe is called alſo by writers Edelfride, ſurnamed the wild, gouerned ſtill the Northumbers, whiche Edelferde did more domage to the Brytaynes than any one other king of the Engliſh Nation. None of them deſtroyed theyr countreyes more than he did: neyther did any Prince make mo of the Brytaynes tributaries, or inhabited more of theyr Countreys with Engliſh people than he.

Herevpon Edan king of thoſe Scots which inhabited Brytayne, beeing therewith moued to ſee Edelferd proſper thus in his conqueſtes, came agaynſt him with a mightie armie: but ioyning in battaile with Edelferd and his power, at a place called Degſaſtane, or Degſaſtone, or Degſaſton, he loſt the moſte part of his people, and with the reſidue that were left aliue, he eſcaped by flight.

This was a ſore foughten battaile, wyth much bloudſhed on both parties. For notwithſtanding that the victorie remayned with the Northumbers, Theodbaldus the brother of Edelferd was ſlaine, with all that part of the Engliſh hoſt, which he gouerned: and it was fought in the yeare of our Lorde. 603. in the .xix. yeare of the raigne of the foreſayde Edelferd, and in the firſt yeare of Ceowulf king of the Weſt Saxons, and in the firſt yeare of the Emperour Focas, or rather in the laſt yeare of hys predeceſſour Mauritius.

603

Henric. Hunt.

Beda. li. 1. cap. 34.

From that day till the dayes of Beda, not one of the Scottiſh kings durſt preſume to enter into Brytaine againe to giue battaile againſt the Engliſh Nation, as Beda himſelfe wryteth.

But the Scottiſh writers make other report of this matter, as in the Hyſtorie of Scotland ye may finde recorded.

VVil. Malm.

See in Scotlande.

The Brytaynes that dwelt aboute Cheſter, through their ſtoutneſſe prouoked the aforeſayde Ethelferd king of the Northumbers vnto warre: wherevpon the ſame Ethelferd to tame theyr loftie ſtomackes, aſſembled an armie, and came forwarde to beſiege the Citie of Cheſter, then called of the Brytaynes *Carleon ardour deué*. The Citizens coueting rather to ſuffer all things than a ſiege, and hauing a truſt in their great multitude of people, came forth to giue battaile abrode in the fieldes, whom he compaſſing about with ambuſhes, got them within his daunger, and eaſily diſcomfited them.

Cheſter as yet in poſſeſsion of the Brytayns.

Iohn Leyland

VVil. Malm.

It chaunced that he had eſpied before the battaile ioyned (as Bede hath) where a great number of the Brytiſh Prieſts were got aſide into a place ſomewhat out of daunger, that they might there make their interceſſion to God for the good ſpeede of theyr people, being then readie to giue battaile to the Northumbers.

Many of them were of that famous Monaſterie of Bangor, in the which it is ſaid, that there was ſuch a number of Monkes, that where they were deuided into ſeuen ſeuerall partes, with their ſeuerall gouernours appoynted to haue rule ouer them, euery of thoſe partes conteyned at the leaſt three hundred perſons, the which liued altogither by the labour of theyr handes. Many therefore of thoſe Monkes hauing kept a ſolemne feaſt for three dayes togither, were come to the armie with other to make prayer, hauing for their defender one Brocmale, or Broemael, Earle (or Conſull as ſome call him) of Cheſter, which ſhoulde preſerue them (being giuen to prayer) from the edge of the enimies ſworde.

he number Monkes in Monaſtery Bangor.

Brocmale.

King Edelferd hauing (as is ſayde) eſpyed theſe men, asked what they were, and what their intent was? and beeing informed of the whole circumſtance, and cauſe of their beeing there, hee ſayde. Then if they call to theyr God for his aſſiſtance againſt vs, ſurely though they beare no armour, yet do they fight againſt vs, being buſied in prayer for our deſtruction. Whereupon hee commaunded the firſt onſet to be giuen on them, and after ſlue downe the reſidue of the Brytiſh armie, not without great loſſe of his owne people.

The Brytaines diſcomfited and ſlaine.

Of thoſe Monkes and Prieſtes which came to pray (as before is mencioned) there died at that battaile about the number of .xij. hundred, ſo that fiftie of them onely eſcaped by flight.

Brocmale, or Brocmael at the firſt approche of the enimies, turning his backe with his companie, left them (whom he ſhould haue defended) to be murthered through the enimies ſworde.

And thus was the prophecie of Auguſtine fulfilled, though he was long before departed this life (as Beda hath.)

Henric. Hũt.

But if this battaile was fought in the ſeuenth yeare of Ciovulf king of Weſtſaxons (as ſome haue written) and that Auguſtin liued .xij. yeares after his entrance into the gouernment of the ſea of Canterburie, (as ſome write) it is euident that he liued foure yeares after this ſlaughter made of the Brytiſhe Prieſtes and Monkes by Ethelferd (as before is recited.) For Ciovulf beganne his raigne (as before is mentioned) about the yeare of our Lorde. 596. and in the ſeuenth yeare of hys raigne the battail was fought, at Degſaſtane betwixt Engliſhmen and Scottes, which chaunced in the yeare of our Lorde, 604. as Bede himſelfe recordeth. hitherto out of our olde writers.

Of which battaile alſo William Hariſon telleth another maner of tale, whoſe wordes (though he liue in our time, and his Chronologie bee not yet extant) are not to be omitted: which be theſe.

Ethelbright, or Edilfride, king of the Northũbers, and Ethelbert of Kent, hauing Auguſtine in their cõpanie, in the. 8. yeare after his arriuall, doe make warre vpon ſuche Brytaynes as refuſe to obſerue the Canons of the late Councell mentioned. 603. and kill 1200. Monkes of the Monaſterie of Bangor, which laboured earneſtly, and in the ſweate of their browes, thereby to get theyr liuings, &c. Thus farre maiſter Hariſon.

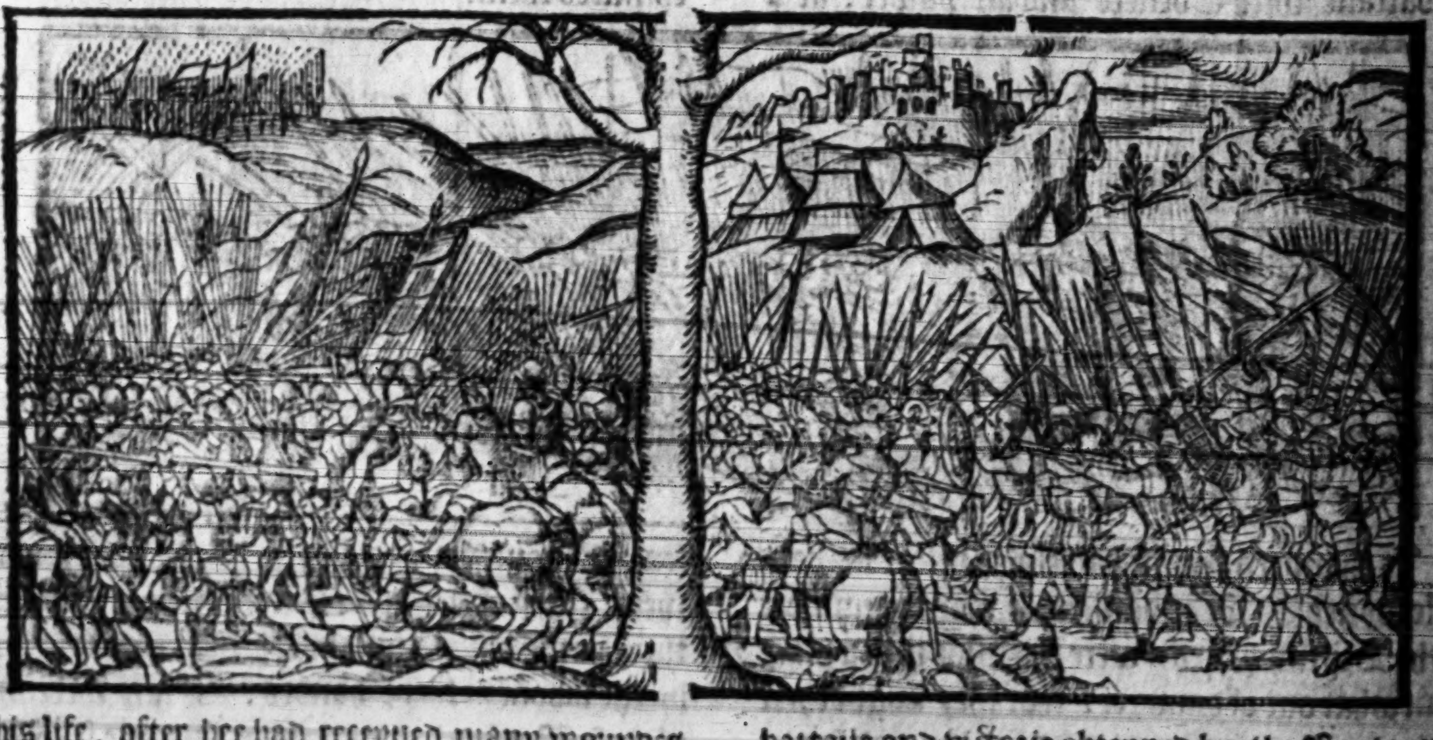
Verily. Galf. Mon. wryteth, that Ethelbert king of Kent (after he ſawe the Brytaynes to diſdaine and denie their ſubiection vnto Auguſtine, by whom he was conuerted to the chriſtian faith) ſtirred vp Ethelfred king of the Northumbers to warre againſt the Brytains. But hereof maiſter Foxe doubteth, and therfore ſayth, that of vncertaine things hee hath nothing certainly to ſay, much leſſe to iudge.

Acts and Monuments. Pag. 160.

But now to the matter where we left. After that King Edelferd had made ſlaughter of the Brytaines (as before is rehearſed) hee entred the Citie of Cheſter, and from thence marched towardes Bangor.

The Britains in the meane time had aſſẽbled their power vnder three Captains, that is to wit, Blederike Duke of Cornewall, Margadud king of Southwales, and Cadwane king of Northwales. Theſe ioyning in battaile with Ethelferd, ſlue. 10066. of his Souldiers, and conſtrayned him to flee out of the fielde for ſafegarde of his life, after hee had receyued many woundes.

Blederik duke of Cornewall, Margadud K. of Southwales, Cadwan king of Northwales.



Gal. Mon.

On the part of the Brytaynes the forſayde Bledrike, which was chiefe captaine of the fielde in that battaile chaunced to be ſlaine.

Thus hath Gal. Mon. but the auncient writers of the Engliſh kings (as Bede. Wil. Malm. and Henrie Hunt.) make no mention of this laſt battaile and victorie obteyned by the Brytaynes in maner as aboue is expreſſed in Galfrids booke. But contrarily we finde, that Ethelferd hauing ſuch good ſucceſſe in his buſineſſe abroade as hee coulde wiſhe, vpon purpoſe to auoyde daunger at home, baniſhed Edwin the ſonne of Alla or Elle a yong Gentleman of great towardneſſe, lately come to the kingdom of the Northumbers by the death of his father. But this Edwine in time of his exile, beeing long toſſed from place to place, and finding no ſtedfaſt friendſhip now in time of his aduerſitie, at length came to Redwalde, that was king at that time of the Eaſt Angles, the thirde from Vffa, as ſucceſſor to Titullus, which Titullus did ſuccede next after the ſayde Vffa, the firſt king of Eaſt Angles (as before is mentioned.

592

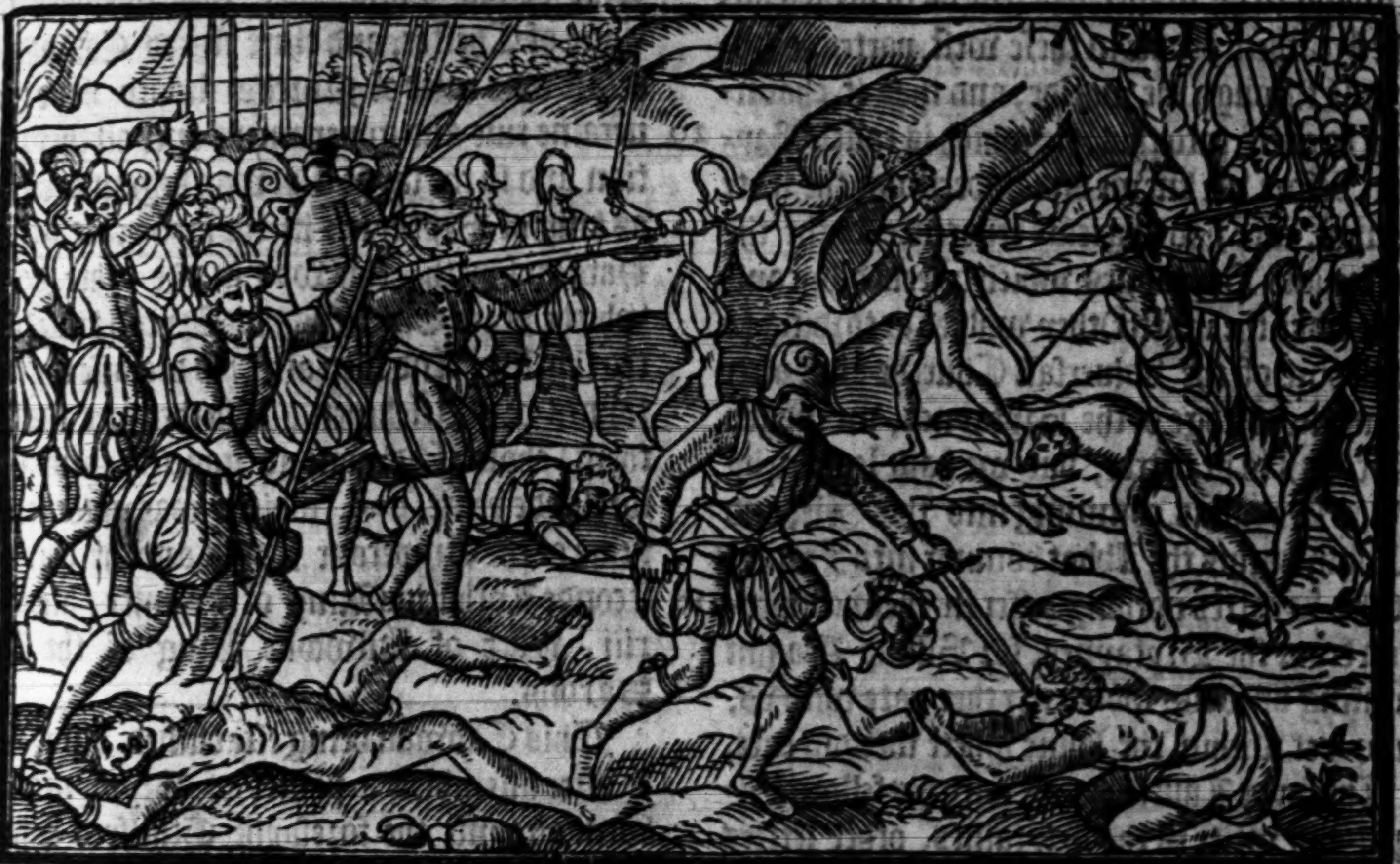
This Redwalde did verie honourably interteine Edwine, inſomuch that Edelferd being informed thereof, he was highly diſpleaſed, and ſent Imbaſſadors vnto Redwalde, to requyre him either to deliuer Edwine into his handes, or elſe if he refuſed ſo to do, to declare and denounce vnto him open warres.

Redwalde encouraged by his wife (that counſelled him in no wiſe to betray his friende, to whō he had giuen his fayth, for the menaces of his enimie) aſſembled forthwith an armie, and vpon the ſodaine comming vpon Ethelferd, ſet vppon him ere he coulde haue time to aſſemble his people togither. But yet the ſayd Ethelfred, though he was entrapped and brought in daunger at vnwares, he dyed not vnreuenged: for putting himſelfe in defence with ſuch power as he coulde then get togyther, he boldely encountred the enimies, and gyuing battaile, ſlue Reinerius the ſonne of Redwalde, and after was ſlaine himſelfe, hauing raigned ouer the Northumbers about .xxij. yeares.

617

H. Hunt.

Ethelferd ſlaine.



This battaile was fought neare to the water of Idle.

The ſayde Ethelferd had iſſue by his wyfe Acca the daughter of Alla, and ſiſter to Edwine, two ſonnes, Oſwalde being about two yeares of age, and Oſwyn about foure yeares, the which (their father beeing thus ſlaine) were by helpe of their gouernours, conueyed away into Scotland with all ſpeede that might be made.

Ceovulf king of the Weſt Saxons, after hee had raigned the ſpace of .xij. yeares, departed this life, who in his time had maintayned great warre agaynſt many of his neighbours, the which for briefeneſſe I paſſe ouer.

en Hunt.
Math. VVeſt.
ib. 14.

One great battaile he fought agaynſt them of Suſſex, in which the armies on both ſides ſuſteyned great domage, but the greater loſſe fell to the South Saxons.

e South
xons ſu-
ne the
eater loſſe.

After the foreſayde Ceovulf raigned Cinegiſcus, or Kingils, whiche was the ſonne of Ceola, that was ſonne to Cutha or Cutwyn, the ſonne of Kenricke, which was ſonne to king Cerricke.

icegiſ-
ul.

In the fourth yeare of his raigne, he receyued into felowſhip with him in gouernaunce of the kingdome his ſonne Richelinus, or Onichelinus, and ſo they raigned ioyntly togither in great loue and concorde, a thing ſeldome ſeene or heard of.

VVil. Malm. ſayeth that Onichilinus was the brother of Cinegiſcus.

They fought with the Brytaynes at Beandune, where at the firſt approch of the battailes togyther, the Brytaynes fled, but to late, for there died of them that were ouertaken .2062.

Beandune, or Beanton.

In this meane time, Laurence Archbiſhop of Canterburie, that ſucceeded next after Auguſtine, admitted thereto by him in his life time (as before is ſayde) did his indeuour to augment and bring to perfection the Church of Englande, the foundation wherof was lately layde by his predeceſſor the foreſayde Auguſtine: and ſtudied not onely for the encreaſe of this new Church, which was gathered of the Engliſhe people, but alſo he was buſie to employ his paſtorlike cure vpon the people that were of the olde inhabitants of Brytaine, and likewiſe of the Scottes that remayned in Irelande: For when he had learned that the Scottes there in ſemblable wiſe as the Brytains

Beda. li. 2. cap. 4.

in theyr Countrey ledde not theyr lyues in many poyntes according to the Eccleſiaſtical rules, aſwel in obſeruing the feaſt of Eaſter cōtrarie to the vſe of the Romain church, as in other things, he wrote vnto thoſe Scottes letters exhortatorie, requyring them moſte inſtauntly to an vnitie of Catholique orders as myght bee agreeable with the Church of Chriſt, ſpredde and diſperſed through the worlde.

Theſe letters were not written onely in his owne name, but ioyntly togyther in the name of the Biſhops Melitus and Iuſtus (as thus.)

To our deare brethren, the Biſhops & Abbots through all Scotland, Laurence, Mellitus & Iuſtus, Biſhops, the ſeruants of the ſeruants of God, wiſhe health. Where as the Apoſtolike Sea, (according to hir maner) had ſent vs to preach vnto the Heathen people in theſe weſt partes, as otherwiſe through the worlde, and that it chaunced vs to enter into this Ile which is called Brytayne, before we knewe and vnderſtoode the ſtate of things, wee had in greate reuerence bothe the Scottes and Brytaynes, which beleeued, bycauſe (as we tooke the matter) they walked according to the cuſtome of the vniuerſall Churche: but after we had knowledge of the Brytaynes, we iudged the Scottes to be better, but we haue learned by Byſhop Daganus, comming into this Ile, and by Columbanus the Abbot cōming into France, that the Scottes nothing differ in theyr conuerſation from the Brytaynes, for Biſhop Dagan comming vnto vs, would neyther eate with vs, no nor yet within the houſe where wee did eate.

The ſayde Laurence alſo with his fellow Biſhops, did write to the Brytaines, other letters worthie of his degree, doing what hee coulde to confyrme them in the vnitie of the Romaine Church: but it profited little, as appeareth by that which Beda wryteth.

About the ſame tyme, Mellitus the Biſhop of London wente to Rome to commune wyth Pope Boniface, for neceſſarie cauſes touching the the Church of Englande, and was preſent at a Sinode holden by the ſame Pope at that ſeaſon, for ordinances to bee made touching the ſtate of religious men, and ſate in the ſame Sinode, that with ſubſcribing, he might alſo with his authoritie confirme that whiche was there orderly decreed.

This Sinode was holden the third kalends of March, in the laſt yeare of the Emperour Focas, which was about the yeare after the byrth of our ſauiour. 610.

Mellitus at his returne, brought with him from the Pope, decrees commaunded by the ſayd Pope to be obſerued in the Engliſh Church, with letters alſo directed to the Archbiſhop Laurence, and to king Ethelbert.

Cadwan.

Cadwa
king of Brytayne.

After that the Britains had continued about the ſpace almoſte of. xxiiij. yeares without any one ſpecial gouernor, being led by ſundrie rulers, euer ſithence that Careticus was conſtrayned to flee ouer Seuerne, and fought oftentymes not onely agaynſt the Saxons, but alſo one of them agaynſte another, at length in the yeare of our Lorde. 613. they aſſembled in the Citie of Cheſter, and there elected Cadwan that before was ruler of Northwales, to haue the ſoueraine rule and gouernment ouer all theyr Nation, and ſo the ſayde Cadwan beganne to raigne as king of Brytaynes in the ſayd yeare. 613. But Hariſon ſayeth, this was in the yeare. 609. in whiche yeare Careticus the Brytiſh king departed this life. And then after his deceaſſe the Brytaynes or Welchmen (whether wee ſhall call them) choſe Cadwane to gouerne them in the foreſayde yeare. 609. whiche was in the ſeuenth yeare of the Emperour Focas, and the. xxj. of the ſeconde Lotharius King of Fraunce, and in the xiij. yeare of Kilwolfe King of the Weſt Saxons.

613

This Cadwan being eſtabliſhed King, ſhortly after aſſembled a power of Brytaynes, and went agaynſt the foreſayde Ethelfred King of Northumberlande, who beeing thereof aduertiſed, did aſſociate to him the moſt part of the Saxon Princes, and came forth with his armie to meete Cadwane in the fielde. Herevpon as they were readie to haue tryed the matter by battaile, certayne of theyr friendes trauayled ſo betwixte them for a peace, that in the ende they broughte them to agreement, ſo that Ethelferd ſhould kept in quiet poſſeſſion thoſe his Countreys beyonde the Ryuer of Humber, and Cadwan ſhould hold all that which belonged as yet to the Brytaines on the ſouth ſide the ſame ryuer.

Galf. Mon.

Thys Couenaunte wyth other touching theyr agreement was confyrmed wyth othes ſolemnlye taken, and pledges therewith delyuered, ſo that afterwardes they continued in good and quiet peace withoute vexing the one the other.

What chaunced afterwardes to Edelfred, yee haue before hearde rehearſed, the whiche for that it ſoundeth more lyke to a truth than that whiche followeth in the Brytiſhe Booke, wee omitte to make further rehearſall, paſſing forth to other doings which fell in the meane ſeaſon, whileſt this Cadwane had gouernment of the Brytaynes, raigning as king ouer them. the tearme of .xxij. (or as other haue but .xiij.) yeares, and finally was ſlaine by the Northũbers, as before hath bene, and alſo after ſhall be ſhewed.

Iohn.Hard.

In the .viij. yeare after that Cadwan began to raigne, Ethelbert king of Kent departed this life, in the .xxj. yeare after the comming of Auguſtin with his fellowes to preach the fayth of chriſt here in this Realme: and after that Ethelbert had raigned ouer the Prouince of Kent aboute the tearme of .lvj. yeares (as Bede hath) but there are that haue noted three yeares leſſe: he departed this worlde, as aboue is ſignified, in the yeare of oure Lorde. 617. on the .xxiiij. daye of Februarie, and was buryed in the Iſle of Saint Martine, within the Churche of the Apoſtles Peter and Paule, without the Citie of Canterburie, where his wife Queene Bartha was alſo buryed, and the foreſayde Archebiſhop Auguſtine that firſt conuerted him to the fayth.

vil.Malm.
Bede.li.2.ca.5

Amongeſt other things this King Ethelbert with the aduice of his Councell ordeyned diuerſe lawes and ſtatutes, according to the whiche, decrees of Iudgements ſhoulde paſſe: and thoſe decrees hee cauſed to be written in the Engliſhe tongue, which remayned and were in force vnto the dayes of Bede) as he declareth.

And fyrſt it was expreſſed in thoſe lawes, what amendes hee ſhoulde make that ſtale anye thing that belonged to the Churche, to the Byſhop, or to any eccleſiaſticall perſon, willing by all meanes to defend them whoſe doctrine he had receyued.

Ead-
ald.

After the deceaſe of Ethelbert, his ſon Eadbalde ſucceeded in the gouernment of his kingdom of Kent, the which was a greate hinderer of the increaſe of the newe Churche amongeſt the Engliſhe men in thoſe parties: for hee did not onely refuſe to bee baptiſed himſelfe, but alſo vſed ſuche kinde of fornication, as hath not beene heard (as the Apoſtle ſayth) amongeſt the Gentiles, for he tooke to wife his mother in lawe, that had beene wife to his father. By which two euill examples, many tooke occaſion to returne to theyr heatheniſh religion, the which whileſt his father raigned, either for the Prince his pleaſure, or for feare to offend him, did profeſſe the Chriſtian fayth.

e Princes
mple occa-
of euill.

But Eadbalde eſcaped not worthie puniſhment to him ſent from the lyuing God for hys euill deſertes, in ſo muche that hee was vexed with a certaine kinde of madneſſe, and taken with an vncleane ſpirite.

The foreſayde ſtorme or diſquiet troubling of the Chriſtian Congregation, was afterwards greatly encreaſed alſo by the death of Sabert, or Sebert King of the Eaſt Saxons, who departing this life to goe to a better, in the bliſſefull kingdome of heauen, left behind him three ſonnes as ſucceſſours in the eſtate of his earthly Kingdome, whiche ſonnes likewyſe refuſed to bee baptiſed.

This Sabert, or Sebert, was conuerted to the fayth of Chriſt, and baptiſed by Mellitus Byſhop of London (as before is mentioned) vnto whome ſome aſcribe the firſt foundation of Weſtminſter Church, but other aſcribe it to Lucius the firſt Chriſten king of the Brytaynes (as before ye haue heard) though there bee alſo that write that the Church was firſt buylded there by a Citizen of London (as before is alſo touched.)

Ran. Ceſtren.
Beda.li.2.ca.5
Serterd, Seward, and Sigebert, the ſonnes of Sabert.

Sabert left behind him in the kingdome of the Eaſt Saxons three ſonnes, named Serred, Seward, and Sigebert, in whome remayned no vertue, no feare of God, nor any reſpect of religion, but eſpecially they hated the profeſſors of the Chriſtian fayth. For after theyr father was dead, they began to fall to theyr olde Idolatrie, the whiche in his life time they ſeemed to haue giuen ouer. But now they openly worſhipped Idols, and gaue libertie to their ſubiects for to do the like.

And when the Biſhop Mellitus at the ſolemniſing of Maſſe in the Churche diſtributed the Euchariſticall breade vnto the people, they aſked him (as it is ſayde) wherefore he did not delyuer of that bryght white breade vnto them alſo, as well as hee had beene accuſtomed to doe to theyr father Saba, (for ſo they vſed to call hym) vnto whome the Byſhoppe made thys aunſwere: if you wyll bee waſhed in that wholeſome Fountayne wherein youre father was waſhed, ye maye bee partakers of that holye breade whereof hee was partaker, but if you deſpiſe the waſhpoole of lyfe, ye may by no meanes taſte of the breade of ſaluation.

But they offended herewith, replyed in this wiſe: we will not enter into that Fountayne, for wee knowe wee haue no neede thereof: but yet neuertheleſſe we will be refreſhed with that breade.

After this when they had beene earneſtly and many tymes tolde, that without they woulde be baptiſed, they might not be partakers of the ſacred oblation: At length in a great diſpleaſure they told him, that if he would not conſent vnto them in ſo ſmall a matter, there ſhoulde be no place for him within the boundes of their Dominion. And ſo he was conſtrayned to depart. Wherevpon hee being expulſed, reſorted into Kent, there to take aduice with his fellowe Biſhoppes, Laurence & Juſtus, what was to be done in this ſo weightie a matter.

They finally reſolued vpon this poynt, that it ſhoulde be better for them to returne into theyr Countrey, where with free myndes they might ſerue Almightie God, rather than to remayne amongeſt people that rebelled agaynſt the fayth, without hope to do good amongſt them.

Therefore Mellitus and Juſtus did firſt departe, and went ouer into Fraunce, mynding there to abyde till they might ſee what the ende would be.

The ſonnes of king Sebert ſlaine.

But ſhortly after, thoſe brethren the kings of Eſſex, whiche had expulſed their Byſhoppe in maner aboue ſayde, ſuffered worthily for theyr wicked doings: For going forth to battayle agaynſt the Weſt Saxons, they were ouerthrowen and ſlaine togither with all theyr armie, by the two Kings, Kinigils, and Quichelme. But neuertheleſſe, for all that the Authours of the miſchiefe were thus taken away, the people of that Countrey woulde not as yet bee reduced againe from theyr diueliſh worſhipping of falſe Goddes, being eftſoones fallen thereto in that ſeaſon by the encouragement and perillous example of theyr Rulers. Wherefore the Archebiſhop Laurence was in minde alſo to haue followed his fellowes Mellitus and Juſtus: but when he minded to ſet forwarde, he was warned in a dreame, and cruelly ſcourged (as hath beene reported by the Apoſtel ſaint Peter, who reproued him) for that hee would ſo vncharitably forſake his flock, and leaue it in daunger withoute a ſhepherde to keepe the Wolfe from the folde.

The Archebiſhoppe enboldned by this viſion, and alſo repenting him of his determinatiō, came to king Eadbald, and ſhewed to him his ſtrypes, and the maner of his dreame.

The king being herewith put in great feare, renounced his heatheniſh worſhipping of Idols, and was baptized, and as muche as in him lay, from thence forth ſuccoured the Congregation of the Chriſtians, and aduaunced the Churche to his power.

He ſent alſo into Fraunce, and called home the Biſhops Mellitus and Juſtus, ſo that Juſtus was reſtored again to his Sea of Rocheſter. But the Eaſt Saxons woulde not receyue Mellitus to his Sea at London, but continued in theyr wicked Mawmetrie in obeying a Biſhop of theyr Pagan lawe, whom they had erected for that purpoſe. Neyther was King Eadbalde of that authoritie and power in thoſe parties, as his father was before, whereby he might conſtrayne them to receyue theyr lawfull Byſhop. But ſurely the ſayde King Eadbalde with his people after hee was once conuerted againe, gaue hymſelfe wholye to obey the lawes of God, and amongeſt other deedes of godly zeale, he buylded a Church of our Ladie at Cantorburie, within the Monaſterie of Saint Peter, afterwardes called Saint Agnes.

Beda.li.2.

This Churche was conſecrated by Mellitus, who after the death of Laurence ſucceeded in gouernaunce of the Archebiſhoppes Sea of Canterburie.

Beda.li.2.

After Mellitus whiche departed this lyfe in the yeare of our Lorde. 624. Juſtus that before was biſhop of Rocheſter, was made Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and ordeyned one Romanus to the Sea of Rocheſter.

About the ſame tyme, the people of the north partes beyond Humber receyued the fayth, by occaſion (as after ſhall appeare.)

Ye haue heard how Edelfred the king of Northumberlande was ſlaine in battaile, neare to the water of Idle, by Redwald king of the Eaſt Angles, in fauour of Edwin, whom the ſayd Edelfred had confined oute of hys Dominion. xxiiij. yeares before.

The foreſayde Redwald therefore hauing obteyned that victorie, founde meanes to place Edwyne in gouernment of that Kingdome of the Northumbers, hauing a tytle thereto as ſonne to Alla, or Elle, ſometyme King of Northumberlande.

Edwy

Beda.li.2.

This Edwyn proued a ryght valiant prince, and grewe to be of more power than any other King in thoſe dayes of the Engliſh Nation: not onely ruling ouer a great parte of the Countreys inhabited with Engliſhe menne, but alſo with Brytaynes, which Brytaynes inhabyted not onelye in Wales, but alſo as yet in parte of Cheſſhire, Lancaſhire, Cumberlande, and alongeſt by the Weſt Sea coaſt in Galloway, and ſo forth euē vnto Dunbrytain in Scotland: which I haue thought good to note, that it may appeare in what Countreys Cadwallo bare rule, of whome ſo often mention is made in this part of the Hyſtorie.

Wil. Mal.
keth Me
to be Ang

But as concerning Edwyn: his reputation was ſuch, as not onely the Engliſh men, Brytaynes and Scottes; but alſo the Iles of Orkney, and thoſe of Man, and other the Weſt Iles of auncient tyme called *Meuania*, had him in reuerence, and feared his mightie power, ſo as they durſt not attempt any exployte to the offence of him.

It chaunced alſo that ſhortly after king Redwalde had aduaunced him to the Kingdome of Northumberlande, viz. aboute ſixe yeares, the ſame Redwalde deceaſſed, whiche made greatly for the more augmentation of Edwyns power. For the people of the Eaſt Angles, which whileſt Edwyn remayned amongeſt them as a baniſhed man, had conceyued a good opinion of him, for his approued valiancie and noble courage, offered themſelues to bee wholy at his commaundement.

Carpwaldus. But Edwyn ſuffering Carpwalde or Erpwalde the ſonne of Redwalde to enioy the bare tytle and name of king of that Countrey, ruled al things at his owne will and pleaſure. Neither was there any Prouince within Brytaine that did not obey him, or was not ready to do him ſeruice (the kingdome of Kent onely excepted) for he ſuffered the Kentiſhmen to liue in quiet, bycauſe he began to haue a lyking vnto the ſiſter of king Eadbald, the Lady Ethelburga, otherwiſe named Tate, or Tace.

Beda lib. 2. cap. 9. He made requeſt therefore by ſending Ambaſſadours to hir brother, to haue the ſayde Ladie in mariage: and at length obteyned hir, with condition that ſhee being a Chriſtian woman, might not onely vſe the Chriſtian religion, but alſo that all thoſe, whether men or women, prieſtes or miniſters, which came with hir, might haue licence to doe the ſame, without trouble or impeachment of any maner of perſon. Hereupon ſhe being ſent vnto him, there was appoynted to goe with hir, (beſide many other) one Pauline, which was conſecrated Biſhop by the Archbiſhop Iuſtus, the xxj. of July, in the yeare of our Lorde. 625.

at. VVeſt. da lib. 2. p. 9. 625

At his comming into Northumberlande, thus in companie of Ethelburga, hee trauayled earneſtly in his office, both to preſerue hir and ſuch Chriſtians in the fayth of Chriſt, as were appoynted to giue theyr attendaunce on hir, leaſt they ſhoulde chaunce to fall: and alſo ſought to winne ſome of the Pagans if it were poſſible vnto the ſame fayth, though at the firſt he little profited in that matter.

In the yeare following, there came a murtherer vnto the Court of King Edwyn, as then ſoiourning in a Palace whiche ſtoode vppon the ſyde of the Ryuer of Dorwent, being ſent from Quichelme King of the Weſt Saxons, to the intent to murther Edwyn, bycauſe hee had of late ſore endomaged the Countreys of the weſt Saxons.

ber ſay re, as th. VVeſt. This murtherer was called Eumerus, and caried vnder his cote a ſhort double edged Woodknife enuenomed of purpoſe, that if the King beeing but a little hurt therewith, ſhoulde not die of the wound, yet he ſhould not eſcape the daunger of the poyſon.

Eumerus. On Eaſter Monday this Eumerus came to the King, and making forth to hym as it had beene to haue declared ſome meſſage from his Maiſter, when hee had eſpyed his tyme, he drewe hys weapon, and offered to ſtryke the King. But one of the Kings ſeruaunts named Lylla, perceyuing thys, ſtept betwixt the King and the blowe. Beda lib. 2. cap. 10. But yet the murtherer ſette the ſtrype forwarde wyth ſuche force, that the knife running through the bodie of Lylla, wounded alſo the King a little: and before this murtherer coulde bee beaten downe, he ſlue another of the Kings ſeruaunts, a knight that attended vpon him called Forther. Beda lib. 2. cap. 11.

Eaufled borne. The ſame night Queene Ethelburga was delyuered of a daughter named Eufled, for the whiche when King Edwyn gaue thankes vnto his Goddes, in the preſence of Biſhop Paulyne, the Biſhop did admoniſh him, rather to giue thankes vnto the true and onely God, by whoſe goodnes it came to paſſe that yͤ Queene was ſafely and without daunger delyuered. The King giuing good eare vnto the Byſhops wholeſome admonition, promiſed at that preſente to become a Chriſtian, if hee myghte reuenge hys iniuryes receyued at the handes of the Weſt Saxons, and to aſſure Pauline that his promiſe ſhoulde take place, hee gaue vnto him hys newe borne daughter to be made holy to the lord, that is to ſay, baptiſed.

The Biſhoppe receyuing hir, on Whitſundaye nexte following baptyſed hir, with twelue other of the Kings houſeholde, ſhee beeyng the fyrſte of the Engliſhe Northumbers that was ſo waſhed in the Fountayne of Regeneration.

In the meane tyme King Edwyn being recouered of his hurt, aſſembled an army, and went agaynſt the Weſt Saxons, with whom encountring in battaile, he eyther ſlue or brought to his ſubiection all them that had conſpyred his death. And ſo returned as a conquerour into his cuntry. But yet he delayed time for performance of his promiſe to become a chriſtian: howbeit he had left his doing of ſacrifice to Idols, euer ſince he made promiſe to be baptiſed.

He was a ſage Prince, and before he woulde alter his Religion, he politikely thought good to heare matters touching bothe hys olde Religion, and the Chriſtian Religion throughlye examined.

And whileſt he thus hangeth in doubt to whether part he ſhoulde encline, there came letters to him from Pope Boniface the fift of that name, exhorting him by ſundrie kinds of gentle perſwaſions, to turne to the worſhipping of the true and liuing God, and to renounce the worſhipping of Mawmets and Idols.

Beda lib.2. cap.10.

The Pope likewiſe wrote to Queene Ethelburga, praying hir to cōtinue in hir good purpoſe, and by all meanes poſſible to doe what might bee done for the conuerting of hir huſbande vnto the fayth of Chriſt.

Bede.lib.2. cap.11.

A viſion.

But the thing that moſt moued the king, was a viſion which ſometime he had while hee remained as a baniſhed man in the Court of Redwald king of the Eaſt Angles, as thus:

Bede.cap.12.

After that king Ethelfred was informed howe that the foreſayde Redwalde had receyued Edwin, he ceaſſed not by his Ambaſſadours to moue Redwalde eyther to deliuer Edwyn into hys handes, or elſe to make him away.

At length by often ſending, and promiſes made of large ſummes of money, mixed with threatnings, he obteyned a graunt of his ſuyte, ſo that it was determined that Edwyn ſhoulde eyther bee murthered, or elſe deliuered into his enimyes handes.

One of Edwynes friendes hauing intelligence hereof, in the night ſeaſon came to Edwyns Chamber, and taking him forth abroade, tolde him the whole practiſe, and what was purpoſed agaynſt him, offering to helpe him out of the countrey, if he would ſo aduenture to eſcape.

The honorable conſideration of Edwin.

Edwyne being wonderouſly amazed, thanked his friend, but refuſed yet to depart the Countrey, ſith hee had no iuſt cauſe outwardly giuen to play ſuche a ſlipper parte, chooſing rather to ieoparde his lyfe wyth honour, than to giue men cauſe to thinke that hee had firſt broken promiſe with ſuch a Prince as Redwalde was, to whom he had giuen his fayth.

Herevpon his friende departing from him, left him ſitting without the doores: where after hee had reuolued many things in his mind, & thought long vpon this matter, at length he perceyued one to come towards him vnknowne, & in ſtrange apparell, ſeeming to him in euery poynt a ſtraunger, at which ſight for that he could not imagine who he ſhoulde be, Edwyn was much afrayde: but the man comming to him ſaluted him, and aſked of him what he made there that time of the night when other were at reſt. Edwyn on the other part aſked what hee had to doe therewith, and whether he vſed to lie abrode in the night, or within houſe: who aunſwering ſayde: Thinke not Edwyn that I am ignorant of thy heauineſſe, of thy watching, and this thy ſolitarie ſitting here withoute doores. For I knowe who thou art, wherefore thou art thus penſife, and what euilles thou feareſt to be towardes thee at hande. But tell me, what wouldeſt thou giue him, that coulde deliuer thee out of this heauineſſe, and perſwade Redwalde that hee ſhoulde neyther do thee hurt nor delyuer thee to thine enimyes? Herewith when Edwyn ſayde, that he woulde gladly giue all that in him might lye to ſuche a one in rewarde: the other added: what wouldſt thou thē giue, if he ſhould promiſe in good ſooth that (all thy enimies beeing deſtroyed) thou ſhouldeſt be king, and that thou ſhouldeſt paſſe in power all the Kings whiche haue raigned in the Engliſh nation before thy time?

Edwyn then beyng better come to himſelfe by ſuch demaundes, did not ſticke to promiſe that he would requite his friendſhip with worthy thākes.

Then replyed he to his wordes and ſayde. If he that ſhall prophecie to thee this good happe to come, ſhall alſo be able to enfourme thee ſuch coūſail for thy health & life as neuer any of thy forefathers or kinſfolke yet haue heard, wouldeſt thou obey him, and conſent to receiue his wholſom aduertiſement? Wherevnto without further deliberation Edwin promiſed, that he would in all points folow the inſtruction of him that ſhoulde deliuer him out of ſo many and greate calamities, and bring him to the rule of a kingdome. Which anſwere being got, this perſon that thus talked with him, layde his hande vppon his heade, ſaying, when thys therefore ſhall chaunce to thee, bee not forgetfull of this tyme, nor of this communication, and thoſe things that thou nowe doeſt promiſe, ſee thou perfourme. And therewyth he vaniſhed away, ſo that Edwin might well perceyue it was no manne but a viſion that thus had appeared vnto him.

And as he ſatte ſtill reioyſing of this comfortable talke, but yet thoughtfull in his mynde what he ſhoulde be, or from whence he came that had talked in this ſort with him. Beholde hys friende returned that firſt had brought him forth of his Chamber, and declared vnto hym good newes, howe the King by the perſwaſion of the Queene had altered his determination, and minded to mainteyne his quarell to the vttermoſt of his power: and ſo hee did in deede: for wyth all diligence hee rayſed an armie, and went agaynſt Edelfride, vanquiſhed him in battaile, and placed Edwyn in the Kingdome (as before yee haue hearde.)

Herevpon

Hereuppon whileſt King Edwyn (as before is mentioned) deferred tyme ere he would receyue the Chriſtian fayth, Pauline one daye came vnto him as he ſat muſing what hee were beſt to do, and layd his hand vpon his head, aſking him if he knew that ſigne: whereupon when the king would haue fallen downe at his feete, he lift hym vp, and as it were in familiar wiſe thus ſayd vnto him: Behold, by the aſſyſtance of Gods fauour thou haſt eſcaped the handes of thyne enimyes, whom thou ſtoodeſt in dread of: Behold through hys bounteous liberalitie, thou haſt atteyned the Kingdome which thou diddeſt deſire, remember then that thou delay not time to perfourme the thirde thing that thou diddeſt promiſe, in receyuing his fayth, and keeping his cõmaundements, which deliuering thee from worldly aduerſities, hath thus aduaunced thee to the honor of a king: and if from henceforth thou wilt obey his will, which by my mouth hee ſetteth forth & preacheth to thee and other, he will deliuer thee from euerlaſting torments, and make thee partaker wyth him in his celeſtiall kingdome.

It is to be thought that the viſion which the K. had in times paſt receiued, was in ſpirite reuealed vnto Pauline, whereupon without delay of time he put him in remembrance of it in maner as aboue is mentioned.

The king hauing heard his words, anſwered, that he would & ought to receyue the fayth which he taught, but firſt he woulde conferre with hys nobles, and if they would agree to do the like, then would they be baptiſed altogither at one time.

Edwyn conferreth with his nobles.

The anſwere of an heathen Biſhop.

Pauline ſatiſfied herewith, Edwin did as hee had promiſed, calling togither the wiſeſt men of his realme, and of them aſked the queſtion what they thought of this diuinitie, which was preached vnto them by Paulyn, vnto whom his chief Biſhop named Coifi, incõtinently made this anſwere, that ſurely the religion which they had hytherto followed was nothing worth. For ſayth he, there is none of thy people that hath more reuerently worſhipped our Gods than I haue done, and yet be there many that haue receyued farre greater benefites at thy handes than I haue done: and therefore if our Goddes were of any power, then would they rather helpe me to high honours and dignitie than others.

Pauline licenced to preach the Goſpell.

Therefore if it may be founde that this newe Religion is better and more auaileable than oure olde, let vs wyth all ſpeede embrace the ſame. Finally, when other of the Kings Counſayle and men of high authoritie gaue theyr conſents, that this doctrine which Pauline taught ought to be receyued, if therein appeared more certaintie of ſaluation than could be found in the other: at length the king gaue licence to Pauline openly to preach the Goſpell, and renouncing his worſhipping of falſe gods, profeſſeth the chriſtian fayth.

And when he demaunded of his Biſhop Coifi who ſhoulde firſt deface the aulters of their Idols and the tabernacles with the whiche they were compaſſed about, he anſwered, that hee himſelfe would do it. For what is more meete (ſayth hee) thã that I, which through fooliſhneſſe haue worſhipped them, ſhould nowe for example ſake deſtroy the ſame, through wiſedome giuen me from the true & liuing God? And ſtreight ways throwing away the ſuperſtition of vanitie, required armour and weapõ of the king, with a ſtoned horſe, vpon the which he being mounted, rode forth to deſtroy the Idols.

This was a ſtraunge ſight to the people: for it was not lawfull to the Biſhop of their lawe to put on armour, or to ride on any beaſt, except it were a Mare. He hauing therefore a ſword gyrde to him, tooke a ſpeare in his hande, and riding on the kings horſe, went to the place where the Idols ſtoode. The common people that beheld him had thought he had beene ſtarke mad, and out of his wittes: but hee without longer deliberation, incontinently vpon his comming to the temple, began to deface the ſame, and in contempt threw his ſpeare againſt it, and reioyſing greatly in the knowledge of the worſhipping of the true God, commaunded his company to deſtroy and burne downe the ſame temple with all the aulters.

This place where yͤ Idols were ſomtime worſhipped was not farre from Yorke, towardes the Eaſt part of the riuer of Derwent, and is called Gotmundin Gaham, where the forſayd Biſhop by the inſpiration of God defaced and deſtroyed thoſe aulters which he himſelfe had hallowed.

King Edwyn therefore with all the nobilitie, and a great nũber of his people, receyued the faith and were baptized, in the yeare of our Lorde. 627. in the tenth yeare of his raigne, and about the. 178 yeare after the firſt comming of the Engliſh men into this lande. Hee was baptiſed at Yorke on Eaſter day (which fel that yere the day before the Ides of Aprill) in the Church of S. Peter the Apoſtle, which hee had cauſed to bee erected vp of timber vpon the ſodaine for that purpoſe, and afterwards began the foũdation of the ſame church in ſtone worke of a larger compaſſe, comprehending within it that Oratorie which hee had fyrſt cauſed to be built: but before he coulde finiſh the worke, he was ſlaine (as after ſhall bee ſhewed, leauing it to be performed of his ſucceſſor Oſwalde. Pauline continued from thenceforth during the kings life, which was ſixe yeares after, in preaching the goſpel in that prouince, conuerting an innumerable number of people to the fayth of Chryſt, amongeſt the whiche were Oſfride, and Eadfride, the ſonnes of Edwyn, which he begotte in tyme of hys baniſhment, of his wife

King Edwyn with his people receyue the chriſtian fayth.
Beda.li.2. cap.14.

627

I. Quinburga

Quinburga, the daughter of Cearlus King of Mercia. Alſo afterwardes his children begot on his ſeconde wife Ethelburga, that is to ſay, a ſon called Edilhimus, and a daughter named Ediltrudis: and another ſonne called Buſfrea, of the which the two firſt died in theyr Cradels, and were buryed in the Church at Yorke. To bee briefe: by the kings aſſyſtance and fauour ſhewed vnto Pauline in the worke of the Lorde, greate multitudes of people dayly receyued the fayth, and were baptiſed of Pauline in manye places, but ſpecially in the Ryuer of Gleuy wythin the Prouince of Bernicia, and alſo in Swale in the Prouince of Deira: For as yet in the begynning thus of the Church in thoſe Countreys, no temples or fountes coulde be buylded or erected in ſo ſhort a time.

Ediltrudis.

Of ſuch great zeale was Edwyn (as it is reported) towards the ſetting forth of Gods truth, that hee perſwaded Carpwalde the Sonne of Redwalde King of the Eaſtangles to abandon the ſuperſtitious worſhypping of Idolles, and to receyue the fayth of Chriſt with all hys whole Prouince.

This chaunced in the yeare 632 as hath *Math. VVeſt.*

His father Redwalde was baptiſed in Kent long before this time, but in vaine: for returning home, through counſayle of his wife and other wicked perſons, he was ſeduced, and being turned from the ſincere puritie of fayth, his laſt doings were worſſe than his fyrſt, ſo that according to the manner of the olde Samaritanes, he woulde ſeeme both to ſerue the true God, and his falſe Goddes (which before time he had ſerued) and in one ſelfe Churche, had at one time both the Sacraments of Chriſt miniſtred at one aulter, and Sacrifice made vnto Diuels at another.

Redwald king of Eaſtangles baptiſed.

Carpwalde woulde ſerue God and the diuell.

But Carpwalde within a while after he had receyued the fayth, was ſlaine by one of his owne Countrey men that was an Ethnicke, called Richbert, and then after his death, that Prouince for the terme of three yeares was wrapped eftſoones in errour, tyll that Sybert, or Sigibert, the brother of Carpwalde, a moſte Chryſtian Prince, and verie well learned, obteyned the rule of that kingdome, who whileſt hee liued a baniſhed man in France during his brothers life time, was baptiſed there, and became a Chriſtian: and when he came to be king, hee cauſed all his Prouince to be partaker of the ſame fountaine of life wherein he had beene dipped himſelfe.

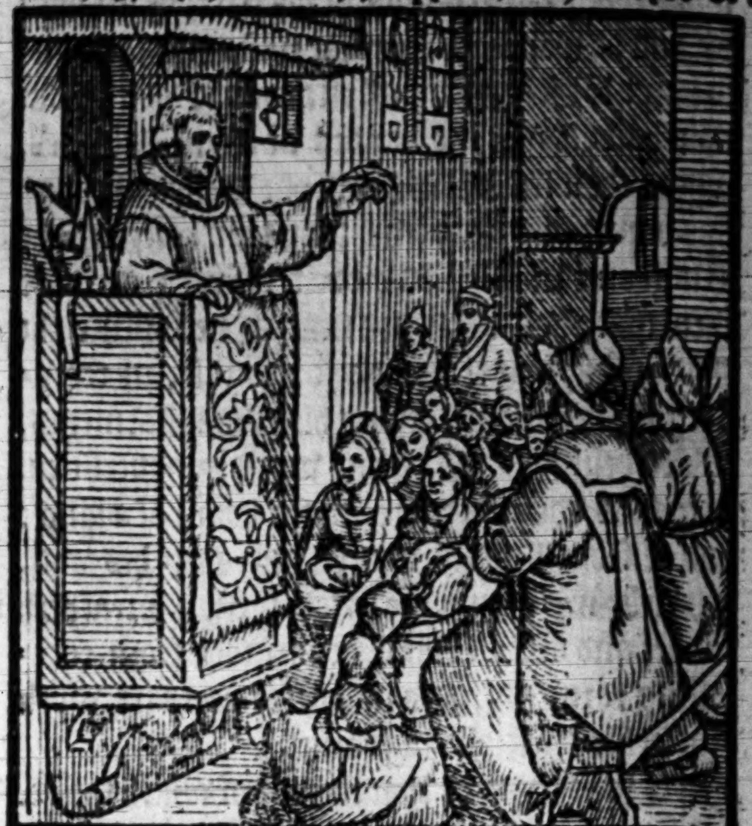
Sibert or Sigibert.

Vnto his godly purpoſe alſo, a Biſhop of the parties of Burgoigne named Felix was a great furtherer, who comming ouer vnto the Archebiſhop of Canterburie Honorius that was ſucceſſour vnto Iuſtus, and declaring vnto him his earneſt deſire, was ſent by the ſame Archbiſhop to preache the worde of life vnto the Eaſtangles, which he did with ſuch good ſucceſſe, that he conuerted the whole countrey to the fayth of Ieſus Chriſt, and placed the Sea of his Biſhoprike at Dunwich, ending the courſe of his life there in peace, after he had continued in that his Biſhoplyke office the ſpace of .xvij. yeares.

A Biſhop ordeyned at Dunwich.

Moreouer Pauline after that he had conuerted the Northumbers, hee preached the worde of God vnto them of Lindſey, whiche is a parte of Lincolnſhire: and firſt he perſwaded one Blecca the gouernor of the Citie of Lincoln to turne vnto Chriſt togither with all his familie.

Beda. li. 2. cap. 16.



This chaunced in the yeare 628. as hath *Mat. VVeſt.*

In that Citie he alſo buylded a Churche of ſtone worke.

Thus Pauline trauailed in the worke of the lord, the ſame being greatly furthered by the help of Edwin, in whoſe preſence he baptiſed a greate number of people in the riuer of Trent, neare to a towne the which in the olde Engliſh tongue was called *Tiovulfingaceſter.* This Pauline had with him a deacon named Iames, the which ſhewed himſelfe verie diligent in the miniſterie, and profited greatly therein.

But now to returne to king Edwin, who was a prince verily of worthy fame, and for the polytike ordering of his Countreys and obſeruing of iuſtice, deſerued highly to be commended: for in his time all robbers by the high way were ſo baniſhed out of his dominions, that a woman with hir new borne childe alone withoute other companie might haue trauayled from ſea to ſea, and not haue encountred with any creature that durſt once haue offered hir iniurie.

VVil. Malm.

He was alſo verie carefull for the aduauncement of the commoditie and common wealth of his people, inſomuch that where there were any ſweete and cleare water Springs, hee cauſed poſtes to bee ſet vppe, and Iron diſhes to be faſtned thereto wyth Chaynes, that wayfaryng men might haue the ſame readie at hand to drink wyth: and there was none ſo hardye as to

Mat. VVeſt. *Beda. lib. 2. cap. 16.*

touch the ſame but for that vſe: he vſed whereſoeuer he went within the Cities or elſewhere abrode, to haue a banner borne before him, in token of Juſtice to be miniſtred by hys royall authoritie.

Beda li.2. cap.17.

In the meane ſeaſon, Pope Honorius the fift, hearing that the Northumbers had receyued the fayth (as before is mencioned) at the preaching of Pauline, ſent vnto the ſayde Pauline the Pall, confirming him Archbiſhop in the Sea of Yorke.

He ſent alſo letters of exhortation vnto king Edwin, to kindle him the more with fatherly aduice, to continue and proceede in the waye of vnderſtanding, into the which he was entered.

A decree concerning the Archbiſhops of Canterburie and Yorke.

At the ſame time alſo, bycauſe Juſtus the Archbiſhop of Canterburie was deade, and one Honorius elected to that Sea, Pope Honorius ſente vnto the foreſayde Honorius the elect Archbiſhoppe of Canterburie, his Pall, with letters, wherein was conteyned a decree by him made, that when eyther the Archbiſhoppe of Canterburie or Yorke chaunced to depart thys life, he that ſuruiued ſhould haue authoritie to ordeyne another in place of him that was deceaſſed, that they ſhoulde not neede to wearie themſelues with going to Rome, beeing ſo farre diſtant from them. The copie of whiche letter is regyſtred in the Eccleſiaſticall Hyſtorie of Beda, bearing date the thirde Ides of Junie in the yeare of our Lorde.633.

633

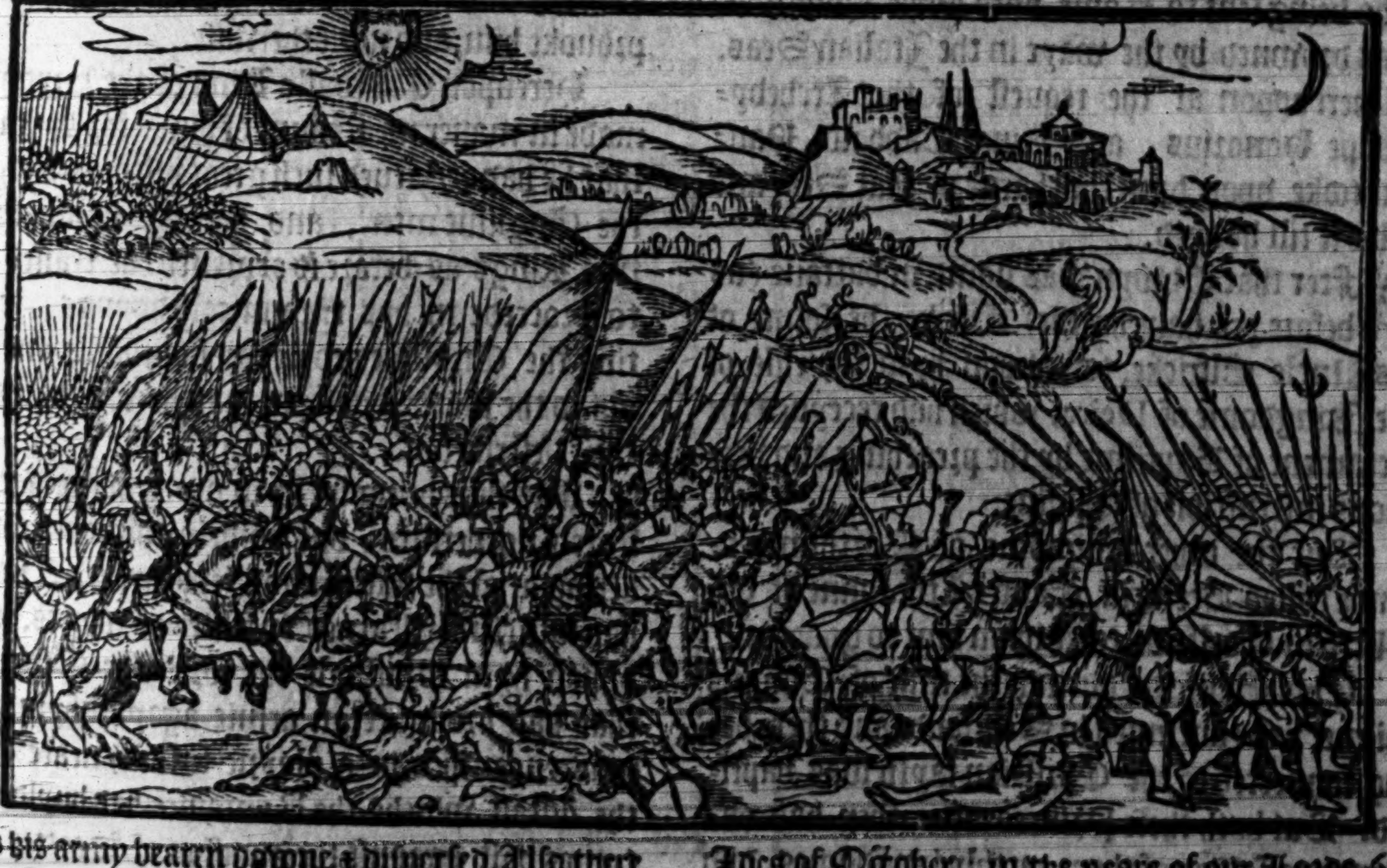
The feaſt of Eaſter.

The hereſie of the Pelagians.

The ſame Pope ſent letters alſo to the Scottiſh people exhorting them to celebrate the feaſt of Eaſter in ſuch due time as other Churches of the Chriſtian world obſerued: and alſo bycauſe the Hereſie of the Pelagians beganne to renue againe amongeſt them, (as he was enformed) hee admoniſhed them to beware thereof, and by all meanes to auoyde it.

Cadwallin, or Cadwallo king of Brytayne.

But now that the Kingdome of Northumberland flouriſhed (as before is partly touched) in happie ſtate vnder the proſperous raigne of Edwyn, at length after he had gouerned it the ſpace of .xvij. yeares, Cadwalline, or Cadwallo King of Brytaynes, who ſucceeded Cadwane, as Gal. Mon. hath, rebelled agaynſt him: for ſo it commeth to paſſe, that nothing can be ſo ſure cōfyrmed by mans power, but the ſame by the lyke power may be againe deſtroyed.



Penda king of Mercia.

King Edwin ſlaine.

Mat. VVeſt.

Penda king of Mercia enuying the proſperous proceedings of king Edwin, procured Cadwallo to moue this rebellion againſt Edwin: & ioyning his power with Cadwallo, they inuaded the cōtrey of Northūberland ioyntly togither. Edwyn hereof aduertiſed, gathered his people, and came to encounter them, ſo that both the armies met at a place called Hatfield, where was fought a right ſore and bloudie battaile. But in the end Edwin was ſlain with one of his ſonnes named Oſfrid, and his army beaten downe & diſperſed. Alſo there was ſlain on Edwyns part, Godbald K. of Orkney. Moreouer there was another of Edwyns ſonnes named Edfride, conſtrayned of neceſſitie to gyue himſelf into the hands of Penda, and was after by him cruelly put to death (contrarie to his promiſed fayth) in king Oſwaldes dayes, that ſucceeded Edwyn.

Mat. VVeſt,

Thus did king Edwin end his life in that battaile, fought at Hatfield aforeſayde, on the fourth Ides of October, in the yeare of our Lorde.633. hee beeing then aboute the age of .xlviij. yeares and vpwardes.

Cadwal and Penda hauing obteyned this victorie, vſed it moſt cruelly. For one of the Captaynes was a Pagan, and the other wanting all ciuilitie, ſhewed hymſelfe more cruell than any Pagan coulde haue done. So that Penda beeing a worſhipper of falſe Goddes with all his people of Mercia, and Cadwallo hauing no

The crueltie of Penda and Cadwallo.

reſpect to the chriſtian religion which lately was begonne amongſt the Northumbers, made hauocke in all places where they came, not ſparing man, woman nor childe: and ſo continued in their furious outrage a long time, in paſſing through the countrey, to the great decay and calamitie of the chriſtian congregations in thoſe parties. And ſtill the Chriſtian Brytaines were leſſe mercifull than Penda his heatheniſh ſouldiers. For euẽ vnto the dayes of Beda (as he affyrmeth) the Brytains made no account of the fayth or religion of the Engliſhmen, nor would communicate with them more than with Pagans, bycauſe they differed in rites from their accuſtomed traditions.

The Archbiſhop Pauline fleeth into Kent.

When the countrey of the Northumbers was brought into this miſerable caſe by the enimies inuaſion, the Archbiſhop Pauline taking wyth him the Queen Ethelburga, whõ he had brought thither, returned nowe againe with hir by water into Kent, where he was honourably receyued of the Archbiſhop Honorius, and king Eadbald. He came thither in the conduct of one Baſſus a valiant man of warre, hauing with him Eaufred the daughter, & Vulfrea the ſon of Edwyn and alſo Yffi the ſon of Oſfride Edwins ſonne, whõ their mother after for feare of the kings Edbold & Oſwald did ſend into France, where they died.

The Church of Rocheſter at that time was deſtitute of a Biſhop, by the death of Romanus, who being ſent to Rome vnto Pope Honorius, was drowned by the waye in the Italian Seas. Wherevppon at the requeſt of the Archebyſhoppe Honorius, and King Eadbald, Pauline tooke vpon hym the charge of that Sea, and helde it till he dyed.

Beda lib. 3. cap. 1.

Oſrike king of Deira.

After that Edwyn was ſlaine in battaile (as before yee haue hearde) Oſrike the ſonne of his Vncle Elfricke, tooke vpon hym the rule of the Kingdome of Deira, which had receyued the ſacrament of Baptiſme by the preaching and vertuous inſtruction of Pauline.

Eufred king of Bernicia.

But the other kingdome of Northumberlande called Bernicia, Eaufride the ſonne of Edelfred or Edelfride, tooke vpon him to gouerne.

This Eaufride during the time of Edwins raigne, had continued in Scotland, and there being conuerted to the Chriſtian fayth was baptiſed. But both theſe Princes after they had obteyned poſſeſſion of theyr earthly kingdomes, dyd forget the care of the heauenly kingdome, ſo that they returned to their olde kind of Idolatrie. But the almightie God did not long ſuffer this theyr vnthankfulneſſe without iuſt puniſhment: for firſt in the next Sommer, when Oſrike had raſhlye beſieged Cadwallo King of the Brytaynes, within a certayne Towne, Cadwallo brake forth vpon hym, and fynding him vnprouided to make reſyſtance, ſlue him with all his armie.

The two kings of Northumberland ſlain.

And after thys, whileſt Cadwallo not like a Conquerour gouerned the Prouynces of the Northumbers, but lyke a Tyran waſted and deſtroyed them, in ſlaying the people in tragicall manner, hee alſo ſlue Eaufride, the whiche with twelue menne of warre, came vndiſcreetely vnto him to ſue for peace, and thus within leſſe than twelue Monethes ſpace both theſe renegate kings were diſpatched.

Oſwald beganne his raigne in the yeare. 635. *Beda lib. 3. cap. 3.*

Then Oſwalde the ſonne of Edelfred, and brother to the foreſayde Eaufride was created K. of the Northumbers, the ſixt in number from Ida.

This Oſwalde after that his father was ſlaine, liued as a baniſhed perſon a long time within Scotlande, where he was baptiſed, and profeſſed the chriſtiã religion, and paſſed the flower of his youth in good exerciſes, both of minde and bodie.

Amongſt other things, he practiſed the vnderſtanding of warlike knowledge, minding ſo to vſe it, as it might ſtande him in ſteade to defende himſelfe from iniurie of the enimies that ſhoulde prouoke him, and not otherwiſe.

Hereupon Cadwallo King of the Brytayns made in maner no account of him: for by reaſon that he had atchieued ſuch great victories agaynſt the Engliſhe men, and hauing ſlaine theyr two Kings (as before is expreſſed) he ceaſſed not to proceede in hys tyrannicall doyngs, reputing the Engliſhe people for ſlouthfull, and not apt to the warre, boaſting that he was borne to their deſtruction.

And thus being ſet vp in pryde of courage, he feared no perilles, but boldely withoute conſidering at al the ſkilful knowledge which Oſwald had ſufficiently learned in feates of warres, tooke vppon hym to aſſayle the foreſayde Oſwalde, that had broughte an armie agaynſt hym, and was encamped in a playne fielde, neare vnto the Wall whiche the Romaines had buylded in tymes paſt agaynſt the inuaſion of Scottes and Pictes.

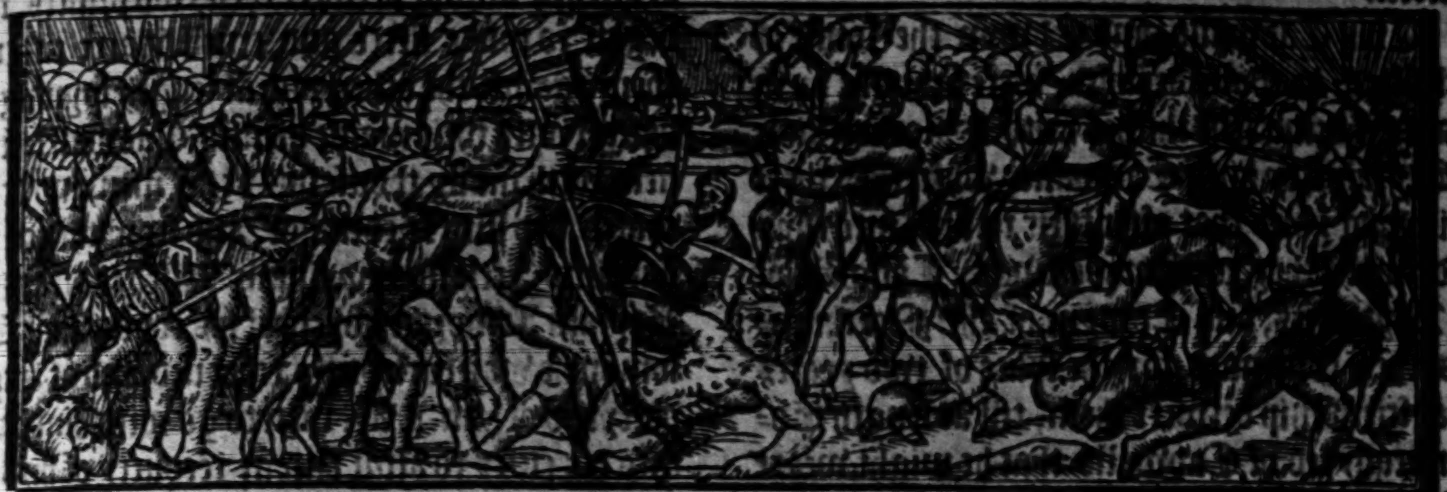
Cadwallo ſtraight prouoked Oſwald to trie the matter by battaile, but Oſwalde forbare the firſt day, and cauſed a Croſſe to bee erected in the ſame place where he was encamped, in full hope that it ſhould be an enſigne or trophy of his victorie, cauſing all ſouldiers to make their prayers to God, that in time of ſuch neceſſitie, it might pleaſe him to ſuccour them that worſhipped him.

It is ſayde, that the Croſſe being made, and the hole digged wherein it ſhoulde be ſet, he tooke the Croſſe in his owne handes, and putting the foote thereof into that hole, ſo helde it till his ſouldiers had filled the hole, and rammed it up. And then cauſed al the ſouldiers to kneele downe upon their knees, and to make interceſſion to the true and liuing God for his aſſiſtance agaynſt ye proude enimie, with whõ they ſhould fight in a iuſt quarel for the preſeruation of their people & countrey.

After this, in the next morning he boldly geueth battaile to his enimies, ſo that a ſore and cruell fight enſued betwixt them. At length Oſwald perceyued that the Brytaynes beganne ſomewhat to faint, and therefore he called his people to renue their force, and more luſtily to preaſſe forwarde, ſo that firſt he put that moſt cruell enimie to flight, and after purſuing the chaſe, ouertooke him, and ſlue him with the moſt part of all his huge and mightie armie, in a place called

Beda.

VVil. Malm.



Deniſſeborne, but the place where hee cauſed the Croſſe to be erected, height Heuenfield.

And thus Cadwallo the moſt cruell enimie of the Engliſh name ended his life: He was terrible both in nature & countenance, for the which cauſe they ſay the Brytaynes did afterwards ſet up his Image, that the ſame might bee a terrour to the enimies when they ſhoulde beholde it.

But here is to bee remembred by the Brytiſh hiſtorie of Gal. Mon. it ſhoulde appeare that Cadwallo was not ſlaine at all, but raigned victoriouſly for the ſpace of .xlviij. yeares, and then departed this life, as in place afterwards it ſhall appeare. But for that the contrarietie in wryters in ſuch poyntes may ſooner be perceyued than reformed to the ſatiſfying of mennes fancies whiche are variable, wee will leaue euery man to his libertie to thinke as ſeemeth him good, noting now and then the diuerſitie of ſuche wryters, as occaſion ſerueth.

Penda.

636

PEnda the ſon of Wibba ſucceeded in the gouernmẽt of the kingdom of Mercia, after Ciarlus, & beganne hys raigne in the yeare of oure Lord. 636. He was fiftie yeares of age before he came to bee king, and raigned. xxx. yeares, he was a Prince right hardie and aduenterous, not fearing to ieopard his perſon in place of danger, aſſured & readie of remembrance in time of greateſt peril. His body could not be ouercome with any trauaile, nor his mind vanquiſhed with greatneſſe of buſineſſe, but theſe his vertues were matched with notable vyces, as firſt with ſuch bitterneſſe of maners as had not beene heard of, crueltie of nature, lack of curteſie, great vnſtedfaſtneſſe in performing of word and promiſe, and of vnmeaſurable hatred toward the Chriſtian religion.

Upon confidence put in theſe his great vertues and vices from time that he was made king as though the whole Iſle had beene due to him, he thought not good to let any occaſion paſſe that was offered to make warre, as well agaynſt his friendes and confederates, as alſo agaynſt hys owne ſworne enimyes. Part of his doings ye haue heard, and more ſhall appeare hereafter.

Of the kings of the Eaſt Saxons and Eaſt Angles, ye haue heard before: of whom in places conuenient yee ſhall finde further mention alſo, and ſo likewiſe of the kings of the South Saxons: but bycauſe theyr kingdome continued not paſt fiue ſucceſſions, little remembrance of them is made by wryters.

Cadwallo or Cadwalline.

Cadwallo, or Cadwalline.

635

CAdwallo, or Cadwalline, for we finde him ſo alſo named, began his raigne ouer the Britains in the yere of our Lord. 635. in the yeare of the raign of the Emperour Heraclius. 35. and in the. xiij. yeare of Dagobert king of France.

Of this man ye haue heard partly before touching his dealings and warres agaynſt the Northumbers,

thumbers, and other of the Engliſh Nation: but forſomuch as diuerſe other things are reported of him by the Brytiſh wryters, wee haue thought good in this place to rehearſe the ſame in part, as in Gal. Mon. we finde written, leauing the credite ſtill with the authour, ſith the truth thereof may the more be ſuſpected, bycauſe other Authours of good authoritie, as Beda, Henrie Huntington, William Malm. and other, ſeeme greatly to diſagree from him herein. But thus is it written.

Edwin was not ſonne to Ethelfred but to Alla, or Elle, as in other places it plainly ap-

This Cadwallo, and Edwyn the ſonne of Ethelfred, as Galfride ſayth, were brought vp in Fraunce, being ſent thither vnto Salomon king of Brytaine, by king Cadwane, when they were verie yong: and that after their returne into thys lande, when they were made kings, Cadwall of the Brytaynes, and Edwyne of the Northumbers, there continued for the ſpace of two yeares great friendſhip betwixt them, till at length Edwyn requyred of Cadwallo that he might weare a Crowne, and celebrate appoynted ſolemnities within his dominion of Northumberlande, as well as Cadwall did in his Countrey. Cadwall taking aduice in this matter, at length by perſwaſion of his nephew Brian, denied to graunt vnto Edwin his requeſt, wherwith Edwin toke ſuch diſpleaſure, that he ſent word vnto Cadwal, that he would be crowned without his leaue or licence, ſith he would not willingly grãt it: wherevnto Cadwal anſwered, that if he ſo did, he wold cut off his head vnder his diademe, if he preſumed to weare any within the cõfines of Britain. Hereof diſcord ariſing betwixt theſe two princes, they began to make fierce and cruell warre either of them againſt the other, and at length ioyning in battail with their maine armies, Cadwall loſt the field, with many thouſands of his men, and being chaſed, fled into Scotlande, and from thence got ouer into Ireland, and finally paſſed the ſeas into Brytain Armorike, where of his couſin king Salomon he was curteouſly receyued, and at length obteyned of him. x. M. men to go with him backe into his cũtry to aſſiſt him in recouery of his lãds and dominions, the which in the mean time were cruelly ſpoiled, waſted, & haried by king Edwin.

Cadwallo vanquiſhed by Edwyn.

Cadwallo fleeth the lande.

The ſame time, Brian the nephew of Cadwallo whom he had ſent into Britain a little before for to ſlea a certaine wiſard or ſouthſayer, which K. Edwin had gottẽ out of Spain, named Pelitus, that by diſcloſing the purpoſe of Cadwallo vnto Edwin greatly hindred Cadwalloes enterpriſes, had fortified the Citie of Exeter, meaning to defende it till the comming of Cadwallo, wherupon Penda king of Mercia beſieged that Citie with a mightie armie, purpoſing to take it, and Brian within it. Cadwallo then aduertiſed hereof, immediately after his arriuall haſted to Exeter, and deuiding his people into foure parts, ſet vpon his enimies, & toke Penda, and ouerthrew his whole armie. Penda hauing no other ſhift to eſcape, ſubmitted himſelf wholy vnto Cadwallo, promiſing to become his liegemã, to fight againſt the Saxons in his quarell. And this Penda being ſubdued, Cadwallo called his nobles togither which had bene diſperſed abrode a long ſeaſon, and with all ſpeede went agaynſt Edwyn king of Northumberlande, and ſlue him in battaile at Hatfielde (as before is mencioned) with his ſonne Oſfride, and Godbold, king of the Iles of Orkney, which was come thither to his ayde.

By this it ſhould appeare, that Fabian hath gathered amiſſe in the account of the raignes of the Brytiſh kings: for it appeareth by Beda and others, that Edwyn was ſlayne in the yeare of our Lorde. 634.

634

And where Fabian (as before is ſayd) attrybuteth that acte & diuerſe other vnto Cadwan the father of this Cadwallo: yet both Gal. Mon. and Beda, with the moſt part of all other wryters, ſignifie that it was done by Cadwallo.

Harding aſſigneth but .xiij. yeares vnto the raigne of Cadwan, and declareth that he dyed in the yeare of our Lorde. 616. in the which yeare as he ſayeth) Cadwallo began his raigne, which his opinion ſeemeth beſt to agree with that which is written by other authors.

But to returne to the other doings of Cadwallo, as we finde them recorded in the Brytiſhe Hyſtorie.

After hee had got this victorie agaynſte the Northumbers, he cruelly purſued the Saxons, as though he ment ſo farre as in him lay, to deſtroye the whole race of them oute of the landes of all Brytayne: and ſending Penda agaynſt King Oſwalde that ſucceeded Edwin, though at the firſt Penda receyued the ouerthrowe at Heauenfielde, yet afterwardes Cadwallo hymſelfe highlye diſpleaſed with that chaunce, purſued Oſwalde, and fought with hym at a place called Bourne, where Penda ſlue the ſayd Oſwalde.

Oſwald ſlaine.

After that Oſwalde was ſlayne, his brother Oſunus ſucceeded him in gouernment of the Northumbers, and ſought the fauour of Cadwallo, now ruling as King ouer all Brytayne, and at length by great gyftes of golde and ſiluer, and vppon his humble ſubmiſſion, hee obteyned peace, tyll at length vpon a ſpyte, Penda King of Mercia obteyned lycence of Cadwallo to make warres agaynſt the ſayde Oſunus, in the which (as it happened) Penda himſelfe was ſlaine.

Oſwy. Math. VVeſt.

654

Then Cadwallo after two yeres graunted that Vlfridus the ſonne of Penda ſhoulde ſucceede in the kingdome of Mertia.

And thus Cadwallo ruled things at his appoyntment within this lande. And finally when he had raigned .xlviij. yeares, hee departed thys lyfe the .xxij. of Nouember.

678

676. ſayth Mat. VVeſt.

His bodie being embalmed and dreſſed with ſweet confections, was put into a braſen Image, by maruellous arte melted and caſt, the whiche Image beeing ſet on a braſen Horſe of excellente beautie, the Brytaynes erected aloft vppon the Weſt gate of London called Ludgat, in ſigne of his victorious conqueſtes, and for a terror to the Saxons.

And moreouer the Church of Saint Martine ſtanding vnderneath the ſame gate, was by the Brytains then builded.

Thus haue the Brytaynes made mention of theyr valiaunt Prince Cadwallo, but diuerſe men thinke that much of that Hyſtorie is but fables, bycauſe of the diſſonance founde therein ſo manifeſtly varying both from Beda and other autentike wryters (as before I haue ſayde.)

The true hyſtorie of king Oſwalde.

Oſwald meaneth to bee thankfull to God for his benefites. Beda. li. 3. ca. 3. 5. 6. Hector. Bo.

But nowe to the truth of the Hyſtorie touching Oſwalde King of the Northumbers, wee finde after that he had taſted of Gods high fauour extended to hymwardes, in vanquiſhing hys enimyes, as one mynding to be thankfull therefore, was deſirous to reſtore agayne the Chriſtian fayth through hys whole Kingdome, ſore lamenting the decaye thereof wythin the ſame, and therefore euen in the beginning of his raigne, he ſente vnto Donwalde the Scottiſhe King (with whome hee had beene brought vp in tyme of his baniſhment the ſpace of .xviij. yeares) requiring him to haue ſome learned Scottiſh man ſent vnto him, ſkilfull in preaching the worde of lyfe, that with godly Sermons and wholeſome inſtructions, hee might conuerte the people of Northumberland vnto the true and liuing God, promiſing to entertaine him with ſuch prouiſion as apperteyned.

Corman.

At his inſtance there was ſent vnto him one Corman, a Clerke ſingularly well learned, and of great grauitie in behauiour: but for that he wanted ſuch facilitie, and plaine vtterance by waye of gentle perſwading, as is requiſite in him that ſhall inſtruct the ſimple, onely ſetting forth in his Sermons high myſteries, & matters of ſuch profounde knowledge, as vneth the verie learned might perceyue the perfect ſenſe and meaning of his talke, his trauaile came to ſmall effect, ſo that after a yeares remayning there, he turned into his countrey declaring amongeſt his brethren of the cleargie, that the people of Northumberlande was a froward, ſtubburn & ſtiffe harted generatiõ, whoſe minds he could not frame by any good meanes of perſwaſion to receiue the chriſtian faith: ſo that he iudged it loſt labor to ſpende more time amongſt them being ſo vnthankfull & intractable a people, as no good might be done vpon them.

Aydan.

Amongſt other learned and vertuous prelates of the Scots, there chaunced one to be there preſent at the ſame time called Aydan, a man of ſo perfite life, that (as Beda writeth) he taught no otherwiſe than he liued, hauing no regarde to the cares of this world, but whatſoeuer was giuẽ him by kings or men of welth and riches, that he freely beſtowed vpon the poore, exhorting other to do the lyke.

This Aydane hearing Cormans words, perceiued anon that the fault was not ſo much in the people, as in the teacher, & therefore declared, ỷ (as he thought) although it were ſo that the people of Northũberland gaue no ſuch attentiue eare vnto the preaching of that reuerend prelate Cormã, as his godly expectation was they ſhould haue done, yet might it be that his vttring of ouer many myſtical articles amongſt thẽ, far aboue the capacity of the vnderſtanding of ſimple men, was ỷ cauſe why they ſo lightly regarded his diuine inſtructions, whereas if he had (according to the counſaile

Saint Paules counſaile.

of Saint Paule) at the firſt miniſtred vnto theyr tender vnderſtãdings, only milke without harder nouriſhments, he might happely haue wonne a farre greater number of them vnto the receyuing of the fayth, and ſo haue framed them by lyttle and lyttle to haue digeſted ſtronger foode. And therefore hee thought it neceſſarie in diſcharge of theyr ductyes towardes God, and to ſatiſfie the earneſt zeale of King Oſwalde, that ſome one amongeſt them myght bee appoynted to goe againe into Northumberlande, to trie by proceeding in this maner afore alledged, what profite woulde thereof enſue.

The Byſhoppes hearing the opinion of Aydane, and therewith knowing Cormans maner of preaching, iudged the matter to bee as Aydane had declared, and therevppon not onely allowed his wordes, but alſo willed him to take the iourney vppon him, ſithe they knewe none ſo able, with effect to accompliſh theyr wiſhed deſires in that behalfe.

Aydan commeth into England to preach the goſpell.

Aydane for that he would not ſeeme to refuſe to take that in hande whiche he himſelfe had motioned, was contented to ſatiſfie their requeſt, and ſo ſet forwarde towardes Northumberland, and comming thither, was ioyfully receyued of King Oſwalde, who appoynted him the Iſle of Lindeſfarne wherein to place the Sea of his newe Biſhoprike.

Beda.li.3.ca.3.
Hector.Bo.

This Aydane in one point varied from the vſe of the new begon Church of England, that is to witte, touching the time of obſeruing the feaſt of Eaſter, in like maner as all the Biſhoppes of the Scottes and Pictes inhabiting within Brytaine in thoſe dayes did, following therein (as they tooke it) the doctrine of the holy and prayſe worthie father Anatholius. But the Scots that inhabited in the South partes of Irelande, alreadie were agreed to obſerue that feaſt, according to the rules of the Church of Rome. But Aydane being thus come into Northumberlande, applyed himſelf ſo earneſtly in prayer and preaching, that the people had him within ſhort whyle in wonderfull eſtimation, chiefely for that hee tempered his preachings with ſuche ſweete and pleaſaunt matter, that all men had a great deſire to heare him, inſomuche that ſometyme hee was glad to preache abrode in Churche yardes, bycauſe the audience was more than coulde haue rowmth in the Church.

Beda.
Oſwalde an interpreter to the preacher.

One thing was a great hinderance to him, that he had not the perfite knowledge of the Saxons tongue. But Oſwald himſelfe was a great helpe to him in that matter, who beeing of nothing ſo much deſirous, as to haue the fayth of Chriſt rooted in the heartes of his ſubiects, vſed as an interpreter to report vnto the people in their Saxon tongue, ſuch whole Sermons as Aydan vttered in his mother tongue. For Oſwalde hauing bene brought vp (as ye haue heard) in Scotlande during the time of his baniſhment, was as readie in the Scottiſhe, as he was in the Saxon tongue.

Hec. Boetius.

The people then ſeeing the kings earneſt deſire in furthering the doctrine ſet forth by Aydan, were the more inclined to heare it: ſo then it was a maruellous matter to note, what numbers of people dayly offred themſelues to be baptiſed, inſomuch that within the ſpace of ſeauen dayes (as is left in wryting) he chriſtened. xv. thouſande perſons, of the whiche no ſmall parte forſaking the world, betooke thẽſelues to a ſolitarie kind of life.

Thus by his earneſt trauail in continual preaching and ſetting forth the Goſpell in that countrey, it came to paſſe in the ende, that the faith was generally receyued of all the people, and ſuch zeale to aduaunce the glorie of the Chriſtian Religion dayly increaſed amongeſt them, that no where could be found greater.

Oſwaldes zeale to aduaunce religion.

Hereupon were no ſmall number of Churches buylt in all places abrode in thoſe parties by procurement of the king, (all men liberally cõſenting according to the rate of their ſubſtance) to be contributaries towardes the charges.

Beda.li.5.ca.

Oſwald had in eſtimation with his neigh bours.

By this meanes the kingdome of the Northumbers flouriſhed, as well in fame of increaſe in religion, as alſo in ciuill policie and prudent ordinances: inſomuch that (as Bede writeth) Oſwald atteyned to ſuche power, that all the nations and prouinces within Brytaine which were deuided into four tongues (that is to ſay) Britains, Picts, Scots, and Engliſhmen, were at his cõmaundement. But yet was he not lift vp in any pride or preſumption, but ſhewed himſelfe marueylous curteous and gentle, and very liberal to poore people, and to ſtraungers.

It is ſayde that he being ſet at the table vpon an Eaſter day, hauing Biſhop Aydan at diner then with him, his Almoner came in as yͤ Biſhop was about to ſay grace, and declared to the king that there was a great multitude of poore folks ſet before the gates to looke for the kings almes. The king herewith tooke a ſiluer diſh which was ſet on the table before him with meate & cõmanded the ſame meat ſtreightways to be deſtributed amõgſt the poore, and the diſh broken into ſmall peeces, & deuided amongſt thẽ: for which act he was highly commended of the Biſhop, as he well deſerued.

By the good pollicie and diligent trauail of this king, the prouinces of Deira and Bernicia, which hitherto had bene at variaunce, were brought to peace and made one.

Beda.li.3.ca.
Birinus cõuer teth the weſt Saxons to the chriſtian fai

ABout the ſame time, the Weſt Saxons were conuerted to the Chriſtian fayth, by the preaching of one Birinus a Biſhop, the whiche came into this lande at the exhortation of Pope

Honorius,

inigils
ing of west
axon becōeth
Christiā.

olidor.

Dorceſter or-
deined a Bi-
hops See.

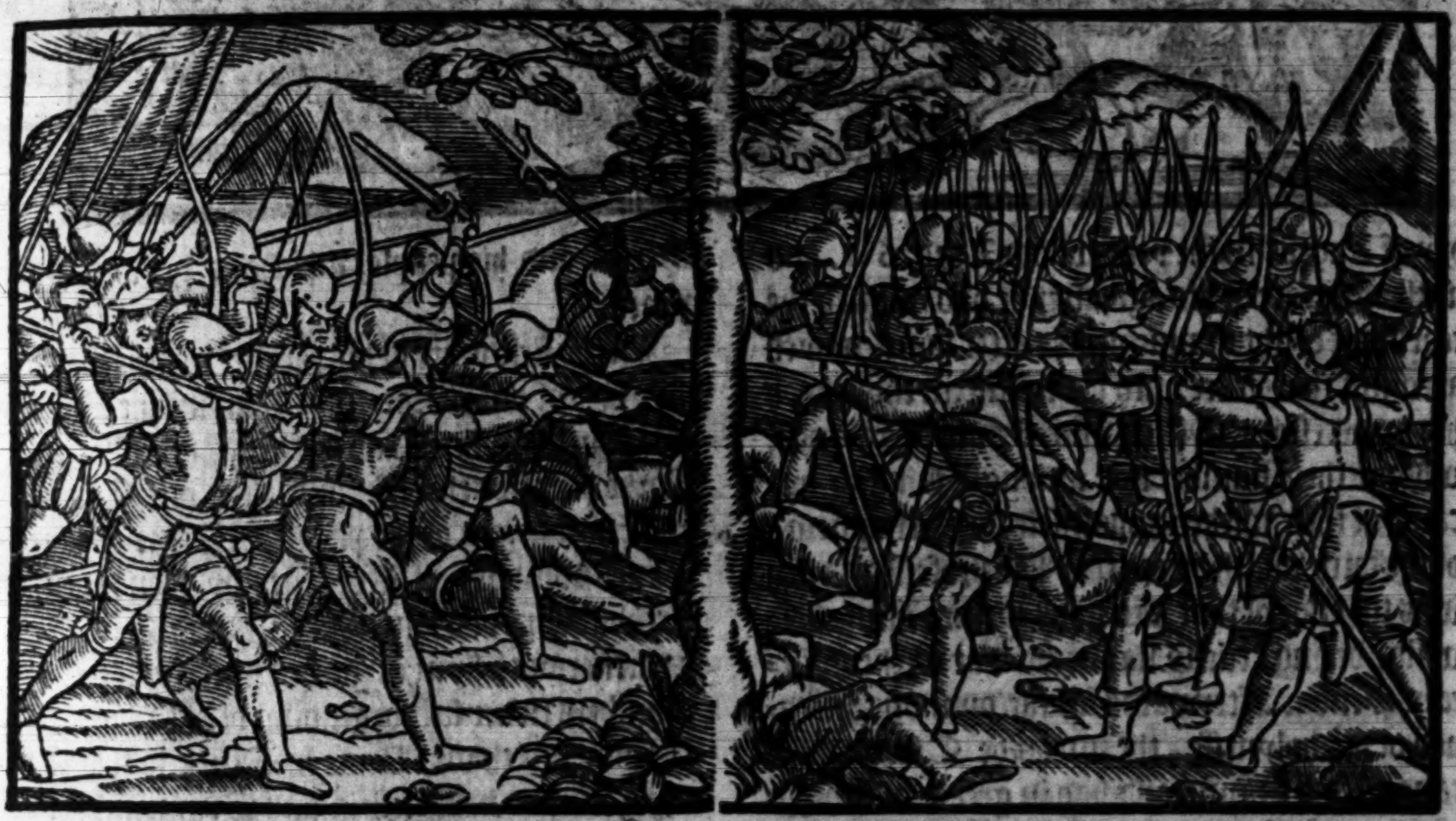
Honorius, to ſet forthe the Goſpell vnto thoſe people which as yet were not baptiſed. By his diligent trauell in the Lordes harueſt, Cynigilſus or Kynigils one of the Kings of that countrey receyued the faithe, and was baptiſed about the fiue and twentith yeare of his raigne. King Oſwald that ſhould haue his daughter in marriage, was preſent the ſame time, & firſte ere hee became a ſonne in law, was made a Godfather vnto Kinigils (that ſhould be his father in lawe) by receyuing him at the fontſtone, in that his ſecond birth of regeneration. This Birinus was an Italian, & now that King Kinigils was become a Chriſtian, he appoynted vnto the ſayd Byrinus the citie of Dorceſter, ſituate by the Thames, diſtaunt from Oxforde about ſeuen miles, to be the See of his Biſhopricke, where he procured Churches to be buylt, and by his earneſt trauell and ſetting forth the word of life, conuerted much people to the right beleefe.

In the yeare folowing, Quichelmus the other King of the Weſt Saxons, and ſonne to Kinigils was alſo chriſtned, and dyed the ſame yeare, and ſo then Cinigilſus or Kinigils raigned alone.

Hen. Hunt.

This chanced in the yeare. 627 as Mat. Weſt. hath.

In this meane while Penda King of Mercia that ſucceeded next after Ciarlus, being a mā giuen to ſeeke trouble in one place or other, leuied warre againſt the Kings of Weſt Saxon, Kinigils and Quichelme, the whiche gathering their power, gaue hym battell at Cirenceſter, where both the parties fought it out to the vttermoſt, as though they had forſworne to giue place one to another, in ſo much that they continued in fighte and in making of cruell ſlaughter till the night parted them in ſunder. And in the morning when they ſaw that if they ſhould buckle togyther againe, the one parte ſhoulde vtterly deſtroy the other, they fell to agreemente in moderating eache others demaundes.



640

eda. lib. 3. ap. 8

Mat. VVeſt.

After this in the yeare of our Lord. 640. Eadbald King of Kent departed this life after hee had raigned. 24. yeares, leauing his Kingdome to hys ſonne Earconbert. This Earconbert was the firſte of the Engliſhe Kings, whiche tooke order for the vtter deſtroying of all Idols through out his whole Kingdome.

Lent firſt or-
deined to be
kept in Eng-
land.

Sexburga.

Aimoinus.

He alſo by his royall authoritie, commaunded the faſt of fortie dayes in the Lente ſeaſon to bee kept and obſerued, appoynting worthy and competent puniſhmente agaynſte the tranſgreſſors of that commaundemente. Hee hadde by hys wife Segburg, that was daughter vnto Anna King of the Eaſt Angles, a daughter named Eartongatha, the which was profeſſed a Nonne within the Monaſterie of Briege or Cala in Fraunce: For in theſe dayes, bycauſe there were not many Monaſteries as yet buylded within this land, a great number of Engliſhmen that tooke vppon them the profeſſion of a Religious life, gote them ouer vnto Abbeyes in France, and there profeſſed themſelues Monkes: and many there were which ſente their daughters ouer to be profeſſed Nonnes within ẏ Nunneries there, and ſpecially at Brige, Cale, and Andeley: amongſt other, there were Sedrike the lawfull daughter, and Edelburgh the baſtard daughter of the ſayd King Anna, the whiche both in proceſſe of time were made Abbeiſſes of the ſaide Monaſterie of Brige.

Yee haue hearde already, how Oſwald King of Northumberland bare himſelfe in all poyntes like a moſt worthy Prince, not ceaſing to releeue the neceſſitie of the poore, aduancing the good, and reforming the euill, whereby hee wanne to hymſelfe exceeding prayſe and commendation of all good men, and ſtill his fame encreaſed for his vertuous doings, namely, for the ardent zeale he had to the aduancing of the Chriſtian fayth. Hereupon Penda King of Mercia, enuying the proſperous proceedings of Oſwald, as he that could neuer abyde to heare the good report of other mẽs well doings, began to imagine howe to deſtroy him, and to conquere his Kyngdome that hee might ioyne it to his owne. At length he inuaded his countrey by open warre, met with him in the field at a place called Maſerfield, & there in ſharp and cruell fight Oſwald was ſlayne on the fifth day of Auguſt in the yeare of our Lord, 642. and in the .38. yeare of his age, after he had raigned the tearme of eyght or nine yeares after ſome, whych accompt that yeare vnto his raigne, in the whych his predeceſſors Oſrick and Eaufride raigned, whome they number not amongſt Kings, bycauſe of their wicked appoſtacie, and renouncing of the faith which before they had profeſſed. Such was the ende of that vertuous Prince King Oſwald, beeing cruelly ſlayne by that wicked Tyrant Penda. Afterwards for the opinion conceyued of his holyneſſe, the foreſayde Oſwald was canonized a Saynt, and had in greate worſhippe of the people, beeing the firſte of the Engliſhe nation that approued his vertue by miracles ſhewed after hys departure out of this life.

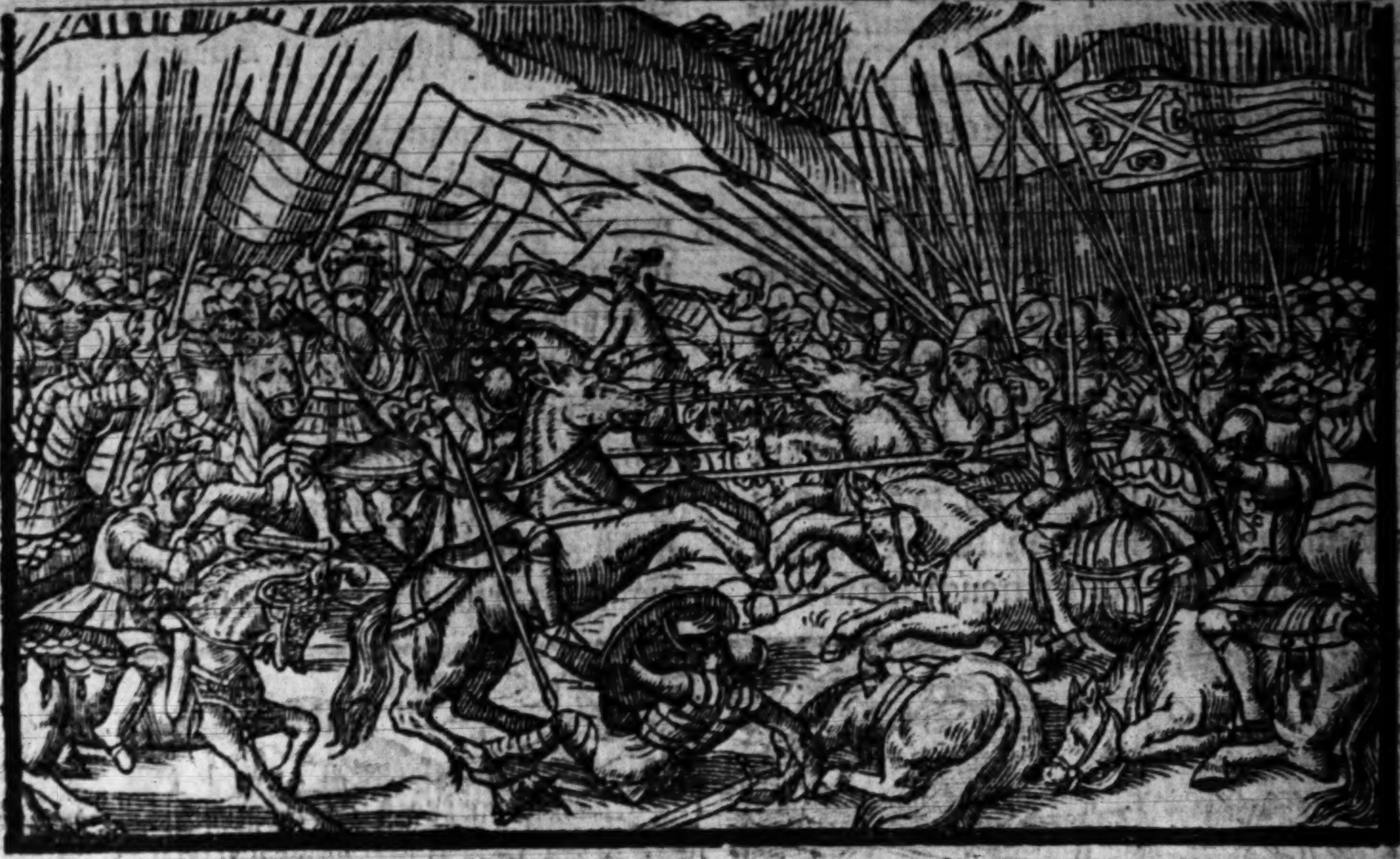
Penda inuadeth the Northumbers.

Bed.li.3.ca.9.

King Oſwalde ſlayne.

Mat. VVeſt. 644.

VVil. Malm.



Oſwy

King of Northumberland.

Beda.lib.3. cap.14.

After that Kyng Oſwalde was ſlaine, his brother Oſwy being about a .30. yeres of age, tooke vpon him the rule of the Kingdom of Northumberland, gouerning ẏ ſame wͭ great trouble for the ſpace of eyght and twentie yeares, being ſore vexed by the foreſayde Penda Kyng of Mercia and his people, whiche as yet were Paganes.

In the firſt yeare of his raigne, whiche was in the yeare of our Lorde. 644. Pauline the Biſhop of Rocheſter whiche had bin alſo Archbiſhoppe of Yorke departed this life, and then one Thamar an Engliſhman of the parties of Kente was ordeyned Biſhoppe of Rocheſter by Honorius the Archbiſhoppe of Canterbury. Kyng Oſwy had a partner with hym in gouernement of the Northumbers in the firſt beginning of his raigne one Oſwin, which was ſonne to Oſrick, ſo that Oſwy gouerned in Bernicia, and Oſwin in Deira, and continued in perfect friendſhip for a ſeaſon, till at length, through the counſell of wicked perſons, that coueted nothing ſo muche as to ſowe diſcorde and variance betwixte Princes, they fell at debate, and ſo beganne to make warres the one agaynſte the other, ſo that finally when they were at poynte to haue tried theyr quarrell in open battayle, Oſwin perceyuing that he had not an army of ſufficiẽt force to encounter with Oſwy, he brake vp hys campe at Wilfareſdowne, a tenne mile by Weſt the Towne of Cataractone, and after withdrewe hymſelfe onely with one ſeruant named Condhere vnto the houſe of Erle Hunwald, whome he tooke to haue bin hys truſty friende: but contrary to his expectation, the ſayd Hunwalde did betray hym vnto Oſwy, the whyche by his Captayne Edelwine ſlewe the ſayde Oſwin and hys ſeruaunte the foreſayde Conhere, in a place called Ingethling, the thirteenth Calends of September, in the ninth yeare of his raigne, whyche was after the birth of oure Sauioure. 651.

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Bernicia.

651

Thys

This Oſwin was a goodly Gentleman of perſon, talle, and beautifull, and very gentle of ſpeche, ciuill in manners, and very liberall both to high and lowe, ſo that he was beloued ouer al. Suche a one he was, to bee briefe, as Biſhop Aydan geſſed, that hee ſhoulde not long continue in life, for that the Northumbers were not worthy of ſo good & vertuous a gouernor. Such humbleneſſe and obedience hee perceyued to reſt in hym towards the law of the Lorde, in taking yͤ which was tolde him for his better inſtruction in good part, that he ſayd, he neuer ſawe before that tyme an humble King.

The ſame Aydan lyued not paſt twelue days after the deathe of the ſayd Oſwin, whome hee ſo much loued, departing this world the laſt day of Auguſt, in the ſeuententh yeare after he was ordeyned Biſhop. His body was buried in the Iſle of Lindeſferne.

After Aydan, one Finan was made Biſhop in his place, a Scottiſhman alſo, and of the Iſle of Hui, from whence his predeceſſor the foreſaid Aydan came, being firſt a man of Religion profeſſed in the Monaſterie there (as ſome writers doe report.)

Cenwalch King of VVeſt Saxons.

en-
alch.

.Hunton.

IN the meane time, after yͤ Kinigils or Cinigilſus Kyng of the Weſt Saxons hadde raigned one & thirtie yeares, he departed this life anno. 643. leauyng hys Kingdome to his ſon Cenwalch or Chenwald, who helde the ſame Kingdome the tearme of. 30. yeares, or. 31. (as ſome write) in manner as his father had done before him. In the thirde, or as others haue in the fifth yere of his raigne, Penda K. of Mercia made ſharp warre againſt him, bycauſe he had put away his wife yͤ ſiſter of yͤ ſame Penda, and in this warre Cenwalde was ouercome in battell, and driuen out of his countrey, ſo that hee fledde vnto Anna King of the Eaſt Angles, with whome hee remayned the ſpace of a yeare, or as other haue three yeares, to his great good happe: for before he was growen to be an enimie to the Chriſtian Religion, but now by the wholeſome admonitions and ſharpe rebukes of King Anna, he became a Chriſtian, and receiued his wife againe into his company, according to the preſcript of Gods lawe, and to be briefe, in all things ſhewed himſelfe to be a new man, embracing vertue, and auoyding vice, ſo that ſhortly after through the help of God, he recouered againe his Kingdome. After that he was returned into his Kingdome, & had recouered the ſame, there came a Biſhop named Agilbertus out of Irelãd a Frenchmã borne, but hauing remayned in Ireland a long time to reade the Scriptures. This Agilbert cõming into the prouince of the Weſt Saxõs, was gladly receyued of King Cenwalo, at whoſe deſire he toke vpon him to exerciſe the roomth of a Biſhop there, but afterwardes, when the ſayd King admitted an other Biſhop named Wini, which had bin ordeyned in Fraunce, and knewe the tong better than Agilbert, as hee that was borne in Englande: Agilberte offended for that the King had admitted him without making him of any counſell therein, returned into Fraunce, and there was made Biſhop of Paris: within a few yeares after, the foreſaid Wini was expulſed alſo by King Cenwald, who gote hym into Mercia vnto King Vulfhere, of whome hee bought the Biſhopricke of London, which he held during his life, and ſo the countrey of Weſt Saxon remayned long withoute a Biſhoppe, till at length the ſaide Agilberte at the requeſt of Kyng Cenwald ſent to him Eleutherius that was his Nephew.

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Higden.

Agilbertus a Biſhop.

Sigibert

YEe haue hearde that after Carpewald, his brother Sigiberte ſucceded in rule of yͤ Eaſt Angles, a mã of greate vertue and worthineſſe, who whileſt hee remayned in Fraunce as a baniſhed man, being conſtreyned to flee his countrey vpon diſpleaſure that King Redwalde bare hym, was baptiſed there, and after returning into hys countrey, and obteining at length the Kingdom, thoſe things whiche hee had ſeene well ordred in Fraunce, he ſtudyed to followe the example of the ſame at home, and heerevppon conſidering with himſelfe that nothing coulde more aduaunce the ſtate of the common wealth of his countrey than learning and knowledge in the tongs, beganne the foundation of certayne Scholes, and namely at Cambridge, where children mighte haue places where to be inſtructed and brought vp in learning vnder appoynted teachers, that there might bee greater numbers of learned men trayned vp than before time had bin within this land, to the furtherance of true Religion and vertue.

Beda. lib. 3. cap. 4.

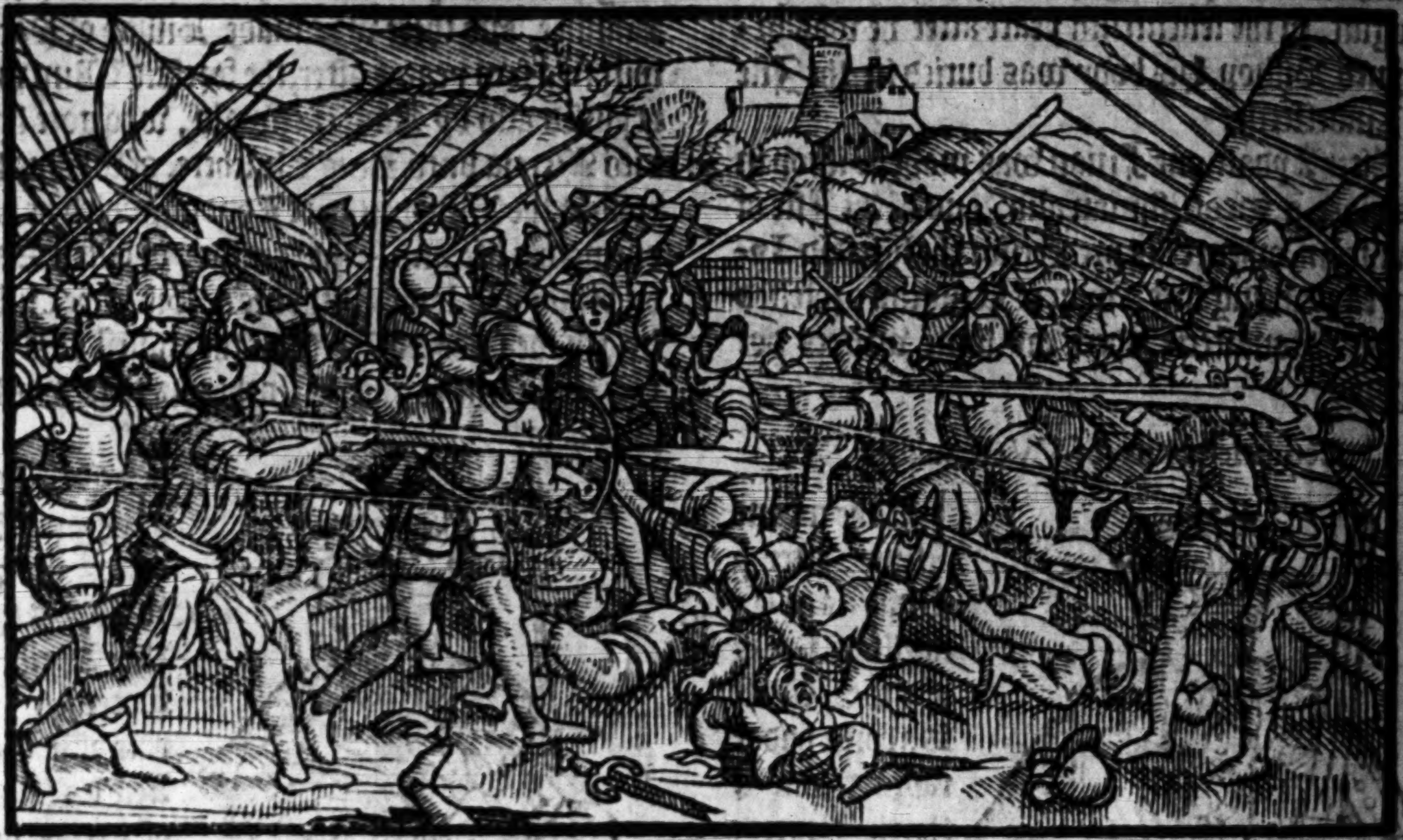
The Vniuerſitie of Cambridge founded by King Sigibert.

And thus hathe Englande good cauſe to haue in thankfull remembrance this noble Prince K. Sigibert, for all thoſe hir learned menne whyche haue bin broughte vp and come forth of that famous vniuerſitie of Cambridge, the firſt foundation, or rather renouation whereof was thus begunne by hym about the yeare of our Lord.630. At length, when this worthy Kyng beganne to growe in age, hee conſidered with himſelfe howe hard a matter, and howe painefull an office it was to gouerne a Realme as appertayned to the duetie of a good Kyng, whereuppon he determined to leaue the charge thereof to other of more conueniente yeares, and lyue from thenceforth a priuate kinde of lyfe, and ſo reſigning the adminiſtration vnto hys kinſman Egricus, hee became a Monke, and ledde the reſt of his life in a certaine Abbey. But ſhortly after it ſo came to paſſe that Penda Kyng of Mercia that cruell Ethnike Tyrante moued the warres vppon Egricus, whervppon the people of Eaſt angles compelled Sigebertus to come forth of his Monaſterie, and to goe with them into the fielde agaynſte Penda. Sigebertus beyng thus conſtreyned againſt his wil, would not put on armour or beare any other kinde of weapon, than onely a wande in his hande in ſteade of a Scepter, and ſo the armyes of the Eaſt angles in hope of good ſpeede by the preſence of Sigiberte, ioyned in battell with theyr enimies, but the Eaſt angles were finally vanquiſhed, and the more part of them ſlaine, togither with Sigiberte, and his couſin Egricus theyr King.

Bale hath.636.

Sigibert reſigneth his Kingdome to Egricus.

Sigibert an
Egricus ſlai



The yeare in the which Sigiberte and Egricus were ſlayne in manner as is aboue rehearſed, was after the birth of our Sauioure as ſome haue 652. In the dayes whileſt Sigibert as yet ruled the Eaſt angles, there came out of Irelande a deuoute perſon named Furſeus, who comming into the countrey of the Eaſt angles, was gladly receyued of Kyng Sigiberte, by whoſe help afterwardes hee buylded the Abbey of Cumbreſburge, in the which Sigibert (as ſome haue written) when he renounced his Kingdome, was profeſſed a Monke. Of this Furſeus, many thyngs are writtē, the which for breefeneſſe we ouerpaſſe.

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Baleus.
Beda.lib.3.
cap.19.
Furſeus.

After that Felix the Biſhop of the Eaſt angles was dead, one Thomas was ordeyned in his place, who after he had bin Biſhop fiue yeres, dyed, and then one Beretgils was ordeyned in his roomth by Honorius the Archbiſhop of Canterburie. The ſayd Honorius hymſelfe when hee had runne the race of his naturall life, deceaſſed alſo in the yeare of our Lord.653. the laſt of September.

653

After Egricus ſucceeded Anna the ſonne of Enus in the Kingdome of Eaſt Angle, and was likewiſe ſlayne by Penda King of Mercia, with the moſt parte of his army, as he gaue battell vnto the ſayde Penda that inuaded his countrey. He lefte behynde him many children, but his brother Edelhere ſucceeded hym in gouernemente of the Kingdome, who was ſlaine by Oſwy the King of Northumberlande, togyther with the foreſayd Penda, and worthely, ſith that hee woulde ayde that Tyrante whyche hadde ſlayne hys kinſmen, and hys brother that were predeceſſors with him in his Kingdome.

Anna
vvil. Mal

Edelhere kin
of Eaſt angl

After this, when the Sea of Canterbury had bene vacant by the ſpace of one whole yeare and ſixe Monethes, one *Deus Dedit* of the countrey of the Weſt Saxons, was elected and conſecrated by Ithamar the Byſhop of Rocheſter the.7. Calends of April. He gouerned the Church of Canterbury by the tearme of nine yeres, four monethes, and two days. When he was departed this life, the foreſayd Ithamar cōſecrated for him one Damianus of the countrey of Suſſex.

Deus Dedit.

Mercia receyueth the fayth.

ed.hist.eccle. b.3.cap.21.

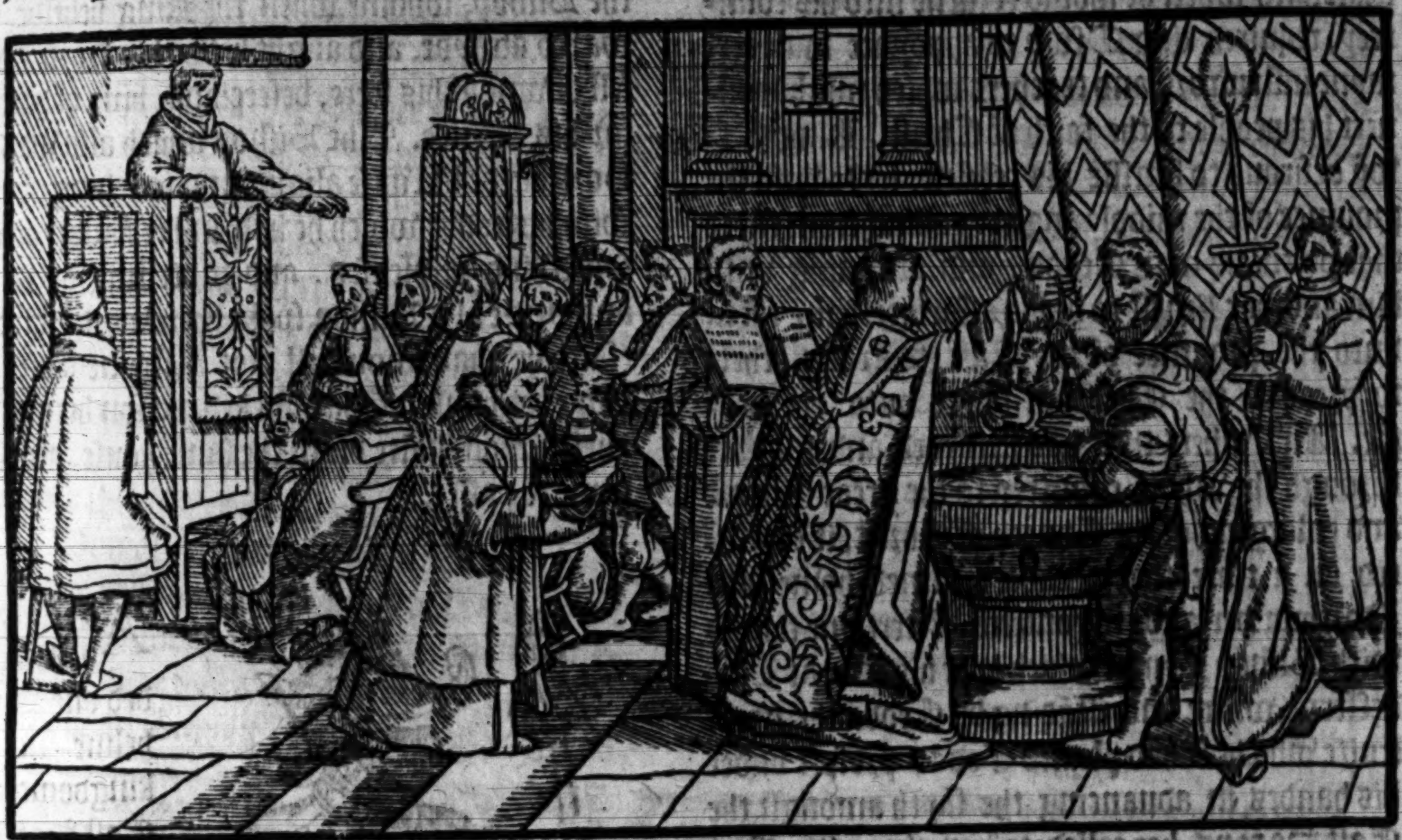
653

ABout this time, the people of Mercia cōmonly called midle Angles, receyued the Chriſtian faythe vnder theyr Kyng named Peda, or Peada the ſonne of Penda King of Mercia, the which being a towardly yong Gentleman, and worthy to haue the guyding of a kingdome, his father Penda aduaunced him to the rule of that Kingdome of the middle angles during his own life. Heere may you note, ẏ the Kingdome of the midle angles was one, & the Kingdome of Mercia an other, though moſt commonly the ſame were gouerned by one king. This yong Peda came to the king of Northumberlande Oſwy, to require of him to haue hys daughter Alchfled in marriage: but when he was enformed that he might not haue hir except hee would become a Chriſtian, then vppon hearyng the Goſpell preached, with the promiſe of the celeſtiall ioyes and immortalitie, by the reſurrectiō of the fleſhe in the life to come, he ſayde, that whether hee had King Oſwyes daughter to wife or not, he woulde ſurely be baptiſed, and chiefly hee was perſwaded thereto by his kinſman Alchfride which had in marriage his ſiſter the daughter of Penda named Cimburgh. He was therfore baptiſed by Biſhop Fynnan, with all thoſe whyche came thither with him, at a place called at ẏ wal. And taking with him foure prieſtes whiche were thought meete to teache and baptiſe his people, he returned with great ioy into his owne countrey. The names of thoſe Prieſtes were as followeth, Cedda, Adda, Betti, and Diuna, of the whyche, the laſt was a Scotte by nation, and the other were Engliſhmen. Theſe Prieſtes commyng into the prouince of the middle angles, preached the worde, and were well hearde, ſo that dayly a greate number, both of the nobilitie and communaltie renouncing the filthy dregges of Idolatrie, were chriſtned. Neyther dyd King Penda forbidde the preaching of the Goſpell within his prouince of Mercia, but rather he hated and deſpiſed thoſe whome hee knewe to haue profeſſed themſelues Chriſtians, and yet ſhewed not ẏ workes of faythe, ſaying, that thoſe were wretches, and not to be regarded, which woulde not obey theyr God in whome they beleeued. This alteration of things began, about two yeares before the deathe of King Penda.

Peda or Peada ing of the middle angles

Ad murum.

The ſaying of K. Penda.



The Eaſt Saxons eftſoones receyue the faith.

Beda.lib.3. cap.22.

ABout the ſame tyme, the Eaſt Saxons at the inſtāce of Oſwy King of Northumberlande, receyued eftſoones the faith which they had renoūced, whē they baniſhed their Biſhop Melitus. Ye haue hearde that Serred, Siward and Sigibert brethren, and ẏ ſonnes of King Sabert (which brethren occaſioned the reuolting of that prouince from ẏ faith of Chriſt) were ſlayne in battel by the kings of Weſt Saxon, after whome ſucceded Sigibert ſurnamed ẏ little ſonne to the middlemoſt brother Sewarde as ſome write. This Sigibert the little lefte the Kingdome to an other Sigibert that was ſonne to one Sigebald ẏ brother of king Sabert, which ſecond Sigibert reigned as king in that prouince of the Eaſt Saxons, being a moſt eſpeciall friend of King Oſwy, ſo that oftentimes he repared into Northumberlande to viſit him, wherevppon king Oſwy ceaſſed not moſt earneſtly at tymes conuenient to exhort him to receyue the faythe of Ieſus Chriſt, and in the ende by ſuche effectuall perſwaſions as he vſed, Sigibert gaue credite to his wordes, and ſo beeing conuerted, receyued the Sacrament of Baptiſme by the handes of Biſhop Finan, at the Kings houſe called, At the wall, ſo named, bycauſe it was built neere to the wall which the Romaynes had made ouerthwarte the Iſle, as is often before remembred, being a twelue miles diſtant from the Eaſt Sea.

King Sigibert receyued the fayth.

King Sigibert hauing now receiued the Chriſtian faith when he ſhould returne into his countrey, required king Oſwy to appoynte hym certayne inſtructors and teachers which might conuert his people to the faith of Chriſt. King Oſwy deſirous to ſatiſfie his requeſt, ſente vnto the prouince of the middle angles, calling from thẽce that vertuous man Cedda, and aſſigning vnto him another Prieſt to be his aſſociate, ſente them vnto the prouince of the Eaſt Saxons, there to preache the Chriſtian faithe vnto the people. And when they had preached and taughte through the whole countrey to the great increaſe and enlarging of the Church of Chriſt, it chaunced on a time that Cedda returned home into Northumberlande to conferre of certaine things with Biſhop Fynan which kept his See at Lindeſferne, where vnderſtãding by Cedda the great fruite whiche it had pleaſed God to proſper vnder his handes in aduancing the faythe amongſt the Eaſt Saxons, hee called to him two other Byſhops, and there ordeyned the foreſayde Ced Biſhop of the Eaſt Saxons.

This was about the yeare 649 as Math. Weſt. hath noted.

Cedda.

Herevppon, the ſame Ced returning vnto hys cure, wente forwarde with more authoritie to performe the worke of the Lord, buildyng Churches in diuers places, ordeyned Prieſts and Deacons whiche mighte helpe him in preaching, and in the miniſterie of Baptiſing, ſpecially in the Citie of Ithanceſter vpon the riuer of Pente, and likewiſe in Tileburg on the riuer of Thames.

Ced or Cedda Biſhop of the Eaſt angles.

Tilbery.

Whileſt Ced was thus buſie to the great comfort and ioy of the Kyng and all hys people in the ſetting forwarde the Chriſtian Religion with great increaſe dayly proceedyng, it chaunced thorough the inſtigation of the enimie of mankynde the Deuill, that King Sigibert was murthered by two of his owne kinſmen which were brethrẽ, the which when they were examined of the cauſe that ſhoulde moue them to that wicked fact, they had nothing to alledge, but that they did it bycauſe they had conceyued an hatred againſte the King, for that he was too fauorable towards his enimies, and would with great mildnes of mind forgiue iniuries committed againſte him: ſuche was the kings faulte, for the which he was murthered, bycauſe he obſerued the commaundemẽts of the Goſpell with a deuoute hart: in the whyche his innocent death yet, his offence was puniſhed, wherein hee had ſurely tranſgreſſed the lawes of the Churche. For where as one of them whyche ſlewe him kept a wife whiche he had vnlawfully married, and refuſed to put hir away at the Biſhops admonition, he was by the Biſhop excommunicated, and all other of the Chriſtian congregation commaunded to abſteyne from hys company. This notwithſtanding, the Kyng being deſired of him, came to his houſe to a banquet, and in his comming from thence met with the Biſhop, whome when the King beheld, hee waxed afrayde, and alight beſide his Horſe, and fell downe at his feete, beſeeching him of pardon for his offence. The Biſhop which alſo was on Horſebacke likewiſe alight, and touching the K. with his rodde which he had in his hande, as one ſomething diſpleaſed, and proteſting as in the authoritie of a Biſhop, ſpake theſe wordes, bicauſe (ſaith he) thou wouldeſt not abſteyne from entring the houſe of that wicked perſon beeing accurſed, thou ſhalte die in the ſame houſe, and ſo it came to paſſe.

The authoritie of a Biſhop.

Swidhelme.

After Sigbert ſucceded one Suidhelme in the kingdome of ỹ Eaſt Saxons, he was the ſon of Sexbalde, & baptiſed of Ced in the prouince of ỹ Eaſt Angles, at a place of the kings there called Rendleſham. Edelwald King of the Eaſt Angles (the brother of King Anna) was his Godfather at the fontſtone. Ced the Biſhop of the Eaſt Saxõs vſed oftentimes to viſit his countrey of Northũberland, where he was borne, to exhort by Preaching the people there vnto godly life: wherevpon it chanced that King Edilwalde the ſonne of K. Oſwald whiche raigned in the parties of Deira, moued with the fame of his vertuous trade of liuing, had him in great reuerence: and therefore vpon a good zeale and great deuotion, willed him to chooſe forth ſome plotte of grounde, where hee might build a Monaſterie, in the which the kyng himſelfe and other, might make prayer, and heare Sermons the oftner, and haue place where to burie the dead. The Biſhop conſenting to the kings minde, at length eſpied a place amongſt high and

Suidhelme.

Beda. lib. 3. cap. 22.

Mat. VVeſt.

Beda. lib. 3. cap. 25.

deſert mountaynes, where he began the foundation of a Monaſterie, afterwardes called Leſtinghem, and firſte meaning to purge the place with prayers and faſting, he deſired licence of the king that he might remayne there all the Lent ſeaſon, whiche was at hande, and ſo continuing in that place for that time, faſted euery day (Sunday excepted) from the morning till euening, according to the manner, nor receyued any thing then, but only a little bread, and an Hennes egge, with a little milke mixed with water: for he ſayde, that this was the cuſtome of them of whome hee had learned the forme of his regular order, that they ſhould conſecrate thoſe places to the Lorde with prayer and faſting, whiche they lately had receyued, to make in the ſame eyther Church or Monaſterie. And when there remayned tenne dayes of Lent yet to come, he was ſent for to the king: wherefore he appoynted a brother whiche he had, being alſo a Prieſt named Cimbill, to ſupply his roumth, that his begun Religious worke ſhould not be hindred for the Kings buſineſſe. After that the time was accompliſhed, hee ordeyned a Monaſterie there, appoynting the Monkes of yͤ ſame to liue after yͤ rules of them of Lindeſferne where hee was broughte vp. Finally this Biſhop Ced comming vnto this Monaſterie afterwardes by chance in the time of a ſickneſſe, dyed there, and left that Monaſterie to the gouernance of an other brother which he hadde, named Ceadda, that was after a Biſhop, as afterwardes ſhall be ſhewed. There were foure brethren of them, and all Prieſtes, Ced, Cimbill, Ceulin, and Ceadda, of the which Ced and Ceadda were Biſhops, as before is ſayd. About the ſame time, Oſwy Kyng of Northumberlande was ſore oppreſſed by the warres of Penda the King of Mercia, ſo that hee made great offers of high giftes, & great rewardes vnto the ſayd Penda for peace, but Penda refuſed the ſame, as he that meant vtterly to haue deſtroyed the whole nation of Oſwies ſubiectes, ſo that Oſwy turning himſelfe to ſeeke help at the hands of the Almighty, ſayd, if the Pagane refuſe to receyue the giftes which we offer, let vs make offers to him that knoweth to accept them: and ſo binding hymſelfe by vowe, promiſed, that if hee might obteine victorie, he would offer his daughter to be dedicate to the Lord in perpetuall virginitie: and further, would giue twelue manors, Lordſhips or farmes, to the building of Monaſteries: and ſo with a ſmall army he put hymſelfe in hazard of battell. It is ſayd that Penda hadde thirtie companies of men of war, furniſhed with thirtie notable Captaines or Coronels, agaynſt whom came Oſwy with his ſonne Alchfride, hauing but a ſmall army, but confirmed yet with hope in Chriſt Ieſus. His other ſonne Egfrid remayned in hoſtage at that time with Queene Cinuiſe. Edilwald the ſonne of Oſwald yͤ gouerned Deira, and ought to haue ayded Oſwy, was on the part of Penda againſt his countrey, and againſt his Uncle, but in time of the fight he withdrew himſelfe aſide, to behold what chaunce would follow. The battell being begun, the .xxx. Pagane Captaines were ouerthrowen, & put to flight, & thoſe yͤ came to aide Penda, wer almoſt al ſlaine, amongſt whom was Edilhere King of the Eaſt Angles, that raigned after his brother Anna, and was the procurer of this warre. Thys battell was fought neere to the water of Inwet, the whiche being riſen as then by reaſon of greate raine, drowned more of the enimies, than died of yͤ Northumbers ſwords. After that Oſwy had obteyned this victory, hee performed promiſe in beſtowing his daughter to yͤ profeſſiō of virginitie, & alſo gaue yͤ .xij. manors, wherof .6. were in Deira, & .6. in Bernicia, cōteining euery of thē .10. houſholds a peece. Elfled alſo K. Oſwies daughter was profeſſed in the Monaſterie of Herthew, where one Hilda was Abbeſſe, which Hilda purchaſing a Lordſhip of .10. houſholdes in Streaneſhall, now called Whitby, builded a Monaſterie there, in the which firſt the ſaid Elfled was a nouice, and after a Ruler, till at length, beeyng

of the

The manner of the old faſt.

Lindeſferne holy ilande.

Beda.lib.3. cap.24.

Warre betweene King Oſwy and king Penda.

Elfled.

Herteſhey ſayth Matth. Weſt.

Hilda.

of the age of .40. yeares ſhe departed this life, and was buried there, and ſo likewiſe was hir mother Eanfled and hir Grandfather Edwin, with many other high eſtates within the Churche of Saint Peeter the Apoſtle. The victory aboue mencioned gote by King Oſwy in the countrey of Loydes on the .17. Calends of December, and in the thirteenth yeare of his raigne, happened to the great commoditie and gayne of both the people, for by the ſame, hee deliuered his countrey of Northumberland frō the cruell deſtruction made in the ſame by the Pagane people of Mercia, and conuerted thoſe Paganes themſelues, and the countreys neere to them adioyning wholly vnto the faith of Jeſus Chriſt.

Leydes.

The firſt Biſhop of Mercia

The firſt Biſhop in the prouince of Mercia, and alſo of Lindeſferne and the middle angles was one Diuma, who died amongſt the middle angles. The ſeconde was Cellach, the whyche leauing his Biſhopricke, returned into Scotland, for they were both of the nation of the Scottes. The third was an Engliſhman named Trumhere, but inſtructed and ordeyned of the Scottes.

He was Abbot of the Monaſterie of Ingethlingum, beeing builded in that place where King Oſwin was ſlaine (as before is mentioned.) For Q. Eanfled that was his kinſwoman gote of hir huſband King Oſwy a place there for yͤ foreſayd Trumhere to build that Abbey.

The victorious proceeding of King Olwy.

King Oſwy after he had ſlayne King Penda, he gouerned the people of Mercia, and alſo other of the South prouinces, and ſubdued a great part of yͤ Pictiſh nation to the Engliſh dominiō.

South Mercia.

North Mercia

659

About the ſame time, King Oſwy gaue vnto Peada the ſonne of King Penda (bycauſe he was his kinſman) the countrey of the South Mercies, conteining .5000. houſholdes, and ſeparated from the North Mercies by the riuer of Trente. The countrey of yͤ Northmercies, conteyned in thoſe dayes ſeuen thouſand houſholders. But Peada in the nexte ſpring was wickedly murthered thorough treaſon of his wife (as was ſayd) in yͤ Feaſt of Eaſter. After that three yeares were complete, next enſuing the death of king Penda, the Dukes of the countrey of Mercia, Immin, Eaba, and Eadbert rebelled againſt King Oſwy, aduauncing one Wolfhere a yong Gentleman the ſonne of Peda, and brother to Peada, whome they had kept in ſecrete to be their King, and expulſing the Lieutenants of King Oſwy, they recouered both their owne confines and libertie withall, and ſo liuing in freedome with their owne naturall K. the foreſayd Wolfhere, they alſo continued with glad hartes in ſeruice of the celeſtiall Kyng oure God and Sauioure.

Mat. VVeſ.

Beda.lib.3. cap.24.

Vulf-here.

Beda.lib.3. cap.24.

This Wolfhere gouerned the Mercies ſeuentene yeres, the which Mercies during the reigne of yͤ ſayd Vulfhere hadde foure Biſhops, ſucceſſiuely gouerning yͤ churche of that prouince one after another, as the aboue mentioned Trumhere, Jaroman, Ceadda, & Winfride, as after ſhall more at large appeare.

H.Hunt

Math.VV

The Britai put to figh by Ceowi

Cenwalde vanquiſhed by Vulfhere.

Adelwold Suſſex.

Aboute the beginning of King Wulfheres reigne, that is to witte, in the ſeuententh yeare of the reigne of Cenwald King of the Weſt Saxons, the ſame Cenwald fought with yͤ Britaines at Pennum, where the Britaynes being aſſembled in greate number, proudly encountred with the Engliſhmen, and at the firſte put them to the worſe, but when the Engliſhmen woulde in no wiſe giue it ouer, but ſtickt to their tackle, at length the Britaines were put to flighte, ſo that yͤ poſteritie of Brute receyued yͤ day an incurable wounde. But within three yeares after, that is to witte, in the nineteenth yeare of the reigne of the foreſayde Cenwald, he had not the like lucke in battell againſte the foreſayde Vulfhere King of Mercia, as he had before againſt the Britaines, for the ſayd Vulfhere vanquiſhing him in yͤ field, paſſed through his countrey with a greate army vnto yͤ Iſle of Wight, which he cōquered, & delyuered it vnto Adelwold K. of Suſſex, as a gifte at yͤ time, whē he receyued him at the fontſtone after he had conuerted him to the faith. He gaue vnto Adelwold that Iſle, to the ende hee ſhoulde cauſe the people there to receyue the faith of Chriſt.

After that Edelhere king of Eaſtangles was ſlayne as before is mentioned, his brother Edelwald ſucceeded him in that kingdome, raigning as king thereof by the ſpace of nine yeres. Then after Ethelwald, ſucceded Aldulfe yͤ ſon of Edelhere in gouernement of that kingdome, and raigned fiue and twentie yeares. After Finan the Biſhop of the Northumbers that held his ſee at Lindeſferne, as Aydan did before him, one Colman was ordeyned Biſhop, a Scot borne, and an earneſt obſeruer of the cuſtomes vſed amongſt the of his nation, ſo that when the controuerſie beganne to be reuiued for the holding of the feaſt of Eaſter, he would by no meanes yeld to them that would haue perſwaded him to haue followed yͤ ryte of yͤ Romane Church. There was a great diſputatiō kept about this matter, and other things, as ſhauing or cutting of heares, and ſuch like in the monaſterie of Whitby, at the which K. Oſwy & hys ſon Alcfrid were preſent, where Colman for hys part alledged the cuſtome of John yͤ Euangeliſt, & of Anatholius, and the contrary ſide brought in profe of their opiniō, yͤ cuſtome of Peter & Paule. At length, whē Biſhop Colman perceyued yͤ his doctrine was not ſo much regarded as he thought of reaſon it ought to haue bene, he returned into Scotlād with thoſe, which taking part with him, refuſed to obſerue the feaſt of Eaſter according to the cuſtome of the Churche of Rome, nor woulde haue their crownes ſhauen, about whiche poynte, no ſmall reaſoning had bin kept. This diſputation was holden in the yeare of our Lord. 664. and in the yeare of the raigne of K. Oſwy. 22. and in the. xxx. yeare after that the Scottiſhmen began firſt to beare the office of Biſhops within Northumberland, which was as Harriſon ſayth. 634. For Aidan gouerned. 17. yeares, Finan. 10. yeres, and Colman. 3. yeares. After that Colman was returned into his countrey, one Tuda that hadde bin brought vp amongſt yͤ Southerne Scottes, & ordeined Biſhop by them, ſucceded in his rowmth, hauing his crowne ſhauen, & obſeruing the feaſt of Eaſter according to yͤ cuſtome of the prouince & rite of yͤ Romane Church. The ſame yere, there chanced a great Eclipſe of the ſunne. The thirde of May about ten of the clocke in the day, a great dearth & mortalitie enſued, both in all the parties of this our Britayne, and likewiſe in Irelande. Amongſt other, the foreſayd Biſhop Tuda dyed, & was buried in the Abbey of Pegnalech. After thys Tuda ſucceeded in gouernment of the Church of Lindeſferne, otherwiſe called holy ilād, one Wilfrid which was ſent by K. Alcfride into Fraunce, to be ordeyned there. About the ſame time Kyng Oſwy, the father of K. Alcfride, moued with the good example of his ſon, ſent Ceadda, the brother of Ced ſometime Biſhop of yͤ Eaſt Saxons into Kent to be ordeyned Biſhop of Yorke, but at hys comming into Kent he found that *Deus dedit* the Archbiſhop of Canterbury was dead, and none other as yet ordeyned in his place, ſo that Ceadda repaired into the prouince of the Weſt Saxons, where hee was ordeined by Biſhop Winy, who toke two other Biſhops of the Brittiſh natiō vnto him to be his aſſociates, which vſed to obſerue the feaſt of Eaſter contrary to the cuſtome of the Romane Church: but there was no other ſhifte, for there was none other Biſhop canonically ordeined in yͤ prouince of the Weſt Saxōs in thoſe days, this Wini only excepted, & therfore was he conſtreyned to take ſuch as he might get. After yͤ Ceadda was thus ordeyned, hee began forthwith to follow yͤ true rules of yͤ Church, he liued right chaſtly, ſhewed hymſelfe humble & continent, applyed his ſtudy to reading, and trauelled abroade on foote and not on horſebacke through the countreys, townes and villages, for to preache yͤ word of God. He was the Diſciple of Aydan, & coueted by his example, & alſo by the example of his brother Ced, to inſtruct his hearers with the like doings and manors as he had knowen them to do. Wilfrid alſo being conſecrated Biſhop, and returned into England, endeuored to plant the orders of the Romane Churche in the Churches of England, whereby it came to paſſe, that yͤ Scots which inhabited amongſt the Engliſhmen, were conſtreyned eyther to followe the ſame, or elſe to returne into their owne countrey.

ed.li.3.
ap 24.
lman or-
ned Biſhop.

eda lib.3.
ap.25.

ontrouerſie
out ſhauing
crownes.

ap 26.

664

a ordey-
d Biſhop.

.27.
clipſe.

Ceadda ordeined Archbiſhop of Yorke.

Egbert.

Egbert King of Kent.

IN this mean time K. Ercombert being departed this life after hee had gouerned the Kentiſhmen by the ſpace of twentie yeres, his ſonne Egbert ſucceeded hym in the Kingdome, and raigned nine yeares.

There is little remembraunce of his doyngs, which in that ſhort time were not much notable, except ye will aſcribe the comming into this land of the Archbiſhop Theodorus, and the Abbot Adrian, vnto his glory, which chanced in his tyme. For in the yere of yͤ great eclipſe, a ſore mortalitie that enſued, it chanced, that both K. Ercomberte, and the Archbiſhop *Deus dedit* departed this life, ſo that the See of Canterbury was voyde a certayne time, in ſo muche, that King Egbert that ſucceeded his father Ercomberte, togither with King Oſwy, did ſende one Wighart a Prieſt of good reputation for his excellent knowledge in the Scriptures, vnto Rome with great giftes, and riche veſſell of gold and ſiluer to be preſented vnto the Pope requiring him that he would ordeine the foreſayde Wighard Archbiſhop of Canterbury to haue rule of the Engliſh Church. But thys Wighart comming vnto Rome, and declaring

Bed. li. 3. cap. 29.

Wighart.

Beda.li.4. cap.1.

Adrian.

Theodore ordeined Archbiſhop of Canterbury. 668

his meſſage vnto Vitalianus that then gouerned the Churche of Rome, immediatly after he dyed of the peſtilẽce (that then raigned in that citie) with all thoſe ẏ came with him. The Pope then taking aduice whome hee mighte ordeyne to the See of Canterbury, beeing thus deſtitute of an Archbiſhop, he appoynted a Monke named Adrian to take that office vpon him, but Adrian excuſed himſelfe as not ſufficiente for ſuche a roomth, and required the Pope to ordeyne one Andrew a Monke alſo, whereunto the Pope conſented, but when Andrew was preuented by death, eftſoones Adrian ſhoulde haue bin made Archbiſhoppe, but that he named one Theodore an other Monke that abode as then in Rome, but was borne in the Citie of Tharſus in Cilicia, very wel learned both in the Greeke and Latine, and being of reuerend yeres, as of.76. This Theodore by ẏ preſentmen of Adrian, was appointed to be ordeined Archbiſhop of Canterbury, with condition, that Adrian ſhould neuertheleſſe attend vpon him into England, both for ẏ he had bin twice before thys time in Fraunce, and ſo knew the coaſtes, and againe, for that he might aſſiſt him in all thyngs, and looke well to ẏ matter, that Theodore ſhould not bring into the Church of England any ryte or cuſtome of the Greekes, contrary to the vſe of the Romane Churche. Theodore being firſt ordeyned ſubdeacon, tarried foure monethes till hys heare wer growẽ, that he might haue his crowne ſhauen, after the manner of Peter. For he was rounded or ſhauen after the manner of the Eaſt Church, which was as they perſwaded thẽſelues, according to the vſe of S. Paule the Apoſtle. And ſo at length was this Theodore ordeyned Archbiſhop of Canterbury by Pope Vitalianus in the yere of our Lord 668. the ſixth Kalends of Iune, and with Adrian ſente into Britaine, they tooke their iourney to come through Fraunce, and ſo being come thither, ſhortly after K. Egbert hadde knowledge thereof: whereupon with all conuenient ſpeede, hee ſente ouer one of his nobles named Redfrid to bring the Archbiſhop into Englande, and ſo he did: but Adrian was ſtayed for a tyme, bycauſe he was ſuſpected to haue had ſome commiſſion frõ the Emperour to haue practiſed with the Engliſhmen, for the diſquieting of ẏ Realme of France. But after it was perceiued that thys ſuſpition was grounded of no troth, he was alſo ſuffered to folow ẏ Archbiſhop, and ſo comming vnto Canterbury, he was made Abbot of ẏ Monaſterie of S Auguſtines. The Archb. Theodore came thus to his Churche of Canterbury in the ſeconde yeare after his conſecration, about the ſecond Kalends of Iune, being Sunday.

He gouerned the ſame Churche.21.yeres and 16.days, and was the firſt Archbiſhop to whome all the Churches of Englande did acknowledge their obeyſance. He being accompanyed with the foreſaid Adrian, viſited all the parts of this land, ordeyned Biſhops and Miniſters in Churches where he thought conuenient, & reformed ẏ ſame Churches as ſeemed to him needefull, as well in other things which he miſliked, as alſo in cauſing them to obſerue the feaſt of Eaſter, according to the ryte and vſage of the Church of Rome. Ceadda that was Biſhop of Yorke, bicauſe hee was not lawfully ordeyned, as he himſelfe confeſſed, was remoued from the Sea of Yorke, and Wilfrid was thereto reſtored, ſo that Ceadda (though he were not diſgraded of his degree of Biſhop) liued yet a priuate kind of life, till he was admitted Biſhop of Mercia, as after ſhall be ſhewed. Alſo whereas before time there was in manner no ſinging in the Engliſhe Churches, except it were in Kent, now they begã in euery Church to vſe ſinging of diuine ſeruice after the ryte of the Church of Rome. The Archbiſhop Theodore finding the Church of Rocheſter voyde by the death of ẏ laſt Biſhop named Damian, he ordeyned one Putta a ſimple man in worldly matters, but well inſtructed in eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, & namely well ſeene in ſong and muſicke, to be vſed in ẏ Church after the manner as he had learned of Pope Gregories diſciples. To be briefe, ẏ Archbiſhop Theodore, and the Abbot Adrian deſerued great commendation in this, that where they were notably well learned themſelues in the Greeke and Latine tongues, and alſo hadde good knowledge as well in the liberall artes, as in the Scripture, they tooke great paines to train vp Scollers in knowledge of the ſame, ſo that the Engliſhmen had not ſeene more happy times than in thoſe dayes, hauing as then kings of great puiſſãce, ſo as ſtrangers ſtoode in feare of them, and againe, thoſe that coueted learning, had inſtructors at hand to teach them, by reaſon whereof, diuers being giuen to ſtudie, proued excellent both in knowledge of the Greeke and Latine. There came in company of the ſaid Archbiſhop from Rome, an Engliſhman named Benedict Biſcope, which had taken vppon him the habite of a Monke in Italy, and nowe returning into his countrey, builded two Abbeyes, the one named Wyremouth, bycauſe it was placed at the mouth of the Riuer of Wire, and the other Girwy, diſtante from Wiremouth about fiue miles, and from the towne of Newe-Caſtell foure miles, ſituate neere to the mouth of Tine. Wiremouth was builte in the yeare. 670. and Girwy in the yeare.673. There were a.600. Monkes founde in thoſe two houſes, and gouerned vnder one Abbot.

The ſayd Benedict was the firſt that brought Glaſiers, Painters and other ſuch curious craftſmen into Englãd. He went fiue times to Rome, and came agayne.

Ran.Ceſtre

Math.VVe

Beda.

Singing in Churches brought in vſe.

Putta Biſh
of Rocheſt

The worth
prayſe of T
odore and
Adrian.

Engliſhme
happy &

Beda

Benedict o
Benet ſurna
med Biſcop

970

Glaſiers fi
brought i
Englande.
Ran. Ceſ

ABout the ſame time, after that Swithelm K. of the Eaſt Saxons was dead, Sighere the ſonne of Sigbert the little, and Sebby the ſonne of Seward ſucceeded him in gouernemente of that kingdome, albeit they were ſubiect vnto Wulfhere the king of Mercia. Sighere at that time, when the great mortalitie raigned, renounced the fayth of Chriſt, with that part of the people which he had in gouernemente, for both the ſame Sighere and other of his chiefeſt Lordes, and alſo parte of hys commons louing this life, and not regarding the life to come, began to repaire their Idoliſhe Churches, and fell to the worſhipping of Idols, as though thereby they ſhould haue bin defended from that mortalitie. But his aſſociat Sebby with greate deuotion continued ſtedfaſt in the faith which he had receiued. King Wulfhere being enformed of Seghers apoſtacie, and howe the people in his part of the prouince of Eaſt Saxōs were departed from the faith, he ſente thither Biſhop Jaruman or Jaroman, that was ſucceſſor vnto Trumhere, which vſed ſuch diligence & godly meanes, that he reduced the ſaid K. and all his people vnto the right beleefe, ſo as the Idolliſhe Sinagogues were deſtroyed, and the Idols with their aulters beaten down, ẏ Chriſtian Churches again ſet opē, & the name of Chriſt eftſones called vpō amongſt ẏ people, coueting now rather to die in him wͭ hope of reſurrectiō in ẏ world to come, than to liue in ẏ ſeruice of Idols, ſpotted with the filth of errors and falſe beleefe. And thus whē Biſhop Jaroman had accompliſhed the thing for ẏ which he was ſent, he returned into Mercia.

de.lib.3.
p.30.

ithop Iaruman or Iaroman.

After this, when the ſaid Jaruman was departed this life, K. Wulfhere ſent vnto ẏ Archbiſhop Theodorus, requiring him to prouide ẏ prouince of the Mercies of a new Biſhop. Theodorus not minding to ordeyne any new Biſhop at ẏ time, required of Oſwy K. of Northumberlande, that Biſhop Cead mighte come into Mercia to exerciſe the office of Biſhop there. This Cead lyued as it were a priuate life at that time in his Monaſterie of Leſtingham, for Wilfrid held the Biſhoprike of Yorke, extending his authoritie ouer all Northumberland & amōgſt the Pictes alſo, ſo farre as K. Oſwies dominion ſtretched. Therefore Cead hauing licēce to goe into Mercia, was gladly receyued of K. Wulfhere, & wel entertayned, in ſo muche, that the ſaide K. gaue vnto him lands and poſſeſſions conteining fiftie families or houſholds to build a monaſterie in a certain place within the countrey of Lindſey called Etbearue. But the See of his Biſhopricke was aſſigned to him at Litchfield in Staffordſhire, wher he made him a houſe neere to the Church, in the whych he with .7. or .8. other of his brethren in Religion, vſed in an oratory, there to pray and reade ſo often as they had leaſure from labour and buſineſſe of the world. Finally, after he hadde gouerned the Church of Mercia by ẏ ſpace of two yeres and an halfe, he departed this life, hauing .7. dayes warning giuen him (as it is reported) from aboue, before he ſhould die, after a miraculous maner. His body was firſt buried in the Churche of our Lady, but after that the Churche of Saint Peter the Apoſtle was builded, his bones were tranſlated into the ſame.

671

In the yeare of our Lord. 671. whiche was the ſeconde yeare after that Theodorus the Archbyſhop came into this lād, Oſwy K. of Northumberland was attached with a greeuous ſickneſſe, and dyed thereof the fifteenth Kalends of March, in the .58. yere of his age, after he had raigned .28. yeares complete.

Mat. VVeſt.

Egfrid.

Beda.li:4.ca.5
Mat. VVeſt.

AFter Oſwy, hys ſonne Egfrid ſucceeded in rule of ẏ kingdome of Northumberlande, in the thirde yeare of whoſe raigne, that is to witte, in the yeare of our Lorde. 673. Theodorus the Archbiſhop of Canterbury kept a Synode at Herforde, the firſt ſeſſion wherof began the .24. of September, all the Biſhops of this land being preſent, either in perſon or by their deputies, as Biſi the Biſhop of Eaſt angles, Wilfrid the Biſhoppe of the Northumbers by his deputie, Putta Biſhop of Rocheſter, Leutherius Biſhop of the Weſt Saxons, and Wilfrid Biſhop of Mercia. In the preſence of theſe Prelates, the Archbiſhop ſhewed a booke, wherein he hadde noted ten Chapters or Articles taken out of the booke of the Canons, requiring that the ſame might be receyued.

673
A Synode holden at Herford

Articles proponed by Theodore.

The firſt Chapter was, that the feaſt of Eaſter ſhould be kept, the Sunday following the fourtenth day of the firſt moneth.

The ſecond, that no Biſhop ſhould entermeddle within an others dioceſſe, but bee contented with the cure of his flocke committed to him.

The thirde, that no Biſhop ſhould diſquiet in any thing any Monaſterie conſecrated to God, nor to take by violence any goodes that belonged to the ſame.

The fourth, that Biſhoppes beeing Monkes ſhould not goe from Monaſterie to Monaſterie, except by ſufferance and permiſſion of their Abbots, and ſhoulde continue in the ſame obedience wherein they ſtoode before.

The fifth, that none of the Cleargie ſhould depart from his Biſhop to runne into any other dioceſſe, nor comming from any other place ſhould be admitted, except he brought letters of teſtimonie with him. But if any ſuch chanced to be receiued, if hee refuſed to returne, being ſent for home, both he & his receyuer ſhuld be excommunicated.

The ſixt, that Biſhops & other of the Cleargie beeing ſtraungers, ſhoulde holde them contented with the benefite of hoſpitalitie, & ſhould not take in hand any prieſtly office, without licence of the Biſhop, in whoſe dioceſſe hee chaunced ſo to bee remayning.

The ſeuenth, that twice in the yeare a Synod ſhould be kept, but bycauſe of diuers impedimẽts heerein, it was thoughte good to them all, that in the Kalendes of Auguſt a Sinode ſhoulde bee kepte once in the yere, at a certayne place called Clowfeſhough.

The eyght Chapter was, that no one Biſhop ſhould by ambition ſeeke to be preferred afore another, but that euery one ſhoulde knowe the tyme and order of his conſecration

The ninth, that as the number of the Chriſtians increaſed, ſo ſhoulde there bee mo Biſhoppes ordeyned.

The tenth was touching marriages, that none ſhould contract matrimony with any perſon, but with ſuche as it ſhoulde bee lawfull for hym to doe by the orders of the Churche: none ſhoulde matche with their kinſfolke, no man ſhoulde forſake hys wife, except as the Goſpell teacheth, for cauſe of fornication. But if any man did put away his wife whiche hee hadde lawfully married, if hee woulde bee accoumpted a true Chriſtian, hee myght not be coupled with an other, but ſo remayne, or elſe bee reconciled to his owne wife againe.

These Articles being intreated of and concluded, were confirmed with the ſubſcribing of all their hands, ſo as al thoſe that ſhould goe againſt the ſame, ſhoulde be diſgraded of their prieſthood, and bee ſeparated from the company of them all.

Biſi Biſhop of the Eaſt Angles.

The foreſayd Biſi yͭ was Biſhoppe of the Eaſt Angles, & preſente at thys Sinode, was ſucceſſor vnto Bonifacius, whiche Bonifacius helde that ſee. 17. yeeres, and then he being departed this life, Biſi was made Biſhop of that prouince, and ordeined by the Archbiſhop Theodor. Thys Biſi at length was ſo viſited with ſickneſſe, that hee was not able to exerciſe the miniſtration, ſo that then there were two Biſhoppes elected, and conſecrated for him, the one named Aecci, and the other Baldwin.

872

In this meane while, that is to ſay, about the yere of our Lord. 872. or beginning of yͤ. 873. as Harriſon noteth, Kenwalch King of the Weſt Saxons departed this life, after hee had raigned 30. yeares. This Kenwalk was ſuch a Prince, as in the beginning, he was to be compared with the worſt kind of rulers, but in the middeſt and later ende of his raigne, hee was to bee compared with yͤ beſt. His godly zeale borne towards the aduancing of the Chriſtian religion wel appeared in the building of the Church at Wincheſter, where the Biſhops Sea of al that prouince was thẽ placed.

Mat.VV de reg.lib.1.

His wife Sexburga ruled the Kyngdome of Weſt Saxons after him, a woman of ſtoutnes ynough to haue atchiued actes of worthy remembrance, but being preuented by deathe ere ſhe had raigned one whole yeare, ſhe could not ſhewe any full proofe of hir noble courage.

I remember that Math. Weſt. maketh other report hereof, declaring that the nobilitie remoued hir from the gouernement. But I rather followe William Malmeſ. in this matter.

Eſcuinus.

VVil.Mal.

To proceede therefore, after yͤ Sexburga was departed this life, or depoſed, if you wil needes haue it ſo, Eſcuinus or Elcuinus, whoſe Grandfather called Cuthgiſlo, yͤ brother of K. Kinigils ſucceded in gouernmẽt of yͤ Weſt Saxons, reigning about yͤ ſpace of two yeres: and after his deceſſe, one Centiuinus or Centwine toke vppon him the rule, and continued therein the ſpace of nine yeares. But Bede ſayth that theſe two ruled at one time, and deuided the kingdom betwixt them. Elcuinus fought againſt Wulfhere Kyng of Mercia, a greate number of men being ſlaynt on both parties, though Wulfhere yet had after a manner the vpper hand, as ſome haue written.

Hen. Hunt

Beda.lib.4 cap.ſup.di

King Lotho

VVil.Malm

Beda.de reg. lib.1.

Thunnir. A vile murther.

In the ſame yere that the Sinode was holden at Herford, that is to ſay in the yeare of our Lord 673. Egbert the King of Kent departed this life in July, and lefte the Kingdome to his brother Lothore, which held the ſame eleuen yeares, and ſeuen monethes. Some haue written that King Egbert by the ſuggeſtion of one Thunnir, who had the chiefe rule of the kingdome vnder him, ſuffered the ſayde Thunnir to put vnto death Ethelbert or Ethelbright, whiche were the ſonnes of Ermenredus the brother of King Ercombert, that was father vnto king Egbert, for doubt leſt they being towardly yong Gentlemen, myght in tyme growe ſo into fauor with the people, that it ſhoulde bee eaſie for them to depriue both Egbert, and his iſſue of the Kyngdome. Alſo, that they were priuily put to death, and priuily buried at the firſte, but the place of their buriall immediately beeyng ſhewed after a miraculous manner, theyr bodyes long after in the dayes of Kyng Egilrede the ſonne of Kyng Edgar, were taken vp, and conueyed vnto Ramſey, and there buried. And although Egbert being giltie of the death of thoſe his couſins, did ſore repent him, for that he vnderſtoode they dyed giltleſſe, yet hys brother Lothaire was thought to be puniſhed for that offence as after ſhall be ſhewed.

ſhop Win-
d depoſed.

lſe or-
ned Biſhop
e Mercies

Winfrid Biſhop of the Mercies, for cauſe of diſobedience in ſome poynt, was depriued by the Archbiſhop Theodore, and one Sexvulfe that was the buylder and alſo the Abbot of the Monaſterie of Meidhamſtede, otherwiſe called Peterborough, was ordeyned and conſecrated in his place. About the ſame time, Erkenwalde was ordeyned Biſhop of the Eaſt Saxons, and appoynted to hold his See in the Citie of London. This Erkenwalde was reputed to bee a man of great holyneſſe and vertue. Before he was made Biſhoppe, hee buylded two Abbeyes, the one of Monkes at Chertſey in Sowtherie, where hee himſelfe was Abbot, and the other of Nunnes at Berking, within the prouince of the Eaſt Saxons, where he placed his ſiſter Ethelburga a woman alſo highly eſteemed for hir deuout kinde of life. She was firſte brought vp and inſtructed in the rules of hir profeſſion by one Hildelitha a Nunne of the parties of beyond the Sea, whome Erkenwald procured to come ouer for that purpoſe. After Erkenwald, one Waldhere was made Biſhop of London, in whoſe dayes Sebby king of the Eaſt Saxons, after hee had raigned thirtie yeares, beeing nowe vexed with a greeuous ſickneſſe, profeſſed himſelfe a Monke: whiche thyng he would haue done long before, if his wife hadde not kept him backe. Hee died ſhortly after within the Citie of London, and was buried in the Church of Saint Paule. King Sighere whyche in the beginning raigned with him, and gouerned a parte of the Eaſt Saxons, was departed thys life before, ſo that in his latter time, the foreſayde Sebby had the gouernemente of the whole prouince of the Eaſt Saxons, and left the ſame to his ſonnes Sighard and Sewfred.

. as Math.
eſt. hath.
ſhop Erken-
alde.

thelburga.

n Cap-
raue.

aldhere.
bby king
Eaſt Saxōs.
da. lib. 4.
p. 61.

VVil. Malm.

675

About the yeare of our Lorde. 675. Wulfhere King of Mercia departed this life, after hee hadde raigned as ſome haue. 19. yeares, but as other affirme, hee raigned but. 17. yeares. Howbeit they which reckē nineteene, include the time that paſſed after the ſlaughter of Penda, wherein Oswy and Peada held the aforeſayde Kingdome.

VV. Mal.

But other affirme that he raigned. 17. yeares.

Beda.

Peada or rather Weada.

King Ethelred.

Edilred

After Wulfhere, hys brother Edilred or Ethelred ſucceeded in gouernemēt of the Kyngdome of Mercia. This Edilred inuaded the Kyngdome of Kente with a mighty army in the yeare of oure Lord. 677. deſtroying the countrey afore him, not ſparing Churches nor Abbeyes, but ſpoyled the ſame without reſpect, as well as other common places. King Lothaire durſt not appeare in the fielde to giue hym battell, ſo that Edilred wente through the countrey, deſtroyed the Citie of Rocheſter & with great riches gotten by the ſpoyle, he returned home.

Hunt.

The Biſhoppe of Rocheſter Putta, after that his Church was ſpoyled and defaced by the enimies, wente vnto Sexvulfe the Biſhop of Mercia, and there obteyning of him a ſmall cure, and a portion of ground, remayned in that countrey, not once labouring to reſtore his Church of Rocheſter to the former ſtate, but wente aboute in Mercia to teach ſong, & inſtruct ſuche as would learne muſicke, whereſoeuer hee was required, or could get entertaynement.

678

A blaſing Starre.

Mat. VVeſt. Beda.li.4. cap.12.

Biſhop Wilfrid baniſhed.

Haguſtald Hexam.

Eadhidus.

Lindeſſerne holy ilande.

The Church of Ryppon.

Herevpon the Archbiſhop Theodore conſecrated one William Biſhop of Rocheſter in place of Putta, and after when the ſayd William conſtreyned by pouertie, left that Church, Theodore placed one Gebmound in his ſteede. In the yeare of our Lord.678.in the moneth of Auguſt, a blaſing Starre appeared, with a long bright beame like to a piller. It was ſeene euery morning for the ſpace of three monethes togither. The ſame Ecgfrid king of Northumberland, baniſhed Biſhop Wilfrid vppon diſpleaſure taken with hym, out of his See, and then were two Biſhops ordeyned in his place, to gouerne the Church of the Northũbers, yͤ one named Boſa at Yorke, & the other called Eata at Haguſtald or Lindeſſerne. Alſo one Eadhidus was ordeined about the ſame time Biſhop of Lindſey, the which prouince king Egfrice hadde of late conquered and taken from Vulfhere the late King of Mercia, whome he ouercame in battel, and droue him out of that cõtrey. The ſaid three Biſhops were conſecrated at Yorke by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury Theodorus, the whiche within three yeares after ordeyned two Biſhops more in that prouince of the Northumbers, that is to witte, Tumbert at Haguſtald, Eata that was appoynted to remain at Lindeſſerne, and Trumuine was ordeyned to haue the cure of yͤ prouince of thoſe Pictes which as then were vnder the Engliſhe dominion. Alſo bycauſe Edilred King of Mercia recouered the countrey of Lindſey, and ioyned it to his dominion, Biſhop Eadhedus comming from thence, was appoynted to gouerne yͤ Church of Ryppõ.

Wilfrid by licence of King Edilwalke preacheth the Goſpell to them of Suſſex.

Lacke of rayne.

Catching of fiſhe with nettes.

Bondmen made truely free.

After that Biſhop Wilfrid was expulſed out of his dioceſſe and prouince of the Northumbers, he went to Rome, & returning from thence, came into the kingdome of the South Saxons, yͤ whiche conteyning ſeuen thouſande houſholdes or families, as yet was not conuerted to yͤ Chriſtian faith. Wherefore the ſaid Wilfrid began there to preach the Goſpell with licence of K. Edilwalke, who as before is mencioned, was conuerted and baptiſed in Mercia, by the procurement of King Vulfhere, that then became his Godfather, & gaue him at the ſame time the Iſle of Wight, and the prouince of the people auntiently called Meanuari, which he had wonne frõ the Weſt Saxõs. Biſhop Wilfrid then by King Edilwalke hys furtherance and helpe, baptiſed the chiefeſt Lords and Gentlemen of that prouince. But certayne Prieſtes baptiſed the reſidue of the people, eyther then or in time following. It chanced that for the ſpace of three yeares (as it is ſaid before the comming thither of Biſhop Wilfrid, there had fallen no rayne from the ayre within that prouince of the South Saxons, ſo that yͤ people wer brought into greate miſerie by reaſon of famine, whyche through wante of neceſſary fruites of the earthe, ſore afflicted the whole countrey, in ſomuch, that no ſmall number threwe themſelues headlong into the Sea, deſpayring of life, in ſuche lacke of neceſſary victuals. But as God would, the ſame daye that Wilfrid began to miniſter the Sacrament of Baptiſme, there came downe ſweete and plentifull showres of rayne, ſo watering yͤ earth, that thereby great ſtore of all fruites plentifully toke roote, and yeelded full increaſe in growth, to the great comfort and reliefe of al yͤ people, which before were in manner ſtaruen and loſt through want of foode. Biſhop Wilfrid alſo taught them in that countrey the manner howe to catche fiſhe with nettes, where before that time, they had no great ſkill in any kind of fiſhing, except it were in catching eeles. Hereby the ſayd Biſhop grew there in greate eſtimation with the people, ſo that his wordes were the better credited amongſt thẽ, for that through him, they receyued ſo greate benefites, God by ſuch meanes working in the peoples hartes a deſire to come to the vnderſtanding of his lawes. The King alſo gaue vnto Wilfrid a place called Seoleſew, compaſſed about on each ſide (except on the Weſt halfe) with the Sea, conteyning.87.houſholdes or families, where he built an Abbey, and baptiſed all his tenauntes there, amounting to the number of.250.bond men and bond women, whome hee made free both in body and ſoule, for he did not only baptiſe them, but alſo enfranchiſed them of all bodily ſeruitude and bondage.

679

680

A Synode at Hatfielde.

In this meane while, many things happened in other partes of this lande, and firſt in the yeare after the appearing of the blaſing Starre before mentioned, a mightie battell was fought betwixt the ſayd Ecgfrid, and Edilred King of Mercia, neere to the riuer of Trent, where Alſwine yͤ brother of King Ecgfrid was ſlaine, with many other of the Northumbers, ſo that King Ecgfrid was conſtreyned to returne home with loſſe. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury Theodorus perceyuing that great warre and effuſion of bloud was like to followe thereof, trauelled ſo in the matter betwixt them, that they were made friendes, and Ecgfrid had a peece of money in recompence of his loſſes. The foreſayd battell was fought in the yeare of our Lord.679. and in the yeare following, that is to ſay, in the yere of our Lord.680. whiche was alſo the tenth yeare of the raigne of Ecgfrid King of Northumberland, the ſixth yere of the raigne of Edelred King of Mercia, the ſeuententh of the raigne of Aldvulfe King of the Eaſt angles, and in yͤ ſeuenth yeare of the raigne of Lothere king of Kente, the Archbiſhop of Cãterbury Theodorus held another Synod at Hatfield, about the day of the fifteenth Kalendes of October, in the which all the Cleargie there preſent, ſubſcribed to certaine Articles touching the

Articles ſubſcribed.

beleefe of the trinitie of perſons, in the vnitie of the Godhead of like ſubſtance, and alſo of the ſame vnitie in trinitie, according to the true faith of the Church of God: and moreouer, they acknowledged by the like ſubſcription, the fiue generall councels of Nice, and Conſtantinople the firſt, of Epheſus, of Calcedone, and of Conſtantinople the ſecond, with the Synode alſo holden at Rome in the dayes of Martin Biſhop of Rome, about the ninth yeare of the Emperour Conſtantine. At this Sinode holden at Hatfield, was preſente one John the Archechanter of Saint Peters Church at Rome, ſent into this lande of purpoſe to bring from hence a certificat vnto Pope Agatho of the agreement of the Engliſh Church in matters of faith, with other churches of the Chriſtiã worlde but the foreſayde Archechantor dyed by the way in Fraunce, as he returned homewards, and was buried at Towers in Towrayne.

Bale.
The Abbeſſe Hilda.
Beda.

The ſame yeare, that famous woman Hilda Abbeſſe of Whitby, departed out of this life, or as other ſay, a fiue yeares after, hauing firſte bin deteyned a long time with greeuous ſickneſſe. She was the daughter of one Hereericus the Nephew of King Edwin, and conuerted to the faythe of Chriſt at the preaching of Biſhop Pauline, and afterwards inſtructed by Biſhop Aydan, profeſſed hir ſelfe a Nunne, applying hir whole ſtudie to the reading of the Scriptures, to prayer, and other godly exerciſes. She builded the Abbey of Whitby, wherein were placed both men and women, with ſuche an equalitie in all thyngs, that there was no rich perſon amongſt them, nor any that wanted things neceſſary. She departed out of this life on the fifteenth Kalendes of December, being. 66. yeares of age. As ſome haue written ſhe argued ſtoutly on Biſhop Colmons part, at the diſputation holden in the Monaſterie of Whitby, in the yeare of grace. 664. whereof yee haue heard before.

Bale.
Beda.
Ran. Ceſtren.
Mat. VVeſt.

H. Hunton.

About the yeare of our Lorde. 682. that is to ſay, in the ſeuenth yeare of Centwine or Centinus King of Weſt Saxons, the ſame Centwine fought with the Britaynes, and ouercame them in battayle, purſuing them with fire and ſworde vnto the Sea ſide.

The Britaynes diſcomfited.

Cadwallader.

Cadwallader.

But now to returne vnto that which is founde in the Brittiſh hiſtories, by the tenor whereof it ſhould appeare, that whẽ their King Cadwallo was dead, his ſon Cadwallader ſucceeded him in rule of the Britaynes in the yeare of our Lord 678. which was about the tenth yere of the Emperour Conſtantinus Pogonatus, and in the thirtenth yeare of the raigne of Childericus kyng of Fraunce.

hath
Math. Weſt.

This Cadwallader beeing the ſonne of Cadwallo, was begot by him of the halfe ſiſter of Penda King of Mercia, for one father begote them both, but of two ſundry mothers, for ſhee had to mother a Lady, diſcended of the noble bloud of the Weſt Saxons, and was married vnto Cadwallo when the peace was made betwixt him, & his brother the ſaid Penda. After that Cadwallader had raigned the ſpace of twelue yeres, as Geffrey of Monmouth hathe, or as other write, but 3. yeares, the Britaines were broughte into ſuche miſerie through ciuill diſcorde, and alſo by ſuche greate extreame famin as then raigned through all the lande, that Cadwallader was conſtreyned with the chiefeſt part of his people to forſake their natiue countrey, and by Sea to get them ouer into Britaine Armorike, there to ſeeke reliefe of vittayles, for the ſuſtentation of their languiſhyng bodies. A long proceſſe is made by the Brittiſhe writers of this departure of Cadwallader, and of the Britaines, out of this lande, and howe Cadwallader was about to haue returned againe, but that he was admoniſhed by a dreame to the contrary, the which bycauſe it ſeemeth but fabulous, we paſſe ouer. At length he wente to Rome, and there was confirmed in the Chriſtian Religion by Pope Sergius, and ſhortly after fell ſicke, and dyed the twelfth Kalends of May, in the yeare of our Lord. 689. But herein appeareth the error of the Britiſh writers in taking one for another, by reaſon of reſemblance of names, for where Ceadwalla King of the Weſt Saxons about that time moued of a religious deuotion, after he was conuerted to the faith, wẽt vnto Rome, and was there Baptiſed or elſe confirmed of the foreſayde Pope Sergius, and ſhortly after departed thys life in that Citie, in the foreſayde yeare of. 689. or thereabouts, the Welchmen accompt hym to be their Cadwallader: whiche to be true is very vnlike by that whiche may be gathered by the writings of diuers approued authors.

Galfrid.

Cadwallader conſtreyned to forſake the lande.

689

Ceadwalla.

This Ceadwalla King of the Weſt Saxons ſucceeded after Centwine or Centiuinus, whiche Centwine raigned nine yeares, though it ſhoulde appeare by that whiche is written by Authoures of good credite, that during

Ceadwalla.

Beda.

xvii. Mal.

m.iiij. two

two of thoſe yeares at the leaſt, the Kingdome of Weſt Saxons was deuided betwixte him and Elcuinus or Eſcuinus, ſo that hee ſhoulde not reigne paſt ſeuen yeares alone.

But now to Ceadwall, whom ſome take to be al one with Cadwallader, we finde ỹ he was lyneally diſcended frõ Cutha or Cutwine, the brother of Ceauline or Keuling K. of Weſt Saxõs, as ſon to Kenbert or Kenbright that was ſon to Ceadda the ſon of ỹ foreſaid Cutha or Cutwin. Thus he being extract of ỹ noble houſe of ỹ kings of Weſt Saxons, proued in his youth a perſonage of great towardnes, & ſuch a one as no ſmal hope was of him conceyued: he would let no occaſion paſſe where he mighte exerciſe his force, to ſhew proofe of his high valiancie, ſo that in the ende with his worthy attemptes ſhewed therein, he purchaſed to himſelfe the enuy of thoſe that ruled in his countrey, by reaſon whereof he was baniſhed by a cõſpiracie made againſt him. Wherevpon hee tooke occaſion as it were in reuenge of ſuche vnthankfulneſſe to withdrawe out of hys countrey, leading with him all ỹ principal youth of the ſame, the whiche eyther pitying his preſent eſtate, or moued with pleaſure taken in hys valiante doings, folowed him at his going into exile. The firſt brunt of his furious attemptes after hee was out of his countrey, Edilwalke the king of the South Saxons taſted, the whiche in defence of himſelfe comming to trie battell with Ceadwalla, was ſlayne with the moſt part of all his army. Ceadwalla then perceiuing the valiant courages of his Souldiers, filled with good hope of this happy atchieued victory, returned with good and proſperous ſpeede into his owne countrey, and that ere he was looked for, and earneſtly purſuing his aduerſaries, droue them out of the Kingdom, and taking vpon him to rule the ſame as king, reigned two yeares during the whych he atchieued diuers notable enterpriſes. And firſte, whereas Berthun and Anthune Dukes of Suſſex & ſubiectes vnto ỹ late K. Edilwalke, had both expulſed him out of ỹ countrey, after he had ſlain the ſaid Edilwalke, and alſo taken vpon them the rule of that Kingdome, he hauing now atteyned to the gouernment of the Weſt Saxons, inuaded ỹ countrey of Suſſex againe, and ſlewe Berthune in battell, bringing that cõtrey into more bondage than before. He alſo ſet vpon the Iſle of Wight, and welneere deſtroyed all the inhabitãts, meaning to inhabite it with his owne people, hee bound himſelfe by vowe, although as yet he was not baptiſed, that if he might cõquere it, he would giue a fourth part thereof vnto the Lorde. And in performãce of that vowe, he offered vnto Biſhop Wilfride who then chanced to be preſent, when he had taken that Iſle, ſo muche thereof, as conteyned three hundred houſholdes or families, where the whole conſiſted in. 1200. houſholdes. Wilfrid receiuing thankfully the gift, deliuered ỹ ſame vnto one of his Clearkes named Bernewine ỹ was his ſiſters ſon, appointing to him alſo a Prieſt named Hildila, ỹ which ſhould miniſter the word, & the Sacramẽt of Baptiſme vnto al thoſe ỹ would receiue the ſame. Thus was ỹ Iſle of Wight brought to ỹ faith of Chriſt laſt of al other ỹ parties of this our Britain, after that ỹ ſame faith had failed here by the comming of the Saxons. Moreouer, K. Ceadwalla inuaded the kingdom of Kent, wher he loſt his brother Mollo, as after ſhall appeare, but yet hee reuenged hys death with great ſlaughter made of ỹ inhabitãts in ỹ countrey. Finally, this worthy Prince Ceadwalla turning himſelf from ỹ deſire of warre & bloudſhed, became right courteis, gentle, & liberal towardes all men, ſo that ye could not haue wiſhed more vertuous manners to reſt in one as yet not Chriſtned. And ſhortly after, willing

VVil. Malm.
Ran. Ceſtren.

Ceadwallo driuen to depart out of his countrey.

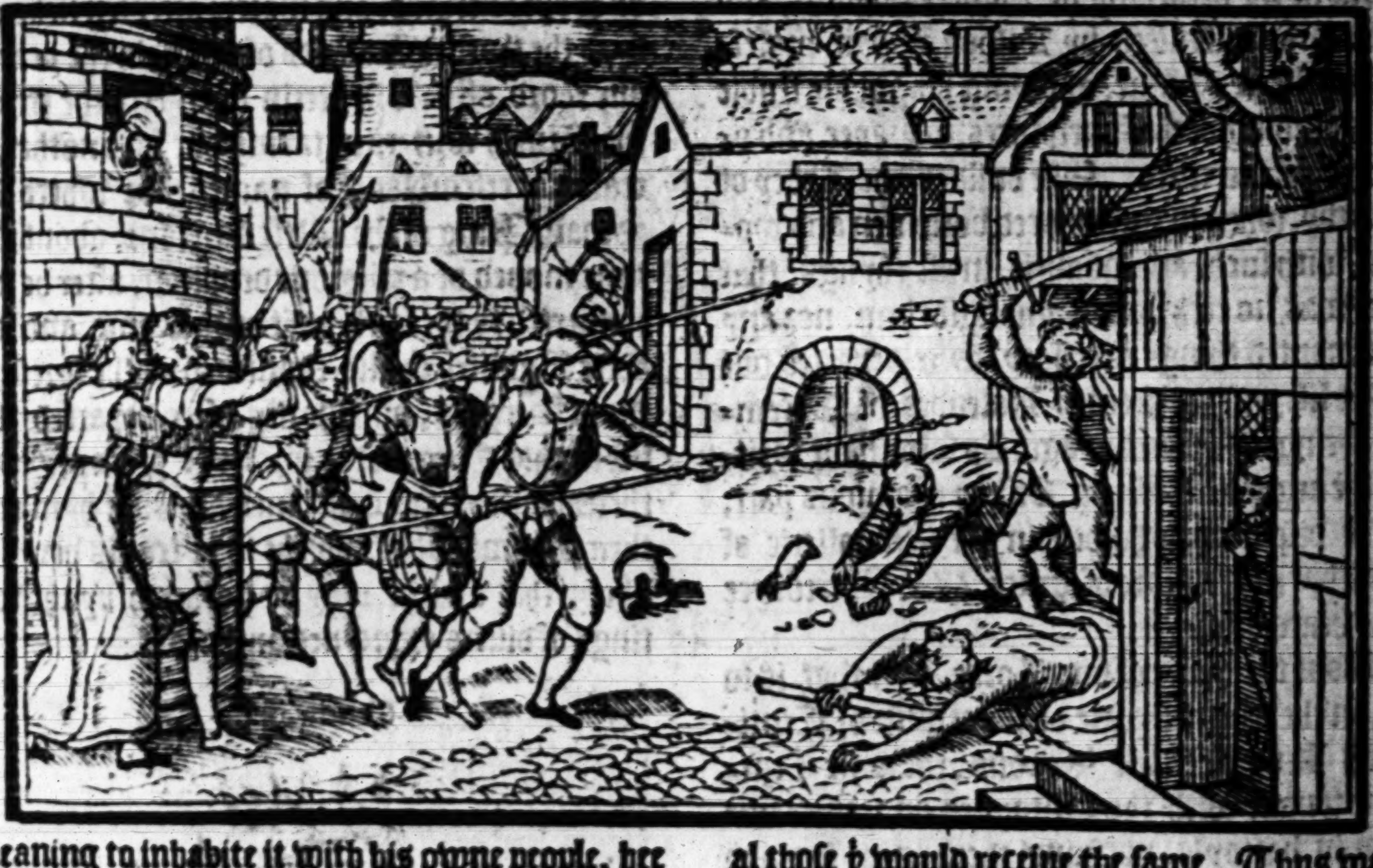
Bede. lib. 4. cap. 13.

Berthune a Earle of Suſſex ſlayne.

Ceadwallo his vowe.

The Ile of Wight conquered.

The Wight receyueth th fayth.



to be admitted into the fellowſhip of the Chriſtians, (of whoſe Religion he had taken good taſt) he went to Rome, where of Pope Sergius hee was baptiſed, and named Peter, and ſhortly after ſurpryſed with ſickneſſe died, and was buried there within the Churche of Saint Peter in the yeare of our Lorde. 689.

689

eda lib. 4.
p. 26.

In the meane while, that is to witte, in the yeare of our Lorde. 684. Egfrid king of Northumberland ſent an armie vnder the guiding of a Captaine named Bertus into Irelande, the which waſted that Countrey, ſparing neyther Church nor Monaſterie, ſore endomaging the people of that Countrey, whiche had euer beene friendes vnto the Engliſh Nation, and deſerued nothing leſſe than ſo to be inuaded and ſpoyled at their handes.

eland inua-
d by the
orthũbers.

The Iriſh men defended themſelues to theyr power, beſeeching god with manye a ſalte teare, that he woulde reuenge theyr cauſe, in puniſhing of ſuche extreeme iniuries. And though curſers may not inherite the Kingdome of heauen, yet they ceaſſed not to curſe, hoping the ſooner thoſe which with good cauſe were thus accurſed, ſhould worthily be puniſhed for their offences by God, and ſo (peraduenture) it fell out. For in the yeare following the ſayde king Egfrid had led an army into Pictlande, agaynſte Brudeus king of the Pictes, and beeing trayned into ſtraytes within hilles and craggie mountains, he was ſlain with the moſt part of all his armie, in the yeare of hys age. xl. and of his raigne. xv. vpon the. xiij. kalends of Iune.

ng Egfrid
ain by Bru-
us king of
e Pictes.

There were diuerſe of Egfrides friends, and namely Cutbert (whome hee had aduaunced the ſame yeare vnto the Biſhops ſea of Lindeſfarne) that aduiſed him in no wiſe, eyther to haue taken this warre in hande agaynſt the Pictes, or the other againſt them of Irelande, but he woulde not be counſayled, the puniſhment appoynted for his ſinnes being ſuch, that hee might not giue eare to his faythfull friendes, that aduiſed him to the beſt. From that time forth, the hope and power of the Engliſh people began to decay. For not onely the Pictes recouered that part of theyr Countrey which the Engliſh men had helde before in theyr poſſeſſiõ, but alſo the Scots that inhabited within this Iſle, and likewiſe ſome part of the Brytaynes tooke vppon them libertie which they kept and maintayned a long time after, as Bede confeſſeth. Egfride left no children behinde him. He had to wife one Ethelreda, or Eduldrida, that was daughter vnto Anna king of the Eaſtangles which liued with hir huſbande the foreſayd Egfride. xij. yeares in perfite virginitie (as it is ſuppoſed) contrarie to the purpoſe of hir huſbande, if hee might haue perſwaded hir to the contrarie, but ſhe founde ſuch meanes, that finally he was contented that ſhe ſhould keepe hir firſt vow of chaſtity, which ſhe had made.

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t onely by
of Wales.

Ethelreda.

She was both widow and virgin when hee maryed hir, being firſt coupled in wedlocke with one Tonbert a noble man and a ruler in the ſouth partes of the Countrey, where the people called *Giruy* inhabited, whiche is the ſame where the fennes lye in the confines of Lincolnſhire, Norffolke, Huntingtonſhire, and Cambridgeſhire, but he liued with hir but a ſmall while.

Giruii.

After ſhe had obteyned licence to departe from the Court, ſhe got hir firſt into Coldingham Abbay, and there was profeſſed a Nunne. And after ſhe went to Ely, and there reſtored the Monaſterie, and was made Abbes of the place, in the which after ſhee had gouerned. vij. yeares, ſhee departed this life, and was there buried.

This ſame was ſhe which commonly is called Saint Audry of Ely, had in great reuerence for the opinion conceyued of hir great vertue and puritie of life.

Alfride
685

After that king Egfrid was ſlain (as before is mencioned) his brother Alfrid was made king of Northumberland. This Alfride was the baſtarde ſonne of king Oſwy, and in his brothers dayes, eyther willingly, or by violent meanes cõſtrayned, he liued as a baniſhed man in Irelande, where applying himſelfe to ſtudie hee became an excellent Philoſopher, and therefore being iudged to be better able to haue the rule of a kingdome, he was receyued by the Northumbers, and made king, gouerning his ſubiects by the ſpace of. xx. yeares & more, with great wiſedome and policie, but not with ſuch large bounds as his aunceſters had done: for the Pictes (as before is mencioned) had cut off one peece on the North part of the auncient limits of that kingdome.

About the. xiij. yeare of his raigne, that is to wit, in the yeare of our Lorde. 698. one of hys Captaynes named Earle Berthred, or Bertus, was ſlaine in battaile by the Picts, whoſe cõfines he had as then inuaded.

698
Beda in Epit.
Mat. VVeſt.

The curſe of the Iriſhe men whoſe country in the dayes of king Egfrid he had cruelly waſted (as before is mentioned) was thought at this time to take place.

Finally king Alfride after he had raigned. xx. yeares and odde monethes departed this life, in the yeare of our Lorde. 705.

705
Beda.

In the beginning of king Alfrides dayes Cata the Biſhop of Hexham being deade, one John a man of great hollineſſe was admitted Biſhop, and after that Biſhop Wilfride was reſtored, after he had remayned a long time in exile.

John Archbyſhop of York.

The ſayde John was remoued to the Church of Yorke, the ſame beeing then voyde by the death of the Archbyſhoppe Boſa: At length the forſayd John awearied with the cares of publyke affayres, reſigned his Sea, and got him vnto Beuerley, where hee lyued a ſolitarie lyfe for the ſpace of foure yeares, and then dyed, about the yeare of our Lorde. 721. King Oſrike as then reigning in Northumberlande. Hee continued Byſhoppe for the ſpace of. xxiiij. yeares, and buylded a Churche, and founded a Colledge of Prieſts at Beuerley aforeſayde, in which church he lyeth buried.

He reſigneth his See.

721

686. hath. Mat Weſt.

Lother king of Kent dyeth of a wounde.

The ſame yeare, or in the yeare after that king Egfride was ſlaine, Lother king of Kent departed this life, the. viij. Ides of Februarie, of a wounde by hym receiued in a battaile whiche he fought agaynſt the South Saxons, the which came in ayde of Edricke, that was ſonne vnto his brother Egbert, and had mainteyned warre agaynſt his vncle the ſayde Lother, euen from the begynning of his raigne, till finally he was nowe in the ſayd battaile ſtriken through the bodie with a dart, and ſo died thereof, after he had raigned. xj. yeares, and. vij. Monethes.

Wil. Malm.

It was thought that hee was diſquieted with continuall warres and troubles, and finally brought to his end before the natural courſe of his time, for a puniſhment of his wicked conſent giuen, to the putting to death of his couſins Ethelbert, and Ethilbrit, as appeared in that, when they were reported to be Martyrs, bycauſe it was knowne they dyed innocently, hee mocked them, and made but a ieaſt at it, although his brother in acknowledging his fault, repented him thereof, and gaue as it were in recompence to theyr mother, a part of the Iſle of Thanet to the buylding of a Monaſterie.

Capgraue ha
their ſiſter.

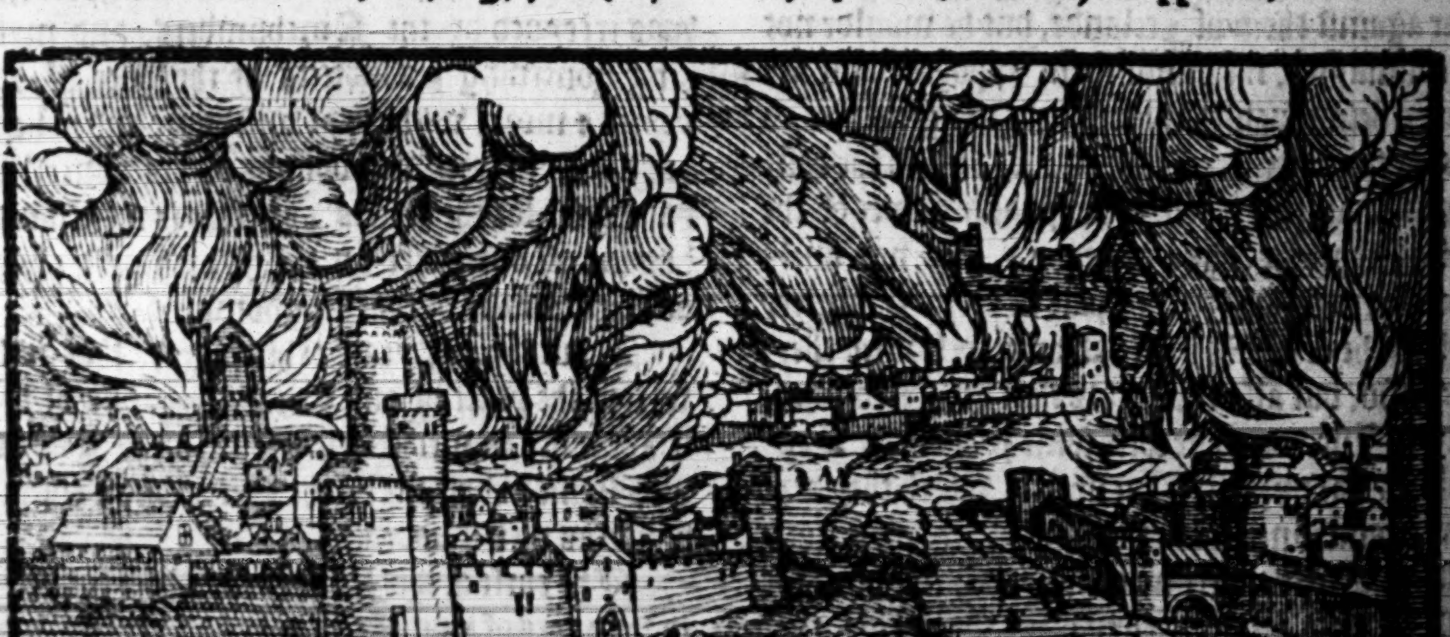
Edrick

The forſayd Edricke after that Lother was dead, got the dominion of Kent, and ruled as king thereof, but not without ciuill war, inſomuch that before he had raigned the ful tearme of two yeres, he was ſlaine in the ſame warre.

Then Ceadwalla king of the Weſt Saxons being thereof aduertiſed, ſuppoſing the time now to bee come that would ſerue his purpoſe, as one ſtill coueting to worke the Kentiſh men all the diſpleaſure he coulde, entred with an armie into their Countrey, and beganne to waſt and ſpoyle the ſame on eche ſide, till finally the Kentiſhmen aſſembling themſelues togither, gaue battaile to their enimies and put them to flight.

Mollo brot
to king Cead
walla burn
death.

Mollo brother to Ceadwalla was dryuen from hys companie, and conſtrayned to take an houſe for his refuge: but his enimies that purſued hym ſette fyre thereon, and burned both the houſe, and Mollo within it to Aſhes. Yet dyd not Ceadwalla herewith depart oute of the Countrey, but to wreake his wrathe, and to reuenge the griefe which he toke for the death of his brother, hee waſted and deſtroyed a greate parte of Kent ere hee returned home, and left (as it were) an occaſion to his ſucceſſor alſo to purſue the quarell (as after ſhall appeare.)



Wictred is made king of Kent.

The Kentiſhmen being deſtitute of a king, after that diuerſe had coueted the place, and ſought to ataine therto, as well by force as otherwiſe, to the great diſquieting of that prouince for yͤ ſpace of ſixe yeares togither, at length in the .vij. yeare after the death of Edrick, Withred an other of the ſonnes of king Egbert, hauing with diligente trauaile ouercome enuie at home, and with money redeemed peace abrode, was with great hope conceyued of his worthineſſe made king of Kent, the .xj. of Nouember. 205. after the death of Hengeſt, and raigned .xxxiij. yeares, not deceyuing his ſubiectes of their good conceyued opinion of him: for ouercomming all his aduerſaries which were readie to leuie cyuill warre agaynſt him, he alſo purchaſed peace of Inas king of the Weſt Saxons, whiche ment to haue made him warre, till with money he was made his friend.

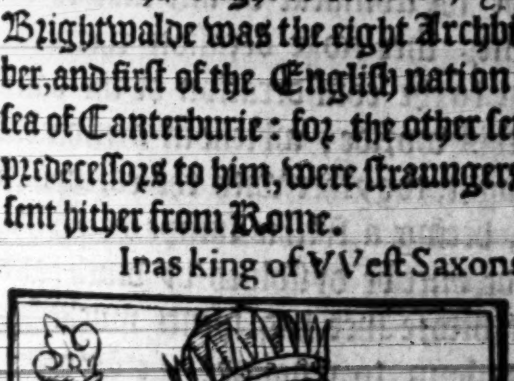
Hen. Hunt.
Beda. li. 5. ca. 8
Webhard and Nitred, kings by vſurpation and not by ſucceſsion, as H. Hunt. writeth.

A little before that Withred was confirmed in the kingdome of Kent, there raigned two kings in that countrey, Suebhard, or Nidred, or rather the ſame Withred, if the printed copie of Bedas booke intituled *Eccleſiaſtica hiſtoria gētis Anglorum*, haue not that name corrupted: for where he ſheweth that the Archbiſhop Theodorus being of the age of .88. yeares, departed this life in the yeare of our Lorde .690. in the next chapter he declareth, that in the yeare .692. the firſt day of Iuly one Brightwalde was choſen to ſucceede in the Archbiſhops ſea of Canterburie, Wictredus, and Suebhardus as then raigning in Kent: but whether Wictredus gouerned as then with Suebhardus, or that ſome other named Nitred, it forceth not, for certain it is by the agreement of writers, that till Wictred obteyned the whole rule, there was great ſtrife and contention moued about the gouernment, and diuerſe there were that ſought and fought for it.

Brightwald the firſt Archbiſhop of the Engliſh nation

But this ought to be noted, yͭ the forenamed Brightwalde was the eight Archbiſhop in number, and firſt of the Engliſh nation that ſat in the ſea of Canterburie: for the other ſeuen that were predeceſſors to him, were ſtraungers borne, and ſent hither from Rome.

Inas king of VVeſt Saxons.



Inas.
689

IN this meane whyle after that Ceadwalla, late King of the Weſt Saxons was gon to Rome, where he departed thys lyfe (as before is ſhewed) his coſin Inas, or Ine, was made king of the Weſt Saxons, beginning his raigne in the yeare of our Lorde. 689. in the thirde yeare of the Emperour Iuſtinianus the thirde, in the .xj. yeare of the raigne of Theodoricus king of Fraunce, and about the ſeconde yeare of the raigne of Eugenius king of Scots.

The Brytaynes ceaſſe to raign in this lande.

Bycauſe that now the rule of the Brytaines commonly called Welchmen, ceaſſed in thys Realme, as by confeſſion of their owne wryters it appeareth, and that in the ende the whole Monarchie of the ſame Realme came to yͤ hands of yͤ kings of Weſt Saxons, we haue thought meete to referre things general vnto yͤ raignes of yͤ ſame kings, as before wee did in the Brytaine Kings, reſeruing the particuler doings to the kings of the other Prouinces or kingdomes, as the ſame haue fallen out, and ſhall come to hande.

Fabian.
Henric. Hũt.

This Inas, which ſome miſtaking then. for an u, do wrongfully name Iue or Iewe, proued a right excellent Prince, hee was diſcended of the auncient lynage of the kings of the Weſt Saxons, as ſonne to one Kenred, that was ſonne to Ceolwald, the ſonne of Cutha, or Cutwyne, that was ſonne to Kenrick, the ſonne of Certicus, the firſt king of Weſt Saxons. But he was admitted to the kingdome more for the valiant prowes knowne to reſt in his worthie perſon, than for the ſucceſſiue offſpring of which he was deſcended.

Mat. VVeſt.
VVil. Malm.

The firſt voyage that he made, was agaynſt the Kentiſhmen, on whom he purpoſed to reuenge the death of his coſin Mollo, the griefe whereof, as yet he kept in freſh memorie. But when the Kentiſh men perceiued, that to reſiſt him by force, they were nothing able, they attempted by money to buy theyr peace, and ſo obteined their purpoſe, vpon payment made to him of .xxx.M. markes of ſiluer.

Anno. 708 as is noted by *Mat. VVeſt.*

After this, about the .xxj. yeare of his raigne, king Inas and his coſin Nun, fought with Gerent king of the Brytaynes.

H. Hunt.

In the beginning of the battaile one Higelbald a noble man of the Weſt Saxons part was ſlaine, but in the ende Gerent with his Brytains was chaſed.

Mat. VVeſt. hath. 718.

In the .xxvj. yeare of his raigne, the ſame Inas fought a mightie battaile againſt Cheolred King of Mercia, at Wodneſburie, with doubtfull victorie, for it could not well be iudged whether part ſuſteyned greater loſſe.

Mat. VVeſt. hath. 722.

The end of this kingdome of the South Saxons.

In the .xxxvj yeare of his raigne, king Inas inuaded the South Saxons with a mightie armie, and ſlue in battaile Ealdbright, or Aldinius king of the South Saxons, & ioyned that kingdome vnto the kingdome of the Weſt Saxons: ſo that from thence forth the kingdome of thoſe South Saxons ceaſſed, after they had raigned in that kingdome by the ſpace of fiue kings ſucceſſiuely, that is to wit, Ella, Ciſſa, Ethelwalke, Berutius, and this laſt Aldinius, or Ealdbright.

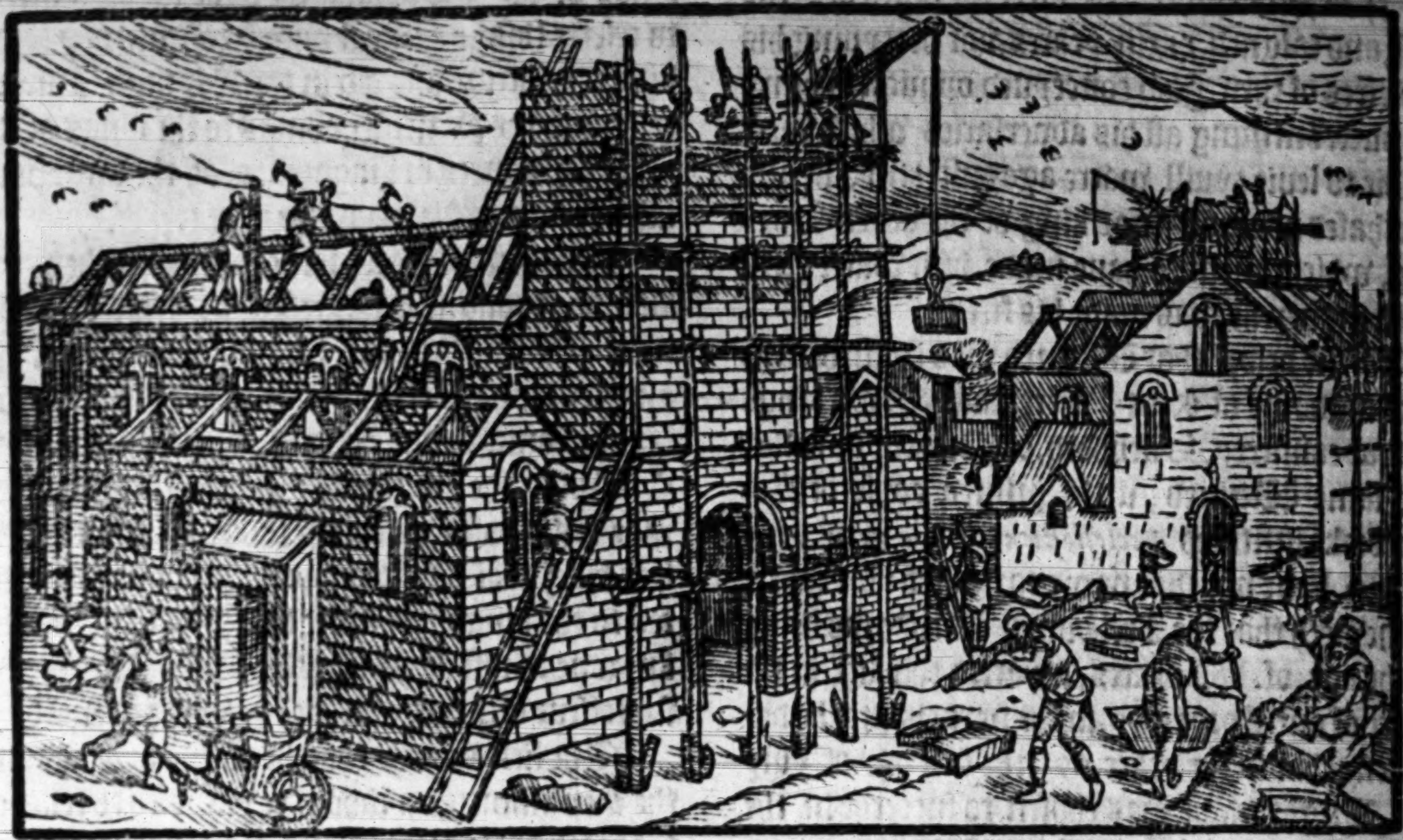
Finally

Inas went to Rome and there dyed.

Finally, when Inas had raigned. xxxvij. yeares, and. x. or. xj. odde Monethes, hee renounced the rule of his kingdome, togither with all worldly pompe, and went vnto Rome as a poore pylgryme, and there ended his life: But before this, during the time of his raigne, hee ſhewed himſelfe verie deuout and zealous towardes the aduauncement of the Chriſtian Religion. He made and ordeyned alſo good and wholeſome lawes for the amendment of maners in the people, whiche are yet extant and to bee redde, written in the Saxon tongue, and tranſlated into the Latine in tymes paſt, and nowe lately agayne by maiſter William Lambert, and imprinted by John Day, in the yeare. 1568. togither wyth the lawes and Statutes of other Kings before the Conqueſt, as to the learned it may appeare.

Polidor.

Moreouer, King Ine builded the Monaſterie of Glaſtenburie, where Joſeph of Arimathea, in times paſt builded an Oratorie or Chappell (as before is recited) when he with other chriſtians came into this lande in the dayes of Aruiragus, and taught the Goſpell here to the Brytayns, conuerting many of them to the faythe.



Moreouer king Ine or Inas buylded the Church of Welles, dedicating it vnto ſaint Andrew, where afterwardes a Biſhops Sea was placed, which at length was tranſlated vnto Saliſburie. He had to wife one Ethelburga, a woman of noble lynage, who had beene earneſt in hande with him a long time to perſwade him to forſake the worlde: but ſhee could by no meanes bring hir purpoſe to paſſe, till vppon a time the king and ſhe had lodged at a Manor place in the Countrey, where all prouiſion had beene made for the receyuing of them and theyr trayne in moſt ſumptuous manner that might be, as well in riche furniture of houſeholde, as alſo in coſtly viandes, and all other things needefull, or that might ſerue for pleaſure, and when they were departed, the Queene the forſayde Ethelburga, cauſed the keeper of that houſe to remoue all the bedding, hangings, and other ſuch things as had beene brought thither and ordeyned for the beautifull ſetting forth of the houſe, and in place therof to bring ordure, ſtrawe, and ſuche lyke fylth, as well into the Chambers and Hall, as into all the houſes of office, and that done to lay a Sowe wyth Pigges in the place where before the kings bed had ſtoode.

Ethelburga.

Wil. Malm.

The deuiſe of Queene Ethelburga to perſwade hir huſband to forſake the world.

Herepon when ſhe had knowledge that euerye thing was ordered according to hir appoyntment, ſhe perſwaded the King to returne thyther agayne, feyning occaſions great and neceſſarie.

After he was returned to that houſe, whiche before ſeemed to the eye a Palace of moſte pleaſure, and nowe fynding it in ſuche a fylthie ſtate as might lothe the ſtomacke of any man to beholde the ſame, ſhee tooke occaſion thereof to perſwade him to the conſideration of the vaine pleaſures of this worlde, whiche in a moment turned to naught, togyther with the corruption of the fleſhe, beeing a fylthie lumpe of Claye, after it ſhoulde once be dyſſolued by death: and in fine where before ſhee had ſpente muche labour to moue hym to renounce the Worlde, though all in vayne, yet nowe the beholding of that chaunge in his pleaſant Palayce wherein ſo late hee had taken ſo greate delight, wrought ſuche an alteration in hys mynde, that hir wordes laſtlye tooke effecte: ſo that hee reſigned the Kingdome to his couſin Ethelard and went himſelfe to Rome (as aboue is mentioned,) and his wife became a Nunne in the Abbey of Barking, where ſhe was made Abbeſſe, and finally there ended hir lyfe.

This Inas was the fyrſt that raiſed the

money

Peter pens.

money called Peter pens, to bee payde vnto the Biſhop of Rome, which was for euery houſhold within his dominion a pennie.

King Ethelred becommeth a Monke.

Oſtrida.

In this meane time Edilred or Ethelred, hauing gouerned the Kingdome of Mercia by the terme of. xxix. yeares, became a Monke in the Abbey of Bardeny, and after was made Abbot of that houſe. He had to wyfe one Oſtryda the ſiſter of Egfride King of Northumberlande, by whome hee had a ſonne named Ceolred. But he appoynted Kenred the ſonne of his Brother Wulfhere to ſucceed him in the kingdome.

Beda in Epit.

The ſayde Oſtrida was cruelly ſlaine by the treaſon of hir huſbandes ſubiectes, about the yeare of our Lorde. 697.

697

King Kenred.

The foreſayde Kenred was a Prince of greate vertue, deuoute towardes God, a furtherer of the common wealth of his Countrey, and paſſed hys lyfe in greate ſynceritye of maners.

In the fifth yeare of his raigne, he renounced the worlde, and went to Rome, togither with Offa king of Eaſt Saxons, where he was made a Monke: and finally dyed there, in the yeare of our Lorde. 711.

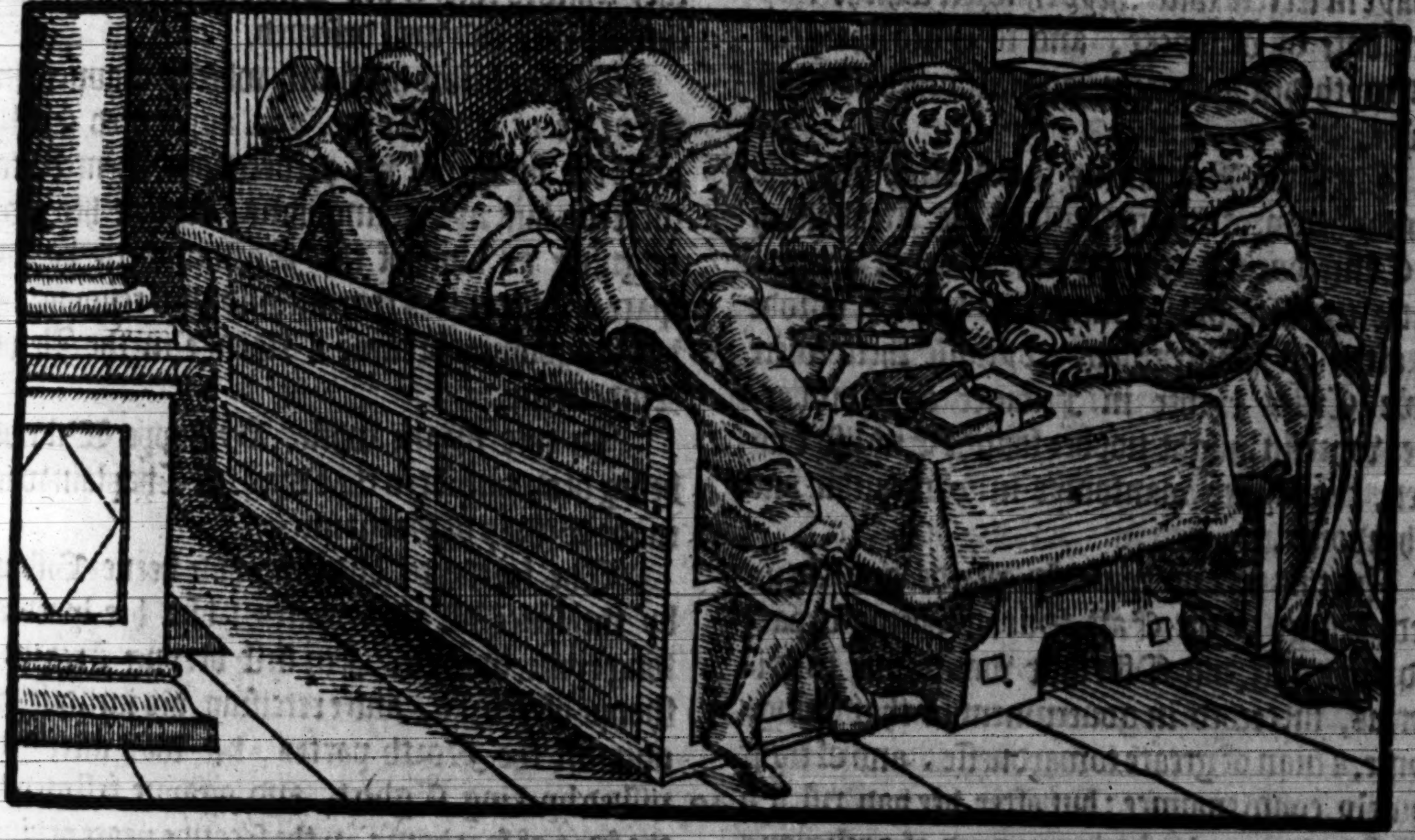
711

Nauclerus.

Egwin Biſhop of Worceſter.

By the ayde and furtherance of this Kenred, a Monke of Saint Benets order (cleped Egwin) buylded the Abbay of Eueſhame. Afterwardes the ſame Egwine was made Biſhoppe of Worceſter.

Wee finde it recorded by wryters, that this Egwine had warning giuen to him by viſions, (as hee conſtantly affyrmed before Pope Conſtantine,) to ſet vp an Image of our Ladie in his Churche. Hereuppon the Pope approuing the teſtifications of this Byſhoppe, by hys Bulles, wrytte to Bryghtwalde the Archbyſhoppe of Canterburie, to aſſemble a Synode, and by authoritie thereof to eſtabliſhe the vſe of Images, charging the kings of this lande to bee preſent at the ſame Synode, vpon paine of excommunication.



ale. 710.

This Sinode was holden about the yeare of our Lorde. 712. in the dayes of Inas King of Weſt Saxons, and of Ceolred king of Mercia, ſucceſſor to the foreſayde Kenred.

Hariſon hath ree onely.

enric. Hūt.

After Kenred ſucceeded Ceolredus, the ſonne of his vncle Edilred, and died in the. viij. yeare of his raigne, and was buried at Lichfielde.

Then ſucceeded Ethelbaldus that was diſcended of Eopa the brother of king Penda, as the fourth from hym by lineall ſucceſſion. Thys man gouerned a long time without any notable trouble: ſome warres he had, and ſped diuerſly.

an. Ceſtren.

In the. xviij. yeare of his raigne he beſieged Sommerton, and wanne it. Hee alſo inuaded Northumberlande, and gotte there great ryches by ſpoyle and pyllage, whiche hee brought from thence without any battaile offered to him.

H. Hunt.

The Welchmen he ouercame in battaile, being then at quiet, and ioyned as cōfederates with Cuthred K. of Weſt Saxōs. But in the. xxxvij. yeare of his raigne, hee was ouercome in battaile at Bereforde by the ſame Cuthred, with whome he was fallen at variance, and within foure yeres after, that is to witte, in the. xlj. yeare of hys raigne, hee was ſlaine in battaile at Secandone, or Sekenton, by his owne ſubiectes, whiche arreared warres agaynſte hym, by the procurement and leading of one Bernred, which after hee had ſlayne his naturall Prince, toke vppon him the Kingdome: but he proſpered not long, being ſlaine by Offa that ſucceeded him in rule of the kingdome of Mercia, as after ſhall be ſhewed. The bodie of Ethelbald was buried at Ripton.

Bereforde.

755

Three miles from Tamworth.

VVil. Malm.

758

Math. VVeſt.

The hyſtorie of Magd.

Bonifacius the Archbiſhop of Ments or Maguntze, hauing aſſembled a Councell wyth other Byſhoppes and Doctours, deuiſed a letter and ſent it vnto this Ethilbert, commending him for his good deuotion and charitie in almes gyuing to the reliefe of the poore, and alſo for his vpright dealing in adminiſtration of Iuſtice, to the puniſhment of robbers and ſuch lyke miſdoers: but in that he abſteyned from maryage and wallowed in filthie lecherie with diuerſe women, and namely with Nunnes, they ſore blamed him and withall declared in what infamie the whole Engliſhe Nation in thoſe dayes remayned by common report in other Countreys for theyr lycencious lyuing in ſinfull fornication, and namely the moſte parte of the Noble men of Mercia by hys euill example did forſake theyr wyues, and defloured other women whiche they kept in adulterie as Nunnes and other.

Nunnes kept for concubines

Moreouer hee ſheweth howe that ſuche euill women, as well Nunnes as other, vſed to make awaye in ſecrete wiſe theyr children whiche they bare oute of wedlocke, and ſo fylled the graues wyth deade bodyes, and hell wyth damned ſoules.

The ſame Bonifacius in an other Epyſtle whiche hee wrote vnto Cutbert the Archbyſhop of Canterburie, counſayleth him not to permitte the Engliſhe Nunnes to wander abrode ſo often on Pylgrymage, bycauſe there were fewe Cities eyther in Fraunce or Lombardye, wherein might not bee founde Engliſh women, that lyued wantonlye in fornication and whoredome.

Pilgrimage of Nunnes.

Kings of the Eaſt Saxons.

Bed.li.5.ca.20

Offa king of Eaſt Saxons.

In this meane tyme Sigharde and Seufred, Kings of the Eaſt Saxons, being departed thys lyfe, one Offa that was ſonne to Sigerius, ſucceeded in gouernment of that Kingdome, a man of greate towardneſſe, and of right comely countenaunce: but after hee had ruled a certayne tyme, hee beeing moued of a religious deuotion, wente vnto Rome in companie of Kenred King of Mercia, and of one Egwine Byſhoppe of Worceſter, and beeing there ſhauen into the order of Monkes, ſo continued tyll hee dyed.

King Selred.

After him one Selred the ſonne of Sigbert the good, ruled the Eaſt Saxons the tearme of xxxviij. yeares.

Hariſon.28.

688

After that Aldulfe the King of Eaſt Angles was departed thys life, whiche chaunced aboute the yeare of oure Lorde. 688. his brother Eltwolde, or Arkwolde ſucceeded him, and raigned about. xij. yeares: After whoſe deceaſſe one Beorne was made king of Eaſtangles, and raigned about. xxvj. yeares.

Hariſon.2:

Hariſon.36.

705

In this meane while, that is to witte, in the yeare of oure Lorde. 705. Alfride king of Northumberlande beeing deade, his ſonne Oſred, a childe of. viij. yeares of age ſucceeded hym in the kingdome, and raigned. xj. yeares, ſpending hys time when he came to rype yeares in fylthie abuſing his bodie wyth Nunnes, and other religious women.

[illegible]

Oſred king of Northumberlande.

About the ſeuenth yeare of his raigne, that is to witte, in the yeare of oure Lorde. 711. one of his Captaynes named Earle Berthfride fought with the Pictes betwixte two places called Heue and Cere, and obteyning the victorie, ſlue an huge number of the enimies.

Pictes ouerthrowne by the Northumbers.

At length King Oſred by the trayterous meanes of hys couſins that arreared warre agaynſte him, was ſlaine in battaile, and ſo ended his raigne, leauing to thoſe that procured his death the lyke fortune in tyme to come. For Kenred raigning two yeares, and Oſricke tenne yeares, were famous onely in this, that beeing worthilye puniſhed for ſhedding the bloud of theyr naturall Prince and ſoueraigne Lorde, they finiſhed their lyues with diſhonourable deathes, as they had well deſerued.

King Oſred ſlaine in battaile.

Oſricke before his death whiche chaunced in the yeare of oure Lorde. 729. appoynted Ceolwolfe the brother of his predeceſſour Kenred, to ſucceede him in the kingdome, whiche hee did, raigning as king of the Northumbers by the ſpace of. viij. yeares currant, and then renouncing his kingdome, became a Monke in the Ile of Lindeſferne.

729

In this meane while, Byſhoppe Wilfride being dead. one Acca that was his Chaplain was made Biſhop of Herham.

Beda.

Acca Biſhop of Hexham.

The foreſayde Wilfride had beene Biſhop by the ſpace of. xlv. yeares: but hee lyued a long tyme in exyle. For firſt beeyng Archebyſhoppe of Yorke, and exerciſing his iuriſdiction ouer all the North partes, hee was after baniſhed by king Egbert, and agayne reſtored to the Sea of Herham, in the ſeconde yeare of king Alfride, and within fiue yeares after eftſoones banyſhed by the ſame Alfride, and the ſeconde tyme reſtored by his ſucceſſour king Oſred, in the fourth yeare of whoſe raigne, beeing the yeare after the Incarnation of oure Sauiour 709. hee departed this lyfe, and was buryed at Rippon.

Moreouer after Iohn the Archebyſhoppe of Yorke had reſigned, one Wilfride ſurnamed the ſeconde, was made Archebiſhoppe of that Sea: whiche Wilfride was Chaplayne to the ſayde Iohn, and gouerned that Sea by the ſpace of fiftene yeares, and then died.

Aboute the yeare of oure Lorde. 710. the Abbot Adrian whiche came into this lande wyth Theodore the Archebyſhoppe of Canterburie (as before yee haue hearde) departed thys lyfe, aboute .xxix. yeares after his comming thyther.

Two Biſhops Seas. *Mat.VVeſt.*

Alſo Inas the king of Weſt Saxons, aboute the .xx. yeare of his raigne, deuided the Prouince of the Weſt Saxons into two Byſhoppes Seas, where as before they had but one.

Biſhop Daniel.

Daniel was ordeyned to gouerne the one of thoſe Seas, being placed at Wincheſter, hauing vnder him Suſſex, Southerie, and Hamſhire: and Aldhelme was appoynted to Shireburne, hauing vnder him, Barkeſhire, Wilteſhire Sommerſetſhire, Dorſetſhyre, Deuonſhire, and Cornwall.

Biſhop Aldelm

This Aldhelme was a learned man, and was firſt made Abbot of Malmeſburie, in the yeare of our Lorde. 675. by Eleutherius then Biſhop of the Weſt Saxons. By his diligence that Abbay was greatly aduaunced, beeing afore that tyme founded by one Meduiſe a Scottiſh man, but of ſo ſmall reuenues afore Aldhelmes tyme, that the Monkes were vneth able to lyue thereon.

The Abbey of Malmeſburie.

Alſo the ſame Aldhelme was a greate furtherer vnto king Inas in the buylding of Glaſtenburie.

Ethelard.

Ethelarde. 728 *Mat.VVeſt.* eb.727.

EThelarde, the couſyn of king Inas, to whome the ſame Inas reſigned hys kingdome, beganne to gouerne ẏ Weſt Saxōs in the yeare of oure Lorde. 724. or rather. 27. which was in the .xj. yeare of the Emperour Leo Iſaurus, in the ſeconde yeare of Theodorus king of Fraunce, and aboute the .viij. or .ix. yeare of Mordacke king of Scottes.

In the firſt yeare of Ethelardes raigne, hee was diſquieted with ciuill warre, which one Oſwalde a Noble manne, diſcended of the royall bloud of the Weſt Saxon Kings, procured agaynſt him: but in the ende, when he perceyued that the kings power was too ſtrong for him, hee fledde oute of the Countrey, leauing it thereby in reſt.

Mat. VVeſt. 729 Blaſing ſtarres

In the yeare. 729. in the Moneth of Ianuarie there appeared two Comets or blaſing Starres, right terrible to beholde, the one riſing in the morning before the riſing of the Sunne, & the other after the ſetting thereof: ſo that the one came before the breake of the day, and the other before the cloſing of the night, ſtretching forth theyr fierie brandes towardes the North, and they appeared thus euerie morning and euening the ſpace of a fourtnight togither, menacing, as it were ſome great deſtruction, or common miſhap to follow.

The Saraſins ſhortly after entred Fraunce, and were ouerthrowne.

Finally, when king Ethelard had raigned the tearme of fourtene yeares currant, hee departed this life.

VVil. malm.

AFter, that Withred king of Kent had gouerned the Kentiſhmē by the ſpace of .xxxiij. yeares, with great commendation, for the good orders which hee cauſed to be obſerued amongeſt them, as well concerning matters eccleſiaſticall as temporall, hee departed this life, leauing behind him three ſonnes whiche ſucceſſiuely raigned as heyres to hym one after another, (that is to ſay) Edbert .xxiij. yeares, Ethelbert .xj. yeares currant, and Alrike, .xxxiij. yeares, the whiche three Princes following the ſteppes of theyr father in the obſeruaunce of politique orders and commendable lawes, vſed for the more parte theyr fathers good lucke and fortune, excepte that in Ethelbertes tyme the Citie of Canterburie was burned by caſuall fyre, and Alrike loſt a battaile agaynſt them of Mercia, whereby the glorie of theyr tymes was ſomewhat blemyſhed: for ſo it came to paſſe that whatſoeuer chaunced euill, was kept ſtill in memorie, and the good happes that came forward, were ſoone forgotten and put out of remembraunce.

Harriſon nameth Ethelbert firſt, giuing him .27. yeares, & Edbert ſecondly allowing him ten complete. *Bed.li.5.ca.24.*

731

In the yeare of our Lorde. 731. Bertwalde Archbyſhoppe of Canterburie departed this lyfe the ſixth Ides of Ianuarie, after he had gouerned that Sea by the ſpace of .xxxvij. yeares. vj. Monethes, and fourteene dayes: in whoſe place the ſame yeare one Tacuine was ordeyned Archebyſhoppe, that before was a Prieſt in the Monaſterie of Bruydon wythin the Prouince of Mercia. Hee was conſecrated in the Citie of Canterburie, by the reuerende Fathers, Daniell Byſhoppe of Wyncheſter, Ingwalde Byſhoppe of London, Aldwine Byſhop of Lichefielde, and Aldwulfe Biſhop of Rocheſter, the .x. day of Iune, being Sunday.

Biſhops what prouinces they gouerned.

And thus in that ſeaſon, the Prouince of Canterburie was gouerned touching the Eccleſiaſticall ſtate, by the Archbyſhoppe Tacwine, and Byſhoppe Aldulfe. The Prouince of the Eaſt Saxons by Biſhop Ingwald, the prouince of Eaſt Angles, by Biſhop Eadbertus, and Hadulacus, the one keeping his Sea at Elham, and the other at Dunwich.

The Prouince of the Weſt Saxons was gouerned by the foreſayd Daniel, and by Forthere, which ſucceeded next after Adhelme in the Sea of Shereburne.

Mat. VVeſt.

This Forthere in the yeare of our Lorde. 738. left his Biſhoprike, and went to Rome in companie of the Queene of the Weſt Saxons. Many as well Kings as Biſhops, noble and vnnoble, Prieſtes and laymen, togither with women, vſed to make ſuch iourneyes thither in thoſe dayes.

The Prouince of Mercia was ruled by the foreſayde Alwine Byſhop of Lichfielde, and one Biſhop Walſtod holding hys Sea at Herforde gouerned thoſe people that inhabited beyond the riuer of Seuerne toward the Weſt.

The Prouince of the Wiccies, that is to meane of Worceſter, one Wilfride gouerned.

The South Saxons, and the Iſle of Wight, were vnder the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

In the Prouince of the Northumbers were foure Biſhops, that is to ſay, Wilfride, Archbyſhop of Yorke, Edilwalde Biſhop of Lindiſferne, Acca Biſhop of Hexham, and Pecthelmus Byſhoppe of Whiterne, otherwiſe called Candida Caſa, hee was the fyrſt that gouerned that Church after the ſame was made a Biſhops Sea. And thus ſtood the ſtate of the Engliſhe Churche for Eccleſiaſticall gouernours in that ſeaſon.

Ethelbald K. of Mercia, of what puiſſance he was.

And as touching temporall gouernment, king Ceoluulf had the ſoueraigne Dominion ouer all the Northumbers: but all the Prouinces on the ſouth ſide of Humber with theyr kings and rulers, were ſubiect vnto Edilbalde or Ethelbald king of Mercia.

The nation of the Picts were in league with the Engliſh men, and gladly became partaker of the Catholike peace and veritie of the vniuerſall Church.

Thoſe Scots which inhabited Brytaine, contenting themſelues with theyr owne boundes, went not about to practiſe any deceytfull traynes nor fraudulent deuiſes agaynſt the Engliſhmen.

The Brytaynes, otherwiſe called Welchmen, though for the more part of a peculiar hatred they did impugne the Engliſh Nation, and the obſeruaunce of the feaſt of Eaſter appoynted by the whole Catholike Churche, yet both deuine and humaine force vtterly reſiſting them, they were not able in neyther behalfe to atteyne to theyr wyſhed intentions, as they which though they were partly free, yet in ſome poynt remayned ſtyll as thrall and mancipate to the ſubiection of the Engliſh men: which Engliſhe men (ſayth Bede) now in acceptable peace and quietneſſe of time, manye amongeſt them of Northumberlande, laying armour and weapon aſide, applie themſelues to the reading of holy Scriptures, more deſyrous to be profeſſed in Religious houſes, than to exerciſe feates of warre: but what wyll come therof (ſayth he) the age that followeth ſhall ſee and beholde. With theſe wordes doth Bede ende his Hyſtorie, continued tyll the yeare of our Lorde. 731. which was from the comming of the Engliſhe men into thys lande, aboute. 285. yeares according to his accounte.

732

In the yeare following, that is to wit. 732. in place of Wilfride the ſeconde, Egbert was ordeyned Biſhop of Yorke.

VVil. Ma

This Egbert was brother vnto an other Egbert, the which as then was King of Northumberlande, by whoſe helpe, hee greatly aduaunced the Sea of Yorke, and recouered the Pall: ſo that where all the other Biſhoppes that helde the ſame Sea before him ſithe Paulines dayes, wanted the Pall, and ſo were accounted ſimply but particuler Biſhoppes: nowe was hee intituled by the name of Archbiſhop. He alſo gotte togyther a great number of good bookes, which he beſtowed in a librarie at Yorke.

733

In the yeare. 733. on the. xviij. Kalendes of September, the Sunne ſuffered a great Eclipſe aboute three of the Clocke in the after Noone, in ſo muche that the Earth ſeemed to bee couered wyth a blacke and horrible Pentiſe.

735

Beda depart
this life,

In the yeare. 735. that reuerende and profounde learned manne Beda departed this lyfe, beeing. lxxij. yeares of age vpon Aſcention day, which was the. vij. Kalendes of Iune, and. xxvj. of May, as Mat. Weſt hath diligently obſerued. Hariſon addeth hereto, that it is to bee read in an olde Epyſtle of Cutbert Monke of the ſame houſe, vnto Cuthwyne, that the ſayd Beda lying in hys death bed, tranſlated the Goſpell of Saint Iohn into Engliſhe, and commaunded his brethren to bee diligent in the reading and contemplation of the bookes and not to exerciſe themſelues wyth fables and friuolous matters.

Finally he was buryed in the Abbey of Girwie, diſtaunt fiue myles from Wyremouth, an Abbay alſo in the North partes, not farre from Newcaſtell (as is before remembred.) Hee was brought vp in thoſe two Abbays, and was ſcholer to Iohn of Beuerlay.

Howe throughly hee was ſeene in all kyndes of good litterature, the bookes which he wrote doe manifeſtly beare witneſſe. His iudgement alſo was ſo much eſteemed ouer all, that Sergius the Biſhoppe of Rome wrote vnto Celfrid the Abbot of Wyremouth, requyring hym to ſende

Beda vnto the Courte of Rome for the decyding of certaine queſtions moued there, whiche without his opinion might ſeeme to reſt doubtfull. But whether hee went thither or not wee can not affyrme: but as it is thought by menne worthie of credite, hee neuer went oute of this lande, but continued for the moſte part of his life in the Abbeyes of Geruie, and Wyremouth, fyrſt vnder Benet the fyſt Abbot and founder of the ſame Abbayes, and after vnder the ſayde Celfride, in whoſe tyme he receyued orders of prieſthoode at the handes of Byſhoppe Iohn, ſurnamed of Beuerlay, ſo that it may be marueyled that a man borne in the vttermoſte corner of the Worlde, ſhoulde proue ſo excellente in all knowledge and learning, that his fame ſhoulde ſo ſpreade ouer the whole earth, and went neuer out of his natiue Countrey to ſeeke it. But who that marketh in reading olde Hyſtories the ſtate of Abbayes and Monaſteryes in thoſe dayes, ſhall well perceyue that they were ordered after the manner of our ſchooles or Colledges, hauing in them dyuerſe learned men, that attended onely to teache and bring vp youth in knowledge of good learning, or elſe to go abrode and preach the word of God in the townes & villages adioining. *Crantzius.*

735 The ſame yeare died the Archbiſhop Tacuine, and in the yeare following, that is to witte. 735. Nothelmus was ordeyned Archbiſhop of Canterburie in his place, and Egbert the Archbyſhop of Yorke the ſame yere got his Pall from Rome, and ſo was confirmed Archbiſhop, and ordeyned two Biſhops, Fruydbert, and Fruydwalde. But ſome refer it to the yeare. 744.

Cuthred.

Cuthred

After the deceaſſe of Ethelard king of weſt Saxons, his coſin Cuthred was made King & gouernour of thoſe people, raigning the terme of. xvj. yeares. He beganne his raigne in the yeare of our Lord. 740. in the. xxiiij. yeare of the Emperour Leo Iſaurus, in the. xiiij. yeare of the raigne of the ſeconde Theodorus Cala king of Fraunce, and aboute the. vj. yeare of Ethfine King of Scottes.

740

Hen. Hunt. *Mat. VVeſt.* This Cutred had muche to doe agaynſte Edilbald king of Mercia, the which one while with ſtyrring his owne ſubiects the Weſt Saxons to rebellion, an other while with open warre, and ſometyme by ſecrete craft and ſubtile practiſes, ſought to diſquiet him.

In the fourth yeare yet of his raigne, a peace was concluded betwixt them, and then ioyning theyr powers togyther, they went agaynſte the Welchmen, and gaue them a great ouerthrow, as before is partly touched.

In the. ix. yeare of this Cuthreds raigne, hys ſonne Kenric was ſlaine in a ſeditious tumult amongſt his men of warre, a Gentleman yong in yeares, but of a ſtoute courage, and verie forwarde, whereby (as was thought) he came the ſooner to his ende.

Kenric the kings ſonne ſlaine.

749

Mat. VVeſt.

751 In the. xj. yeare of his raigne, Cuthred had warres agaynſt one of his Earles called Adelme, who rayſing a commotion againſt him, aduentured to giue battaile, though he had the ſmaller nūber of men, and yet was at poynt to haue gone away with victorie, if by a wounde at that inſtant receyued, his periurie had not beene puniſhed, and the kings iuſt cauſe aduaunced to tryumphe ouer his aduerſarie, whome yet by waye of reconciliation he pardoned. In the. xiij. yeare of his raigne, King Cuthred beeing not well able longer to ſuſtayne the prowde exactions and harde doings of Edelbalde King of Mercia, rayſed hys power, and encountered with the ſame Edelbalde at Hereforde, hauing with hym the foreſayde Earle Adelme, in whoſe valiaunte prowes he put great hope to attaine victorie: neither was he deceyued: for by the ſtoute conduct and noble courage of the ſayde Adelme, the loftie pryde of King Edelbalde was abated, ſo that he was there put to flight, and all his armye diſcomfited, after ſore and terrible fight continued and mainteyned euen to the vttermoſt poynt.

752

Mat. VVeſt.

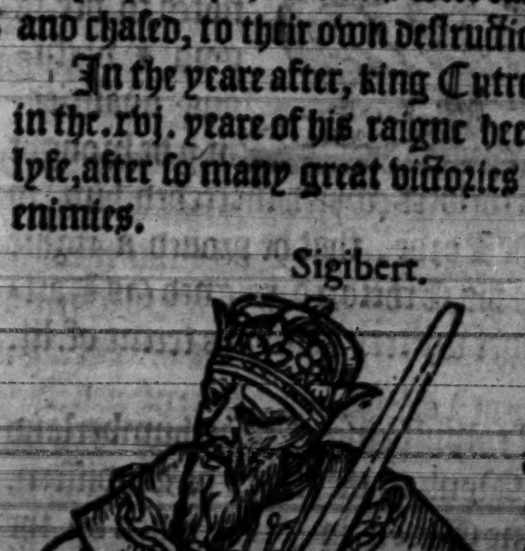
King Edilbald put to flight.

In the. xxiiij. yeare of his raigne, this Cuthred fought eftſoones with the Welchmen, and obteyned the vpper hande, without any great loſſe of his people: for the enimies were eaſily put to flight and chaſed, to their own deſtruction.

In the yeare after, king Cutred fell ſicke, and in the. xvj. yeare of his raigne hee departed thys lyfe, after ſo many great victories got againſt his enimies.

Sigibert.

Sigibert



After hym ſucceeded one Sigibert, a cruell prince & one vnmercifull at home, yet a cowarde abrode.

This Sigbert or Sigibert began his raigne in the yeare of our Lorde. 755. very neare ended. He intreated his ſubiects verie euill, ſetting lawe 755 and reaſon at naught, he could not abide to heare his faultes tolde him, and therefore he cruelly put to death an Earle named Cumbra, which was of his counſaile and faythfully admoniſhed him to reforme his euill doings: wherevpon the reſt of his Nobles aſſembled themſelues togither wyth a great multitude of people, and expelled him out of his eſtate in the beginning of the ſeconde, or (as Hariſon hath) the firſt yeare of hys raigne. Then Sigibert, as hee was fearefull of nature, fearing to bee apprehended, gotte him into the Wodde called as then Andredeſwalde, and there hydde himſelfe, but by chaunce a Swineheard e that belonged to the late Earle Cumbra at Priuetelſfloud founde him oute, and perceyuing what he was, ſlue him in reuenge of his maiſters death.

Lo here you may ſee how the righteous iuſtice of God rewardeth wicked doings in thys world with worthie recompence, as wel as in the worlde to come, appoynting forth euill Princes ſometymes to reigne to the puniſhment of the people, according as they haue deſerued permytting ſome of them to haue gouernment a long tyme, that both the frowarde Nation maye ſuffer long for theyr ſinnes, and that ſuch wicked Princes maye in an other Worlde taſte the more bytter tormentes. Againe, other hee taketh ſhortly out of the way, that the people maye bee deliuered from oppreſſion, & alſo that the naughtie ruler for his miſdemenor may ſpeedily receyue due puniſhment.

Ethel-red.

After Berorne King of Eaſtangles one Ethelred ſucceeded in gouernment of yͤ kingdō, a man noted to bee of good & vertuous qualities, in yͤ he brought vp his ſonne Ethelbert (which ſucceeded him) ſo in the feare of the Lorde, that he proued a righte godly prince. This Ethelored raigned (as Hariſon and alſo other writers haue) the terme of. lij. yeares.

758

Egbert king of Northumberlande.

Har. hath. 21.

758

Chaunging of crownes for Monks cowles

After that Ceolvulf king of Northumberland was become a Monk, in the Abbey of Lindiſſern, his vncles ſonne Egbert by (order taken by the ſayd Ceovulfe) ſucceeded him in the kingdome, & gouerned the ſame right worthily for the terme of xxiiij. yeares, and then became a Monke, by the example both of his predeceſſor the foreſayd Ceovulf, and alſo of diuerſe other kings in thoſe days, ſo that he was the right king who in this lād had chaunged a kings Crowne for a Monks Cowle, (as Simon Dunel. wryteth.)

756

This Edbert (in the. xviij. yere of his raigne,) and Vnguſt king of Pictes came to the Citie of Alcluid with theyr armyes, and there receyued the Brytaynes into theyr ſubiection, the fyrſt day of Auguſt: but the tenth day of the ſame moneth, the armie which he led from Ouan vnto Newbourgh, was for the more part loſt and deſtroyed.

The ſame yeare on the. viij. kalendes of December, the Moone beeing as then in hir full appeared to be of a bloudie coulour, but at length ſhee came to hir accuſtomed colour, after a marueylous meanes, for a ſtarre whiche followed hir, paſſed through hir, and went before hir, the like diſtance as it kept in following hir before ſhe loſt hir vſuall light.

Offa.

758

Mat. VVeſt.

After that Offa had ſlayne Bernred the vſurper of the Kingdome of Mercia (as before is mentioned,) the ſame Offa toke vppon hym the gouernment of that Kingdome. 758. a man of ſuch ſtowtneſſe of ſtomacke, that he thought he ſhould be able to bring to paſſe all things whatſoeuer he conceyued in his mind. He raigned. xxxix. yeares.

VVil. Mal.

His doings were great and marueylous, and ſuche as ſome tymes his vertues ſurpaſſed hys vices, and ſometyme againe his vices ſeemed to ouermatch his vertues.

The victories of king Offa.

Mat. VVeſt.

779

Falſehed in feloſhip.

The Archbiſhops ſea remoued from Canterburie to Lichfielde.

The Kentiſhmen he ouercame in a great battayle at Otteforde, and the Northumbers alſo were by hym vanquiſhed, and in battaile put to flight. With Kenvulfe King of Weſt Saxons hee fought in open battaile, and obteyned a noble victorie, wyth ſmall loſſe of hys people, althoughe the ſame Kenwulfe was a right valyaunt Prince, and a good Captaine. Againe, perceyuing that to proceede wyth craft ſhoulde ſooner aduaunce his purpoſe, than to vſe open force agaynſt Egilbert King of Eaſt Angles, vnder fayre promiſes to giue vnto him hys daughter in maryage, hee allured him to come into Mercia, and receyuing him into hys Palayce, cauſed his heade to be ſtryken off, and after by wrongfull meanes inuaded his kingdome, and got it into his poſſeſſion: yet hee cauſed the bones of the firſt Martyr of this lande Saint Albone (by a myraculous meanes brought to light,) to bee taken vp, and put in a riche ſhrine, adourned with golde and ſtone, buylding a goodly Churche of excellent workemanſhippe, and founding a Monaſterie in that place in honour of the ſame Saint, which he indowed with great poſſeſſions. Hee remoued the Archbiſhops Sea from Canterburie vnto Lichfield, thereby to aduaunce his Kingdome of Mercia, as well in dignitie and preheminēce of Spirituall power as Temporall.

he made great ſuyte to bring that his purpoſe to paſſe in the Court of Rome, and at length by great giftes and rewardes he obteyned it at the handes of Pope Adrian the firſt, as then gouerning the Romaine Sea.

785

at. VVeſt.

And ſo Eadulfus as then Biſhop of Lichfielde was adourned with the Pall, and taken for Archbiſhop, hauing all thoſe Biſhops within the limittes of King Offa his Dominion, Suffraganes vnto him, as Denebertus Byſhop of Worceſter, Werebertus Biſhop of Cheſter, Eadulfus Biſhop of Dorcheſter, Wlnardus Biſhop of Herefordе, Halard Biſhop of Elſham, and Cedferth Biſhop of Donwich. There remayned onely to the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, the Biſhops of London, Wyncheſter, Rocheſter, and Shireburne.

he Archbi-
op Lambert
efended his
uſe.

And this ſeparation continued all the life time of the Archbiſhoppe Lambert, although he trauayled earneſtly to maintayne his prerogatiue, inſomuch for that hee ſtyll defended his cauſe, and woulde not conſent to his will, Offa depriued him of all his poſſeſſions and reuenues that he helde or enioyed wythin any part of his dominions. Neyther was Offa ſatiſfied herewith, but he alſo tooke into his handes the poſſeſſions of manye other Churches, and namely, hee fleeced the houſe of Malmeſburie of parte of hir reuenues. Bycauſe of theſe and other his harde doings, doubting the malice of hys enimes, hee procured the friendſhip of forraine Princes. Vnto Brightricke king of the Weſt Saxons hee gaue hys daughter Ethelburga in mariage. And ſending diuerſe Ambaſſadors ouer vnto Charles the great, that was both Emperour and king of Fraunce, at length he purchaſed his friendſhippe, although before there had depended a peece of diſpleaſure betwixt them, inſomuch that the entercourſe for trade of Merchandize was ſtayed for a tyme.

ffa allyeth
mſelfe with
her Princes.

at VVeſt.

e enter-
rſe of mar-
nts ſtayed.

One of the Ambaſſadors that was ſent vnto the ſaid Charles (as is reported) was that famous clearke Albine, or Alcwine, by whoſe perſwaſion the ſame Charles erected two Vniuerſities, as in place conuenient it may more largely appeare.

wine an
gliſhma.

Finally king Offa (as it were for a meane to appeaſe Gods wrath, which hee doubted to bee iuſtly conceyued towardes him for his ſinnes and wickedneſſe) graunted the tenth part of all hys goodes vnto Church men, and to pore people. He alſo endowed the Church of Herefordе with great reuenues, and as ſome write, he builded the Abbay of Bathe, placing Monkes in the ſame, of the order of Saint Benet, as before hee had done at Saint Albons.

Moreouer hee went vnto Rome, about the yeare of our Lorde. 775. and there following the example of Inas King of the Weſt Saxons, he made his realme ſubiect by way of tribute vnto the Churche of Rome, appoynting that euerye houſe within the limits of his dominions ſhoulde yearely pay vnto the Apoſtolike Sea one pennie, which payment was after named Rome Scot, and Peter pens.

775

Peter pence, or Rome Scot.

After hys returne from Rome, perceyuing himſelfe to drawe into yeares, hee cauſed his Sonne Egfride to bee ordeyned King in hys lyfe tyme: and ſhortly after departing oute of this Worlde, lefte the Kingdome vnto hym, after hee had gouerned it by the ſpace of. xxxix. yeares.

VVil. Malm.

797

Offa departed this life.

Amongſt other the doings of this Offa which ſurely were great and marueylous, this may not paſſe with ſilence, that he cauſed a mightie greate ditch to be caſt betwixte the Marches of hys Countrey, and the Welche confines, to deuide thereby the boundes of their dominions.

This Ditche was called Offa dich euer after, and ſtretched from the South ſide by Bryſtowe, vnder the Mountaynes of Wales, running Northwarde ouer the Ryuers of Seuerne and Dee, vnto the verie mouth of Dee, where that Ryuer falleth into the Sea. Hee likewyſe buylded a Church in Warwikeſhire, whereof the towne there taketh name, and is called Offchurch euen to this day.

Offditch.

Egfred taking vpon him the rule, beganne to follow the approued good doings of his father, and firſt reſtored vnto the Churches theyr auncient priuiledges, which his father ſometime had taken from them. Great hope was conceyued of hys further good proceedings, but death cut off the ſame, taking him out of this lyfe, after he had raigned the ſpace of foure Monethes, not for his owne offences (as was thought) but rather for that hys Father hadde cauſed ſo muche bloud to bee ſpylte for the confyrming of hym in the Kingdome, which ſo ſmall a time he nowe enioyed.

Egfride king of Mercia.

After that Eadbert or Egbert king of Northumberlande was become a Monke, his ſonne Oſoulphus ſucceeded him: but after he had raigned onely one yeare, he was traiterouſly murthered by his owne ſeruants at Mikilwongton, on the. ix. Kalendes of Auguſt.

Eadbert king of Northumberlande.

758

Simon Dun.

H. Hunt.

Then ſucceeded one Molle, otherwiſe called Edilwold or Edilwald, but not immediatly, for he began not his raigne till the Nones of Auguſt in the yeare following, which was after the byrth of our Sauior. 759.

Edilwold king of Northumberland.

Simon Dun.

Henric. Hunt.

This man proued right valiaunt in gouernment of his ſubiects. He ſlue in battaile an Earle of his Countrey named Oſwin, the which arrearing warre agaynſt him, fought with him in a pight fielde at Eadwines Cliue, and receyued the worthie rewarde of rebellion.

This chaunced in the third yeare of his raigne.

Simon Dun.
764

Shortly after, that is to witte in the yeare of our Lorde.764.there fel ſuch a marueylous great ſnowe, and therewith ſo extreeme a froſt, as the like had not beene heard of, continuing from the begynning of the Winter, almoſt tyll the midſt of the Spring, with the rygour whereof, trees and fruites wythered away, and loſt theyr liuely ſhape and growth: and not onely feathered foules, but alſo beaſtes on the lande, and fiſhes in the Sea dyed in great numbers. The ſame yeare died Ceolwulf ſomtyme king of Northumberlande, vnto whome Beda dyd dedicate his booke of Hyſtories of the Engliſh Nation. After that hee was become a Monke in the Monaſterie of Lyndiſferne, the Monkes of that houſe had lycence to drincke Wine, or Ale, where as before they myght not drinke any other thing than milke, or water, by the ancient rule preſcribed the of Biſhop Aydan firſt founder of the place.

Monkes licenced to drinke wine.

The ſame yeare ſundrye Cities, Townes, and Monaſteryes were defaced and ſore waſted with fyre chaunting on the ſodayne, as Stretchn, Ewento, Anwicke, London, Yorke, Doncaſter, and many other.

After that Molle had raigned .vj. yeares, he reſigned his kingdome. But other write that hee raigned .xj. yeares, and was in the ende ſlaine by treaſon of his ſucceſſor Alred.

VVil. Malm.

This Alred raigned ten yeares ouer the Northumbers, and was then expulſed out of his kingdome by his owne ſubiects.

Alred began his raigne in the yeare. 765. as Simō Dun. hath.

Henric. Hūt.
Mat. VVeſt.
Ethelbert.

Then was Ethelbert, named alſo Edelrede, the ſonne of the foreſayde Molle, made king of Northumberlande, and in the fifth yeare of hys raigne, he was dryuen oute of his kingdome by two Dukes of his Countrey, named Edelbalde, and Herebert, the whiche mouing warre againſt him, had ſlaine firſt Aldulfe the ſonne of Boſa the Generall of his armie at Kingeſclyffe, and after Kinewulfe, and Egga, other two of his Dukes, at Helatherne in a ſore foughten fielde, ſo that Ethelbert diſpayring of all recouerie, was conſtrayned to get him oute of the Countrey. And thus was the Kingdome of Northumberlande brought into a myſerable ſtate, by the ambitious working of the Princes and Nobles of the ſame.

H. Hunt.
Iohn Capgraue.
Mat. VVeſt. and others.
Ethelbert king of Eaſt angles.

After that Ethelbert King of Eaſt Angles was dead, his ſonne Ethelbert ſucceeded hym, a Prince of great towardneſſe, and ſo vertuouſly brought vp by his fathers circumſpect care and diligence, that hee vtterly abhorred vice, and delighted onely in vertue and commendable exerciſes, for the better atteyning to knowledge and vnderſtanding of good ſciences. There remayne manye ſundrye ſayings and doyngs of hym, manyfeſtly bearing wytneſſe that there coulde not be a man more honourable, thankefull, curteous or gentle.

The ſaying
king Ethelb.

Amongſt other he had this ſaying oftentimes in his mouth, That the greater that men were, the more humble they ought to beare themſelues: for the Lorde putteth prowde and mightie men from theyr ſeates, and exalteth the humble and meeke. Moreouer he did not ſhew himſelfe onely wiſe in wordes, but deſired alſo to excell in ſtayedneſſe of maners, and continencie of life: Whereby hee wanne to hym the heartes of hys people, who perceyuing that hee was nothing delighted in the companie of women, and therefore mynded not maryage, they of a ſingular loue and fauour towards him, required that he ſhuld in any wiſe yet take a wife, that he might haue iſſue to ſucceed him. At length the matter beeing referred to hys Counſayle, hee was perſwaded to followe theyr aduices. And ſo Alfred the daughter of Offa King of Mercia was fiaunced to hym: ſo that he hymſelfe appoynted (for meane to procure more fauor at hys father in lawes hands) to go to fetch the bride fro hir fathers houſe.

Tokens of miſhap to follow.

Manye ſtraunge things that happened to hym in taking vppon hym this iourney, putte hym in greate doubte of that whiche ſhoulde followe. Hee was no ſooner mounted on hys Horſe, but that (as ſeemed to hym) the earth ſhooke vnder him: Againe, as he was in his iourney, aboute the mydde tyme of the daye, ſuche a darke myſte compaſſed hym on eche ſide, that he coulde not ſee nor diſcerne for a certaine time any thing aboute him at all: Laſtly, as hee laye one night a ſleepe, hee thought hee ſawe in a dreame the rofe of his owne Palayce fall downe to the ground. But althoughe wyth theſe things hee was brought into greate feare, yet hee kept on his iourney, as hee that miſtruſted no deceyte, meaſuring other mens maners by his owne.

The innoce
miſtruſtfull
of no euill.

King Offa right honourably receyued hym: but his wyfe named Quendred, a wyſe woman, but therewyth wicked, conceyued a malicious deuiſe in hir heart, and ſtreyght wayes goeth aboute to perſwade hir huſbande to putte it in execution, which was to murther king Ethelbert, and after to take into hys handes hys Kingdome.

Offa at the firſte was offended wyth hys wyfe for thys motion, but in the ende through the importunate requeſt of the woman, hee conſented to hir minde.

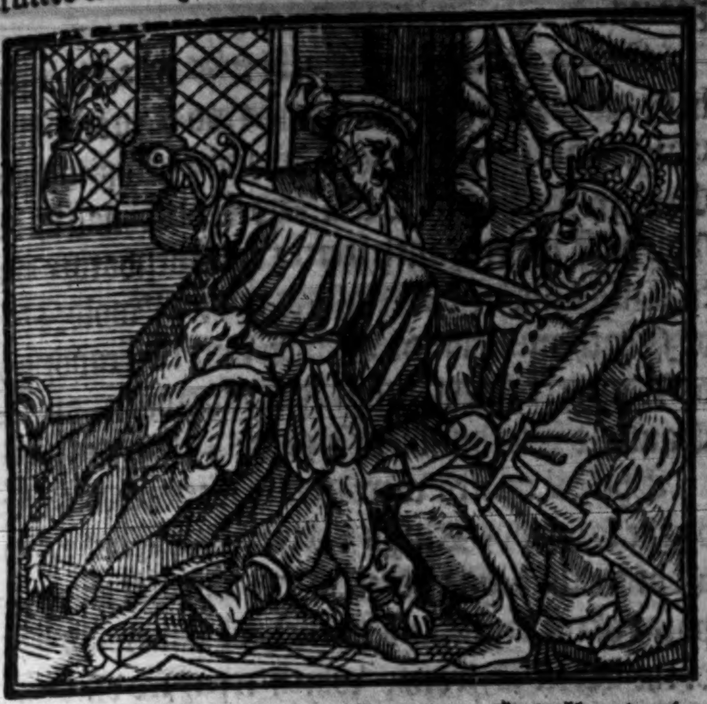
Iohn Capg
Wynnebe

The order of the murther was committed vnto one Wynnebert, that had ſerued both the ſayde Ethelbert and hys father before tyme, the whiche feyning as thoughe hee had beene ſent from Offa to will Ethelbert to come vnto

him

Simon Dun. hath. 771.

him in the night ſeaſon, ſlue him that once miſtruſted not any ſuch treaſon.



Offa conquereth Eaſt Angles.

Offa hauing thus diſpatched Ethelbert, inuaded his kingdome, and conquered it. But when the Bryde Alfreda vnderſtoode the death of hir liked Make and Bridegrome, ſhe abhorring the fact, did curſe father and mother, & as it were inſpired with the ſpirit of prophecie, ſhe pronounced that worthie puniſhment woulde ſhortly fall on hir wicked mother, for hir heynous crime cõmitted in perſwading ſo deteſtable a deede: and according to hir wordes it came to paſſe, for hir mother dyed miſerably within three Monethes after.

lfreda a Nunne.
eda.
at. VVeſt.

The Mayde Alfreda refuſing the worlde, profeſſed hirſelfe a Nunne at Crowlande, the which place beganne to waxe famous aboute the yeare of our Lorde. 695. by the meanes of one Gutlake a man eſteemed of great vertue and holyneſſe, which choſe to himſelfe an habitation there, and departing this lyfe about the yeare of oure Lorde. 714. was buried in that place, where afterwardes an Abbay of Monkes was builded of Saint Benets order.

The bodie of king Ethelbert at length was buried at Hereford, though firſt it was committed to buriall in a vile place, neare to the banke of a riuer called Lugge.

The kingdome of Eaſt Angles from thenceforth was brought ſo into decay, that it remayned ſubiect one while vnto them of Mercia, an other while vnto the weſt Saxons, and ſomewhile vnto them of Kent, till that Edmonde ſurnamed the Martyr obteyned the gouernment thereof, (as after ſhall appeare.)

Hunt.

After that Selred king of Eaſt Saxons had gouerned the tearme of. xxxviij. yeares, hee was ſlaine, but in what maner, wryters haue not expreſſed.

After him ſucceeded one Swithed, or Swithred, the. xj. and laſt in number that particularly gouerned thoſe people. He was finally expulſed by Egbert king of Weſt Saxons, the ſame yeare that the ſayde Egbert ouercame the Kentiſh men (as after ſhall be ſhewed) and ſo the kings of that kingdom of the Eaſt Saxons ceaſſed and tooke ende.

Friſwide a virgine.

About this time, there was a Mayde in Oxforde named Friſwide, daughter to a certaine Duke or Noble man called Didanus, wyth whom one Algarus a Prince in thoſe parties fell in loue, and woulde haue rauiſhed hir, but God the reuenger of ſinnes was at hande as hir ſtorie ſayth. For when Algar followed the mayd that fled before him, ſhe getting into the towne, the gate was ſhutte agaynſt him, and his ſight alſo was ſodainly taken from him. But the Mayde by hir prayers pacifyed Gods wrath towardes him, ſo that his ſight was to him againe reſtored. But whether this bee a fable or a true tale, hereof grewe the report that the kings of thys Realme long tymes after were afrayde to enter into the Citie of Oxforde. So eaſily is the minde of man turned to ſuperſtition, as ſayth Polidore.

Kinewulfe.

Kinewulfe.

Hen. Hunt.

After that the Weſt Saxons had depriued theyr vnprofitable King Sigibert, they aduanced one Kinewulfe or Cinevulfus, yͤ which began his raigne aboute the yeare of our Lorde. 756. which was in the. xvj. yeare of the Emperour Conſtantinus, ſurnamed Copronimos, in the. vj. yeare of the raigne of Pipine king of France, and about the. xxij. yeare of Ethfine king of Scottes.

756

Simon Dun. hath. 755.

The Brytayns vanquiſhed.

This Kinewulfe proued a right worthie and valiant Prince, and was deſcended of the right line of Cerdicius. Hee obteyned great victories agaynſt the Brytaynes or Welchmen, but at Benſington or Benton, he loſt a battaile againſt Offa King of Mercia, in the. xxiiij. yeare of hys raigne: and from that time forwarde taſting many diſpleaſures, at length through his owne folly hee came vnto a ſhamefull ende: for whereas he had raigned a long time neyther ſlouthfully nor preſumptuouſly, yet nowe as it were aduaunced with the glorie of things paſſed, hee eyther thought that nothing coulde go againſt him, or elſe doubted the ſuretie of their ſtate whom he ſhould leaue behind him; and therefore he conſined one Kineard the brother of Sigibert, whoſe fame hee perceyued to encreaſe more than hee woulde haue wiſhed.

This Kinearde diſſembling the matter, as hee that coulde giue place to tyme, gotte him out of the Countrey, and after by a ſecrete conſpiracie aſſembled togyther a knotte of vngracious companie, and returning priuily into the Countrey againe, watched his tyme, till he eſpied that the King wyth a ſmall number of his ſeruauntes was come vnto the houſe of a Noble woman whome hee kept as Paramour at Merton, whervpon the ſayd Kineard vpon the ſodain beſet the houſe round about.

The King perceyuing himſelfe thus beſieged of his enimies, at the firſt cauſed the doores to be ſhutte, ſuppoſing eyther by curteous wordes to appeaſe his enimies, or wyth his Princely authoritie to put them in feare. But when he ſawe that by neyther meane hee coulde doe good, in a great chauſe he brake forth of the houſe vpon Kineard, and went verie neare to haue killed him: but beeing compaſſed aboute with multitude of enimies, whyleſt hee ſtoode at defence, thinkyng it a diſhonour for hym to flie, hee was beaten downe and ſlaine, togyther with thoſe fewe of his ſeruauntes which hee had there with hym, who choſe rather to die in ſeeking reuenge of their maiſters death, than by cowardice to yeeld themſelues into the murtherers handes. There eſcaped none excepte one Welchman or Brytayne, an Hoſtage, who was neuertheleſſe ſore wounded.

Kenelwulf ſlain by cõſpirators.

The bruyte of ſuche an heynous acte was ſtreyght wayes blowen ouer all, and brought with ſpeede to the eares of the Noble men and Peeres of the Realme, whiche were not farre off the place where this ſlaughter had beene committed. Amongeſt other, one Oſrike, for his age and wiſedome accounted of moſt authoritie, exhorted the reſidue that in no wyſe they ſhoulde ſuffer the death of their ſoueraigne Lorde to paſſe vnpuniſhed vnto theyr perpetuall ſhame and reproufe. Wherevpon in all haſte they ranne to the place where they knew to finde Kineard, who at the fyrſt beganne to pleade hys cauſe, to make large promiſes, to pretende couſynage, and ſo forth: but when he perceyued all that hee coulde ſay or doe might not preuaile, hee encouraged his companie to ſhewe themſelues valyaunt, and to reſyſt theyr enimyes to the vttermoſte of theyr powers.

Herevpon followed a doubtfull fight, the one part ſtryuing to ſaue theyr lyues, and the other to attaine honour, and puniſh the ſlaughter of theyr ſoueraigne Lorde. At length the victorie reſted on the ſide where the right was, ſo that the wicked murtherer after hee had fought a while, at length was ſlaine, togyther wyth foureſcore and eight of his Mates. The Kings bodie was buried at Wincheſter, and the murtherers at Repingdon. Suche was the ende of King Kinewulfe, after hee had raigned the tearme of .xxxj. yeares.

Sim. Dunel.
H. Hunt.

Eccle. hyſt. Magd.
785. H.H.

Legates from the Pope.

In the yeare of our Lorde .786. or as Hariſon hath .787. Pope Adrian ſent two Legates into Englande, Gregorie (or as ſome Copies haue George) Biſhop of Oſtia, and Theophilactus biſhop of Tuderto, with letters commendatory vnto Offa king of Mercia, and vnto Alfwolde king of Northumberlande, and likewiſe to Ieanbright or Lambert Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and to Eaubald Archbiſhop of Yorke.

Theſe Legates were gladly receyued, not only by the foreſayde Kings & Archbiſhops, but alſo of all other the high eſtates, aſwel ſpiritual and temporal of the lande, and namely of Kinewulfe king of the Weſt Saxons, which repayred vnto king Offa to take counſaile with him for reformation of ſuche articles as were conteyned in the Popes letters.

Twentie ar cles which th Legates had to propone.

There were .xx. ſeuerall articles whiche they had to propone on the Popes behalfe, as touching the receyuing of the faith or articles eſtabliſhed by the Nicene Coũcel, & obeying of the other general Councels with inſtructions concerning baptiſme and keeping of Synodes yearely, for the examination of Prieſtes and Miniſters, and reforming of naughtie liuers.

Moreouer touching diſcretion to be vſed in the admitting of gouernors in Monaſteries, and Curates or prieſts to the miniſterie in Churches: and further for the behauior of prieſts in wearing their apparell, namely that they ſhould not preſume to come to the aulter bare legged, leaſt their diſhoneſtie might be diſcouered. And that in no wiſe the Chalice or Paten were made of the horne of an Oxe, bycauſe the ſame is bloudie of nature: nor the hoſt of a cruſt, but of pure bread.

Alſo whereas Biſhops vſed to ſitte in Councels to iudge in ſecular cauſes, they were nowe forbidden ſo to doe.

Many other things were for meane of reformation artycled both for ſpirituall cauſes, and alſo concerning ciuill ordinaunces, as diſſenabling children to be heyres to the parentes, whiche by them were not begotte in lawfull matrimonie, but on cõcubines, whether they were Nunnes or ſecular women.

Nunnes co cubines.

Alſo of paymẽt of tithes, performing of vowes, auoyding of vndecent apparell, and aboliſhing of all maner of Ethniſh vſages and cuſtomes that ſounded contrarie to the order of Chriſtianitie, as curtayling horſes, and eating of horſes fleſh.

Curtayling horſes.

Theſe things with many other expreſſed in .xx. principal articles (as we haue ſayd) were firſt concluded to be receyued by the Church of the Northumbers, in a Councell holden there, & ſubſcribed by Alfwold king of the Northũbers, by Delberke

Biſhop of Herham by Eanbalde Archbiſhop of Yorke, Hygwalde Byſhop of Lyndiſferne, Edelbert Biſhop of Whiterne, Alouſe Byſhoppe of Myeth. Ethelwyne alſo an other Byſhop by his deputies, with a number of other of the Clergie, and Lordes alſo of the temporaltie, as Duke Alrike, Duke Segwulfe, Abbot Aldericke, and Abbot Erhard.

After this confirmation had of the Northumbers, there was alſo a counſell holden in Mercia, at Cealtide in the which theſe perſons ſubſcribed, Jambert or Lambert Archbiſhop of Canterburie, Offa King of Mercia, Hughbright Biſhop of Lichfield, Edeulfe Biſhoppe of Faron, with Unwone Biſhop of Ligor, and nine other Biſhops beſide Abbots, and three Dukes, as Brorda, Farwalde, and Bercoald, with Earle Othbalde.

But nowe to returne backe to ſpeake of other doings, as in other parties of this lande they fell out.

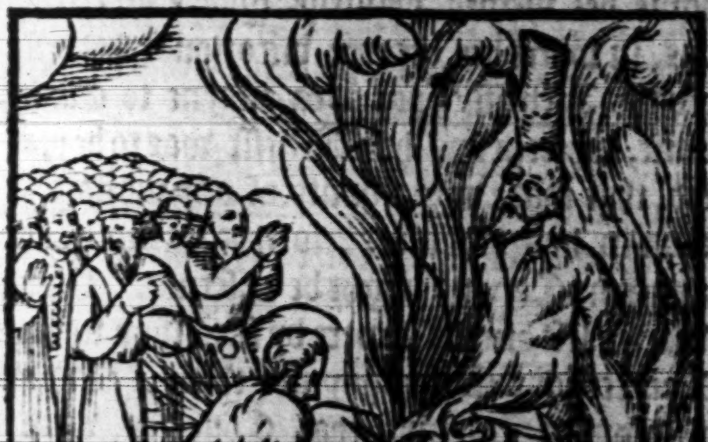
764

Aboute the yeare of our Lorde. 764. the Sea of Canterburie beeing voyde, one Jambert or Lambert was elected Archbiſhop there, and in the yeare. 766. the Archbiſhop of Yorke Egbert departed this lyfe, in whoſe place one Adelbert ſucceeded.

imon Dun.
ath. 780.

imon Dun.

About the. xxv. yeare of Kynwulfe king of Weſt Saxons, the Northumbers hauing to their captaynes two noble men, Oſbalde and Ethelherard, burned one of their Judges named Bearn, bycauſe hee was more cruell in iudgement (as they tooke the matter) than reaſon required.



The ſame tyme, one Alwalde or Alfwolde, raigned ouer the Northumbers, beeing admitted King, after that Ethelbert was expulſed, and when the ſame Alfwolde had raigned tenne, (or as other haue. xj.) yeares, he was trayterouſly, and without all guilt made away, and murthered by his owne people. The chiefe conſpiratour was named Siga, and his bodie was buried at Hexam.

e began his
igne Anno
79 as hath
mon Dunel.
d raigned
t ten yeares.

The ſame Alfwolde was a iuſt Prince, and worthilye gouerned the Northumbers to his hyghe prayſe and commendation. He was murthered (as before yee haue hearde,) the. xxiij. of September, in the yeare of our Lorde. 788.

788

Mat. VVeſt.
Simon Dun.
792

In the yeare. 792. Charles king of Fraunce ſent into Brytaine a booke which had beene ſent vnto him from Conſtantinople, conteyning certaine articles agreed vpon in a Synode (wherein were preſent aboue the number of three hundred Biſhops) quite contrarie and diſagreeing from the true fayth, namely in thys, that Images ought to be worſhipped, which the Church of god vtterly abhorreth. Agaynſt this booke Alcuinus that famous Clearke wrote a treatiſe confirmed with places taken out of holy Scripture, which treatiſe with the booke in name of all the Biſhops and Princes of Brytayne, he preſented vnto the king of Fraunce.

Simon Dun.
800

In the yeare. 800. on Chriſtmaſſe euen chaunced, a marueylous tempeſt of windes, which ouerthrew whole Cities and townes in diuers places, and trees in greate number, beſide other harmes which it did, as by death of Cattell, &c. In the yeare following a great part of the Citie of London was conſumed by fire.

Brightrichus.

Brigh-tricus.

Hen. Hunt.
Mat. VVeſt.
hath. 787.
Simon Dun.
hath. 786.

After Kenewulfe, one Bricrichus, or Brightric was ordeyned King of Weſt Saxons, and began his raign in the yeare of oure lord. 787. which was aboute the viij. yeare of the gouernment of the Empreſſe Eirene with hir ſonne Conſtantinus, and about the ſecond yeare of the raigne of Achaius king of Scottes.

This Brightrike was procreate of the line of Cerdicius the firſt king of Weſt Saxons, and xvj. in number from him. He was a man of nature quiet and temperate, more deſirous of peace than of warre, and therefore he ſtoode in doubt of ẏ noble valiancie of one Egbert, which after ſucceeded him in the kingdome. The linage of Cerdicius was in that ſeaſon ſo cõfoũded and mingled, that euerie one as he grew to greateſt power, ſtroue to be king and ſupreme gouernor. But ſpecially Egbertus was knowne to be one that coueted the place, as hee that was of the bloud royall, and a man of greate power and luſtie courage.

Egbert baniſhed.

King Brightrike therefore to liue in more ſuertie, baniſhed him the lande, and appoynted him to goe into Fraunce.

Egbert vnderſtanding for certaine that this his departure into a forraine Countrey ſhoulde turne to his aduauncement in time to come, obeyed the kings pleaſure.

A ſtraunge wonder.

About the thirde yeare of Brightrykes raigne, there fell vpon mens garmentes as they walked abrode, Croſſes of bloudie colour, and bloud fell from heauen as drops of raigne.

Mat. VVeſt.
VVil. Malm.
Hen. Hunt.
Danes.

Some tooke this wonder for a ſignification of the perſecution that followed by the Danes: for ſhortly after in the yeare enſuing, there arryued three Daniſh ſhippes vpon the Engliſh coaſtes, againſt whome the Lieutenant of the parties adioyning made forth to apprehend thoſe that were come a lande, howbeeit aduenturing himſelfe ouer raſhly amongeſt them, he was ſlaine: but afterwardes when the Danes perceyued that the people of the Countreyes aboute beganne to aſſemble, and were comming agaynſt them, they fled to theyr ſhippes, and left their pray and ſpoile behinde them for that time.

These were the fyrſt Danes that arryued here in this lande, beeing onely ſente (as was perceyued after) to viewe the Countrey, and coaſtes of the ſame, to vnderſtande howe with a greater power they myght bee able to inuade it, as ſhortly after they did, and warred ſo wyth the Engliſhe men, that they got a greate parte of the lande, and helde it in theyr owne poſſeſſion.

In the tenth yeare of King Brightrykes raigne, there were ſeene in the ayre fyrie Dragons flying, whiche betokened (as was thought) two grieuous plagues that followed. Fyrſt a greate dearth and famine: and ſecondly the cruell warre of Danes, which ſhortly followed, as yee ſhall heare.

Famine and warre ſignified

Finally, after that Brightrike had raigned the ſpace of .xvj. yeares, he departed this life, and was buried at Warham.

Ran. Ceſtren. li.5.cap.25.
Brightrike departed this life

Some wryte that hee was poyſoned by hys wife Ethelburga, whom he maryed in the fourth yeare of his raigne. Shee was daughter vnto Offa King of Mercia (as before yee haue heard.) Shee is noted by wryters to haue beene a verye euill woman, proude, and high mynded as Lucifer, and therewyth diſdaynfull. Shee bare hir the more ſtately by reaſon of hir fathers greate fame and magnificence: whome ſhee hated ſhee woulde accuſe to hir huſbande, and ſo put them in daunger of theyr lyues. And if ſhe might not ſo wreake hir rancour, ſhee woulde not ſticke to poyſon them.

Ethelburga hir conditions and wicked nature.

And ſo it happened one daye, as ſhee ment to haue poyſoned a yong Gentleman, agaynſte whome ſhee hadde a quarell, the King chaunced to taſte of that Cuppe, and dyed therof (as before ye haue heard.)

Hir purpoſe indeede was not to haue poyſoned the King, but onely the yong Gentleman, the which drinking after the King died alſo, the poyſon was ſo ſtrong and vehement.

A decree of the kings of the Weſt Saxons agaynſt their wiues.

For hir heynous cryme it is ſayde that the Kings of Weſt Saxons woulde not ſuffer their wyues to be called Queenes, nor permitte them to ſit with them in open places (where their Maieſtie ſhoulde bee ſhewed) of manye yeares after.

The ende of Ethelburga.
Simon Dun.

Ethelburga fearing puniſhment, fledde into Fraunce with greate ryches and treaſure, and was wel cheriſhed in the Court of King Charles at the firſt, but after ſhe was thruſt into an Abbey, and demeaned hirſelf ſo lewdly there, in keeping companie with one of hir owne Countrey men, that ſhee was baniſhed the houſe, and after died in great miſerie.

VVil. Mal.
Kenulf.

Egbert king of Mercia departing this lyfe, after he had raigned foure Monethes, ordeyned his couſin Kenulfe to ſucceede in his place, which Kenulfe was come of the lyne of Penda king of Mercia, as rightly decended from hys brother Kenwalke.

This Kenulfe for his noble courage, wiſedome, and vpryght dealing, was worthie to be cōpared with the beſt Princes that haue raigned. His vertues paſſed hys fame: nothing hee dyd that enuye coulde with iuſte cauſe reprone. At home hee ſhewed hymſelfe godlye and religious, in warre hee became victorious, hee reſtored the Archbiſhoppes Sea agayne to Canterburie, wherein hys humbleneſſe was to be prayſed, that made no accounte of any worldly honour in hys Prouince, ſo that the order of the auncient Canons might be obſerued. Hee had warres left him as it were by ſucceſſion from his Predeceſſour Offa agaynſte them of Kent, and thervppon entering that Countrey wyth a mightie armie, waſted and ſpoyled the ſame, and encountering in battayle wyth King Edbert, or Ethelbert, otherwiſe called alſo Premne, ouerthrewe his armie, and tooke him pryſoner in the fielde, but afterwardes he releaſed, him to his great prayſe and commendation. For where as hee buylded a Churche at Winchcombe vpon the day of the dedication thereof, hee ledde the Kentiſhe King as then hys pryſoner vp to the highe Aulter, and there ſette him at libertye, declaring thereby a greate proofe of hys good nature.

The Archbiſhops ſea reſtored to Ca terburie.

The king of Kent taken priſoner.

There was preſent at that ſight, Cuthred whō he had made king of Kent in place of Ethelbert, or Edbert, with .xiiij. Biſhoppes and ten Dukes. The noyſe that was made of the people in reioyſing at the kings bounteous liberalitie was merueylous. For not only he thus reſtored yͤ Kentiſh king

Keoulfes liberality towards Churchmen, which was not forgotten by them in their hiſtories.

King to libertie, but alſo he beſtowed greate rewardes vpon all the Prelates and noble men that were come to the feaſt, euery Prieſt had a peece of golde, and euery monke a ſhilling. Alſo hee gaue away great giftes amongſt the people, and founded in that place an Abbey, endowing the ſame with great poſſeſſions. Finally, after he had raigned .24. yeares, he departed this life, and appoynted his buriall to be in yͤ ſame Abbey of Winchcome, leauing behinde him a ſon named Kenelme, who ſucceeded his father in the Kingdome, but was ſone murthered by hys vnnaturall ſiſter Quenbred the ſeuenteenth of July, as hereafter ſhall be ſhewed.

Oſred.

788

W. Mal.
Mat. Weſt.
H. Hunton.
Sim. Dunel.

Duke Eardulf taken and wounded.

792

After that Aſwald King of Northumberland was made away, his brother Oſred the ſonne of Alred tooke vppon him the rule of that Kyngdome anno.788. and within one yere was expulſed, and lefte the Kingdome to Ethelbert or Edelred as then reuoked out of exile, in whiche hee had remayned for the ſpace of .12. yeres, and nowe beeing reſtored, he continued in gouernemente of the Northumbers four yeares, or as ſome ſay .7. yeres. In the ſecond yere whereof Duke Eardulfe was taken and led to Ripon, & there without the gate of the monaſterie wounded, as was thought to death by the ſaid K. but the Monks taking his body, and laying it in a tent without the Church, after midnight he was found aliue in yͤ Churche. Moreouer, about the ſame time, yͤ ſonnes of king Alfwald wer by force drawen out of the Citie of Yorke, but firſte by a wile they were trayned out of the head Church where they had taken Sanctuary, & ſo at length miſerably ſlain by K. Ethelbert in Wonwaldremere, the one of them highte Alfus, and the other Alfwine. In the yeare of oure Lord.792. Oſred vpon truſt of the othes and promiſes of dyuers noble men, ſecretly returned into Northumberland, but his own ſouldiers forſooke him, and ſo was he taken and by king Ethelberts commaundement put to death at Cunburg on yͤ fourteenth day of September. The ſame yere K. Ethelbert married yͤ Lady Alfled the daughter of Offa King of Mercia, forſaking his former wife which he had, hauing no iuſt cauſe of diuorſe giuen on hir part, whereby his people tooke ſuch diſpleaſure againſte him, that finally after he hadde raigned now this ſecond time four yeres, or (as other haue) ſeuen yeres, he could not auoyde the deſteny of his predeceſſors, but was miſerably killed by his owne ſubiectes at Cobre, the eightenth day of April. After whome, one Oſwald a noble man, was ordeyned K. and within a. 27. or. 28. dayes after, was expulſed, & cõſtreined to flee firſt into the Iſle of Lindeſferne, & frõ thence vnto the K. of Pictes. Then Ardulfe yͤ was a Duke, & ſon to one Arnulfe, was reuoked out of exile, & made K. & cõſecrated at Yorke by yͤ Archb. Cunbalde, & three other Biſhops, the .25. of June, in the yere 796. About a two yeres after, to witte, in the yere 798. one Duke Wade, and other conſpiratours whiche had bin alſo partakers in yͤ murthering of K. Ethelbert, reyſed war againſte K. Ardulf, and fought a battell with him at Walley, but K. Ardulf got yͤ vpper hand, & chaſed Wade & other his enimies out of the field. In the yeare .799. Duke Aldred that had murthered Ethelbert or Athelred K. of Northumberlande, was ſlaine by another Duke called Thorthmond, in reuenge of the death of his maſter yͤ ſaide Ethelbert. Shortly after, about yͤ ſame time yͤ Brightrike K. of Weſt Saxons departed this life, there was a ſore battell foughten in Northumberlãd at Wellehare, in yͤ which Alrick yͤ ſon of Herbert, and many other wͭ him were ſlain: but to reherſe all the battels with their ſucceſſes and iſſues, it ſhoulde be too tedious & irkſome to yͤ readers, for the Engliſh people being naturally hard and high minded, continually ſcourged each other with inteſtine warres. About ſixe or ſeuẽ yeres after this battel, K. Ardulf was expulſed out of yͤ eſtate. And thus may ye conſider in what plight things ſtoode in Northumberlãd. by the often ſeditious tumultes and chaungings of gouernors, ſo that there be which haue writte,

Holy ilande.

Ardulf.

796

Walalege.

799

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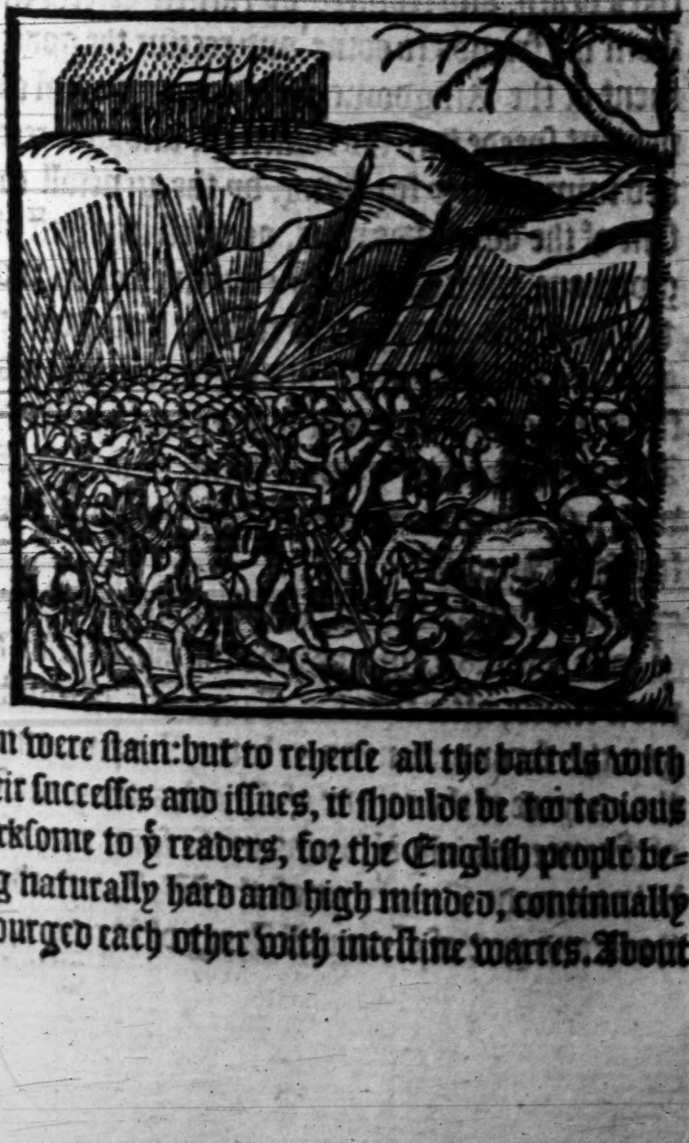
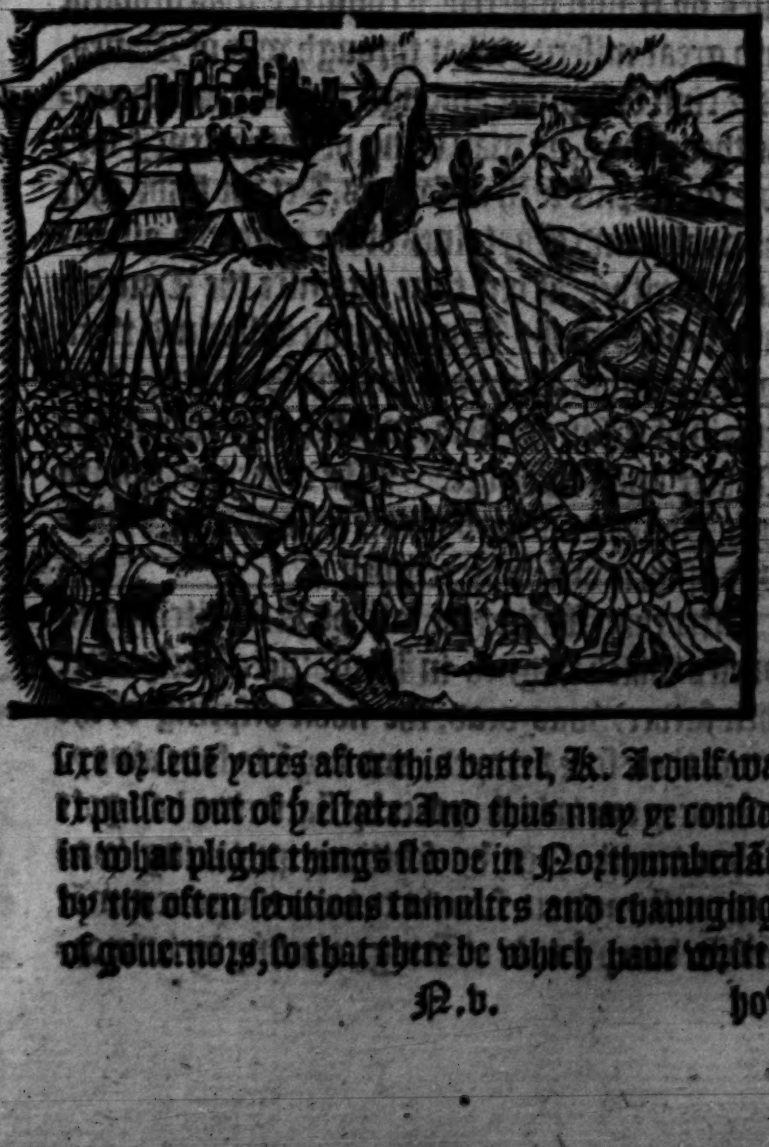




how after the death of King Ethelbert otherwiſe called Edelred, diuers Biſhops and other of the chiefeſt nobles of the countrey diſdeyning ſuche trayterous princequellings, ciuill ſedition, and iniurious dealings, as it were put in dayly practiſe amongſt the Northumbers, departed out of their natiue bordures into voluntary exile, and that frõ thenceforth there was not any of the nobilitie, that durſt take vpon him the kingly gouernement amongſt them, fearing the prerogatiue deſtiny thereof, as if it had bin *Seianes* horſe, whoſe rider came euer to ſome euil end. But yet by that whiche is heeretofore ſhewed out of Simon Dunelmenſis, it is euident, that there raigned Kings ouer the Northumbers, but in what authority and power to command, it may be doubted: Howbeit this is certaine, that the ſundry murderings and baniſhmentes of their kings and Dukes giue vs greatly to geſſe, that there was but ſory obediẽce vſed in the countrey, wherby for no ſmall ſpace of time that kingdome remayned without an head gouernor, beeing ſet open to the pray and iniurie of them that were bordurers vnto it, and likewiſe vnto ſtraungers: for the Danes whiche in thoſe dayes were great rouers, had landed before in the North partes, & ſpoyled the Abbey of Lindeſfarne otherwiſe called holy iland, & perceiuing yͤ fruitefulneſſe of the countrey, & eaſineſſe for their people to inuade it (bycauſe that through their priuate quarelling, there was little publike reſiſtance to be loked for) at their comming home, entiſed their countreymen to make viages into England, and ſo landing in Northumberlande, did much hurt, and obteined a great part of yͤ countrey in maner without reſiſtance, bycauſe there was no Ruler there able to reyſe any power of men by publike authoritie to encounter with the common enimies, by reaſon whereof, yͤ countrey was brought into great miſerie, what through war of Danes, & the ciuil diſſention amongſt the nobles and people themſelues, no man being of authority (I ſay) able to reforme ſuch miſorders. Yet we finde, that the nobles and Captaines of the countrey, aſſembling togither at one time againſte the Danes yͭ were landed about Tinemouth, conſtreined them by ſharp fight to flee back to their Shippes, & toke certain of thẽ in the field, whoſe heads they ſtroke off there vpon the ſhore. The other that gote to their Shippes, ſuffered greate loſſe of men, & likewiſe of their veſſels by tempeſt.

This chanced in the yere of our Lorde 793. as Simon Dunel. hath.

The Danes inuade Northumberland.

The Danes vanquiſhed.

This was anno 794. as Simon Duncl. hath.

After that Alrike (the laſt of K. Witchtredes ſonnes which raigned in Kent ſucceſſiuely after their father) was dead, the noble offſpring of the kings there ſore decayed, and begã to fade away, ſo yͭ euery one which eyther by flattering had gote riches togither, or by ſeditious pertaking was had in eſtimation, ſought to haue the gouernmẽt and to vſurp yͤ title of King, abuſing by vnworthy meanes the honor and dignitie of ſo high an office. Amongſt other, one Edbert or Edelberte ſurnamed alſo Prenne, gouerned the Kentiſhmen for the ſpace of two yeres, & was in the ende vanquiſhed by them of Mercia, and taken priſoner as before is ſaid, ſo that for a time he liued in captiuitie, & although afterwardes he was ſet at libertie, yet was he not receyued againe to the Kyngdome, ſo that it is vncertaine what end he made. Cuthred that was appointed by Kinevulfe yͤ K. of Mercia, to raigne in place of the ſaide Edberte or Edelbert, continued in the gouernement eyght yeres as king, rather by name than by acte, inheriting his predeceſſors euill happe and calamitie, through factions and ciuill diſcord.

Edbright.

After that Iambrith or Lambert the Archbiſhop of Canterburie was departed this life, one Edelred was ordeined in his place, vnto whome the primacie was reſtored, which in his predeceſſors time was taken away by Offa K. of Mercia, as before is recited. Alſo after yͤ deathe of Eubalde Archbiſhop of Yorke, another of the ſame name called Eubald the ſecond, was admitted to ſucceede in that ſee.

Lambert.

After that Brightrike yͤ K. of Weſt Saxons was departed this life, meſſengers were ſent with all ſpeede into Fraunce, to giue knowledge thereof vnto Egberte, which as before is ſhewed, was conſtreined by the ſaide Brightrike to departe the countrey. At the firſt, he withdrew vnto Offa K. of Mercia, with whom hee remained for a tyme, til at length, through ſuite made by Brightrike, he perceiued hee mighte not longer continue there without danger to be deliuered into his enimies hands, and ſo Offa winking at the matter) he departed out of his countrey, and gote him ouer into Fraunce, but being now aduertiſed of Brightrikes death, and required by earneſt letters ſente from his friends to come and receiue the gouernment of the Kingdome, he returned with al conuenient ſpeede into his countrey, and was receyued immediately for King, by the generall conſent of the Weſt Saxons, as well in reſpect of yͤ good hope which they had conceiued of his worthy qualities and aptneſſe to haue gouernement, as of his royall lignage, beeing lineally diſcended from Inegild the brother of K. Inas, as ſonne to Alkemounde, that was the ſonne of one Eaffa, which Eaffa was ſonne to Ope the ſonne of the foreſayd Inegild.

Egbert receyued King of Weſt Saxons. His lignage.

Egbert.

This Egbert began his raigne in the yeare of our Lord. 80. whiche was the fourth yeare almoſt ended, after that the Emperour Eirine began the ſeconde time to rule the Empire, and in the. 14. yere of the raigne of Charles the great K. of France, whiche alſo was in the ſame yere after he was made Emperour of the Weſt, and about the ſecond yere of Conwall King of Scottes.

802. as Simo
Dunel. and M
W. hath note
but 801. as
William Har
riſon pro
it out of Ma

Whileſt this Egbert remayned in exile, he turned his aduerſaries into occaſion of valiancie, as it had bin a grindelſtone to grind away & remoue the ruſt of ſluggiſh ſlouthfulnes, in ſo much, that haunting yͤ wars in France, in ſeruice of Charles the Great, he atteined to great knowledge & experience, both in matters apperteyning to the wars, & likewiſe to yͤ well ordering of a common welth in time of peace. The firſt warres that he tooke in hand, after he had atteyned to yͤ kingdom, was againſt the Cornishmē, a remeant of the old Britaines, whome he ſhortly ouercame and ſubdued. Thē he thought good to tame yͤ vnquiet Welchmen, yͤ which ſtil were ready to moue Rebellion againſt the Engliſhmen, as they that being vanquiſhed, woulde not yet ſeeme to bee ſubdued,

Sim. Dunel.
H. Hunton.

wherefore about the. 14. yere of his raigne, he inuaded the countrey of Wales, and went through the ſame frō Eaſt to Weſt, not finding any perſon yͭ durſt reſiſt him. Thus K. Egbert hauing ouercome his enimies of Wales and Cornewall, began to growe in authoritie aboue all the other rulers within this lande, in ſo much, that euery of thē began to feare their owne eſtate,

Bernulf King of Mercia.

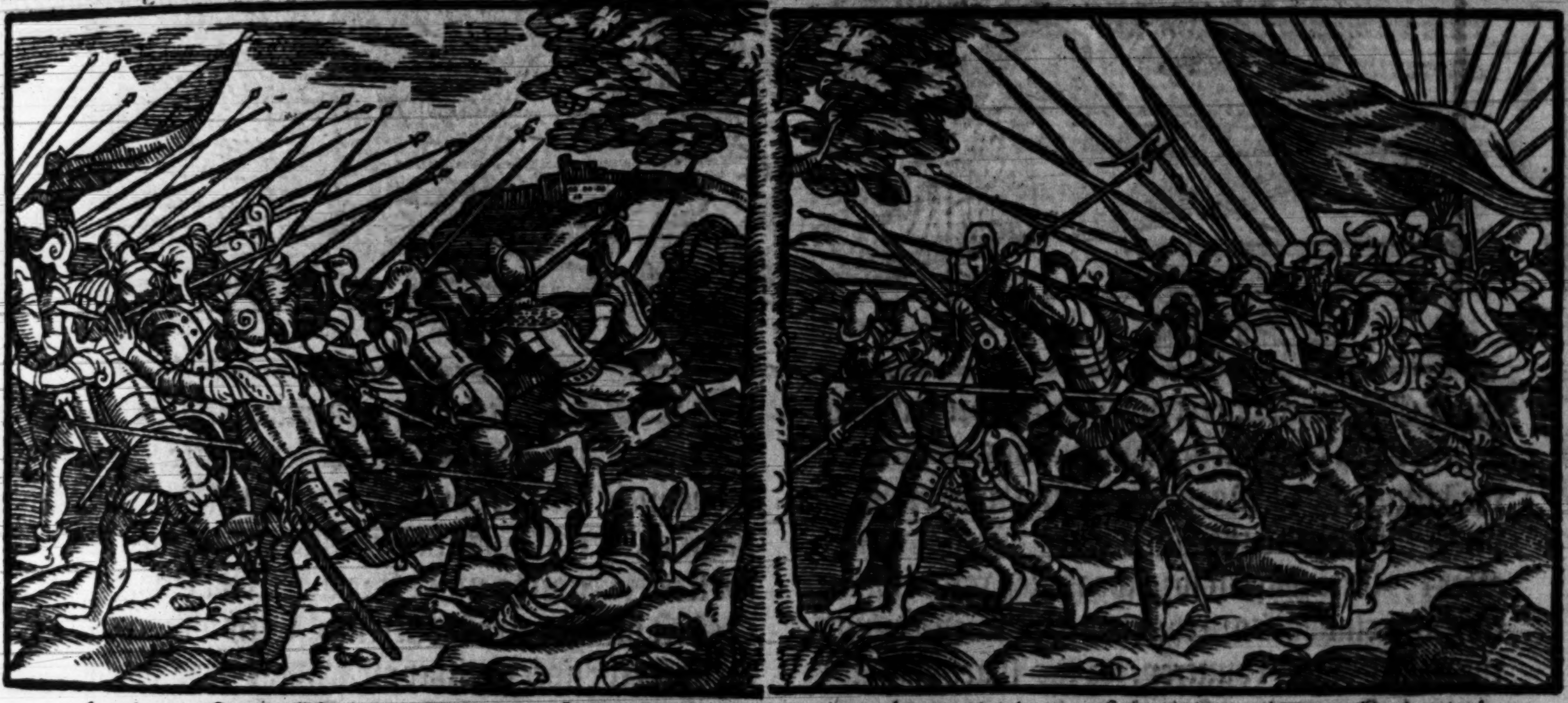
but namely Bernevulf K. of Mercia ſore ſtomaked the matter, as he that was wiſe, & of a iolly loftie courage, and yet doubted to haue to do with Egbert, who was knowen alſo to be a man both ſkilfull & valiant. At length yet cōſidering with himſelfe, that if his chance ſhould be to ſpeede well, ſo much the more ſhuld his praiſe be increaſed. He determined to attempt the fortune of war, & therupō intimated the ſame vnto Egbert, yͤ whiche ſuppoſing it ſhoulde be a diſhonor to him to giue place, boldly prepared to meete Bernulfe in the field.

A batel fought at Ellendone.

Heerevpon they encountred togither at Ellendone, and fought a ſore battell, in yͤ which an huge number of men were ſlaine, what on the one part, & on yͤ other,

Egbert wanne the victory.

but in the ende the victory remained with Egbert, although he had not yͤ like hoſt for number vnto Bernullfe, but he was a politike prince, & of great experience, hauing choſen his Souldiers of nimble, leane, and deliuer mē, wher Bernulfes Souldiers through long eaſe, were cowardly perſons, & ouercharged with fleſh.



r.Mal.
826

This battell was fought in the yere of our Lord. 826. King Egbert hauing got this victory, was aduanced into ſuch hope, that he perſwaded himſelf to be able without greate adoe to ouercome the reſidue of his neighbours, whoſe eſtates he ſaw playnely ſore weakened & fallen in great decay. Her vpon before all other, he determined to aſſaile Edelvulf K. of Kēt, whome he knew to be a man in no eſtimation amongſt his ſubiects.

Alſtan Biſhop of Shireborne a warrioure.

A competent army therefore being leuied, he apointed his ſon Ethelvulf & Alſtane Biſhop of Shireborne, with erle Walhard to haue the conduit thereof, & ſente them with the ſame into Kent, where they wrought ſuche maiſteries, that they chaſed both the K. & al other that would not ſubmit thēſelues, out of the countrey, cōſtreining them to paſſe ouer the Thames.

The conqueſts of the Weſt Saxons.

And herewith the Weſt Saxons following the victory brought vnder ſubiection of king Egbert the countreys of Kēt, Eſſex, Southrey, and Suſſex.

Hen. Hunt.

The Eaſt Angles alſo about the ſame time receiued K. Egbert for their ſoueraigne Lord, & comforted by his ſetting on againſte Bernulfe king of Mercia, inuaded yͤ confines of his Kingdome, in reuenge of diſpleaſures whiche he had done to thē lately before, by inuading their countrey, & as it came to paſſe, encountring with the ſaid Bernulf which came againſt them to defend his countrey, they ſlew him in the field.

Bernulfe K. of Mercia ſlayne.

And thus their myndes on both parts being kindled into further wrath, yͤ Eaſt Angles eftſones in yͤ yere following, fought with thē of Mercia, & ouercame them againe, and ſlew their K. Ludicenus that ſucceeded Bernulfe in that kingdome, with. 5. of his Erles. Thus the ſtate of the kingdome of Mercia being weakened, Egbert conceiued an aſſured hope of good ſucceſſe in the. 27. yere of his raigne, made an open inuaſion into yͤ countrey, & chaſing Whitlafe K. of Mercia (yͭ ſucceeded Ludicenus) out of his eſtate; conquered yͤ whole kingdom of the Mercies. But yet

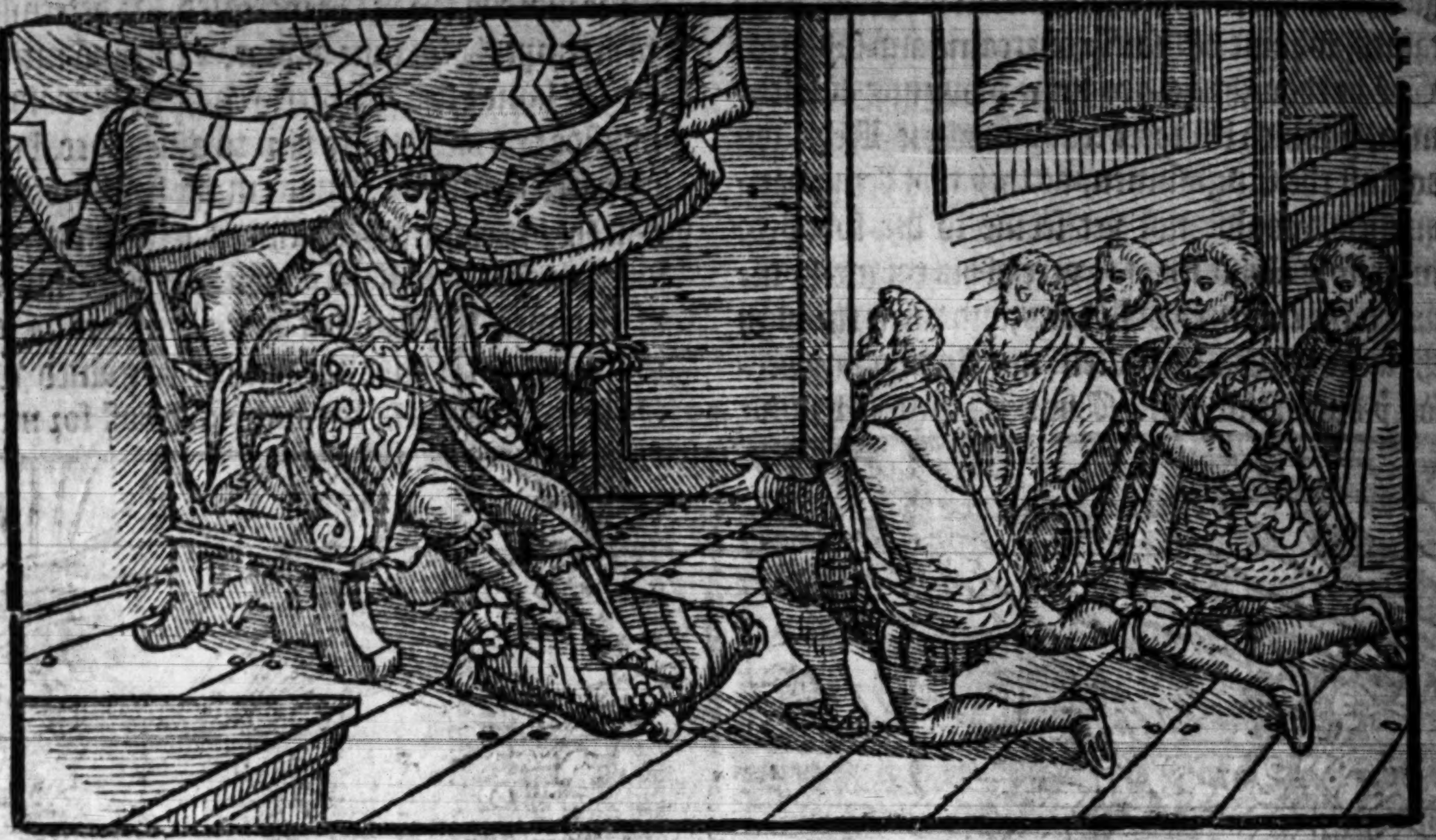
in the-

Sim. Dunel.

Theſe were the Corniſhmen as is to be ſuppoſed.

in the yere next following, or in the third yere after (as ſaith Harriſon,) he reſtored it againe vnto Wightlafe, with condition, that he ſhould enioy the ſame as tributary to him, and acknowledge him for his ſupreme gouernour. The ſame yeare that Bernvulf K. of Mercia was ſlain by yͤ Eaſt Angles, there was a ſore battell foughten at Gauelforde, betwixte them of Deuonſhire, and the Britaynes, in the whiche many thouſands dyed on both parts. King Egbert hauing conquered al the Engliſh people, inhabiting on the South ſide of Humber, led forth his army againſte them of Northumberland: but the Northumbers beeyng not only vexed with ciuil ſedition, but alſo with yͤ often inuaſion of Danes, perceiued not how they ſhould be able to reſiſt the power of K. Egbert: & therfore vpon good aduiſement taken in the matter, they reſolued to ſubmit themſelues, & therevpō ſent Ambaſſadors to him to offer their ſubmiſſiō, cōmitting themſelues wholly vnto his protectiō.

King Egbert inuadeth Northūberlād. The Northūbers ſubmit them to Kyng Egbert.



King Egbert gladly receiued them, & promiſed to defend them from all forraine enimies. And thus the kingdome of Northumberland was brought vnder ſubiectiō to the kings of the Weſt Saxōs, after the ſtate had bin ſore weakened with contētion and ciuill diſcord that had continued amōgſt the nobles of the countrey, for the ſpace of many yeres, beſide the inuaſion made by outwarde enimies, to yͤ greeuous domage of the people. After yͤ K. Egbert had finiſhed his buſineſſe in Northūberlād, he turned his power towards the countrey of Northwales, & ſubdued yͤ ſame with the Citie of Cheſter, which till thoſe dayes, the Britaynes or Welchmen had kept in their poſſeſſion. Whē K. Egbert had obteined theſe victories, and made ſuch conqueſts as before is mentioned, of the people here in this lande, he cauſed a counſell to be aſſembled at Wincheſter, and there by aduice of the high eſtates, hee was Crowned K. as soueraigne gouernour, and ſupreme Lord of the whole land. It is alſo recorded, that hee cauſed commiſſion to be directed forth into all partes of yͤ Realme, to giue commandement, that frō thence forwarde al the people inhabiting within this land, ſhould bee called Engliſhmē, & not Saxōs, & likewiſe yͤ lād ſhould be called England by one generall name, though it ſhould appeare (as before is mentioned) that it was ſo called ſhortly after the firſt time yͤ the Angles & Saxons gote poſſeſſiō therof. Now was K. Egberte ſetled in good quiet, and his dominions reduced out of yͤ troubles of warre, when ſuddaynely newes came, that the Danes with a nauie of .xxxv. ſhips, were arriued on yͤ Engliſhe coaſtes, & began to make ſore war in the land. K. Egbert being thereof aduertiſed, with all conuenient ſpeede gote togither an army, & went forth to giue battell to the enimies. Herevpon encountring with them, there was a ſore foughten fielde betwixt them, and continued with great ſlaughter on both ſides, till the night came on, and then by chance of warre the Engliſhmen which before were at pointe to haue gone away with victory, were vanquiſhed and put to flight, yet K. Egbert by couert of the night eſcaped his enimies hands, but two of his chiefe Captaines Dudda and Oſmond, with two Biſhops, to witte, Herferde of Wincheſter, and Wigferd of Shireborne, were ſlayne in that battel, which was foughtē at Carrum, about the .834. of Chriſt, and .34. yeare of K. Egberts raigne. In yͤ yere following the Danes with their nauie came into Weſt Wales, and there the Welchmen ioyning with them, roſe againſt K. Egbert, but he with proſperous fortune vanquiſhed and ſlew, both yͤ Danes & Welchmē, & that in great nūber, at a place called Hengiſtentō. The next yere after alſo, which was .836. he ouerthrew another army of Danes which came againſt him, as on author writeth. Finally, whē K. Egbert

Ran. Higd.

Northwales and the Citie of Cheſter conquered by Egbert.

The name of this Ile when it was chāged.

The Danes.

The Engliſhmen diſcomfited by Danes.

Sim. Dunel.

H. Hunton.

Math. VVeſt.

834

Danes and Welchmen vanquiſhed.

Here beginneth [illegible] to recon from the comming of the Danes.

Hengeſt [illegible]

836

Math. VVeſt.

Egbert depa teth this li

837
Mat. VVeſt.

Egbert had raigned the tearme of.36.yeres, & 7. monethes with greate glory for the enlarging of his kingdome with ſo wide boundes, which when he receiued, was of ſo ſmall a compaſſe, he departed this life, leauing to his iſſue matter of worthy praiſe to mainteyne that with good order whiche he with painefull diligence had ioyned togither. His body was buried at Wincheſter, and he lefte behind him two ſonnes Ethelwoulfe, otherwiſe named Athaulfe and Adelſtan. The firſte he appoynted to ſucceede him in the kingdom of Weſt Saxons, and Athelſtan hee ordeined to haue the gouernement of Kent, Suſſex, and Eſſex.

VVil. Mal.

After that Cuthred K. of Kent had raigned.8. yeres, as before is mentioned, he was conſtreyned to giue place vnto one Baldred, that tooke vppon him the gouernment, and raigned the ſpace of.18. yeres, without any greate authoritie, for his ſubiects regarded him but ſorily, ſo that in the ende, when his countrey was inuaded by the Weſt Saxons, he was eaſily conſtreyned to departe into exile. And thus was the kingdome of Kent annexed to the kingdome of the Weſt Saxons, after the ſame kingdome had continued in gouernmente of kings created of the ſame nation for the ſpace of.382. yeres, that is to ſay, from the yeare of our Lord.464. vnto the yere.827.

The ende of the kingdome of Kent.
827

Suithred or Suthred K. of Eſſex was vanquiſhed and expulſed out of his kingdom by Egbert K. of Weſt Saxons (as before ye may reade) in the ſame yere that the kentiſhmen were ſubdued by the ſaid Egbert, or elſe very ſhortly after.

The end of the Kingdome of Eaſtſex.

This Kingdome continued.281. yeres, from the yere.614. vnto the yere.795. as by the table of the Heptarchie ſet forth by Alexander Neuill it appeareth.

Mat. VVeſt.
821

After the deceſſe of Kenulfe K. of Mercia, his ſonne Kenelme a child of the age of.7. yeares was admitted K. about the yere of our Lord.821. Hee had two ſiſters, Quendred, and Burgenild, of the which the one (that is to ſay) Quendrede, of a malitious minde, moued through ambition, enuyed hir brothers aduauncemente, and ſought to make him away, ſo that in the ende, ſhe corrupted yͤ gouernor of his perſon one Aſhberte, with greate rewardes and high promiſes, perſwading him to diſpatch hir innocent brother out of life, that ſhee might raigne in his place. Aſhbert one day vnder a colour to haue the yong king forthe on hunting, led him into a thicke wood, and there cut off the head frō his body, an Impe by reaſon of his tēder yeres & innocent age, vnto the world voyde of gilt, & yet thus trayterouſly murthered without cauſe or crime: he was afterward reputed for a Martir. There hath gone a tale that his death ſhould be ſignified at Rome, and the place where the murther was committed, by a ſtraunge manner: for (as they ſay) a white Doue came and alight vpon the Aulter of Saint Peter, bearing a ſcroll in hir bil, which ſhe let fall on the ſame Aulter, in which ſcroll among other things this was conteyned, in Clenc Kou Bath, Kenelme Kinbarne lieth vnder thorne, heaued berraued: that is, at Clenc in a Cow paſture, Kenelme the Kyngs Child lieth beheaded vnder a thorne. This tale I reherſe not for any credite I thinke it worthy of, but only for yͭ it ſeemeth the place where the yong Prince innocently loſt his life.

The wickedneſſe of Quēdred.

King Kenelme murthered.

Ceolwolf K. of Mercia.
823

After that Kenelme was thus made away, his Uncle Ceolwolfe the Brother of King Kenulfe was created King of Mercia, and in the ſeconde yeare of his raigne, was expulſed by Bernwolfe.

Bernwolfe in the thirde yeare (or ſeconde as Harriſon hath) of his raigne, was vanquiſhed and put to flight in battell by Egbert King of Weſt Saxons, and ſhortly after ſlaine of the Eaſt angles as before ye haue heard.

Then one Ludicenus or Ludicanus was created King of Mercia, and within two yeres after came to the like ende that hapned to his predeceſſor before him, as he wente about to reuenge hys death, ſo that the Kingdome of Britayne began now to reele from their owne eſtate, and leane to an alteration, which grew in the end to the erectiō of a perfit Monarchie, and finall ſubuerſion of their perticular eſtates and regiments.

Mat. VVeſt.
728

After Ludicenus, ſucceeded Wightlafe, who firſt being vanquiſhed by Egbert, King of Weſt Saxons, was afterwardes reſtored to the Kingdome by the ſame Egbert, and raigned thirtene yeres, whereof twelue at the leaſt were vnder tribute which he payed to the ſaid Egbert and to his ſonne, as to his Soueraignes and ſupreme gouernoures.

828

The Kingdome of Northumberlande was brought in ſubiection to the Kings of Weſt Saxons, as before is mentioned, in the yeare of oure Lord.828. and in yͤ yeare of the raigne of K. Egbert.28. but yet here it tooke not ende as after ſhall appeare.

Ethelwolfus.

Ethelwoulfus otherwiſe called by ſome writers Athaulfus, began his raigne ouer yͤ Weſt Saxons in the yeare.837. which was in the.24. yere of the Emperour Ludouicus Pius that was alſo K. of France, in the.10. yeare of Theophilus yͤ Emperour of the Eaſt, & about the third yere of Kenneth the ſeconde of that name K. of Scottes. This Ethelwoulf minding in his youth to haue bin a Prieſt, entred into the orders of Subdeacō, and as ſome write, he was Biſhop of Wincheſter: but howſoeuer the matter ſtoode, or whether he was or not, ſure it is, that ſhortly after he was aſſoyled of his vowes by authoritie of Pope Leo, and then maried a proper Gentlewoman named Oſburga, which was his butlers daughter. Hee was of nature curteous, and rather deſirous to

Hen. Hunt.
Math. VVeſt.

liue in

VV. Mal.

liue in quiet reſt, than to be troubled with the gouernement of many countreys, ſo that cōtenting himſelfe with the kingdome of Weſt Saxons, he permitted his brother Athelſtan to enioy the reſidue of the countreys, which his father had ſubdued, as Kent, and Eſſex, with other. He ayded the K. of Mercia Burthred againſt the Welchmen, and greatly aduanced his eſtimation, by gyuyng vnto him his daughter in marriage.

Foure ſpeciall deſtructions of this Land.

But now the fourth deſtruction which chanced to this lande by forraine enimies, was at hande, for the people of Denmarke, Norway, and other of thoſe Northeaſt regions, which in that ſeaſon were greate rouers by Sea, had taſted the wealth of this land by ſuch ſpoiles and prayes as they hadde taken in the ſame, ſo that perceiuing they coulde not purchaſe more profit any where elſe, they ſet their myndes to inuade the ſame on each ſide, as they had partly begun in the days of the late kings Brightrike and Egbert.

Hen. Hunt.
Simon Dun.

The perſecutiō vſed by theſe Danes ſerued more greeuous, than any of the other perſecutions, either before or ſithence that time: for yͤ Romanes hauing quickly ſubdued the land, gouerned it nobly withoute ſeeking the ſubuerſion thereof. The Scottes and Pictes only inuaded yͤ North partes. And the Saxons ſeeking the conqueſt of the land, when they had once gote it, they kept it, and did what they could, to better and aduance it to a floriſhing eſtate. And likewiſe the Normans hauing made a conqueſt, graunted both life, libertie, and auntient lawes to the former inhabitants: But the Danes long time and often aſſayling the land on euery ſide, now inuading it in this place, and now in that, did not at yͤ firſt ſo much couete to conquere it, as to ſpoyle it, nor to beare rule in it, as to waſt & deſtroy it: who if they were at anye time ouercome, the victorers were nothing the more in quiet:

The Danes ſought the deſtruction of this lande.

for a new nauie, and a greter army was ready to make ſome new inuaſiō neither did they enter all at one place, nor at once, but one company on the Eaſt ſide, & an other in the Weſt, or in the Northe and Southe coaſtes, in ſuche ſorte, that the Engliſhmenne knew not whether they ſhoulde firſte goe to make reſiſtance againſt them.

How long the perſecution of the Danes laſted.

This miſchiefe beganne chiefly in the days of this K. Ethelwoulf, but it continued aboute the ſpace of two hundred yeares, as by the ſequele of this Booke it ſhall appeare. King. Ethelwoulf was not ſo muche giuen to eaſe, but that vpō occaſion for defence of his countrey and ſubiectes, he was ready to take order for the beating backe of the enimies, as occaſion ſerued, and ſpecially, hee choſe ſuch to be of his coūſel, as were mē of great experience & wiſdome.

VVil. Malm.

Two notable Biſhops in Ethelwolfes dayes.

Amongſt other, there were two notable Prelates, Suithune Biſhoppe of Wincheſter, & Idelſtan Biſhop of Shireborne, whiche were readie euer to giue him good aduice. Suithune was not ſo muche experte in worldly matters as Idelſtan was, & therefore chiefly coūſelled the K. in things apperteining to his ſoules health: But Idelſtan tooke in hand to order matters apperteining to the ſtate of the cōmon welth, as prouiding of money, and furniſhing forthe of men to withſtand the Danes, ſo that by him many things were both boldly begun, & happily atchieued, as by writers hath bin recorded. He gouerned the ſee of Shireborne, yͤ ſpace of .50. yeres, by the good counſell and faithfull aduice of thoſe two Prelates. K. Ethelwoulf gouerned his ſubiectes right politikely, & by himſelfe and his Captaines oftētimes put the Danes to flight, though as chance of warre falleth out, he alſo receyued at their hands great loſſes, & ſundry ſore detriments.

Simon Dun.
Hen. Hunt.

In yͤ firſt yere of his raigne, the Danes arriued at Hampton, with .33. ſhips, againſte whom he ſente Erle Wulhard with part of his army, the whiche giuing battell to the enimies, made great ſlaughter of them, and obteyned a noble victory.

Danes diſcomfited.

Math. VVeſ.

He ſent alſo Erle Adelhelme with the Dorſetſhire men, againſt an other number of Danes, whiche were landed at Porteſmouth, but after long fighte, the ſayde Adelhelme was ſlaine, and the Danes obteyned the victory.

Engliſhmen put to flight.

In the yeare following, Earle Herbert fought againſte yͤ Danes at Merſeware, and was there ſlaine, and his men chaſed.

They are eftſones vanquiſhed.

The ſame yere, a great army of Danes paſſing by the Eaſt parts of the land, as through Lindſey, Eaſt Angle, and Kent, they ſlew & murthered an huge number of people. The next yere after this, they entred further into the lande, and about Canterbury, Rocheſter, and Londō, did much miſchiefe.

Carrum.

In the fifth yere of his raigne, K. Ethelwoulfe wͭ a parte of his army encountred with the Danes at Carrum, the whiche were arriued in thoſe parties with .30. Ships, hauing their full fraughte of men, ſo that for ſo ſmall a number of veſſels, there was a great power of men of warre, in ſo muche, that they obteined the victory at that time, and put the K. to the worſe.

The Danes wanne the victory in battell.

Danes are vanquiſhed.

Simon Dun.

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About the tenth yeare of K. Ethelwoulfes raigne, one of his Captaynes called Ernwoulfe, & Biſhop Athelſtan, with the Sommerſetſhire men, and an other Captayne called Oſred, with the Dorſetſhire men, foughte againſte the Danes, at a place called Pedredemuth, and vanquiſhed them with great triumph.

Ocley.

Two hund and fiftie Ships hath Hen. Hunt.

In the ſixtenth yere of his raigne, K. Ethelwoulf and his ſonne Edelbald hauing aſſembled al their powers togither, gaue battell at Ocley, to an huge oſte of Danes, the which with four hundred and fiftie Ships had arriued at Theimes mouth, and deſtroyed the famous Cities of London, and Canterbury, & alſo had chaſed in battell Brightwoulf K. of Mercia, and being nowe entred into Southrey, were encountred by K. Ethelwoulfe at Ocley aforeſaid, and after ſore fight and incredible ſlaughter made on both ſides, in the end, the victory by the power of God was giuen to thoſe that beleeued on him, and yͤ loſſe reſted with great confuſion to the miſcreantes. Thus K. Ethelwolfe obteined a glorious victory in ſo mightie a battell, as the greater had not bin lightly hard of to chance within the Engliſh dominions. The ſame yeere alſo Athelſtan K. of Kent and Duke Ealhere fought by Sea with the Danes, & tooke nine of their Ships, and chaſed the reſidue. Moreouer, one Earle Ceorle hauing with hym the power of Deuonſhire, foughte with the Danes, at Winleſhore, and gote the victory. This yere was very luckie to the Engliſh nation, but yet the armie of the Danes lodged al the Winter ſeaſon in the Iſle of Tanet. And this was the firſt tyme yͭ they remayned heere all the Winter, vſing afore time but to come and make an inuaſion in one place or other, and immediately to returne home with the pray.

e Danes ſoones nquiſhed.

nes ouer me by Sea.

he Deuon ire men vã iſhe the anes.

In the .18. yere of King Ethelwoulfes raigne, he aided Burthred King of Mercia, agaynſte the Welchmen (as before is mentioned,) and gaue to him his daughter in marriage, the ſolemnization whereof was kept at Chipnham. The ſame yere King Ethelwoulfe ſent his ſonne Alured as then but fiue yeres of age vnto Rome, where hee was ſacred K. by Pope Leo the fourth, & was receiued of him as if he had bin his owne ſonne. Duke Ealhere or Eachere with the Kentiſhmen, and one Huda or rather Wada, with the men of Southrey, fought againſt the army of Danes at Tenet, where greate ſlaughter was made on bothe ſides, the Engliſhmen preuailing in the begynning, but in the ende both their foreſaid Dukes or leaders dyed in that battel, beſide many other that were ſlaine and drowned. In the nineteenth yere of his raigne, K. Ethelwoulfe ordeined, that the tenthes or tithes of all landes due to bee payed to the Church, ſhould be free from all tribute duties, or ſeruices regall. And afterwards, with great deuotion he went to Rome, where he was receyued with great honor, and taried there one whole yere: hee tooke with him his ſon Alured, who had bene there before as yee haue heard. He repared the Saxons ſchoole, whiche Offa K. of Mercia had ſometime founded in that Citie, and lately hadde bin ſore decayed by fire. He confirmed the graunt of Peter Pence, to the intent that no Engliſhmẽ from thenceforth ſhould doe penance in boundes as he ſawe ſome there to do before his face. It is alſo written, that he ſhoulde acquit all the Churches of his Realme of paying tribute to his coffers (as before ye haue heard) and moreouer couenaunted to ſend vnto Rome euery yere three hundred Markes, that is to wit, one hundred Markes to S. Peters Churche, an other hundred Markes to S. Paules light, and the third hundred markes to the Pope. In his returne through Fraunce, he married the Lady Iudith, daughter to Charles yͤ Bald, then K. of France, and bringing hir with him into his coũtrey, placed hir by him in a chaire of eſtate, with which doing he offẽded ſo yͤ minds of his ſubiects, bicauſe it was againſt the order taken before time, for the offence of Ethelburga, that his ſonne Ethelbalde and Adelſtan Biſhoppe of Shireborne, with Enwoulf Earle of Sommerſet, conſpired to depoſe him from his kingly authoritie, but by mediation of friendes, the matter was taken vp, and ſo ordred, that the kingdome was deuided betwixte the father and the ſon, with ſuch parcialitie, that the ſonne had the better parte lying Weſtward, and the father was conſtreyned to contente himſelfe with the Eaſt parte and the worſt. Of this trouble of Ethelwoulf, Harriſon writeth ſomewhat otherwiſe, and after this manner word for word. 857. Ethelwoulf K. of yͤ weſt Saxons beeing returned from Rome and yͤ parties beyond the Seas, is prohibited the entraunce into his Realme, by Alſtane B. of Shireborne, & Ethelbald his eldeſt ſonne, pretending outwardly his coronation of Alfride, yͤ marriage of Iudith the French kings daughter, and open eating with hir at the Table, to be the only cauſe of this theyr manifeſt Rebelliõ. Hitherto Harriſon: wherby he ſeemeth to inferre, that this reuolting of Alſtane and his ſon, ſhould procede of the ambitious deſire of Ethelbald to raigne, and likely ynough, or elſe this vnequall partition ſhould neuer haue bin made. But howſoeuer yͤ matter ſtoode, K. Ethelwoulf liued not long after his returne frõ Rome, but departed this life after he hadde gouerned the kingdome of the Weſt Saxons the ſpace of .20. yeres and odde monethes. His body was buryed at Wincheſter. He left behind him .4. ſonnes, Ethelbald, Ethelbert, or Ethelbright, Ethelred and Alfred or Alured, which were begotten of his firſt wife Oſburga. A little before his death hee made his Teſtament & laſt will, appointing his ſon Ethelbald to ſucceede him in the whole regiment of his kingdomes of Weſtſex and Suſſex, which he held by inheritance: but the kingdomes of Kente & Eſſex he aſſigned to his ſon Ethelbright. About the ſame time alſo the Danes ſoiourned all the Winter ſeaſon in the Iſle of Sheepey.

m. Dun. 852

eat ſlaugh of Danes Tenet.

e Saxons le.

g Ethel es libera to Chur

il. Mal.

Dunel.

ncenſa.

The Lady Iudith.

VVil. Malm.

Only Weſtſex hath Mat. W. and Simon Dunel. ſayth that Ethelbright had Suſſex alſo, and ſo doth Hen. Hunt.

After Wightlafe K. of Mercia, one Bertwolf raigned as tributary to yͤ Weſt Saxons yͤ ſpace of .12. yeres, about yͤ ende of which tearme he was chaſed out of yͤ countrey by the Danes, & then one Burthred was made K. of that kingdome, which married Ethelſwida yͤ ſiſter of Ethelwoulf K. of Weſt Saxons. In this ſeaſon, one Modwene a virgin in Ireland was greatly renowmed in the world, vnto whom the forenamed K. Ethelwolf ſent his ſon Alured to be cured of a ſore diſeaſe, yͭ was thoughte incurable: but by hir meanes hee recoue-

Bertwolf King of Mercia.

Math. Weſt. ſaith the daughter.

Ran. Ceſtren.

Iohn Cap.

recouered healthe, and therefore when hir Monaſterie was deſtroyed in Ireland, Modwen came ouer into England, vnto whome K. Ethelwolfe gaue land to build two Abbeyes, and alſo deliuered vnto hir his ſiſter Edith to bee profeſſed a Nunne. Modwen herevpon built two Monaſteries, one at Pouleſworth, ioyning to the boundes of Arderne, wherin ſhe placed the foreſaid Edith, with Oſyth and Athea: the other, whether it was a Monaſterie or cell, ſhe founded in Streneſhall or Trentſall, where ſhe hir ſelfe remained ſolitary a certain time in praier, and other vertuous exerciſes. And as it is reported, ſhee went thrice to Rome, & finally dyed, being .130. yeres of age. Hir body was firſte buried in an iland compaſſed about with the Riuer of Trent called Andreſey, taking that name of a Church or Chappell of S. Androw, which ſhe had builte in the ſame Iland, and dwelled therein for the ſpace of ſeuen yeares. Many Monaſteries ſhe built, both in Englande, (as partly aboue is mentioned) and alſo in Scotland, as at Striueline, Edenbrough, and in Ireland, at Celleſtline, and elſe where.

Ethelbald and Ethelbright.

Ethelbald & Ethelbright.

Ethelbalde & Ethelbright deuiding theyr fathers Kyngdome betwixte them, began to raigne, Ethelbalde ouer the Weſt Saxons, and the South Saxons, & Ethelbrighte ouer them of Kent and Eſſex, in the yere of our Lorde 857. which was in the ſecond yere of the Emperour Lewes the ſecōd, and the .17. of Charles ſurnamed Caluus or the bald K. of Fraunce, and about the firſt yere of Donald yͤ fifth of that name K. of the Scottes. The ſaid Ethelbald greatly to his reproche tooke to wife his mother in lawe M. Iudith, or rather as ſome write his own mother, whome his father had kept to concubine. He liued not paſt fiue yeres in gouernement of the Kyngdome, but was taken out of this life, to the greate ſorow of his ſubiectes, whome he ruled right worthily, and ſo as they had him in great loue and eſtimatiō. Then his brother Ethelbright tooke vpon him the rule of the whole, gouerning as well ouer the Weſt Saxons and them of Suſſex, as ouer the Kentiſhmen and them of Eſſex.

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The vnlawfull mariage of Ethelbalde.
VVil. Malm.

In his dayes the Danes came a land, and deſtroyed the Citie of Wincheſter: but Duke Oſrike with them of Hamſhire, and Duke Adelwolf with the Barkſhire men gaue the enimies battel, and vanquiſhing them, ſlew of them a great nūber. In the fifth yeare of Ethelbrightes raigne, a nauie of the Danes arriued at the Iſle of Tenet, vnto whome when the Kentiſhmen had promiſed a ſumme of money to haue a truce graunted for a time, the Danes one night before the tearme of that truce was expired, brake forth and waſted all the Eaſt part of Kent: wherevppon the Kentiſhmen aſſembling togither, made towards thoſe trucebreakers, and cauſed them to depart out of yͤ countrey. The ſame yere, after that Ethelbrighte had ruled wel & peaceably the Weſt Saxons fiue yeres, and the Kentiſhmē ten yeres, he ended this life, and was buried at Shireborne, as his brother Ethelbald was before him.

Hen. Hunt.
Wincheſter deſtroyed by Danes.

Danes vanquiſhed.

Ethelred.

Ethelred.

After Ethelbrighte ſucceeded hys brother Ethelred, and began his raigne ouer the Weſt Saxons, and the more part of yͤ Engliſhe people, in the yere of our Lord.867. and in yͤ twelfth yere of yͤ Emperoure Lewes, in the .27. yeare of the raigne of Charles Caluus K. of France, and about the .6. yeare of Conſtantine the ſeconde K. of Scottes.

867

This Ethelred was in tyme of peace a moſt curteous prince, and one yͭ by all kinde of meanes ſought to winne yͤ harts of his people: but abroade in the warres he was ſharp and ſterne, as he that vnderſtood what apperteined to good order, ſo that he would ſuffer no offence to eſcape vnpuniſhed. By whiche meanes he was famous both in peace and warre: but hee neither liued any long time in the gouernment, nor yet was ſuffered to paſſe the ſhort while that he raigned in reſt or quietneſſe: for wher as he raigned not paſt ſixe yeres, he was continually during that tearme vexed with the inuaſion of the Danes, and ſpecially towards the latter end, in ſo much, that as hath bin reported of writers, hee fought with them nine times in one yere: and although with diuers and variable fortune, yet for the more part he went away with yͤ victory. Beſide that, he oftentimes lay in awayte for their forragers, and ſuch as ſtrayed abrode to robbe and ſpoile the countrey, whom he met with all, and ouerthrew. There were ſlayne in his time nine Earles of thoſe Danes, and one King, beſide other of the meaner ſort without number. But here is to be vnderſtoode, that in this meane tyme whileſt Ethelred was buſied in warre to reſiſt the inuaſions of the Danes in the South and Weſt

4. yeres ſixe monethes ſaith Hun
VVil. Mal

Ethelred fought wi the Danes n times in one yeare.

partes

The kings of Mercia and Northumberlande neglecte their duties.

partes of this lande the kings and rulers of Mercia and Northumberland, taking occaſion therof, began to withdrawe their couenanted ſubiection from the Weſtſaxons, and tooke vpon them, as it were the abſolute gouernement and rule of their countreys without reſpect to ayde one another, but rather were contented to ſuſtein the enimies within their dominions than to preuent the iniurie with dutifull aſſiſting thoſe to whome by allegiance they were bounde to ſerue and obeye. By reaſon wherof, the Danes without reſiſtance grew into greater power amongſt them whyleſt the inhabitantes were ſtill put in feare eche daye more than other, and euery late gotten victorie by the enimies by the increaſe of priſoners, miniſtred occaſion of ſome other conqueſt to followe. Euen about the beginning of kyng Ethelredes reigne, there arriued vppon the Engliſh coaſtes an huge armie of the Danes, vnder the conducte of two renoumed capitaines Hungar and Hubba, men of meruailous ſtrengthe and valiancie, but bothe of them paſſing cruell of nature. They laye all the Winter ſeaſon in Eaſtangle, compounding with them of the countreye for truce vpon certaine conditions, ſparing for a tyme to ſhewe theyr force for quietneſſe ſake.

The Danes growe in puiſſance.

Hungar and Vbba.

H. Hunt.

In the ſeconde yeare of king Etheldred the ſaid capitains came with their armie into Yorkſhyre, finding the countrey vnprouided of neceſſarie defence, bicauſe of the ciuil diſcord that reigned amongſt the Northumbers, the whiche had lately expulſed king Oſbrighte, that had the gouernement of thoſe parties, and placed one Ella in his roumth: but nowe they were conſtrayned to reuoke him home agayne, and ſoughte to accorde him and Ella. But it was long ere that myght be brought to paſſe, notwithſtanding yet at lengthe they were made frendes by reaſon of this inuaſion attempted by forain enemies, and then reyſing their powers they came to Yorke, where the Danes, hauing waſted the countreye euen to the ryuer of Tyne, were lodged.

King Oſbright depoſed and Ella placed.

The Engliſh hoſte entryng the citie, beganne to fyghte wyth the Danes, by reaſon whereof a ſore battayle enſued betwixte them: but in the ende the two kynges Oſbrighte and Ella were ſlayn, and a great number of the Northumbers what within the Citie, and what without, loſte theyr lyues at that tyme, the reſidue were conſtrayned to take truce with the Danes.

Oſbright and Ella kinges of Northumberlande ſlayne.

Thys battayle was fought the .xxj. daye of Marche, on the Frydaye before Palmeſundaye, in the yeare.657.

It muſt be vpō the .10. calendes of April, or elſe it wil not cōcurre with Palmeſunday. Se Ma. Weſt.

Some haue written otherwyſe of thys battayle, reportyng that the Northumbers reuokyng home king Oſbright (whome before they hadde banyſhed) encounter wyth the Danes in the fielde, without the walles of Yorke, but they were eaſyly beaten backe, and chaſed into the Citie, the whyche by the Danes purſuyng the victorie, was ſette on fyre and brente, togyther with the king and people that were fledde into it for ſuccour.

Yorke brent by Danes.

Howe ſoeuer it came aboute, certayne it is, that the Danes gotte the victorie, and now hauyng ſubdued the Northumbers, appoynted one Egberte to reygne ouer them as kyng, vnder their protection, whiche Egberte reigned in that ſorte ſixe yeeres ouer thoſe whyche inhabited beyonde the riuer of Tyne.

The ſame yeare Adelſtane, the Biſhoppe of Shirborne departed this lyfe, hauyng gouerned that ſea the terme of fiftie yeares.

The cōmendacion of Adelſtan biſhop of Shirborne.

This Adelſtane was a man of hyghe wyſedome, and one that had borne no ſmall rule in the kingdome of the Weaſtſaxons, as hereby it may be coniectured, that when kyng Ethelwolf returned from Rome, hee would not ſuffer him to bee admitted king, bycauſe he hadde doone in certayne poynts contrarie to the ordinance and lawes of the ſame kingdome, wherevpon by this biſhops meanes Ethelbald the ſonne of the ſame king Ethelwolfe was eſtabliſhed Kyng, and ſo continued till by agreement the kingdome was deuided betwixte them, as beefore is mencioned.

Biſhop Adelſtan couetous. *H. Hunt.*

He greatly enriched the ſea of Shirborne, and yet thoughe hee was feruentely ſette on couetouſneſſe, hee was neuertheleſſe verye free and liberall.

Burthred king of Mercia.

In the yeare followyng, that is to witte, in the thyrde yeare of Etheldredes reygne, the ſame Ethelred, wyth hys brother Alvred, went to ayde Burthred Kyng of Mercia, agaynſte the two foreſayde Daniſh Capitaynes Hungar and Ubba, the whiche were entered into Mercia, and had wonne the towne of Notingham, and lodged within the ſame towne for the winter ſeaſon. Wherevppon the foreſayde Ethelred and Burthred with their powers came to Notingham, and beſieged the Danes within it.

Danes beſieged in Notingham.

The Danes perceiuing themſelues in daunger, made ſuite for a truce and abſtinence of of warre, whiche they obteyned, and then departed backe to Yorke, where they ſoiourned the moſte parte of all that yeare.

In the fourthe yeare of kyng Ethelred, the Danes comming into Eaſtangle, cruelly ſlewe that bleſſed man king Edmunde, as after ſhall be ſhewed, *4. Nouemb. feria. 2.*

Baſreeg and Halden.

In the ſixte yeare of kyng Ethelreds reigne a newe armye of greate force and power came into the countrey of the Weaſtſaxons vnder two leaders or kyngs of Danes, Baſreeg and Haldene.

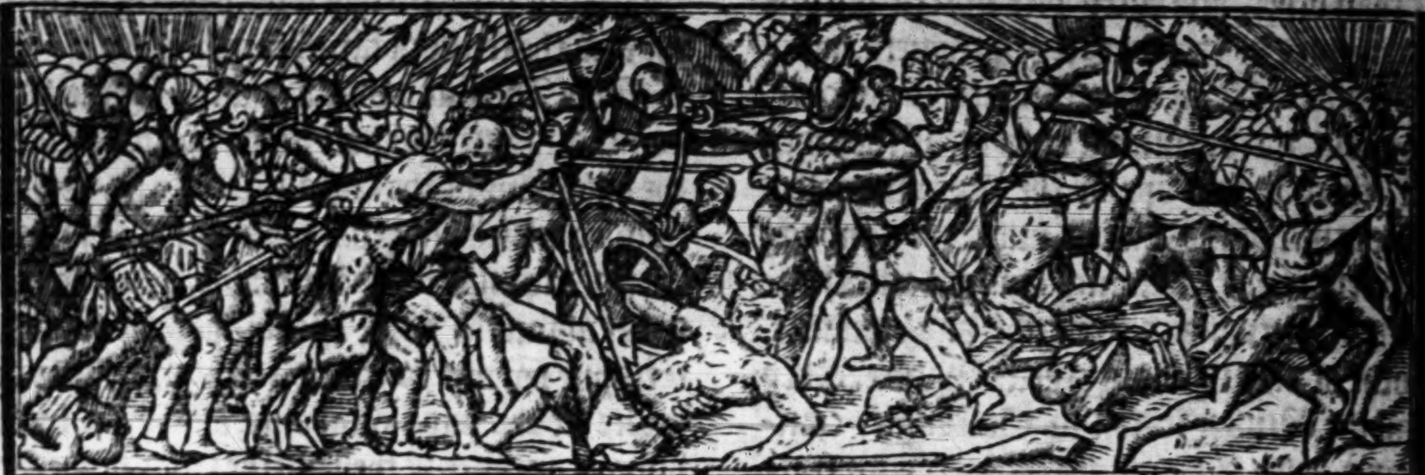
They lodged at Reding wt their mayn army, &

Edelvvolfe Erle of Barkeſhire fought at Engleſielde vvith the Danes.

within.iij. days after the Earle of Barrockſhire Edelwolf fought at Engleſield with two earles of thoſe Danes, vanquiſhed them, and ſlewe the one of thoſe Erles, whoſe name was Sidracke. After this king Ethelred and his brother Alvred came with a great hoſt vnto Reding, & ther gaue bataile vnto the armie of Danes, ſo that an huge number of people dyed on bothe partes, but the Danes had the victorie.

The Danes vvan the victorie at Reading.

After this alſo king Ethelred and his brother Alvred fought again with thoſe Danes at Aſchdon, where the armies on both ſides were diuided into .ij. parts, ſo yͤ the two Daniſh kings led the one part of their armie, & certain of their Earles led the other parte. Likewiſe on the Engliſhe ſide king Ethelred was placed with one parte of the hoſt againſt yͤ Daniſh kings, & Alvred with the other parte was appointed to encounter with the Erles. Herevpon they being on both parts ready to giue batail, the euening cōming on cauſed thē to deferre it till the morrow. And ſo early in the morning when the armies ſhoulde ioyne, Kyng Etheldred ſtayed in his tente to heare diuine ſeruice, whyleſt his brother vpon a forwarde courage haſted to encounter his enimies, the whiche receyued him ſo ſharply, and with ſo cruel fight, that at length, the Engliſhmen were at poynte to haue turned their backes: but herewith came king Ethelred and manfully renued the battaile, ſtayed his people from renning away, and ſo encouraged them, and diſcoraged the enimies, that by the power of God, (who as was thought in the morning he hadde ſerued) the Danes finally were chaſed and put to flight, loſing one of their kings (that is to ſay) Baſreeg or Oſrec, and .v. Erles, Sidroc the elder, and Sidroc the yonger, Oſbern, Freyn, and Harold. This battayl was ſore foughten and continued tyll night, with the ſlaughter of many thouſandes of Danes.



The Danes diſcomfited.

About .xiiij. days after, king Ethelred and his brother Alvred fought eftſoones with the Daniſh armie at Baſing, where the Danes hadde the victorie.

A battayle at Merton.

Alſo two moneths after this, they lykewiſe fought with the Danes at Merton. And there the Danes after they had bene put to the worſe, and purſued in chaſe a long tyme, yet at lengthe they alſo got the victorie, in which battayle Edmund biſhop of Shirborne was ſlayn, and many other that were men of worthye fame and good accompte.

He vvas biſhop of Shirborne as Math. VVeſt.hath noted.

In ſommer following, a mightie hoſte of the Danes came to Reding, and there ſoiorned for a tyme.

Polid. Verg.

Iuarus.

Theſe thinges agree not (I remember wel) with that whiche Polidore Vergile hathe written of theſe warres whiche king Ethelred hadde with the Danes: for he maketh mencion of one Iuarus a king of the Danes, who landed (as he writeth) at the mouthe of Humber, and lyke a ſtoute enimie inuadeth the countrey adioyning, Againſt whom Etheldred with his brother Alvred came with an armie, and encountring the Danes, fought with thē by the ſpace of a whole day togither, and was in daunger to haue bin put to the worſſe, but that the nighte ſeuered them aſunder.

Danes put to flight.

In the morning they ioyned againe: but the death of Iuarus, who chaunced to be ſlayne in the begynnyng of the battayle, diſcouraged the Danes, ſo that they were eaſily put to flighte, of whome (before they coulde get out of danger) a great number were ſlayne.

Agnerus and Hubo.

But after that they had recouered themſelues togither, and found out a cōuenient place where to pitche theyr campe, they choſe to theyr Capitaynes Agnerus, and Hubo, two bretherne, whiche indeuoured them ſelues by all meanes poſſible to repayre theyr armie: ſo that within fifteene dayes after, the Danes eftſoones fought wyth the Engliſhmenne, and gaue them ſuche an ouerthrowe, that little wanted of makyng an ende of all encounters to bee attempted after by the Engliſhemen.

But yet within a fewe dayes after this, as the Danes attended theyr market to ſpoyle the countrey and raunge ſomewhat licenciouſly abroade, they fell wythin the daunger of ſuche ambuſhes as were layd for them by king Etheldred, that no ſmalle ſlaughter was made of them, but yet not withoute ſome loſſe of the Engliſhmenne. Emongſt other, Ethelred himſelfe receyued a wounde, whereof he ſhortely after dyed.

Thus hath Polyd. touching the warres which king Ethelred had wyth the Danes, who yet confeſſeth as the truth is, that ſuche Authors as he herein folowed, varie muche from that which the Daniſh writers do recorde of theſe matters, and namely touching the doings of Iuarus, as in the Danyſhe hiſtorye you maye ſee more at large.

But now to oure purpoſe touching the death of king Ethelred, whether by reaſon of hurt receyued in fight againſt the Danes (as Polydore ſayth) or otherwiſe, certain it is, that Ethelred anone after Eaſter departed this lyfe, in the ſixte yeare of his reigne, and was buried at Wynborn abbey.

VVynborne abbey.

Agnere.
Fabian.

870.

Edmund K. of the East angles.

Framyngham castell.

King Edmund shot to death.

Eglesdone.

VVil. Mal.

Eastangles vvithout a gouernor

Guthrun a Dane king of east angle.

In the days of this Ethelred, the forſaid Daniſhe capitaines, Hungar, otherwiſe called Agnerus, and Hubba returning from the Northe parties into the countrey of Eaſtangles, came vnto Thetford, wherof Edmunde, who reigned as king in that ſeaſon ouer the Eaſtangles, being aduertiſed, he rayſed an armie of men, and wente forthe to giue battayle vnto this armie of the Danes. But he with his people was chaſed out of the fielde, and fled to the caſtell of Framyngham, where being enuironed with a ſiege by his enimies, hee yelded him ſelfe vnto them. And bicauſe he would not renounce the chriſtian faith they bound him to a tree, & ſhot arrowes at him til he dyed: & afterwards cut off his head from his bodie, and threw the ſame into a thicke groue of buſhes. But afterwards his frẽds toke the bodie with the head, and buried the ſame at Egleſdon: where afterwarde alſo a faire monaſterie was buylded by one biſhop Afwyn, and chaungyng the name of the place, it was after called Sainte Edmundeſbury. Thus was king Edmund put to death by the cruel Danes for his conſtant cõfeſſing the name of Chriſte in the. xvj. yeare of his reigne, and ſo ceaſed the kingdome of Eaſtangles. For after that the Danes hadde thus ſlaine that bliſſed man, they conquered the hole countrey and waſted it ſo that through their tyrãnie it remayned without any gouernor by the ſpace of nine yeares, and then they appoynted a king to rule ouer it, whoſe name was Guthrun, one of their owne nation, who gouerned both the Eaſtangles and the Eaſtſaxons.

Polychron.

Ye haue heard how the Danes ſlew Oſryke & Ella kings of Northumberland. After which victorie by them obteyned, they did muche hurte in the north parties of this lande, and amongeſt other cruell deedes, they deſtroyed the Citie of Acluyd, which was a famous Citie in the tyme of the olde Saxons, as by Beda and other wryters it dothe manifeſtly appeare.

Caxton.

Here is to be remembred, that ſome wryters reherſe the cauſe to be this:

Oſbright or Oſricke king of Northumberlande rauiſhed the wyfe of one Bearne that was a noble man of the countrey about Yorke, who toke ſuche great deſpite thereat, that hee fledde out of the lande, and went into Denmarke, and there complained vnto the king of Denmarke that was his couſin, of the iniurie done to hym by king Oſbright. Wherupon the king of Denmark glad to haue ſo iuſt a quarell againſt them of Northumberlande, furnyſhed forthe an armie, and ſente the ſame by Sea, (vnder the leadyng of hys two brethren Hungar and Hubba) into Northumberland, where they ſlew firſt the ſayd kyng Oſbrighte, and after king Ella, at a place beſides Yorke, whiche vnto thys daye is called Elles crofte, takyng that name of the ſayde Elle, beeing there ſlayne in defence of hys countrey againſt the Danes. Whyche Ella (as we fynde regiſtred by wryters) was elected king by ſuche of the Northumbers, as in fauour of Berne had refuſed to be ſubiect vnto Oſbright.

Alvred or Alfred.

Alvred or Alfred.

871. as Math. VVest. & Sim. Dunelmen. doe note it.

H. Hunt.

After the deceaſe of King Ethelred, his brother Alured or Alfrede ſucceeded him, and beganne hys reigne ouer the Weaſt Saxons, and other the more parte of the people of Englande, in the yeare of our Lorde eyght hundred ſeuentie and two, whiche was in the ninteenth yeere of the Emperour Lewys the ſeconde, and two and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of Charles, ſurnamed Caluus or the balde Kyng of Fraunce, and about the eleuenth yeare of Conſtantine the ſeconde king of Scotland.

Although that this Alured was ſacred King in his fathers lyfe tyme by Pope Leo (as before you haue heard,) yet was he not admitted king at home, till after the deceaſe of his three elder brethren: for he being the youngeſt, was kepte backe from the gouernement, though he were for his wiſedome and policie moſt highly eſteemed and had in all honour.

Alvred persecuted by Danes.

In the beginning of his reigne he was wrapped in many great troubles and miſeries, ſpecially by the perſecution of the Danes, whiche made ſore and greeuous warres in ſundry parts of this lande, deſtroying the ſame in moſte

Mat. VVeſt.

The Danes obteyne the victorie.

cruell wyſe. About a moneth after he was made kyng, he gaue battayl to the Danes at Wilton, hauing with him no great number of people, ſo that although in the beginning the Danes that day were put to the worſe, yet in the end they obteined the victorie. Shortly after, a truce was taken betwixt the Danes and the Weſtſaxons.

The Danes vvintered at London.

And the Danes that hadde lyen at Reading, remoued from thence vnto London, where they laye all the winter ſeaſon.

In the ſeconde yeare of Alvred his reigne, the Danyſhe kyng Halden ledde the ſame armye from London into Lindſey, and there lodged all that Winter at Torkſey.

874.

Repton.

In the yeare following, the ſame Halden inuaded Mercia, and wintred at Ripingdon. Ther were come to him three other leaders of Danes, whiche our writers name to be kings, Godrun, Eſketell, and Ammond, ſo that their power was greatly increaſed.

Burthred king Mercia.

Burthred king of Mercia whiche had gouerned that countrey by the ſpace of .xxij. yeres, was not able to withſtande the puiſſance of thoſe enimies. And ſo therupon he was conſtrained to auoyde the countrey, & wente to Rome, where he departed this lyfe, and was buried in the Church of our Ladie, neere to the Engliſhe ſchoole.

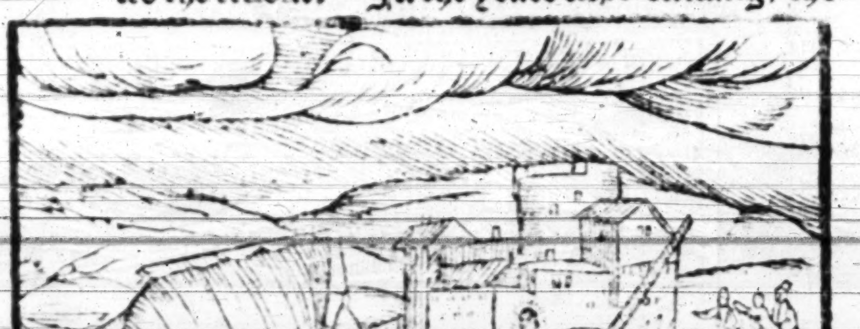
875.

The Danes vvente into Northumberlande.

The Danes at Cambridge.

876.

In the fourth yere of king Alvred the armie of the Danes deuided it ſelfe into two partes, ſo that king Halden with one parte therof went into Northumberlande, & lay in the winter ſeaſon nere to the riuer of Tyne, where hee deuided the countrey amongſt his men, and remayned there for the ſpace of two yeares, and oftentymes fetched thither booties and prayes out of the countrey of the Pictes. The other part of the Daniſh army with the iij. aforſaid kings or leaders came vnto Cambridge, & remained there a whole yere. And the ſame yeere king Alvred foughte by ſea with vij. ſhips of Danes, toke one of them, & chaſed the reſidue. In the yeare next enſuing, the Danes came into the countreye of the Weaſtſaxons, and king Alvred tooke truce with them againe, and they ſware to him (whiche they had not vſed to doe to any afore that tyme) that they woulde departe the countrey.



The Danes tooke an othe. H.Hunt.

The Danes vvent to Exceſter.

Theyr armie by ſea ſaylyng from Warham towarde Exceſter, ſuſteyned great loſſe by tempeſte, for there peryſhed ſyxe ſcore ſhyppes at Swanewicke.

H.Hunt.

Moreouer the armie of Danes by land went to Exceſter in breache of the truce, and Kyng Alvred followed them, but coulde not ouertake them tyll they came to Exceſter, and there he approched them in ſuche wyſe, that they were glad to deliuer pledges for performaunce of ſuch couenauntes as were accorded betwixte him and them. And ſo then they departed out of the countrey, and drewe into Mercia. But ſhortly after, when they had the whole gouernemente of the lande, from Thames northward, they thought it not good to ſuffer king Alvred to continue in reſt with the reſidue of the coũtreys beyõd the Thames. And therefore the three aforeſayd rulers of Danes, Godrun, Eſketell and Ammound, inuading the countreye of Weaſtſaxons came to Chipnham, diſtant .xvij. myles from Briſtow, and there pitched their tentes.

877.

Polyd.

Of this ſpeaketh not H.Hunting. ſo that all betwixt the hooked notes is taken out of Polydore.

[Kyng Alvred aduertiſed heereof, haſted thyther, and lodging with his armie nere to the enimyes, prouoked them to battayle. The Danes perceyuyng that eyther they muſte fyghte for theyr lyues, or dye wyth ſhame, boldely came forthe, and gaue battayle. The Engliſhemen raſhely encounter with them, and thoughe that they were ouermatched with number, yet with ſuche violence they giue the onſette, that the enimies at the firſt were abaſhed of their hardie aſſaultes.

But when it was perceiued that theyr ſlender ranckes were not able to reſiſte the thycke leghers of the enimies, they beganne to ſhrinke and looke backe one for an other, and ſo of force were conſtrayned to retyre: And therewithall did caſte themſelues into a ryng, which though it ſeemed to bee the beſte waye that coulde bee deuyſed for theyr ſafetie, yet by the great force and number of theyr ennimies on eache ſyde aſſaylyng them, they were ſo thronged togyther on heapes, that they hadde not roome to ſturre theyr weapons. Whyche diſaduantage notwythſtandyng, they ſlewe a greate number of the Danes, and amongeſt other, Hubba the brother of Agnere, with manye other of the Daniſhe capitaines.

Hubba ſlayne.

At length the Engliſhmen hauing valyantly foughten a long tyme wyth the enymies, whyche hadde compaſſed them aboute, at laſte they brake out and got them to theyr campe.

To bee briefe, this battayle was foughten

with

The victorie doubtful.

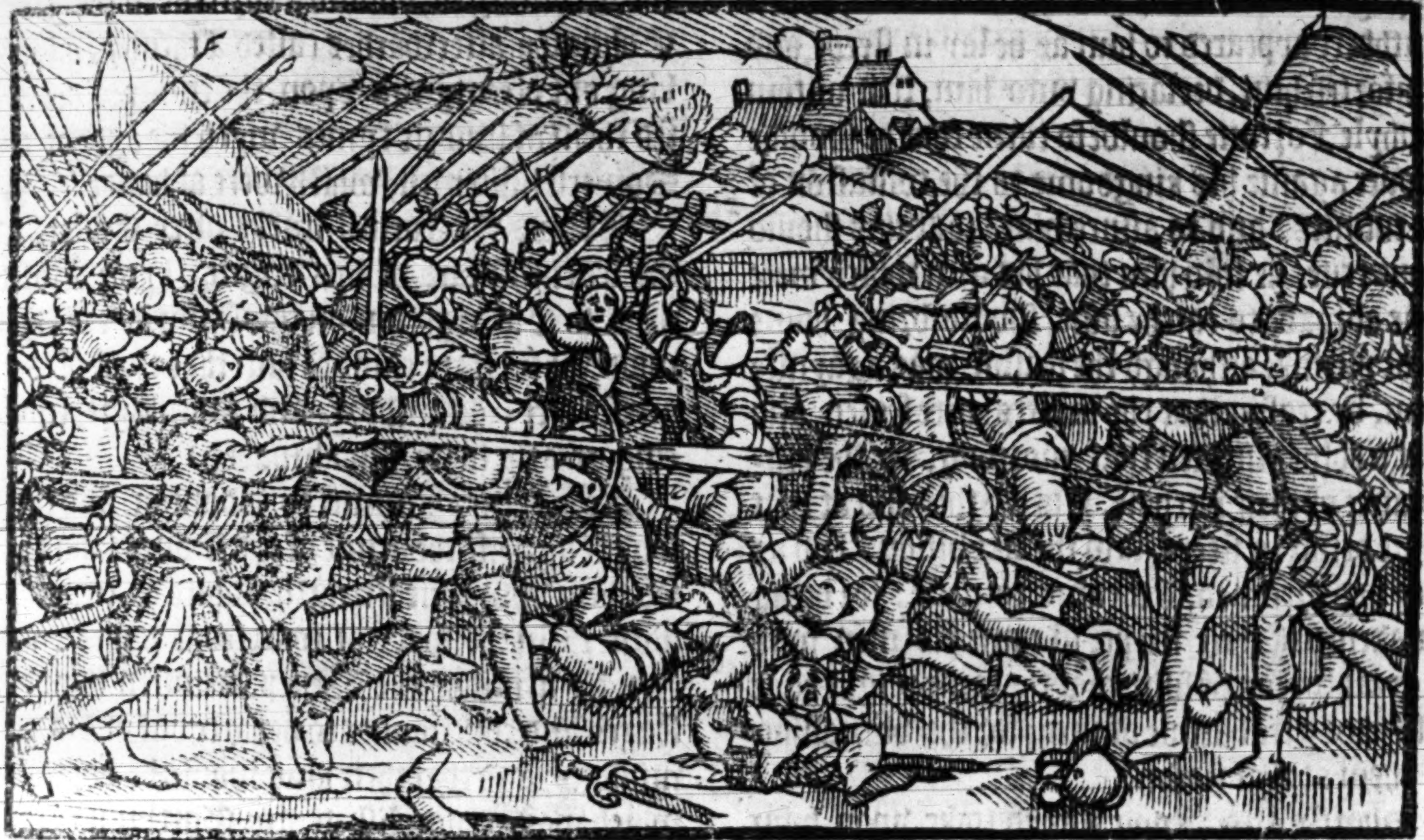
with ſo equall fortune, that no man knewe to whether parte the victorie ought to be aſcribed. But after that they were once ſeuered, they toke heed to cure their hurt menne, and to burye the dead bodies, namely the Danes enterred the bodie of their capitayn Hubba, with greate funerall pompe & ſolemnitie: which done, they kept forth theyr iorney till they came to Abingdon, whither the Engliſhe armie ſhortely after came alſo, and encamped faſt by the enimies.

bingdon.

In this meane whyle, the rumor was ſpread abroade that king Alured had bin diſcomfited by the Danes, bycauſe that in the laſte battayle hee withdrewe to his campe. This turned greatly to his aduantage! for therby a great number of engliſhmen haſted to come to hys ſuccour.

The Danes & Englishemen fight neere to Abingdon.

The morow after his comming to Abingdon he brought his armie ready to fight into the field, neyther the enimies were ſlacke on their parts to receyue the battayle, and ſo the two armies ioyned & fought right ſore on both ſydes: ſo that it ſeemed the Engliſhmen had not to do with thoſe Danes, whiche had bin diuers tymes before diſcomfited and put to flight, but rather with ſome newe people freſh and luſtie: neyther the one part nor the other was mynded to giue it ouer: in ſo muche that the horſemen alyghting on foote, and puttyng their horſes from them, entred the battayle emongſt the footmen, and thus they continued with equall aduantage till night came on, whiche parted the affray, being one of the ſoreſt foughten fieldes that had bin hearde off in thoſe days. To whether partie a man might iuſtly attribute the victorie, it was vtterlye vncertayne, with ſo lyke loſſe and gayn the matter was tried and ended betwixt them.



Vncertayne ... Polidore.

an.Higden. ...en foughte ... in one ...re betvvixt ...anes and En- ... agreed

With the ſemblable chaunce of daunger and glorie .vij. times that yeare did the Engliſhe and Danes encounter in battail, as writers haue recorded. And at lengthe when their powers on bothe partes were ſore diminiſhed, they agreed vppon a peace, with theſe conditions, That the Danes ſhoulde not attempte any further warre againſt the Engliſhmenne, nor bring into this lande any newe ſupplye of ſouldioures oute of Denmarke.

...e Danes ſo- ...ned at Lon-

The ſame yeare the Danes ſoiourned in the winter ſeaſon at London, according as they had done often tymes before.

Aboute the ſame tyme or ſhortely after, there came into Englande one Rollo, a noble man of Denmark or Norway, with a great armie, and (notwithſtanding the peace concluded betwene the Engliſhmen and the Danes,) he beganne to waſt and deſtroy the countrey.

King Alured hearing theſe newes, wyth all ſpeede, thoughte beſte in the beginning to ſtoppe ſuche a common miſchiefe, and immediatly aſſembling his people, went againſt the enimies, and gaue them battaile, in the which there died a great number of men on both ſides, but the greater loſſe fel to Rollo his armie. Yet Matthewe Weſtm. ſayeth, that the Engliſhmen were put to flight.

After this, it chaunced, that Rollo beeing warned in a dreame, left Englande, and ſayled ouer into France, wher he foūd fortune ſo fauorable to him, that hee obteined in that region for him and his people a countrey, the whiche was afterwardes named Normandie, of thoſe Northerne people, whiche then began to inhabite the ſame, as in the hiſtories of Fraunce you may ſee more at large.

xxx. yeares after this he vvas baptiſed.

The Danes which had concluded peace with king Alured (as before you haue herd) ſhortly after, vpon the firſt occaſion, brake the ſame, & by the often inuaſions whiche they made into the countrey of Weſtſaxons, brought the matter to

King Alured driuen to his ſhiftes.

that paſſe, that there remayned to king Alvred, but onely the three countreis of Hamſhire, Wilſhire, and Somerſetſhire, in ſomuch that he was conſtrained for a time to kepe himſelf cloſe within the fennes and marriſſe groundes of Somerſetſhire, with ſuch ſmall companies as he had aboute him, conſtreyned to get their liuing wyth fiſhing, hunting, and other ſuche ſhiftes. He remayned for the moſt part within an Iſle called Edelynſey, that is to meane, the Ilande of noble menne, enuironed aboute with fennes and marriſſes.

Edlingſey.

A viſion if it be true.

Whyles he was thus ſhut vp within this Iland, he was by dreame aduertiſed of better hap ſhortly to follow: For as it hath bene ſaid, Saint Cuthbert appeared to him as he lay in ſleepe, and comforted him, declaring vnto him, that within a whyle Fortune ſhoulde ſo turne that he ſhoulde recouer againe his kingdome to the confuſion of his enimies: and to aſſure him, that this ſhould proue true, he told him that his men which were gone abroade to catche fiſhe, ſhould bring home great plentie, although the ſeaſon was agaynſte them, by reaſon that the waters were froſen, and that a colde rime fell that morning, to the hinderance of their purpoſe. His mother alſo at that tyme being in ſleepe, ſaw the like viſion. And as they had dreamed, ſo it came to paſſe: for being awakened of their ſleepe, in came his men with ſo great foyſon of fiſhe, that the ſame might haue ſuffiſed a great armie of men, for the victualling of them at that ſeaſon.

King Alvred diſguiſeth hym ſelfe.

Polidore.

Fabian.

Shortly after, kyng Alvred toke vpon hym the habite of a Minſtrell, and going forth of his cloſure, repaired to the campe of the Danyſhe king, only accompanied with one truſty ſeruant, and tarrying there certaine dayes togither, was ſuffered to goe into euery parte, and play on hys inſtrument, as well afore the king as others, ſo that there was no ſecrete, but that hee vnderſtode it.

After that he had ſeene and learned the demeanour of his enimies, he returned againe to hys people at Edlingſey, and there declared to hys nobles what he had ſeene and heard, what negligence was amongſt the enimies, and howe eaſy a matter it ſhoulde bee for him to endomage them.

H. Hunt.

878

877.

Mat. VVeſt.

Hereupon they conceyuing a merueylous good hope, and enboldened wyth his wordes, a power was aſſembled togither, and ſpyes ſente forth to learne and bring word where the Danes lodged: which being done, & certificat made accordyngly, Kyng Alvred commyng vppon them on the ſodayn, ſlew of them a great number, hauyng them at great aduauntage.

S. Dun.

Alſo about the ſame tyme the brother of king Halden came with thirtie and three ſhips out of Wales into the countreye of Weſtſaxons, on the coaſte of Deuonſhire, where the Deuonſhire men gaue him battaile, and ſlewe him with 840. perſons of his retinue. Other write, that Halden himſelf was preſent at this conflict, with Inguare, otherwiſe called Hungar, and that they were both ſlayne there, with twelue hundred of their companye (before a certayne caſtell called Kynwith) receyuing as they hadde deſerued for their cruel dealing lately by them practiſed in the parties of Southwales, where they had waſted all afore them with fyre and ſworde, not ſparing Abbeys more than other common buyldings.

Athelney.

King Alvred beeing with that good lucke the more comforted, builded a fortreſſe in the Iſle of Edlingſey, afterwardes called Athelney, & breaking out oftentymes vpon the enimyes, diſtreſſed them at ſundrie tymes wyth the ayde of the Somerſetſhiremen, which were at hande.

Aboute the ſeuenth weeke after Eaſter, in the ſeuenth yeare of hys reigne, kyng Alvred went to Eglerighſton, on the Eaſt parte of Selwood, where there came to him the people of Somerſetſhire, Wylſhyre, and Hamſhyre, reioycing greatly to ſee him abroade.

Edantdune.

This battayle ſhould ſeeme the ſame that Polydor ſpeaketh of fought at Abyngdon.

Polychron.

I. Pike.

Gunthrun or Gurmois baptiſed, and named Adelſtan, is made king of Eaſtangle.

From thence he wente to Edanton, and there fought againſt the armie of the Danes, and chaſed them vnto their ſtrength, where he remained afore them the ſpace of fourteene dayes: and then the armie of the Danes deliuered hym hoſtages and couenaunts to departe out of his dominions, and that their king ſhould be baptiſed, which was accompliſhed: for Gurthrun whom ſome name Gurmound, a prince or king amongeſt theſe Danes, came to Alvred, and was baptiſed, king Alvred receyuyng hym at the Fontſtone, named hym Adelſtane, and gaue to hym the countrey of Eaſtangle, whyche hee gouerned, (or rather ſpoyled,) by the ſpace of twelue yeares.

Dyuers other of the Daniſhe nobilitie to the number of thirtie, (as Simon Dunelmenſis hathe.) came the ſame tyme in companye of theyr kyng Guthrun, and were lykewyſe baptyſed, on whome kyng Alvred alſo beſtowed many riche giftes.

The ſame tyme (as is to bee thought) was the league concluded betwyxte kyng Alvred, and the ſayde Guthrun or Gythrun, in the whyche the boundes of kyng Alureds kyngdome are ſette forth thus:

Vt.

Fyrſte therefore lette the boundes or marches of oure dominion ſtretche vnto the ryuer of Thames, and from thence to the water of Lee, euen vnto the head of the ſame water, and ſo forth ſtreight vnto Bedforde: and finally going alongſt by the riuer of Ouſe, lette them ende at Watlingſtreete.

This league beeing made with the aduiſe of the ſage perſonages as well Engliſh as Danes that inhabited within Eſt England, is ſet forth in maiſter Lamberts booke of the olde Engliſhe lawes, in the ende of thoſe lawes or ordinaunces whyche were eſtabliſhed by the ſame kyng Alured, as in the ſame booke ye maye ſee more at large. But nowe to proceed.

Here is to bee noted, that oure writers name dyuerſe of the Danyſh Capitaines kyngs, of the whyche no mention is made in the Danyſhe Chronicles, to reygne in thoſe parties.

But true it is, that in thoſe dayes, not onely the Danyſhe people, but alſo other of thoſe Northeaſt countreyes or Regyons, as Swedeners, Norwcygians, the Wenden, and ſuch other, whyche the Engliſhe people called by one generall name Danes, and the Frenchmen, Normans, vſed to roaue on the Seas, and to inuade forrayne Regions, as England, France, Flaunders, and others, as in conueniente places ye maye fynde, as well in oure Hyſtories as alſo in the writers of the Frenche Hyſtories, and lykewyſe in the Chronicles of thoſe North Regyons.

Gurmo.

The Wryters veryly of the Daniſhe Chronicles, make mention of one Gurmo, whome they name *Anglicus*, bycauſe hee was borne here in Englande, whiche ſucceeded his father Frotto in gouernemente of the kyngdome of Denmarke, whiche Frotto receyued baptiſme in Englande, as in their hiſtorie you may reade more at large.

H.Hunt.
878.

In the eyght yere of kyng Alured his reigne, the armye of the Danes wyntered at Cirenceſter, and the ſame yeare an other armie of ſtraungers called *VVincigi*, lay at Fulham, and in the yeare following, departed forth of Englande, and wente into Fraunce, and the armye of king Godrun or Gurmo departed from Cirenceſter, and came into Eaſt angle, and there deuidyng the countrey amongeſt them, beganne to inhabite the ſame.

879.
Si.Dunelm.
Mat.VVeſt.

In the .xiiij. yeare of king Alured his reigne, parte of the Daniſhe armie whiche was gone ouer into Fraunce, returned into England and beſieged Rocheſter. But when Alured approched to the reſkue, the enimies fledde to theyr ſhippes, and paſſed ouer the ſea agayne.

Rocheſter beſieged.
885.

King Alured ſente a nauie of his ſhippes well furniſhed with menne of warre into Eaſtangle, the whyche at the mouthe of the Riuer called Sture, encountring with .xvj. ſhippes of Danes, ſet vpon them, and ouercame them in fight: But as they retourned with theyr pryſes, they encountred with an other myghtie armye of the enimies, and fighting wyth them, were ouercome and vanquiſhed.

886.
Londo reco- ed out of the andes of the anes.

In the yeare folowing. king Alured beſieged the Citie of London, the Danes that wer within it, fledde from thence, and the Engliſhemen that were inhabitantes thereof, gladly receiued him, reioycing, that there was ſuche a Prince bredde of their nation that was of power able to reduce them into libertie.

VV: Malmſ.
Ethelfleda.
Colvvolphus.

This Citie being at that ſeaſon the chiefe of all Mercia, he deliuered vnto the keeping of duke Eldred, whiche had maried his daughter Ethelfleda, and held a great portion of Mercia, which Colwolphus before tyme poſſeſſed by graunt of the Danes, after they had ſubdued kyng Burthred, as before is mencioned.

Lymen, novve Rother.
Andredeſlegia.

About the .xxj. yeare of king Alured, a greate armie of thoſe Danes, or Normanes, whyche hadde ben in France, returned into England, and arriued in the hauen or riuer of Lymene in the eaſt part of Kente, neere to the greate wodde called Andredeſley, whyche dydde contyne in tymes paſt. Cxx. myles in length, and thirtie in breadth. Theſe Danes landing with their people buylded a Caſtell at Appledore.

A caſtel buylte at Apledore.

893.

S. Dunel. at Milton.

Alſo in the meane tyme came Haſtyng wyth lxxx. ſhips into the Thames, and buylded a Caſtell at Middleton, but hee was conſtrained by ſiege, whiche king Alured planted about him to receiue an othe that he ſhould not in any wyſe anoy the dominion of king Alured, who vpon his promyſe to departe, gaue great rewardes as well to him as to his wyfe and children. One of his ſonnes alſo king Alured helde at the Fontſtone, and to the other, Duke Eldred was godfather. (For as it were to winne credite, and to auoyde preſent daunger,) Haſting ſent vnto king Alured theſe hys two ſonnes, ſygnifying that if it ſtode with his pleaſure, he coulde be content that they ſhoulde be baptiſed. But neuertheleſſe this Haſting was euer moſte vntrue of worde and deede, he buylded a caſtell at Beamfield. And as he was going forth to ſpoyle and waſt the kings countreys, Alured toke that Caſtell wyth hys wyfe, children, ſhippes, and goodes, which he had got togither of ſuche ſpoyles as he had purchaſed abroade: but he reſtored vnto Haſting his wyfe and children, bicauſe hee was their godfather.

Haſtings the capitain of the Danes beſieged.

He receyueth an othe.

Beanfleet hath Math. VVeſt.

This enterpriſe vvas archieued by Edeldred duke of Mercia in abſence of the king as M. VVeſt. hathe noted.

Exceſter beſieged.

Shortly after, newes came, that a great number of other ſhippes of Danes were come out of Northumberlande, and had beſieged Exceſter: Whyleſt king Alured went then againſt them, the other armie whiche laye at Apledore inuaded Eſſex, and buylt a caſtell in that countrey, and after went into the borders of Wales, and bulded an other caſtell neere to the riuer of Seuerne: but being driuen oute of that countrey, they returned agayne into Eſſex.

Seuerne.

Thoſe that had beſieged Exceſter, vpō knowledge had of king Alureds comming, fledde to their ſhippes, and ſo remayning on the ſea, roaued abroade, ſeeking prayes. Beſides thys, other Armies there were ſent forth, whiche comming out of Northumberlande, toke the citie of Cheſter, but there they were ſo beſette aboute with their enimies, that they were conſtrayned to eate their horſes.

Cheſter taken by Danes.

Great famine.

At length in the .xxii. yeare of king Alured they lefte that citie, and fetched a compaſſe about Northwales, and ſo meaning to ſayle rounde aboute the coaſt to come into Northumberland, they arriued in Eſſex, and in the winter folowing drew their ſhippes by the Thames into the water of Luye. That armie of Danes whiche had beſieged Exceſter, toke prayes aboute Chicheſter, and was mette with, ſo that they loſt many of their men, and alſo diuers of their ſhips.

H. Hunt.

The vvater of Luye, novve Lee.

In the yeare folowing, the other armie which had broughte the ſhippes into the riuer of Luye, began to buylde a caſtell neere to the ſame riuer, twentie myles diſtaunt from London: but the Londoners came thither, and giuing battayl to the Danes, ſlewe .iiij. of the chiefe Capitaynes. But by Simon Dunel, and Mathew Weſt, it ſhoulde ſeeme, that the Londoners were at thys time put to flighte, and that foure of the kinges Thanes or barons were ſlaine, howbeit Henry of Huntington hath written as before I haue recited: And further ſayth, that when the Danes fled for their refuge to the Caſtell, king Alured cauſed the water of Luy to be deuided into three Chanels, ſo that the Danes ſhoulde not bryng backe their ſhippes oute of the place where they lay at ancker. When the Danes perceyued this, they lefte their ſhippes behynde them, and wente into the borders of Wales, where at Cartbridge vpon Seuerne, they buylte an other caſtell, and lay there all the wynter following, hauing lefte their wiues and childrē in the countrey of Eaſtangles. King Alured purſued them, but the Londoners toke the enimies ſhips, and brought ſome of them to the Citie, and the reſt they brent.

H. Hunt.

The Londoners victorers againſt the Danes.

Quathbridge. or VVakebridge.

Thus for the ſpace of three yeeres after the arriuing of the mayne armie of Danes in the hauen of Luye, they ſore endomaged the Engliſhe people, although the Danes themſelues ſuſteyned more loſſe at the Engliſhmens handes than they did to them with all pilfering and ſpoyling.

In the fourth yeare after their comming, the armie was deuided, ſo that parte of them wente into Northumberlande, part of them remayned in the countrey of the Eaſtangles, and an other parte went into Fraunce.

The Daniſhe armie diuided into partes.

Alſo certain of their ſhips came vpon the coaſt of the Weſtſaxons, oftentymes ſettyng theyr men on lande to robbe and ſpoyle the countrey.

But king Alured toke order in the beſt wiſe he might for defence of his countrey and people, and cauſed certaine mightie veſſels to be buylded which he appointed forth to encounter with the enimies ſhippes.

And thus lyke a worthie Prince and politike gouernour, he preuented eche way forth to reſiſt his enimies, and to ſauegarde his ſubiectes. Finally after he had reigned .29. yeeres, and an halfe, he departed this lyfe the .28 day of October. His bodie was buried at Wincheſter: He left behynde him iſſue by his wife Ethelwitha, the daughter of Earle Ethelred of Mercia, two ſonnes Edwarde, ſurnamed the elder, which ſucceeded him, and Adelwolde. Alſo three daughters, Elfleda, or Ethelfleda, Ethelgeda or Elgiua and Ethelwitha. Elflede was maried (as ye haue hearde) vnto Duke Edelred, who left a notable example behinde hir of deſpiſing fleſhely pleaſure, for bearing hir huſbande one chylde, and ſore handeled before ſhe coulde be delyuered, ſhe euer after forbare to companie with hir huſbande, ſaying that

The death of king Alured.

His iſſue.

Elfleda

it was

The notable ſaying of Elſeda.

it was great fooliſhneſſe to vſe ſuch pleſure which therwith ſhould bring ſo great griefe.

To ſpeake ſufficiently of the worthie prayſe due to ſo noble a prince as Alured was, might require eloquence, learning and a large volume. He was of perſon comely and beautifull, & better beloued of his father and mother than his other brethren. And although he was as before is touched, greatly diſquieted with the inuaſion of foreyn enimies, yet did he both manfully from time to tyme indeuour himſelfe to repulſe them, and alſo attempted to ſee his ſubiectes gouerned in good and vpright iuſtice.

VV. Malmſ.

King Alured his lawes.

And albeit that good lawes amongeſt the clinking noyſe of armour, are oftentymes put to ſilence, yet he perceiuing how his people were greued with theeues and robbers whiche in tyme of warre grew and increaſed, deuiſed good ſtatutes and holſome ordinances for punyſhing of ſuche offenders.

Amongeſt other thinges he ordeyned, that the countreys ſhould be deuided into hundreds and tythings, that is to wit, quarters conteyning a certayne number of towneſhips, adioyning togither, ſo that euery Engliſheman liuing vnder preſcripte of lawes, ſhould haue both his hundred and tithing, that if any man were accuſed of any offence, he ſhoulde fynde ſuretie for his good demeanour: and if he coulde not fynde ſuche as woulde anſwere for him, then ſhoulde hee taſte extremitie of the lawes.

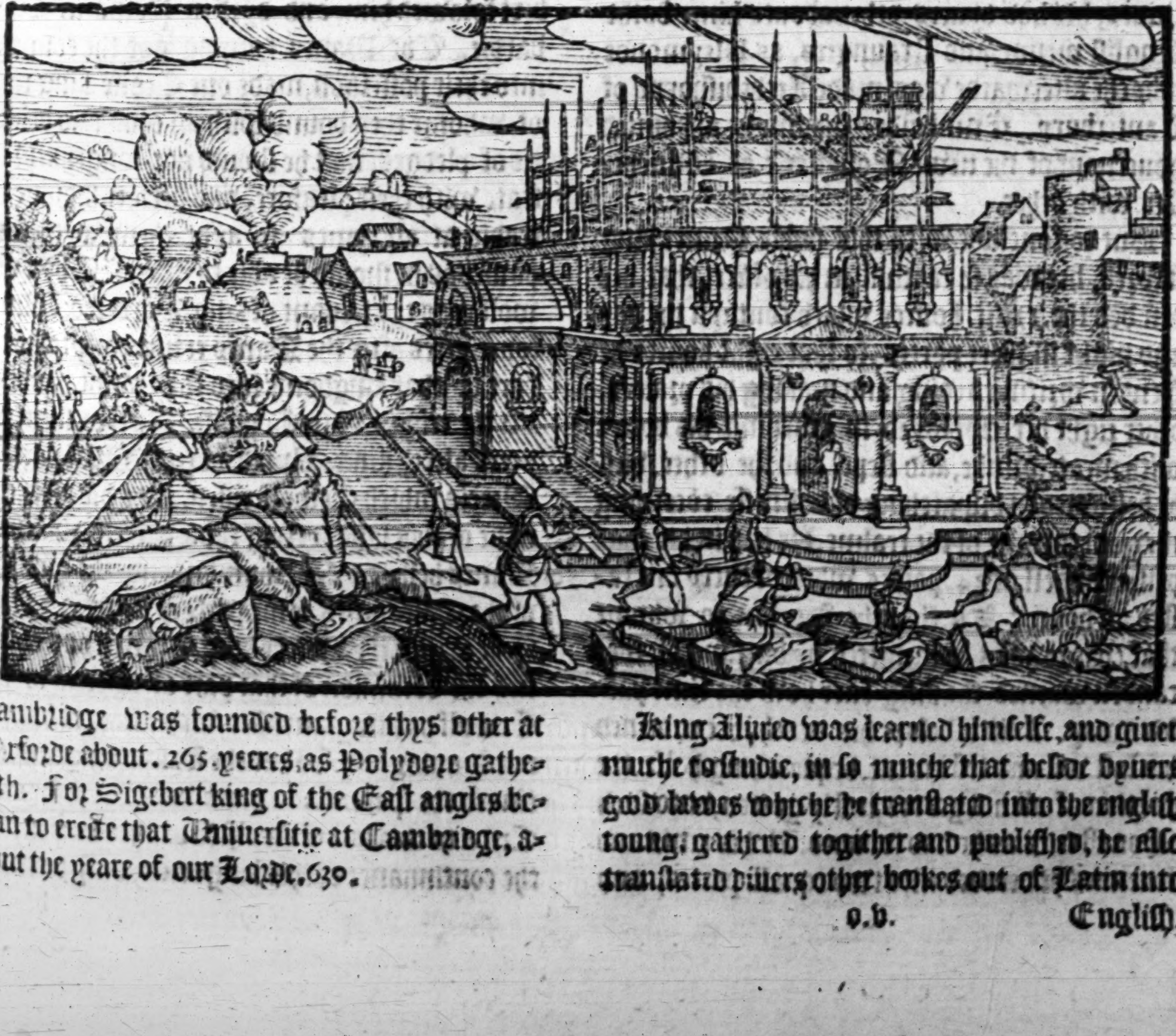
And if any manne that was guiltie fled before hee founde ſuretie or after: all the inhabitants of the hundred or tithing where he dwelte ſhoulde be put to their fyne. By this deuiſe he brought his countrey into good tranquillitie, ſo that he cauſed bracelets of golde to be hanged vp alofte on hilles, where any common wayes laye to ſee if any durſt be ſo hardy to take them away by ſtealth. He was a liberall Prince namely in relieuing of the poore. To churches he confirmed ſuche priuiledges as his father had graunted before him, and he alſo ſent rewardes by way of deuotion vnto Rome, and to the bodie of Saint Thomas in India. Sighelmus the biſhop of Shirborne bare the ſame, & brought from thence riche ſtones, and ſweete oyles of ineſtimable value. From Rome alſo he brought a piece of the holy croſſe, whiche Pope Marinus did ſend for a preſent vnto king Alured.

Foundation of monaſteries.

Moreouer king Alured founded three goodlie Monaſteries, one at Edlingſey, where he liued ſometyme when the Danes had bereaued hym almoſt of all his kyngdome; whiche was after called Athelney, diſtant from Taunton in Somerſetſhire about fiue myles: the ſeconde he builded at Wincheſter, called the newe minſter, and the thirde at Shaftſbury, whiche was an houſe of Nunnes, where he made his daughter Ethelgera, or Elgiua Abbeſſe. But the foundation of the vniuerſitie of Oxford paſſed all the reſidue of his buyldings, whiche he began by the good exhortation and aduiſe of Neotus an Abbotte in thoſe days highly eſteemed for his vertue and lerning with Alured.

This worke he tooke in hande aboute the. 23. yeare of his reigne, whiche was in the yeare of our Lorde. 895. So that the Uniuerſitie of

895.



Polydore.

The vniuerſitie of Oxforde erected.

Cambridge was founded before thys other at Oxforde about. 265. yeeres as Polydore gathereth. For Sigebert king of the Eaſt angles began to erecte that Uniuerſitie at Cambridge, about the yeare of our Lorde. 630.

King Alured was learned himſelfe, and giuen muche to ſtudie, in ſo muche that beſide dyuers good lawes whiche he tranſlated into the engliſh toung, gathered togither and publiſhed, he alſo tranſlated diuers other bookes out of Latin into engliſh, as *Oroſius, Paſtorale Gregorij, Beda de geſtis Anglorũ, Boetius de conſolatione Philoſophiæ*, and the booke of Pſalms, but this he finiſhed not, being preuented by death.

So this worthie Prince minding wel toward the common wealth of his people, in that ſeaſon when learning was little eſteemed amongeſt the Weaſt nations, dyd ſtudie by all meanes poſſible, to inſtructe his ſubiectes in the trade of leadyng an honeſt lyfe, and to encourage them generally to imbrace learnyng. He woulde not ſuffer any to beare office in the Courte, excepte hee were learned: and yet hee hymſelfe was twelue yeares of age before hee coulde reade a worde on the booke, and was then trayned by his mothers perſwaſion to applye hymſelfe to ſtudy, promiſing to gyue hym a goodly fayre booke whyche ſhe had in hir handes, if he wold ſhortly lerne to reade it. Hereupon going to his booke in ſporte, he ſo earneſtly ſette his mynd thereto, that within a ſmall tyme hee profited maruellouſly, and became ſuche a fauourer of learned men, that he delyghted moſt in their companie, to haue conference wyth them, and allured dyuers to come vnto hym out of other countreyes, as Aſſerius Meneuenſ. biſhop of Shirborne, and Werefridus the byſhop of Worceſter, who by his commaundemente tranſlated the Bookes of Gregories Dialogues into Engliſhe. Alſo John Scot whyche whyles hee was in Fraunce, tranſlated the booke of *Dionyſius Ariopagita*, entituled *Hierarchia*, out of Greeke into Latin, and after was Scholemaiſter in the Abbey of Malmeſburye, and there murthered by his Schollers with penknives, hee had dyuers other aboute him, bothe Engliſh menne and ſtraungers, as Pleymonde whyche afterwarde was made Archebiſhoppe of Canterbury, Grimbalde, whome he appointed gouernour of the newe Monaſterie at Wincheſter with other.

The vertuous zele of Alured to bring his people to an honeſt trade of lyfe.

He is perſvvaded by his mother, to applye himſelf to lerning.

Aſſerius Meneuenſ.
VVerefridus.

Iohn Scot.

Grimbalde.

But to conclude with this noble Prince king Alvred, hee was ſo carefull in his office, that hee deuided the .xxiiij. houres which contayn the day and night in three partes, ſo that eight houres he ſpent in writing, reding and making his praiers, other eight hee employed in releuing his bodye with meate, drinke, and ſlepe, and the other .viij. he beſtowed in diſpatching of buſineſſe cõcerning the gouernment of the realme. He had in his chapell a candell of 24. partes, whereof euery one laſted an houre: So that the Sexton to whome that charge was committed, by burning of that candell warned the king euer how the time paſſed away. A little before his death, hee ordeined his laſt wil and teſtament, bequeathing halfe the portion of all his goodes iuſtly gotten, vnto ſuch Monaſteries as he had founded. All his rents and reuenues he deuided into two equall partes, and the firſt part he deuided into three, beſtowing the firſt vpon his ſeruants of houſholde, the ſeconde to ſuche laborers and workmen as he kept in his workes of ſundrie newe buyldings, the thyrde part he gaue to ſtrangers. The ſecond whole part of his reuenues was ſo diuided, that the firſt portion thereof was beſtowed amongeſt the poore people of his countrey, the ſeconde to Monaſteries, the thirde to the fyndyng of poore ſchollers, and the .iiij. part to Churches beyonde the ſea: he was diligent in the enquirie how the Judges of his land behaued themſelues in their iudgemẽts, and was a ſharpe correcter of them which tranſgreſſed in that behalfe. To be brief, he liued ſo as he was had in greate fauoure of his neighbors, highly honored amongſt ſtrangers. He maryed his daughter Ethelſwida or rather Elſtride vnto Baldwyn Erle of Flaunders, of whome hee begat two ſons Arnulfe and Adulfe, of the which the firſt ſucceded in the Erledome of Flaunders, and the yonger was made erle of Bologne.

Alured deuided the tyme for his neceſſarie vſes.

His laſt vvyll and teſtament.

Elſtrid, vvhoſe epitaph you find in Iacob Meyer, if ye looke for Baldvvyne hir huſbande.

The bodie of king Alvred was firſte buried in the Biſhops churche: but afterwarde bicauſe the Canons rayſed a fond tale that the ſame ſhoulde walke a nightes, his ſonne king Edward remoued it into the newe monaſterie whiche he in his lyfe tyme had founded.

The ende of the kingdome of Mercia.

IN the dayes of the forſayd king Alvred, the kyngdome of Mercia tooke ende. For after that yͤ Danes had expulſed king Burthred, whẽ he had reigned .22. yeares, he went to Rome, and there died, his wife alſo Ethelſwida, the daughter of king Athulf that was ſonne to king Egbert folowed him, and dyed in Pauia in Lumbardie. The Danes hauyng got the countrey into their poſſeſſion, made one Ceolfe king thereof, whome they bound with an othe and deliuerie of pledges, that he ſhould not longer kepe the ſtate with their pleaſure, and further ſhoulde bee readie at all tymes to ayde them wyth ſuche power as he ſhould be able to make. Thys Cewolf was the ſeruant of king Burthred. Within foure yeres after the Danes returned, & tooke one part of that kingdome into their owne handes, & left the reſidue vnto Cewolfe. But within fewe yeres after, king Alvred obteined that parte of Mercia which Cewolf ruled, as he did all the reſidue of this land, except thoſe parcels which the Danes held, as Northumberland, the countreis of the Eaſtangles, ſome parte of Mercia, & other. The yere in the whiche king Alvred thus obteyned the dominion of that part of Mercia whiche Cewolf had in gouernãce, was after the birth of our Sauior .886. ſo that the forſaid kingdom cõtinued the ſpace of .302. yeres vnder .22. kings frõ Crida to this laſt Cewolf. But ther be yͭ accõpt the continuance of this kingdome, only from the begin-

Cevvolfe.

886.
Mat. VVeſt.

beginning of Penda, vnto the laſt yere of Burthred, by which reckning it ſtood not paſt 270. yeres vnder. [illegible]. or rather. 17. kings, accompting the laſt Cewolf for none, who began his reigne vnder ſubiection of the Danes, aboute the yeare of our Lord. 874. wher Penda begā his reigne. 604.

Guthrun king of the Eaſt angles died. 890.

Si. Dunelm.

Si. Dunelm.

The Eaſtangles & the Northumbers in theſe days wer vnder ſubiection of the Danes, as partly may be perceued by that which before is rehearſed. After Guthrā ẏ gouerned ẏ eaſtangles by the term of. xij. yer.s, one Edhirick or Erick had the rule in thoſe parties, a Dane alſo, & reigned. xiiij. yeres, & was at length bereued of his gouernment by king Edward the ſonne of K. Alured, as after ſhal appere. But now although that the Northumbers were brought greatly vnder foote by the Danes, yet could they not forget their old accuſtomed maner to ſtirre tumultes and rebellion againſt their gouernors, inſomuch that in the yere 872. they expulſed not onely Egbert, whome the Danes had appointed king ouer one parte of the countrey (as before you haue heard) but alſo their archbiſhop Wilfhere. In the yere following, the ſame Egbert departed this life, after whom, one Rigſig or Ricſige ſucceeded as king, & the Archbiſhop Wolfhere was reſtored home. In ẏ ſame yeare the armie of Danes which had wintered at London, came from thẽce into Northumberlād, and wintred in Lindſey, at a place called Torkſey, and went the next yeere into Mercia. And in the yere. 975. a part of them returned into Northumberland, as before ye haue herd. In the yere following, Ricſig the king of Northumberlande departed this lyfe: After whom an other Egbert ſucceded. And in the yeare. 983. the armie of the Danes meanyng to inhabite in Northumberlande, and to ſettle themſelues there, choſe Guthryd the ſonne of one Hardicnute to their king, whome they had ſometyme ſolde to a certayne widowe at Witingham. But nowe by the aduiſe of an Abbot called Aldride, they redeemed his libertie, and ordeined him king to rule bothe Danes and Engliſhmen in that countrey.

872

Egbert king of Northumberland expelled from his kingdome.

Egbert departed this lyfe. Ricſig.

The Danes winter in Lindſey.

975.

Ricſig departed this lyfe.

983.

Guthred or Seired K. of Northumberland.

It was ſayd, that the ſame Aldrede being Abbot of holy Ilande, was warned in a viſion by Sainte Cuthbert, to giue counſell bothe to the Danes and Engliſhmen, to make the ſame Guthrid king. This chaunced about the. xiij yere of the reigne of Alured king of Weſt ſaxons.

The Biſhoppes ſee remoued from holy Iland to Cheſter in the ſtreete.

Then after that Guthrid was eſtabliſhed king he cauſed the biſhops ſea to be remoued from holy Ilande vnto Cheſter in the ſtret, and for an augmentation of the reuenues and iuriſdiction belonging therto, he aſſigned and gaue vnto Saincte Cuthbert all that countrey which lyeth betwixt the riuers of Teyſe and Tyne.

Priuiledges graunted to S. Cuthbertes ſhrine.

Moreouer this priuiledge was there graunted vnto S. Cuthbert ſhrine, That whoſoeuer fledde into the ſame for ſuccour & ſafegarde, ſhould not be touched or troubled in any wiſe for the ſpace of 37. dayes. And this freedom was confirmed not only by king Guthrid, but alſo by king Alured. Finally king Guthrid departed this lyfe in the yeare of our Lord God. 894. after hee had ruled the Northumbers with muche crueltie (as ſome ſay) by the terme of. 11. yeres, or ſomwhat more: He is named by ſome writers Gurmond, and alſo Gurmo, and thought to bee the ſame whome king Alured cauſed to be baptiſed. Where other affirme, that Guthred who ruled the Eaſtangles, was he that Alured receiued at ẏ fontſtone, William Malmſbury taketh them to be but one man, whiche is not lyke to be true.

894.

Polydor.

VV. Malmſ.

VV. Malmſ.

After this Guthred or Gurmo his ſonne Sithrike ſucceded, and after hym other of that line, till king Athelſtane depriued them of the dominion, and toke it into his owne hands.

Sithrike.

Edwarde the elder.

Edward the elder.

901.

After the deceaſe of king Alured, his ſon Edwarde, ſurnamed the elder began his reygne ouer the more parte of Englande in the yeare of our Lord 901. which was in the. [illegible]. yere of the emperour Lewis in the eight yeare of the reigne of Charles, ſurnamed *ſimplex*, king of France, and about the. 8. yeare of Donald king of Scotland. He was ſacred after the maner of other kyngs his aunceſters by Athelrede the Archebiſhop of Canterburie. This Edward was not ſo learned as his father, but in princely power more high & honorable, for he ioyned the kingdome of Eaſtangles and Mercia with other vnto his dominion, as after ſhall be ſhewed, and vanquiſhed the Danes, Scots, & Welchmen, to his great glory and high cōmendation. In the beginning of his reign he was diſquieted by his brother Adelwold, which toke the town of Winborn beſides Bath, and maried a Nunne there, which he had deflouered, and attempted many things againſt his brother. Wherupō the king came to Bath, & though Adelwold ſhewed a countenance as if he would haue abyd the chaunce of warre within Wynborne, yet he ſtale awaye in the night, & fled into Northūberland, wher of the Danes he was ioyfully receiued. The king toke his wife being lefte behind, & reſtored hir to ẏ houſe from whence ſhe was taken. Som haue written that this Adelwolde or Ethelwolde, was not brother vnto king

VVinborne.

H. Hunt.

Adelvvolde fleeth to the Danes.

VV. Malm.

king Edwarde, but his vncles ſonne.

The Engliſhe nation practiſed in vvarres, goe commonly avvay vvith the victorie.

H. Hunt.

Eſſex yelded to Athelvvold.

Ran. Higd.

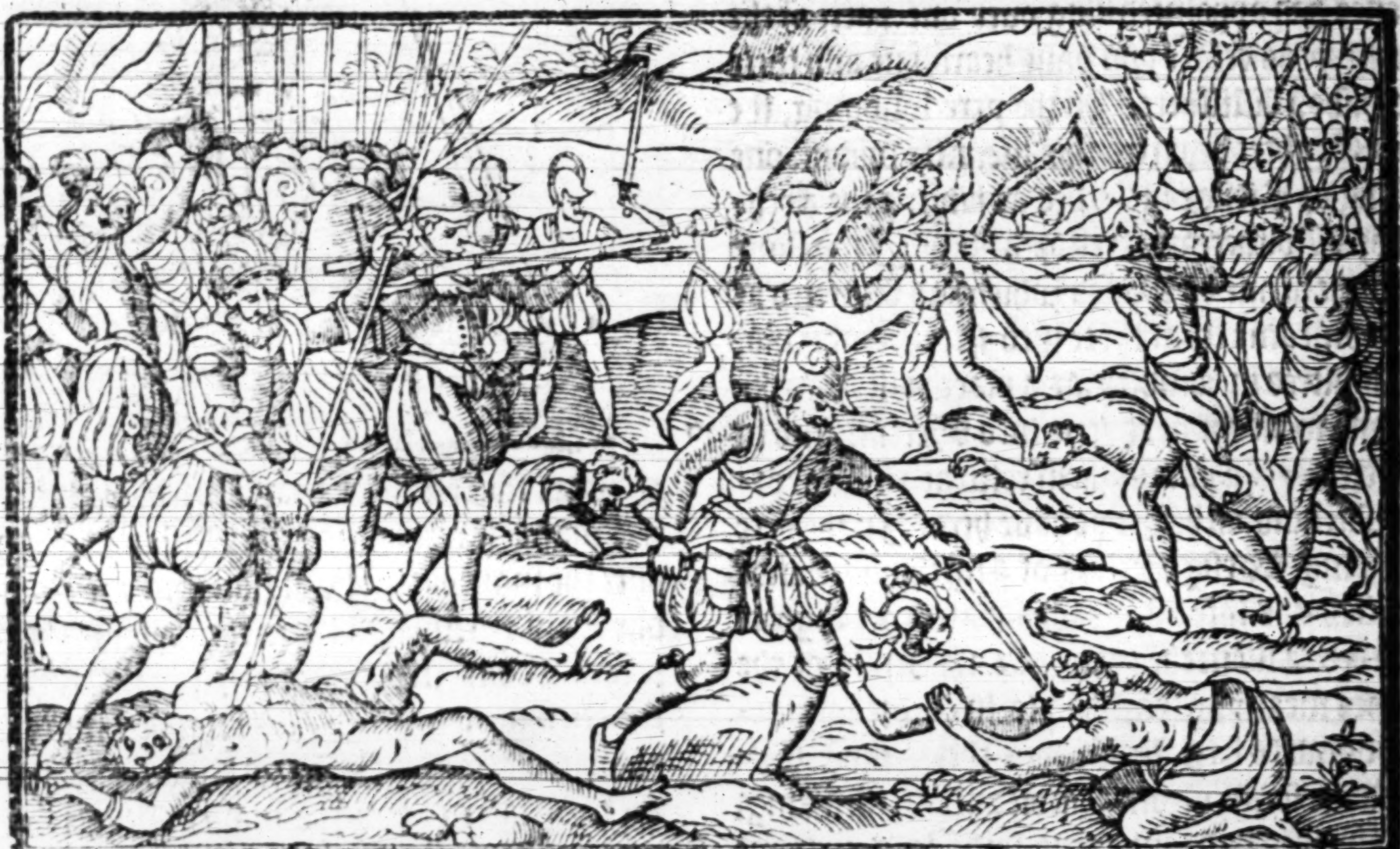
Buttenden.

After this king Edwarde prouiding for the ſurtie of his ſubiectes againſt the forrays which the Danes vſed to make, fortifyed diuers cities and townes, and ſtuffed them with great garriſons of ſouldiors, to defend the inhabitants, and to repulſe the enimies. And ſurely the engliſhmen were ſo inured with warres in thoſe dayes, that the people being aduertiſed of the inuaſion of the enimies in any part of their countrey, would aſſemble oftentymes without knowledge of king or capitayne, and ſetting vpon the enimies, went commonly awaye with victorie, by reaſon that they ouermatched them bothe in number & practiſe. So were the enimies deſpiſed of the engliſhe ſouldiours, and laughed to ſcorn of the king for their fooliſhe attempts. Yet in the third yeare of king Edwards reigne, Ethelwolde his brother came with a Nauie of the Danes into the parties of the eaſtangles, and euen at the firſt the Eſſex men yelded themſelues vnto him. In the yere folowing he inuaded the countrey of Mercia with a mightie armie, waſting and ſpoyling the ſame vnto Crykelade, and there paſſing ouer the Thames, roded forth til he came to Baſingſtoke, (or as ſome bookes haue Brittenden,) harying the countrey on eche ſyde, and ſo returned back into Eaſt angles with great ioy & triumph.

H. Hunt.

The Kentiſhmen diſobeying the kings commaundement, are ſurpriſed by the enimies. Athelvvolde king Edvvards brother.

King Edwarde awakened heerewith, aſſembled his people, & folowed the enimies, waſting all the countreye betwixt the riuer of Ouſe and S. Edmunds ditch. And when he ſhuld returne, he gaue cōmandement, that no man ſhould ſtay behinde him, but come backe togither for doubte to be forelayd by the enimies. The Kentiſhmen notwithſtanding this ordinance & cōmandemēt, remained behind, although the king ſent .7. meſſengers for them. The Danes awayting their aduantage, came togither, and fiercely foughte with the Kentiſhmen, which a long tyme valiantly defended themſelues. But in the ende the Danes obteyned the victorie, although they loſte more people there than the Kentiſhmen did: and amongeſt other, there were ſlaine the forſaid Athelwold, & diuers of the chief captains amongſt the Danes. Likewiſe of the engliſh ſide, ther died ii. dukes, Siwolf & Singlem, or Sigbelm, with ſundry other mē of name both tēporal & alſo ſpiritual lords & Abbots. In the .v. yere of his reign K. Edward cōcluded a truce with the Danes of Eaſtangle & Northumberlād at Itingford. But in the yere folowing, he ſent an army againſt thē of Northumberlād, which ſlew many of yͤ Danes, and took great booties both of people & cattel, remaining in the countrey the ſpace of .v. wekes.



Fortie dayes hath S. Dunel.

The yere next enſuing, the Danes with a great armie entred into Mercia, to rob & ſpoile yͤ countrey, againſt whom king Edward ſent a mightie hoſt, aſſembled togither of the Weſtſaxons and them of Mercia, the which ſet vpon the Danes, as they were returning homeward, & ſlew of thē an huge multitude, together with their chief capitaines and leaders, as king Halden, and kyng Eolwils, erle Uther, erle Scurfa, & diuers other.

H. Hunt.

In the yeare .912. (or as Simon Dunel. hath 908.) the Duke of Mercia Edrid or Etheldred, departed this life, and then king Edward ſeyſed into his handes the Cities of London and Oxford, and all that part of Mercia which he helde. But afterwards he ſuffered his ſiſter Elflede to enioy the moſt part therof, except the ſayde cities of London and Oxford, whiche he ſtill retayned in his owne hande. This Elfleda was wyfe to the ſayd duke Edrid or Etheldred, as before you haue hearde: Of whoſe worthy actes more ſhall be ſayde hereafter.

In the nynthe yeare of his reigne kyng Edwarde buylt a caſtell at Hartforde, and likewiſe

he

Vvham.

he buylded a towne in Eſſex at Wightham, and lay himſelf in the meane time at Maldon, otherwiſe Meauldun, bringing a great part of ẏ countrey vnder his ſubiection, which before was ſubiect to ẏ Danes. In the yere folowing, the armie of the Danes departed frō Northāpton & Cheſter in breach of the former truce, & ſlew a greate number of men at Hoccheneretō in Oxfordſhire. And ſhortly after their return home, an other cōpanie of them wēt forth and came to Leighton, where the people of the countrey beeing aſſembled togither, fought with them, and put them to flight, taking frō them all the ſpoyle whiche they had got, and alſo their horſes.

Cheſter, or ra-
er Leyceſter,
I thinke.

Ligeanne.

In the .xj. yere of king Edw. a fleet of Danes compaſſed aboute the Weſt partes, and came to the mouth of Seuerne, & ſo toke prayes in Wales: They alſo tooke priſoner a Welche biſhop named Camelgaret, at Irchenfield, whome they led to their ſhips: but king Edward redemed him out of their hands, paying to them .xl. lb. for his raunſom. After that the armie of Danes went forth to ſpoyle the countrey about Irchingfield, but the people of Cheſter, Herefordе, and other townes and countreys therabout, aſſembled togither, and giuing battayl to the enimies, put them to flight, and ſlewe one of their noble men called Earle Rehald, and Ecolcil the brother of Earle Uter, with a great part of their armie, and draue the reſidue into a Caſtell, whiche they beſieged till the Danes within it gaue hoſtages, and couenanted to depart out of the kings lande.

chenfielde.

Danes diſcom-
ed.

The king cauſed the coaſts about Seuerne to be watched, that they ſhould not breake into his countrey: But yet they ſtale twice into the borders: neuertheles they wer chaſed & ſlain ſo many as coulde not ſwim, and ſo get to their ſhips.

Then they remayned in the Ile of Stepen, in great miſerie for lacke of victuals, bycauſe they coulde not go abroade to get any. At length they departed into Northwales, & from thēce ſayled into Ireland.

The yle of
Stepen.
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

The ſame yeare king Edward came to Buckingham with an armie, and ther taried a whole moneth, building two caſtels, the one vpon the one ſide of the water of Ouſe, and the other vpon the other ſide of the ſame riuer. He alſo ſubdued Turketyllus an Erle of the Danes that dwelte in that countrey, with all the reſidue of the noble men and barons of the ſhires of Bedforde and Northampton.

Turketellus

In the .xij. yere of K. Edwards reigne, ẏ Kentiſhmen & Danes fought togither at Holme: but whether partie had the victorie, writers haue not declared. Simon Dunelm. ſpeaketh of a batayle which the citizens of Canterbury fought againſt a number of Daniſh rouers at Holme, wher the Danes were put to flight, but that ſhould be (as he noteth) an. 8. yeres before this ſuppoſed time, as in the yere. 904. whiche was aboute the thirde yere of king Edw. reigne. After this other of the Danes aſſembled thēſelues togither, & in Staffordſhire at a place called Tottēhal, fought with the Engliſhmen, & after great ſlaughter made on bothe parties, the Danes were ouercome: and ſo likewiſe were they ſhortly after at Woodfield, or Wodenfield. And thus K. Edw. put the Danes to the worſe in eche place commonly where hee came, and hearing that thoſe in Northumberlād ment to breake the peace: he inuaded the countrey and ſo afflicted the ſame, that the Danes whiche were inhabitants there, gladly continued in reſt and peace. But in this meane tyme, Ericke the king of thoſe Danes which helde the countrey of eaſtangle was about to procure new warre, and to allure other of the Danes to ioyn with him againſt the Engliſhmen, that with cōmon agreement, they might ſette vpon the engliſhe nation, and vtterly ſubdue them.

Dunelm.

An. 911.

Sim. Dun.

Polidore.

Ericke king of Eaſtangles.

King Edw. hauing intelligence hereof, purpoſed to preuent him, & thervpon entryng with an armie into his countrey, cruelly waſted & ſpoyled the ſame. K. Erick hauing alreadie his people in armour through diſpleaſure conceiued hereof, and deſire to be reuenged, haſted forthe to encounter his enimies: And ſo they met in the field & fiercely aſſayled eche other. But as the battaile was raſhly begon on king Ericks ſide, ſo was the end very harmeful to him: for with ſmall a doe after great loſſe on his ſide, was he vanquiſhed and put to flight.

King Edvvard inuadeth the countrey of the Eaſtangles.

Ericke put to flight.

And after his comming home, bycauſe of his great ouerthrowe and foule diſcomfiture, he began to gouerne his people with more rigour and ſharp dealing thā before time he had vſed. Wherby he prouoked the malice of the Eaſtangles ſo highly againſt him, ẏ they fell vpon him & murthered him: yet did they not gain ſo much hereby as they looked to haue done: for ſhortely after, they being brought lowe, and not able to defende their countrey, were compelled to ſubmit themſelues vnto king Edw. And ſo was that kingdome ioyned vnto the other dominions of the ſame king Edwarde, who ſhortly after annexed alſo the kingdome of Mercia vnto other of his dominions, immediatly vpon the death of his ſiſter Elfleda, whome he permitted to gouern that countrey during hir lyfe. And not without good reaſon, for by hir wyſe & politike order vſed in all hir doings, he was greately furthered and aſſiſted. But namely in reparing and buyldyng of Townes and Caſtelles, ſhee ſhewed hir noble magnificence, in ſo muche that during the time of hir gouernaunce whiche continued an eyght yeares, it is recorded by wryters, that ſhe did buylde and repare theſe Townes, whoſe names here

The kingdome of the Eaſtangles ſubdued by K. Edvvard.

H. Hunt.

Mat. VVeſt.

Sim. Dunel.

Thamvvorth vvas by hir repared. An.914. Eadsbury and VVarvvike.

915.

heere enſewe: Thamworth beſide Lichefielde, Stafford, Warwike, Shrewſburye, Waterſbury or Weddeſbury, Elileſbury or rather Edbury in the foreſt of De la mere beſides Cheſter, Brimſbery bridge vpon Seuerne, Rouncorn at the mouth of the riuer of Mercie with other.

Cheſter repared. 905.
Sim. Dunel.

Moreouer, by hir helpe the citie of Cheſter whiche by Danes had bin greately defaced, was newly repaired, fortified with walles and turrets and greatly enlarged. So that the caſtell whiche ſtoode without the walles before that tyme was now brought within compaſſe of the new wall.

Queene of the VVelchmen taken.
Brecanamere.
Ran. Higd.
H. Hunt.

Moreouer ſhe boldely aſſaulted hir enimyes whiche wente aboute to trouble the ſtate of the countrey as the Welchemen, and Danes. She ſent an armie into Wales, and tooke the towne of Brecknocke with the Queene of the Welchmen at Bricennamere. Alſo ſhe wan from the Danes the towne of Darby, and the countrey adioyning.

918.
Derby vvon from the Danes

In this enterpriſe ſhe put hir owne perſon in great aduẽture: for a great multitude of Danes, ẏ were withdrawen into Derby, valiãtly defended the gates and entries, inſomuche that they ſlew foure of hir chief men of warre, which wer named Wardens of hir perſon, euen faſt by hir at the very entrie of the gates. But this notwithſtanding, with valiãt fight hir people entred, and ſo the towne was wonne: ſhe gotte diuers other places out of their handes, and conſtrained them of Yorkeſhire to agree with hir, ſo that ſome of them promiſed to become hir ſubiectes: Some promiſed to ayde hir, and ſome ſware to be at hir cõmaundement. Finally this martiall Lady and manly Elfleda, the ſupporter of hir cõtreymen and terrour of the enimies, departed this life at Thamworth aboute the .xij. of Iune, in the .xviij. or rather .xix. yeare of hir brother king Edwards reigne, as by Math. Weſt it ſhould appeare. But Simon Dunelm. writeth, that ſhe deceaſſed in the yeare of Chriſt .915. which ſhould be about the .xiiij. yeare of king Edwards reign. Hir bodie was conueyed to Glouceſter, and there buried within the monaſterie of S. Peter, which hir huſband and ſhe in their life tyme had buylded, and tranſlated thither the bones of Sainct Oſwyll from Bardona. The ſame monaſterie was after deſtroyed by Danes. But Aldredus the archbiſhop of Yorke, who was alſo biſhop of Worceſter, repared an other in the ſame Citie, that was after the chiefe Abbey there.

H. Hunt.
Anno Chriſti 919.
Mat. VVeſt.
Si. Dunelm.
Rannl.

After the deceaſe of Elfleda, king Edwarde toke the dominion of Mercia as before we haue ſayde) into his owne handes, and ſo diſinherited his neece Alfwen, or Elſwen, the daughter of Elfleda, takyng hir awaye wyth him into the countrey of Weſtſaxons. By thys meanes he ſo amplifyed the boundes of his kingdome, that he had the moſt parte of all this Ilande of Brytayne at his commaundement: for the kynges of the Welchmen (namely the kyng of Stretcled, and of the Scots, acknowledging hym to be their chiefe ſoueraigne Lorde, and the Danes in Northumberland were kept ſo ſhort, that they durſt attempt nothing againſte him in his latter dayes: ſo that he had tyme to applye the buildyng and reparing of Cities, townes, and caſtels wherin he ſo muche delighted. He buylded a newe towne at Notingham on the ſouthſyde of Trent, and made a bridge ouer that riuer betwixt the olde towne and the newe. He alſo repared Mancheſter beyonde the riuer of Mercie in Lancaſhire, accompted as then in the ſouthe ende of Northumberlande ⁊ he buylt a Towne of auncient writers called Thilwall, nere to the ſame riuer of Mercie, and placed therin a garriſon of ſouldiers: diuers other townes and caſtels he buylt, as two at Buckingham on eyther ſide the water of Ouſe (as before is ſhewed and alſo one at the mouth of the riuer of Auon. Hee likewiſe buylt or new repared the townes of Toceſtor and Wigmore, with diuers other, as one at Glademuth, about the laſt yeare of his reigne. Some alſo he deſtroyed whiche ſeemed to ſerue the enimies turne for harbrough, as at Temneſforde, a Caſtell, whyche the Danes had buylded and fortifyed.

This Alfvven vvas ſiſter to Edelfled, as H. Hunt. hath.

Stretclyd or Stretcled, a kingdome in VVales.

King Edvvard a great beylder and reparer of tovvnes.
Notingham bridge buylt.

Mat. VVeſt.
Mancheſter repared. An. 916.
Sim. Dun.

H. Hunt.

At lengthe after that this noble Prince king Edward had reigned ſomewhat aboue the terme of .xxiij. yeares, hee was taken out of this lyfe at Faringdon: His bodie was conueyed frõ thence vnto Wincheſter, and there buried in the newe Abbey. He hadde .iij. wyues, or (as ſome haue written) but two, affirming that Edgiua was not his wife, but his concubine, of whom he begat his eldeſt ſonne Adelſtane, who ſucceded him in the kingdome. This Edgiua (as hathe bene reported) dreamed on a tyme, that there roſe a Moone out of hir belly, whiche with the brighte ſhine thereof gaue light ouer all Englande: and telling hir dreame to an ancient Gentlewoman, the ſame Gentlewoman coniecturyng by the dreame that whiche folowed, tooke care of hir, and cauſed hir to bee brought vp in good manners and lyke a Gentlewoman, though ſhe were borne but of baſe parentage.

Polidore.
A dreame.

Hereupon when ſhe came to ripe yeares, king Edwarde by chaunce commyng to the place where ſhe was remaynyng, vpon the firſt ſighte was ſtreight rauiſhed with hir beautie (whiche in deede excelled) that ſhe coulde not reſte till he had his pleaſure of hir, and ſo begat of hir the forſayde Adelſtane: By hir he had alſo a daughter that was maryed vnto Sithrike a Dane, and king of Northumberlande. The Scottiſh writers name hir Beatrice, but oure writers name

Mat. VV
Polyd.

hir Editha. His ſeconde or rather his fyrſt wyfe if he were not maried to Eguina mother to Adelſtane, highte Elfleda, or Elfrida, and was daughter to one erle Ethelme: by hir he had iſſue two ſonnes Ethelward and Edwyn, which immediatly departed this life after their father: & vj. daughters Elfleda, Edgiua, Ethelhilda, Ethilda, Egditha, & Elfgiua. Elfleda becam a Nunne: and Ethelhilda alſo liued in perpetuall virginitie, but yet in lay habite. Egditha was maried to the king of Fraunce Charles, ſurnamed *ſimplex*. And Ethilda by help of hir brother Adelſtan was beſtowed vpon Hugh ſonne to Robert earle of Paris, for hir ſingular beautie moſte highly eſtemed: for nature in hir had ſhewed as it were hir whole cunning, in perfecting hir with all gifts and properties of a comely perſonage. Edgiua and Edgitha were ſent by their brother Adelſtan into Germanie, vnto the Emperour Henry, who beſtowed one of them vpon his ſonne Otho, that was after Emperor, the firſte of that name, and the other vnto a duke, inhabiting about yͤ Alpes: By his laſt wife named Edgiua, he had alſo two ſonnes, Edmunde and Eldred, the whiche both reigned after their brother Adelſtane ſucceſſiuely. Alſo he had by hir two daughters, Edburge that was made a Nunne, and Edgiue, a lady of excellent beautie, whom hir brother Adelſtan gaue in mariage vnto Lewys king of Aquitayn.

The iſſue of K. Edward.

Edgiua.

W. Malm.

Whyles this lande was in continuall trouble of warres againſte the Danes, as before is touched, ſmall regarde was hadde to the ſtate of the Church, inſomuch that the whole country of the Weſtſaxons by the ſpace of .7. yeres together (in the days of this K. Edward) remained withoute any Biſhop, to take order in matters appertaynyng to the church. Wherevpon the Pope had accurſed the engliſh people, bicauſe they ſuffred the Biſhops ſeas to be vacant ſo long a time.

King Edward to auoyd the curſſe, aſſembled a prouincial Coũcel. 905. in the which the Archbiſhop of Canterbury Pleymond was preſident. Wherein it was ordeyned, yͭ where the prouince of Weſtſaxõs in tymes paſt had but. ij. biſhops, now it ſhoulde be deuided into. v. dioceſſes, euery of them to haue a peculiar Biſhoppe. When all things were ordered and concluded in this Synode (as was thought requiſite,) the Archbiſhop was ſent to Rome with rich preſents, to appeaſe the Popes diſpleaſure. When the Pope had herd what order the king had taken, he was contented therewith. And ſo the Archebiſhop returned into his countrey, and in one day at Canterbury ordeined. vij. biſhoppes, as fiue to the Prouince of Weſtſaxons, that is to wit, Frideſtane to the ſea of Wincheſter, Adelſtan to S. German in Cornewal, Werſtan to Shirborn, Adelme to Welles, and Edulfe to Kirton. Alſo to the prouince of Suſſex, hee ordeyned one Bernegus, and to Dorcheſter for the prouince of Mertia, one Cenulfe. Here muſt ye note, that where William Malmeſ. Polichro. and other do affirme, yͭ Pope Formoſus did accurſe K. Edward & the engliſhe nation for ſuffring the biſhops ſeas to be vacant, it cannot ſtand with the agreement of the tyme, vnleſſe that the curſe pronounced by Formoſus for this matter long afore was not regarded, till Edward tooke reſpect therto. For the ſame Formoſus began to gouerne the Romane ſea aboute the yeare of out Lord. 892. and liued in the papacie not paſt. vj. yeres, ſo that he was deade before king Edward came to the crowne. But how ſoeuer this matter may fall out, this ye haue to cõſider: Although that Pleymound was ſent vnto Rome to aduertiſe the Pope what the king had decreed and done, in the ordeyning of Biſhops to their ſeueral ſeas as before ye haue heard, yet (as Maſter Foxe hath noted) the gouernaunce and direction of the Church depended chiefly vppon the kings of this lande in thoſe days, as it manifeſtly appeareth, as wel by the decrees of K. Alvred, as of this king Edward, whoſe authoritie in the election of Biſhops (as before ye haue herd) ſeemed then alone to be ſufficient.

VVil Malmſ. ſaith that Pope Formoſus pronounced thys curſe.

904.

892.

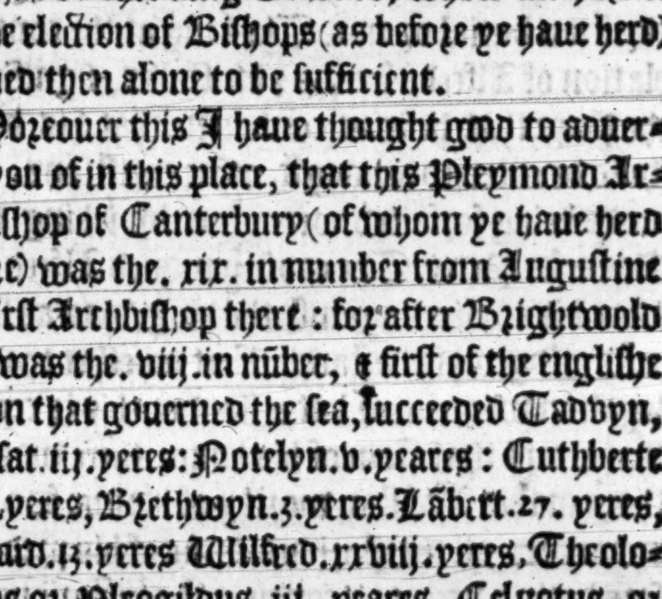
Polidore.

Moreouer this I haue thought good to aduertiſe you of in this place, that this Pleymond Archebiſhop of Canterbury (of whom ye haue herd before) was the. xix. in number from Auguſtine the firſt Archbiſhop there: for after Brightwold that was the. viij. in nũber, & firſt of the engliſhe nation that gouerned the ſea, ſucceeded Tadvyn, that ſat. iij. yeres: Notelyn. v. yeares: Cuthberte xviij. yeres, Brethwyn. 3. yeres. Lãbert. 27. yeres, Adelard. 13. yeres Wilfred. xxviij. yeres, Theologildus or Pleogildus. iij. yeares, Celnotus, or Chelutus. x. yeares. And after them ſucceeded Aldred, of whome King Edwarde receyued the crowne, and he was predeceſſour to Pleymond.

A little before the death of king Edward, Sithrike the king of Northumberlande, killed his brother Nigellus, and then king Reynold conquered the Citie of Yorke.

H. Hunt.

Adelſtane.



Adelſtane.

ADelſtane, the eldeſt ſonne of king Edward began his reigne ouer the more parte of all Englande,

Mat. VVeſt.
VVil. Mal.
924.

Englande, the yeare of our Lorde. 924. whiche was in the. vj. yeare of the Emperor Henry the firſt, in the. 31. yeare of the reigne of Charles, ſurnamed *ſimplex*, king of France. 3. monethes after the burning of Pauie, & about the. 22. or. 23. yeare of Conſtantine the third king of Scotlande.

This Adelſtan was crowned and ſacred king at Kingſton vpon Thames of Adelme the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, which ſucceded Pleymond. He was the. xxiiij. king in number from Cerdicius or Cerdik the firſt king of the Weſtſaxons.

Alfred ſtriueth in vayn to kepe Atheiſtan from the gouernmẽt.

There were in the beginning ſome ŷ ſet themſelues againſt him, as one Alfred a noble mã which practiſed by treaſon, to haue kept him frõ the gouernmẽt: but he was apprehended ere he could bring his purpoſe to paſſe, & ſente to Rome there to trie himſelf giltie or not guiltie. And as he toke his othe for his purgation before ŷ aultar of ſaint Peter, he ſodenly fel down to the earth, ſo that his ſeruants toke him vp & bare him vnto the engliſh ſchoole or hoſpitall, where the thirde night after he died.

VVil. Malm.

See more hereof in the bookes of Actes and Monumentes ſet foorth by M. Foxe vol. 1. leafe. 195.

Pope John the. x. ſent vnto king Adelſtane to know if he wold that his bodie ſhould be layde in chriſtian burial or not. The king at the contemplation of Alfreds frends & kinſfolks, ſignified to the Pope that he was contented that his bodye ſhuld be enterred amongſt other chriſtians. His lands being forfaited were giuen by ŷ king vnto God & S. Peter. The cauſe ŷ moued Alfred and other his cõplices againſt the king, was (as ſome haue aledged) his baſtardie. But whether that allegation wer true, or but a ſlander, this is certain that except that ſtain of his honor, there was nothing in this Adelſtan worthy of blame: So that he darkned all the glorious fame of his predeceſſors both in vertuous conditions & victorious triumphs. Such difference is there to haue that in himſelfe wherein to excell, rather than to ſtande vpon the worthineſſe of his auncetters, ſith that can not rightly be called his.

Anno. 925.
Si. Dunelm.
Polyd.

After that K. Adelſtane was eſtabliſhed in the eſtate, he endeuored himſelf to anſwer the expectation of his people, which hoped for great welth to enſue by his noble & prudent gouernãce: Fyrſt therfore meaning to prouide for the ſurretie of his countrey, he cõcluded a peace with Sithricus K. of the Northũbers, vnto whõ as ye haue hearde, he gaue one of his ſiſters named Editha in mariage. Sithrike liued not paſt one yere after he had ſo maried hir. And thẽ Adelſtan brought the prouince of the Northũbers vnto his ſubiection, expelling one Aldulph out of the ſame ŷ rebelled againſt him. Ther be ŷ write, that Godfrey & Aulafe the ſonnes of Sithrike ſucceding their father in the gouernment of Northũberland, by practiſing to moue war againſt king Adelſtane, occaſioned him to inuade their coũtrey, and to chaſe them out of the ſame, ſo that Aulaf fled into Ireland & Godfrey into Scotlãd: but other write, ŷ Godfrey was the father of Reignold, which wan Yorke, after that Sithrike had ſlaine his brother Nigellus, as before is mencioned. The Scottiſh chronicles vary in report of theſe matters from ŷ engliſh writers: whoſe chronicles affirm, ŷ in the life time of K. Edwarde his daughter Beatrice, was giuen in mariage to Sithrike, the gouernor of the Danes in Northumberland, with condition, that if any iſſue male were procreate of that mariage, the ſame ſhuld inherite the dominions of K. Edward after his deceaſe. Kyng Edward had a brother (as they ſay) named Edwyn, a ioyly Gentleman, and of great eſtimation amongſt the Engliſhmen. He by Sithrikes procurement was ſent into Flaunders in a ſhip that leaked, & ſo was drowned, to the greate reioycing of all the Danes, leaſt if he had ſuruiued his brother, hee woulde haue made ſome buſineſſe for the crowne.

VV. Mal.

H. Hunt.

H. Boetius.

The Scottiſhe vvriters vary from our English authors Beatrice daugh ter to K. Edv as the Scottis vvriters haue.

Edvvyn vva not brother K. Edvv. but ſon to him.

About the ſame time Adelſtã a baſe ſon of K. Edw. fled ŷ realme for doubt to be made away by ſome like trayterous practiſe of the Danes. Shortly after K. Edward vnderſtanding ŷ Sithrik went about ſome miſchef toward him, perſuaded his daughter to poyſon hir huſbande the ſayd Sithrike. Then Aulaffe or Analaſſus, and Godfrey the ſonnes of Sithrike, finding out by diligent examination, ŷ Beatrice was of counſell in poyſoning hir huſband, they cauſed hir to be apprehended, and put to death on this wyſe:

Athelſt fle the realme.

She was ſette naked vpon a Smythes colde Anuylde or ſtythie, and therewith harde roſted egges being taken forth of the hot ymbers were putte vnder hir arme pittes, and hir armes faſte bounde to hir bodie with a corde, and ſo in that ſtate ſhe remayned till hir life paſſed from hir.

Beatrice p death by hir Sonnes.

K. Edward in reuenge of his daughters death moued war againſt the two brethren, Aulaf and Godfrey, & in battail finally vãquiſhed them, but was ſlain in the ſame battail himſelf. Thus haue the Scotiſh chronicles recorded of theſe matters as an induction to the warres which folowed betwixt the Scots and Danes as confederates againſt K. Adelſtan: but for the truth thereof we leaue to the readers own iudgement. For in oure engliſhe writers we finde no ſuche matter, but that a daughter of King Edward named Edgitha or Editha, after hir fathers deceaſſe was by hir brother King Athelſtane, about the firſte yeare of his reigne giuen in mariage (as before ye haue hearde) vnto the foreſayde Sithrike king of Northumberland, that was deſcended of the Daniſhe bloud, who for the loue of the yong Ladie, renounced his heathniſhe religion, and became a chriſtian, but ſhortly after, forſaking bothe hys wyſe, and the chriſtian faythe he

ſette

Editha a Virgin.

ſet vppe againe the worſhipping of Idols, and within a while after, as an Apoſtata, miſerably ended his life. Wherevpon, the yong Lady, hir virginitie being preſerued, and hir body vndefyled (as they write) paſſed the reſidue of hir dayes at Polleſworth in Warwikeſhire, ſpendyng hir time as the ſame writers affirme, in faſting, watching, praying, and doing of almes deedes, and ſo at length departed out of this world.

VVil. Malm.

Mat. VVeſt.

926

The noble ſaying of king Athelſtane.

VV. Mal.

Thus our writers differ from the Scottiſh hiſtory, both in name & maner of end as concerning that daughter of K. Edwarde, that was coupled in marriage with Sithrike. But now to returne where we left. After that Kyng Adelſtane hadde ſubdued them of Northumberland, hee was aduertiſed, that not onely Conſtantine Kyng of Scottes, but alſo Hudvale or Howell Kyng of Wales, wente about a priuie conſpiracy agaynſt him. Heerevppon with all conuenient ſpeede aſſembling his power, he wente againſt them, and with like good fortune ſubdued them bothe, and alſo Vimer or Wulferth K. of North wales, ſo that they were conſtreyned to ſubmit themſelues vnto him, who ſhortly after moued with pitie in conſidering their ſuddayne fall, reſtored them all three to their former eſtates, but ſo as they ſhould acknowledge themſelues to gouerne vnder hym, pronouncing withall this notable ſaying, that more honorable it was to make a King, than to be a King. Ye muſt vnderſtand, that as it appeareth by the Scottiſh Chronicles, the Scottiſhmẽ in time of the warres that the Danes made to yͤ Engliſh nation, gote a parte of Cumberland and other the North countreys into their poſſeſſion, and ſo by reaſon of their neere adioyning to the confines of the Engliſhe Kings, there chaunced occaſions of warre betwixte them, as well in the days of Kyng Edward, as of this Adelſtane hys ſonne, although indeede the Danes held the more part of the North countreys, till that this Adelſtane conquered the ſame out of their hands, and ioyned it vnto other of his dominions, conſtreyning as well the Danes (of whom the more part of the inhabitãts then conſiſted) as alſo the Engliſhmen, to obey him as their King and gouernour.

Polidor.

Godfrey as is ſaide, being fled to the Scots, did ſo much there by earneſt ſute made to Kyng Conſtantine, that hee gote a power of men, and entring with the ſame into Northumberlande, beſieged the Citie of Dureſme, ſoliciting the Citizens to receyue him, whiche they woulde gladly haue done, if they had not perceyued how he was not of power able to reſiſt the puiſſance of Kyng Adelſtane: and therefore doubting to be puniſhed for their offences if they reuolted, they kept the enimies out.

934

Ran. Higd.

Sim. Dun.

The Scottes ſubdued.

A token ſhewed miraculouſly that Scottes ought to be ſubiect to the Kings of England.

VVil. Mal.

Mat. VVeſt.

934

King Adelſtane beeyng ſore moued agaynſte the King of Scottes, that thus ayded his enimies, rayſed an army, and wente Northwarde, purpoſing to reuenge that iniurie. At his comming into Yorkſhire, hee turned out of the way, to viſit the place where Saint Iohn of Beuerley was buryed, and there offered his knife, promiſing that if he returned with victory, he would redeme the ſame with a worthy price: and ſo proceeded forth on his iourney, & entring Scotland, waſted the countrey by land vnto Dunfoder, and Wertermore, and his Nauie by Sea deſtroyed the coaſtes alongſt the ſhore, euen to Catneſſe, and ſo he brought the King of Scottes and other hys enimies vnto ſubiection at his pleaſure, conſtreyning the ſame King of Scottes to deliuer vnto him his ſonne in hoſtage. It is ſayde, that beyng in his iourney neere vnto the Towne of Dunbarre, he prayed vnto God, that at the inſtance of Saint Iohn of Beuerley, it would pleaſe him to graunt, yͭ he might ſhew ſome open token, whereby it ſhould appeare to all them that then lyued, & ſhould hereafter ſucceede, that the Scottes ought to be ſubiect vnto yͤ kings of Englãd. And therewith the King with his ſword ſmote vpõ a great ſtone ſtanding neere to the Caſtel of Dunbarre, & with the ſtroke, there appeared a clift in the ſame ſtone to the length of an elme, whiche remayned to be ſhewed as a witneſſe of yͤ thing many yeres after. At his comming backe to Beuerley, hee redeemed his knife with a large price, as before hee had promiſed. After this, was Edwin the Kings brother accuſed of ſome conſpiracie by him begun againſt the K. wherevpõ he was baniſhed the land, and ſent out in an old rotten veſſell without rower or Marriner, onely accompanied with one Eſquire, ſo that beeing launched forth from the ſhore, through very diſpaire Edwin lept into the Sea, and drowned himſelfe, but the Eſquire that was with him recouered his body, and broughte it to land at Withſand beſides Canterbury. But Iames Maier in the annales of Flanders ſayth, that hee was drowned by fortune of the Seas, beeyng in a ſmall veſſell, and caſt vp into a creeke on the coaſt of Picardie, was founde by Adolph Earle of Bulleigne that was his couſin germayne, and honorably buryed by the ſame Adolph in the Churche of Bertine: for the which deede of pietie and dutie of mindfull conſanguinitie, the Kyng of Englande both hartily thanked Earle Adolph, and beſtowed greate giftes vppon the Church where his brother was thus buryed.

Repentance too late.

For verily King Adelſtane after his diſpleaſure was aſſuaged, and hearing of this miſerable ende of his brother, ſore repented hymſelfe of his rigour ſo extended towardes him, in ſo muche that he coulde neuer abide the man that had giuen the information againſt him, which was his cupbearer, ſo that one time as the ſaide cupbearer ſerued him at the Table, and came towardes him with a cuppe of wine, one of his feete chaunced to ſlide, but hee recouered himſelfe with the help of the other foote, ſaying, one brother yet hathe holpe and ſuccoured the other: whiche wordes coſt him hys life: for the King remembring that by his accuſation he had loſt his brother that might haue bin an ayd to him, cauſeth his ſaid cupbearer ſtraight wayes to be put to death.

VVil. Malms

937

Simon Dun.

H. Hunt.

VVil. Malm.

Mat. VVeſt.

Hec. Boetius.

Ran. Higd.

Aulafe diſguiſed, commeth to view the Engliſh camp.

Aulafe aſſayleth the Engliſh campe.

In this meane while, Aulafe the ſonne of Sithericke, late King of Northumberland (who is alſo named by Writers to be King of the Iriſhmen, and of many Ilands) aſſembled a great power of Danes, Iriſhmē, Scottes, and other people of the out Iles, and embarqued them in .615. Shippes, and Crayers, with the whiche he arriued in the mouthe of Humber, and there comming on lande, beganne to inuade the countrey. Thys Aulafe had married the daughter of Conſtantine Kyng of Scottes, by whoſe procuremēt notwithſtanding his late ſubmiſſion, Aulafe tooke in hand this iourney. King Adelſtane aduertiſed of his enimies arriuall, gathered his people, and with all conuenient ſpeede haſted towards them, and approching neere vnto them, pight downe his fielde at a place called by ſome Brimeſbury, by other Brimeſford, and alſo Brunanbright, and by the Scottiſh Writers Browningfielde. When knowledge hereof was had in the enimies camp, Aulafe enterpriſed a maruellous exployte, for taking with him an harpe, hee campe into the Engliſhe campe, offering himſelfe, diſguiſed as a minſtrell, to ſhewe ſome parte of his cunning in muſicke vpon his inſtrument: and ſo being ſuffered to paſſe from Tente to Tente, and admitted alſo to play afore the Kyng, ſurueyghed ỹ whole ſtate and order of the army. This done, he returned, meaning by a cammuſado to ſet vpō ỹ kings Tente. But one that had ſerued as a Souldiour ſometime vnder Aulafe, chanced by markyng his demeanor, to knowe him, and after he was gone, vttered to the King what he knewe. The Kyng ſemed to be diſpleaſed, in that he had not told him ſo much before Aulafes departure: but in excuſing himſelfe, the Souldiour ſayde, yee muſt remember if it like your grace, that the ſame fayth which I haue giuen vnto you, I ſometime ought vnto Aulafe, therefore if I ſhoulde haue betrayed hym now, you might wel ſtand in doubt leaſt I ſhuld heereafter do the like to you: but if you wil follow myne aduice, remoue your Tente, leaſt happily he aſſayle you vnwares. The Kyng did ſo, and as it chaunced in the nyght following, commeth Aulafe to aſſayle the Engliſh Camp, and by fortune comming to the place where the Kings Tent before ſtoode, he found a Biſhoppe lodged, which with his company was come the ſame day to the army, and hadde pight vp his Tent in that place from whence the King was remoued: and ſo was the ſame Biſhoppe, and moſt parte of his men there ſlaine. Which ſlaughter executed, Aulafe paſſed forward, and came to the Kings Tēt, who in this mean time, by reaſon of the Alarme raiſed, was gote vp, and taking to him his ſword in that ſuddayne fright, by chance it fell out of the ſcabbard, ſo that he could not finde it, but calling to God and S. Adelme, as ſaith Polichron. his ſword was reſtored to the ſcabbard againe. The King comforted with that miracle, boldly preaſſed forth vpon his enimies, and ſo valiauntly reſiſted them, that in the ende he put them to flight, and chaſed them all that morning and day following, ſo that hee ſlewe of them an huge number. Some haue written, that Conſtantine Kyng of Scottes was ſlayne at this ouerthrowe, and fiue other ſmall Kyngs or Rulers, with .12. Dukes, and welneere all the army of thoſe ſtraunge nations whiche Aulafe had gathered togither. But the Scottiſh Chronicles affirme, that Conſtantine was not there himſelf, but ſent his ſon Malcolme, which yet eſcaped ſore hurt and wounded from this battell, as in the ſame Chronicles yee may ſee more at large.

Ran. Higd.

VVil. Malm.

The enimies diſcomfited.

Ran. Higd.

Tribute.

When Kyng Adelſtane had thus vanquiſhed his enimies in the North parties of England, he went againſt them of Northwales, whoſe Rulers and Princes he cauſed to come before him at Hereford, and there handled them in ſuche ſorte, that they couenaunted with him to pay yeerely in name of a Tribute twentie pounde of golde, three hundred pounde of ſiluer, and fiue and twētie hundred head of Neate, with Hawkes and Houndes to a certayne number.

The Corniſh men ſubdued.

Exeter repared

After this, hee ſubdued alſo the Corniſhmen: and whereas till thoſe dayes they inhabited the Citie of Exeter, mingled amongſt the Engliſhmen, ſo that the one nation was as ſtrong within that Citie, as the other, he ridde them quite out of the ſame, and repaired the walles, and fortified them with ditches and turrets as the maner then was, and ſo remoued the Corniſhmen further into the Weſt partes of the countrey, that hee made Tamer water to be the confines betweene the Engliſhmen and them.

940

Simon Dun.

The deceſſe of K. Athelſtane.

The deſcription of Kyng Athelſtane.

Finally, this noble Prince King Adelſtane departed out of this world, the ſixe and twēty day of October, after he hadde raigned the tearme of ſixteene yeres. His body was buried at Malmeſbury. He was of ſtature ſuch, as exceeded not the common ſort of mē, and ſtowped ſomewhat, yelow heared, for his valiancie ioyned with curteſey beloued of al men, yet ſharp againſt Rebels, & of inuincible conſtancie: his greate deuotion toward ỹ Church appeared in ỹ building, adorning and endewing of Monaſteries and Abbeyes. He builte one at Wilton within the dioceſſe of

Saleſbury,

Saliſbury, and an other at Michelney in Somerſetſhire. But beſides theſe foundations, there were fewe famous Monaſteries within this land, but that hee adorned the ſame eyther with ſome new peece of buylding, Iewels, bookes, or portion of lands. He had in exceeding fauour Wolſtane Archbiſhop of Yorke that liued in his dayes, for whoſe ſake he greatly enriched that Biſhopricke. His fame ſpred ouer all the parties of Europa, ſo that ſundry Princes thought themſelues happy if they might haue his friendſhip, eyther by affinitie or otherwiſe: by meanes whereof, he beſtowed his ſiſters ſo highly in marriage as before ye haue heard. Hee receyued many noble and riche preſents from diuers Princes, as from Hugh K. of Fraunce Horſes, and ſundry riche Iewels, with certaine reliques: as Conſtantines ſworde, in the hilte whereof was ſet one of the nayles wherewith Chriſt was faſtned to ẏ Croſſe. The Speare of Charles the great, which was thought to be the ſame with whiche the ſide of our Sauiour was pearced. The banner of Saint Maurice, with a part of the holy Croſſe, and likewiſe a part of the thorned Crowne: yet Mandeuile ſawe the one halfe of this Crowne in Fraunce, and the other at Conſtantinople, almoſt .400. yeares after this time, as he writeth.

Wolſtan Archbiſhop of Yorke.

His eſtimation in forraine Realmes.

Of theſe Iewels, K. Adelſtane gaue parte to the Abbey of S. Swithune at Wincheſter, and part to the Abbey of Malmeſbury. Moreouer, the King of Norway ſent vnto him a goodly ſhip of fine workmanſhippe, with ſterne gilt and purple ſayles, furniſhed rounde about the decke withinfurth, with a rowe of gilte pauiſes.

In the dayes of this Adelſtane, raigned that worthy Guy Earle of Warwike, who as ſome writers haue recorded, fought with a mighty Giaunt of the Danes in a ſingular combate, and vanquiſhed him.

Harding.

Edmonde.

Edmōd

VVil. Malm.

940

AFter that Adelſtane was departed this lyfe, without leauing iſſue behind to ſucceede hym in the Kingdome, his brother Edmond, ſonne of Edward the elder, borne of his laſt wife Edgiue, tooke vpon him the gouernment of this land, and beganne his raigne in the yere of our Lord. 940. which was in the fifth yere of the Emperour Otho the firſt, in the .13. of Lewis, ſurnamed tranſmarinus, K. of France, and about the .38. yeare of Cōſtantine ẏ third K. of Scotland. The Danes of Northumberlād rebelled againſt this Edmōd, and ordeyned Aulafe to bee their K. whome they had called out of Ireland. Some write, that thys Aulafe which now in the beginning of king Edmonds raigne, came into Northumberland, was King of Norwey, and hauing a greate powre of men with him, hee marched forthe towardes the South parties of this lande, in purpoſe to ſubdue the whole: but K. Edmonde rayſed a mighty army, and encoūtred with his enimies at Leceſter. But ere the matter came to the vttermoſt triall of Mars his iudgement, through the earneſt ſute of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and Yorke, Odo & Wolſtan, a peace was concluded, ſo as Edmond ſhould enioy all that part of the land whiche lieth from Watling ſtreete Southwarde, and Aulafe ſhoulde enioy the other parte as it lieth from the ſame ſtreete Northward. Then Aulafe tooke to wife the Lady Alditha, daughter to Earle Ormus, by whoſe coūſell and aſſiſtance he had thus obteyned the vpper hande. But this Aulafe in the yere folowing, after he had deſtroyed the Church of Saint Balter, and brenned Tynningham, hee departed this life. Then the other Aulafe that was ſonne to Kyng Sithricke, tooke vppon hym to gouerne the Northumbers.

Simon Dun.

A peace concluded.

941

Math. VVeſt.

Aulaſe deceaſſeth. Another Aulaſe taketh vpon him to rule.

After this, in the yere .942. King Edmond aſſembling an army, firſte ſubdued thoſe Danes which had gote into their poſſeſſiō the Cities and Townes of Lincolne, Leceſter, Derby, Stafford and Notingham, conſtreyning them to receyue the Chriſtian fayth, and reduced all the countreis euen vnto Humber vnder his ſubiection. Thys done, Aulafe and Reignold the ſonne of Gurmo, the which as you haue heard, ſubdued Yorke, for meane ẏ ſooner to obteyn peace, offered to become Chriſtians, and to ſubmit themſelues vnto him: whereupon he receyued them to his peace. There be that write, that this Aulafe is not that Aulafe whiche was ſonne to King Sithricke, but rather that the other was hee with whome Kyng Edmond made partition of the Realme: but they agree, that this ſeconde Aulafe was a Dane alſo, and being conuerted to the faith as well through conſtrainte of the Kyngs puiſſance, as through the Preaching of the Goſpell, was Baptiſed, Kyng Edmonde beeyng Godfather both to him, and to the foreſayde Reignolde: to Aulafe at the fontſtone, and to Reignolde at his confirmation at the Biſhoppes handes. But their wicked natures coulde not reſt in quiet, ſo that they brake bothe promiſe to GOD, and to theyr prince, and were therefore in the yeare nexte followyng dryuen bothe out of the countrey,

Gurmo or Godfrey.

VVil. Malm.

944

Simon Dun.

Leolin Kyng of South-Wales ayded K. Edmonde in this enterpriſe.

946

and puniſhed by perpetuall exile. And ſo K. Edmond adioyned Northumberlande without admitting any other immediate gouernor vnto his own eſtate. Moreouer, he waſted & ſpoiled whole Cumberland, bycauſe he could not reduce yͤ people of that countrey vnto due obeyſance, and cōformable ſubiection. The two ſonnes of Dunmaile K. of that prouince, hee apprehended, and cauſed their eyes to be put out. And herewith vpon conſideration eyther of ſuche ayde as he had receiued of yͤ Scottes at that time, or ſome other friendly reſpect, he aſſigned the ſaide countrey of Cumberlande vnto Malcolme K. of Scottes, to hold the ſame by fealtie of him and his ſucceſſors. The Scottiſhe Chronicles peruerting the tyme and order of the actes and doings of the Engliſhe kings whiche raigned about this ſeaſon, affirme, that by couenauntes of peace concluded betwixte Malcolme King of Scotlande, and Adelſtane King of England, it was agreed, that Cumberlande ſhoulde remayne to the Scottes, as in their Chronicles you may finde at full expreſſed. And again, that Indulfe who ſucceeded Malcolme in the Kingdome of Scotland, ayded K. Edmonde againſt Aulafe whome yͤ ſame Chronicles name Analaſſus, but the time which they attribute vnto the raignes of their Kings, will not allow the ſame to ſtand. For by accompt of their writers, King Malcolme began not his raigne till after the deceſſe of King Adelſtane, who departed thys life in the yere. 940. And Malcolme ſucceded Cōſtantine the third in the yere. 944. which was about the third yeare of Kyng Edmonds raigne, and after Malcolme that raigned. xv. yeares ſucceeded Indulfe in the yeare. 959. The like diſcordance precedeth and foloweth in their writers, as to the diligent Reader in conferring their Chronicles wͭ ours, it manifeſtly appeareth. We therefore (to ſatiſfie the deſirous to vnderſtande & ſee the diuerſitie of writers,) haue for the more part in their Chronicles left the ſame as we haue found it.

Polidor. The lawes of K. Edmonde.

But now to the other doings of K. Edmond: it is recorded, that hee ordeyned diuerſe good and wholeſome lawes very profitable and neceſſary for the common wealth, whiche lawes with dyuerſe other of like antiquitie are forgot and blotted out by ruſt of time, the conſumer of thynges worthy of lōg remembrance, as sayth Polidore: but ſithence his time they haue bin recouered for the more part, and by maſter William Lambert turned into Latyne, were imprinted by John Day in the yeare. 1568. as before I haue ſayde.

Fiue yeres and ſeuen monethes hath Si. Dun.

Finally, this Prince K. Edmond, after he had raigned ſixe yeres and a halfe, he came to his end by great miſfortune, for as ſome ſay, it chanced, that eſpying where one of his ſeruauntes was in daunger to bee ſlayne amongſt his enimies that were about him with drawen ſwords, as he ſtepped in to haue holpen his ſeruante, he was ſlayne at a place called Pulcher Church, or as other haue Michelſbourgh. Other ſay, that keeping a great feaſt at the aforeſayde place on the day of Saint Auguſtine the Engliſh Apoſtle (which is the. 26. of May, and as that yeare came about, it fell on the tewſday) as hee was ſet at the table, he eſpyed where a common robber was placed neere vnto him, whome ſometime he had baniſhed the land, and now being returned without licence, he preſumed to come into the kings preſence, wherwith the King was ſo moued with high diſdaine, that he ſuddaynely roſe from the table, and flew vpon the Theefe, and catching him by the heare of the head, threwe him vnder his feete, wherewith the theefe hauing faſt holde on the King, broughte him downe vppon him alſo, and with his knyfe ſtroke him into the belly in ſuche wiſe, that the Kings bowels fell out of his cheſt, and there preſently dyed: the theefe was hewen in peeces, by the Kings ſeruauntes, but yet he ſlewe and hurt diuers before they coulde diſpatch him. Thys chance was lamentable, namely to the Engliſhe people, whiche by the ouertimely deathe of theyr King, in whome appeared many euident tokens of great excellencie, loſt the hope whiche they had conceiued of great wealth to encreaſe by his prudent and moſt princely gouernemente. His body was buried at Glaſtenbury where Dunſtan was then Abbot.

Pridecirca hath Si. Dun.

VVil. Malm.

Math. VVeſ

946

There be that write, that the death of King Edmonde was ſignified aforehande to Dunſtane, who about the ſame time attendyng vppon the ſame Kyng, as hee remoued from one place to an other, chanced to accompany hymſelfe with a noble man, one Duke Elſtane, and as they rode togither, beholde ſuddaynely Dunſtane ſawe in the way before hym where the Kings Muſitions rode, the Deuill running and leaping amongſt the ſame Muſitions after a reioycing manner, whome after hee had beholde a good while, he ſaid to the Duke, is it poſſible that you may ſee that whiche I do ſee, and the Duke aunſwered he ſawe nothing otherwiſe than hee ought to ſee. Then ſaide Dunſtane, bleſſe youre eyes with the ſigne of the croſſe, and trie whether you can ſee that I ſee. And when hee hadde done as Dunſtane appoynted hym, hee ſawe alſo the Fende in likeneſſe of a little ſhort euill fauoured Ethyopian daunſing and leaping, whereby they gathered that ſome euill happe was towardes ſome of the company. But when they had croſſed and bleſſed them, the foule Spirit vaniſhed out of their ſight. And after they had talked of this viſion, and made an end of their talke touching the ſame, yͤ Duke required of Dunſtane to interpret a dreame which he had of late in ſleepe, and

Capgraue.

A vayne tale.

Croſsing bringeth ſi of the Deuil and croſsing driueth the away.

hōmb

Dunſtan an interpretor of dreames.

and that was this: he thought that he ſawe in viſion the King with all his Nobles ſit in hys dining chamber at meate, and as they were therewith making merry togither, the K. chanced to fall into a dead ſleepe, and all the Noble men, and thoſe of his counſell that were aboute him were changed into Roobuckes and Goates. Duſtan quickly declared, that this dreame ſignified the Kings deathe, and the chaunging of the Nobles into dumb and inſenſible beaſtes, betokened, that the Princes and gouernours of the Realm ſhould decline from the way of truth, and wander as foliſh beaſtes, without a guide to rule them. Alſo the nighte after this talke when the King was ſet to ſupper, Dunſtan ſawe the ſame ſprite or ſome other walke vp and downe amongſt them that wayted on the table, & within three days after the K. was ſlayne, as before ye haue heard.

Dunſtan ſeeth the Deuill often, but now he was become a wayter at the Table when Dunſtane ſate with the King.

Edredus or Edred.

Edelred

Edredus ẏ brother of Edmōd & ſon to Edwarde ẏ elder, and to Edgiue hys laſt wife, begā his raigne ouer the Realme of Englād in the yeare of oure Lord. 946. or as Harriſon ſaith. 997. which was in the twelfth yeare of the Emperoure Otho the firſte, and in the. 21. yeare of the raigne of Lewis King of Fraunce, and about the thirde or fourth yere of Malcolme the firſte of that name King of Scotland. Hee was Crowned and anointed the 16. day of Auguſt by Odo the Archbiſhoppe of Canterbury at Kingſton vpon Thames. In the firſt yeare of his raigne, the Northumbers rebelled againſt him, whereupon hee rayſed an army, inuaded their countrey, and ſubdued them by force. This done, he wente forwarde into Scotlande: but the Scots without ſhewing any reſiſtance, ſubmitted thẽſelues vnto him, and ſo both Scottes and Northũbers receyued an oth to bee true vnto him, whiche they obſerued but a ſmall while, for he was no ſoner returned into ẏ South partes, but that Aulafe which had bin chaſed out of the countrey by K. Edmond as before ye haue heard, returned into Northumberlande with a great nauie of Ships, and was ioyfully receyued of the inhabitants, and reſtored againe to ẏ kingdome, which he held by the ſpace of four yeres, and then by the accuſtomed diſloyaltie of the Northumbers, hee was by them expulſed, and then they ſet vp one Hyrke, or Hericius the ſonne of one Harrolde to raigne ouer them, who helde not ẏ eſtate any long time. For in ẏ third yere of his raigne, Edredus in ẏ reuẽge of ſuch diſloyal dealings in the Northumbers, deſtroyed the whole countrey with fire and ſword, ſleaying the moſt

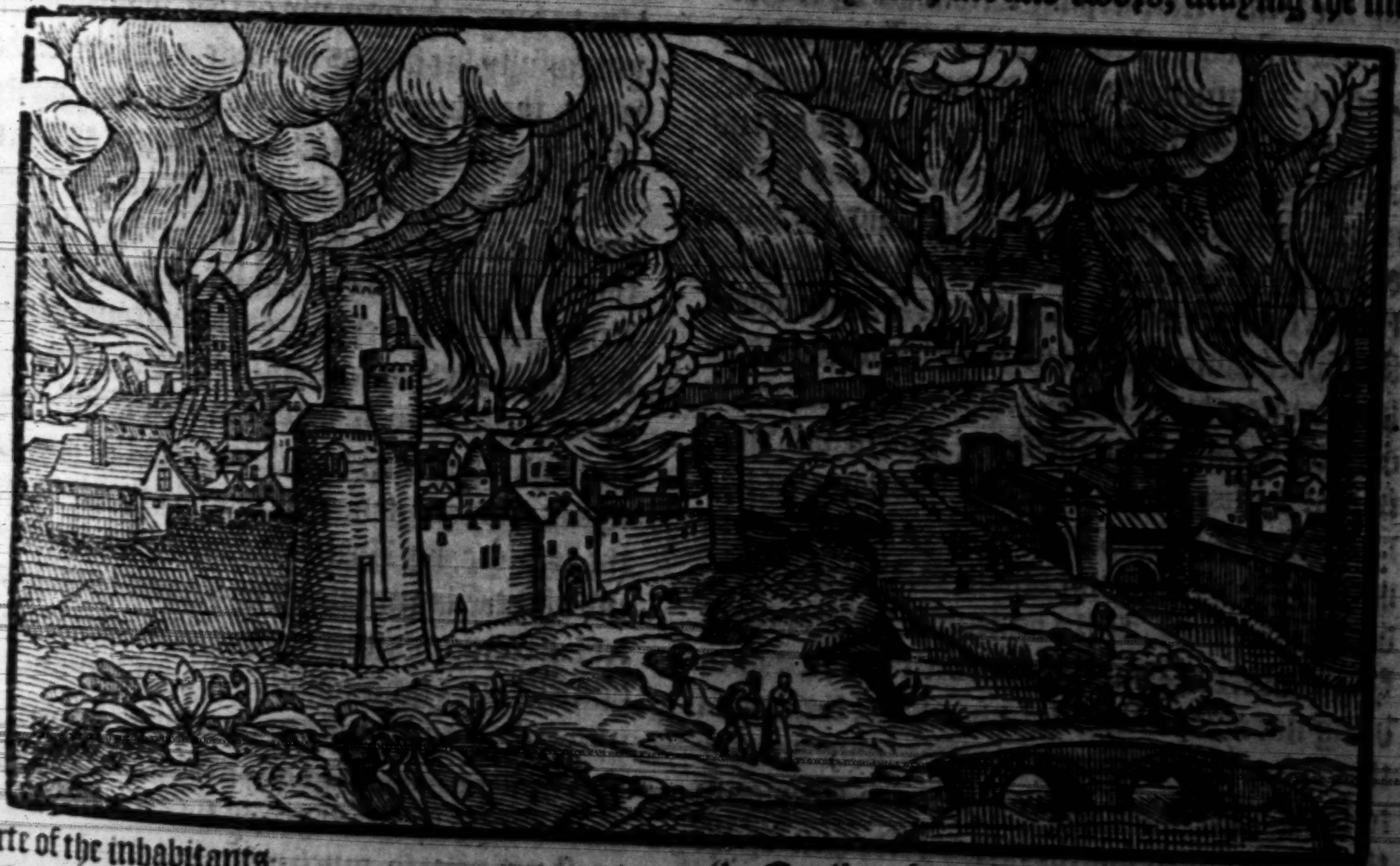
946

H. Hunton. The Northũbers rebell and are ſubdued.

Aulaf returned into Northumberland.

Hirk or Hericius.

VVil. Malm. The diſloyaltie of the Northumbers puniſhed.



parte of the inhabitants.

He brente the Abbey of Rippon, whiche was kept againſt him. As he was returning homeward, an hoſt of enimies brake out of Yorke, and ſetting vpon the rerewarde of the kings army at a place called Eaſterforde, made great ſlaughter in the ſame. Wherefore the King in his rage, mente to haue begun a new ſpoyle and deſtruction, but the Northumbers humbled themſelues ſo vnto him, that putting away their foreſaide K. Hirke, or Hericius, and offering great rewards and gifts to buy their peace, they obteyned pardon. But bycauſe that Wolſtan the Archbiſhop of Yorke was of counſell with his countreymen in reuolting from K. Edredus, and aduancing of Hericius, K. Edredus toke him and kept him in priſon

Ran. Higd. Sim. Dunel.

Eaſterforde.

The Archbiſhop of Yorke impriſoned.

a long time after, but at length in reſpect of the reuerence which he bare to his calling, he ſet hym at libertie, and pardoned him his offence. Math. Weſt. reciteth an other cauſe of Wolſtanes impriſonment, as thus. In the yere of grace ſaith he 951. King Edrede put the Archbiſhop of Yorke in cloſe priſon, bycauſe of often complayntes exhibited againſt him, as he which had commaunded many Townſmen of Theadford to bee put to death, in reuenge of the Abbot Aldeline, by the vniuſtly ſlayne and murthered. After this, when Edredus had appeaſed all ciuill tumultes & diſſentions within his land, he applyed himſelfe to the aduancing of Religion, wholly following the mind of Dunſtane, by whoſe exhortation he ſuffered patiently many tormentes of the body, and exerciſed himſelfe in prayer and other deuoute ſtudies. Finally, after he had raigned nine yeares and a halfe, he departed this life to the great greeuance of menne, and reioycing of Angels, as it is written, and was buried at Wincheſter in the Cathedral Church there. Here is to be noted, that the foreſaide Edrede when hee came firſte to the Crowne, vpon a ſingular and moſt eſpeciall fauour whiche hee bare towards Dunſtan the Abbot of Glaſtenbury, he committed to him the chefeſt part of all the threaſure, as charters of landes with other monuments, and ſuch antient princely iewels as belonged to the former Kings, with other ſuch as he gote of his owne, willing hym to lay the ſame in ſafekeeping within his Monaſterie of Glaſtēbury. Afterward when King Edred perceyued himſelfe to be in daunger of deathe by force of that ſickneſſe which in deede made an end of his life, he ſent into all parties to ſuch as had any of his treaſure in keeping, to bring the ſame vnto him with all ſpeede, that hee mighte diſpoſe thereof before his departure out of this life, as hee ſhould ſee cauſe. Dunſtane tooke ſuche thyngs as he had vnder his handes, and haſted forwarde to deliuer the ſame vnto the King, and to viſit hym in that tyme of hys ſickneſſe according to hys duetie: but as he was vpō yͤ way, a voice ſpake to him frō Heauen, ſaying behold K. Edred is now departed in peace. At the hearing of this voyce, the horſe wheron Dunſtane rode fell downe & died, being not able to abide the preſence of the Angell that thus ſpake to Dunſtane. And when he came to the Court, he vnderſtoode that the King dyed the ſame houre in whiche it was tolde him by the Angell, as before ye haue heard.

Mat. VVeſt.

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VVil. Malm.

Edredus departeth thys life.

Dunſtan in fauor.

But was not this a deuiſe thereby to deteyne the treaſure, for I do not reade that he deliuered it out of his hands. An Angell or as ſome think a worſe creature.

This Edwarde in his latter dayes beeyng greatly addicted to deuotiō and religious prieſts, at the requeſt of hys mother Edgina reſtored the Abbey of Abingdon which was built firſte by K. Inas, but in theſe dayes ſore decayed and fallen into ruine.

Edwin.

After the deceſſe of Edredus, his Nephewe Edwin the eldeſt ſonne of Kyng Edmod was made King of England, and began his raigne ouer the ſame in the yeare of our L. 955. and in the. 20. yeare of the Emperour Otho the firſte, in the. 28. and laſt yeare of the raigne of Lewis King of France, and about the twelfth yere of Malcolme the firſt of that name King of Scotland. He was ſacred at Kingſton vppon Thames by Odo the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. The ſame day of his Coronation, as the Lordes were ſet in counſell about weighty matters touching the gouernemente of the Realme, hee roſe from the place, gate him into a chamber with one of his neere kinſwomen, and there had to do with hir without reſpect or any regard had to his royall eſtate and princely dignitie. Dunſtane lately beforenamed Abbot of Glaſtenbury, did not onely without feare of diſpleaſure reprooue the king for ſuch ſhamefull abuſing of his body, but alſo cauſed the Archbiſhop of Canterbury to conſtreyne him to forgoe yͤ company of that woman whom vnlawfully hee kept as his wife. There be that write, that there were two women both mother and daughter, whome K. Edwin kept as concubines: for the mother beeing of noble parentage, ſought to ſatiſfie the Kings luſt, in hope that eyther hee woulde take hir, or hir daughter to wife. And therefore perceyuing that Duſtane was ſore againſt ſuche wanton paſtime as the King vſed in their company, ſo wrought, that Dūſtan was through hir earneſt trauel baniſhed the land. And this is alſo reported, that when he ſhould departe the Realme, the Deuill was hearde in the Weſt end of the Church, taking vp a great laughter after his roring manner, as though he ſhould ſhew himſelfe glad and ioyfull of Dunſtanes goyng into exile. But Dunſtane perceyuing his behauiour, ſpake to him, and ſayd: well thou aduerſarie, do not ſo greatly reioyce at the matter, for thou doeſt not now ſo much reioyce at my departure, but by Gods grace thou ſhalt be as ſorowfull for my returne. Thus was Dunſtane baniſhed by K. Edwine, ſo that he was compelled to paſſe ouer into Flaunders, where hee remayned for a tyme within a Monaſterie at Gaunt, finding muche friendſhippe at the handes of the gouernoure of that countrey. Alſo the more to

wreake

Edwi

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VVil. M

Polider.

Iohn Cap.

Dunſtane b niſhed the Realme.

Dunſtane ſeeth not the Deuill.

Dunſtane departed into exile.

VV. Mal.

Edwine diſplaceth Mōkes and putteth ſecular Prieſts in their romes

Rebellion raiſed againſte K. Edred.

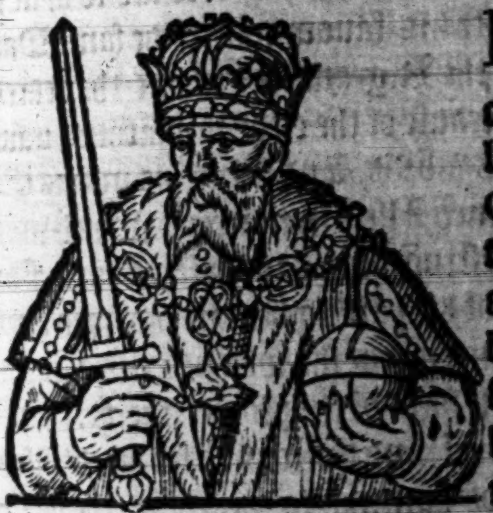
Sim. Dun.

Edred departeth this life.

wreake his wrath, the King ſpoyled many Religious houſes of their goodes, and drone out the Monkes, placing ſecular Prieſts in their roumes, as namely at Malmeſbury, where yet the houſe was not empayred, but rather enriched in landes and ornamentes by the kings liberalitie and the induſtrious meanes of the ſame Prieſtes whyche toke vp the bones of Saint Alderme, and put the ſame in a ſhrine. At length, the inhabitantes of yͤ middle parte of England, euen from Humber to Thames rebelled againſte him, and elected hys brother Edgar to haue the gouernemente ouer them, wherewith King Edwine toke ſuch grieſe for that he ſaw no meane at hand how to remedy the matter, that ſhortly after when he had raigned ſomewhat more than four yeres, he departed this life. His body was buried at Winchester in the new Abbey there.

Edgar.

Edgar.



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Polider.

Edgar a fauorer of Monks.

The diligent prouiſion of K. Edgar for defence of the Realme.

VVil. Malm.

Maſcuſius.

Kings of Welchmen. Geff. rib Huval as ſome copies haue.

King Edgar roweth on the water of Dee.

Ran. Higd. King Edgar fauoreth Danes.

Engliſh learned to quaffe of the Danes.

VVil. Mal.

EDgar the ſeconde ſon of Edmonde late Kyng of Englande, after the deceaſſe of hys elder brother yͤ foreſayd Edwin, beganne hys raigne ouer this Realme of England in the yere of our Lord God. 959. in the. 22. yeare of the Emperour Otho the firſt, in the fourth yere of the raigne of Lotharius K. of France. 510. almoſt ended after the cōming of the Saxons. 124. after the arriuall of the Danes, and in the laſt yeare of Malcolme K. of Scotlād. He was Crowned and ſacred at Bath, or as ſome ſay, at Kingſtō vpō Thames, by Odo the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, being as then not paſt. 16. yeres of age, when hee was thus admitted K. Hee was no leſſe endowed with commendable giftes of mind, than with ſtrength and force of body. He was a great fauorer of Monks, and eſpecially hee had Dunſtane in high eſtimation. Aboue all things in this world he regarded peace, and ſtudyed dayly howe to preſerue the ſame, to the commoditie and aduancement of his ſubiects. And when he had eſtabliſhed things in good quiet, and ſet an order in matters as ſeemed to him beſt for the peaceable gouernement of hys ſubiectes, he prepared a great nauie of Shippes, and deuiding them in three partes, hee appoynted euery part to a quarter of the Realm, to waſte about the coaſt, that no forraine enimie ſhoulde approch the lād, but that they might bee encountred and put backe before they could take land. And euery yeare after Eaſter, he vſed to giue order, that his Ships ſhoulde aſſemble togither in theyr due places. And then would he with the Eaſt nauie, ſaile to the Weſt parties of his Realme, & ſending thoſe Ships backe, he would with the Weſt nauie ſayle into the North partes, and with the North nauie came backe againe into the Eaſt. This cuſtome he vſed, that hee mighte ſcoure the Seas of all Pirates and Theeues. In the Winter ſeaſon and ſpring time, he would ride through the prouinces of his Realme, ſearching out howe the Iudges and greate Lordes demeaned themſelues in the adminiſtration of Iuſtice, ſharply puniſhing thoſe that were found faulty of extortion, or had done otherwiſe in any poynte than dutie required. In all things he vſed ſuche politike diſcretion, that neither was he put in daunger by reaſon of his ſubiects, nor moleſted by forrayne enimies. He cauſed diuers Kings to binde themſelues by oth, to bee true and faithfull vnto him, as Kinadius or rather Induf king of Scotland, Malcolme K. of Cumberland, Maſcutius an Archpirate as we may call him a Maſter Rouer, and alſo all the Kings of the Welchmen, as Duffuall, Gyffrith, Huvall, Iacob, and Iudithill, all which came to his court, and by their ſolemne othes receyued, ſweare to bee at his commandement: and further for more manifeſt teſtimonie thereof, he hauing them with him at Cheſter, cauſed them to enter into a Barge vpon the water of Dee, and placing himſelfe in the forepart of the Barge at the helme, cauſed thoſe right high Princes to rowe the Barge vp and downe yͤ water, ſhewing therby his princely prerogatiue and royall magnificence, in that he might vſe the ſeruice of ſo many kings that were his ſubiectes. And therevpon he ſaid (as hath bin reported) that then mighte his ſucceſſors accompte themſelues kings of England, when they enioyed ſuche prerogatiue of high & ſupreme honor. The fame of this noble Prince was ſpredde ouer al, as well on this ſide the Sea, as beyōd, in ſo much that great reſort of ſtraungers chanced in his dayes, whyche came euer into this land to ſerue him, & to ſee the ſtate of his Court, as Saxons & other, yea & alſo Danes, whiche became very familiar with hym. He fauored in deede the Danes (as hath bin ſayd) more than ſtood with yͤ cōmoditie of his ſubiects, for vnneth was anye ſtreete in Englande, but Danes had their dwelling in yͤ ſame amongſt yͤ Engliſhmē, wherby came great harme: for wher as the Danes by nature were great drinkers, the Engliſhmen by cōtinuall conuerſation with thē learned the ſame vice. King Edgar to reforme in part ſuch exceſſiue quaffing as thē begā to grow in vſe, cauſed by yͤ procuremēt of Dūſtane, nailes to be ſet in cups of a certaine meaſure, marked for yͤ purpoſe, yͤ none ſhuld drinke more thā was aſſigned by ſuch meaſured cups. Engliſhmen alſo

Engliſhmen learne other vices of ſtrangers.

learned of the Saxõs, Flemings, and other ſtrangers, their peculier kind of vices, as of the Saxõs a diſordred fierceneſſe of mind, of the Flemings a feeble tenderneſſe of body, where before, they reioyced in their own ſimplicitie, and eſteemed not the lewde and vnprofitable maners of ſtrangers.

Dunſtans preferrement.

Ethelwalde made biſhop of VVincheſter.

Oſwalde. Floriacum.

Monkes muſt needes write much in praiſe of Edgar, who had men of their coate in ſuch eſtimatiō

A tribute in ſteated of Welteskins.

Dunſtane was made Biſhoppe of Worceter, & had alſo the adminiſtration of the See of Lōdon committed vnto him. He was in ſuch fauor with yͤ K. that hee ruled moſt things at his pleaſure. Ethelwold which beeyng firſte a Monke of Glaſtenbury, and after Abbot of Abington, was likewiſe made Biſhop of Wincheſter, and might doe very much with the K. Alſo Oſwalde which had bin a Monke in the Abbey of Flory in Fraunce, & after was made Biſhop of Worceter, and from thence remoued to the See of Yorke, was highly in fauour with this King, ſo that by theſe three Prelates he was moſt councelled. Iuſtice in hys dayes was ſtraightly obſerued, for although hee were courteous and gentle towards his friendes, yet was he ſharp and hard to offenders, ſo that no perſon of what eſtate or degree ſo euer he was, eſcaped worthy puniſhment if he did tranſgreſſe the lawes and ordinances of the Realme. Ther was no priuy theefe nor common robber that durſt lay hands of other mens goods but that he might looke to make amendes with loſſe of his lyfe if hee were knowen to be giltie. For howe myghte men that did offend, thinke to eſcape his hands, whych deuiſeth wayes howe to ridde the countrey of all wilde rauening beaſtes, that liued vppon ſucking the bloud of others? For as it is ſaid, he appointed Iudweall or Ludweal K. of Wales, to preſente him with three hundred Woulfes yerely in name of a tribute, but after three yeares ſpace, there was not a Wolfe to be found, and ſo that tribute ceaſſed in the fourth yere after it began to be payed.

Oſborne and Capgraue hold that ſhe was not his wyfe, but a Nunne. *VV. Mal.*

Orgar.

In this meane time, Alfred the wife of Kyng Edgare, as ſome ſaye, or rather as other write, his concubine, dyed, of whome he had begote a ſon named Edward. The death of this woman occaſioned the K. to committe an heynous offence. For albeit the ſame time, the fame wēt, that Horgerius Duke of Cornewal, or rather Deuonſhire had a daughter named Alfred, a Damoſell of excellent beautie, whome Edgar minding to haue in marriage, appointed one of his noble men called Earle Ethelwolde, to goe with al ſpeede into Cornewall or Deuonſhire, to ſee if the yong Ladyes beautie aunſwered the report that wente of hir, then hee to breake the matter to hir father in his behalfe. Ethelwold being a yong iolly Gentleman, tooke his iourney into Cornewall, & comming to yͤ Duke, was well receiued, & had a ſight of his daughter, wͭ whoſe beautie he was ſtraight rauiſhed ſo farre in loue, that not regarding the kings pleaſure which had ſent him thither, he begā to purchaſe the good will of both father & daughter for himſelfe, and did ſo much, that he obteyned the ſame indeede. Herevpon returning to the K. hee enformed him that the Damoſell was not of ſuch beautie and comely perſonage as mighte bee thought worthy to matche in marriage with hys Maieſtie. And ſhortly after perceyuing the kyngs mind by his wrongfull miſreport to be turned, & nothing bent that way, he began to ſue to hym yͭ hee mighte with his fauour marry the ſame Damoſell: which the K. graunted, as one that cared not for hir, bicauſe of the credite whiche he gaue to Ethelwolds words. And ſo by this meanes Ethelwold obteined Alfrid in marriage, which was to his owne deſtruction, as the caſe fell out. For whē the fame of hir paſſing beautie did ſpred ouer all yͤ Realme now that ſhe was married & came more abroade in ſight of the people, the K. chanced to heare therof, and deſirous to ſee hir, deuiſed vnder colour of hunting to come vnto the houſe of Ethelwolde, and ſo did: Where he had no ſooner ſet his eye vpon hir, but he was ſo farre wrapped in yͤ chaine of burning concupiſcence, that to obteine his purpoſe, he ſhortly after contriued Ethelwolds death, & married his wife. Some ſay, that the woman kindled the brand of purpoſe: for where it was knowen, that the K. would ſee hir. Ethelwold willed hir in no wiſe to trimme vp hir ſelfe, but rather to diſfigure hir in foule garmēts, & ſome euill fauored attire, that hir natiue beautie ſhould not appeare, but ſhee perceiuing howe the matter went, of ſpight ſet forthe hir ſelfe to yͤ vttermoſt, ſo that yͤ K. vpon the firſt ſight of hir became ſo farre enamored of hir beautie, that taking hir huſbande forthe with him on hunting into a forreſt or wood called then Werlewood, and after Horewood, not ſhewing that hee meante hym any hurt, till at length hee had gote him within yͤ thicke of the woode, where hee ſuddaynely ſtroke him through with his darte, and as his baſtarde ſon came to yͤ place, the K. aſked hym how he liked yͤ maner of hunting, wherevnto he anſwered, very wel if it like your grace. for yͭ that liketh you ought not to diſpleaſe me: wͭ which anſwer yͤ K. was ſo pacified. yͭ he indeuored by pretending his fauor towards the ſonne to alleuiate the tyrannicall murder of the father. Then did the K. marry the

Erle Ethelwold ſupplāted the king of his wyfe.

King Edgar ſeeketh the deſtruction of earle Ethelwold.

King Edgar a murtherer.

the Counteſſe Alfred, & of hir begat two ſons, Edmond which died yõg, & Ethelred or Egelthred.

Beſides this cruell acte wrought by king Edgar for the ſatiſfying of his fleſhly luſt, hee alſo played another part greatly to the ſtayne of hys honour, moued alſo by wanton loue, wyth a yong Damſel named Wilfrid, for after ẏ ſhe had (to auoyde the daunger of him) eyther profeſſed hir ſelfe a Nunne, or elſe for a colour (as the moſt part of wryters agree) got hir ſelfe into a Nunrie, and clad hir in Nunnes weede, he tooke hir forth of hir Cloyſter, and lay by hir ſundrie tymes, and begat on hir a daughter named Edith, who comming to conuenient age, was made a Nunne.

His licencious life and incontinencie.

A thirde example of his incontinencie, is written by Authours, and that is this. It chaunced on a time that he lodged one night at Andauer, and hauing a minde to a Lordes daughter there, he commaunded that ſhe ſhould be brought to his bed, but the mother of the Gentlewoman woulde not that hir daughter ſhoulde be defloured: and therefore in the darke of the night, brought one of hir mayd ſeruants, and layde hir in the kings bed, ſhe being both fayre, proper and pleaſant. In the morning when the day beganne to appeare, ſhee made haſte to ariſe: and being aſked of the king why ſhe ſo haſted, that I may goe to my dayes worke (if it pleaſe your grace) quoth ſhe. Herewith ſhe being ſtayed by the king, as it were againſt hir will, ſhee fell downe on hir knees, and requyred of him that ſhe might be made free, in guerdon of hir nights worke. For (ſayth ſhe) it is not for your honour, that the woman whiche hath taſted the pleaſure of the kings bodie ſhould any more ſuffer ſeruitude vnder the rule and appoyntment of a ſharpe and rough miſtres.

The King then being moued in his ſpirites, laughed at the matter, though not from the heart, (as he that tooke great indignation at the doings of the Ducheſſe) and pitied the caſe of the poore wenche. But yet in fine (turning the matter to a bourd) he pardoned all the parties, and aduaunced the wenche to high honour, farre aboue thoſe that had rule of hir afore: ſo that ſhee ruled them (willed they nilled they) for he vſed hir as his paramour, till time ẏ he maryed the foreſaid Alfrede.

Note the depe hypocriſie of Dunſtan.

Ran. Higd.
Fabian out of Guido de Columna.
VVil. Malm.

For theſe youthfull partes, and namely for the rauiſhing of Wilfrida (which though ſhe were no Nunne yet the offence ſeemed right haynous, for that he ſhoulde once touche any woman ſhadowed vnder that habite, hee greatly diſpleaſed Dunſtan, ſo that by him hee was put to hys vij. yeares penance, and kept from the crowne till the. xij. yeare of his raigne or more. For ſome write that hee was not crowned nor annoynted king, till the. xxx. yeare of his age, which ſhoulde be about the. xiij. or. xiiij. yeare of his raigne, by that account, ſithe hee entred into the rule of the kingdome about the. xvj. yeare of his age.

Hen. Hunt.
Ran. Higd.
Polidor.

In deede one Authour witneſſeth, that he was ſacred at Bathe on a Whitſunday, the. xiij. yeare of his raigne, and that by Dunſtan Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and Oſwolde Archbiſhop of Yorke. But ſome which ſuppoſe that he was ſacred king immediately vpon the death of Edridus, affyrme that he was crowned and annointed by the Archbiſhop Odo, Dunſtan as then remayning in exile, from whence he was immediately reuoked by Edgar, and firſt made Biſhop of Worceter (as hath beene ſayde) and after the deceaſſe of Odo was aduaunced to be Archbiſhop of Canterburie.

Mat. VVeſt.
Simon Dun.

But by ſome writers it appeareth, that Dunſtan was reuoked out of exile immediately vpon the partition of the Realme betwixte Edwyn and Edgar, which chaunced in the yeare. 957. by the rebellion of the people of Mercia, and others (as before ye haue heard.) And that in the yeare following the Archbiſhop Odo died, After whome ſucceeded Alſin biſhop of Wincheſter, the whiche alſo died the ſame yeare that K. Edwin deceaſed, as he went to fetch his Pal from Rome, and then Brighthelme Biſhop of Dorcheſter was elected Archbiſhop. But bycauſe he was not ſufficient to diſcharge ſo great an office, by king Edgars commaundement hee was conſtrayned to giue place to Dunſtan.

Fabian.
Ran. Higd.
The Welch men rebell and are chaſtiſed.

Toward the latter end of king Edgars dayes, the Welchmen moued ſome rebellion agaynſte him. Wherevpon he aſſembled an armie, and entring the Countrey of Glamorgan, did muche hurt in the ſame, chaſtiſing the inhabitants right ſharpely for theyr rebellious attempts.

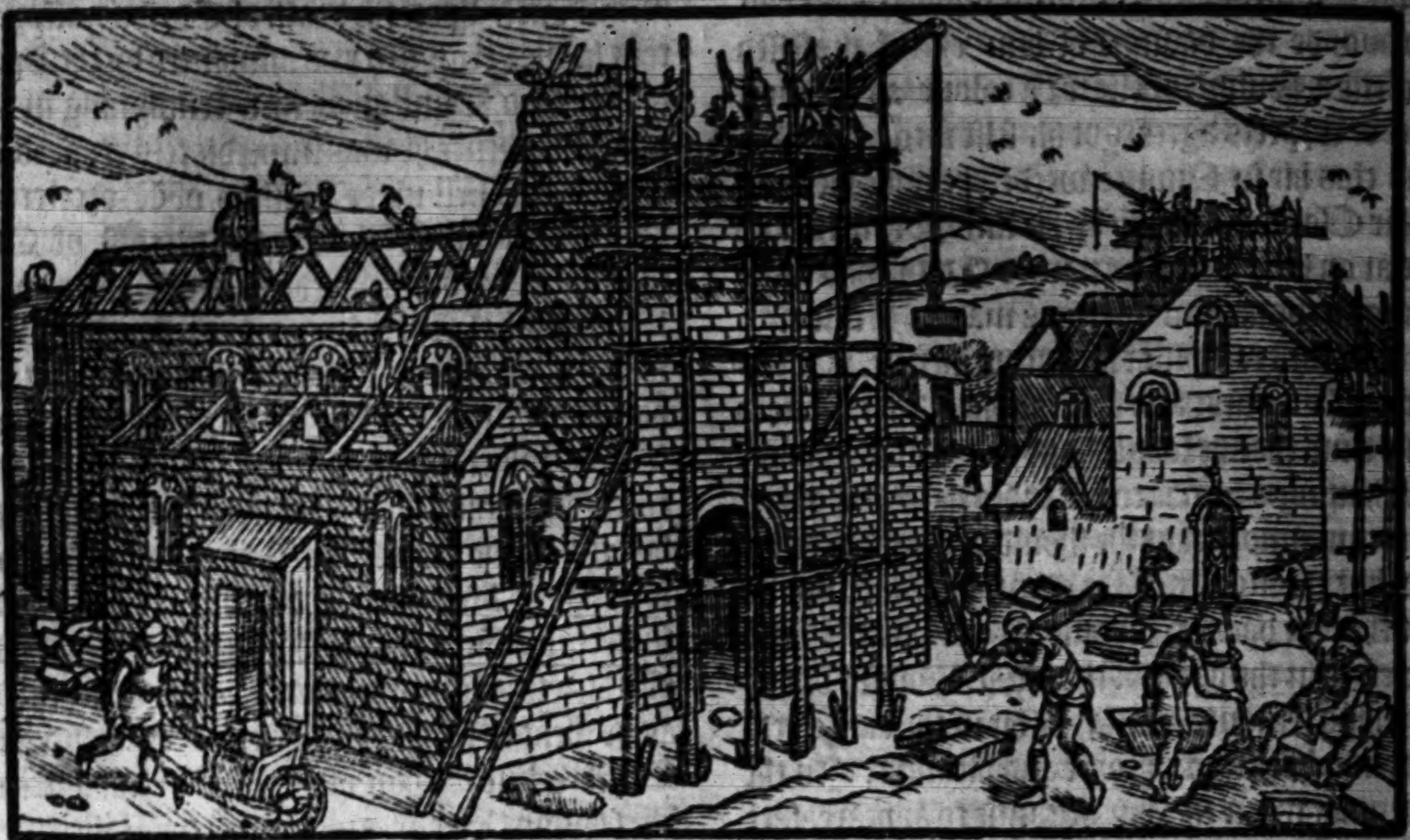
Amongſt other ſpoyles taken in thoſe parties at that time by the men of warre, the Bell of S. Ellutus was taken away, and hanged aboute a horſes necke, and (as hath beene reported) in the after noone, it chaunced that king Edgar layde him downe to reſt, wherevpon in ſleepe there appeared one vnto him, and ſmote him on the breaſt with a Speare. By reaſon of which viſion hee cauſed all things that had beene taken away, to be reſtored againe. But within. ix. dayes after the king dyed.

VVil. Malm.
H. Hunt.
King Edgar departed this life.

Whether any ſuch thing chaunced, or that he had any ſuch viſion, it forceth not. But truth it is that in the. xxxij. yeare of his age, after hee had raigned. xvj. yeares and two Monethes he departed this life, the. viij. daye of July, and was buried at Glaſtenburie.

Wherefore Edgar is prayſed of ſome writers.

This Edgar is highly renowmed of writers for ſuch princely qualities as appeared in him, but chiefly for that hee was ſo beneficiall to the Church, namely to Monkes, the aduauncement of whom he greatly ſought, both in buylding Abbayes newe from the grounde, in reparing thoſe that were decayed: alſo by enriching them wyth great reuenues, and in conuerting Collegiate Churches into Monaſteries, remouing ſecular Prieſts, and bringing in Monks in their places. There paſſed no one yeare of his raigne, wherein he founded not one Abbay or other. The Abbay of Glaſtenburie which his father had begon he finiſhed. The Abbay of Abingdon alſo he accompliſhed and ſet in good order. The Abbayes of Peterborough and Thorney hee eſtabliſhed. The Nunrie of Wilton he founded & richly endowed, where his daughter Editha was profeſſed, and at length became Abbateſſe there.



Fabian.
Ran. Higd.
Hen. Hunt.

VVil. Malm.

H. Hunt.

Mat. VVeſt.
Monkes eſteemed and ſecular prieſts litle regarded.

Ran. Higd. li. 6. cap. 9.

To be briefe, he builded (as the Chronicles recorde) to the number of. xl. Abbayes and Monaſteries, in ſome of which he placed Monks, and in ſome Nunnes. By his example in thoſe his dayes, other noble men, as well Prelates as of the Laitie, did begin the fōdation of ſundrie Abbays and Monaſteries: as Adelwolde Biſhop of Wincheſter buylded the Abbay of Ely, and as ſome ſay Peterbourgh, & Thorney, though they were eſtabliſhed by the king (as before is mentioned.) Alſo Earle Aylewin at the exhortation of the ſame Biſhop Adelwold, builded the Abbay of Ramſey, though ſome attribute the doing thereof vnto Oſwold the Archbiſhop of Yorke, and ſome to king Edward the elder. But to conclude, the religious orders of Monkes & Nunnes in theſe dayes floriſhed, & the ſtate of ſecular Prieſts was ſmally regarded, inſomuch that they were conſtrayned to auoyd out of diuerſe Colledges, and leaue the ſame vnto Monks, as at Worceter and Wincheſter, where in the new Monaſterie, bycauſe the prieſts liued not in ſuch ſort as was thē thought requiſite, the prebends were taken from them and giuen to vicars. But when the vicars were thought to vſe thēſelues no better, but rather worſe thā the other before thē, they were likewiſe put out, & Monkes placed in their roomes by authoritie of Pope Iohn the. xiij. And this reformation, or rather deformatiō was vſed by K. Edgar in many other places of the realm. He was (as appeareth by writers) namely in his beginning, cruel againſt his own people, and wanton in luſting after yong women (as you haue heard before.) Of ſtature and proportion of bodie he was but ſmal & low but yet had nature encloſed within ſo little a perſonage ſuch ſtrength, that he durſt encounter & combat with him that was thought moſt ſtrong, only doubting this, leaſt he which ſhould haue to do with him ſhould ſtand in feare of him. And as it chanced at a great feaſt (where ofentymes men vſe their tongues more liberally than needeth,) the king of Scottes Kinadius caſt out certaine wordes in this maner: It may (ſayeth he) ſeeme a maruel that ſo many Countreys and prouinces ſhould bee ſubiect to ſuche a little ſilly bodie as Edgar is. Theſe wordes being borne away by a ieaſter or Minſtrell, and afterwardes vttered to Edgar with greate reproche, hee diſſembled the matter for a tyme, althoughe hee kept the remembraunce thereof incloſed within his breaſt: and vpon occaſion, at length he faigned to goe on hunting, taking the king of Scots forth with him: and hauing cauſed one of his ſeruaunts to conuey two ſwordes into a place within the foreſt by him appoynted in ſecrete wiſe, of purpoſe he withdrew from the reſidue of his companie, & there accompanied onely with the Scottiſh king, came to the place where the ſwordes were layde: And there taking the one of them, deliuered the other to the Scottiſh king, willing him now to aſſay his ſtrength, that they might ſhew by proufe whether of them ought to be ſubiect to the other: & ſtart not away but trie it with me (ſaith he) for it is a ſhame for a king to be ful of brags at bankets and not to be ready to fight when triall ſhould be made abrode. The Scottiſh king herewith being

VVil. Mal.
Ran. Higd.
Tho. Eliot.

Edgar ſmall o
ſtature but
ſtrong and
hardie.

Kenneth ki
of Scottes.

The noble co
rage of king
Edgar.

aſtonied and maruellouſly abaſhed, fell downe at his feete, and with much humilitie confeſſed hys fault, & deſired pardō for the ſame, which vpō ſuch his humble ſubmiſſion K. Edgar eaſily graunted.

This noble prince had two wiues, Egelfrida, or Elfrida, ſurnamed the white, the daughter of a mightie duke named Ordmer, by whome he had iſſue a ſonne named Edward that ſucceeded him. His ſeconde wife hight Alfreda the daughter of Orgar duke of Deuon. or Cornewall (as ſome haue. by whom he had iſſue Edmōd that died before his father, and Egelthred which afterwardes was king. Alſo he had iſſue a daughter named Editha, begotten baſe of his concubine Wilfrid (as before ye haue heard.) The ſtate of the realme in king Edgars dayes was in good poynt: for both the earth gaue hir encreaſe very plēteouſly: the Elements ſhewed themſelues very fauourable, according to the courſe of times: peace was mainteyned and no inuaſion by forraine enimies attempted. For Edgar had not onely all the whole Ile of Britain in ſubiection, but alſo was ruler & ſoueraign Lorde ouer all the kings of the out Iles that lie within the ſeas about all the coaſts of the ſame Britain euen vnto the realme of Norwey. He brought alſo a great part of Irelande vnder his ſubiection, with the citie of Dublin, as by autentike recordes it doth and may appeare.

VVil. Mal.

Ireland ſubiect vnto king Edgar.

Edwarde.

Ed-ward.

Some write that the father king Edgar appoynted Edward to ſucceede him.

Simon Dun.

Iohn Capg.

After the deceaſe of king Edgar, ther was ſome ſtrife and cōtētion amōgſt the Lordes and peeres of yͤ realm about the ſucceſſiō of the crowne: for Alfrida yͤ mother of Egelredus, or Ethelredus, and diuerſe other of hir opinion, would gladly haue aduanced the ſame Egelredus to the rule: but the Archbiſhop Dunſtan taking in his handes the baner of the Crucifix, preſented his elder brother Edward vnto the Lords as they were aſſembled togither, and there denoūced him king, notwithſtāding that both Queene Alfred and hir friends, namely Alpher the Duke of Mercia were ſore agaynſt him, eſpecially for yͭ he was begot in vnlawful bed of Elfleda yͤ Nun, for which offēce he did .vij. yeeres penāce, & not for lying with Wilfride (as maiſter Foxe thinketh.) But Dunſtan iudging (as is to be thought) that Edward was more fitte for their behouſe to continue the world in yͤ former courſe as Edgar had left it, than his brother Egelred (whoſe mother & ſuch as toke part with hir vnder hir ſonnes authoritie were likely ynough to turne all vpſide downe) vſed the matter ſo that with helpe of the Archbiſhop of Yorke Oſwalde, and other Byſhoppes, Abbottes, and certaine of the Nobilitie, as the Earle Eſſex and ſuch like, he preuayled in his purpoſe, ſo that (as before is ſayde) the ſayde Edwarde beeing the ſeconde of that name whiche gouerned thys lande before the conqueſt, was admitted king, and beganne his raigne ouer Englande in the yeare of oure Lorde. 975. in the thirde yeare of the Emperour Otho the ſecond, in the. xx. yeare of the raigne of Lothar king of Fraunce, and about the fourth yeare of Culene King of Scotlande. Hee was ſacred by the ſayde Archbiſhoppe Dunſtan at Kingſtone vpon Thames, to the greate griefe of his mother in law Alfred and hir friendes.

Alfer duke of Mercia and other immediately vpon Edgars death before the crown was eſtabliſhed, remoued the Monkes and reſtored Canons.

Simon Dun.

975

Aboute the beginning of his raigne a blaſing Starre was ſeene, ſignifying (as was thought) the miſerable haps that followed. And firſt there enſued barrenneſſe of grounde, and thereby famine amongſt the people, and morraine of Cattaile.

VVil. Mal.

Alſo Duke Alpher or Elpher of Mercia, and other Noble men deſtroyed the Abbayes which King Edgar and Biſhoppe Adelwold had builded within the limittes of Mercia. The Prieſtes or Canons whiche had beene expulſed in Edgars tyme out of their Prebendes and Benefices, beganne to complaine of theyr wrongs that were done to them, in that they had beene put oute of poſſeſſion from theyr lyuings, alledging it to bee a great offence and miſerable caſe that a ſtraunger ſhould come and remoue an olde inhabitant, for ſuch maner of doing coulde not pleaſe God, nor yet bee allowed of anye good man, whiche ought of reaſon to doubt leaſt the ſame ſhould hap to him whiche hee might ſee to haue beene an other mans vndoing.

Alfer or Elfer, duke of Mercia.

Aboute thys matter was harde holde, for many of the Temporall Lordes, and namely the ſame Alpher, iudged that the Prieſtes hadde wrong. In ſo muche that they remoued Monkes oute of theyr places, and brought into the Monaſteries ſecular Prieſtes with theyr wyues. But Edelwyn Duke of the Eaſt Angles, and Alfred his brother, with Brightnoth or Brighnode Earle of Eſſex, withſtoode thys doing, and gathering an armie, with great valiancie mainteyned the Monkes in their houſes, within the Countrey of Eaſt Angles. Herevpon were Councels holden, as at Wincheſter, at Kyrtling in Eaſt Angle, and at Calne.

Iohn Capg.
VVil. Mal.
Ran. Higd.
Mat. VVeſt.
Sim. Dunel.

Sim. Dunel.

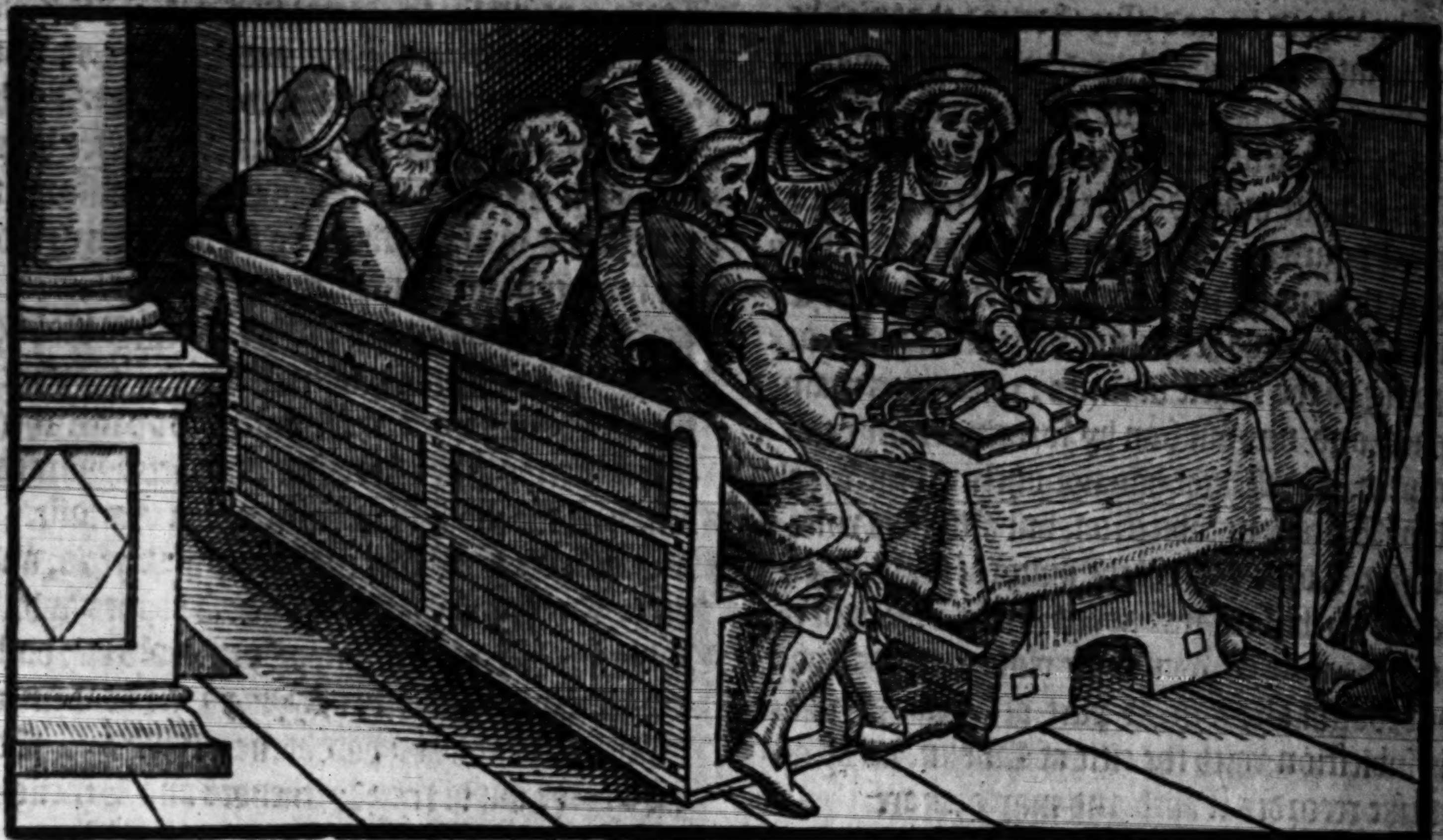
At Wincheſter when the matter was brought to that paſſe that the Prieſtes were lyke to haue had theyr purpoſe, an Image of the Roode that ſtoode there in the Refectory where they ſat in counſaile, vttered certaine wordes in this wiſe. God forbid it ſhoulde bee ſo: God forbid it ſhoulde be ſo:

Polidor.

A pretie ſhiſt of the Monkes to diſappoint the Prieſts.
Polidor.

be ſo: ye iudged well once, but ye may not change well againe: as though (ſayth Polidore Virgill) the Monkes had more right, which had bereft other men of their poſſeſſions, than the Prieſtes which required reſtitution of their owne. But (ſayth he) bycauſe the Image of Chriſt hanging on the croſſe was thought to ſpeake theſe wordes, ſuch credite was giuen thereto, as it had beene an Oracle, that the Prieſts had theyr ſuite daſhed, & all the trouble was ceaſſed. So the Monkes held thoſe poſſeſſions howſoeuer they came to them, by the helpe of God, or rather (as ſayeth the ſame Polidore) by the helpe of man. For there were euen then dyuerſe that thought this to be rather an Oracle of Phebus, than of God, that is to vnderſtande, not publiſhed by Gods power, but by the fraude and craftie deceyte of men.

The matter therefore was not ſo quieted, but that vpon newe trouble an other Councell was had at a manour houſe belonging to the K. called



VVil. Malm.

Calne, where they that were appoynted to haue the hearing of the matter, ſatte in an vpper loft. The king by reaſon of his yong yeares was ſpared, ſo that he came not there.

Here as they were buſied in arguing the matter, eyther part laying for himſelfe what coulde be ſayde. Dunſton was ſore reuiled, and had ſundrie reproches layde againſt him: but ſodainly euẽ in the verie heate of theyr communication, the ioyſtes of the loft fayled, and downe came all the companie, ſo that many were ſlaine and hurt, but Dunſtan alone ſtanding vpon one of the ioyſtes that fell not, he eſcaped ſafe and ſounde. And ſo this myracle with the other made an ende of the controuerſie betweene the Prieſtes and Monkes, all the Engliſh people following the minde of the Archbiſhop Dunſtan, who by meanes thereof had his will.

Dunſtan by working myracles had his will, when argumentes fayled.

In this meane while, king Edwarde ruling himſelf by good counſaile of ſuch as were thought diſcrete and ſage perſons, gaue great hope to the worlde that he woulde walke in his fathers vertuous ſteppes, as alreadie he well beganne, and bearing alway a reuerence to his mother in lawe, and a brotherly loue to hir ſonne Egelred, vſed himſelfe as became him towardes them both. Afterwarde by chaunce as hee was in hunting in a Forreſt neare to the Caſtell of Corfe, where hys mother in lawe, and his brother the ſayde Egelred then ſoiourned, when all his companie were ſpredde abrode in following the game, ſo that hee was left alone, hee tooke the way ſtreyght vnto his mother in lawes houſe, to viſite hir and hys brother.

Polidor.
VVil. Mal.

The wicked purpoſe of Queene Alf

The Queene hearing that he was come, was right glad thereof, for that ſhee had occaſion offered to worke that which ſhe had of long time before ymagined, that was, to ſlea the king hir ſonne in lawe, that hir owne ſonne might enioy the garlande. She therefore requyred him to alight, which he in no wiſe woulde yeeld vnto, but ſayde that he had ſtolne from his companie, and was onely come to ſee hir and his brother, and to drinke with them, and therefore woulde returne to the Forreſt againe to ſee ſome more ſport. The Queene perceyuing that hee woulde not alight, cauſed drinke to be fetched, and as he had the cup at his mouth, by hir appoyntment one of hir ſeruauntes ſtroke him into the bodie with a knife, wherevppon feeling himſelfe wounded, hee ſette ſpurres to the horſe thinking to gallop away, and ſo to get to his companie. But being hurt to the death, he fell from his horſe, ſo as one of his feete was faſtened in the ſtyrrop, by reaſon whereof his horſe drew him forth through woods and launds, and the bloud whiche guſhed out of the wounde ſhewed tokẽ of his death to ſuch as followed him, and the way to the place where the horſe had left him:

The ſhamefu
murther of
Edwarde.

Mat. VVeſt.
ulien.
on Dun.
Wil. Malm.

him, That place hight Corphes gate, or Corues gate. His bodie being founde was buried without any ſolemne funeralles at Warham. For they that enuyed that hee ſhoulde enioy the Crowne, enuied alſo the buriall of his bodie within the Church; but the memorie of his fame coulde not ſo ſecretely bee buried vp with the bodie, as they imagined. For ſundrie myracles ſhewed at the place where his bodie was enterred, made the ſame famous (as diuerſe haue reported) for there was ſight reſtored to the blind, health to the ſicke, and hearing to the deafe, which are eaſilyer to be tolde than beleeued.

Myracles.

Queene Alfride alſo woulde haue ridden to the place where he lay, moued with repentaunce (as hath beene ſayde) but the horſe whereupon ſhe rode woulde not come neare the graue, for anye thing that could be done to him. Neither by changing the ſayde horſe coulde the matter be holpen. For euen the ſame thing happened to the other horſes. Hereupon the woman perceyued hir great offence towardes God for murthering the innocent, and did ſo repent hir afterward for the ſame, yͭ beſides yͤ chaſtiſing of hir body in faſting, and other kinde of penance, ſhee employed all hir ſubſtance and patrimonie on the poore, and in buylding and reparing of Churches and Monaſteries.

uylding of Abbayes in hoſe dayes was thought to be a full ſatiſfaction for ll maner of innes.

Two houſes of Nunnes ſhee founded (as is ſayde) the one at Warwell, the other at Ambreſburie, and finally profeſſed hirſelfe a Nunne in one of them, that is to ſay, at Warwell, whiche houſe ſhee buylded (as ſome affyrme) in remembrance of hir firſt huſbande that was ſlaine there by K. Edgar for hir ſake (as before is mētioned.)

The bodie of this Edwarde the ſeconde, and ſurnamed the Martyr, after that it had remayned three yeares at Warham where it was firſt buryed, was remoued vnto Shafteſburie, and with great reuerence buried there by the forenamed Alfer, or Elfere Duke of Mercia, who alſo did ſore repent himſelfe in that hee had beene agaynſt the aduauncement of the ſayde king Edward (as yee haue hearde.) But yet did not he eſcape worthie puniſhment: for within one yeare after, he was eaten to death with Lice (if the Hiſtorie be true.)

Litera.

Polidor.
Wil. Mal.

King Edward came to his death after he had raigned three yeres (or as other write) three yeres and. viij. Monethes.

Whatſoeuer hath beene reported by writers of the murther committed in the perſon of this king Edwarde, ſure it is that if he were baſe begotten (as by wryters of no meane credit it ſhould appeare he was in deede) great occaſion vndoubtedly was giuen vnto Queene Alfred to ſeeke reuenge for the wrongful keeping backe of hir ſonne Egelred frō his rightful ſucceſſion to the crowne: but whether that Edwarde was legitimate or not, ſhe might yet haue deuiſed ſome other lawful meane to haue come by hir purpoſe, & not ſo to haue procured the murther of the yong Prince in ſuch vnlawfull maner. For hir doing therein can neither be worthily allowed, nor throughly excuſed, although thoſe that occaſioned the miſchiefe by aduauncing hir ſtepſonne to an other mans right, deſerued moſt blame in this matter.

Egelredus.

Egelred.

EGelredus, or Ethelredus, the ſonne of king Edgar, and of his laſte wife Queene Alfrede, was ordeyned King in place of his brother Edwarde, after that the ſame Edwarde was diſpatched out of the way, and beganne his raigne ouer this realme of Englande in the yeare of our lorde 979. which was in the ſeuenth yeare of the Emperour Otho the ſecond, in the. xxiiij. of Lothaire king of Fraunce, and about the ſeconde or thirde yeare of Kenneth the thirde of that name King of Scotlande.

979
Simon Dun.

This Egelred, or Etheldred, was the. xxx. in number from Cerdicius the firſt King of the Weſt Saxons: through his negligente gouernment, the ſtate of the common wealth fell into ſuch decay (as wryters doe report) that vnder him it may bee ſayde, howe the kingdome was come to the vttermoſt poynt or period of olde and feeble age. For whereas whileſt the Realme was deuided at the firſt by the Saxons into ſundrie dominions, it grew at length (as it were increaſing from youthfull yeares) to one abſolute Monarchie, which paſſed vnder the late remembred Princes, Egbert, Adelſtane, Edgar, and others, ſo that in their dayes it might be ſaid, how it was growne to mans ſtate, but now vnder this Egelred, through famine, peſtilence, and warres, the ſtate thereof was ſo ſhaken, turned vpſide downe, and weakened on eche parte, that rightly might the ſeaſon be likened vnto the olde broken yeares of mans life, which through feebleneſſe is not able to helpe it ſelfe.

Dunſtan the Archbiſhop of Canterbury was thought to haue foreſeene this thing, and therefore refuſed to anoynt Egelred king, whiche by the murther of his brother ſhoulde atteyne to the gouernment: but at length he was compelled to it, and ſo he ſacred him at Kingſton vpon Thames, as the maner then was, on the. xiiij. day of Aprill, aſſiſted by Oſwalde Archbiſhop of Yorke, and ten other Biſhops.

But

Vvil. Mal.

But as hath beene reported, Dunſtan then ſayde that the Engliſh people ſhoulde ſuffer condigne puniſhment generally with loſſe of auncient liberties which before that tyme they had enioyed. Dunſtan alſo long before propheſied of the ſlouthfulneſſe that ſhould remaine in this Ethelred. For at what time he miniſtred the ſacrament of Baptiſme vnto him, ſhortly after he came into this world, he defyled the Font with the ordure of his wombe (as hath beene ſayde) whervppon Dunſtan beeing troubled in hys mynde: By the Lorde ſayth he and his bleſſed mother, this child ſhall proue to be a ſlouthfull perſon. It hath bene written alſo, that when he was but tenne yeares of age, and heard that his brother Edwarde was ſlaine, he ſo offended his mother with weeping, bycauſe ſhe coulde not ſtill him, that hauing no rodde at hande, ſhee tooke Tapers or Sizes that ſtoode before hir, and bet him ſo ſore with them, that ſhe had almoſt killed him, whereby he coulde neuer after abyde to haue any ſuch Candles lighted before him.

Polidor.

This Egelred (as writers ſay) was nothing giuen to warlike enterpriſes, but was ſlouthfull, a louer of ydleneſſe, and delyting in ryotous luſtes, which being knowne to all men, cauſed him to be euill ſpoken of amongſt his owne people, and nothing feared amongſt ſtraungers. Herevpon the Danes that exerciſed roauing on the Seas, beganne to conceyue a boldeneſſe of courage to diſquiet and moleſt the Sea coaſtes of the realme, inſomuche that in the ſeconde yeare of this Egelreds raigne, they came with ſeuen Shippes on the Engliſhe coaſtes of Kent, and ſpoyled the Iſle of Tennet, the Towne of Southampton, and in the yere following they deſtroyed S. Petrokes Abbay in Cornewall, Porthlande in Deuonſhire, and dyuerſe other places by the Sea ſyde, ſpecially in Deuonſhire and Cornewall. Alſo a great part of Cheſſhire was deſtroyed by Pirates of Norway.

Ran. Higd.
980
Sim. Dunel.
Ran. Higd.

982

The ſame yeare by caſualtie of fire, a greate part of the Citie of London was burnt.

983
Alfer or Elfer duke of Mercia departed this life.
Alfrike or Elfrike duke of Mercia.

In the yeare of our Lorde. 983, Alfer Duke of Mercia departed this life, who was coſin to king Edgar, and his ſonne Alfrike tooke vpon him the rule of that Dukedome, and within three yeares after was baniſhed the lande.

Fabian.

Aboute the eight yeare of his raigne, Egelred maryed one Elgiua, or Ethelgiuu, daughter of Earle Egbert.

Vvil. Malm.
Mat. VVeſt.

In the ninth yeare of his raigne, vpon occaſion of ſtrife betweene him and the Biſhoppe of Rocheſter, he made warre agaynſt the ſame Byſhop, waſted his Lordſhips, and beſieged the citie of Rocheſter, till Dunſtan procured the Biſhops peace with paymēt of an hundred pound in gold: and bycauſe the king woulde not agree with the Biſhop without money at the onely requeſt of Dunſtan, the ſaid Dunſtan did ſend him worde, that ſithence he made more account of golde than of God, more of money than of S. Andrew Patrone of the Church of Rocheſter, and more of couetouſneſſe than of him being the Archbiſhop, the miſchiefes which the Lord had threatned woulde ſhortly fal and come to paſſe, but the ſame ſhould not chance whileſt he was aliue, who died in the yere following, the .xix. of May, on a Saturday.

Vita Dunſtani.
Iohn Capg.
Osberne.
Ran. Higd.

Of this Dunſtan many things are recorded by wryters, that he ſhould be of ſuch holineſſe and vertue, that God wrought many myracles by him, both whiles he liued here on earth, and alſo after his deceaſe. He was borne in Weſt Saxon, his father was named Heorſtan, & his mother Cinifride, they in his youth ſet him to ſchole, where he ſo profited, that he excelled al his equals in age. Afterwarde he fell ſicke of an Ague, which vexed him ſo ſore that it draue him into a frenſie: & therfore his parents appoynted him to the cure and charge of a certain womā, where his diſeaſe grew ſo on hym, that he fell in a trance as though he had bin dead, & after that he ſodenly aroſe, & by chance caught a ſtaffe in his hande, and ran vp & downe through hilles and dales, and layde about him as though he had bene afrayde of mad dogges. The next night (as it is ſayde) he gat him to the top of the church (by the help of certain ladders that ſtood there for workmen to mend the roof) and there ran vp and downe very daungerouſly, but in the ende came ſafely down, and layd him to ſleep betwene two men that watched the Church that night, & when he wakened, marueiled howe he came there. Finally recouering his diſeaſe, his parents made him a prieſt, and placed him in the Abbay of Glaſtenburie, where he gaue himſelfe to the reading of Scriptures, and knowledge of vertue: But as well his kinſmen as certaine other did raiſe a report of him, that he gaue not himſelfe ſo muche to the reading of ſcriptures, as to charming, coniuring and ſorcery, which he vtterly denied: howbeit learned he was in deed, and could do many prettie things both in handie worke & other deuices: he had good ſkill in muſicke and delited much therin.

At length he grew in ſuch fauour, that he was aduaunced into the ſeruice of king Adelſtane. And on a time as he came to a Gentlewomans houſe with his harpe, and hung the ſame on the wall, while he ſhaped a prieſtes ſtoale, the Harpe ſodenly began to play a Pſalm, which draue the whole houſhold in ſuch feare, that they ran out and ſaid, hee was too cunning, and knewe more than was expedient: wherevpon he was accuſed of Nicromancie, and ſo baniſhed out of the Court.

And after this he began to haue a liking to women, and when Elfheagus then Biſhop of Wincheſter and his couſin perſwaded him to become a

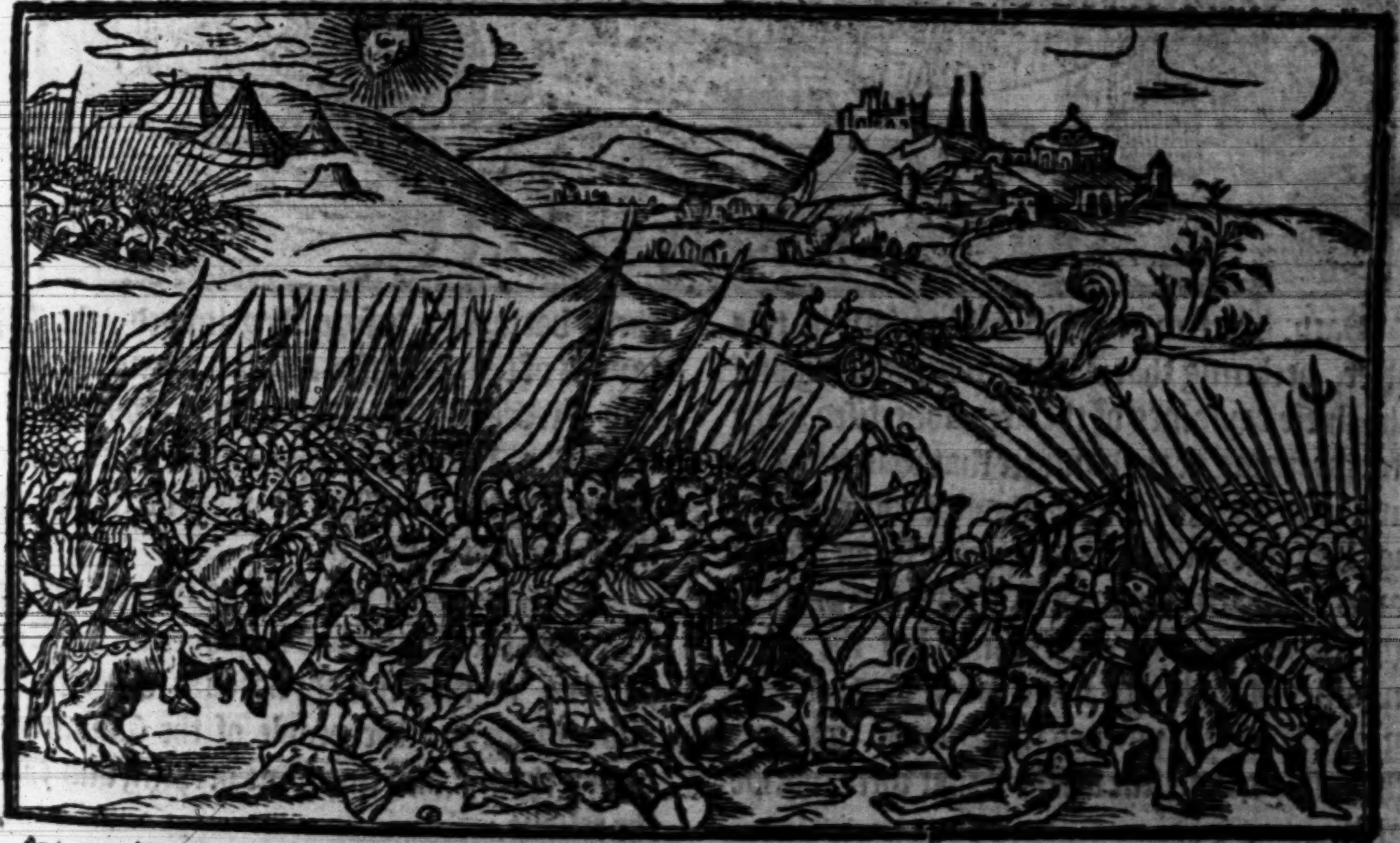
Monke, he refuſed it, for he rather wiſhed to haue maried a yong damoſell, whoſe pleaſant companie he dayly enioyed. But being ſoone after ſtrike with ſuch a ſwelling diſeaſe in his bellie, that all his bodie was brought into ſuch ſtate, as though he had bene infected with a foule leproſie, hee bethought himſelfe, and vpon his recouerie ſent to the biſhop, who immediatly ſhore him a Monke, in which life he liued in ſo great opinion of holynes, as he in time became Abbot of Glaſtenbury: where on a time as hee was in his prayers before the aulter of S. George, he fell aſleepe: and imagining in his dreame, that an vgly rough Beare came towards him with open mouth, and ſet his forefeete vpon his ſhoulders ready to deuour him, he ſodenly waking for feare, caught his walking ſtaffe which he cõmonly went with, & layd about him, that all the Church rang thereof to the great wonder of ſuch as ſtood by. The common tale of his plucking the diuell by the noſe with a paire of pynſors, for tempting him with women, while he was making a Chalice: the great loue that the ladie Elfleda, nigh kinſwoman to K. Adelſtan bare to him to hir dying day, with a great melity of other ſuch like matters, I leaue as friuolous, and wholy impertinent to our purpoſe: onely this I reade, that through declaring of his dreames and viſions, he obteyned in the time of K. Edgar, firſt the Biſhopryke of Worceſter, after of London, & laſt of al the Archbiſhopryke of Canterburie. And now I will returne to the doings of Egelred, and to ſpeake of ſuch things as chaunced in his time.

VVil. Malm.
Mat. VVeſt.
The Danes inuade this land.

Shortly after the deceaſe of Dunſtan, ẏ Danes inuaded this Realme on eche ſide, waſting and ſpoyling the Countrey in moſte miſerable wiſe. They arryued in ſo manye places at once, that the Engliſhe men coulde not well deuiſe whyther to goe to encounter firſt with them. Some of them ſpoyled a place or towne called Wicheport, and from thence paſſing further into the Countrey, were mette with by the Engliſhe men, who giuing them battayle, loſt theyr Captaine Goda: but yet they gotte the victorie, and beat the Danes oute of the fielde, and ſo that parte of the Daniſhe armie was brought to confuſion.

Alias Wecederport.

Hen. Hunt.
Sim. Dunel.
Danes vanquiſhed.



Simon Dunel. ſayth that the Engliſh men in deede wanne the fielde here, but not withoute great loſſe. For beſyde Goda, (who by report of the ſame Authour was Earle of Deuonſhire) there dyed an other valyaunt man of warre named Strenwolde.

In the yeare. 991. Brightnod Earle of Eſſex, at Maldon gaue battaile to an armie of Danes, (which vnder their leaders Iuſtin & Guthmund, had ſpoyled Gipſwich) and was there ouercome & ſlaine with the moſt part of his people, and ſo the Danes obteyned in that place the victorie.

991

The ſame yeare, and in the. xiij. yeare of king Egelreds raigne, when the land was on eche ſide ſore afflicted, waſted and haried by the Danes, which coueted the ſame as they had beene Graſhoppers: by the aduiſe of the Archbiſhop of Canterburie Siricius, (which was the ſecond of that Sea after Dunſtane,) a compoſition was taken with the Danes, ſo that for the ſumme of ten thouſand pound to them to be payde by the king, they ſhould couenant not to trouble his ſubiectes any further.

Ten thouſand pound payed to the Danes.

This money was called Danegylt, or Dane money, and was leuyed of the people. Although other take that to bee Danegylte, whiche was gyuen vnto ſuche Danes as King Egelred afterwardes reteyned in his ſeruice to defende the lande from other Danes and enimyes that ſought to inuade his Dominions. But by what name ſo euer thys money (whiche the Danes nowe receyued) was called, true it is that

Dane gylte.

hen-

VVil. Malm.
992

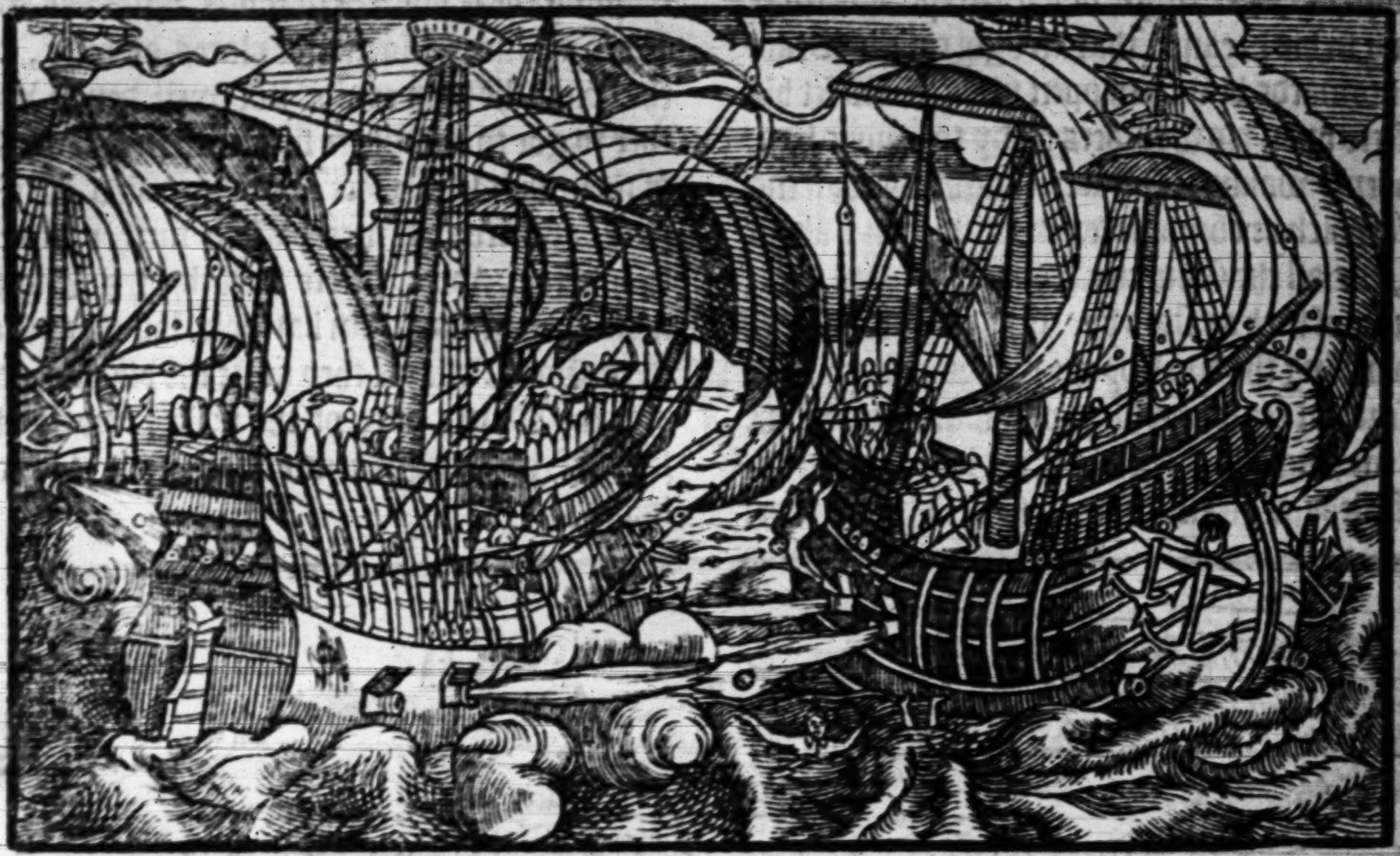
Hereupon they ceaſſed from their moſt cruell inuaſions for a time. But ſhortly after they had refreſhed themſelues, and recouered new ſtrength, they beganne to play theyr olde partes agayne, doing the lyke myſchiefe by theyr ſemblable inuaſions, as they hadde vſed before. By reaſon hereof ſuche feare came vppon the Engliſhe people, that they diſpayred to be able to reſiſt the enimies.

H. Hunt.
A nauie ſet forth.

The king yet cauſed a Nauie to bee ſet forth at London, whereof hee appoynted Earle Alfride (whom before he had baniſhed, and lately reuoked home againe) to bee high Admyrall, adioyning with him Erle Turolde. This nauie did ſet forwarde from London towarde the enimies, who hauing warning giuen them from Alfrik, eſcaped away without hurt.

And ſhortly after a greater Nauye of the Danes came, and encountered with the kings flete, ſo that a great nūber of the Londoners were ſlaine, and all the kings ſhips taken. For Alfrike like a traytor turned to the Danes ſide.

Alfrike a tra
tour to hys
Countrey.



Mat. VVeſt.

Math. Weſtm. maketh other report of this matter, declaring that Alfrike in deede being one of the chiefe captaines of the fleet, aduertiſed them by forewarning of the daunger that was towarde them, and that when they ſhoulde come to ioyning, the ſame Alfrike like a traytor fledde to the Danes, and after vpon neceſſitie beeing putte to fight, eſcaped away with them: but the other Captaines of the kings fleete, as Theodred, Elſtan, and Eſcwen, purſued the Danes, tooke one of theyr ſhips, and ſlue all thoſe that were founde therein.

The Londoners alſo (as the ſame Mat. Weſt. ſayth) met with the nauie of the Daniſhe rouers as they fledde away, and ſlue a greate number, and alſo tooke the Shippe of the Traytour Alfrike with his ſouldiers and armour, but he himſelfe eſcaped, though with muche payne, hauing played the lyke trayterous part once before, and yet was reconcyled to the Kings fauour againe.

Hen Hunt.
The ſonne pu-
niſhed for his
fathers offence
993

Upon this miſchiefe wrought by the father, the king nowe tooke his ſonne Algar, and cauſed his eyes to be put out.

About the ſame time was Bambrough deſtroyed by the Danes, whiche arryued after in Humber, and waſted the Countrey of Lyndſey and Yorkeſhyre, on either ſyde that Ryuer. And when the Engliſhe men were aſſembled to giue them battayle: before they ioyned, the Captaynes of the Engliſhe armie, Frena, Godwin, and Fredegiſt, that were Danes by theyr fathers ſide, beganne to flye awaye, and eſcaped, ſo gyuing the occaſion of the ouerthrowe that lighted on theyr people.

Simon Du
Polidor.
Mat. VV

But by ſome wryters it ſhoulde appeare, that after the Danes had deſtroyed all the North partyes, as they ſpredde abroade without order and good array, the people of the Countrey fell vppon them, and ſlue ſome of them, and chaſed the reſidue.

Aulafe king
Norway an
Swein king
Denmark w
captaines of
this fleete,
as hath
Simon Du
994

Other of the Danes with a nauie of. 94. ſhips entred the Thames, and beſieged London, aboute our Ladie day in September. They gaue a right ſore aſſault to the Citie, and aſſayed to haue ſette it on fyre: But the Citizens ſo valyantly defended themſelues, that the Danes were beaten backe and repulſed, greatly to their loſſe, ſo that they were conſtrayned to departe thence with diſhonour.

Henric. H
VVil. Ma
The king c
poūdeth w
the Danes f
money.

Then they fell to and waſted the Countreys of Eſſex, Kent, Suſſex, and Hamſhire, and ceaſſed not till they had enforced the King to compounde with them for. xvj. M. pounde, which hee was glad to pay to haue peace with them.

Moreouer, whereas they wintered that yeare at Southampton: the king procured Aulafe king of the

Mat VVeſt.
Simon Dun.

of the Norwegians to come vnto Andeuer (wher at that time he lay) vpon pledges receyued of the king for his ſafe returne. Elphegus Biſhoppe of Wincheſter, and Duke Ethelwold were appointed by king Egelred to bring Aulafe vnto him in moſt honourable wiſe.

Aulafe king of Norway baptiſed.
His promiſe.

The ſame time was Aulafe baptiſed, K. Egelred receyuing him at the Font ſtone, and ſo hee promiſed neuer after to make any warre within this lande. And receyuing great gyftes of the King he returned into his Countrey, and kept his promiſe faythfully: But the euilles toke not ſo an ende: for other of the Danes ſprang vp, as they had bene the heades of the Serpent Hydra, ſome of them euer being redie to trouble the quiet ſtate of the Engliſh nation.

Iohn Leyland.
Sim. Dunel.
995

Aboute this ſeaſon that is to witte, in the yeare of our Lorde.995. Biſhop Aldayne whiche was fledde from Cheſter in the (Strete otherwiſe called Cuneceſter) with the bodie of Saint Cuthbert for feare of the inuaſion of Danes, vnto Rippon, brought the ſame bodie now vnto Durhã, & there began the foundation of a church: ſo that the Sea of that Biſhoprike was from thence forth there eſtabliſhed, and the Woddes were there cutte downe, whiche before tyme couered and ouergrewe that place, wherevpon it began firſt to be inhabited.

The Church of Durham buylded.

Erle Vthred.

Earle Vthred who gouerned that Countrey greatly furthered the Biſhop in this work, ſo that all the people inhabiting betweene the Ryuers of Coquid and Theis, came togither to ridde the woddes, and to helpe towarde the buylding of the Church and towne there.

Durham towne and Mynſter built.

997
The Danes inuade the Weſt partes of this lande.

In the. xix. yeare of King Egelreds raigne, the Danes ſayled aboute Cornewall, and comming into the Seuerne ſea, they robbed and toke prayes in the coaſtes of Deuonſhire, and Southwales, and landing at Wecheport, they burned vp the countrey, and came about vnto Penwithſtrete on the South coaſt, and ſo arriuing in the mouth of Tamer water, came vnto Lydforde, and there waſted all afore them with force of fire. They burned amongeſt other places, the Monaſterie of Saint Ordulfe at Eſſyngſtocke.

neſtocke.

After this they came into Dorſetſhire, and paſſed through the countrey with flame and fire, not finding any that offred to reſiſt them.

998

The ſame yeare alſo they ſoiourned for a time in the Iſle of Wight, and lyued vpon ſpoyles and prayes whiche they toke in Hampſhire, and Suſſex: At length they came into the Thames, and ſo by the Ryuer of Medeway, arryued at Rocheſter. The Kentiſhmen aſſembled togither and fought with the Danes, but they were ouercome, and ſo left the fielde to the Danes.

999
The Danes arriue in the Thames.

1000

After this, the ſame Danes ſayled into Normandie, and king Egelred went into Cumberland where the Danes inhabited in great numbers, whom he ouercame with ſore warre, and waſted almoſt al Cumberland, taking great ſpoiles in the ſame.

1001

About the ſame time or ſhortly after, the Danes with their nauie, returning out of Normandie, came vnto Exmouth, and there aſſaulted the Caſtell, but they were repulſed by thẽ that kept it.

Exmouth.

After this they ſpred abrode ouer all the countrey exerciſing theyr accuſtomed trade of deſtroying all before them with fire and ſworde. The mẽ of Sõmerſetſhire fought with thẽ at Pentho, but the Danes gate the vpper hand.

Pentho.

Diſagreement with counſaylers what fruit it bringeth.

Thus the ſtate of the realme in thoſe dayes was verie miſerable: for there wanted worthie Chieftains to rule the people, and to chaſtice them when they did amiſſe. There was no truſt in the noble men, for euerye one impugned others doing, and yet woulde not deuiſe whiche way to deale with better likelyhoode. When they aſſembled in Counſaile, and ſhould haue occupied their heades in deuiſing remedies for the miſchiefe of the common wealth, they turned theyr purpoſe vnto altercation aboute ſuch ſtryfes, contentions and quarelles as eche one had agaynſt other, and ſuffered the general caſe to lie ſtil in the duſt. And if at any time there was any good concluſion agreed vpon, for the withſtanding of the enimie, & reliefe of the common wealth, anon ſhoulde the enimie be aduertiſed thereof by ſuch as were of aliance or conſanguinitie vnto them. For as Hariſon in his Chronologie gathereth out of Caxton, Polichron. and others, the Engliſh bloud was ſo mixed with that of the Danes & Britains, who were like enimies to the Engliſhmen, that there was almoſt few of the nobilitie & cõmons which had not on the one ſide a parent of ſome of them. Whereby it came to paſſe, that neither the ſecrete purpoſes of the k. could be cõcealed til they might take due effect, neither their aſſemblies proue quiet without quarreling & taking of partes. Many alſo being ſent forth with their powers one way (whileſt the K. went to make reſiſtãce, another) did reuolt vnto his enimies & turn their ſwords againſt him (as you haue heard of Elfrik & his cõplices) & ſhall read of many others, ſo ẏ it was no maruell that Ethelred ſped no better, & yet was he as valiant as any of his predeceſſors, although ẏ Moks fauour him not in their writings, bicauſe he demaũded ayd of thẽ toward his warres, & was nothing fauorable to their lewd hipocriſie (as ẏ ſame Har. noteth:) but what is a king if his ſubiects be not loyall? what is a realme, if the cõmon wealth be diuided: by peace & concord, of ſmal beginnings great & famous kingdoms haue oft times proceeded, wheras by diſcord ẏ greateſt kingdoms haue oftner bin brought to ruine: & ſo it proued here: for whileſt priuate quarels are purſued, the generall affayres are vtterly neglected: and whileſt ech nation ſeeketh to preferre hir owne alliance, the Iland it ſelf is like to become a deſart. But to proceede with our Monaſticall writers: certes they lay all the fault in the king, ſaying that he was a mā giuē to no good exerciſe, he delighted in fleſhly luſtes and riotous banketting, and ſtill ſought wayes how to gather of his ſubiectes what might be got, as wel by vnlawful meanes as otherwiſe. For he would for feyned or for very ſmall & light cauſes diſinherite his ſubiectes, and cauſe them to redeeme their owne poſſeſſions for great ſummes of money. Beſides theſe oppreſſions, diuerſe kinds of ſickneſſe vexed the people alſo, as the bloudie Flixe, and hote burning Agues which then raged through the lande, ſo that many died thereof. By ſuch maner of meanes therfore, what through the miſgouernance of the king, the treaſon & diſloyaltie of the nobilitie, the lacke of good order and due correction amongſt the people, and by ſuch other ſcourges & miſhaps as afflicted the Engliſh nation in that ſeaſon, the lād was broght into great ruine, ſo that, where by ſtrength the enimy coulde not be kept off, there was now no helpe but to appeaſe thē with mony. By reaſon wherof frō time of the firſt agreement with the Danes for tenne thouſande pound tribute, it was inhanced to. xvj. thouſande pounde (as ye haue heard.) And after that to twentie thouſande pounde, then to. xxiiij. thouſande pound, and ſo to. xxx. thouſand pound, and laſtlye to fortie thouſande pounde, till at length the Realme was emptied in maner of all that money and coyne that could in it be founde.

The miſgouernment of of the king.

Sickneſſes vexing the people.

Treaſon in the nobilitie.

The inhauncing of the tribute payde to the Danes.

In this meane time died Elgiua or Ethelgiua yͤ Queene. Then ſhortly after it was deuiſed that yͤ king ſhould be a ſuter vnto Ri. Duke of Normādie, for his ſiſter Emma, a lady of ſuch excellent beautie, that ſhe was named yͤ floure of Normādie. This ſute was begon & toke ſuch good ſucces, that the king obteyned his purpoſe. And ſo in the yere of our lord. 1002. which was about. the. xxiiij yere. of K. Egelreds raigne, the ſame Egelred receiued the foreſaid Emma, & maried hir wͭ great ſolemnitie. This mariage was thought to bee right neceſſary, honorable & profitable for yͤ realm of Englande, bycauſe of the great puiſſance of the Norman princes in thoſe days: but as things afterward came to paſſe, it turned to the ſubuerſiō of yͤ whole Engliſh ſtate: for by ſuch affinitie & dealing as hapned hereby betwixt the Normās and Engliſhmē, occaſion in yͤ end was miniſtred to yͤ ſame Normans to pretend a tytle to the crowne of Englād, in proſecuting of which title, they obteyned and made the whole conqueſt of the land, as after ſhall appeare. Egelred being greatly aduaunced, as he thought, by reaſon of this maryage deuiſed vpon preſumption thereof, to cauſe all the Danes within the lande to bee murthered in one day. Herevpon he ſent priuie Commiſſioners vnto all cities, boroughes and townes within his dominions, commaunding the rulers and officers in the ſame, to diſpatche and ſlea all ſuch Danes as remayned within theyr liberties, at a certaine day prefixed, being Saint Bryces daye, in the yeare. 1012. and in the. 34. yeare of king Egelreds raigne.

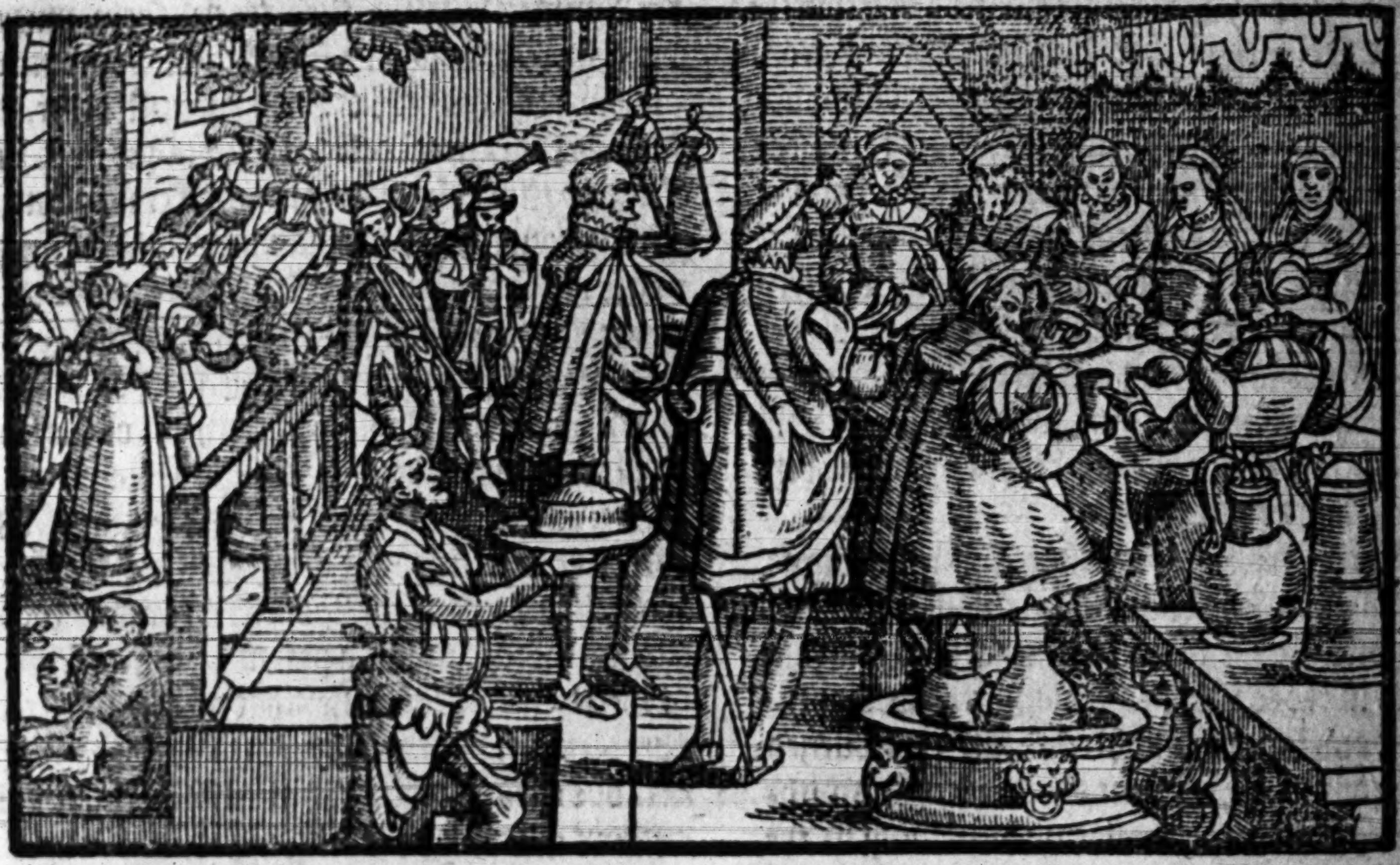
The death of Queen Elgiu

Emma.

Hen. Hunt.

1002

Emma a daug ter of Normandie mari to K. Egelred



1012

The. xiii. of Nouember.

The murthe of the Danes

Herevpon (as ſundrie wryters agree,) in one day and houre this murther beganne, and was according to the commiſſion and inſtructions executed. But where it firſt beganne, the ſame is vncertaine: ſome ſay at Wellowyn in Herfordſh. ſome at a place in Staffordſhire called Howndhil, and other in other places, as in ſuche doubtfull caſes it cōmonly happeneth. But whereſoeuer it began the doers ſhortly after repented it. But firſt ere we proceede any further, we will ſhew what rule the Danes kept here in this Realme before they were thus murthered, as in ſome bookes we

Howndhill, or Houndhil, a place within Merchingto pariſh beſide the foreſt of Needwood, ſomewhat more thā myles from Vtoxceter.

find

The miſerable ſtate of this realme vnder the thraldome of the Danes.

and recorded. Where it is ſhewed that the Danes compelled the huſbandmen to till the ground, and to doe all maner of labour and toyle to bee done aboute huſbandrie: and the Danes liued of the fruite and gaynes that came thereof, and kept the huſbãdmens wiues, their daughters, maydes and ſeruaunts, vſing and abuſing them at theyr pleaſures. And when the huſbandmen came home, then coulde they vneth haue ſuch ſuſtenaunce of meates and drinkes as fell for ſeruantes to haue: ſo that the Danes had all at theyr commaundements, eating and drinking of the beſt, where the ſillie man that was the owner, could hardly come to his fill of the worſt.

Hect. Boetius.

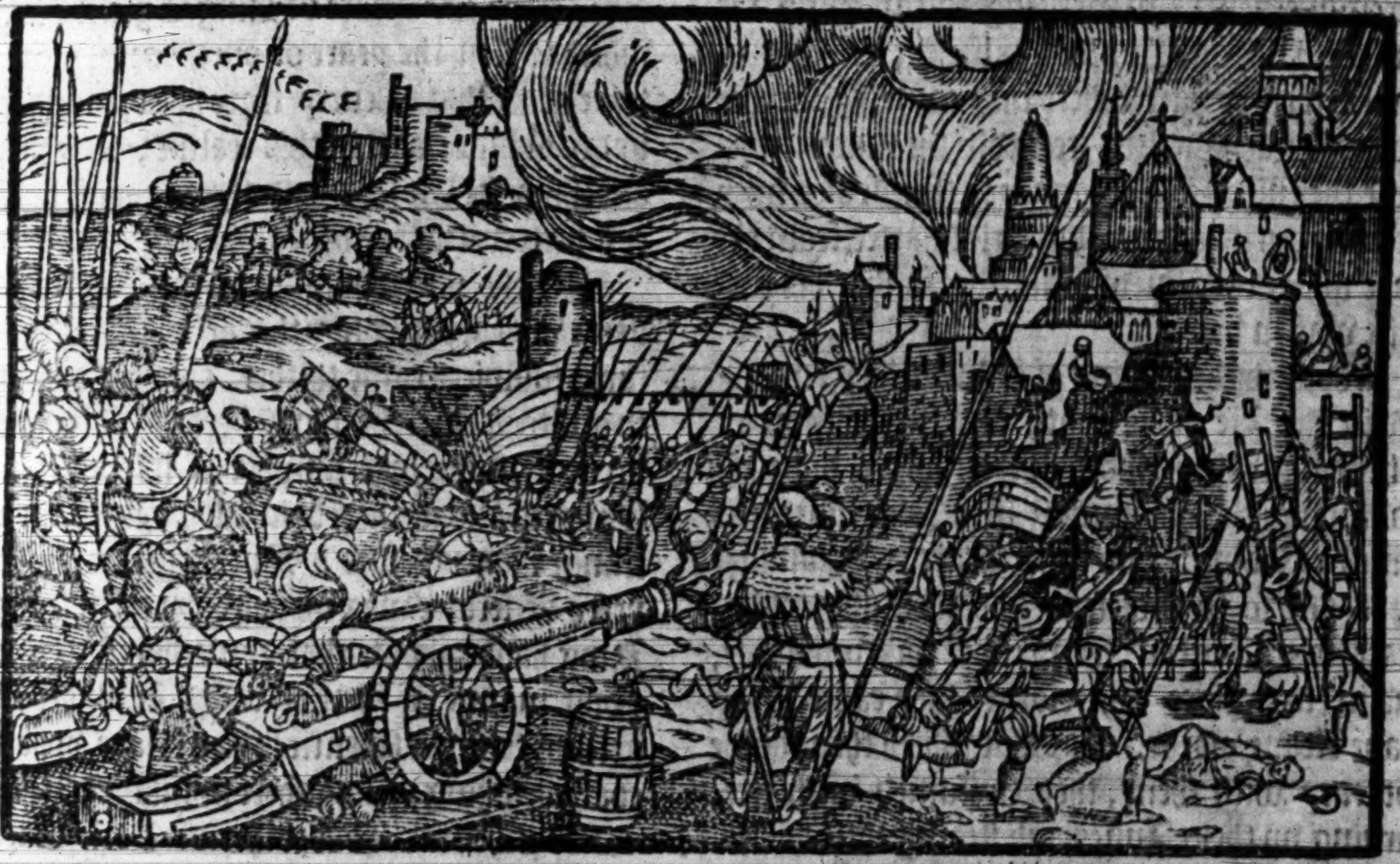
Lordane wherof the worde came.

Hen. Hunt.
Sim. Dun.

The Danes returne to inuade Englande.

Exeter taken.

And beſides this, the common people were ſo oppreſſed by the Danes, that for feare and dread they called them in euerie ſuch houſe where anye of them ſoiourned, Lorde Dane. And if an Engliſhe man and a Dane chaunced to meete at any Bridge or ſtreyght paſſage, the Engliſhe man muſt ſtaye till the Lorde Dane were paſſed. But in proces of time, after the Danes were voyded the lande, this worde Lorde Dane was in deriſion and diſpite of the Danes turned by Engliſh men into a name of reproche, as Lordane, which till theſe our dayes is not forgotten. For when the people in manye partes of thys Realme will note and ſignifie anye greate ydle lubber that will not labour nor take paine for his liuing, they will call him Lordane. But whether the Danes vſed the Engliſh men in ſuch vile maner, and kept them in ſuch ſeruile thraldome or not, truth it is that vppon knowledge giuen into Denmarke of the cruell murther of the Danes here in Englande, the people of that Countrey were greatly kindled in malice, and ſet in ſuch a furious rage agaynſt the Engliſhmen, that with all ſpeede they made forth a Nauie full fraught with menne of warre, the whiche in the yeare following came ſwarming aboute the coaſtes of Englande, and landing in the Weſt Countrey, toke the Citie of Exeter, and gat there a riche ſpoyle.



1003

Hugh a Norman conſpireth with the Danes.

One Hugh a Norman borne, whom Queene Emma had placed in thoſe parties as gouernour or Sherife there, conſpired with the Danes, ſo that all the Countrey was ouerrunne and waſted.

The counterfeit ſickneſſe of duke Edrik.

The king hearing that the Danes were thus landed, and ſpoyled the weſt partes of the realme, hee ſente vnto Edricus to aſſemble a power to withſtande the enimies. Hereupon the people of Hampſhire and Wilſhire roſe and got togither: But when the armyes ſhoulde ioyne, Earle Edricus ſurnamed *de Strecona*, faigned himſelfe ſick, and ſo betrayed his people, of whome hee had the conduct, for they perceyuing the want in theyr leader, were diſcouraged, and ſo fled.

Wilton ſpoyled.

The Danes followed them vnto Wilton, whiche towne they rifled and ouercame. From thence they went to Saleſburie, & ſo taking theyr pleaſure there, returned to their ſhips, bycauſe (as ſome write) they were aduertiſed that the K. was comming towards them with an huge armie.

Simon Dun.

1004

Sweyn king of Denmarke.

Norwich taken by the Danes.

Thetford burnt.

In the yeare next enſuing, that is to wit. 1004 which was aboute the. xxiiij. yeare of King Egelredes raigne, Sweyne, or Swanus, king of Denmarke, wyth a mightie Nauie of ſhippes came on the coaſt of Norffolke, and there landing with his people, made towarde Norwiche, and comming thither toke that Citie, and ſpoyled it. Then went he vnto Thetford, and when hee had taken and ryfled that Towne, hee burned it, notwythſtandyng a truce taken by Vlfkillus, or Wilfketell gouernour of thoſe partyes wyth the ſame King Sweyne after the taking of Norwich.

In reuenge therefore of ſuch breache of truce, the

Vikellus, or Wilſeketell gouernour of Norffolke.

H. Hunt.

the ſame Vlkellus, or Welfeketell, with ſuch power as he coulde rayſe, aſſaulted the hoſte of Danes as they returned to their ſhippes, and ſlue a great number of them, but was not able to maintaine the fight, for his enimies ouermatched him in number of men. And ſo he was conſtrayned in the ende to giue backe: and the enimies kept on their wayes to their ſhippes.

Swein returned into Denmarke.

Sim. Dunel.

1005

In the yeare following king Sweyne returned into Denmark with all his fleete, partly conſtrayned ſo to do (as ſome write) by reaſon of the great famin and want of neceſſarie ſuſtenaunce, which that yeare ſore oppreſſed this land.

1006

H. Hunt.

Sweyn returned into Englande.

In the yeare of our Lorde. 1006. king Swein returned againe into Englande with a mightie huge Nauie arryuing at Sandwiche, and ſpoyled all the Countrey neare vnto the Sea ſide. King Egelred rayſed all his power agaynſt him, and all the Harueſt time lay abroade in the fielde to reſiſt the Danes, which according to theyr wonted maner ſpared not to exerciſe their vnmercifull crueltie, in waſting and ſpoyling the land with fire and ſworde, pilfering & taking of prayes in euery part where they came. Neyther coulde King Egelred remedie the matter, bycauſe the enimies ſtyll conueyed themſelues with their ſhippes into ſome contrarie quarter, from the place where they knew him to be, ſo that his trauaile was in vaine.

The Danes winter in the Ile of Wight. They inuade Hampſhire, Barkſhire. &c.

About the beginning of Winter they remayned in the Ile of Wight, and in the tyme of Chriſtmaſſe they landed in Hampſhire, and paſſed through that Countrey into Barkeſhire, and came to Reding. And from thence to Wallingforde, and ſo to Coleſey, and then approching neare to Eſſington, came to Achikelmeſlawe, and in euery place whereſoeuer they came, they made cleane worke. For that which they coulde not cary with them, they conſumed with fire, burning vp theyr Innes and ſleaing their hoſtes. In returning back, the people of the weſt Countrey gaue them battail, but preuayled not, ſo that they did but enriche theyr enimies with the ſpoyle of their bodies.

Wincheſter.

They came faſt by the gates of Wincheſter, as it were in maner of tryumph, with theyr vytayles and ſpoyles whiche they had fetched fiftie myles off from the ſea ſide.

In the meane tyme King Egelred lay about Shrewſburie ſore troubled with the newes herof.

1007

xxxvi. thouſād pound hath Simon Dun.

In the yeare next enſuing, the king by the aduice of his Counſaile gaue to king Sweine for the redeeming of peace. xxx.M. pound.

The ſame yeare King Egelred created the traytor Edricus Earle of Mercia.

Edricke de Streona made Duke or Erle of Mercia

This Edricus although hee had maryed the kings daughter Edgita, was yet noted to be one of thoſe which diſcloſed the ſecretes of the realme, and the determinations of the Counſaile vnto the enimies. But he was ſuche a craftie diſſembler, ſo greatly prouided of ſleight to diſſemble and cloke his falſehoode, that the king beeing too muche abuſed by him, had him in ſingular fauour, where as hee vppon a malicious purpoſe ſtudyed dayly howe to bring the Realme into vtter ruine and deſtruction, aduertiſing the enimies from tyme to tyme howe the ſtate of thinges ſtoode, whereby they came to knowledge where they ſhoulde giue place, and when they mighte ſafely come forwarde. Moreouer, beeing ſent vnto them oftentymes as a Commiſſioner to treate of peace, hee perſwaded them to warre. But ſuche was the pleaſure of God, to haue him and ſuche other of lyke ſort aduaunced to honour in this ſeaſon, when by his diuine prouidence he ment to puniſhe the people of thys realme for theyr wickedneſſe and ſinnes, whereby they had iuſtly prouoked his wrathe and highe diſpleaſure.

VVil. Malm

Hen. Hunt.

Simon Dun.

An hundreth acres is an hid of lande.

1008

Prouiſion for ſhippes and armour.

In the. xxx. yeare of King Egelreds raigne, whiche fell in the yeare of oure Lorde. 1008. hee tooke order that of euery three hundred and tenne hydes of lande within this realme, there ſhoulde one ſhippe be buylded, and of euery. viij. hydes a complete armor furniſhed.

In the yeare following, the Kinges whole fleete was brought togither at Sandwiche, and ſuche ſouldiers came thither, as were appoynted to goe to Sea in the ſame fleete. There had not beene ſeene the lyke number of ſhippes ſo trimly rigged and furniſhed in all poyntes, in anye Kinges dayes before. But no greate profitable peece of ſeruice was wrought by them: For the King hadde aboute that tyme baniſhed a noble yong manne of Suſſex called Wilnote, who getting togither twentie ſayles, laye vppon the coaſtes, taking priſes where he might gette them.

Mat. VVeſ

Britheri cke the brother of Earle Edricke, deſirous to wynne honour, tooke forth foure ſcore of the ſayde Shippes, and promiſed to bring in the enimie deade or aliue. But as hee was ſayling forwarde on the Seas, a ſore tempeſt with an outragious winde roſe with ſuche violence, that his ſhippes were caſt vppon the ſhore. And Wilnote comming vpon them, ſet them on fyre, and ſo burned them euery one. The reſidue of the ſhips, when newes came to them of this miſhap, returned backe to London. And then was the armie diſperſed, and ſo all the coſt and trauaile of the Engliſh men proued in vaine.

Danes land at Sandwich.

1009

Three thou

pound hath

Simon Dun

After this, in the Harueſt time a newe armie of Danes, vnder the conduicte of three Captaynes, Turkell, Henning, and Iulafe, landed at Sandwiche, and from thence paſſed forth to Canterburie, and had taken the citie, but that the Citizens gaue them a thouſande pounde to depart from thence, and to leaue the Countrey in peace. Then went the Danes to the Jle of Wight, and afterwardes landed and ſpoyled the Countrey of Suſſex and Hamſhire.

ſſex and ampſhire ſpoyled.

King Egelred aſſembled the whole power of all his ſubiectes, and comming to giue them battaile, had made an ende of their cruell harrying the Countrey with the ſlaughter of them all, if Earle Edrike with forged tales (deuiſed onely to put him in feare) had not diſwaded him from giuing battaile. The Danes by that meanes returning in ſafetie, immediately after the feaſt of S. Martyn, returned into Kent, and lodged with theyr nauie in the Winter folowing in the Thames, and oftentymes aſſaulting the Citie of Lōdon, were ſtill beaten backe to their loſſe.

he Danes returne into Kent.

1010

Oxford burnt.

After the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe they paſſed through the Countrey and Wooddes of Chilterne vnto Oxforde, whiche Towne they burned, and then returning backe they fell to waſting of the Countrey on both ſides the Thames. But hearing that an armie was aſſembled at London to gyue them battaile, that parte of theyr Hoſte whiche kepte on the North ſyde of the Ryuer, paſſed the ſame Ryuer at Stanes, and ſo ioyning wyth theyr fellowes marched forth through Southerie, and comming backe to theyr Shippes in Kent, fell in hande to repayre and amende theyr ſhippes that were in any wiſe decayed.

Stanes.

Gipſwich in Suffolke.
Sim. Dunel.

Then after Eaſter, the Danes ſayling about the coaſt, arryued at Gippeſwiche in Suffolke, on the day of the Aſcention of our Lorde: and inuading the Countrey, gaue battayle at a place called Wigmere, or Rigmere, vnto Vlkell, or Vlfeketell leader of the Engliſh hoſt in thoſe parties, the fifth of May.

The men of Norffolke and Suffolke fledde at the fyrſt onſet gyuen. But the Cambridgeſhire men ſticked to it valiantly, wynning thereby perpetuall fame and commendation. There was no mindefulneſſe amongeſt them of running awaye, ſo that a great number of the Nobilitie and other were beaten downe and ſlaine, till at the length one Turketell Mirenehebed, that had a Dane to hys father, fyrſt beganne to take his flight, and deſerued thereby an euerlaſting reproch.

The Danes obteyning the vpper hande, for the ſpace of three monethes togyther, went vppe and downe the Countreys, and waſted thoſe parties of the Realme, that is to ſay, Norffolke, and Suffolke, with the borders of Lincolnſhire, Huntingtonſhire, and Cambridgeſhire where the fennes are, gayning exceeding ryches by the ſpoile of the great and wealthie Abbayes and Churches which had their ſituation within the compaſſe of the ſame Fennes.

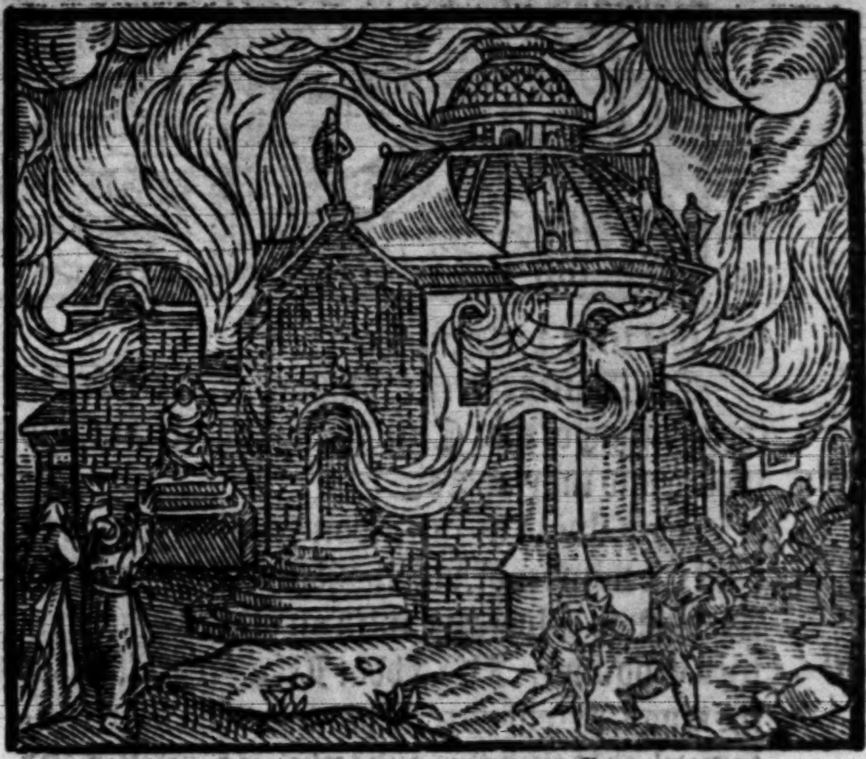
Thetforde, Cambridge.
Hen. Hunt.

They alſo deſtroyed Thetforde, and burnt Cambridge, and from thence paſſed through the pleaſant mountain countrey of Belleſham, cruelly murthering the people without reſpect to age, degree or ſexe.

The Danes arriue in the Thames.
1011

After this they entred into Eſſex, and ſo came backe to theyr ſhips, whiche were then arriued in the Thames. But they reſted not any long time in quiet, as people that mynded nothing but the deſtruction of this Realme. So that ſhortly after they had ſomewhat refreſhed them, forwarde they ſet again into the Country, paſſing through Buckinghamſhire, and ſo into Bedfordſhire. And about S. Andrewes tide they turned toward Northampton, and comming thither, ſet fyre on that towne.

Northampton burnt by Danes.



And then returning through the weſt country, with fire and ſword waſted and deſtroyed a great part thereof, and namely Wilſhire, with other parties. And finally aboute the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe they came againe to their ſhippes.

How many ſhires the Danes waſted.

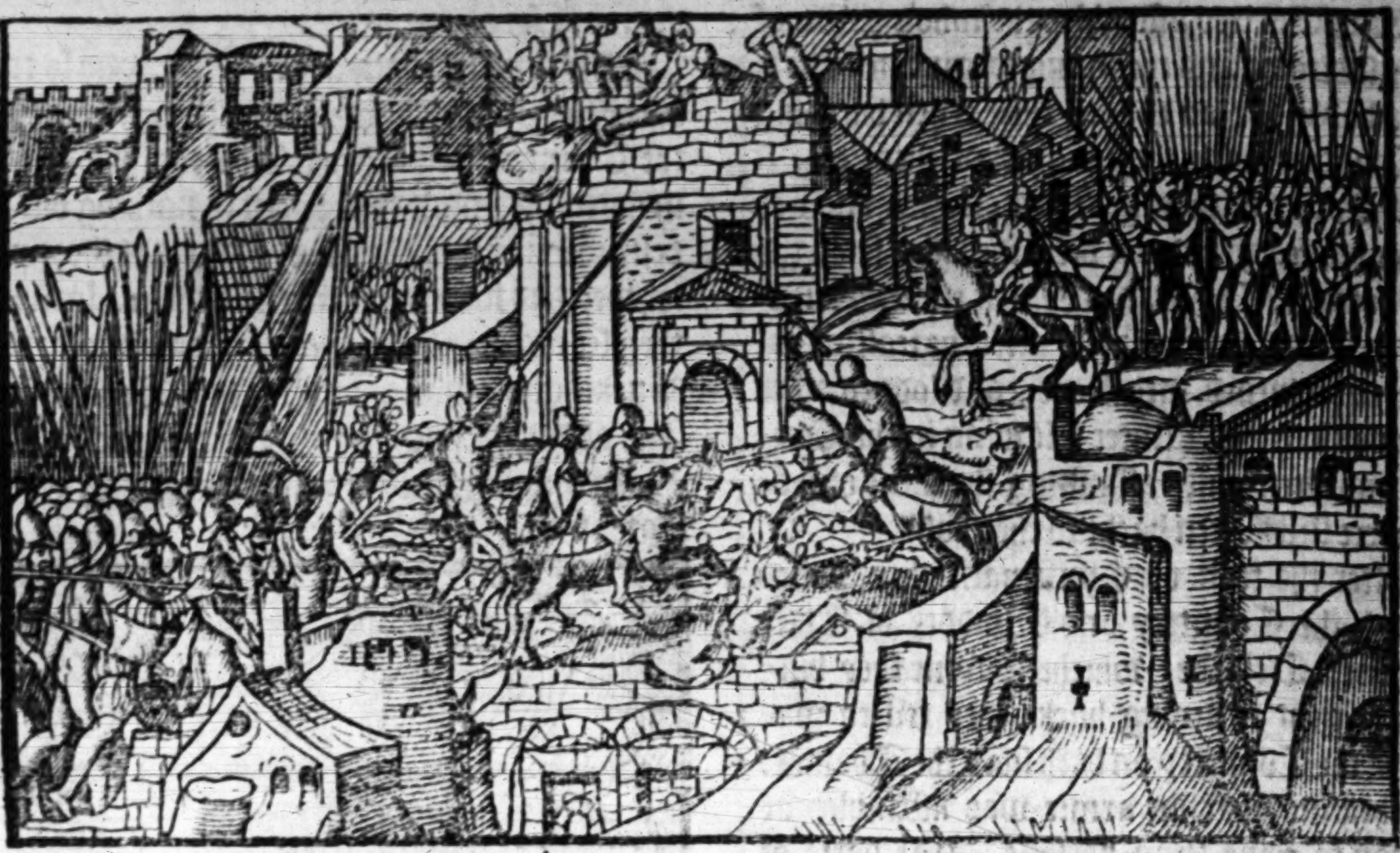
Thus had the Danes waſted and deſtroyed the moſt part of .xvj. or .xvij. ſhires within this realm as Norff. Suff. Cambridgeſhire, Eſſex, Middleſex, Hartfortſhire, Oxfordſhire, Buckinghāſhire, and Bedfordſhire, with a part of Huntingdonſh. and alſo a great portion of Northamptonſhire.

This was done in the Countreys that lie on the northſide the Riuer of Thames. And on the ſouthſide of the ſame Ryuer, they ſpoyled and waſted Kent, Southerie, Suſſex, Barkſh. Hāpſhire, and (as is before ſayd) a great part af Wilſhire. The king and the peeres of the realme not knowing otherwiſe how to redreſſe the matter, ſent Ambaſſadors vnto the Danes, offring them great ſummes of money to leaue off ſuche cruell waſting and ſpoyling of the lande.

The king ſendeth to the Danes.
Simon Dun.

The Danes were contented to retayne the money, but yet coulde not abſtayne from their cruell doyngs, neither was their greedie thyrſt of bloud and ſpoyle ſatiſfied with the waſting and deſtroying of ſo many Countreys and places as they had paſſed through. Wherupon in the yeare of our Lorde. 1011. about the feaſt of Saint Mathew in September, they layde ſiege to the Citie of Canterburie, which by the Citizens was valiantly defended by the ſpace of. xx. dayes. In the ende of which terme it was taken by the enimies, through the treaſon of a Deacon named Almaricus, whome the Archbiſhop Elphegus had before that time preſerued from death.

Canterburie wonne by Danes.



Fabian ex Antonino.

The Danes exerciſed paſſing great crueltie in the winning of that Citie (as by ſundrie Authors it doth and may appeare.)

The Archbiſhop Elphegus taken.

Hen. Hunt.

They ſlue of menne, women, and children aboue the number of. viij. thouſand. They tooke the Archbiſhop Elphegus with an other Biſhop named Godwyn. Alſo Abbot Lefwyn & Alſeword the kings Baylif there. They ſpared no degree, inſomuch that they ſlue and tooke. 900. prieſtes and other men of religion. And when they had taken their pleaſure of the Citie, they ſet it on fire, and ſo returned to their ſhips.

Antoninus.
Vincentius.

VVil. Lamb. ex Aſſerio Meneuenſi & alijs.

There be that write that they tithed the people after an inuerted order, ſlaying the whole nines through the whole multitude, and reſerued the tenth: ſo that of all the Monkes there were but foure saued, and of the lay people. 4800. whereby it followeth that there dyed. 43200. perſons, and hereof is gathered that the citie of Canterburie, & the Countrey thereabouts (the people whereof belike fled thither for ſuccor) was at that time verie well inhabited, ſo as there haue not wanted (ſayth Maſter Lambert) which affyrme that it had then more people than London it ſelfe.

1112

Hen. Hunt.

But now to our purpoſe. In the yeare next enſuing, vpon the Saterday in Eaſter weeke, after that the Biſhop Elphegus had bin kept priſoner with them the ſpace of. vj. or. vij. monethes, they cruelly in a rage led him forth into the fieldes and daſhed out his braynes with ſtones, bycauſe he would not redeeme his libertie with three. M. pound, which they demaunded to haue bin leuied of his farmers and tenants.

The Archbiſhop Alphegus murthered.

This cruell murther was cōmitted at Greenewich foure miles diſtant from London, the. xix. of Aprill, where he lay a certaine time vnburied, but at length, through miracles ſhewed (as they ſay for myracles are all wrought now by deade men, and not by the liuing: the Danes permitted that his bodie might be caried to London, & there was it buried in the Church of S. Paule, where it reſted for the ſpace of ten yeares, till king Cnute or Knoght had the gouernment of this lande, by whoſe appoyntment it was remoued to Canterburie.

Myracles.

Elphegus buried in Lōdo

Tranſfared to Canterburie

VVil. Mal.

Turkillus held Norff and Suffolke.

Turkillus the leader of thoſe Danes by whom the Archbiſhop Elphegus was thus murthered, helde Norffolke and Suffolke vnder his ſubiection, and ſo continued in thoſe parties as chief L. and gouernor. But the reſidue of the Danes at length, compounding with the Engliſhmen for a tribute to be payed to them of. viij. M. pounde, ſpred abrode in the countrey ſoiourning in cities, townes and villages, where they mighte finde moſt conuenient harbrough.

xlviii. thouſ pound as ſay

Simon Du.

Mat. VVeſ.

H. Huntin.

Moreouer fortye of their Shippes, or rather, (as ſome write). xlv. were retayned to ſerue the king. promiſing to defende the Realme, with condition that the Souldiers and Mariners ſhould haue prouiſion of meate and drinke, with apparell, found them at the kings charges.

As one Authour hath gathered, Swegne king of Denmarke was in England at the concluding of this peace, which being cōfirmed with ſolemne othes and ſufficient hoſtages, he departed into Denmarke.

Mat. VVeſ.

Alſo the ſame Authour bringeth the generall ſlaughter of Danes vppon Saint Brices daye, to haue chaunced in the yeare after the concluſion

Gunthildis the ſiſter of K. Swaine murthered.

concluſion of this agreement, that is to witte, in the yeare. 1012. at what tyme Gunthildis the ſiſter of King Swaine was ſlaine, with hir huſbande and ſonne, by the commaundement of the falſe traytour Edrike. But bycauſe all other Authours agree that the ſame murther of Danes was executed aboute tenne yeares before thys ſuppoſed tyme: wee haue made rehearſall thereof in that place. Howbeit for the death of Gunthilde, it maye bee, that ſhee became Hoſtage eyther in the yeare. 1007. at what tyme King Egelred payed thirtie thouſande pounde vnto king Swayne to haue peace. (as before you haue hearde) or elſe myght ſhee bee delyuered in hoſtage, in the yeare. 1011. when the laſt agreement was made with the Danes (as aboue is mentioned.) But when or at what time ſoeuer ſhe became hoſtage, this wee finde of hir, that ſhe came hither into England with hir huſband Palingus, a mightie Earle, and receyued baptiſme here. Wherevpon ſhe earneſtly trauailed in treatie of a peace betwixt hir brother & king Egelred, whiche being brought to paſſe chiefely by hir ſuyte, ſhee was contented to become an Hoſtage for performaunce thereof (as before is recyted.) And after by the commaundement of Earle Edricke ſhee was put to death, pronouncing that the ſhedding of hir bloude woulde cauſe all England one day ſore to rue.

Wil. Mal.

She was a right beautifull Ladie, and tooke hir death without all feare, not once chaunging countenaunce, though ſhe ſaw hir huſbande and hir onely ſonne (a yong Gentleman of much towardneſſe) firſt murthered before hir face.

Turkillus diſcloſeth the ſecretes of the Realme to K. Swayne.

Turkillus in the meane tyme had aduertiſed king Swayne in what ſtate things ſtoode here within the Realme: howe King Egelred was negligent, onely attending to the luſtes and pleaſures of the fleſhe: howe the Noble menne were vnfaythfull, and the Commons weake and feeble through wante of good and truſtye leaders.

Simon Dun.

Some wryte yet that Turkyll, as well as other of the Danes whiche remayned here in Englande was in league with King Egelred, inſomuche that he was wyth him in London to helpe to defend the Citie agaynſt Swayne when hee came to aſſault it, (as after ſhall appeare.) Whiche if it bee true, a doubt may riſe whether Sweine receyued any aduertiſement from Turkill to moue him the rather to inuade the realme: but ſuche aduertiſements might come from him before that he was accorded with Egelred.

Swaine prepareth an armie to inuade Englande.

Swayne therefore as a valiaunt Prince deſirous both to reuenge his ſiſters death, and win honour, prepared an huge armie, and a greate number of Shippes, with the whiche hee made towardes Englande, and firſte comming to Sandwiche, taryed there a ſmall while, and taking eftſoones the Sea, compaſſed aboute the coaſtes of the Eaſt Angles, and arryuing in the mouth of Humber, ſayled vp the water, and entring into the Ryuer of Trent, he landed at Gaynesbourgh, purpoſing to inuade the Northumbers: But they as men brought into great feare, for that they had beene ſubiect to the Danes in tymes paſt, and thinking therefore not to reuolte to enimyes, but rather to theyr olde acquaintaunce, if they ſhoulde ſubmitte themſelues to the Danes, ſtreyght wayes offered to become ſubiect vnto Swayne, togither with theyr Duke named Wighthred.

He landeth at Sandwich.

1013

Gaynesbourgh

The Northumbers yeeld to Swayne.

The people of Lyncesey yeeld themſelues to him.

Sim. Dunel.

Alſo the people of Lyndeſey and all thoſe of the Northſyde of Watlingſtreete yeelded themſelues vnto him, and deliuered pledges. Then he appoynted his ſonne Cnutus to haue the keping of thoſe pledges, and to remain vpon the ſafegard of his ſhips, whiles he himſelfe paſſed forward into the Countrey. Then marched he forwarde to ſubdue them of South Mercia: and ſo came to Oxford, & to Winchester, making the countreys ſubiect to him throughout wheresoeuer he came.

South Mercia.

With this proſperous ſucceſſe, Swayne being greatly encouraged, prepared to go vnto London where king Egelred as then remayned, hauing with him Turkillus the Dane, which was retayned in wages with other of the Danes (as by report of ſome Authours it may appeare) and were nowe readie to defende the Citie agaynſte theyr Countrey men in ſupport of King Egelred togyther wyth the Citizens. Swayne bycauſe hee woulde not ſteppe ſo farre out of the way as to goe to the nexte bridge, loſt a greate number of his menne as hee paſſed through the Thames.

Simon Dun.

Sweine aſſaulteth London.

At his comming to London, he beganne to aſſaulte the Citie right fiercely, in hope eyther to put his enimie in ſuch feare that he ſhould diſpaire of all reliefe and comfort, or at the leaſt to trye what hee was able to doe. The Londoners on the other part, although they were broght in ſome feare by this ſodaine attempt of the enimyes, yet conſidering with themſelues, that the hazarde of all the whole ſtate of the Realme was annexed to theyrs, ſithe theyr Citie was the chiefe and Metropolitane of all the Kingdome, they valyantly ſtoode in defence of themſelues, and of their king that was preſent there with them, beating backe the enimies, chaſing them from the walles, and otherwiſe doing their beſt to keepe them of. At length although the Danes did moſt valiantly aſſault the Citie, the Engliſh men yet to defend their prince from all iniurie of enimies, did not ſhrinke, but boldly ſallied forth at ÿ gates in heapes togither, & encountered with theyr aduerſaries, and began to fight with thē right fiercely.

Polidor.

VVil. Mal.

Earle of Deuõſhire as hath *Mat. VVeſt.*

Polidor.

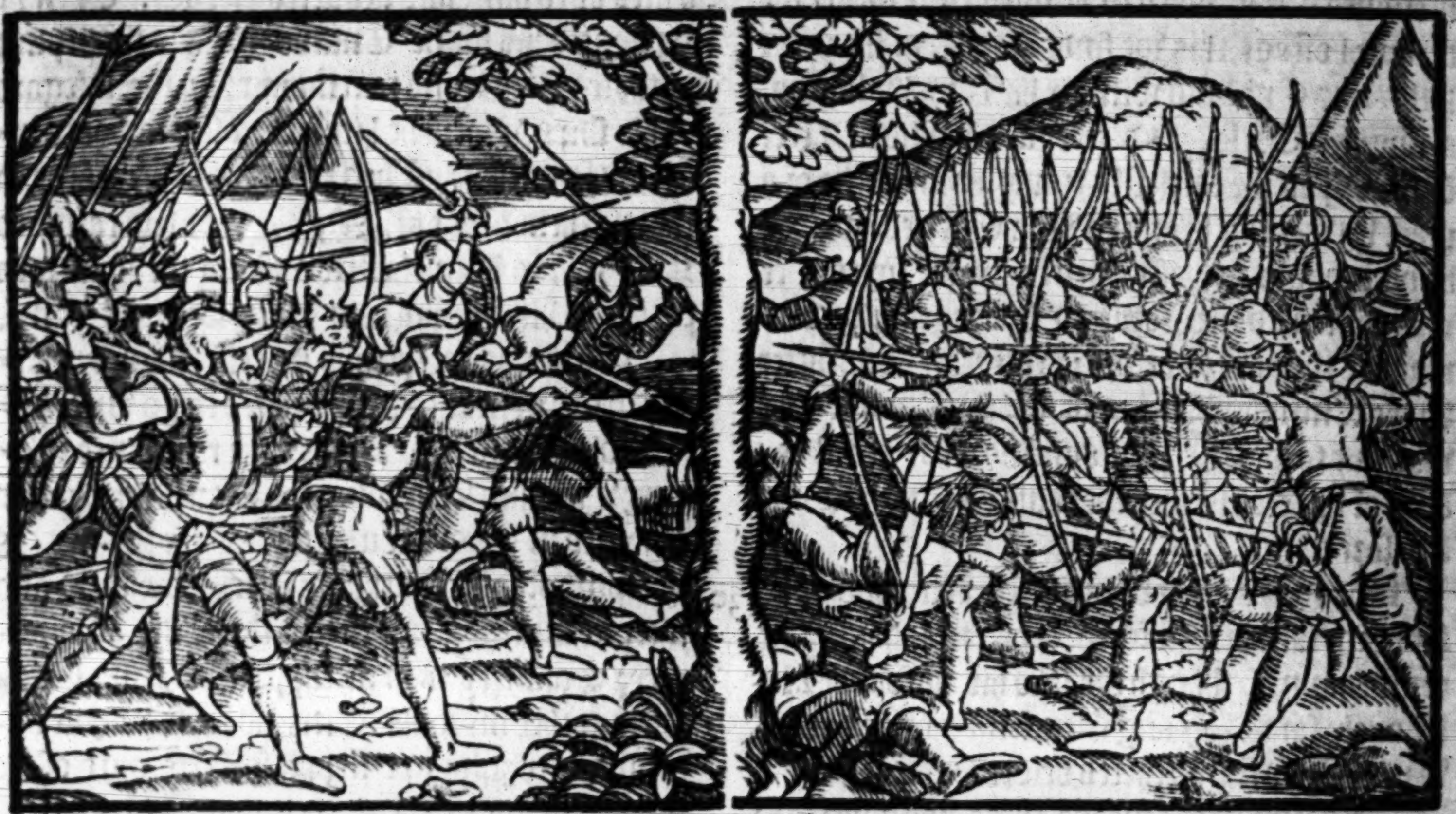
Swain returneth into Denmarke.

Sweyn whileſt he goeth aboute to kepe his men in order, as one moſt deſirous to retayne the victorie nowe almoſte gotten, is compaſſed ſo aboute with the Londoners on eche ſyde, that after he had loſt a greate number of his men, he was conſtrayned for his ſafegarde to breake out through the myddeſt of his enimyes weapons, and was gladde that hee might ſo eſcape. And ſo with the reſidue of his armie ceaſſed not to iourney day and night tyll hee came to Bathe, where Ethelmere an Earle of greate power in thoſe Weſt parties of the Realme, ſubmitted himſelfe wyth all hys people vnto him, who ſhortly after neuertheleſſe (as ſome write) was compelled through want of vitayles to releaſe the tribute lately couenanted to bee payed vnto him for a certaine ſumme of money, which when hee had receyued, he returned into Denmarke, meaning ſhortly to returne againe with a greater power.

Swain returneth into England to make warre.

King Egelred discomfited in battaile.

King Egelred ſuppoſed that by the payment of that money he ſhould haue beene rid out of all troubles of warre with the Danes. But the Nobles of the realme thought otherwiſe, and therfore willed him to prepare an armie with al ſpeed that might be made. Sweyn taryed not long (to proue the doubt of the noble men to be grounded of foreknowledge) but that with ſwift ſpeede he returned againe into Englande, and immediately vppon his arriuall was an armie of Engliſh men aſſembled and led agaynſt him into the field. Herevpon they ioyne in battaile, which was ſore foughten for a time, til at length by reaſon of diuerſe Engliſhmen that turned to the enimies ſide, the diſcomfiture fel with ſuch ſlaughter vpon the Engliſh hoſt, that king Egelred well perceyued the ſtate of his regall gouernment to be brought into vtter daunger. Wherevpon after the loſſe of this fielde, hee aſſembled the reſt of his people that were eſcaped, and ſpake vnto them after thys maner.



The Oration of K. Egelred.

I ſhoulde for euer bee put to ſilence, if there wanted in vs the vertue of a fatherly minde, in giuing good aduice and counſaile for the well ordering the adminiſtration of things in the common wealth, or if there lacked courage or might in our ſouldiers and men of warre to defende our Country. Truly to die in defence of the Country where we are borne, I cõfeſſe it a worthie thing, and I for my part am readie to take vpon me to enter into the middeſt of the enimies in defence of my kingdome. But here I ſee our countrey and the whole Engliſh nation to be at a poynt to fall into vtter ruine. We are ouercome of the Danes, not with weapõ or force of armes, but with treaſon wrought by our owne people: wee did at the firſt prepare a nauie agaynſte the enimies, the which that falſe traytor Elfrik betrayd into their handes. Againe oftentymes haue we giuen battaile with euill ſucceſſe, and onely through the fault of our owne people that haue beene falſe and diſloyal, wherby we haue bene conſtrayned to agree with the enimies vpon diſhonorable conditions, euen as neceſſitie required, which to ouercome reſteth only in God. Such kind of agreemẽt hath bin made in deed to our deſtruction, ſith the enimies haue not ſticked to breake it (they being ſuch a wicked kinde of people as neither regarde God nor man) contrarie to right & reaſon, and beſide all our hope & expectation. And ſo is the matter come nowe to this paſſe, yͭ we haue not cauſe only to feare the loſſe of our gouernment, but leaſt the name of the whole Engliſh natiõ be deſtroyed for euer. Therfore ſithence the enimies are at hãd, and as it were ouer our heades, ye to whõ my cõmandemẽt hath euer bin had in good regard, prouide, take counſell, & ſee to ſuccor the ſtate of your cũtry now redy to decay & to fal into irrecouerable ruine. Hereupon they fel in cõſultation euery one, alleaging and bringing foorth his opinion as ſeemed to him beſt, but it appeared they hadde the Wolfe by the eare, for they wiſt not which way to turne them: If they ſhoulde gyue battayle it was to be doubted, leaſt through treaſon amongſt themſelues, the armie ſhould be betrayed into the enimies hands, the which would not fayle to execute all kinde of crueltie in the ſlaughter of the whole nation. And if they dyd not ſtand valiantly to ſhewe themſelues ready to defende theyr countrey, there was no ſhifte but to yeeld themſelues, whiche though it were a thyng reprochfull and diſhonorable, yet ſhoulde it be leſſe euill as they tooke the matter, for thereby myght many bee preſerued from deathe, and in tyme to come, be able to recouer the libertie of their countrey againe when occaſion ſhoulde thereto be offered.

This poynt was allowed of them all, and ſo in the ende they reſted vpon that reſolution.

ing Egelred determineth o giue place nto Sweyne.

He ſendeth is wife and onnes ouer nto Normandie.

ichard Duke f Normandie,

Kyng Egelred therefore determined to committe hymſelfe into the hands of his brother in lawe Richarde Duke of Normandy, whoſe ſiſter (as ye haue hearde) he hadde married. But bycauſe he woulde not do this vnaduiſedly, firſte he ſent ouer hys Wife Queene Emme, with hys ſonnes which he hadde begotten of hir, Alfred and Edwarde, that by theyr entertaynemente hee might vnderſtande how hee ſhoulde be welcome. Duke Richarde receyued his ſiſter and hys Nephewes right ioyfully, and promiſed to ayde hys brother King Egelred in defence of his Kyngdome. But in this meane while had Sueyne cõquered the more part of al England, and brought (by little and little) that whiche remayned, vnder his ſubiection. The people through feare ſubmitting themſelues on each hand, King Egelred in this meane time, (for the Londoners had ſubmitted themſelues to Sweyne) was firſt withdrawẽ vnto Greenewiche, and there remayned for a tyme with the nauie of the Danes, which was vnder the gouernemente of Earle Turkill, and from thence ſayled vnto the Iſle of Wight, and there remayned a great part of the Winter, and finally after Chriſtmas, ſayled hymſelfe into Normandy, and was of his brother in law ioyfully receyued, and greatly comforted in that hys tyme of neceſſitie. Sweyne hauing now gote the whole rule of the lande, was reputed for Kyng, and ſo commanded that his army ſhoulde be prouided of wages and victuals to bee taken vp and leuied through the Realme. In like manner Turkill cõmanded that to his army whych lodged at Greenewhich, ſhoulde wages and victuals be deliuered ſufficiente for the finding and ſuſtentation therof. Sweyne vſed the victory very cruelly againſt the Engliſhmen, oppreſſing them on each hand, to the intent that they being broughte lowe, he might gouerne in more ſuretie. The yere in which he obteined the rule thus of this Realm, and that Kyng Egelred was conſtreyned to flee into Normandy, was in the fiue and thirtith yere of the ſame Egelrede his raigne, and after the birth of our Lord. 114. Sweyne being once eſtabliſhed in the gouernemente, dyd not onely vſe much crueltie, in oppreſſing the laitie, but alſo he ſtretched foorthe his hande to the Churche and to the Miniſters in the ſame, fleecing them and ſpoyling both Churches and Miniſters, without any remorce of conſcience, in ſo muche, that hauing a quarrell againſt the inhabitantes within the precinct of S. Edmonds land in Suffolke, he did not onely harry the countrey, but alſo ryfled and ſpoyled the Abbey of Bury, where the body of Saint Edmond reſted.

m. Dunel.

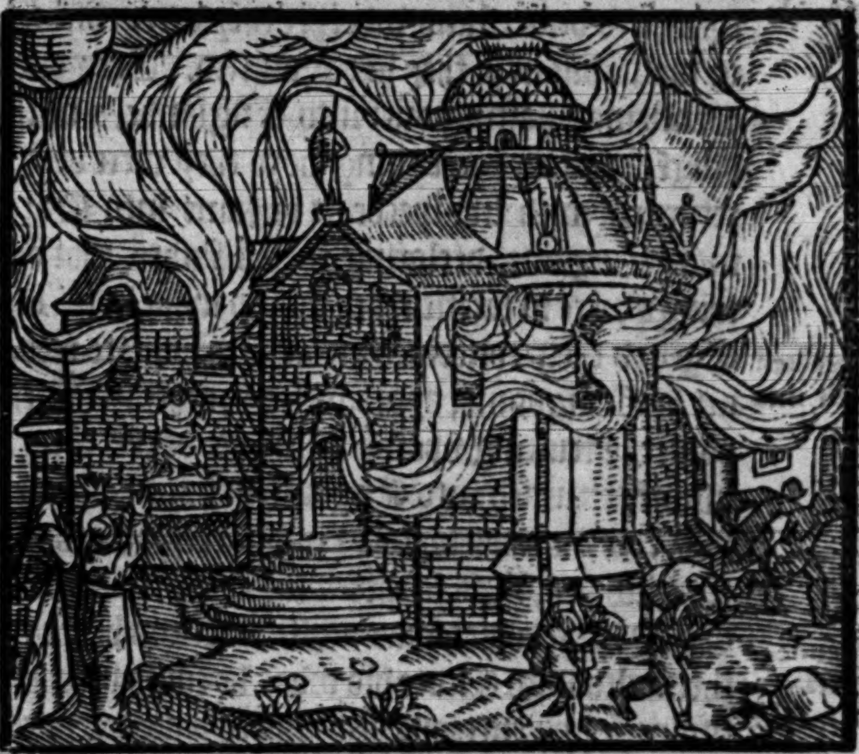
en. Hunt.

rkill

114

Egelred eth into

eyne han- leth the Eng-



Wherevpõ ſhortly after as hee was at Geineſborough or Thetforde (as ſome haue) and there in his iollitie talked with his Nobles of his good ſucceſſe in conquering of this lande, he was ſuddaynely ſtriken with a knife, as it is reported, miraculouſly, for no man wiſt how or by whome: and within three dayes after, to wit, on the thirde of February, hee ended his life with greeuous payne and torment in yelling and roring, by reaſon of his extreme anguiſh beyonde all meaſure. There hathe ſprong a pleaſant tale amongſt the poſteritie of that age, how he ſhould be wounded with the ſame knife whiche King Edmonde in his life time vſed to weare. Thus haue ſome of our Writers reported, but the Daniſhe Chronicles recorde a farre more happy ende whiche ſhould chaunce vnto this Sueyno, than is before mentioned, out of our Writers: for the ſayde Chronicles reporte, yͭ after he had ſubdued England, he tooke order with King Egelred, whome they name amiſſe Adelſtane, that he ſhoulde not ordeine any other ſucceſſor, but onely the ſame Sueno. Then after this, he returned into Denmarke, where vſing himſelfe like a righte godly

Fabian.

Saint Edmond fighteth for the wealth, but not for the ſlaughter of his people.

Simon Dun.

115

Albertus Crantz.

Saxo Grammaticus.

Prince, at length he there ended his life, beeing a very old man. But when, or how ſoeuer he dyed, immediately after his deceſſe, the Danes elected his ſon Cnute or Knought to ſucceede in his dominions. But the Engliſhmen of nothing more deſirous than to ſhake the yoke of the Daniſhe thraldome beſides their neckes and ſhoulders, ſtraight wayes vpon knowledge had of Sweynes deathe, with all ſpeede aduertiſed King Egelred thereof, and that they were ready to receiue and aſſiſt him if he woulde make haſt to come ouer to deliuer his countrey out of yͤ hands of ſtrāgers. Theſe newes were right ioyful vnto Egelred, who brenning in deſire to be reuenged on thē that had expulſed him out of his Kingdom, made no long tarriance to put that enterpriſe forward. But yet doubting yͤ incōſtancie of the people, ſent his elder ſon (named Edward) to trie the minds of them, & to vnderſtand whether they were cōſtant or wauering in yͭ they had promiſed. The yong Gentleman haſting ouer into Englande, & with diligēt enquirie perceyuing how they were bent, returned with like ſpeede as he came into Normandie againe, declaring to his father, that all things were in ſafetie if hee would make haſt. K. Egelred then conceiued an aſſured hope to recouer his Kingdome, ayded wͭ his brother in lawes power, & truſting vpon yͤ aſſiſtance of the Engliſhmē, returned into England in yͤ time of Lēt. His returne was ioyfull & moſt acceptable to the Engliſh people, as to thoſe that abhorred the rule of yͤ Danes, which was moſt ſharp and bitter to them, although Cnute did what he could by boūtifulneſſe and curteous dealings to haue reteyned thē vnder his obeiſance. And to yͤ intēt to procure Gods fauour in the well ordering of things for yͤ adminiſtration in yͤ common wealth, he ſought firſt to appeaſe his wrath, & alſo to make amends to S. Edmond for his fathers offence committed (as was thought) againſt him: in ſo muche, yͭ after he had obteyned the Kingdome, he cauſed a great ditche to be caſt round about the land of S. Edmond, & graunted many freedomes to the inhabitants, and acquit them of certain taſkes and payments, vnto yͤ which other of their neighbors were contributaries. He alſo builded a Church on yͤ place wher S. Edmond was buried, & ordeined an houſe of Monkes there, or rather remoued the Canons or ſecular Prieſts that were there afore, and put Monkes in their roumes. He offered vppe alſo hys Crowne vnto the ſame S. Edmonde, & redeemed it again with a great ſumme of money; which maner of doing grewe into an vſe vnto other kings yͭ folowed him. He adorned yͤ Church there with many riche iewels, and endowed the Monaſterie with greate poſſeſſions. But theſe things were not done nowe at the firſte, but after that he was eſtabliſhed in the Kingdome. For in the mean time, after that K. Egelred was returned out of Normandie, Cnute as then ſoiourning at Gaynesbrough, remayned there till the feaſt of Eaſter, and made agreemente with them of Lindſey, ſo that they finding him horſes, they ſhould altogither goe forth to ſpoyle their neighbours. King Egelred aduertiſed thereof, ſpedde him thither with a mighty hoſt, and with greate cruelty brenned vp the Countrey, and ſlewe the more part of the inhabitantes, bicauſe they hadde takē part wͭ his enimies. Cnute as thē was not of power able to reſiſt Egelred, and therefore taking his Ships whiche lay in Humber, fled from thence, & ſailed about yͤ coaſt, til he came to Sādwich, and there ſore greeued in his mind to remēber what miſchiefe was fallen & chanced to hys friēds & ſubiects of Lindſey, only for his cauſe, he cōmanded yͭ ſuch pledges as had bin deliuered to his father by certaine noble men of this Realme, for aſſurance of theyr fidelities, ſhould haue their noſes ſlit, & their eares ſtoued, or as ſome write, their handes and theyr noſes cut off.

VVil. Mal.
Hen. Hunt.

Canute or Cnute.

Egelred ſent for home.

Edward King Egelredes eldeſt ſonne.

King Egelred returneth into England.

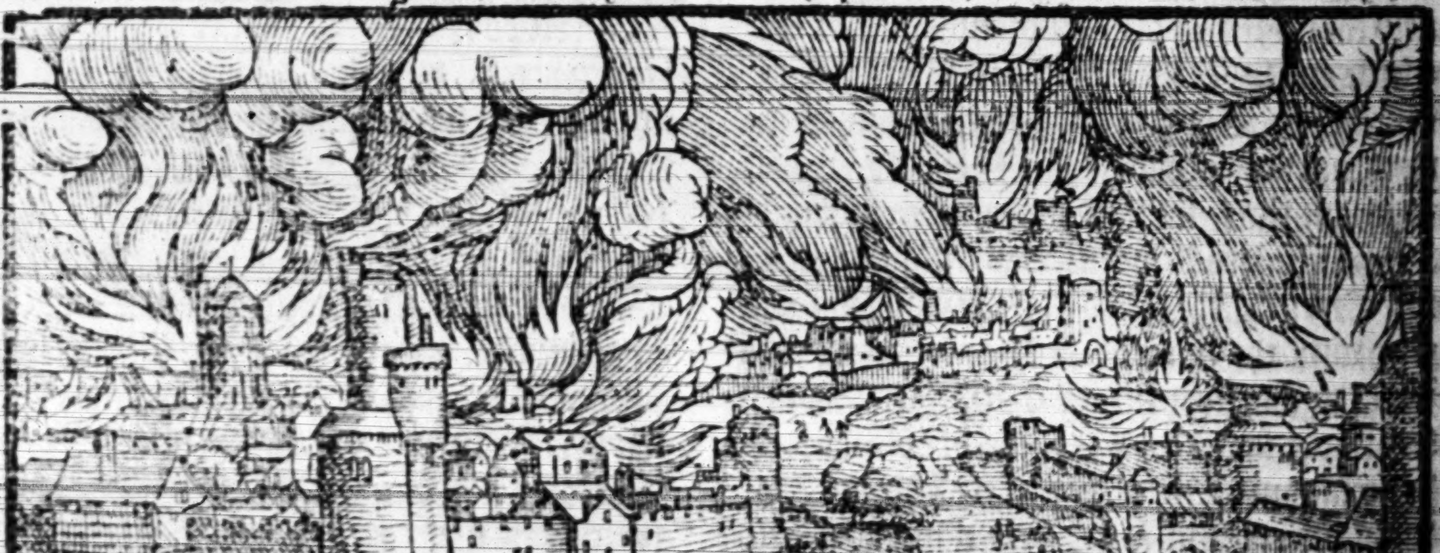
Coutes endeuor to eſtabliſh himſelfe in the Kingdome.

S. Edmonds ditche.

Polidor.
Fabian.

Coute driuen to forſake the lande.
He was driuen thyther by force of contrary windes as ſhould appere by M.W.

The croell
cree of C
againſt the
Engliſh ple
ges.
VVil.Ma



When this cruell acte according to his commaundement was done, he taking the Sea, ſayled into Denmarke, but yet he toke not al the Danes with him whiche his father broughte hither, for Earle Turkill perceyuing the welthineſſe of ẏ lande, compounded with the Engliſhmen, and choſe rather to remayne in a region repleniſhed with all riches, than to returne home into hys owne countrey that wanted ſuche commodities as were here to be had. And yet as ſome thought, hee did not forſake his ſoueraigne Lorde Cnute for any euill meaning towards him, but rather to ayde him when time ſerued, to recouer the poſſeſſion of Englãd againe, as it afterwards wel appeared: for notwithſtanding that he was now reteyned by King Egelred with fortie ſhippes, and the floure of all the Danes that were menne of war, ſo as Cnute returned but with. 60. Ships into his countrey, yet ſhortly after, Earle Turkill with nine of thoſe Ships ſailed into Denmarke, ſubmitted himſelfe vnto Cnute, counſelled him to returne into Englande, and promiſed him the aſſiſtaunce of the reſidue of thoſe Daniſh Shippes whiche yet remayned in England, beeing to the number of thirtie, with all the Souldiers and mariners that to them belonged. To conclude, hee did ſo much by his earneſt perſwaſions, that Cnute (through ayde of his brother Harrold Kyng of Denmarke) gote togither a nauie of two hundred Shippes, ſo royally decked, furniſhed, and appoynted, both for braue ſhewe and neceſſary furniture of all manner of weapon, armour and munition, as it is ſtrange to conſider that whiche is written by them that liued in thoſe dayes, and toke in hand to regiſter the doings of that time. But nowe to returne to our purpoſe, to ſhewe what chaunced in Englande after the departure of Cnute. The ſame yeare vnto theſe accuſtomed miſchiefes an vnwonted miſaduenture happened, for the Sea roſe with ſuche high ſpring tydes, that ouerflowing the countreys nexte adioyning, diuers villages with the inhabitantes were drowned vp and deſtroyed. Alſo to encreaſe the peoples miſerie, K. Egelred commaunded, that. xxx. thouſande. lb. ſhuld be leuied to pay the tribute due to ẏ Danes which lay at Greenewiche.

This Turkil was reteyned in ſeruice with Egelred as I thinke.

Encomium Emmæ.

Mat. VVeſt.

mon Dun.

This yere alſo, King Egelred held a counſell at Oxforde, at the whiche, a great number of noble men were preſent, both Danes and Engliſhmen, and there did the King cauſe Sigeferd and Morcade two noble perſonages of the Danes to bee murthered within his owne chamber, by the trayterous practiſe of Edericke de Streona, whiche accuſed them of ſome conſpiracie, but the quarrell was onely as men ſuppoſed, for that the King had a deſire to their goodes and poſſeſſions. Their ſeruauntes toke in hand to haue reuenged the death of their maſters, but were beaten backe, wherevppon, they fledde into the Steeple of S. Friſwyds Churche, and kepte the ſame, till fyre was ſet vpon the place, and ſo they were brenned to death. The wife of Sigefferd was taken, and ſente to Malmeſbury, beeing a woman of hygh fame and greate worthineſſe, wherevppon the Kyngs eldeſt ſonne named Edmond, toke occaſion vppon pretence of other buſineſſe to goe thyther, and there to ſee hir, with whome hee fell ſo farre in loue, that he toke and married hir. That done, hee required to haue hir huſbandes landes and poſſeſſions, whiche were an Earles lyuing, and lay in Northumberland, and when the K. refuſed to graunt his requeſt, he goeth thither, and ſealed the ſame poſſeſſions and landes into hys hands, without hauing any commiſſion ſo to do, finding the farmours and tenauntes there ready to receiue him for their Lord. While theſe things were a doing, Cnute hauing made his prouiſion of Ships and men, with all neceſſary furniture (as before yee haue hearde) for his returne into England, ſet forward with full purpoſe, eyther to recouer the Realme out of Egelredes handes, or to die in the quarrell. Heerevpon he landed at Sandwich, and firſte Earle Turkill obteyned licence to goe againſt the Engliſhmen that were aſſembled to reſiſt the Danes, and finding them at a place called Scorastan, he gaue them the ouerthrow, gote a great bootie, and returned therewith to the Ships. After this, Eric gouernor of Norway, made a roade likewiſe into another parte of the countrey, and with a rich ſpoyle, and many Priſoners, returned vnto the nauie.

VVil. Malm.

Mat. VVeſt.

A counſell at Oxforde. Sigeferd and Morcade murthered.

Edmond the Kings eldeſt ſonne marrieth the Widow of Sigeferd.

Cnute returneth into England.

Encomium Emmæ.

VVil. Malm.
H. Huntin.
Math. VVeſt.
Simon Dun.

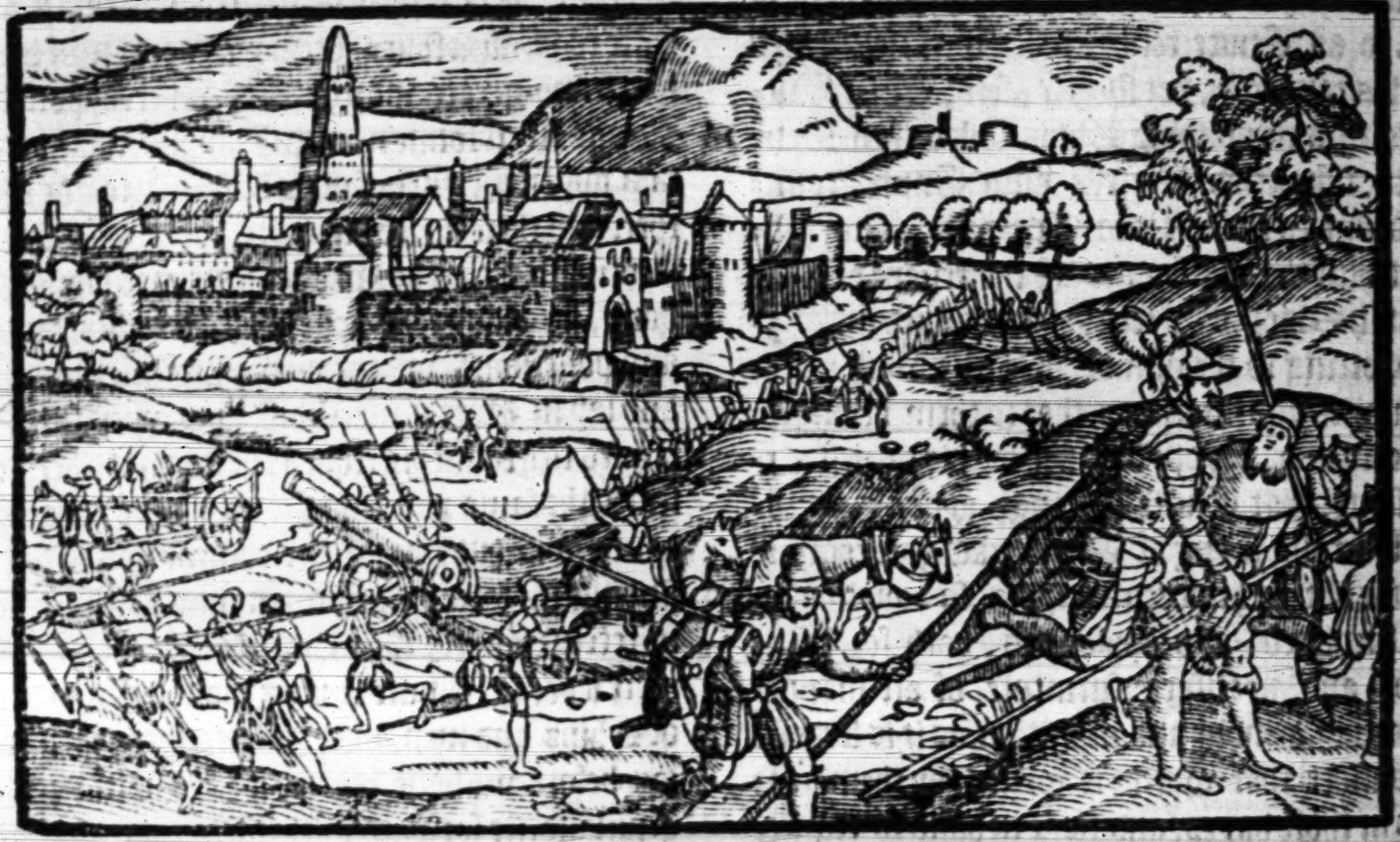
After this iourney atchieued thus by Eric, Cnute commaunded that they ſhoulde not waſt the countrey any more, but gaue order to prepare all thyngs ready to beſiege London. But before hee attempted that enterpriſe, as other write, hee marched forth into Kent. or rather ſailing round about that countrey, toke his iourney Weſtward, and came to Fromundham, and after departing from thence, waſted Dorſetſhire, Sommerſetſhire, and Wiltſhire. Kyng Egelrede in this meane time lay ſicke at Coſſam. His ſonne Edmond had gote togither a mighty hoſt, howbeit, ere hee came to ioyne battayle with his enimies, he was aduertiſed, that Earle Edricke wẽt about to betray him, and therefore he withdrewe with the army into a place of ſurety. And Edricke to make his traiterous purpoſe maniſeſt to the whole world, fled to the enimies with fortie of the Kings Shippes, fraughte with Daniſhe Souldiers. Herevpon, al the Weſt countrey ſubmitted it ſelfe vnto Cnute, who receyued pledges of the chiefe Lords and Nobles, and then ſet forward to ſubdue them of Mercia. The people of that countrey woulde not yeelde, but determined to defend the quarrell and title of King Egelred ſo long as they mighte haue any Captayne that would ſtand with them, and help to order them.

King Egelred ſicke.
Mat. VVeſt.

Edricke de Streona fleeth to the Danes.
Sim. Dun.
The Weſt countrey.
The people of Mercia would not yeelde.
Mat. VVeſt.
Hen. Hunt.
116

In the yere.116.in Chriſtmas, Cnute & Earle Edricke paſſed the Thames at Krikelade, and entring into Mercia, cruelly beganne with fire and ſword, to waſt and deſtroy the countrey, and namely Warwikeſhire.

Warwikeſhire waſted by Danes.



King Egelred recouered of his ſickneſſe.
He aſſembleth an army in vayne.

In the meane time was King Egelred recouered of his ſickneſſe, and ſent ſommonance forth to rayſe all his power, appoynting euery man to reſort vnto him, that he mighte encounter the enimies and giue them battaile. But yet when his people were aſſembled, hee was warned to take heede to himſelfe, and in any wiſe to beware how he gaue battayle, for his owne ſubiects were purpoſed to betray him. Herevpon, the armie brake vp, and King Egelrede withdrew to London, there to abide his enimies within walles, with whome in the fielde hee doubteth to trie the battayle. His ſonne Edmond gote him to Vtred, an Earle of great power, inhabiting beyond Humber, and perſwading him to ioyne his forces with his, forthe they wente to waſt thoſe countreyes that were become ſubiect to Cnute, as Staffordſhire, Leceſterſhire, and Shropſhire, not ſparing to exerciſe great crueltie vpon the inhabitents, as a puniſhmẽt for their reuolting, that other might take enſample thereof. But Cnute perceyuyng whereabout they went, politikely deuiſed to fruſtrate their purpoſe, and with doyng of like hurte in all places where he came, paſſed through Buckinghamſhire, Bedfordſhire, Huntingtonſhire, and ſo through the Fennes, came to Stamford, and then entred into Lincolnſhire, and from thence into Notinghamſhire, and ſo into Yorkſhire, not ſparing to do what miſchiefe myght be deuiſed in all places where he came. Vthred aduertiſed hereof, was conſtreyned to departe home to ſaue his owne countrey from preſente deſtruction, and therefore comming backe into Northumberlande, and perceyuing himſelfe not able to reſiſt the puiſſaunt force of his enimies, was conſtreyned to deliuer pledges, and ſubmit hymſelfe vnto Cnute: but yet was hee not hereby warranted from danger, for ſhortly after he was taken, and put to death, and then were his landes giuen vnto one Iricke or Iricius, whome afterward Cnute did baniſhe out of the Realme, bycauſe that he did attempt to chalenge like authoritie to him in all poyntes, as Cnute himſelfe had.

VVil. Mal.
Edmond king Egelredes ſonne.

Cnute, what countreys he paſſed thro

Earle Vthr deliuereth pledges to Cnute.

Alias Egric

After that Cnute had ſubdued the Northumbers, hee purſued Edmond till hee heard that hee had taken London for his refuge, and ſtayed there

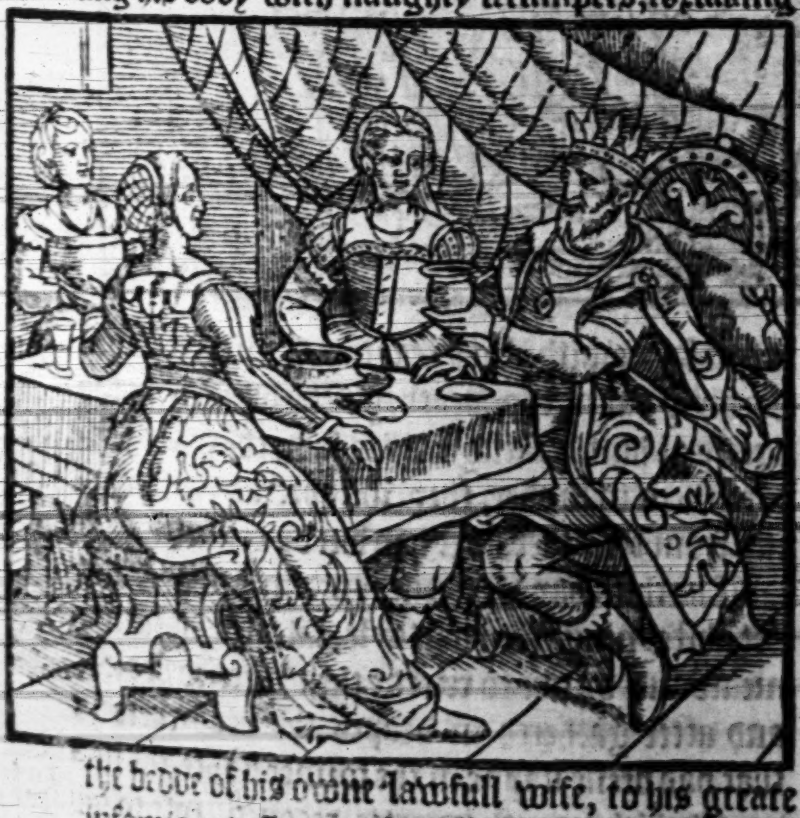
Cnute prepareth to beſiege London. King Egelred departed this life.

Simon Dun. Mat. VVeſt.

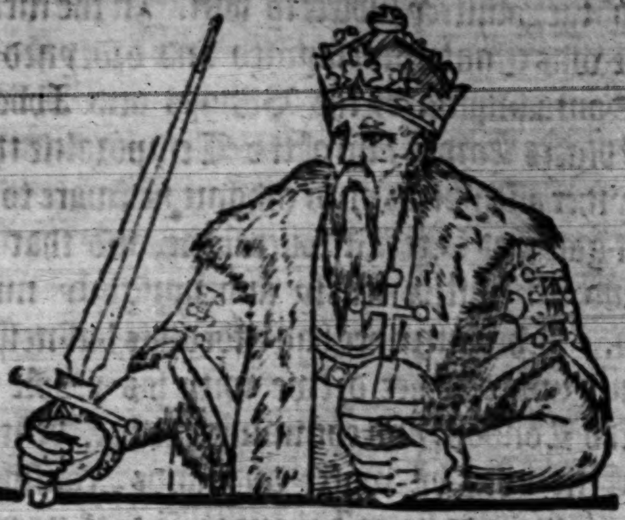
He is buried in the Church of S. Paule at London.

The pride of K. Egelred alienated the hartes of his people.

with his father. Then didde Cnute take his Shippes, and came about to the coaſt of Kente, preparing to beſiege the Citie of London: but in the meane time, King Egelred ſore worne with long ſickneſſe, departed this life the. 23. of Aprill, being S. Georges daye, or as other haue, on S. Gregories day, being the twelfth of Marche, but I take this to be an error growen, by miſtakyng the feaſt day of S. Gregory for S. George. Hee raigned the tearme of. 37. yeres, or little leſſe. His body was buryed in the Churche of S. Paule, in the North Ile beſides the Choyre, as by a memoriall there in the wall it may appeare. He had two Wiues as before is mentioned, by Elgiua his firſt Wife, he had iſſue three ſonnes, Edmōd Edwine and Idelſtane, beſides one daughter named Edgina. By his ſecōd wife Emma, daughter to Richarde the firſte of that name, Duke of Normandy, and ſiſter to Richard the ſecond, he had two ſonnes, Ilfride and Edward. This Egelred as you haue heard, had euill ſucceſſe in his warres againſt the Danes, and beſides the calamitie that fell thereof to his people, many other miſeries oppreſſed this lande in his dayes, not ſo much through his lacke of courage and ſlothfull negligēce, as by reaſō of his preſumptuous pride, wherby he alienated the hartes of his people from him. His affections he could not rule, but was led by them withoute order of reaſon, for hee did not only diſinherite diuerſe of his owne Engliſh ſubiects without apparant cauſe of offence by plaine forged cauillatiōs, and alſo cauſed all the Danes to be murthered through his Realme in one day, by ſome lighte ſuſpition of their euill meanings, but alſo gaue himſelfe to lecherous luſt, in abuſing his body with naughty ſtrumpets, forſaking the bedde of his owne lawfull wife, to his greate infamie and ſhame of that high degree of Maieſtie, whiche by his Kingly office hee bare and ſuſteyned. To conclude: he was from his tender youth, more apt to idle reſt, than to the exerciſe of warres, more giuen to pleaſures of the body, than to any vertues of the minde, although that toward his latter ende, beeing growen into age, and taught by long experiēce of worldly affaires, and proofe of paſſed miſeries, hee ſoughte (though in vayne) to haue recouered the decayed ſtate of his common wealth and country.



Edmond ſurnamed Yronſide.



Edmōd Ironſide

The Kingdome goeth where the ſpiritualtie fauoureth.

After that Kyng Egelred was dead, his eldeſt ſonne Edmond ſurnamed Ironſide was proclaymed K. by the Lōdoners and others, hauing the aſſiſtance of ſome Lordes of the Realme, although the more parte, and ſpecially thoſe of the ſpiritualty fauoured Cnute, bycauſe they had aforetime ſworn fealtie to his father. Some write, that Cnute had planted his ſiege both by water & land very ſtrongly about the Citie of London before Egelred departed this life, and immediately vppon his deceſſe, was receyued into the Citie, but the army that was within the Citie, not conſenting vnto the ſurrender made by the Citizens, departed the night before the day on the whych Cnute by appoyntment ſhould enter, and in company of Edmonde Ironſide (whome they had choſen to be their King and gouernour) they prepared to increaſe their numbers with newe ſupplies, meaning eftſoones to trie the fortune of battell againſte the Daniſh power. Cnute perceyuing the moſt parte of all the Realme to bee thus againſt him, and hauing no great confidēce in the loyaltie of the Londoners, tooke order to leauie money for the paymente of his menne of warre and Mariners that belonged to his nauie, left the Citie, and embarquing himſelfe, ſayled to the Iſle of Shepey, and there remayned all the Winter. In whiche meane while, Edmonde Ironſide came to London, where he was ioyfully receyued of the Citizens, and continuing there till the ſpring of the yere, made himſelfe ſtrong againſt the enimies.

The author of the Booke entituled Encomiū Emmæ ſaith, that it was reported that Edmond offered the combate vnto Cnute at this his going frō the citie, but Cnute refuſed it.

This Edmond for his noble courage, ſtrēgth of body, and notable patience to endure and ſuffer all ſuche hardneſſe and paynes as is requiſite in a man of warre, was ſurnamed Ironſide, and began his raigne in the yere of our Lord. 1016. in the

1016

Ran. Higd.

Hen. Hunt.

Simon Dun.

London beſieged.

the ſixteenth yeare of the Emperour Henry the ſecond ſurnamed Claudius, in the twentith yere of the raigne of Robert King of Fraunce, and about the ſixth yeare of Malcolme the ſeconde K. of the Scottes. After that Kyng Edmund hadde receyued the Crowne in the Citie of Londo by yͤ handes of the Archb. of Yorke, he aſſembled togyther ſuch a power as he cold make, & with yͤ ſame marched forth towardes the Weſt partes, and made the countrey ſubiect to him. In the meane time was Cnute proclaymed and ordeyned K. at Southampton by the Biſhops and Abbots, and diuers Lordes alſo of the Temporaltie there togyther aſſembled, vnto whome he ſware to bee their good and faythfull ſoueraigne, and that hee would ſee Iuſtice truely and vprightly miniſtred. Then after hee had ended his buſineſſe at Southampton, hee drewe with his people towards London, and comming thither, beſieged the Citie both by water and lande, cauſing a great trenche to be caſt about it, ſo that no man might eyther get in or come forth. Many greate aſſaultes he cauſed to bee gyuen vnto the Citie, but the Londoners and others within ſo valiantly defended the walles and gates, that the enmies gote ſmall aduauntage, and at length were conſtreyned to depart with loſſe. Cnute then perceiuing that he might not haue his purpoſe there, withdrewe Weſtward, and beſides Gillingham in Dorſetſhire, encountred with K. Edmund in the Rogation weeke, and after ſore and ſharp battayle, was put to the worſe, and conſtreyned to forſake the fielde by the high prowes and manhoode of the ſayde Edmund. King Cnute yͤ ſame nighte, after the armies were ſeuered, departed towards Wincheſter, ſo to get himſelfe out of danger. Shortly after, King Edmund hearing that an other army of the Danes had beſieged Saliſbury, he marched thither to ſuccour them within, and immediatly Cnute followed him, ſo that at a place in Worceterſhire called Sceorſtan, on yͤ foure and twentith of Iune, they encountred togyther, and fought a right cruell battayle, which at length the nighte parted with equall fortune: And likewiſe on the next day they buckled togyther agayne, and fought with like ſucceſſe as they hadde done the day before, for towardes euening they gaue ouer well weried, and not knowyng to whome the victory ought to be aſcribed.

Cnute at Gil lingham in Dorſetſhire put to fligh

Polider.

Saliſbury be ſieged.

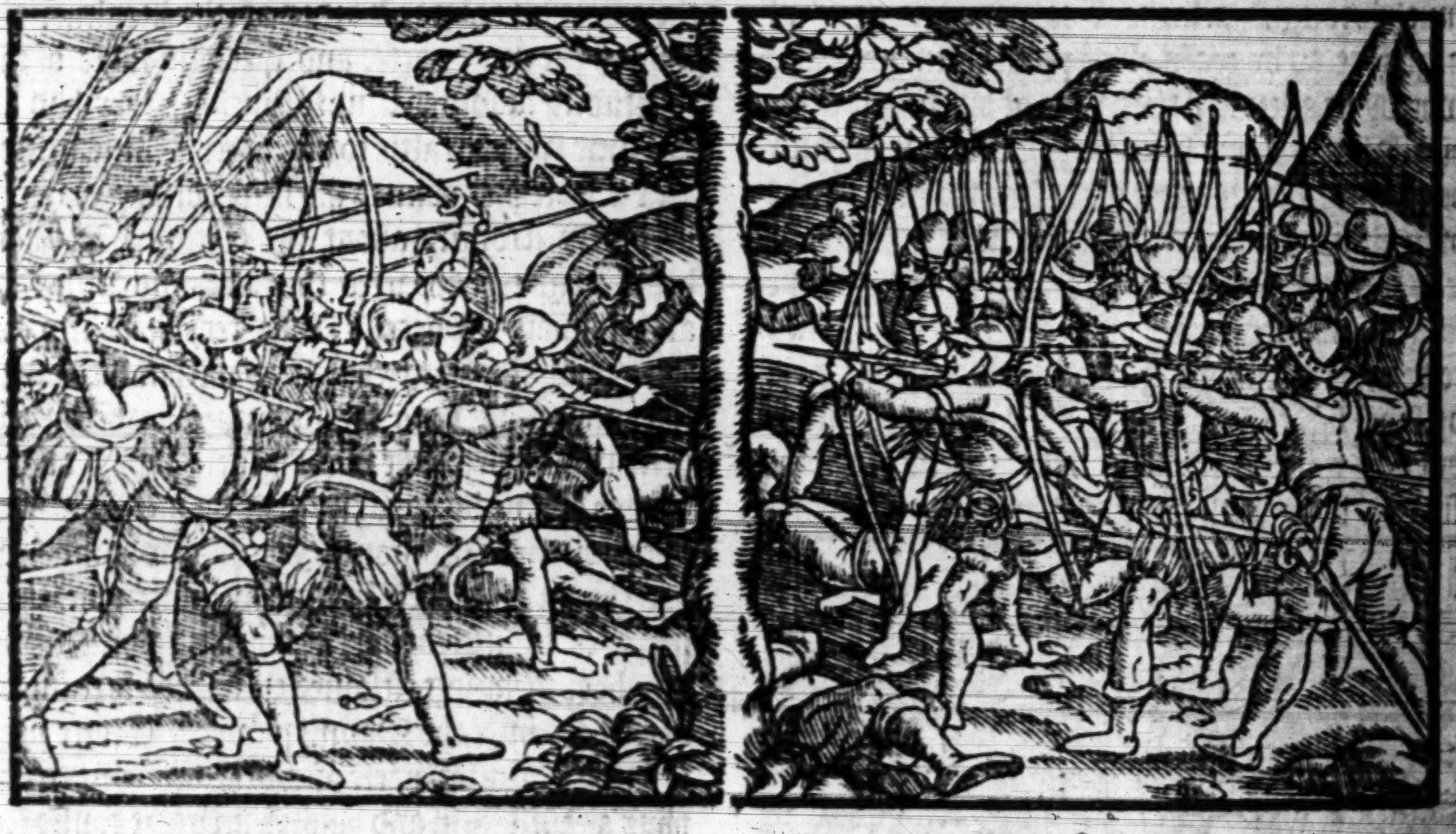
Simon Dun.

Mat. VVe

VVil. Mal

A battell wi equal fortun

An other ba tel with lik ſucceſſe.



Edrick de Streona his treaſon.

Simon Dun.

Writers haue reported, that this ſeconde daye when Duke Edricke perceyued the Engliſhmen to be at poynte to haue gote the vpper hande, hee withdrewe aſide, and hauing by chaunce ſlayne a common Souldioure called Oſmear, which in viſage muche reſembled King Edmunde, hee cut off his head, helde it vp, and ſhaking his ſworde bloudy with the ſlaughter, cried to the Engliſhmen, flee ye wretches, flee and get away, for your Kyng is dead, behold here his head which I hold in my handes, Herewith had the Engliſhmenne fled immediately, if King Edmunde aduiſed of this ſtratageme, had not quickly gote him to an high ground wher his men might ſee him aliue & luſtie. Herewith alſo yͤ traytor Edricke eſcaped hardly yͤ daunger of death, yͤ Engliſhmen ſhot ſo egrely at him. At length as is ſaid, the night parting them in ſunder, they withdrewe the one army from the other, as it had bin by conſent.

Twẽtie th ſand dead bodies.

The third day they remayned in armour, but yet abſteyning from battayle, ſate ſtill, in taking meate and drinke to releeue their weeried bodies, and after gathered in heapes the dead carcaſes that had beene ſlayne in the former fighte, the nūber of which on eyther partie reconed, roſe to the poynt of twentie thouſand and aboue.

The armi diſlodged.

In the night following, Cnute remoueth his camp in ſecret wiſe, and marcheth towards London, which Citie in a manner remayned beſieged

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Danes
to fight.

by the name of the Danes. King Edmond in the morning when the lighte had diſcouered the departure of his enimies, followed thē by the tract, and comming to London with ſmall adoe, remoued the ſiege, and entred the Citie like a conquerour. Shortly after he foughte with ÿ Danes at Brentford, and gaue them a great ouerthrow. In this meane while, Queene Emme the widow of King Egelred, doubting the fortune of the warre, ſente hir two ſonnes Alfred and Edwarde ouer into Normandy vnto hir brother Duke Richard, or rather fled thither hirſelfe with them (as ſome write.) Moreouer, Earle Edricke perceyuing the great manhoode of K. Edmund, began to feare, leaſt in the ende he ſhoulde ſubdue and vanquiſhe the Danes, wherefore hee ſoughte meanes to conclude a peace, and take ſuche order with him as might ſtand with both their contentations, which ere long he brought about. And this was done as you ſhall heare by the conſente of Cnute (as ſome write) to the intente that Edricke being had in truſt with King Edmunde, mighte the more eaſily deuiſe wayes how to betray him. Cnute diſappoynted of his purpoſe at London, fetching a greate booty and pray out of the cōtreys next adioyning, repaired to his ſhips, to ſee what order was amongſt them, the whych a little before were withdrawen into the Riuer that paſſeth by Rocheſter called Medway. Heere Cnute remayned certayne dayes, both to aſſemble a greater power, and alſo to hearken & learne what his enimies meant to do, the which he eaſily vnderſtoode. For K. Edmund who hated nothing worſe thā to linger his buſineſſe, aſſembled his people, and marching forwarde towarde hys enimies, approched neere vnto them, and pighte downe his tents not farre frō his enimies camp, exhorting his people to remember their paſſed victories, and to doe their good willes, at length by one battayle, ſo to ouerthrowe them, that they mighte make an ende of the warre, and diſpatche them cleerely out of the Realme. He ſo much encouraged his Souldiers with theſe and the lyke wordes, that they diſdeyning thus to haue the enimies dayly to prouoke them, and to put them to trouble, with egre mindes and fierce courages offered battayle to the Danes, whiche Cnute had prepared to receyue whenſoeuer the Engliſhmē approched: and heerewith bringing his men into aray, he came forth to meete his enimies. Then was the battaile begunne with great earneſtneſſe on both ſides, and continued foure houres, till at length the Danes beganne ſomwhat to ſhrinke, which when Cnute perceyued, hee commaunded his horſemen to come forward into the forepart of his hoſt. But whileſt one parte of the Danes giue backe with feare, and the other come ſlowly forwarde, the array of the whole army is broken, and then without reſpect of ſhame they fledde amayne, ſo that there dyed that daye of Cnutes ſide foure thouſand and fiue hundred men, and of Kyng Edmunds ſide, not paſt ſixe hundred, and thoſe were footemen. This battell was foughte as ſhoulde appeare by dyuers writers, at Okefort or Otforde. It was thought, that if king Edmund had purſued the victory and followed in chaſe of his enimies in ſuche wiſe as hee ſafely might haue done, hee had made that day an ende of the warres: but he was counſelled by Edricke as ſome write, in no condition to folow them, but to ſtay and gyue tyme to hys people to refreſhe theyr weery bodyes. And ſo Cnute with his army paſſed ouer the Thames into Eſſex, and there aſſembled all his power togither, and began to ſpoyle and waſt the countrey on eache hande. King Edmund aduertiſed thereof, haſted forthe to ſuccoure his people, and at Aſhdone in Eſſex three miles from Saffron Waldē gaue battayle to Cnute, where after ſore and cruell fight continued with greate ſlaughter on both ſides a long time, Duke Edricke fledde to the comforte of the Danes, and to the diſcomfort of the Engliſhmē: ſo that Kyng Edmunde was conſtreyned in the ende to depart out of the fielde, hauing firſte done all that could be wiſhed in a worthy Chieftayne, both by wordes to encourage his men, and by deedes to ſhewe them good example, ſo that at one time the Danes were at poynte to haue gyuen backe, but that Cnute aduiſed thereof, ruſhed into the left wing where moſt daunger was, and ſo relieued his people there, that finally the Engliſhmen, both awearied with long fight, and alſo diſcouraged with the running away of ſome of theyr company, were conſtreyned to giue ouer, and by flighte to ſeeke their ſafegarde, ſo that K. Edmund myght not by any meanes bring them agayne into order. Heerevppon all the wayes and paſſages beeyng forelayde and ſtopped by the enimies, the Engliſhmenne wanting bothe carriage to make longer reſiſtaunce, and perceyuing no hope to reſt in fleeing, were beaten downe and ſlayne in heapes, ſo that fewe eſcaped from that dreadfull and bloudy battayle.

The number of Danes ſlain.

Polidor.

Fabian.

Ran. Higd.

Mat. VVeſt.

H. Hunt.

VVil. Mal.

Edrickes counſell.

Noble men ſlayne at the battell of Aſhdone.

Sim. Dunel.

VVil. Mal.

There dyed on Kyng Edmundes ſyde, Duke Edmund, Duke Alfricke, and Duke Gudwin, with Earle Vlfketell, or Vrchell of Eaſt Angle, and Duke Ayleward, that was ſonne to Ardelwine, late Duke of Eaſt Angle, and to bee bricke, all the floure of the Engliſhe nobilitie.

King Edmund withdraweth into Gloceſterſhire.

There was alſo ſlayne at this battayle many renoumed perſons of the ſpiritualty, as ÿ Biſhoppe of Lincolne, and the Abbot of Ramſey, with other, Kyng Edmund eſcaping away, gote him into Gloceſterſhire, and there began to rayſe a new army.

In the place where this field was fought, are yet ſeuen or eyght hilles, wherein the carcaſſes of them that were ſlayne at the ſame field, were buried, and one beeing digged downe of late, there were foūd two bodies in a coffin of ſtone, of whiche the one lay with his head towards the others foote, and many chaynes of iron, like to the water chaynes of the bittes of horſes were found in the ſame hill. But nowe to the matter, in the meane while that Edmonde was buſie to leauie a newe army in Glowceſt. and other parties of Mercia, Cnute hauing got ſo gret a victory, receiued into his obeiſaunce, not only yͤ Citie of Londō, but alſo many other Cities and townes of great name, & ſhortly after haſted forward to purſue his enimie K. Edmūd, who was ready with a mighty hoſte to trie the vttermoſt chaunce of battayle if they ſhoulde eftſoones ioyne.

Polider.
Mat. VVeſt.

Herevpon, both the armies being ready to giue the onſet, the one in ſyghte of the other at a place called Dearehurſt, nere to the Riuer of Seuerne, by the drifte of Duke Edrick, who then at lēgth, beganne to ſhewe ſome token of good meanyng, the two Kings came to a communication, and in the end concluded an agreement, as ſome haue written, without any more adoe.

Simon Dun.

Math. Weſt. ſayth this was Eadricke.

Other write, that when both the armies were at poynte to haue ioyned, one of the Captaynes, but whether he were a Dane or an Engliſhmā, it is not certaynely tolde, ſtood vp in ſuch a place, as he mighte be hearde of both the Princes, and boldly vttered hys wordes in forme followyng.

The ſaying of a Captayne.

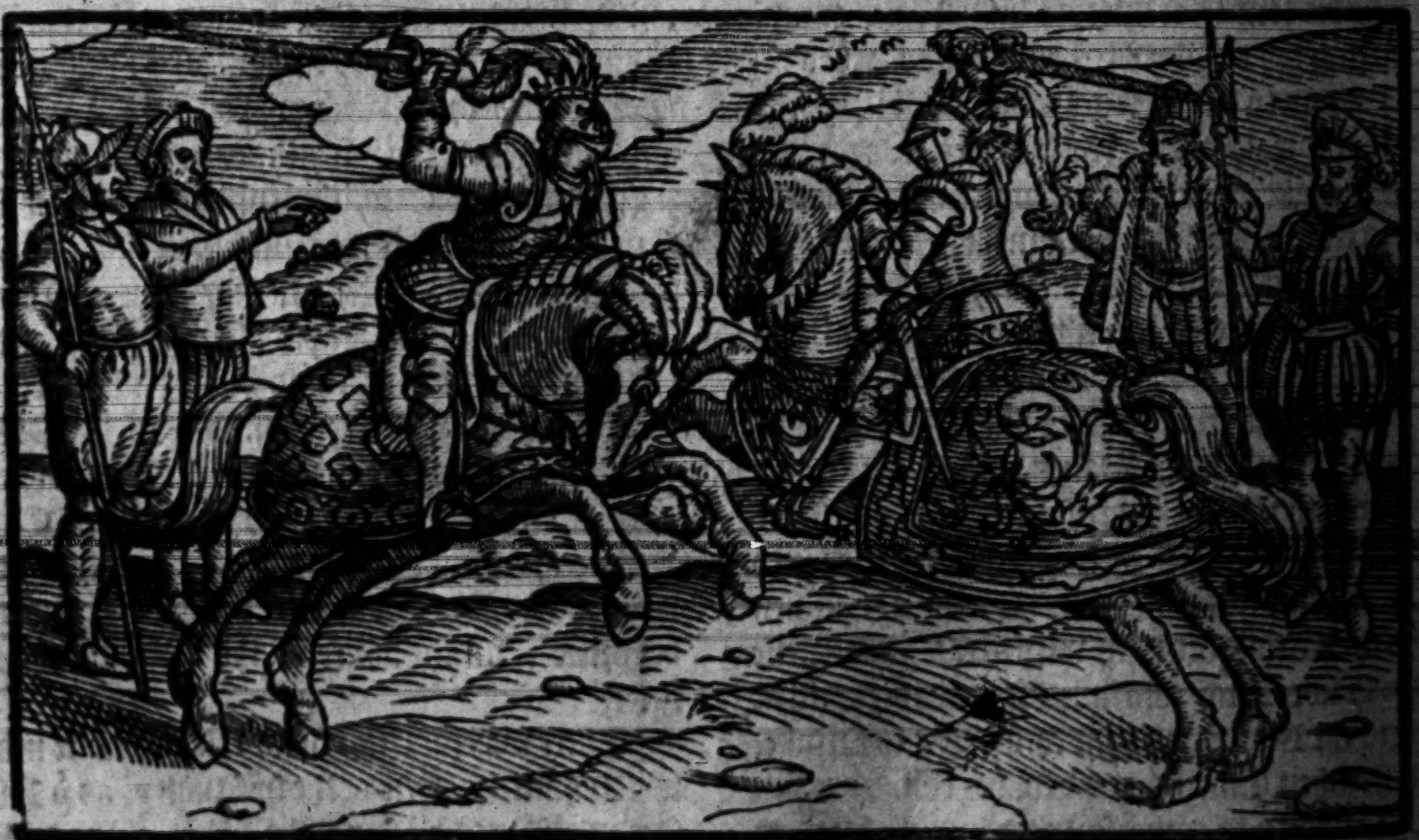
We haue moſt worthy Chieftaynes fought long ynoughe one againſte another, there hathe bene but to muche bloud ſhed betweene both the Nations, and the valiancie of the Souldioures on both ſides is ſufficiently ynough tried, & eyther of your manhoods lykewiſe, & yet cā you beare neyther good nor euill fortune, if the one of you win the battayle, he purſueth him yͭ is ouercome, and if hee chaunce to be vanquiſhed, hee reſteth not till he haue recouered newe ſtrengthe to fight eftſoones with him that is victor. What ſhoulde you meane by this youre inuincible courage? At what marke ſhooteth youre greedy deſire to beare rule, and youre exceſſiue thirſt to atteyne honor? if you fyghte for a Kyngdome, deuide it betweene you two, which ſometime was ſufficient for ſeauen Kyngs, but if you couet to winne fame and glorious renowme, and for the ſame are driuen to trie the hazarde, whether yee ſhall commaund or obey, deuiſe the way whereby ye maye withoute ſo greate ſlaughter, and withoute ſuche pitifull bloudſhed of both youre giltleſſe peoples, trie whether of you is moſt worthy to be preferred.

Thus made hee an ende, and the two Princes allowed well of his laſt motion, and ſo order was taken, that they ſhould fighte togither in a ſingular combate within a little Ilande encloſed with the Riuer of Seuerne called Oloney, with condition, that whether of them chaunced to be Victor, ſhould be King, and the other to reſigne hys title for euer into his hands.

The two appoint the matt a comba Oloey.

Mat. V

The two Princes entring into the place, appoynted in faire armoure, beginne the battaile in ſight of both their armies, raunged in goodly order on eyther ſide the Riuer, with doubtfull mindes, and nothing ioyfull, as they that wauered betwixt hope and feare. The two Champions manfully aſſaile eyther other, without ſparing. Firſt, they went to it on horſebacke, and after on foote. Cnute was a man of a meane ſtature, but yet ſtrong and hardy, ſo that receyuing a great blowe by the hande of his aduerſary, whiche cauſed him ſomewhat to ſtagger, hee yet recouered himſelfe agayne, and boldly ſtepte forwarde to bee reuenged, but perceyuing hee coulde



Cnute of what ſtature he was

not

Knute ouermatched.

Cnutes wordes to Edmũd.

H. Hunt.

not find aduantage, and that he was rather to weake, and ſhrewdly ouermatched, he ſpake to Edmunde, with a lowde voyce on this wyſe: What neceſſitie (ſayth he) ought thus to moue vs, moſt valiant prince, that for the attayning of a kingdome, we ſhould thus put our lyues in danger, better were it that laying armoure and malice aſide, wee ſhoulde condeſcende to ſome reaſonable agreement: lette vs become ſworne brethren, and parte the kyngdome betwixt vs: And let vs deal ſo frendly, that thou mayeſt vſe my things as thyne owne, and I thyne as though they were myne.

They take vp the matter betwixt themſelues.

King Edmunde with thoſe wordes of his aduerſarie was ſo pacified, that immediately he caſte awaye his ſworde, and comming to Cnute, ioyneth hands with him. Both the armies by their enſample did the lyke, which looked for the ſame fortune to fall to their countreys, whiche ſhoulde happen to their Princes by the ſucceſſe of that one battayle.

After this there was an agreement deuiſed betwixt them, ſo that a partition of the realm was made, and that part that lieth foreanenſt Fraunce, was aſſigned to Edmunde, and the other fell to Cnute.

Wil. Malm.

Ther be that write, how the offer was made by king Edmunde for the auoyding of more bloudſhed, that the two Princes ſhould try the matter thus togither in a ſingular combate. But Cnute refuſed the combate, bicauſe (as he alledged) the matche was not equall. For although he was able to matche Edmund in boldneſſe of ſtomacke, yet was he far to weake to deale with a man of ſuche ſtrength as Edmunde was knowne to bee.

Encomium. Emmæ.

But ſith they did pretend title to the realme by due and good directe meanes, he thoughte it moſte conuenient, that the kingdom ſhould be deuided betwixt them. This motion was allowed of bothe the Armies, ſo that Kyng Edmunde was of force conſtrayned to bee contented therewith. Thus our common writers haue recorded of this agreement, but if I ſhould not be thought preſumptuous, in taking vppon mee to reproue, or rather but to myſtruſt that whiche hath bin receyued for a true narration in this matter, I would rather giue credite vnto that whiche the authoure of the booke intituled by ſome *Encomium Emmæ*, dothe reporte in this behalfe. Whiche is, that through perſwaſion of Edrike de Streona, Kyng Edmunde immediatlye after the battayle fought at Aſhdonne, ſente Ambaſſadors vnto Cnute, to offer vnto hym peace, wyth halfe the Realme of Englande, that is to witte, the northe partes, wyth condition that King Edmunde myghte quyetly enioye the South parte, and thervppon to haue pledges delyuered interchaungeably on eyther ſide. Cnute hauing hearde the effecte of thys meſſage, ſtayed to make aunſwere tyll he had vnderſtoode what hys counſell woulde aduyſe hym to doe in thys behalfe: and vppon good deliberation taken in the matter, conſideryng that he had loſte no ſmall number of people in the former battayle, and that being farre out of his countrey, he coulde not well haue anye newe ſupplys, where the Engliſhemen although they hadde lykewyſe loſte very manye of their menne of warre, yet beeyng in theyr owne countrey, it ſhoulde bee an eaſye matter for them to reſtore theyr decayed numbers, it was thought expedient by the whole conſente of all the Daniſhe Capitayns, that the offer of kyng Edmunde ſhoulde bee accepted. And herevpon Cnute calling the Ambaſſadours afore hym agayne, declared vnto them, that hee was contented to conclude a peace vppon ſuche conditions as they hadde offered: but yet with thys addition, that their King whatſoeuer he ſhoulde bee, ſhoulde pay Cnutes ſouldiours their wages, with money to bee leuied of that parte of the Kingdome whiche the Engliſh king ſhoulde poſſeſſe. For this (ſayth he) I haue vndertaken to ſee them payde, and otherwyſe I wyll not graunte to any peace. The league and agreement therfore beyng concluded in this ſorte, pledges are deliuered and receyued on both partes, and the armies diſcharged. But God (ſayth myne Authour) being myndefull of his olde doctrine, That euery kingdome diuided in it ſelfe can not long ſtande, ſhortely after tooke Edmunde oute of this lyfe: and by ſuche meanes ſeemed to take pitie of the Engliſhe kingdome, leaſt if bothe the kinges ſhoulde haue continued in life together, they ſhoulde haue liued in daunger. And incontinentely herevpon was Cnute choſen and receyued for abſolute King of all the whole Realme of Englande.

Thus hath he written that lyued in thoſe dayes, whoſe credite thereby is muche aduanced. Howbeit the common reporte of writers touchyng the deathe of Edmunde varyeth from this, who doe affirme, that after Cnute and Edmund were made friends, the ſerpent of enuie and falſe conſpiracie, bred ſo in the hearts of ſome traiterous perſons, that within a while after king Edmund was ſlain at Oxforde, as he ſatte on a priuie to doe the neceſſaries of Nature.

K. Edmunde traiterouſly ſlaine at Oxforde.

Fabian.

Simon Dun.

The common reporte hath gone, that Erle Edricke was the procurer of this villainous acte, and that (as ſome write) his ſonne did it.

But the ſame authour that wrote *Encomium Emmæ*, wryting of the death of Edmunde hath theſe wordes, (immediatly after hee hath firſte declared in what ſorte the two Princes were agreed, and had made partition of the realme betwixt them:) But GOD (ſayeth he) beyng myndefull of his olde doctrine, That euery kingdome deuided in it ſelf can not long ſtand, ſhortly after toke Edmunde out of this lyfe: and by ſuche meanes ſeemed to take pitie vpon the Engliſhe kingdome, leaſt if bothe the kings ſhoulde haue continued in lyfe togither, they ſhould bothe haue liued in great daunger, (and the Realme in trouble.

Wyth this agreeth alſo *Simon Dunelmenſis*, who ſayeth, that Kyng Edmunde dyed of naturall ſickeneſſe, by courſe of kynde at London, aboute the feaſt of Saincte Andrewe nexte enſuyng the late mencioned agreement. *Fabian.*

And this ſhoulde ſeeme true: for wheras theſe Authours whiche reporte, that Earle Edryke was the procurer of his death, they alſo write, that when he knewe the acte to be done, hee haſted vnto Cnute, and declared vnto hym what he had brought to paſſe for his aduauncement to the gouernement of the whole realme. *Ran. Higd* *H. Hunt.*

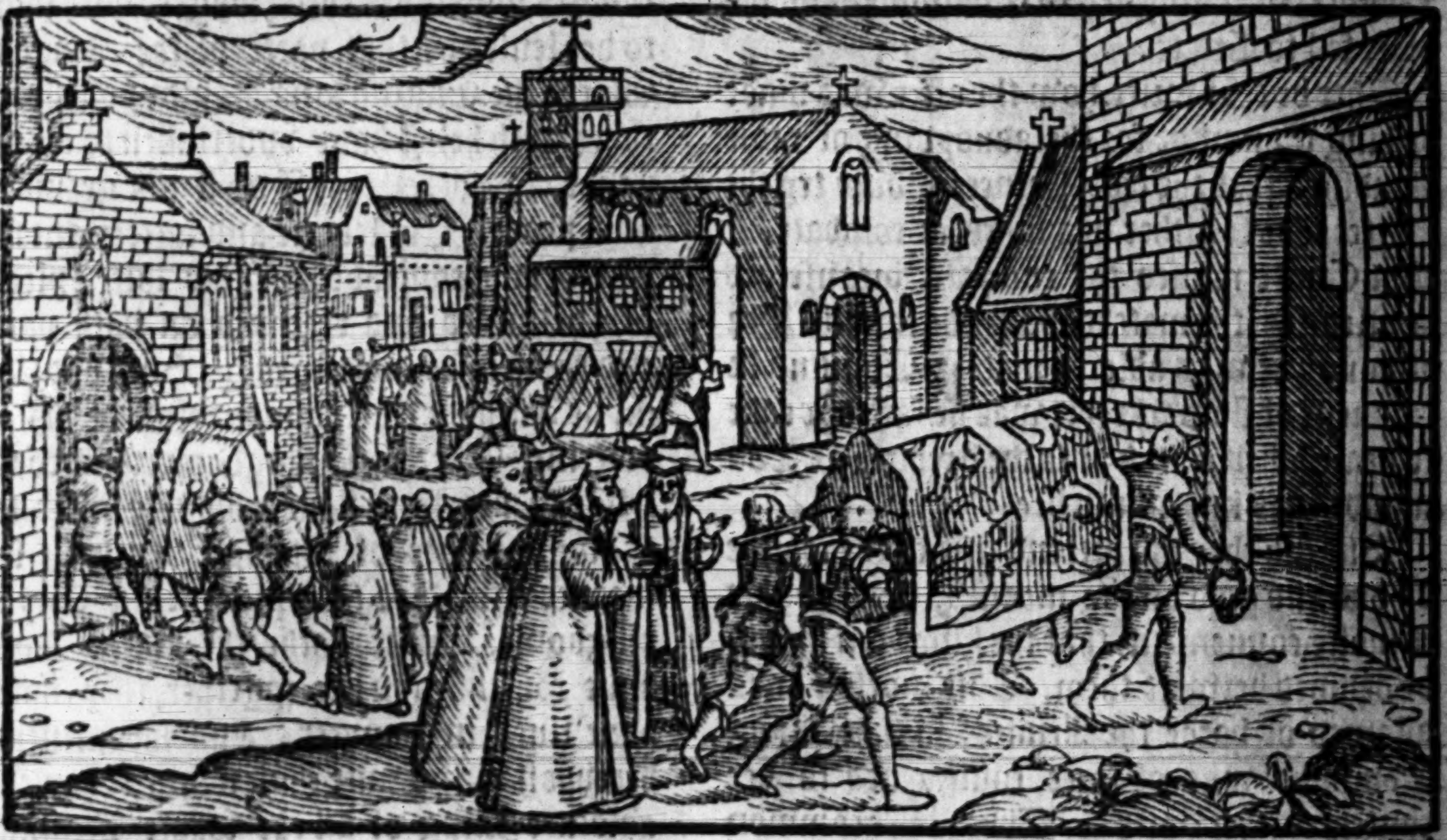
Wherevppon Cnute abhorryng ſuche a deteſtable facte, ſayde vnto hym: Bycauſe thou haſte for my ſake, made awaye the worthyeſt bodye of the world, I ſhall rayſe thy head aboue all the Lordes of Englande, and ſo cauſed him to be put to death. Thus haue ſome bookes.

Howbeit this reporte agreeth not with other writers whiche declare howe Cnute aduaunced Edryke in the beginning of his reigne vnto high honour, and made hym gouernour of Mercia, and vſed his counſell in manye things after the death of king Edmund, as in baniſhing Edwin, the brother of kyng Edmunde, with his ſonnes alſo, Edmunde and Edward.

Some thinke that he was Duke of Mercia before and now had Eſſex adioyned therto.

But for that there is ſuche diſcordaunce and variable reporte amongeſt wryters, touchyng the deathe of kyng Edmunde, and ſome Fables inuented thereof (as the maner is) we wyll lette the reſidue of theyr reportes paſſe: Sith certaine it is, that to his ende he came, after he had reigned about the ſpace of one yeare, and ſo muche more as is betweene the moneth of June, and the latter ende of Nouember.

Diuers and diſcordant reports of Edmonds death. *Ran. Higd.* *VVil. Mal.*



His body was buryed at Glaſtenbury, neere his vncle king Edgar.

With thys Edmunde, ſurnamed Ironſyde, fell the glorious Maieſtie of the Engliſh kingdome: The whiche afterwarde as it had beene an aged bodye beyng ſore decayed and weakened by the Danes, that nowe got poſſeſſion of the whole, yet ſomewhat recouered after the ſpace of .xxvj. yeres, vnder kyng Edward, ſurnamed the Confeſſor: and ſhortely thervpon as it had bin falne into a reſiluation, came to extreme ruine by the inuaſion and conqueſt of the Normans: as after by gods good helpe and fauorable aſſiſtance it ſhall appeare.

Canute or Cnute.

CAnute, or Cnute, whom the engliſh Chronicles doe name Knoughte, after the deathe of Kyng Edmunde, toke vpon hym the whole rule ouer all the realme of Englande in the yeare of our Lord. 1017. in the .xvij. yeare of the emperor Henry the ſeconde, ſurnamed Claudus, in the 1017.

Cnute
knought
or Cnute

the .xx. yeare of the reigne of Roberte king of France, and aboute the .vij. yeare of the reigne of Malcolme king of Scotlande.

Canute ſhortly after the death of king Edmunde, aſſembled a Councell at London, in the whiche he cauſed all the nobles of the realme to do vnto him homage, in receiuing an othe of loyall obeyſance. Hee deuided the realme into foure parts, aſſigning Northumberlande vnto the rule of Irke or Iricius, Mercia vnto Edrike, & Eaſtangle vnto Turkyl, reſeruing the weſt part to his own gouernance. He baniſhed (as before is ſayd) Edwyn, the brother of king Edmunde, but ſuch as was ſuſpected to bee culpable of Edmundes death, he cauſed to be put to execution, wherof it ſhould appeare, that Edrick was not then in any wyſe detected or once thought to bee giltie. The foreſayd Edwyn afterwards returned, and was then reconciled to the Kings fauour (as ſome do write) and was ſhortly after trayterouſly ſlaine by his owne ſeruants. He was called the king of Churles. Other write that he came ſecretely into the realme after he had bin baniſhed, and keeping him ſelf cloſely out of ſighte, at length ended his lyfe, and was buried at Taueſtocke.

VV.Malm.

Ra. Higd.

King of Churles.

VVil. Mal.

Moreouer Edwyn and Edwarde the ſonnes of king Edmund were baniſhed the lande, and ſent firſt vnto Sweno king of Norway to haue bin made awaye: but Sweno vppon remorſe of conſcience ſent them into Hungarie, where they founde great fauour at the handes of king Salomon, in ſo muche that Edmunde married the daughter of the ſame Salomon, but had no iſſue by hir. Edward was aduaunced to marry with Agatha, the daughter of the Emperour Henrye, and by hir had iſſue two ſonnes, Edmunde and Edgar, ſurnamed Adelyng, & as many daughters, Margarete and Chriſtine, of the whiche in place conuenient more ſhall be ſayd.

Ra. Higd.

When Kyng Cnute hadde eſtabliſhed thynges, as hee thoughte, ſtoode moſte to his ſuretie, he called to remembrance, that he had no iſſue but two baſtarde ſonnes Harrolde and Sweno, begotten of his concubine Alwyne. Wherfore he ſent ouer vnto Richarde Duke of Normandie, requiring that he mighte haue Queene Emme, the widow of king Egelred in mariage, & ſo obteyned hir, not a little to the wonder of manye, which thought a great ouerſight both in the woman and in hir brother, that woulde ſatiſfye the requeſte of Cnute herein, conſidering hee hadde bin ſuch a mortall enimie to hir former huſband. But Duke Richarde did not only conſent, that hys ſayd ſiſter ſhould be maryed vnto Cnute, but alſo he hymſelfe tooke to wyfe the Lady Heſtritha, ſyſter to the ſayd Cnute.

Polidore.

Cnute mari-
Queene
mme the vvi-
ow of Egel-
d, in Iuly, an-
1017.

Polidore.

Heere ye haue to vnderſtande, that this mariage was not made withoute greate conſideration and large couenants granted on the part of king Cnute: for before he could obtain queene Emme to his wife, it was fully condiſcended and agreed that after Cnutes deceaſſe, the crowne of Englande ſhould remaine vnto the iſſue borne of this mariage betwixte hir and Cnute, whiche couenant although it was not perfourmed immediatly after the deceaſſe of kyng Cnute, yet in the ende it tooke place, ſo as the right ſeemed to bee deferred, and not to be taken awaye nor aboliſhed: for immediatly vpon Haroldes death that had vſurped, Hardicnute ſucceded as right heire to the crown, by force of the agreement made at the tyme of the mariage ſolemniſed betwixt his father and mother, and being once eſtabliſhed in the Kingdome, hee ordeyned his brother Edwarde to ſuccede hym, whereby the Danes were vtterly excluded from all ryghte that they hadde to pretende vnto the Crowne of this land, and the Engliſhe bloud reſtored therto, chiefly by that gracious concluſion of this mariage betwixt king Cnute and Queene Emme: for the which no ſmall prayſe was thoughte to bee due vnto the ſayd Queene, ſith by hir politike gouernement, in making hir matche ſo beneficiall to hir ſelfe and hir lyne, the Crowne was thus recouered out of the handes of the Danes, and reſtored againe in time to the right heire, as by an auncient treatiſe whiche ſome haue intitled *Encomium Emmæ*, and was written in thoſe dayes it doth and may appere. Whiche booke although there bee but fewe Copies thereof abroade, gyueth vndoubtedly greate light to the hiſtorie of that tyme.

The couenants made at the mariage betvvixt Cnute and Emme.

The Engliſhe bloud reſtored. The praiſe of Quene Emme for hir vviſedome.

Encomium Emmæ.

But nowe to our purpoſe. Cnute the ſame yeare in whiche he was thus maryed, throughe perſwaſion of his wyfe Queene Emme, ſent away the Daniſhe nauie & armie home into Denmark, giuing to them fourſcore and two thouſande poundes of ſiluer, whiche was leuied throughout this lande for their wages.

Mat. VVeſt.

In the yeare a thouſande and eighteene, Edricke de Streona Erle of Mercia, was ouerthrowen in his owne turne: for being called afore the King into his priuie chamber, and there in reaſoning the matter about ſome quarell that was piked to him, hee beganne very preſumptuouſly to vpbrayde the king of ſuche pleaſures as he had before tyme done vnto him: I did (ſayde he) for the loue which I bare towardes you, forſake my ſoueraigne Lorde king Edmunde, and at length for your ſake ſlewe him.

VVil. Mal.

At whiche wordes, Cnute beganne to change countenaunce, as one merueylouſly abaſhed, and ſtreightwayes gaue ſentence againſt Edrike in this wiſe: Thou art worthy (ſaith he) of death, and dye thou ſhalte, whiche art giltie of treaſon both towardes God and me, ſith that thou haſt ſlayne thyne owne ſoueraigne Lorde, and my deare alyed brother. Thy bloud therfore be vpon thyne owne head, ſith thy toung hath vttered thy treaſon. And immediatly hee cauſed his throate to be cut, and his bodie to be throwen out at the chamber windowe into the riuer of Thames.

Edrike put to death.

This was the ende of Edryke, ſurnamed de Stratten, or Streona, a man of greate infamie for his craftie diſſimulation, falſhod and treaſon, vſed by him to the ouerthrowe of the Engliſhe aſtate, as partly before is touched.

Simon Dun.

Encomium Emmae.

But ther be that concerning the cauſe of this Edriks death, ſeeme partly to diſagree from that whyche before is recited, declaryng that Cnute ſtanding in ſome doubt to be betrayed thorough the treaſon of Edricke, ſoughte occaſions howe to rydde him and other (whome hee lykewyſe myſtruſted) out of the waye. And therfore one daye when Edryke craued ſome preferremente at Cnutes handes, and alledged that he had deſerued to be wel thought of, ſith by his flight from the battaile at Aſhendone, the victorie therby inclined vnto Cnutes parte. Cnute hearing hym ſpeake theſe wordes, made this aunſwere: And canſt thou (quoth he) be true to me, that through fraudulent meanes diddeſt deceyue thy ſouerain Lorde and maiſter? but I will rewarde thee accordING to thy deſertes, ſo as from henceforth thou ſhalte not deceyue any other, and ſo forthwith cõmaunded Erick one of his chief captains to diſpatch him, who incõtinẽtly cut off his head with his axe or halbert. Verily Simon Dunelmenſ. ſayth, kyng Cnute vnderſtanding in what ſorte both king Egelred, and his ſonne king Edmunde Ironſide had bin betrayed by the ſayde Edricke, he ſtode in great doubt to be lykewyſe deceyued by him, and therfore was glad to haue ſome pretended quarrell, to diſpatche both hym and other, whome he lykewyſe myſtruſted, as it well appeared. For at the ſame tyme there were put to death with Edricke Earle Norman the ſonne of earle Leofwyn, and brother to Earle Leofryke: alſo Adelwarde the ſonne of Earle Agelmare and Brightricke the ſonne of Alfegus gouernour of Deuonſhire (without all guilt or cauſe as ſome wryte.) And in place of Norman his brother Leofryke was made earle of Mercia by the king, and had in great fauour.

This Leofricke is cõmonly alſo by writers named Earle of Cheſter.

After this, likewiſe Cnute baniſhed Iric and Turkyll, two Danes, the one (as before is recited) gouernor of Northumberland, and the other of Norfolke and Suffolk, or Eaſtangle.

Then reſted the whole rule of the realme in the kings hands, wherupon he ſtudied to preſerue the people in peace, and ordeyned lawes accordING to the whiche, bothe Danes and Engliſhmenne ſhoulde bee gouerned in equall ſtate and degree.

H.Hunt.

Lordes put to death.

Diuers greate lordes whome hee founde vnfaithfull or rather ſuſpected, he put to death, as before ye haue hearde) beſyde ſuche as he baniſhed out of the Realme. He rayſed a taxe or tribute of the people, amounting to the ſumme of fourſcore & two thouſand pound, beſide .xj. M. pound which the Londoners payde towards the maintenance of the Daniſh Armie

A taxe ryſe

But wheras theſe things chaunced not all at one time, but in ſundry ſeaſons, we will retourne ſomwhat backe to declare what other exploites were atchieued in the meane time by Cnute, not onely in Englande, but alſo in Denmarke, and elſewhere.

Si. Dunelm.

1019.

King Cnute paſſeth into Denmarke.

In the thirde yeare of his reigne hee ſayled with an armie of Engliſhemen and Danes into Denmarke to ſubdue the Vandals there, whiche then ſore annoyed and warred agaynſt his ſubiectes of Denmarke.

Erle Goodwin his ſeruice in Denmarke.

Erle Godwyn which had the ſouerain conduct of the Engliſhmen, the night before the day appoynted for the battayle gote him forthe of the campe with his people, & ſodeynly aſſaylyng the Vandals in their lodgings, eaſily diſtreſſed them ſleaing a great number of them, and chaſing the reſidue. In the morning early when Cnute herd that the Engliſhemen were gone forth of their lodgings, he ſuppoſed that they were eyther fled awaye, or elſe tourned to take part with the enimies. But as he approched to the enimies camp he vnderſtode howe the matter wente: for hee founde nothyng there but bloud, deade bodyes, and the ſpoyle.

For thys good ſeruice, Cnute had the engliſhmen

Cnute had the engliſhmen in ation for ir good ſer- ce.

men in more eſtimation euer after, and highely rewarded theyr leader the ſame Earle Goodwin.

When Cnute had ordered all things in Denmarke, as was thought behouefull, he returned agayne into Englande. And within a few dayes after, hee was aduertiſed that the Swedeners made warre againſt his ſubiectes of Denmarke, vnder the leading of two greate Princes Ulfe and Eglafe.

1028

Cnute paſſeth agayne into Denmarke.

Cnute therefore to defende his dominions in thoſe parties, paſſed agayne with an armie into Denmarke, encountred with his enimies, and receyued a greate ouerthrowe, loſing a greate number both of his Danes and Engliſhmen. But gathering togither a newe force of menne, he ſette agayne vpon his enimies, and ouercame them, conſtrayning the two foreſayd Princes to agree vpon reaſonable conditions of peace.

VV. Mal.

Ma. VVeſt.

Mathewe Weſtm. recounteth, that at thys tyme Earle Goodwyn, and the Engliſhmenne wrought the enterpriſe aboue mentioned, of aſſaultyng the enimies campe in the night ſeaſon, after Cnute had fyrſte loſte in the daye before no ſmall number of his people. And that then the foreſayde princes or kyngs, as hee nameth them Ulfus and Iulafus, which latter he calleth Eiglafe, were conſtrayned to agree vpon a peace.

Albertus Krantz.

The Daniſh Chronicles alledge, that the occaſion of this warre roſe hereof: This Olauus ayded Cnute (as the ſame writers reporte) againſt kyng Edmunde and the Engliſhemenne. But when the peace ſhould be made betweene Cnute and Edmunde, there was no conſideration had of Olauus: where as throughe hym the Danes chiefly obteyned the victorie.

Herevpon Olauus was ſore offended in hys mynde againſte Cnute, and nowe vpon occaſion ſought to be reuenged. But what ſoeuer the cauſe was of this warre betwixte theſe two Princes, the ende was thus: That Olauus was expulſed out of his kingdom, and conſtrained to flee to Eer.thaſlaus, a duke in the parties of Eaſtlande.

And afterwarde retourning into Norwaye, was ſlayne by ſuche of his ſubiectes, as tooke part with Cnute, in manner as in the hiſtorie of Norway, it appereth more at large, with the cōtrarietie foūd in the writing of them which haue recorded the hiſtories of thoſe North regions.

Magnus Olaus.

But here is to be remembred, that the fame and glorie of the Engliſh nation was greately aduaunced in theſe warres, as well againſte the Swedeners as the Norwegians: ſo that Cnute began to loue and truſt the Engliſhmen muche better than it was thought he woulde euer haue doone. Shortly after that Cnute was retourned into Englande, that is to wit (as ſome haue) in the .xv. yeare of his reigne, he went to Rome to perform his vow which he had made to viſite the places where the Apoſtles Peter and Paule had their burial. He was honorably receyued of Pope John the .xx. that then held the ſea. When he had done his deuotion there, hee retourned into Englande. In the yeare following, he made a iourney againſt the Scottes, whiche as then had rebelled. But by the princely power of Cnute, they were ſubdued and brought agayne to obedience: ſo that not onely king Malcolme, but alſo two other kinges Melbeath and Jeohmare, became his ſubiectes. Finally after that this noble prince king Cnute had reigned the tearme of .xx. yeares currant, after the death of Ethelred, hee died at Shafteſbury, as the engliſhe writers affirme, the .xij. daye of Nouember, and was buried at Winchester. But the Daniſh chronicles record, that he died in Normandie, and was buryed at Roan (as in the ſame Chronicles ye maye reade more at large.) This Cnute was the mightyeſt

Fabian.
Polyd.
H. Hunt.

Other ſay, that he vvente forth of Denmark to Rome.

Sim. Dunel.
An. 1031.

1032
VVil. Malm.
Mat. VVeſt.
1033.

Scots ſubdued.

H. Hunt.
Anno. 1035.
VVil. Mal.

The death of king Cnute.

H. Hunt.
Al. Grantz.

The large dominion of king Cnute.

H. Hunt.

Albertus Crantz.

Grauntes made to the benefite of Engliſhmen at the inſtance of king Cnute.

Fabian.

Polidore.

Mat. VVeſt.

He cauſed his chaire to bee ſet there, as Math. VVeſt. hath.

Hen Hunt.

The ſaying of king Cnute.

Zealouſly ynough, if it had bin according to true knowledge.

Ran. Higd

Polidore.

Mat. VVeſ

Polidore.

Flatterie reproued.

Polidore.

Albertus Crantz.

Polidore.

Fabian.

prince that euer reigned ouer the Engliſh people: for he had the ſoueraigne rule ouer al Denmark, Englande, Norway, Scotland, & part of Sweden. Amongſt other of his royall actes, he cauſed ſuche tolles and tallages as were demaunded of waygoers at bridges & ſtreetes in the high waye betwixte Englande and Rome to be diminiſhed to the halfes, and agayne got alſo a moderation to be had in the payemente of the Archbiſhoppes fees of his realme, whiche was leuied of them in the Court of Rome when they ſhoulde receyue their palles, as may appeare by a letter which he himſelfe being at Rome, directed to the Biſhops and other of the nobles of England. In the whiche it alſo appeareth, that beſides the royal entertaynment, which he had at Rome of pope John, he had conference there with the Emperor Conrade, & with Rafe king of Burgongne, and with many other great princes and noble men, which were preſent there at that time. Which at his requeſt in fauor of thoſe Engliſhmẽ that ſhuld trauaile to Rome, graunted (as we haue ſaid) to diminiſh ſuch dueties as were gathered of paſſingers. He receyued there many great giftes of the Emperor, and was highly honored of him, and likewiſe of the Pope, & of al other the high princes at that tyme preſent at Rome: ſo that when hee came home (as ſome write) hee ſhoulde growe greatly into pride, inſomuche that being neere to the Thames, or rather (as other write) vppon the ſea ſtronde, neere to Southhampton, and perceyuyng the water to ryſe, by reaſon of the tyde, hee caſte off his gowne, and wrappyng it rounde togither, threwe it on the ſandes verye neere the increaſing water, and ſate him downe vpon it, ſpeaking this or the lyke wordes to the ſea. Thou art (ſayth he) within the compaſſe of my dominion, and the grounde whereon I ſitte is myne, and thou knoweſt that no wyght dare diſobey my cõmandements, I therfore do now commaund thee not to ryſe vpon my grounde, nor to preſume to wet any part of thy ſoueraine Lorde and gouernour. But the ſea keeping his courſe, roſe ſtill higher and higher, and ouerflowed not only the kings feete, but alſo flaſhed vp vnto his legs & knees. Wherwith the king ſtarte ſodenly vp, & withdrew from it, ſaying withal to his nobles that were about him: Behold you noble men, you cal me king, which can not ſomuch as ſtay by my cõmaundement this ſmal portion of water. But knowe ye for certaine, that there is no king but the father only of our Lord Jeſus Chriſte, with whome he reigneth, and at whoſe becke all things are gouerned, let vs therfore honour him, let vs confeſſe and profeſſe him to bee the ruler of heauen, earth, and ſea, and beſides him none other. From thence he went to Wincheſter and there with his own hands ſet his crown vpõ the head of the image of the Crucifix, which ſtode there in the church of the Apoſtles Peter & Paul, and frõ thẽceforth he wold neuer weare yͤ crown nor any other. Some write, that he ſpake not the former wordes to yͤ ſea vpon any preſumptuouſnes of mynd, but only vpon occaſion of the vain title, which in his cõmendation one of his gẽtlemen gaue him by way of flatterie (as he rightly toke it) for he called him the moſt mightieſt king of all kings, which ruled moſt at large both men ſea and land. Therfore to reproue the vayn flatterie of ſuch vain perſons, he deuiſed ſuch maner of mean as before is mencioned: wherby both to reproue ſuch flatterers, & alſo that men might be admoniſhed to conſider the omnipotencie of yͤ almightie God. He had iſſue by his wife Queene Emme a ſon, named by the Engliſh chronicles Hardiknought, but by yͤ Daniſh writers Knute, or Knutte: alſo a daughter named Gonilda, yͭ was after maryed to Henry the ſon of the emperor Conrade, which alſo was afterward Emperor, & named Henry the third. By his concubine Alwynne, that was daughter to Alſelme, whom ſome name erle of Hampton: he had two baſtard ſons, Harold & Sweno. He was much giuen in his latter dayes to vertue, as hee that conſidered howe perfect felicitie reſted only in godlynes and true deuotion to ſerue the heauenly king and gouernour of all things.

VVhich is ſ
poſed to be
Barclovve:
Ashdon is
is halfe a m
from thence.

1020.

Sim. Dunel

He repared in his time many churches, abbeis, and houſes of religion, whyche by occaſion of warres had bin ſore defaced by him and by hys father, but ſpecially he did greate coſte vpon the Abbey of ſaint Edmund, in the town of Bury, as before partely is mẽcioned. He buylt alſo two Abbeys from the foundation, as Sainct Benets in Norffolke, ſeuen myles diſtant from Norwyche, and an other in Norwaye. He did alſo buylde a Churche at Aſhdowne in Eſſex, where he obteyned the victorie of king Edmund, and was preſente at the hallowing or conſecration thereof with a greate multitude of the Lordes and nobles of the Realme, bothe Engliſhe and Danes. He alſo holpe with his owne handes to remoue the body of the holy Archbiſhop Elphegus when the ſame was tranſlated from London to Canterbury. The royall and moſte riche iewels whiche he and his wyfe Queene Emme gaue vnto the Churche of Wincheſter, might make the beholders to wonder at ſuch their exceding and bountiful munificence.

Thus did Cnute ſtriue to reforme all ſuche thyngs whiche hee and his aunceſters had done amiſſe, and to wype awaye the ſpot of euill doing, as ſurely to the outward ſight of the world he did in deed. He had the Archbiſhoppe of Canterbury Achelnotus in ſingular reputation, and vſed his Counſell in matters of importaunce.

Leofrike Earle of Cheſter.

He alſo fauoured highly Leofrike Earle of Cheſter, ſo that the ſame Leofryke bare great rule in ordering of things touching the ſtate of the Cōmon wealth vnder hym as one of his chief counſellours.

King Cnutes lawes.

Diuers lawes and ſtatutes he made for the gouernment of the cōmon wealth, partly agreeable with the lawes of king Edgar, and other the kinges that were his predeceſſors, and partely tempered according to his owne liking, and as was thought to him moſt expedient: among the which there b diuers that concerne cauſes as wel eccleſiaſticall as temporall. Wherby as M. Fox hath noted, it may be gathered, that the gouernement of ſpirituall matters dyd depend then not vpon ẏ Biſhop of Rome, but rather appertayned vnto the lawfull authoritie of the temporall Prince, no leſſe than matters and cauſes temporall. But of theſe lawes and ſtatutes enacted by king Cnute ye maye reade more as ye finde them ſette forth in the before remembred booke of Maſter William Lambert, whiche for brieſneſſe we heere omitte.

Harolde, the baſe ſonne of Cnute.

Harold

…ſt. Weſt. …rd. Mal.

…Godwyn.

After that Cnute was departed this lyfe, ther aroſe great variance amongſt the peeres and great Lordes of the realme about the ſucceſſion. The Danes and Lōdoners (which through continuall familiaritie had with the Danes, were become lyke vnto them) elected Harrolde the baſe ſonne of king Cnute, to ſucceede in his fathers rome, hauing Earle Leofrike, and diuers other of the noble menne of the Northe partes on theyr ſide.

…man Dun.

The realm deuided betvvixt …old and Ha…knought.

But other of the Engliſhmē, and namely Erle Godwyn Erle of Kent, with the chiefeſt lordes of the weaſt partes, coueted rather to haue one of K. Egelreds ſons, which were in Normandie, or elſe Hardiknought the ſonne of kyng Cnute by his wife Quene Emme, which remained in Denmarke, aduaunced to the place.

Thys controuerſie helde in ſuche wyſe, that the Realme was deuided (as ſome write) by lotte betwixte the two brethren, Harolde, and Hardicnute.

The north parte as Mercia and Northumberlande fell to Harrolde, and the ſouth part vnto Hardicnute: but at length the whole remained vnto Harrolde, bycauſe his brother Hardicnute refuſed to come out of Denmarke to take the gouernment vpon him.

The authoritie of Erle Goodvvyn.

H. Hunt.

But yet the authoritie of Earle Godwyn who had the queene and the treaſure of the realm in his keeping, ſtayed the matter a certayn time, (hee profeſſing hymſelfe as it were Gardian to the yong men, the ſonnes of the Queene, tyll at length he was conſtrayned to gyue ouer hys holde, and conforme hym ſelfe to the ſtronger parte and greater number.) And ſo at Oxforde, where the aſſemble was holden aboute the election, Harrolde was proclaymed kyng, and ſacred according to the manner (as ſome write) But it ſhoulde appeare by other, that the Archbiſhoppe of Canterburye Elnothus, a manne endued with all vertue and wyſedome refuſed to crowne hym: For when kyng Harolde beeing elected of the nobles and peeres, requyred the ſayde Archebiſhoppe that he myght be of him ſacred, and receyue at hys handes the Regall Scepter wyth the Crowne, whyche the Archebiſhoppe hadde in hys cuſtodie, and to whome it onely did appertayne to inueſte hym therewyth, the Archebiſhop flatly refuſed, and wyth an othe proteſted, that he woulde not ſacre any other for Kynge, ſo long as the Queenes chyldren liued: For (ſayth he) Cnute committed them to my truſte and aſſuraunce, and to them will I keepe my fayth and loyall obedience. The ſcepter and crowne I heere laye downe vpon the aulter, and neyther doe I denye nor deliuer them vnto you: but I forbid by the Apoſtolyke authoritie all the Biſhoppes, that none of them preſume to take the ſame away, and delyuer them to you, or ſacre you for kyng. As for your ſelfe, if you dare, you maye vſurpe that whyche I haue committed vnto God and hys table.

The refuſall of the Archb. Elnothus to ſacre king Harolde.

But whether afterwardes the Kyng by one meane or other, cauſed the Archebyſhoppe to crowne hym Kyng, or that he was ſacred of ſome other, he was admitted for kyng of al the Engliſhe people, beginning hys reygne in the yeare of our Lorde a thouſande thirtie and ſixe, in the fourteenth yeare of the Emperour Conrade the ſeconde, in the ſixte yeare of Henrye the firſte, kyng of Fraunce, and aboute the ſeuen and twentie yere of Malcolme the ſecond, king of Scotlande.

1036.

Thus Harold for his great ſwyftneſſe, was ſurnamed Hareſoot, of whom little is written touchyng hys doyngs, ſauyng that he is noted

Harold vvhy he is ſurnamed Hareſoote.

Harolde euill ſpoken of.

Ran. Higd ex Mariano.

to haue ben an oppreſſour of his people, and ſpotted wyth manye notable vices. It was ſpoken of dyuers in thoſe dayes, that thys Harrolde was not the ſonne of Cnute, but of a ſhoemaker: and ẏ his ſuppoſed mother Elgiua, king Cnutes concubine, to bring the king further in loue with hir, fayned that ſhe was with chyld: and about the time that ſhe ſhuld be brought to bed (as ſhe made hir accompt) cauſed the ſayd Shoemakers ſon to be ſecretly brought into hir chamber, and then vntruly cauſed it to be reported, that ſhe was deliuered, and the chylde ſo reputed to bee the kings ſonne.

Mat. Weſt.

Immediatly vpon aduertiſement had of Cnutes death, Alfred the ſonne of king Egelred, with fifty ſaile landed at Sandwich, meaning to challenge the crowne, & to obteyn it by lawful claym with quietnes if he might, if not, then to vſe force by ayde of his frends, and to aſſay that way forth to winne it, if he mighte not otherwyſe obteyne it. From Sandwiche he came to Canterbury, and ſhortly after, Earle Godwyn feygnyng to receyue hym as a friend, came to meet hym, and at Gilford in the night ſeaſon, appointed a number of armed men to fall vpon the Normans as they were a ſleepe, and ſo tooke them together with Alvred, & ſlewe the Normans by the poll, in ſuche wiſe that .ix. were ſlaine, and the .x. reſerued. But yet when thoſe that were reſerued ſeemed to him a greater number than he wiſhed to eſcape, he fell to and againe tithed them as before. Alvred had his eyes put out, and was conueyed to the Ile of Elye, where ſhortely after he died. How Alvred ſhould clayme the crowne to himſelfe, I ſee not: for verily I can not be perſwaded that he was elder brother, although diuers authors haue ſo written, ſith that Gemeticenſis, and the authour of the booke called *Encomium Emmæ*, plainly affirme, that Edward was the elder: but it might bee, that Alvred being a man of a ſtouter ſtomacke than his brother Edward, made this attempt, eyther for himſelf, or in the behalfe of his brother Edward, being as then abſent, and gone into Hungarie, as ſome write: but other ſaye, that as well Edwarde as Alvred came ouer at this tyme with a number of Norman knights, & men of war embarqued in a few ſhippes onely to ſpeake with their mother, which as then laye at Wincheſter, whether to take aduiſe with hir howe to recouer their righte here in this lande, or to aduaunce their brother Hardicnute, or for ſome other purpoſe, our authors do not declare.

Ra. Higd.

See M. Foxe Acts & Mon. Pag. 112.

Si. Dunelm.

But the Lordes of the realme that bare their good willes vnto Harold, and (although contrarie to right) ment to mayntein him in the aſtate, ſeemed to be much offended wyth the comming of theſe two brethren in ſuche order: for Earle Godwin perſuaded them, ẏ it was great danger to ſuffer ſo many ſtraungers to enter the realm, as they had brought with them.

Wherevpon Earle Godwyn with the aſſent of the other Lordes, or rather by commaundemente of Harolde, wente forthe, and at Gildforde met with Alvred that was comming towardes Kyng Harolde to ſpeake wyth hym, accordingly as he was of Harolde required to doe. But nowe being taken, and hys companie miſerably murthered (as before ye haue herd) to the number of ſix hundred Normans, Alvred hymſelfe was ſente into the Iſle of Elye, there to remayn in the Abbey in cuſtodie of the Monkes, hauyng his eyes put out as ſoone as he entred firſte into the ſame Iſle. William Malmeſburye ſayeth, that Alvred came ouer, and was thus handeled betwixte the tyme of Haroldes death, and the comming in of Hardicnute: and other write, that this chaunced in hys brother Hardicnutes dayes. whiche ſeemeth not to bee true: for Hardicnute was knowne to loue hys brethren by his mothers ſide too dearely, to haue ſuffred any ſuche iniurie to be wrought to eyther of them in hys tyme.

Thus ye ſee how writers diſſent in this matter, but for the better clearing of the truthe touching the tyme, I haue thought good to ſhewe alſo what the author of the ſayd booke intituled *Encomium Emmæ* writeth hereof, whiche is as followeth.

When Harolde was once eſtabliſhed kyng, he ſought meanes howe to rid Queene Emme out of the waye, and that ſecretely, for that openlye as yet he durſte not attempte any thing againſte hir. Shee in ſilence kepte hir ſelfe quiet, lookyng for the ende of theſe thynges.

But Harrolde remembryng himſelf of a malicious purpoſe, by wicked aduiſe tooke counſell howe hee might gette into his handes and make awaye the ſonnes of Queene Emme, ſo to bee out of daunger of all annoyance that by them myght be procured agaynſt him: and therefore hee cauſeth a Letter to bee written in name of their mother the ſayde Emme, whiche he ſente by certayne meſſengers ſuborned for the purpoſe into Normandie, where Edwarde and Alvred as then remayned. The tenour of whiche letter here enſueth.

A counte letter.

The tenour the letter.

Emma tantùm nomine Regina filijs Edwardo & Alfrido materna impertit ſalutamina. Dum domini noſtri Regis obitum ſeparatim plangimus, (filij chariſſimi) dumq́; diatim magis magiſq́; regno hæreditatis veſtræ priuamini, miror quid capietis conſilij, dum ſciatis intermiſſionis veſtræ dilatione inuaſoris veſtri imperij fieri quotidie ſoliditatem. Is enim inceſſanter vicos & vrbes circuit,

& ſibi amicos principes muneribus, minis, & precibus facit: ſed vnum è vobis ſuper ſe mallent regnare quàm iſtum (qui nunc eis imperat) teneri ditione. Vnde rogo vnus veſtrũ ad me velociter & priuatè veniat, vt ſalubre à me conſiliũ accipiat, & ſciat quo pacto hoc negotium quod volo fieri debeat, per præſentem quoq; internuncium, quid ſuper his facturi eſtis remandate. Valete cordis mei viſcera.

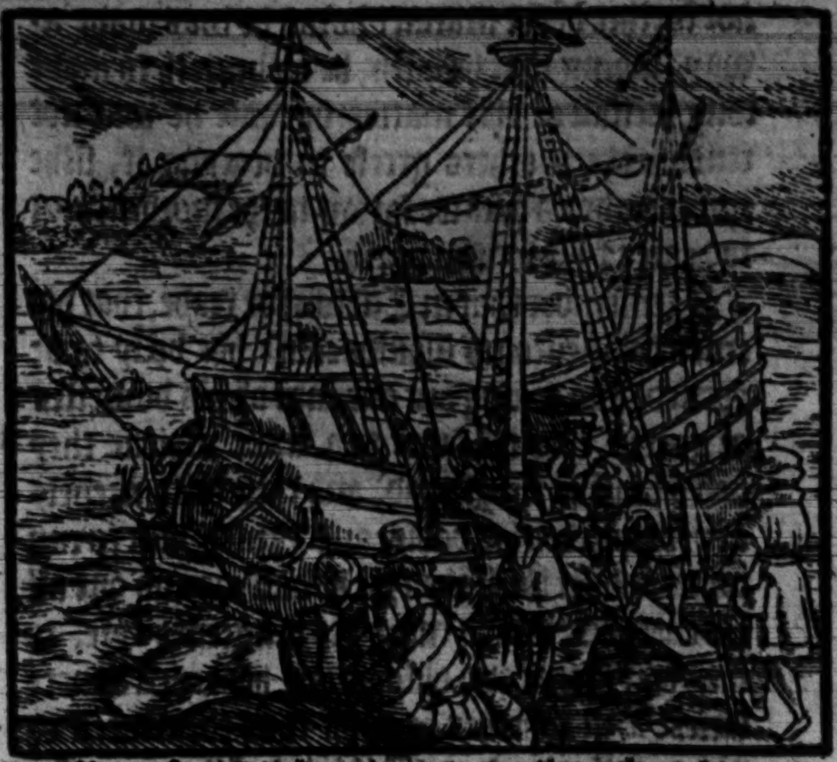
The ſame in effect in engliſhe is thus.

Emme in name onely Queene, to hir ſonnes Edwarde and Alfred, ſendeth motherly greting: Whyleſt we ſeparately bewayle the death of our ſoueraigne Lorde the kyng (moſte deare ſonnes) and whyleſt you are euery daye more and more depriued from the kingdom of your inheritance, I meruaile what you doe determine, ſithe you knowe by the delaye of youre ceaſſyng to make ſome enterpriſe, the grounded force of the vſurper of your kingdome is daily made the ſtronger: for inceſſantly goeth he frõ town to towne, from citie to citie, and maketh the Lordes his frends by rewardes, threattes, and prayers, but they had rather haue one of you to reigne ouer them, than to be kepte vnder the rule of this man that nowe gouerneth them. Wherfore my requeſt is, that one of you do come with ſpeed, and ẏ priuately ouer to me, that he maye vnderſtande my wholſome aduiſe, and know in what ſort this matter ought to be handled, which I would haue to goe forward, and ſee that you ſend me worde by this preſent meſſenger what you mean to do herein. Fare ye well, euen the bowels of my heart.

These Letters were deliuered vnto ſuche as were made priuie to the purpoſed treaſon, who beyng fully inſtructed howe to deale, wente ouer into Normandie, & preſentyng the Letters vnto the young Gentlemenne, vſed the matter ſo, that they tooke it veryly that this meſſage had bene ſente from their mother, and wrote agayn by them that broughte the Letters, that one of them woulde not fayle but to come ouer vnto hir according to that ſhe had requeſted, and withal appointed the day and tyme.

The meſſengers returning to king Harolde, enformed him howe they hadde ſped.

The younger brother Alfrede, with his brothers conſente, tooke wyth hym a certayne number of Gentlemen and men of warre, and firſt came into Flanders, where after he had remayned a whyle with Earle Baldwyne, he increaſed his retinue with a few Bolongners, and paſſed ouer into Englande, but approchyng to the ſhore, he was ſtreyghtwayes deſcried by his enimies, who haſted forth to ſette vpon him: but he perceyuing their purpoſe, commaunded ẏ ſhippes to caſte aboute, and to make agayne to the ſea: And after this landing at an other place, he mente to haue gone the nexte waye to his mother.



But Earle Goodwyn hearyng of his arriual, met him, receyued hym into his aſſurance, and bynding his credite with a corporal othe became his manne, and therewith leading hym oute of the highe way that leadeth to London, he broughte him vnto Gildforde, where hee lodged all the ſtraungers, by a ſcore, a dozeyn, and halfe a a ſcore together in Innes, ſo as but a fewe remayned aboute the yong Gentleman Alvred to attende vpon him.

Goodvvyn vvas ſuſpected to do this vnder a colour to betray him as by vvriters it ſeemeth.

There was meate and drynke plentie prepared in euery lodgyng, for the refreſhing of all the companie. And Goodwyn takyng hys leaue for that nyght, departed to his lodgyng, promiſing the nexte morning to come agayne to giue his dutiefull attendaunce on Alvred.

But beholde, after they had filled themſelues with meates and drinkes, and were gone to bed, in the dead of the nyght came ſuche as king Harold had appointed, and entring into euery Inne, firſt ſeyſed vppon the armour and weapons that belonged to the ſtraungers: Whiche done, they tooke them, and chayned them faſte with fetters and manacles, ſo keeping them ſure till the nexte morning. Which being come, they wer brought forthe with their handes bounde behynde their backes, and deliuered to moſt cruell tormentors, who were commaunded to ſpare none, but euery tenth man, as he came to hand by lot, and ſo they ſlew nyne and left the tenth aliue. Of thoſe that were lefte alyue, ſome they kepte to ſerue as bondmen, other for couetouſneſſe of gayne they ſolde, and ſome they put in priſon, of whome yet diuers afterwardes eſcaped.

Not only Goodvvyn but other ſuche as king Harold apointed, toke Alvred vvith his Normans.

This with more hath the forſaid author written of this matter, declaring further, that Alvred being conueyed into the yſle of Ely, had not only his eyes put out in moſt cruell wyſe, but was alſo preſently there murthered. But hee ſpeaketh not further of the manner howe he was made away, ſauing that he ſaith, he foꝛbeareth to make long recitall of this matter, bycauſe he will not renewe the mothers greefe in hearyng it, ſithe there can be no greater ſoꝛowe to the mother than to heare of hir ſonnes death.

I remember that in Caxton we reade, that his cruell toꝛmentours ſhoulde cauſe his belly to be opened, and taking out one ende of his bowelles oꝛ guttes, tyed the ſame to a ſtake whiche they had ſet faſt in the ground, and then with needels of yꝛon pꝛicked his bodie, and cauſed him to run rounde about the ſtake, tyll he had wound out all his entrailes, and ſo ended his innocente lyfe, to the great ſhame and obloquie of his cruell aduerſaries. But whether he was thus toꝛmented oꝛ not, oꝛ rather dyed (as I thinke) of the anguiſhe by putting out his eyes, no doubte but his death was reuenged by Gods hande in thoſe that pꝛocured it.

But whether Erle Godwyn was chief cauſer thereof, in betraying him vnder a cloked colour of pꝛetended frendſhippe, I can not ſaye: but that he tooke him and ſlew his companie, as ſome haue wꝛitten, I can not thynke it to bee true, both as well foꝛ that whiche ye haue hearde recited out of the authoꝛ that wꝛote *Encomium Emme*, as alſo foꝛ that it ſhould ſeme he myght neuer be ſo directly charged with it, but that he had matter to alledge in his owne excuſe.

But nowe to retourne vnto other doings of king Harolde.

Simon Dun.
Queene Emme baniſhed.

After he had made away his halfe bꝛother Albꝛed, his mother in law Queene Emme he ſpoiled of the moſte parte of hir riches, and therwith baniſhed hir out of the realme: ſo that ſhe ſayled ouer into Flaunders, where ſhe was honoꝛably receyued of Earle Baldwyne, and hauyng of hym honourable pꝛouiſion aſſigned hir, ſhe continued there foꝛ the ſpace of thꝛee yeeres, tyl that after the death of Harrolde ſhe was ſent foꝛ by hir ſonne Hardiknought, that ſucceded Harrolde in the kingdome.

Polidor.
Harold degenerate from his father.
Hen. Hunt.
A nauie in a readineſſe.

Moꝛeouer, Harrolde made ſmall accompte of his ſubiectes, degenerating from the noble vertues of hys father, folowing hym in few things, (except in crafting of tributes and paymentes.) He cauſed in deede. viij. markes of ſiluer to bee leuyed of euery poꝛte oꝛ hauen in Englande, to the reteyning of. xvj. ſhippes furniſhed with men of warre, whyche continued euer in a readineſſe to defende the coaſtes from pyꝛates.

Euil men, the longer they liue, the more they growe into miſerie.

To conclude, with this Harrold. His ſpeedy death pꝛouided well foꝛ his fame, bycauſe (as it was thought) if his lyfe had bene of long continuance, his infamie had bin the greater.

VVil. Mal.
H. Hunt.
VV. Mal.

But after he had reigned foure yeeres oꝛ (as Hariſon gathereth) .iij. yeres & .iij. monethes, he departed out of this woꝛlde at Oxfoꝛde, and was buryed at Wincheſter (as ſome ſay:) other ſay he dyed at Menefoꝛde in the moneth of Apꝛyll, and was buryed at Weſtminſter, whiche ſhould appeare to be true by that whiche after is repoꝛted of his bꝛother Hardiknoughtes cruell dealyng, and great ſpite ſhewed towarde his dead bodye, as after ſhall be ſpecified.

Hardiknought, oꝛ Hardicnute.

Hardicnute.

After that Harrolde was dead, all the nobles of the realm, both Danes and Engliſhmen agreed to ſende foꝛ Hardiknoughte, the ſonne of Canute by his wyfe Queene Emme, and to make him kyng. Here is to be noted, that by the death of king Cnute, the ſtate of thinges was muche altered in thoſe countreys of beyonde the ſea where he had rule & dominion. Foꝛ the Noꝛwegians elected one Magnus, the ſonne of Olauus, to be their king, and the Danes choſe this Hardiknought, whom theyꝛ wꝛiters name Kanute the thirde, to their king and gouernoꝛ.

Alteration in the ſtate of things.

St. Dunel. and M. VVeſt. ſay that he was at Bruges in Flanders with his mother when he was thus ſent for, being come thither to viſite hir.

This Hardiknought oꝛ Canute being aduertiſed of the death of his halfe bꝛother Harold, and that the Loꝛdes of England had choſen him to their king, with all conuenient ſpeed, pꝛepared a nauie, and imbarquing a certain number of men of warre, tooke the ſea, and had the wynde ſo fauourable to his purpoſe, that he arriued vpon the coaſt of Kent the. vj. day after he ſet out of Denmark, and ſo comming to London, was ioyfully receyued, and pꝛoclaymed king, & crowned of Athelnotus the Archb. of Canterbury, in the yere of our Loꝛd. 1041. in the firſt yere of the Empeꝛoꝛ Henry ỹ third, in the. ix. of Henry the firſt of that name king of Fraunce, and in the firſt yere of Magſinloch, *alias* Machabeda king of Scotlande. Incontinently after his eſtabliſhemente in the rule of this realme, he ſent into Flaunders foꝛ his mother Queene Emme, who during the tyme of hir baniſhment, had remayned there. Foꝛ Noꝛmandie in that ſeaſon was gouerned by the French king, by reaſon of the minoꝛitie of Duke Williã ſurnamed the baſtard.

Queene Emme ſent for.

Moꝛeouer, in reuenge of the wꝛong offered to Queene Emme by hir ſonne in lawe Harrolde, Kyng Hardiknoughte dydde cauſe

Alfrike

The bodie of king Harolde taken vp, and throvven into Thames.

S. Clement Danes.

A tribute reiſed.

H. Hunt.

Si. Dunelm.

VVil. Mal.

Mat. VVeſt.

Simon Dun.

Alfrike archbiſhop of Yorke and Erle Goodwin, with other noble men to go to Weſtminſter, and there to take vp the bodie of the ſame Harold and withall appoynted, that the head therof ſhould be ſtriken off, and the trounke of the body to be caſt into the riuer of Thames. Whiche afterwarde beyng found by Fiſhers, was taken vp and buried in the Churchyard of Saint Clement Danes without Temple barre at London. He committed the order and gouernement of thyngs to the handes of his mother Queene Emme, and of Goodwyn that was Erle of Kent. He leuied a ſore tribute of his ſubiectes heere in Englande to paye his ſouldiers and mariners of his nauie, as firſt .xxj. M. pound. and .xcix. pound: and afterward vnto .xxxij. ſhippes, there was a payement made of eleuen thouſand and .xlviij. pound. To euery mariner of his nauie he cauſed a payment of .viij. markes to bee made, and to euerye maiſter .xij. markes. Aboute the payment of this money, great grudge grew amongſt the people, inſomuche as two of his ſeruants, whiche were appointed Collectors in the citie of Worceſter, the one named Feader, and the other Turſtane, were there ſlain. In reuenge of which contempt a great part of the countrey with the Citie was brent, and the goodes of the Citizens put to the ſacke by ſuch power of Lords, and men of warre as the king ſent againſt them.

Ma. VVeſt.

Ra. Higd.

Ex Mariano.

Shortly after, Edward, king Hardiknoughts brother, came forth of Normandie to viſyte him and his mother Queene Emme, of whome he was moſte ioyfully and honorably welcomed and entertayned, and ſhortly after made returne backe againe. It ſhould appere by ſome writers, that after his comming ouer out of Normandie he remayned ſtill in the Realme, ſo that he was not in Normandie when his halfe brother Hardiknoughte dyed, but heere in Englande: although other make other reporte, as after ſhall be ſhewed.

Wyd.

Alſo (as before ye haue hearde) ſome writers ſeeme to mean, that the elder brother Alfrid came ouer at the ſame tyme.

The biſhop of VVorceſter accuſed for making avvaye of Alvred

But ſurely they are therein deceyued: for it was knowne well inough howe tenderly kyng Hardicnute loued his brethren by the mothers ſyde, ſo as there was not any of the Lordes in his dayes, that durſte attempte any ſuche iniurie agaynſte them. True it is, that as well Earle Goodwyn, as the biſhop of Worceſter, (that was alſo put in blame & ſuſpected for the apprehending and making away of Alvred (as before ye haue heard,) were charged by Hardicnute, as culpable in that matter, inſomuch that the ſayd Biſhop was expulſed oute of his ſea by Hardiknought: And after twelue monthes ſpace was reſtored by meanes of ſuch ſummes of money, as he gaue by waye of amendes.

Erle Goodvvin excuſeth ſelfe.

The gift vvhiche Erle Goodvvin gaue to the king.

Earle Goodwyn was alſo put to his purgation, by taking an othe that hee was not giltie. Whiche othe was the better allowed, by reaſon of ſuche a preſent as he gaue to the king for the redeemyng of his fauour and good will, that is to wit, a ſhippe with a ſterne of gold, conteyning therin .lxxx. ſouldiours, wearing on eche of their armes two bracelettes of golde of .xvj. ounces weyght, a triple habergion gylte on their bodies, with gilte burgenetts on their heads, a ſworde with gilt hiltes girded to their waſtes, a battaile Axe after the maner of the Danes, on their lefte ſhulder: a tergat with boſſe & nailes gilt in their left hand: a darte in their right hande: And thus to conclude, they were furniſhed at all peeces with armour and weapon according.

Polidor.

It hath bin ſayd, that Erle Goodwyn mynded to marrie his daughter to one of theſe brethren, and perceyuing that the elder brother Alfred would diſdayne to haue hir, thought good to diſpatche him, that the other taking hir to wyfe, might be nexte heire to the Crowne, and ſo at length enioy it, as it afterwardes came to paſſe.

Alſo about that tyme, when the linage of the kings of Englande was in maner extincte, the Engliſhe people were muche carefull (as hathe bene ſayde) aboute the ſucceſſion of thoſe that ſhoulde enioy the crowne.

Wherevpon as one Brightwold, a Monke of Glaſtenburye, that was afterwarde Biſhop of Winchester, (or as ſome haue written) of Worceſter, ſtudyed oftentymes theron: It chaunced that he dreamed one nyght as he ſlepte in bedde, that he ſawe Saincte Peter ſacre and annoynt Edwarde the ſonne of king Egelred (as then remaining in exile in Normandie) king of Englande. And as he thought, he dyd demaunde of Saincte Peter, who ſhoulde ſucceede the ſayde Edwarde? Wherevnto aunſwere was made by the Apoſtle, Haue thou no care for ſuch matters: for the kingdome of Englande is Gods kingdome, which ſurely in good earneſt may appeare by many great argumentes to be full true vnto ſuche as ſhall well conſider the ſtate of this realme from time to tyme, howe there hath bin euer gouernours rayſed vp to mayntayn the maieſtie of the Kingdome, and to reduce the ſame to the former dignitie, when by any infortunate miſhap, it hath bin brought in daunger.

The death of K. Hardicnute.

Sim. Dunel.

Math. VVeſt.

1042.

But to return now to Kyng Hardiknought, after that hee had reygned two yeares lackyng tenne dayes, as hee ſatte at Table at a greate feaſt holden at Lambheth, he fell downe ſodenly with the pot in his hande, and ſo dyed, not without ſome ſuſpition of poyſon.

Thys chaunced the .8. daye of June at Lambheth aforſaid, where the ſame daye a marriage

K. Hardicanute his conditions. His liberalitie in houſekeping.

Hen. Hunt.

Of vvhome the engliſhemen learned exceſſiue feeding.

The end of the Daniſh rulers.

was ſolemniſed betwene the lady Githa, the daughter of a noble man called Oſgote Clappa, and a Daniſhe lorde called Canute Prudan. His bodie was buried at Wincheſter beſides his fathers. He was of nature very curteous, gentle, and liberall, ſpecially in keeping good cheere in his houſe, ſo that he woulde haue his table couered foure tymes a day, furniſhed with great plentie of meats and drinks, wiſhing that his ſeruantes and all ſtraungers that came to his palaice, might rather leaue than want. It hath bin commonly told that Engliſhmen lerned of him their exceſſiue gourmandize and vnmeaſurable filling of their panches wyth meates and drinks, wherby they forgate the vertuous vſe of ſobrietie, ſo muche neceſſarye to all eſtates and degrees, ſo profitable for all common wealths, and ſo commendable both in the ſight of God, and all good men. In this Hardiknought ceaſed the rule of the Danes within this lande, with the perſecution which they had executed againſt the Engliſh nation, for the ſpace of .250. yeres and more, that is to witte, euer ſith the .x. yeare of Brithrike the king of Weſtſaxons, at what time they firſt began to attempt to inuade the Engliſhe coaſtes.

Howbeit (after Hariſon) they ſhoulde ſeeme to haue ruled heere but .207. reckening from their bringing in by the Welchemen in deſpite of the Saxons, at which time they firſt begã to inhabit here, whiche was .835. of Chriſte .387. after the comming of the Saxons, and .35. neere complet of the reigne of Egbert.

Edwarde.

Edward.

H. Hunt.

Polidore.

H. Hunt. VVil. Malſ. The .3. of April. 1043.

IMmediatly vpon yͤ death of Hardiknought and before his corps was committed to buryall, his halfe brother Edwarde, ſonne of kyng Egelred beogotten of Queene Emme, was choſen to be king of Englande, by the generall conſent of all the nobles and cõmons of the realme. Thereuppon were Ambaſſadours ſente with all ſpeede into Normandie, to ſignifie vnto him his election, and to bring him from thence into Englande, in delyueryng pledges for more aſſuraunce, that no fraude nor deceipte was ment of the Engliſhmen. But that vpon his comming thyther, he ſhoulde receyue the Crowne without all contradiction. Edwarde then ayded by hys couſin William Duke of Normandie, tooke the ſea, and with a ſmall companye of Normans came into Englande, where hee was receyued with greate ioye as king of the realme, and immediatly after was crowned at Wincheſter by Edſinus then archbiſhop of Canterbury, on Eaſter day in the yeare of our Lorde. 1043. whiche fell alſo about the fourth yeare of the Emperor Henrye the thirde, ſurnamed Niger, in the .xij. yeare of Henry the firſte of that name Kyng of Fraunce, and about the third yeare of Makbeth king of Scotland.

This Edwarde the third of that name before the conqueſt, was of nature more meeke & ſimple than apte to the gouernement of the realme, and therfore did Erle Goodwyn not only ſeeke the deſtruction of his elder brother Alfred, but alſo holpe in that he mighte to aduaunce this Edwarde to the crowne, in hope to beare great rule in the realme vnder him, whome hee knewe to be ſofte, gentle and eaſy to be perſuaded.

But whatſoeuer writers do report hereof, ſure it is, that Edwarde was the elder brother, and not Alvred, ſo that if erle Goodwyn did ſhew his furtherance by his pretenced cloake of offring his frendſhip vnto Alvred to betraye him, he did it by king Harolds cõmandement, and yet it may be that he ment to haue vſurped the crowne to himſelf, if eche poynt had aunſwered his expectation in the ſequele of things as he hoped they would, and therfore had not paſſed if bothe the brethren had bin in heauen. But yet when the worlde framed contrary (peraduenture) to his purpoſe, he didde his beſt to aduaunce Edward, truſting to beare no ſmall rule vnder him, being knowne to be a man more appliable to be gouerned by other than to truſt to his owne wit, and ſo chiefly by the aſſiſtance of Erle Goodwyn: whoſe authoritie (as appeareth) was not ſmall within the Realme of Englande in thoſe dayes, Edwarde came to attayne the Crowne: wherevnto the erle of Cheſter Leofryke alſo ſhewed all the furtherance that in him lay.

Ran. Higd. ex Mariano. Albert. Crants

Some write (which ſemeth alſo to be confirmed by the Daniſh chronicles) that king Hardiknought in his lyfe tyme had receyued this Edwarde into his Courte, and reteyned him ſtill in the ſame in moſte honourable wyſe.

But for that it maye appeare in the abſtracte of the Daniſhe Chronicles, what their writers hadde of this matter recorded, we doe here paſſe ouer, referring thoſe that be deſyrous to knowe the diuerſitie of oure wryters and theyrs, vnto the ſame Chronicles, where they may fynd it more at large expreſſed.

Thys in no wyſe is to be lefte vnremembred, that immediatly after the death of Hardiknought

it was

Polidore.

Danes expelled.

it was not only decreed and agreed vppon by the greate Lords and nobles of the Realme, that no Dane from thenceforth ſhoulde reigne ouer them, but alſo all menne of warre and ſouldiours of the Danes whiche lay within anye Citie or Caſtell in garriſon within the realme of Englande, were then expulſed and put out, or rather ſlayne (as the Daniſhe writers do rehearſe.

Sim. Dunel.

Gonild nece to king Svvayne.

Amongſt other that were baniſhed, the ladie Gonild nece to king Swayn by his ſiſter, was one, beeing as then a widdowe, and with hir two of hir ſonnes, whiche ſhe had then lyuing, Heming and Turkyll, were alſo cauſed to auoyde.

Polidore.

There be that write, that Alfred the brother of king Edwarde, came not into the realme till after the death of Hardiknought, and that he didde helpe to expulſe the Danes, and that done, was ſlaine by Erle Goodwin and other of his complices. But how this may ſtande, conſidering the circumſtāces of the tyme, with ſuche things as are written by diuers authors hereof, it may well be doubted.

But whether Earle Goodwyn was giltie to the death of Alfred, eyther at this time, or before, certayne it is, that he ſo cleered him ſelfe of that cryme vnto King Edwarde, the brother of Alfred, that there was none ſo highly in fauoure with hym as Earle Goodwyn was, inſomuche that king Edwarde maryed the lady Eaditha, the daughter of erle Goodwyn, begotten of his wyfe Thira, that was ſyſter to King Hardiknought, and not of his ſeconde wyfe, as ſome haue written.

K. Edvvarde marieth the daughter of erle Goodvvin

Polidore.

But ſo it was, that King Edwarde neuer had to doe with hir in fleſhly wyſe. But whether he abſteined bicauſe he hadde haply vowed chaſtitie, eyther of impotencie of nature, or for a priuie hate that hee bare to hir kinne, men doubted. For it hath bene thoughte, that he eſteemed not Earle Goodwyn ſo greatly in his hearte, as he outwardely made ſhewe to doe, but rather for feare of his puiſſaunce, diſſēbled with him, leaſt he ſhoulde otherwiſe put hym ſelfe in danger both of loſſe of life & kingdom. Howſoeuer it was, he vſed his counſel in ordering of things concerning the ſtate of the cōmon wealth, and namely in the harde handelyng of his mother Queene Emme, agaynſte who diuers accuſatiōs were brought & alledged: as firſt for yͤ ſhe conſented to marrie with king Cnute, the publike enimie of the realme. Againe, that ſhe did nothing ayde or ſuccoure hir ſonnes whyle they liued in exile, and that worſe was, contriued to haue made them away. For which cauſe ſhe was diſpoyled of al hir goodes: And bicauſe ſhe was defamed to be naughtie of hir bodie with Alwyne or Adwine biſhop of Wincheſter, both ſhe and the ſame biſhop were cōmitted to priſon within the citie of Wincheſter, (as ſome write:) but other affirme, that ſhe was ſtraytly kepte in the Abbey of Warwell, tyl by way of purging hir ſelfe, after a maruellous manner, in paſſyng barefooted ouer certaine hot ſhares or ploughyrons, according to the lawe *Ordalium*, ſhe cleered hir ſelfe (as the world tooke it) and was reſtored to hir firſt aſtate and dignitie. Hir exceſſiue couetouſneſſe without regarde had to the poore, cauſed hir alſo to be euil reported of. And ageyne, for that ſhe euer ſhewed hir ſelfe to be more naturall to the iſſue whiche ſhe had by hir ſecond huſband Cnute, than to hir children which ſhe had by hir firſte huſbande kyng Egelred (as it were declaryng howe ſhe was affected toward the fathers, by the loue borne to the children) ſhe loſte a greate peece of good will at the handes of hir ſonnes, Alfred & Edwarde: So that nowe the ſaid Edwarde enioying the realme, was eaſily induced to think euill of hir, and thereuppon vſed hir the more vncourteouſly. But hir greate liberalitie employed on the churche of Wincheſter, whiche ſhe furniſhed with maruelous riche iewels and ornamentes, wan hir great commendation in the worlde, and excuſed hir partly in the ſight of many, of the infamie imputed to hir for the immoderate filling of hir coffers by all wayes and meanes ſhee coulde deuiſe. And after that ſhe had purged hir ſelf, as before is mētioned, hir ſonne king Edwarde had hir euer after in great honor and reuerence. And whereas Robert Archbiſhop of Canterbury, had ben ſore againſt hir, he was ſore abaſhed of the matter that hee fledde into Normandye, where hee was borne.

Edvvarde ...yeth his companie ...is vvife.

Edvvarde ...eth strayt- ...vvith his ...her Queene ...me.

...eene Emme ...poiled of hir ...odes.

She is accused of dissolute liuing

Ran. Higd.

She purgeth hir selfe by the lavv. Ordalium

VV. Malm.

Ran. Higd.

Robert Archbishop of Canterbury.

But it ſhoulde ſeeme by that whiche after ſhall be ſaid, that he fled not the realme for this matter, but for that he counſelled the king to baniſh Erle Goodwyn, and alſo to vſe the Engliſhmen more ſtraitly thā reſon was he ſhuld.

Frenchmen or Normans firste entered into Englande.

Ye muſt vnderſtande, that kyng Edwarde brought diuers Normās ouer with him, whiche in tyme of his baniſhment had ſhewed him great frendſhip, wherefore he nowe ſought to recompenſe them. Amongeſt other, this Robert was one, which before his comming ouer was a Monke in the abbey of Gemeticum in Normandie, & by the king was firſt aduanced to gouern yͤ ſea of London, & after was made archbiſhop of Cant. & bare great rule vnder yͤ king, ſo that he coulde not auoyde the enuie of diuers noble men, & ſpecially of erle Goodwin as after ſhal appere. About yͤ third yere of K. Edwardes reigne, Olgod Clap was baniſhed

1046.

the Realme. And in the yeare folowyng, that is to witte, in the yeare. 1047. there fell a merualous great ſnowe, couering the grounde fro the beginning of Januarie vntill the. xvij. daye of Marche. And beſides this, there hapned the ſame yeare ſuche tempeſte and lyghtenings, that the corne vpon the earth was brent vp and blaſted: by reaſon whereof, there folowed a great dearthe in England, and alſo death of men and cattell.

A great dearth.
Ran. Higd

About this time Swain the ſon of erle Goodwin was baniſhed the land, & fled into Flanders.

Svvayn Goodvvins ſonne baniſhed.
Edgina abbeſſe of Leoffe.

This Swayne kepte Edgina, the Abbeſſe of the Monaſterie of Leoffe, and forſaking his wife meante to haue marryed the foreſayde Abbeſſe. Within a certain tyme after his baniſhement, he returned into Englande, in hope to purchaſe the kings peace by his fathers meanes and other his frendes. But vpon ſome malicious pretence, he ſlewe his couſin Erle Bearne, which was about to labour to the king for his pardone, and ſo then fledde againe into Flaunders, till at length Alered the Archbiſhop of Yorke obteyned his pardon, and founde meane to reconcile him to the kings fauour.

This Bearne vvas the ſon of Vlfus a Dane, vncle to thys Svvane by his mother, the ſiſter of Kyng Svvayne.

In the meane tyme about the. vj. yere of king Edwards reigne, certaine pirates of the Danes arriued in Sandwiche hauen, and entring the lande, waſted and ſpoyled all about the coaſt.

H. Hunt.

There bee that write, that the Danes had at that tyme to their leaders two Capitaynes, the one named Lother, and the other Irlyng.

H. Hunt.
The Danes ſpoyle Sandvviche.

After they had ben at Sandwiche, and brought from thence great riches of golde and ſiluer, they coaſted about vnto the ſide of Eſſex, & there ſpoyling the countrey, went backe to the ſea, and ſayling into Flanders, made ſale of their ſpoyles & booties there, and ſo returned to their coũtreys.

After this, during the reigne of king Edward, there chaunced no warres, neyther forrayne nor ciuile, but that the ſame was eyther with ſmall ſlaughter luckily ended, or elſe without any notable aduenture, chaunged into peace.

The Welchemen in deede with theyr princes Ryſe and Griffyn wroughte ſome trouble, but ſtill they were ſubdued, and in the ende both the ſayd Ryſe and Griffyn were brought vnto confuſion: although in the meane tyme they didde muche hurte, and namely Griffyn, who wyth ayde of ſome Iriſhmen, with whome he was alyed, aboute this tyme entred into the Seuerne ſea, and tooke prayes aboute the riuer of Wye: and after returned without any battaile to him offered.

Ryſe and Griffyn Princes of VVales.

Aboute the ſame tyme, to witte, in the yeare 1049. the Emperour Henry the third made warres againſt Baldwyn Erle of Flaunders, and for that he wiſhed to haue the ſea ſtopped, that the ſayde Earle ſhoulde not eſcape by flight that waye forth, he ſente to king Edwarde willing him to kepe the ſea with ſome number of ſhippes, King Edwarde furniſhyng a nauie, lay wyth the ſame at Sandwiche, and ſo kept the ſeas on that ſide, till the Emperoure had his will of the Earle.

1049.
Si. Dunelm.
Hermannus Contractus.
Ia. Meir.

At the ſame tyme Swayne, ſonne of Earle Goodwyn came into the realme, and traiterouſly ſlewe his couſin Bearne (as before is ſayd,) the whiche trauayled to agree him with the king.

Alſo Goſipat Clappe, who had lefte his wyfe at Bruges in Flaunders, comming amongeſt other of the Daniſhe pirates, whiche had robbed in the coaſtes of Kente and Eſſex, as before ye haue hearde, receyued hys wyfe, & departed back into Denmark with ſix ſhips, leauyng the reſidue, being. xxiij. behynde him.

Simon Dun.

Aboute the tenthe yeare of king Edwardes reigne, Euſtace Erle of Bolongne, that was father vnto the valiaunt Godfreye of Bouillon and Baldwyn, both afterwarde kings of Hieruſalem, came ouer into Englande in the moneth of September, to viſite his brother in lawe Kyng Edwarde, whoſe ſiſter named Goda, he had maryed, ſhe then being the wydow of Gualter de Maunte. He founde the kyng at Glouceſter, and beyng there ioyfully receyued, after he had once diſpatched ſuche matters for the which hee chiefly came, he tooke leaue, and retourned homewarde. But at Canterbury one of his herbingers dealyng roughly with one of the Citizens aboute a lodging, whiche he ſought to haue rather by force than by entreatance, occaſioned his owne death.

Fabian.
1051.
Mat. VVeſ
The earle of Flanders co
meth into En
glande.
Ra. Higd.
VV. Mal.
Goda ſiſter t
K. Edvvard.
VVil. Ma
Douer hath
VVeſte,

Whereof when the earle was aduertiſed, hee haſted thither to reuenge the ſlaughter of his ſeruaunt, and ſlewe both that Citizen whiche had killed his man. and. xviij. others.

The Citizens herewith in a greate furie, gotte them to armour, and ſette vpon the earle and his meynie, of whome they ſlewe twentie perſons out of hande, and wounded a greate number of the reſidue, ſo that the erle vneth mighte eſcape with one or two of his men from the fraye, and with all ſpeede returned backe to the kyng, preſenting greeuous information againſte them of Cãterbury, for their cruel vſing of hym, not onely in ſleayng of his ſeruauntes, but alſo in puttyng him in daunger of his lyfe.

A fray in C
terbury be
tvvixt the e
of Bologne
and the tovv
men.

The Kyng crediting the Earle was hyghely offended agaynſte the Citizens, and wyth all ſpeede ſendyng for Earle Goodwyn, declared vnto hym in greeuous wyſe, the rebellyous acte of them of Canterbury, whiche were vnder his iuriſdiction.

The Erle who was a man of a bold courage and quicke witte, dydde perceyue that the matter was made a greate deale worſe at the fyrſte

The erle c
plaineth to
king.

in the beginnyng, than of lykelyhoode it woulde proue in the end, thought it reaſon therefore that firſte the aunſwere of the Kentiſhemen ſhoulde be hearde before any ſentence were giuen againſt them. And herevpon although the king commanded hym forthwith to goe with an armie into Kent, and to puniſh them of Canterbury in moſt rigorous manner, yet he woulde not be to haſty, but refuſed to execute the Kinges commaundement, both for that hee bare a piece of grudge in his mynde, that the kyng ſhoulde fauour ſtraungers ſo hyghly as he did, And agayne, bycauſe hereby he ſhuld ſeme to do pleſure to his coũtreymen, in taking vppon hym to defende their cauſe againſte the rough accuſations of ſuche as had accuſed them. Wherfore he declared to the king that it ſhoulde bee conueniente to haue the ſuppoſed offendours fyrſte called afore hym, and if they were able to excuſe themſelues, then to bee ſuffered to departe without further vexation: and if they were found faultie, then to be put to their fine, bothe as well in ſatiſfying the King, whoſe peace they had broken, as alſo the Erle, whom they had indamaged.

Earle Goodwyn offended with the kyng for fauouring ſtraungers.

Earle Goodwyn departed thus from the king, leauing him in a greate furie: howbeit hee paſſed little thereof, ſuppoſing it would not long continue. But the king called a greate aſſemble of his lordes, together at Gloceſter, that the matter might be more deepely conſidered. Sywarde Erle of Northumberland and Leofryke Erle of Cheſter, with Rafe Erle of Hereford, the kings nephew by his ſiſter Goda, and al other the noble men of the realme, only Erle Goodwyn and his ſonnes, meant not to come there, excepte they myght bring with them a great power of armed men, and ſo remained at Beberſtane, with ſuch bandes as they had leuyed vnder a colour to reſiſt the Welchemen, whome they bruted abroade to bee readie to inuade the marches aboute Herefor de.

A councell called at Glouceſter.

Syward Earle of Northũberland Leofrike Erle of Cheſter Rafe erle of Hereford.

Wil. Mal.

But the Welchemen preuenting that ſlaunder, ſignified to the king that no ſuch matter was ment on their parties, but that Earle Goodwyn and his ſonnes with their complices, went about to moue a commotion againſt him. Herevpon a rumour was rayſed in the Courte that the kings power ſhoulde ſhortely marche forth to aſſayle Earle Goodwyn in that place where hee was lodged. Wherevpon the ſame Erle prepared himſelfe, and ſent to his frendes, willing to ſticke to this quarrell, and if the king ſhould go about to force them, then to withſtande him, rather than to yelde and ſuffer themſelues to be troden vnder foote by ſtraungers.

Earle Goodwyn prepareth to defend hym ſelfe againſt the king.

Swayn.

Goodwyn in this meane tyme had got together a greate power of his countreys of Kente, Southerie, and other of the weaſt parts. Swayn lykewiſe had aſſembled muche people out of his countreys of Barkeſhire, Oxfordſhire, Somerſetſhire, Herefordſhire, and Glouceſterſhyre. And Harrolde was alſo come to them wyth a greate multitude whiche hee had leuyed in Eſſex, Norffolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeſhire and Huntingdonſhire.

Ran. Higd.
Mat. VVeſt.
Sim. Dunel.
Harolde.

On the other parte the Erles that were with the king, Leofryke, Sywarde, and Rauſe, reyſed all the power whiche they might make, and the ſame approching to Gloceſter, the king thoughte him ſelfe in more ſuretie than before, in ſomuche that where as Earle Goodwin (who lay with his armie at Langton there not farre off in Glouceſterſhire) had ſente vnto the king requiryng that the Earle of Bolongne with the other Frenchmen and alſo the Normans which helde the Caſtell of Douer, might bee deliuered vnto him,

Si. Dunelm.

The King althoughe at the firſte hee ſtoode in great doubt what to do, yet hearing now that an army of his friendes was commyng, made anſwere to the meſſengers, which Goodwin had ſent, that hee woulde not deliuer a man of thoſe whome Goodwin required, and herewith the ſaid meſſengers being departed the kings army entred into Glouceſter and ſuch readie good willes appeared in them all to fight with the aduerſaries, that if the kyng woulde haue permitted, they woulde forthwith haue gone forth and gyuen battaile to the enimies. And thus the matter was at poynt to haue put the realme in hazarde not only of a field, but of vtter ruine that might therof haue enſued: for what on the one parte and the other, there were aſſembled the chiefeſt Lordes and moſt able perſonages of the lande. But by the wyſedome and good aduiſe of Earle Leofrike and others, the matter was pacified for a tyme, and order taken, that they ſhoulde come to a parliament or communication at London, vppon pledges giuen and receyued as well on the one parte as the other.

The king with a mightie armye of the Northumbers, and them of Mercia, came vnto London, and Earle Goodwyn with his ſonnes, and a greate power of the Weaſt Saxons, came into Southwarke, but perceyuing that many of his companie ſtale awaye and ſlipte from hym, he durſte not abyde any longer to enter talke with the Kyng, as it was couenaunted but in the nyghte nexte enſewing, fledde away with all ſpeede poſſible.

Some write, howe an order was preſcribed that Swanus the eldeſt ſonne of Goodwyn ſhoulde departe the lande as a banyſhed manne to qualifye the Kynges wrathe, and that Goodwyn and one other of his ſonnes, that is to witte, Harrolde, ſhould come to an other aſſemble

VV. Mal.

Svvayn eldeſt ſonne to Goodvvin baniſhed.

aſſemble to bee holden at London, accompanyed with twelue ſeruauntes onely, and to reſygne all his force of Knights, Gentlemen and Souldiours vnto the Kings guyding and gouernement.

Earle Goodvvin fled the realme.

But when this laſt article pleaſed nothing erle Goodwyn, and that he perceyued howe his force beganne to decline, ſo as hee ſhoulde not be able to matche the kinges power, he fledde the realme, and ſo likewiſe did his ſonnes. He himſelfe with his ſonnes Swanus, Toſtie, and Gurth, ſayled into Flaunders: and Harrolde with his brother Leofwyn gat ſhippes at Briſtow and paſſed into Irelande. Githa the wyfe of Goodwyn, and Judith the wife of Toſtie, the daughter of Baldwyn Earle of Flaunders wente ouer alſo with their huſbands.

Goodvvin and his ſonnes proclaymed outlavves.

The king hauing perfect knowledge, that erle Goodwyn had refuſed to come to the Courte in ſuche order as he had preſcribed hym, and that he was departed the realm with his ſonnes: he proclaymed them outlawes, and gaue the landes of Harrolde vnto Algar, the ſonne of Erle Leofrik, who guyded the ſame right worthyly, and reſigned them agayne withoute grudging vnto the ſame Harrold when he was returned out of exile.

Alſo vnto Erle Oddo were giuen the counties of Deuonſhire and Somerſetſhire.

Moreouer, about the ſame time yͤ king put his wife Queene Editha from him, and appoynted hir to ſtraight keeping in the Abbey of Warwel.

The King p
avvay his v
Queene Ed

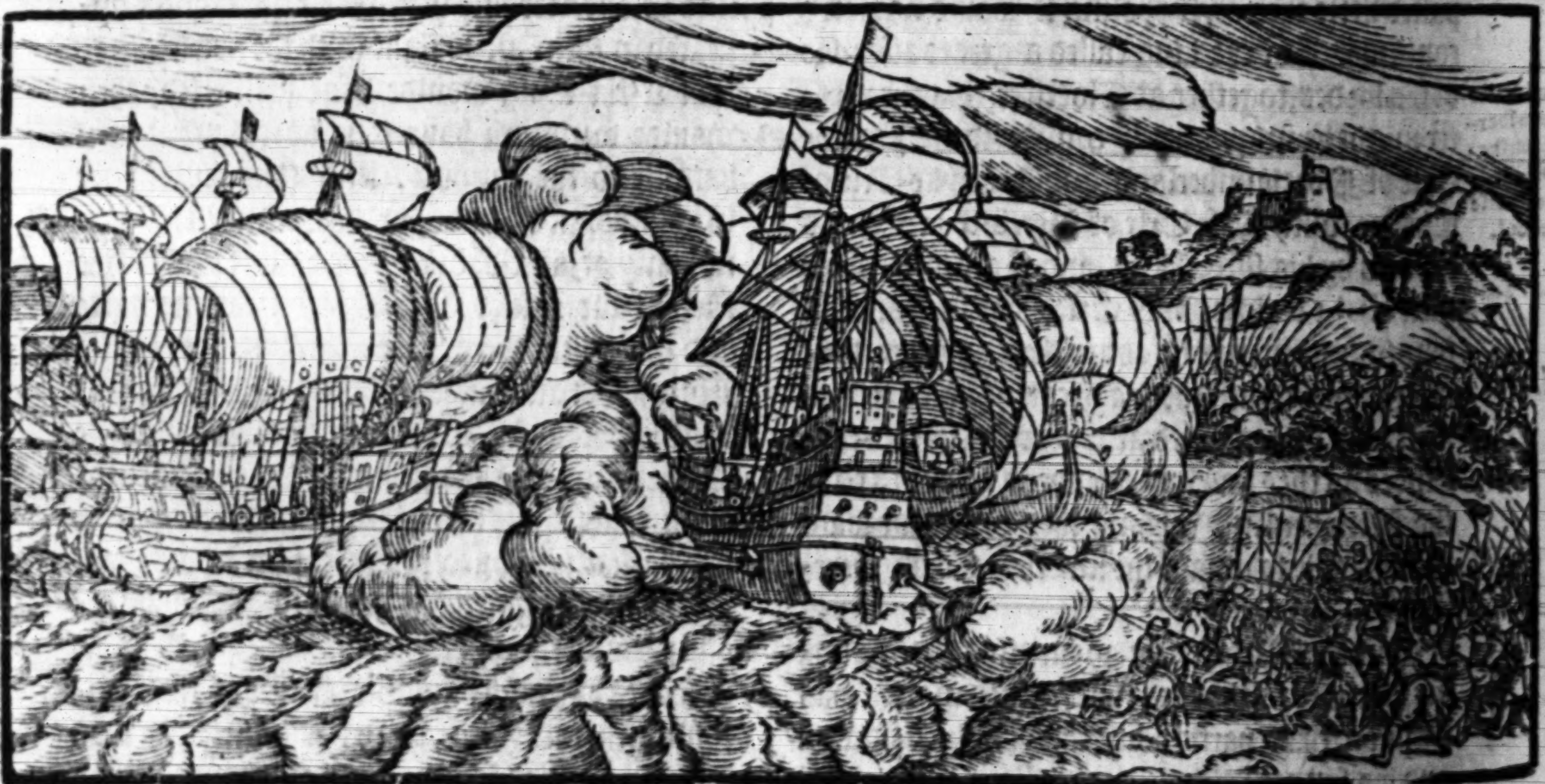
This Editha was a noble Gentlewoman, well learned, and experte in all the ſciences, yet hir good name was ſtayned ſomwhat, as though ſhee had not lyued ſo continently as was to be wiſhed, both in hir huſbands lyfe tyme, and after his deceaſe. But yet at the houre of hir deathe (whyche chaunced in the dayes of Wylliam Conquerour,) ſhee cleared hir ſelfe, in takyng it vpon the charge of hir ſoule, that ſhee hadde euer lyued in perfecte chaſtitie: For kyng Edwarde (as before is mentioned) neuer touched hir in any actuall manner.

By thys ſtraight dealyng with the Queene that was daughter to Earle Goodwyn, now in tyme of hir fathers exile, it hath ſeemed to many, that Kyng Edwarde forbare to deale with hir in carnall wyſe, more for hatred of hir kin, than for any other reſpecte. But to procede.

105

H.Hunt.

In the ſeconde yeare of Goodwyns baniſhmente, both he and his ſonnes hauyng prouyded them ſelues of ſhippes and menne of warre conueniente for the purpoſe, came vpon the coaſtes of Englande, and after the manner of Rouers, tooke prayes where as they eſpyed aduauntage, namely on the coaſtes of Kente and Suſſex.



Griffin kyng of VVales deſtroyeth Herefordshire.

In the meane tyme alſo Griffyn the kyng of Wales, deſtroyed a great parte of Herfordſhire agaynſte whome the power of that countreye and alſo manye Normans that laye in garriſon wythin the Caſtell of Hereforde, commyng to gyue battayle, were ouerthrowne on the ſame daye, in the whyche aboute two and twentie yeares before (or as ſome Copies haue thirteene yeares) the Welchemen hadde ſlayne Edwyn, the brother of Earle Leofrike.

Harold i
deth the
of Dorſet
Somerſet.

Shortely after, Earle Harrolde and his brother Leofwyn retourning out of Ireland, entred into the Seuerne ſea, landing on the coaſtes of Somerſette and Dorſet ſhires, where fallyng to ſpoyle, they were encountred by a power aſſembled oute of the Counties of Deuonſhire and Somerſetſhire: but Harolde putte his aduerſaries to flight, and ſlewe thirtie Gentlemen of honoure, or Thanes (as they called them) with a great number of others.

Earle Harrolde then and his bretherne, returning

turning with their pray and bootie to their ſhips, and coaſting about the poynte of Cornewalle, came and ioyned with their father and their other brethren, as then ſoiourning in ẏ Iſle of Wight.

King Edward to withſtand their malice, had rigged and furniſhed forth ſixtie Ships of war, with the which he himſelfe went to the water, not ſticking to lie abourde at that ſeaſon, although he had appoynted for Captaynes and admirals two Earles that were his couſins, Odo and Rauſe, who had charge of the whole army. Rauſe was his nephew, as ſonne to his ſiſter Goda by hir firſt huſband Gualter de Maunte. But although they were knowen to bee ſufficiente men for the ordering of ſuch buſineſſe, yet he thought the neceſſitie to be ſuche, as his perſon coulde not be preſently ſpared. Therefore he was diligent in foreſeeyng of things by good aduice, although age woulde not giue him leaue to execute the ſame by hys owne hand, and force of body: but as the Nauies on both partes were ready to haue ioyned, they were ſeuered by reaſon of a thicke miſt that then roſe, whereby their furious rage was reſtrayned for that time: and immediately therevpon, Goodwin and his complices were forced by a contrary winde, to returne to the places from whence they came. And ſhortly after by mediation of friends, a peace was made, and Earle Goodwine reſtored home, and obteined againe bothe ẏ kings fauour, and al his former liuings: for he was ſuch an eloquent wiſe man, that he cleared and purged himſelfe of all ſuch crimes and accuſations, as in any ſort had bin layde againſt him. Thus haue ſome written concerning this agreement betwixt King Edward and Earle Goodwin, where other make ſomwhat larger report therof, as thus. The ſame time that the two ſonnes of Earle Goodwin, Harrold and Leofwine came forth of Ireland and inuaded the Weſt countrey, King Edwarde rigged forthe fortie Shippes, the whyche throughly furniſhed with men, munition, & vittayles, he ſente vnto Sandwich, commaundyng the Captaynes there to awaite for the comming of Earle Goodwin, whome he vnderſtood to be in a readineſſe to returne into Englande: but notwithſtanding, there wanted no diligence in them to looke to their charge, Earle Goodwine ſecretly with a few Shippes whiche he had got togither, arriued in Kent, and ſending forth his letters and meſſengers abroade vnto the Citizens of Canterbury, to the of Suſſex, Southrey, and others, required them of ayde, who with one conſente, promiſed to liue and die with him. The Captaines of the nauie at Sandwich aduertiſed hereof, made towardes the place where they thought to haue found Erle Goodwin: but he being warned of their comming, eſcaped by flight, and gote him out of their daunger, whereupon they withdrew to Sandwiche, and after returned to London. Earle Goodwin aduertiſed thereof, ſayled to the Iſle of Wight, and waſted vp and downe those Seas, til his ſonnes Harrold and Leofwine came and ioyned their nauie with his, and ceaſſing from ſpoyle, only ſought to recouer vittailes to ſerue their turne. And increſing their power by ſuche ayde as they might any where procure, at length they came vnto Sandwiche, wherof K. Edward hauing knowledge, being then at London, hee ſente abroade to reyſe all the power hee mighte make, but they that were appoynted to come vnto him, lingered time, in whiche meane while, Earle Goodwin came into the Thames, & ſo vp the Riuer, arriued in Southwarke, on the day of the exaltation of the Croſſe in September, being Monday, and there ſtaying for the tide, ſolicited the Londoners, ſo as hee obteyned of them what hee coulde deſire, and afterwardes withoute diſturbance, with the tide paſſed vp the Riuer through the South arche of the Bridge, & at ẏ ſame inſtant, a mighty army whiche he had by land, muſtred in the fieldes on that South ſide the ſame Riuer, and herewith his nauie made towardes the Northe ſide of the Riuer, as if they ment to encloſe ẏ kings nauie, for ẏ K. had alſo a nauie and an army by land: but yet ſith ther were few either on the one part or the other, that were able to do any great feate except Engliſhmen, they were loth to fight one againſt another, wherevpon, the wiſer ſort on both ſides ſought meanes to make an atonemente: & ſo at length by their diligent trauel, the matter was taken vp, and the armies being diſmiſſed on both partes, Erle Goodwin was reſtored to his former dignitie. There were pledges deliuered on his behalfe, that is to wit, Wilnotus one of his ſonnes, and Hacun the ſon of Suanus, that was the eldeſt ſon of Goodwin. Theſe two pledges were ſent vnto Williã Duke of Normandy, to bee kepte with hym for more aſſurance of Goodwines loyaltie. Some write, that Suanus ẏ eldeſt ſon of Goodwin was not reconciled to ẏ kings fauour at this time, but whether he was or not, this is reported of him for a troth, ẏ after he had attẽpted ſundry rebellions againſt K. Edward, he laſtly alſo rebelled againſt his father Goodwin, & his brother Harrold, & became a Pyrat, diſhonoring wͭ ſuch manifold robberies as he made on the Seas, ẏ noble progenie whereof he was diſcended. Finally, vpõ remorſe of cõſciẽce (as hath bin thought) for ẏ murthering of his couſin (or as ſome ſay his brother) Earle Biorne, he went on pilgrimage to Ieruſalem, & died by the way in returning homeward of cold which he caught (as ſome write) in Licia: but other affirme, that he fell into the hands of Saraſins, that were robbers by the high wayes, and ſo was murthered of them. The forſayd William Duke of Normandy (that after conquered thys lande) (during the time of Goodwines outlary,

in.Dunel.

It ſeemeth that Earle Goodwine was well friended.

Ran. Higd.
Mat. VVeſt.
Simon Dun.
VVil. Malm.

Ran. Higd.
VVil. Mal.

William Duke of Normandy commeth ouer into England.

G

came

Williã Duke of Normandy commeth ouer into England.

came ouer into this lande with a faire retinue of men, and was ioyfully receyued of the King, and had great cheere: and after he had tarried a ſeaſon, he returned into his countrey, not without great giftes of iewels and other things, whiche the K. moſt liberally beſtowed vpon him. And as ſome write, the King promiſed hym at that tyme, to make hym his heire to the Realme of England, if he chaunced to die without iſſue.

Polidor.

King Edwards promiſe to duke William

Shortly after, or rather ſomewhat before, died Q. Emme the kings mother, and was buryed at Wincheſter. After that Earle Godwin was reſtored to the Kyngs fauoure, bycauſe hee knewe that Robert the Archbiſhop of Canterbury hadde bin the chiefe procurer of the Kings euill will towards him, he founde meanes to weare him out of credite, and diuers other ſpecially of the Normans, bearing the world in hande, that they had ſoughte to trouble the ſtate of the Realme, to ſet variance betwixte the King and the Lordes of the Engliſhe nation: whereas the Normans agayne alleaged, that Earle Godwin and hys ſonnes abuſed the Kings ſoft and gentle nature, and woulde not ſticke to ieſt and mocke at hys curteous and milde proceedings. But howſoeuer the matter wẽt, the Archbiſhop Robert was glad to depart out of the Realm, and going to Rome, made complaynte in the Court there, of the iniuries ẏ were offered him: but in returning through Normandy, he dyed in the Abbey of *Gemmeticum*, where he had bin Monke before his cõmyng into England. Dyuerſe other were compelled to forſake the Realme at the ſame time, both ſpiritual men and temporal, as William Biſhoppe of London, and Ulf Biſhop of Lincolne. Oſberne ſurnamed Pentecoſt, and his companyon Hugh, were conſtreyned to ſurrender their Caſtels, and by licence of Earle Leofrike withdrewe through his countrey into Scotlande, where of Kyng Mackbeth they were honorably receyued. Theſe were Normans: for as partly yee haue hearde, Kyng Edwarde broughte with him no ſmall number of that nation, when he came from thence to receyue the Crowne, and by them hee was altogither ruled to the greate offending of his own naturall ſubiects the Engliſhmẽ, namely Earle Godwine and his ſonnes, who in thoſe dayes for their greate poſſeſſions and large reuenewes, were had in no ſmall reputation with the Engliſh people.

The Archbiſhop of Canterbury baniſhed.

Normans baniſhed the Realm.

After that the Archbiſhop of Canterbury Robert was departed the Realme, as before ye haue hearde, Stigand was made Archbiſhop of Canterbury, or rather thruſt him ſelfe into that dignitie, not being lawfully called, in like manner as he had done at Wincheſter: for where as he was firſt Biſhop of Shireborne, he left that Churche, and tooke vpon him the Biſhoprike of Wincheſter by force, and nowe atteyning to be Archbiſhop of Cãterbury, he kept both Wincheſter and Canterbury in his hand at one inſtant. Thys Stigand was greatly infamed for his couetous practiſing in ſale of poſſeſſions apperteyning to ẏ Church. He was nothing learned, but that want was a common fault amongſt the Biſhops of ẏ age, for it was openly ſpoken in thoſe dayes, that he was meete onely to be a Biſhop which coulde vſe the pomp of the world, voluptuous pleaſures, rich rayment, and ſet himſelfe forthe with a iolly retinue of gentlemen and ſeruauntes on horſebacke, for therein ſtoode the countenaunce of a Biſhop as the worlde then framed, and not in ſtudy how to haue the people fed with the word of lyfe, to the ſauing of their ſoules. King Edward now in the twelfth yere of his raigne, hauing brought the ſtate of the Realme quite from troubles of warre both by Sea and land, he began to foreſee as well for the welth of his ſubiects, as for hymſelfe, being naturally enclined to wiſh well to all men. He therfore conſidered, how by the manifold lawes which had bin made by Britaynes, Engliſhmen and Danes within this lande, occaſion was miniſtred to manye, whiche meaſured all things by reſpect of their owne priuate gaine and profit, to peruert iuſtice, and to vſe wrongful dealing in ſteede of righte, clouding the ſame vnder ſome braunche of lawe, naughtily miſconſtrued, whervpon to auoyde that miſchiefe, he piked out a ſumme of that huge and immeſurable maſſe and heape of lawes, ſuche as were thought moſt indifferent and neceſſary, and therwith ordeyned a fewe, and thoſe moſt wholeſome, to bee from thenceforth vſed, according to whoſe preſcript men might liue in due forme and rightfull order of a ciuill life. Theſe lawes wer afterwards called the common lawes, and alſo Sainte Edwarde his lawes, ſo muche eſteemed of the Engliſhmen, that after the Conqueſt, when the Normans oftentimes wente about to abrogate the ſame, there chaunced no ſmall mutenies and rebellions for reteyning of thoſe lawes. But heere is to bee noted, that although they were called Saint Edwardes lawes, they were for the more part made by King Edgar, but now by K. Edwarde reſtored, after they had bin abrogated for a time by the Danes.

Stigand Archbiſhop of Cãterbury.

Ran. Higd.
Fabian.

Stigand infamed of Simony.

What man
of men mee
to be Biſhop
in the ſe day

Polidor.

Th lawes
Saint Ew
inſtituted.

About this time, Erle Godwin died ſuddainly (as ſome haue recorded) as he ſate at table with the King: and vpon talke miniſtred of the deathe of Alfred the Kyngs brother, to excuſe himſelfe, he tooke a peece of bread, and eate it, ſaying: God let mee neuer ſwallow this bread downe into my cheſt, but that I may preſently bee choked therewith, if euer I was weeting or conſenting vnto Alfredes deathe: and immediately therewith, hee fell downe ſtarke dead. Other ſay, that hee ended his

1053
or 1054

Hec. Boeti
Polidor.
Wil. Mal
Math. We

Ran. Higd.
ex Man

Dun.
This is the
[illegible] tale.

his life at Wincheſter, where beeing ſuddaynely ſurpriſed with ſickneſſe, as hee ſate at the Table with the King vpon an Eaſter Monday, he lyued yet till the Thurſday following, and then dyed. Hys Earledome was giuen vnto his ſonne Harrold, & Harrolds Erledome which was Oxeford, was gyuen vnto Algar the ſon of Leofricke.

This Godwin, as hee was a man of greate power, wiſe, hardie, and politike, ſo was hee ambitious, deſirous to beare rule, and loth that any other perſon ſhould paſſe him in authoritie. But yet whether all be true that Writers report of his malitious practiſes to bryng hymſelfe and hys ſonnes to the chiefe ſeate of gouernemente in the Kingdome, or that of hatred ſuch ſlaunders were reyſed of him, it may of ſome perhappes be doubted, bycauſe that in the dayes of King Edwarde (whiche was a ſoft and gentle Prince) hee bare greate rule and authoritie, and ſo mighte procure to himſelfe euill report for euery thing that chanced amiſſe, as oftentimes it commeth to paſſe in ſuche caſes, where thoſe that haue greate doyngs in the gouernemente of the common wealthe, are commonly euill ſpoken of, and that now and then without their gilt. But truth it is, that Godwin beeing in authoritie both in the dayes of K. Edward and his predeceſſors, did many thyngs as ſhould appeare by Writers, more by will than by law, and ſo likewiſe did his ſonnes vpō preſumption of the great puiſſance that they and theyr father were of within the Realme. Hee had to wife the ſiſter of K. Cnute, Editha, of whome hee begate three ſonnes (as ſome write) that is to ſaye, Harrolde, Biorne, and Toſtie: alſo his daughter Editha, the which he found meanes to beſtowe in marriage vpon King Edward as before ye haue heard. But other write, that he had but one ſonne by Cnutes ſiſter, the whiche in riding of a rough Horſe, was throwen into the Riuer of Thames, and ſo drowned. His mother alſo was ſtriken with a thunderbolte, and ſo periſhed worthely, as is reported for hir naughty doyings. She vſed to buy great numbers of yong perſons, and namely maides that were of any excellencie in beutie and perſonage, yͤ which ſhe ſent ouer into Denmarke, and there ſold them to hir moſt aduantage. After hir deceſſe (as the ſame authours record) Godwin married another woman by whome he had iſſue ſixe ſonnes, Suanus or Swayne, Harrolde, Toſtie or Toſto, Wilnote, Gurth and Leofricke: of them mention is, and ſhall bee further made, as places conuenient ſhall ſerue thereto.

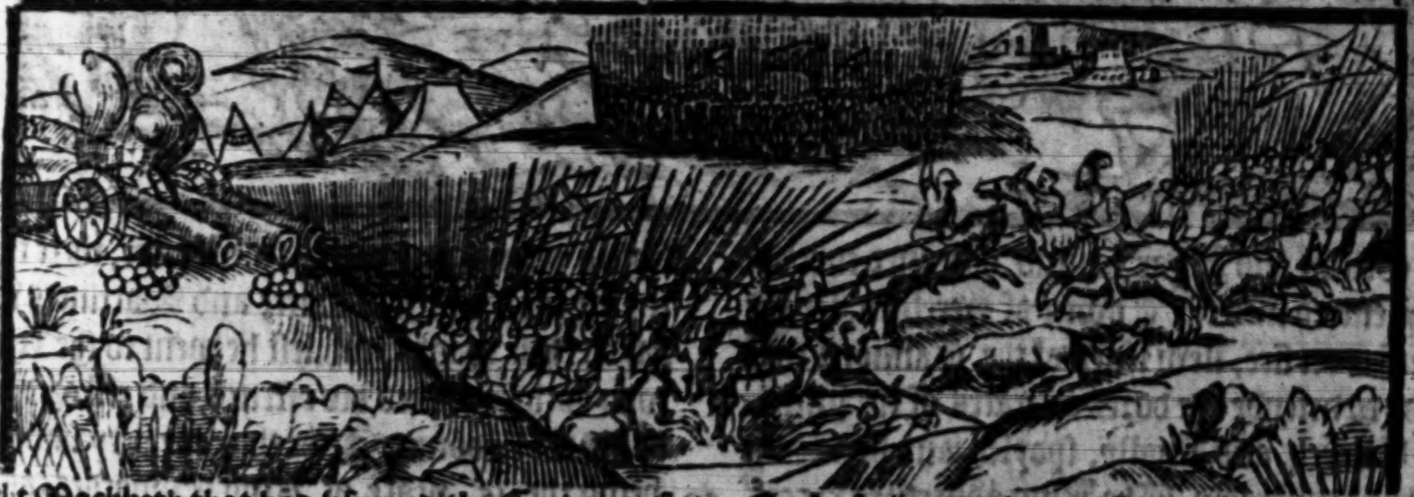
Hen. Hunt.

Polidor.

VVil. Malm.

Mat. VVeſt.
1054
Hec. Boetius.

About the thirtenth yeare of King Edwardes raigne (as ſome write,) or rather about the nineteenth or twentith yere as ſhould appeare by the Scottiſhe Writers, Siward the noble Earle of Northumberlande with a great power of Horſemenne went into Scotland, and in battell put to

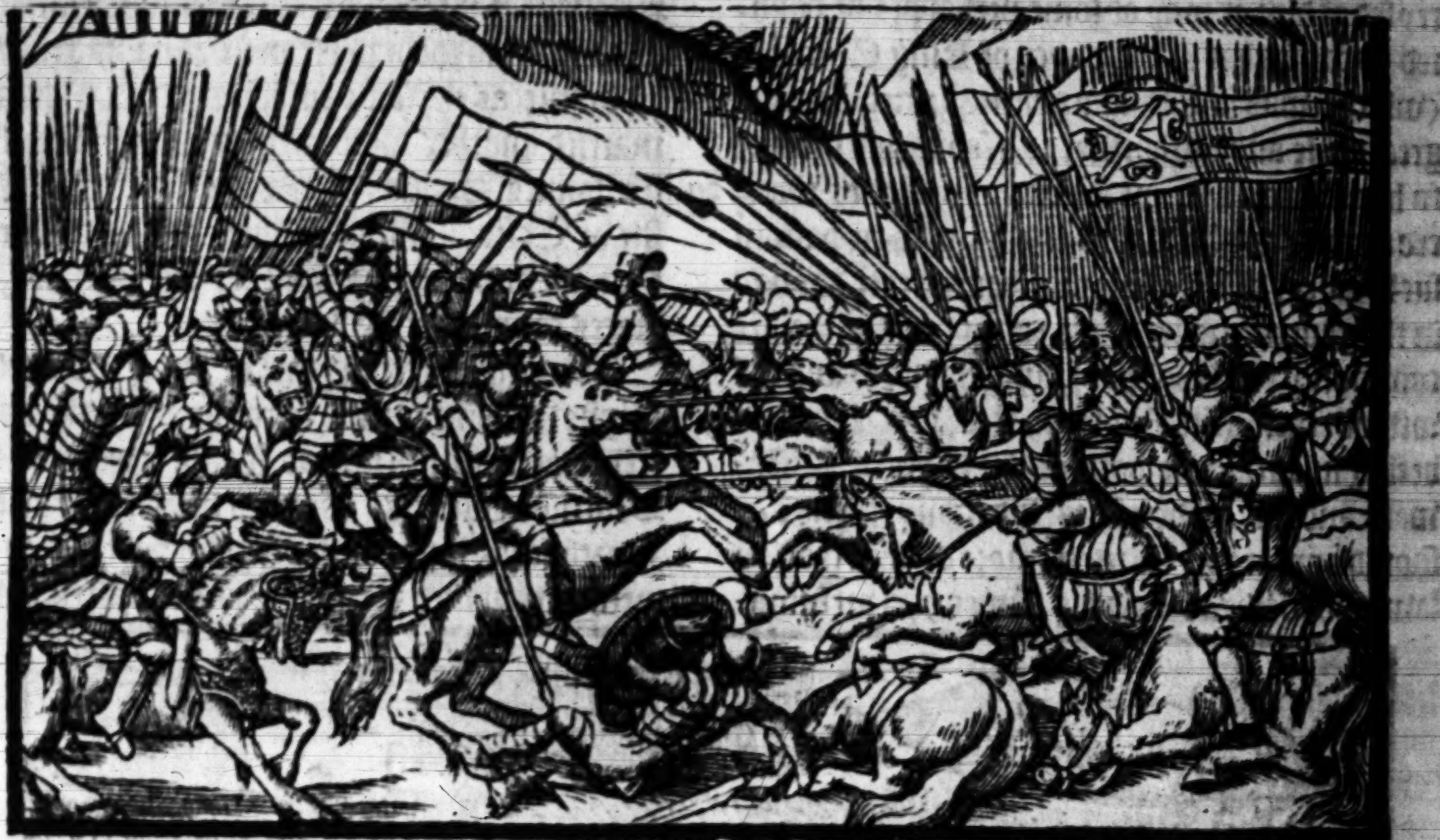


flight Mackbeth that had vſurped the Crowne of Scotland, and that done, placed Malcolme ſurnamed Camoyr, the ſon of Duncane, ſometime King of Scotlande, in the gouernement of that Realme, who afterward ſlew the ſeyd Macbeth, and then raigned in quiet. Some of our Engliſhe writers ſay, that this Malcolme was K. of Cumberlande, but other reporte him to be ſonne to the K. of Cumberland. But heere is to be noted, that if Mackbeth raigned till the yere. 1061. and was then ſlayne by Malcolme, Earle Siwarde was not at that battaile, for as our writers do teſtifie, he died in the yere. 1055. whiche was in the yeare next after (as the ſame writers affirme) that hee vāquiſhed Mackbeth in fight, & ſlew many thouſands of Scottes, & all thoſe Normans which as ye haue heard, were withdrawē into Scotlande, when they were driuen out of England. It is recorded alſo, that in the foreſaid battayle, in which Earle Siwarde vanquiſhed the Scottes, one of Siwards ſonnes chaunced to be ſlayne, whereof, though the father had good cauſe to be ſorowfull, yet whē he heard that he dyed of a wound which hee had receyued in fighting ſtoutely in the forepart of his body, and that with his face towarde the enimie, hee greatly reioyced thereat, to heare that he died ſo manfully. But here is to be noted, yͭ not now, but a little before, (as Henry Hunt. ſaith,) yͤ Earle Siward, wente into Scotlande himſelfe in perſon, hee ſent his ſonne with an army to conquere yͤ land, whoſe hap was ther to be ſlaine: and when his father heard yͤ newes, he demaunded whether he receiued the wound wherof he died, in yͤ fore parte of the body, or in the hinder part: and when it was tolde him yͭ he receyued it in the foreparte, I reioyce (ſaith he) euen with all my harte, for I woulde not wiſhe eyther to my ſonne nor to my ſelfe, any other kind of death.

Dunel.
Ma. VVeſt.

Mat. VVeſt. 1057

Shortly after, Aldred the Biſhop of Worceter was ſent vnto the Emperour Henry the third, to fetch Edwarde the ſonne of Edmunde Ironſide into England, whome King Edward was deſirous to ſee, meaning to ordeyne him heire apparant to the Crowne: but hee dyed the ſame yeare after he came into England. This Edward was ſurnamed the outlawe: his body was buried at Weſtminſter, or as an other ſayth in the Church of S. Paules in London. About the ſame tyme, King Edward by euill counſell, I wote not vppon what occaſion, but as it is thought without cauſe, baniſhed Algar the ſon of Earle Leofricke: wherevpon he gote him into Irelande, and there prouiding xviij. Ships of Rouers, returned, and landing in Wales, ioyned him ſelfe with Griffin the king, or Prince of Wales, and did much hurt on the bordures about Herefordе, of whiche place Rauſe was then Erle, that was ſonne vnto Goda the ſiſter of King Edward by hir firſt husbãde Gualter de Maunt. This Earle aſſembling an army, came forth to giue battayle to the enimies, appoynting the Engliſhmen contrary to theyr manner to fight on Horſebacke, but being ready (the two and twẽtith of October) to giue the onſet in a place not paſt two miles from Herefordе, he with his Frenchmen and Normans fled, and ſo the reſt were diſcomfited, whome the aduerſaries purſued, and ſlew to the number of fiue hundred, beſide ſuche as were hurt and eſcaped with life. Griffin and Algar hauing obteyned this victory, entred into the Towne of Hereford, ſet the Minſter on fire, ſlew ſeuen of the Cannons that ſtoode to defende the dores or gates of the principall Church, and finally, ſpoyled and brente the Towne miſerably. The King aduertiſed hereof, gathered an army, ouer the whiche, Harrolde the ſonne of Earle Godwine was made generall, who followed vpon the enimies that fled before him into Northwales, and ſtayed not, till hauing paſſed through Stradluyd, hee came to the Mountaynes of Snawdune, where hee pitched his fielde. The enimies durſt not abide hym, but gote them into Southwales, whereof Harrolde being aduertiſed, left the more parte of his army in Northwales to reſiſt the enimies there, and with the reſidue of his people he came backe vnto Herefordе, recouered the Towne, and cauſed a greate and mighty trench to be caſt round aboute it, with an high rampire, and fenſed it with gates and other fortificatiõs. After this, he did ſo much, that comming to a communication with Griffin & Algar at a place called Biligelhage, a peace was concluded, and ſo the nauie of Earle Algar ſayled about, and came to Cheſter, there to remaine till the men of warre and Marriners were payed their wages, whileſt he went to the Kyng, who both pardoned his offence, and reſtored hym to his Earledome. After this, the very ſame yere being the. 15. yeare of King Edwardes raigne, as ſome writers affirme, the noble Earle of Northumberlande Siwarde dyed of the flixe, of whome it is ſayde, that when hee perceyued the houre of death to be at hand, he cauſed himſelfe to be put in armour, and to be ſet vp in his chayre, affirming, that a Knighte and a man of honor, oughte to die in that ſorte, rather than lying on a couch like a feeble and faint harted creature: and ſitting ſo vprighte in his chaire armed at all peeces, hee ended his life, and was buried at Yorke. He was a man of a Giantlike ſtature, and thereto of a righte ſtoute and hardy courage, bycauſe hys ſonne Walteif was but an infant, and as yet not out of his cradell, the Earledome was giuen vnto Earle Toſtie one of Godwines ſonnes.



Hen. Hunt. 1055

Mat. VVeſt. *Sim. Dunel.*

The Welchmen obteyne the victory againſt Engliſhmen and Normans.

Straddluid. Snawdune.

The Citie of Hereford fortified by Harrold.

The deceſſe of Siward Earle of Northumberlande.

Ran. Higd.

Shortly after, in the yeare, 1057. Aldred Biſhop of Worceter, was ſente ouer vnto the Emperoure Henry the third, to fetche Edwarde the ſonne of Edmund Ironſide into Englãd, whom King Edwarde was deſirous to ſee, meaning to ordeyne him heire apparante to the Crowne: but he died the ſame yere, after he was now returned into England. This Edward was ſurnamed the outlawe: his body was buryed at Weſtminſter, or as other ſay, in yͤ Church of Saint Paule within London.

ward the utlaw departed this life.

1056

Leofric Erle of Cheſter departed this life.

Ran. Higd. Mat. VVeſt.

The ſame yeare, that is to witte, in the ſeuenteenth or in the ſixtenth yeare of King Edwards raigne (as ſome write) Leofricke the noble Earle of Cheſter, or Mercia, that was ſonne to Duke Leofwine, departed this life in his owne Towne of Bromeley the laſt day of Auguſt, and was buried at Couentrie in the Abbey there which he had builded. This Earle Leofricke was a man of greate honor, wiſe and diſcreet in all his doyngs. His high wiſedome and policie ſtoode the Realm in great ſteede whileſt he liued. He had a noble Lady to his wife, named Gudwina, at whoſe earneſt ſute he made the Citie of Couentrie free of all manner tolle, except for Horſes: and to haue that tolle layde downe, alſo, his foreſaide Wife rode naked through the middeſt of the Towne, without other couerture, ſaue only hir heare.

Couentrie made free of tolle and cuſtome.

Moreouer, partly moued by his owne deuotion, and partly by the perſwaſion of that noble Lady his wife, he builded or beneficially augmẽted and repared many Abbeyes and Churches, as the ſaide Abbey or Priory at Couentrie, the Abbeyes of Wenlocke, Worceter, Stone, Eueſhame, and Leof beſide Herford.

Alſo, he buylded two Churches within the Citie of Cheſter, the one called S. Iohns, and the other Saint Werbrough. The valew of yͤ iewels and ornaments which he beſtowed on the Abbey Church of Couentrie, was ineſtimable.

Churches in Cheſter built.

After Leofrickes death, his ſonne Algar was made Earle, and entituled in all his landes and Seigniories. In the yeare following, to witte, 1058. the ſame Algar was accuſed again (through malice of ſome enuious perſons) of treaſon, ſo that he was exiled the land, wherevppon, he repaired agayne vnto his old friend Griffin Prince of Northwales, of whome hee was ioyfully receyued, and ſhortly after by his ayde, and alſo by the power of a nauie of Ships that by chaunce arriued in thoſe parties at that ſelfe ſeaſon vnlooked for out of Norway, the ſaid Algar recouered hys Earledome by force, as ſome haue written. King Edward about the twentith yere of his raine, as then remayning at Gloceſter, appoynted Earle Harrolde to inuade the Dominions of Griffin King of Wales. Harrold taking with him a power of Horſemen, made ſpeed, and came to Rutland, and there brenned Griffins Palace, and alſo his Shippes, and then about midlent returned againe into England.

H. Hunt.

lgar Earle of heſter exiled

im. Dunel.

1063

Sim. Dunel. Math. VVeſt.

After this, about the Rogation weeke, Harrold eftſoones by the Kings commaundemente, wente againſt the Welchmen, and taking the Sea, ſayled by Briſtowe, round about the coaſt, compaſſing in maner al Wales. His brother Toſtie that was Earle of Northumberland, met him by appointment with an hoſt of Horſemen, and ſo ioyning togither, they deſtroyed the countrey of Wales in ſuche ſorte, that the Welchmen were compelled to ſubmit themſelues, to deliuer hoſtages, and conditioned to pay the auntient tribute which before time they had payd. And moreouer, they renounced their Prince the forenamed Griffin, ſo that he remayned as a baniſhed perſon: and finally, about the fifth day of Auguſt, they ſlewe him, and ſent his head to Earle Harrold. Afterwards King Edward graunted yͤ rule of Wales vnto Blengent or Blethgent, and Riuall Griffins two brethren, whiche did homage vnto hym for the ſame, and hadde ſerued vnder Harrold againſt their brother the foreſaid Griffin. There be that write, that not onely Griffin, but alſo another of his brethrẽ alſo called Riſe, was brought to his death by the manfull meanes, and politike order of Earle Harrold, and all the ſauadge people of Wales, reduced into the forme of good order vnder the ſubiection of King Edwarde.

Wales deſtroyed and harried by the Engliſhmen. The Welchmen agree to pay their accuſtomed tribute.

1064

VVil. Malmſ. Sim. Dunel.

VVil. Malmſ.

Shortly after, Earle Harrolde chaunced to paſſe ouer into Normandy, whether of happe or of purpoſe it is harde to define, writers varry ſo much in report thereof. Some write, that he made earneſt ſuite to King Edward, to haue licence to goe ouer to ſee his brother Wilnote, and his nephewe Hacun, which as yee haue heard, were deliuered as pledges to Kyng Edwarde, and ſente into Normandy to remayne there with Duke William, and at length with muche adoe, gotte leaue: but yet he was tolde aforehand of the King that he would repẽt his iourney, and do the thing that ſhould be preiudiciall to the Realme.

Harrold goeth ouer into Normandy. Polidor.

Edmerus.

Other write, that Harrold lying at his manor of Boſeham, went aborde one day into his fiſhers boate or Crayer, and cauſed the ſame to launche forth to the Sea for his pleaſure: but by misfortune at the ſame time, a contrary winde ſuddainly came about, and droue the veſſell a lande into Fraunce vppon the coaſt of Ponthieu, where hee was taken by the countrey people, and preſented to the Earle of Ponthieu named Guy or Guido, who kept him as a priſoner, meaning to put him to a greeuous raunſome. But Harrold remembring himſelfe of a wile, diſpatched a meſſenger forthe with all ſpeede vnto William Duke of Normandy, ſignifying vnto him, that he beeyng ſente from Kyng Edwarde to confirme ſuche Articles as other meane men that had bin ſente to him afore hadde talked of, by chaunce hee was fallen into the handes of the Earle

Mat. VVeſt. VVil. Malm.

of Ponthieu, and kepte as priſoner againſt all order of law, reaſon, or humanitie. Duke William thus enformed by the meſſenger, ſent to the Erle of Ponthieu, requiring hym to ſet Earle Harrold at libertie, that he might repare to him according to his commiſſiõ. The Earle of Ponthieu at the Dukes requeſt, did not onely reſtore Harrolde to libertie, but alſo broughte hym into Normandy, and preſented him there to the Duke, of whome he was moſt ioyfully receyued.

Harold is preſented to Duke William Duke of Normandy.

Hen. Hunt.

There be that agree partly with this reporte, and partly vary: for they write, that Earle Harrold tooke the Sea vppon purpoſe to haue ſayled into Flaunders, and that by force of wind he was driuen to the coaſt of Pouthieu, and ſo after came into Normandy in manner as before is mentioned. But by what meanes or occaſion ſoeuer hee came thither, certayne it is, that hee was ioyfully receyued, and had great cheere made vnto hym by Duke William, yͤ which at that time was ready to make a iourney againſte the Britaynes, and tooke Earle Harrolde with him to haue his company in armes in that iourney, that hee myghte haue the better triall of his valiancie. Earle Harrold behaued himſelfe ſo, yͭ he ſhewed good proofe both of his wiſedome and policie, and alſo of hys forwardneſſe to execute that with hand, which by wit he had deuiſed, ſo that Duke William hadde him in high fauour, and as it hath bin ſayd, Erle Harrolde (to procure him more friendſhip at the Dukes handes) declared vnto him, that Kyng Edwarde had ordeyned him his heire if hee dyed without iſſue, & that he woulde not fayle to keepe the Realme of England to the Dukes vſe, according to that ordenance, if King Edwarde dyed without iſſue. And to performe this promiſe, he receyued a corporall othe, whether willingly to winne the more credite, or forced therto by Duke William, writers report it diuerſly.

Harold was highly welcomed of duke William.

Math. VVeſt.

Duke William promiſed to Harrolde his daughter in marriage.

At the ſame time, Duke William promiſed vnto him his daughter in marriage, whom Harrold couenaunted in like manner to take to wife. Finally, when he ſhould returne into Englande, Duke William deliuered vnto him his Nephew Hacun, but kepte his brother Wilnote with hym ſtill as a pledge. Earle Harrold then returned into England, and declared vnto King Edwarde what he had done, who then ſayd vnto him: Dyd not I tell thee that thou wouldeſt doe the thyng whereof thou ſhouldeſt repent thee, and procure a miſchiefe to follow vnto thy countrey. But God of his mercie turne that euill happe from thys Realme, or at the leaſt, if it be his pleaſure that it muſt needes come to paſſe, yet to ſtay it till after my dayes.

Polidor.

Thus they write, that affirme, howe Harrolde went ouer of purpoſe into Normandy: and gather thereof, that Kyng Edward foreſaw the cõming of the Normanes, and that he meante nothing leſſe, than to perfourme the promiſe made vnto Duke William, as to adopte hym hys heire, which promiſe ſhoulde ſeeme to be made in time of his baniſhmente, when hee ſtoode in neede of his friendſhippe, as the manner of men in ſuche caſes is, to promiſe muche, howſoeuer they intend to fulfill. But rather it may be thought, that King Edwarde had made no ſuch promiſe at al, but perceiued the ambitious deſire of Duke William, and therefore would not that any occaſion ſhoulde bee miniſtred vnto him to take holde of. Wherefore, he was ſo loth that Harrold ſhoulde goe ouer vnto him, leaſt that might happe, which hapned indeede. In the four and twentith and laſt yeare of King Edwarde his raigne, or thereabout, there fell varriance betwixt the two brethren, Erle Harrold, and Erle Toſtie at Windſor, where the Courte then lay, in ſo muche that Earle Harrold caught Toſtie by the heare of the head in the Kings preſence, and ſtroke him.

When the promiſe wa made by Ki Edwarde to make Duke William hi heire.

Hen. Hunt

Mat. VV

Fabian.

Falling out betwixt bre thren.

Hereupon, Toſtie departing from the Courte in great anger, came to Hereforde in the marches of Wales, where Harrolds ſeruants were preparing for the Kings comming to theyr maiſters houſe, which ſeruantes he tooke and ſlew, chopped them in peeces, and threwe into that hogſhed of wine a legge, into that barrell of cyder an arme, into this veſſel of ale an head, and ſo into yͤ lomes of methe, and tubbes of brine, and other licor, he beſtowed the partes of the dead carcaſſes of his brothers ſeruauntes, ſending the king word, that he had prouided at his brothers manor, agaynſte his comming, good plentie of ſouſe, and poudred meate, what ſo euer he ſhould finde beſide. Thys rumor of this cruell deede, ſprang ouer all the Realme, wherevpõ the Northumbers, whom he hadde gouerned for the ſpace of tenne yeares very cruelly, tooke occaſion to rebell againſte him, and ſlew his ſeruants both Engliſhmen and Danes, ſpoyled his houſes, and tooke away his Horſes, his armoure, and all other his goodes and houſehold ſtuffe. The chiefeſt cauſe (as is remembred by ſome writers) that moued the Northumbers thus to riſe and rebell againſt Toſtie, was for yͤ deteſtable murther of certain Gentlemen of their countrey, ſeruauntes vnto Goſpatricke, whiche the Queene in behalfe of hir brother had cauſed to be ſlayne in the Courte by treaſon, in the fourth night of Chriſtmas laſt paſt, and alſo in reuenge of other noble men which in the laſt yeare Toſtie himſelfe had commaunded to bee murthered in his owne chamber at Yorke, whither hee had allured them to come vnder colour of concluding a peace with them. Alſo the greeuous paymentes wherewith hee charged the people of that countrey, ſet them in a great rage agaynſte hym.

The cruell dealing of Earle Toſti

The Northu bers Rebell againſt To their Earle

But the Kyng aduertiſed hereof, liked

not their doings, for that they had done it without commaundement or commiſſion, and therefore ſent Earle Harrold with an army to chaſtice them, but they were ſtrong ynough to withſtand him, as thoſe whiche were aſſembled in armoure togither with the people of Lincolneſhire, Notingamſhire, and Derbiſhire, and hauing with them Marcherus or Malcharus, the ſon of Erle Algar, were come as farre as Northampton, doing muche hurte in the parties thereaboutes: but yet to haue yͤ kyngs peace, they offered to returne home, ſo that they might haue an other Earle appoynted them, for that they playnely proteſted, yͭ they beeyng free men, borne and bred out of bondage, mighte not ſuffer any cruell gouernoure to rule ouer them, being taught by their aunceters, eyther to liue in libertie, or to die in defence thereof. If therfore it might pleaſe the King to aſſigne Marcharus the ſonne of Earle Algar to be theyr Ruler, hee ſhoulde ſee how obedient ſubiectes they woulde proue and ſhewe themſelues to be, when they ſhould be vſed after a reaſonable & courteous manner. All things conſidered, their requeſt ſeemed reaſonable, or at leaſt, it was thought neceſſary, that it ſhuld be graunted. And ſo was Marcharus or Malcherus made Earle of Northumberland. Toſtie in great diſpleaſure with his wife and children ſayled ouer into Flaunders, & there remayned till after the deceſſe of King Edward. Finally, after that this courteous Prince Kyng Edwarde had raigned three and twentie yeares ſeuen monethes and odde dayes, he departed this life at London the fourth of January, and was buried in the Church of Weſtminſter whych he had in his life time royally repayred after ſuche a ſtately ſort, as few Churches in thoſe dayes were like thereto within this Realme, ſo that afterwardes the ſame was a patrone for other to bee built after the ſame fourme. This Edward was a Prince of ſuch a vertuous diſpoſition of minde, that his fame of holyneſſe ſprang ouer all. He abhorred warres and ſhedding of bloud, in ſo much, that when hee liued as a baniſhed man in Normandy, hee hadde this ſaying oftentimes in hys mouth, that he had rather liue a priuate life for euer, than to attein the Kingdome by the ſlaughter and deathe of any man. Hee coulde not abide to haue the people oppreſſed with tributes or exactions, in ſo much, that he cauſed the paymente called Danegelt, whiche had continued for the ſpace almoſt of fortie yeres to ceaſſe. It hath bin ſayd, that when the collectors of this money, or ſome other ſubſedy had gote an huge quātitie of threaſure togyther, they brought it vnto him, and layd it altogither vppon an heape, ſo to delighte hys eyes: but he declaring that he ſawe a Deuil playing and fetching gambals about that heape of money, commaunded that it ſhoulde bee had away, and reſtored againe to them of whome it was leuied.

l. Malm.

Marcharus
ade Earle of
Northumber-
ande.

ing Edward
eparte this
life.

men Dun.

ing Edward
is manners,
d diſpoſitiō
f minde de-
ribed.

Deuill fet-
ing gam-
alles.

In dyet and apparrell hee was ſpare and nothing ſumptuous: and although on high feaſtes he ware rich apparrell, as became the Maieſtie of his royall perſonage: he ſhewed yet no proude nor loftie countenance, rather prayſing God for hys bountifull goodneſſe towardes hym extended, than eſteemyng heerein the vayne Pompe of the worlde.

The pleaſure yͭ he toke chiefly in this worlde for refreſſhing of his wittes, conſiſted onely in Hawking and Hunting, whiche exerciſes he dayly vſed, after he had firſt bin in the Church at deuine ſeruice.

In other things he ſeemed wholly gyuen to a deuoute trade of life, charitable to the poore, and very liberall, namely to Hoſpitalles and houſes of Religion in the parties of beyonde the Sea, wiſhing euer, that the Monkes and Religious perſons of his Realm, woulde haue followed the vertue and holineſſe of life vſed amongſt them of forraine parties. As hath bin thought he was enſpired with the gift of Prophecie, and alſo to haue hadde the gift of healing infirmities and diſeaſes. Namely, he vſed to help thoſe that were vexed with the diſeaſe, commonly called the Kyngs euill, and left that vertue as it were a portion of inheritance vnto his ſucceſſors the Kyngs of this Realme.

Hee was warned (as hath bin reported) of hys death certaine dayes before hee dyed, by a Ring that was brought to him by certaine Pilgrimes comming from Hieruſalem, which ring he hadde ſecretly giuen to a poore man that aſked his charitie in the name of God and Sainte John the Euangeliſt. But to conclude, ſuche was the opinion conceyued of his holyneſſe of life, that ſhortly after his deceſſe, hee was canonized amongſt the number of Saintes, and named Edward the Confeſſor.

A tale of a
Ring.

King Edwarde
canonized for
a Saint.

Whileſt hee lay ſicke of that ſickneſſe whereof at length hee died, after he hadde remayned for two dayes ſpeechleſſe, the third day after when he had layne for a time in a ſlumber or ſoft ſleepe, at the tyme of his wakening, hee fetched a deepe ſigh, and thus ſayde, Oh Lorde God Almighty, if thys bee not a vaine fantaſticall illuſion, but a true viſion which I haue ſeene, graunt me ſpace to vtter the ſame vnto theſe that ſtande heere preſente, or elſe not. And heerewith hauing hys ſpeeche perfect, he declared how he had ſeene two Monkes ſtand by him as he thoughte, whome in his youth he knewe in Normandy to haue liued Godly, and died Chriſtianly. Theſe Monkes (ſaid hee) proteſting vnto mee that they were the meſſengers of God, ſpake theſe wordes, bycauſe yͤ chiefe gouernoures of England, the Biſhops and

VVil. Malm.
Mat. VVeſt.

Abbots, are not the Myniſters of God, but the Diuels, the Almighty God hath deliuered this Kingdome for one yere and a day into the hands of the enimie, and wicked ſpirites ſhall walke abrode through the whole land. And whē I made aunſwere that I woulde declare theſe thyngs to the people, and promiſed on theyr behalfe, that they ſhoulde doe penance in following the example of the Niniuites. They ſayde agayne, that it would not be, for neyther ſhould the people repente, nor God take any pitie vpon them. And when is there hope to haue an ende of theſe miſeries ſayd I, then ſayde they, when a greene tree is cut in ſunder in the middle, and the parte cut off, is carried three acres bredth from the ſtocke, & returning agayne to the ſtoale, ſhall ioyne therewith, and begin to budde and beare fruite after the former manner, by reaſon of the ſappe renewing the accuſtomed nouriſhmente, then I ſay, may there be hope that ſuch euils ſhall ceaſſe, and diminiſhe: Although other that ſtoode by, were brought in feare with thoſe the Kyngs wordes, the Archbiſhoppe Stigande yet made but a ieſt thereof, ſaying, that the olde man raued nowe in hys ſickneſſe, as men of great yeares vſe to do. But the trouth of that Prophiſie afterwards too playnely appeared, when Englande became the habitation of newe ſtraungers, in ſuche wiſe, that there was neyther gouernoure, Biſhoppe, nor Abbot remaynyng therein of the Engliſhe Nation.

But now to make an ende with K. Edward, hee was of perſon comely, and of an indifferente ſtature, of white heare, both head and bearde, of face ruddy, and in all other partes of his body fayre ſkinned, with due ſtate and proportion of limmes as was thereto conueniente.

In the yeare before the deathe of Kyng Edwarde, a blaſing Starre appeared, the whyche when a Monke of Malmeſbury that highte Eylmer behelde, hee vttered theſe wordes (as it were by way of Propheſying:) Thou arte come (ſayth he) thou art come, muche to be lamēted of many a mother: it is long agone ſith I ſaw thee, but nowe I doe beholde thee, the more terrible threatning deſtruction to this countrey by thy dreadfull appearance.

In the perſon of Kyng Edward ceaſed by his deathe the noble progenie of the Weſt Saxon Kings, which had continued from the firſt yeare of the raigne of Cerdicke or Cerditius, the ſpace of fiue hundred. 47. yeares complete. And from Egbert two hundred ſixtie ſixe yeres, as by William Harriſons Chronologie is eaſie to bee collected, whoſe poſitions as moſt exact for the computation of the tyme, I chiefly followe.

Moreouer, ſith the progenie of the Saxon Kyngs ſeemeth wholly to take ende wͭ this Edward ſurnamed the Confeſſor, or the third of that name before the Conqueſt, we haue thought good for the better help of memorie, to ſet downe in order, the names as well of thoſe that reigned among the Weſt Saxons, (who at length as yee haue hearde, obteyned the whole Monarchie) as alſo of them which ruled in the other ſeauē kyngdomes before the ſame were vnited vnto the ſayd Kingdome of the Weſt Saxons.

The

Mat. VVeſt.

The line of the
Kentiſh kings.

Hengeſt
Oiſc
Oth, or Octa
Ermenricus
Ethelbert the firſt Chriſtian.
Eadbalde
Ercombert
Egbert
Lothair
Eadricke
VVithred and Sywarde
Ethelbert
Eadbert
Ethelbert
Eadbert Pren
Cuthred
Baldred
Athelſtan.

From this Athelſtane the kingdome of Kent was tranſlated vnto the kings of the Weſt Saxons.

Of the Kings
of Mercia.

Crida or Creodda
VVibba
Cearli
Penda
Peada, or rather *VVeada*, that was the firſt Chriſtian.
Alfhere
Ethelfred
Kinred
Ceolred
Ethelbalde
Beornred
Offa, ſurnamed Magnus, or the great.
Egfrid
Kenulfe
Kenelme
Ceolulf
Bernulf
Ludican, or
Ladicene
VViglaf
Bertulf
Burthred.

From this Burthred was the Kingdome of Mercia tranſpoſed ouer to the kings of the weſt Saxons.

Of the Kings
of VVeſt Saxons.

Cerdic, or
Cerdicius
Kenric
Ceauline
Ceolric
Ceolulf
Kinegilſe, or
Quicheline, the firſt Chriſtian.
Kinewalke
Sexburga
Eaſcwine
Keniwine
Ceadwalla
Inas
Ethelhard
Cuthred
Sigebert
Kineulf
Brithric
Egbert
Ethelulf
Athelbalde
Ethelbert
Ethelred
Alfred, or
Alvred.

This Alfred, or Alured was the firſt Monarke of the Engliſhe kings, whoſe ſucceſſion continued vnto the cōming in of William the Cōquerour.

Of the Kings
of Northumberland.

Ida
Adda
Glap
Theodwald
Fretewulfe
Theodoricke
Athelfride
Edwine, the firſt Chriſtian king of Deira.
Eanfride
Oſwalde
Oſwie
Aelfride
Egfride
Ealfride
Oſred
Kenrede
Oſrike
Ceolwulfe
Eadbert
Oſulfe
Aethelred Mollo
Ealdred
Aetheldred
Alfwolde
Oſred
Ethelred agayne
Oſred
Eardulfe
Alfwolde
Eandred
Aethelred
Readwulf
Osbert
Ella
Egbert
Ricſie
Egbert
Cuthred

Of the Kings
of Deira.

Ella

This Ella raigned in Deira whyleſt eyght Collaterall kings raigned in Bernicia.

Aethelfride
Eadwine
Oſricke
Oſwine

The kingdome of Deira was tranſlated from Oſwine to Oſwie K. of Bernicia, and by this meanes yͤ kingdom of yͤ Northūbers was vnited. Whoſe bounds did extēd frō Hūber northwards to the Scottiſhe ſea, and in the end came vnder the power of the Weſt Saxons.

Of the Kings
of Eaſt Angles.

Vffa
Titellus
Redwalde
VVibert
Corpenwalde the firſte Chriſtian.
Sigebert
Egricke
Anna
Aethelhere
Aethelwalde
Ealdulphe
Ealſwalde
Beorna
Aethelred
Aethelbert
Eadmund
Gytro the Dane.

From Gytro the Dane, the kingdome of the Eaſt Angles was tranſlated to the Weſt Saxons.

Of the Kings
of the Eaſt Saxons.

Earkenwine
Sledda
Sebert the firſte Chriſtian.
Sexred, and
Siwarde
Sigebert the little
Switheline
Sigehere and Sebba
Sigeharde, and
Seofride
Offa
Selred
Suithred.

From this Suithred, yͤ kingdome of the Eaſt Saxōs was tranſlated to the Weſt Saxons.

Of the Kings
of the South Saxons,

Ella
Ciſſa
Ethelwalde the firſte Chriſtian.
Berthune
Aldhune.

From this Aldhune the kingdome of the South Saxons was trāſlated to the weſt Saxons.

Mat. VVeſt.

Here is to be remembred, that as partly before is expreſſed, wee finde in ſome olde Wryters, howe the fyrſt Kings of ſeuen of theſe Kingdomes of the Germaine Nation that bare rule in this Iſle, fetched theyr pedegrees from one Woden, who begatte of Frea his wyfe ſeuen ſonnes, that is to witte, 1. Vecta, of whom came the kings of Kent. 2. Fethelgeta, or Frethegeath, from whome the kings of Mercia diſcended. 3. Balday of whoſe race the Kings of the Weſt Saxons had theyr originall. 4. Beldagius, auncetour to the kings of Bernicia, and the Northumbers. 5. Wegodach, or Wegdagus, frõ whom came the kings of Deira. 6. Caſer, from whom proceeded the kings of the Eaſt Angles. 7. Naſcad alias Saxnad, of whom the kings of the Eaſt Saxons had their beginning.

And here you muſt note, that although the kings of the .viij. kingdome, that is, of the South Saxons or of Suſſex, were diſcended of the ſame people, yet were they not of the ſame line. By other it ſhoulde ſeeme, that Woden had but fiue ſonnes: as Vecta, great Grandfather to Hengeſt: Wepedeg, anteceſſor to the kings of the Eaſt Angles: Viclac, from whom proceeded the kings of Mercia: Saxnad, from whom the kings of Eſſex came: & Beldeg, of whoſe generatiõ proceeded the kings of the South Saxons, Weſt Saxons, and the Northumbers. Moreouer, there bee that bring the genealogie from Noe or Noah, the ſon of Lamech, which Noe was the .ix. in diſcent frõ Adam, & Woden the .xv. frõ Noah, as thus: Noe was the father to Sem yͤ father of Bedwi, the father of Wala, the father of Hatria or Hathra, the father of Itermod, yͤ father of Heremod, the father of Sheaf or Seaf, the father of Seldoa or Sceldua, the father of Beatu or Beau, yͤ father of Teathwij alias Tadwa or Teathwy, the father of Geta, reputed for a God among the Gentiles, the father of Fingodulph otherwiſe Godulfe, the father of Fritwolfe otherwiſe Frinin the father of Freolaf alias Freolater, the father of Frethwold or Friderwald, the father of the aforenamed Woden or Othen.

Simon Dun.
Iohn Textor.

Harold

King Edwarde departed this life An. chriſt. 1065 after the account of the church of England.

Mat. VVeſt.
Polidor.

Harolde.

KIng Edwarde beeing thus departed this life the Peeres of the lande were in great doubt and perplexitie to whom they might beſt cõmit the royall gouernmẽt of the realm. For ther was not any among them that had iuſt title thereto, or able and apt to take the charge vpõ him: for although Edgar ſurnamed Edeling, the ſonne of Edward the Outlaw, that was ſonne of Edmond Ironſide, was the ſame time lately come into Englande, with his mother and ſiſters oute of Hungarie where he was borne: yet for that hee was but a child, and not of ſufficient age to beare rule, they durſt not as then commit the gouernment of the realme vnto him, leaſt (as ſome haue thought) his tenderneſſe of age might firſt breed a contempt of his perſon, and therewith miniſter occaſion to ciuil diſcord, wherby a ſhipwrak of the eſtate might to the great annoy and preſent ouerthrow of ſuch enſue, as then liued in the ſame. But what conſideration ſo euer they had in this behalf, they ought not to haue defrauded the yong Gentleman of his lawfull right to the Crowne. For as we haue heard and ſeene, God whoſe prouidence & mightie power is ſhewed by ouerthrowing of high and mightie things now and then, by the weake and feeble hath gouerned ſtates and kingdoms oftentimes in as good quiet and princely policie by a childe, as by menne of rype age and greate diſcretion.

Edeling, that is, a noble man and ſuch one as is come of the kings bloud.

But to the purpoſe, beſide the doubt whiche reſted among the Lordes, howe to beſtowe the Crowne, the manifold and ſtraunge wonders which were ſeene and heard in thoſe days, betokening (as men thought) ſome chaunge to bee at hande in the eſtate of the realme, made the Lordes afrayde, and namely bycauſe they ſtode in great doubt of William duke of Normandie, who pretended a right to the crowne, as lawful heyre appoynted by king Edward, for that he was akinne to him in the ſecõd and third degree. For Richard the firſt of that name duke of Normandie, begot Richard the ſeconde, and Emme, which Emme bare Edward by hir huſband Ethelred. Richarde the ſecond alſo had iſſue Richard the thirde, and Robert, which Robert by a Concubine had iſſue William, ſurnamed the baſtard, that was nowe Duke of Normandie, and after the death of hys coſin king Edwarde, made clayme (as is ſayde) to the crowne of Englande. Whileſt the Lordes were thus ſtudying and conſulting what ſhoulde be beſt for them to doe in theſe doubtes, Harolde (the ſonne of Godwin Earle of Kent, proclaymed himſelfe king of England.) The people being not much offended therewith, bycauſe of the great cõfidence and opinion which they had lately conceyued of his valiancie.

Dukes of No
mandie.

Harold proclaymed king of Englande.

Some write, among which Edmerus is one, how king Edwarde ordeyned before his death, that Harold ſhoulde ſucceed him as heyre to the crowne, and that therevpon the Lordes immediately after the ſayde Edwardes deceaſſe, crowned Harolde for their king, and ſo he was ſacred by Aldred Archb. of Yorke, according to the cuſtome

Edmerus.

Mat. VVeſt.

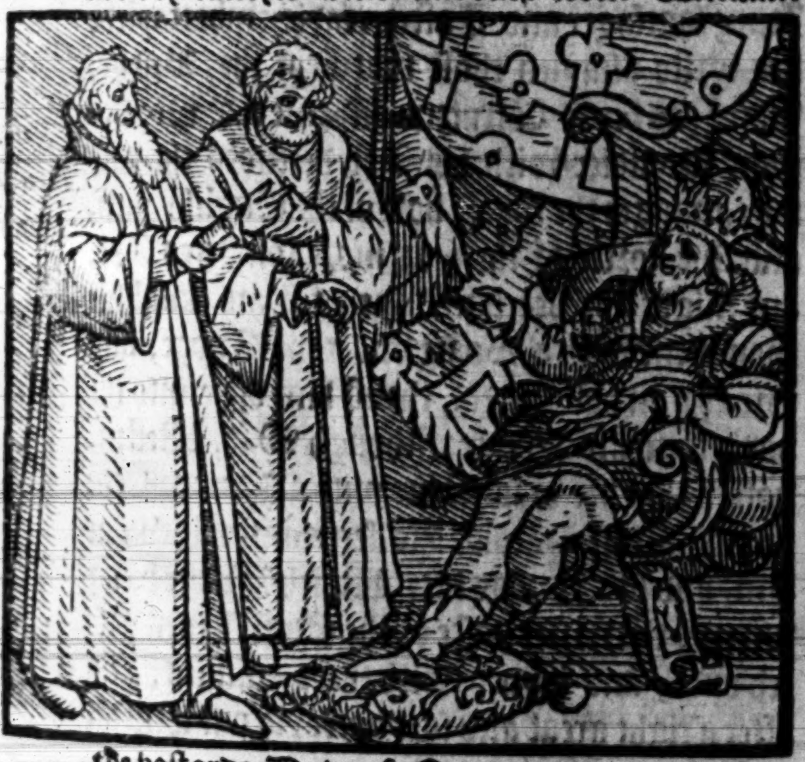
and maner of the former kings, or as other affyrme, he ſet the crowne on his owne head without any the accuſtomed ceremonies, in the yeare after the byrth of our ſauiour. 1066. or in the yere of Chriſt. 1065. after the account of the Church of Englād (as before is noted.) But how and whenſoeuer he came to the ſeate royall of this Kingdome, certaine it is, that this Harolde in the beginning of his raigne, conſidering with himſelfe howe and in what ſort hee had taken vppon him the rule of the kingdome, rather by intruſion than by any lawfull right, he ſtudied by all meanes which way to winne the peoples fauour, and omitted no occaſion whereby hee might ſhewe any token of bounteous liberalitie, gentleneſſe, & courteous behauiour towardes them. The grieuous cuſtoms alſo and taxes which his predeceſſors had rayſed, he either aboliſhed or diminiſhed: the ordinarie wages of his ſeruauntes and men of warre he encreaſed, and further ſhewed hymſelfe very well bent to all vertue and goodneſſe, wherby he purchaſed no ſmal fauour among ſuch as were his ſubiectes.

Harold ſeeketh to winne the peoples hartes.

Sim. Dunel.

An Ambaſſade from Normandie.

Whyleſt Harolde went about thus to ſteale the peoples good willes, there came ouer vnlooked for ſundrie Ambaſſadours from William the baſtarde Duke of Normandie, with commiſſion to requyre hym to remember his othe ſometime made to the ſayde William in the tyme of his extremitie, whiche was, that hee the ſayde Haralde ſhoulde ayde him in the atteyning of the Crowne of Englande, if King Edwarde ſhoulde happen to dye withoute iſſue.



This couenaunt he made (as it is ſuppoſed) in king Edwards dayes, (when by lycence of the ſame Edwarde, or rather (as Edmerus wryteth) agaynſt his will) he went ouer into Normandie to viſite his brethren, which lay there as pledges: howbeit at this preſent, Haroldes aunſwere to the ſayde Ambaſſadours was, that hee would be readie to gratifie the Duke in all that he coulde demaunde, ſo that he woulde not aſke the realme, which alredy he had in his full poſſeſſion: And further he declared vnto the (as ſome write) that as for the othe which hee had made in tymes paſt vnto Duke William, the ſame was but a conſtrayned and no voluntarie oth, which in law is nothing, ſince thereby hee tooke vppon him to graunt that whiche was not in his power to giue, hee beeing but a ſubiect whileſt King Edwarde was lyuing: for if a promiſed vowe or othe which a Mayde maketh concerning the beſtowing of hir bodie in hir fathers houſe without his conſent is made voyde, much more an othe by him made that was a ſubiecte, and vnder the rule of a king without his ſoueraignes conſent, ought to be voyde and of no value.

K. Harolds anſwere.

Edmerus.

Mat. VVeſt.

He alledged moreouer, that as for him to take an othe to deliuer the inheritaunce of anye Realme withoute the generall conſent of the eſtates of the ſame, coulde not bee other than a greate peece of preſumption, yea althoughe hee might haue iuſt tytle therevnto, ſo it was an vnreaſonable requeſt of the Duke at this preſent to will him to renounce the Kingdome, the gouernance whereof hee had alreadie taken vpon him, with ſo great fauor and good lyking of all men.

Duke Williā eſſoones ſendeth to king Harolde.

Duke William hauing receyued this anſwer, and nothing lyking thereof, hee ſendeth once againe to Harolde, requyring him then at the leaſt wiſe, that hee woulde take his daughter to wife, according to his former promiſe, in refuſal wherof he could make no ſound allegation, bycauſe it was a thing of his owne motion, and in his abſolute power, both to graunt and to perfourme. But Harolde beeing of a ſtoute courage, wyth prowde countenaunce, frowned vpon the Norman Ambaſſadors, and declared to them that his minde was nothing bent as then to yeelde therevnto in any maner of wiſe. And ſo with other talke tending to the like effect he ſent them away without any other anſwere.

Gemeticenſis.

VVil. Mal.

The daughter of Duke William which Harold ſhould haue maried, was named Adeliza, as Gemeticenſis hath, and with hir (as the ſame authour writeth) it was couenanted by Duke William that Harold ſhould enioy halfe the Realme in name of hir dower. Howbeit ſome write that this daughter of Duke William was departed this life before the cōming of theſe Ambaſſadors, and that Harold thervppon thought himſelf diſcharged of the oth and coueriants made to Duke William, and therfore ſent them away with ſuch an vntoward anſwere.

Polidor.

But howſoeuer it was, after the departure of theſe Ambaſſadours, King Harrolde (doubting what would enſue) cauſed his ſhippes to be newly rigged, his men of warre to be muſtred, & ſpeedily put in a readineſſe, to the ende that if any ſodaine raine inuaſion ſhould be made and attempted by his enimie, he might be able to reſiſt them.

R. Houed.
Sim. Dun.

About the ſame time alſo, and vpon the .xxiiij. of Aprill, (whileſt Harold was making prouiſion to withſtande the Norman force) there appeared a blaſing Starre, which was ſeene not onely here in Englande, but alſo in other partes of the worlde, which continued the ſpace of .vij. dayes.

Toſtie ſeeketh to diſquiet his brother.
Mat. VVeſt. hath but .xl.
Polidor.
Ran. Higd.
Simon Dun.

In this meane while, Toſtie the brother of king Harolde (who in the dayes of king Edward for his crueltie had beene chaſed out of the realme by the Northumbers) returning out of Flanders aſſembled a Nauie of ſhippes from diuerſe partes to the number of .lx. with the which he arriued in the Ile of Wight, and there ſpoiled the Country, & afterward ſayling about, by the coaſts of Kent, he tooke ſundrie prayes there alſo, and came at the laſt to Sandwich: So that Harolde was nowe conſtrayned to appoynt the Nauie whiche hee had prepared agaynſt the Normans, to goe agaynſt his brother Earle Toſtie: whereof the ſaid Toſtie being aduertiſed, drewe towardes Lyndſey in Lincolnſhire, and there taking lande did muche hurt in the Countrey, both with ſworde and fire, till at length Edwyne Earle of Mercia, and Morkarus Earle of Northumberlande, ayded with the Kings nauie, chaſed him from thence, and cauſed him to flee into Scotlande, not withoute ſome loſſe both of his menne and ſhippes.

VVil. Mal.
Toſtie repulſed.
Polidor.
Ran. Higd.

Harold Harfager king of Norway.

This trouble was vneth quieted, when ſtreight wayes another came in the necke thereof, farre more daungerous than the firſt. For Toſtie perceyuing that he coulde get no ayde in Scotlande to make any account of, he ſayled forth into Norway, and there perſwaded Harold Harfager king of that Realme, to ſayle with an armie into England, perſwading him, that by meanes of a ciuill diſſention lately kindled betwixt the king and his Lords, (which was not ſo) it ſhould be an eaſie matter for him to make a conqueſt of the whole Realme, and raigne ouer them as his predeceſſors had done before.

Mat. VVeſt.
Simon Dun.
500. hath Simon Dun.

Some Authours affyrme, how Harolde king of Norway tooke this enterpriſe in hande of hys owne minde, and not by procurement of Toſtie, ſaying that Toſtie meeting with him in Scotland, did perſwade him to go forward in his purpoſed buſineſſe, and that the ſayde Harolde Harfager with all conuenient ſpeede paſſed forth, and with a Nauie of three hundred ſayle, entred into the riuer of Tine, where after he had reſted a few dayes to refreſh his people, Erle Toſtie came alſo with his power (according to an appointmēt which ſhould be made betwene them.) They adde furthermore, that they ſayled forth alongeſt the coaſt, till they arriued in the mouth of Humber, and then drawing vp agaynſt the ſtreame of the riuer Owſe, they landed at length at a place called Richehall, frō whence they ſet forward to inuade the Countrey, and neare vnto Yorke on the Northſide of the Citie, they fought with the power of the Northumbers, which was led by the Earles Edwyn and Marchar (two brethren) and there diſcomfited and chaſed them into the Citie, with great ſlaughter and bloudſhed.

The Norwegians arriue in Humber.
Richall.
H. Hunt.
The Engliſh men diſcomfited.

This battaile was fought on the euen of S. Mathew the Apoſtle, as hath Simon Dun.
VVil. Mal.
Hen. Hunt.
Mat. VVeſt.

Harolde King of Englande beeing aduertiſed of this chaunce, hee made the more haſte forwardes (for he was alreadie in the fielde with his armie, intending alſo to come towardes hys enimies) ſo that vpon the fifth day after he came to Stanforde Bridge, finding there the ſayde King Harfager and Toſtie readie embattayled, hee fyrſte aſſayled thoſe that kept the Bridge, where (as ſome Wryters affyrme) a Norwegian Souldier with his Axe defended the paſſage, maugre the whole hoſt of the Engliſh men, and ſlue fortie of them or more with hys Axe, and might not bee ouercome, till an Engliſhe man went with a Boate vnder the Bridge, and through an hole thereof, thruſt him vppe into the bodie with his Speare: although Mat. Weſtm. noteth that hee was ſlaine with a Dart whiche one of King Harolde his ſeruauntes threwe at him, and ſo ended his life. Which Bridge being wonne, the whole hoſte of the Engliſh men paſſed ouer, and ioyned with theyr enimies, and after a right great and ſore battayle, put them all to flight.

The Norwegians diſcomfited.
The king of Norway and Toſtie ſlaine.

In this conflicte Harolde Harfager King of the Norwegians was ſlain, and ſo likewiſe was Toſtie, the King of Englande hys Brother,

beſides a great number of other, as well in the battaile as in the chaſe: neyther did the Engliſhe men eſcape all free, for the Norwegians fought it out a long time very ſtoutly, beating downe and killing great numbers of ſuche as aſſayled them with great courage and aſſuraunce. The reſidue of the Norwegians that were left to kepe theyr ſhippes vnder the guiding of Olaue ſonne to the king of Norway, and Paule Earle of Orkney, after they vnderſtode by theyr fellowes that eſcaped from the field, howe the matter went with Harfagar and Toſtie, they hoyſed vp their ſayles and directed theyr courſe homewardes, bearing ſorrowfull newes with them into theyr Countrey, of the loſſe of theyr King, and ouerthrowe of all his people.

This battaile was fought the.xxv. of September as hath Simon Dun.

Mat. VVeſt.

Some write, that the K. of England permitted them frankly to depart with .xx. ſhippes, hauing firſt cauſed them to deliuer ſuche Hoſtages as they had receyued of the Citizens of Yorke. But howe ſo euer it was, Harolde, reioyſing in that he had atteyned ſo glorious a victorie, and being nowe ſurpryſed with pryde and couetouſneſſe togyther, he deuided the ſpoyle of the fielde nothing equally, but to ſuche as he fauoured, hee diſtributed liberally, and to other (though they had muche better deſerued) hee gaue nothing at all, reteyning ſtyll the beſt part of all to himſelfe, by reaſon whereof he loſt the fauor of many of his men, who for this his vncurteſie, did not a little alienate their good willes from him.

Simon Dun.

Mat. VVeſt.

Vnequall deuiding of the ſpoyle.

This done, he repayred to Yorke, and there ſtayed for a time to reforme the diſordered ſtate of the Countrey, which by reaſon of theſe warres was greatly out of frame.

VVil. Malm.

In the meane tyme, William Duke of Normandie (hauing knowledge after what manner king Harolde was buſied in the North parties of his realme, and vnderſtanding that the ſouth parties thereof remayned without prouiſion of neceſſarie defence) haſted with all diligence to make his purueyance of men and ſhippes, that he might vpon ſuch a conuenient occaſion ſet forward ſodenly to inuade his enimie. And amongſt other of his friends, vnto whom he laboured for ayde, his father in lawe Baldwine Earle of Flaunders, was one of the chiefe, who vpon promiſe of great ſummes of money and other large offers made, did ayde him with men, munition, ſhippes, and vittayles very freely.

Merr.

Baldwyn Erle of Flanders ayded Duke William to conquere England.

The French king alſo did as much for hys part as lay in him to helpe forwarde thys ſo high an enterpriſe. Wherefore when all things were now in a readineſſe, hee came to the towne of Saint Valerie, where he hadde aſſembled togyther an huge Nauie of Shippes (to the number (as ſome Authours affyrme) of three hundred ſayle) and when he had taryed there a long time for a conuenable wind, at length it came about euẽ as he himſelf deſired. Then ſhipping his armie which conſiſted of Normans, Flemings, Frenchmen, and Britonnes, with all expedition he toke the Sea, and directing his courſe towardes Englande, hee finally landed at a place in Suſſex, aunciently called Peuenceſſey the.28. day of September, where he did ſette his men a lande, and prouided all things neceſſarie to encourage and refreſh them.

VVil. Geme.

The Cronicles of Normandie haue ſhippes.

Now Pemſey.

Duke William landed at Pemſey.

At his going out of his ſhippe vnto the ſhore, one of his feete ſlipped as he ſtepped forward, but the other ſtacke faſt in the lande, the whiche ſo ſone as one of his knightes had eſpied, and ſeeing his hand wherevpon he ſtayed full of earth, when he roſe, he ſpake aloude and ſayde. Now ſir Duke thou haſt the ſoyle of Englande faſt in thy hand, and ſhalt of a duke ere long become a King. The Duke hearing his tale laughed merily thereat, and comming a lande, by and by hee made hys Proclamation, declaring vpon what occaſions he had thus entred the Realme.

The firſt and principall cauſe whiche hee alledged was for to chalenge his right, meaning the Dominion of the lande that to him was gyuen and aſſigned (as hee ſayde) by hys Nephew king Edwarde late ruler of the ſame lande.

Hen. Hunt.

The ſeconde was, to reuenge the death of hys Nephewe Alured or Alfred the brother of the ſame King Edwarde, whome Goodwyn Earle of Kent, and his adherents had moſt wickedly murthered.

The thirde was, to be reuenged of the wrong done vnto Robert Archebiſhoppe of Canterburie, who as hee was enfourmed, was exiled by the meanes and labour of Harolde, in the dayes of King Edwarde. Wherein wee haue to note, that whether it were for diſpleaſure that the Pope hadde ſometyme conceyued for the wrong done to the Archebiſhoppe, or at the onely ſuyte of Duke William, certaine it is that the Pope as then named Alexander the ſeconde, fauoured thys enterpryſe of the Duke, and in token thereof ſent him a white Banner, whiche hee willed him to ſette vp in the decke of the Shippe, wherein hee hymſelfe ſhoulde ſayle.

VVil. Malm.

The Pope fauoured Duke Williams enterpriſe.

In deede (as wryters report) the Pope wyth hys Cardinalles, and all the whole Courte of Rome, had King Harolde euer in greate hatred and diſdeyne, bycauſe that he had taken vppon hym the Crowne without theyr conſent, or any Eccleſiaſticall ſolemnitie or agreement of the Byſhoppes. And although the Pope, and his brethren the ſayde Cardinalles diſſembled the matter for the tyme, yet nowe beholding to what ende hys bolde preſumption was like to come, they wyth frowning for-

Mat. VVeſt.

tune ſhewed themſelues alſo open aduerſaryes, inclyning ſtreyght wayes to the ſtronger part, after the manner of couetous perſones, or rather like to a Reede ſhaken with a ſodaine puft of winde.

Gemeticenſis.

At hys fyrſt landing at Peueneſſey or Pemſey (whether you will) hee fortifyed a peece of ground with ſtrong Trenches, and leauing therin a competent number of menne of warre to keepe the ſame, hee ſpedde him towardes Haſtings, and comming thither, he buylt an other Fortreſſe there with all ſpeede poſſible withoute ſuffering his Souldiours to robbe or harry the Countrey adioyning, ſaying that it ſhoulde bee greate folly for him to ſpoyle that people, which ere many dayes to come were lyke to bee hys ſubiectes.

VVil. Mal.

King Harolde beeing as yet in the North partes, and hearing that Duke William was thus landed in Englande, hee ſpedde him ſouthwarde, and gathering his people togither out of the Countreys as he went forwardes, at length he came neare to his enimies, and ſending eſpyals into their Campe to vnderſtande of what ſtrength they were: the vnſkilfull meſſengers regarding ſmally their charge, brought worde againe of nothing elſe but that all Duke Williams Souldiers were Prieſtes. For the Normans had at that time theyr ouer lyps & cheekes ſhauen, whereas the Engliſhe menne vſed to ſuffer the heare of theyr ouer lyppes to growe at length: but Harolde aunſwered, that they were not Prieſtes, but ſtalworth and hardie Souldiours, and ſuche as were like to abide well by their Captaine.

Mat. VVeſt.

Normans beards ſhauen.

VVil. Mal.

Hen. Marle.

Gyrth woulde not haue hys brother king Harold fight himſelfe.

In the meane ſeaſon, Girth one of Haroldes yonger brethren (conſidering that periurie is neuer left vnpuniſhed) aduyſed his brother not to aduenture himſelfe at this preſent in the battaile, forſomuch as he had beene ſometyme ſworne to Duke William, but rather to ſuffer him and other of the Nobilitye to encounter wyth the ſayde Duke, that were not bounde to him by former othe or otherwiſe: but Harolde aunſwered that hee was free from anye ſuche othe, and that in defence of hys Countrey he woulde fight boldely wyth him as wyth hys greateſt enimie.

Gemeticenſis.

VV. Mal.

Before they came to fight alſo, diuerſe offers were made on both partes for an vnitie to haue beene had betwixte the two Princes: but when no conditions of agreement coulde take place, they forthwith prepared themſelues to trye the matter by dynt of ſworde. And ſo on the .xiiij. day of October, beeing Saterdaye, both the Hoſtes mette in the fielde at a place in Suſſex not farre from Haſtinges, where as the Abbay of Battaile was afterwards buylded.

The order of the Engliſh men.

The Engliſhe menne were all brought into one entyre maine battaile a foote, wyth huge Axes in theyr handes, and paled afront wyth Paueyſes, in ſuche wyſe that it was thoughte impoſſible for the enimye to breake theyr array.

Mat. VVeſ

The array of the Norman

On the other ſyde the Normans were deuided into ſeuerall battayles, as fyrſt the footemenne that were Archers, and alſo thoſe that bare Gleyues and Axes, were placed in the fore fronte, and the Horſemenne deuyded into Winges, ſtoode on the ſydes in verie good order.

Hen. Hunt.

VVil. Mal.

All the nyght before the battayle, the Engliſhe menne made greate noyce and ſlept not, but ſang and fell to drinking and making of reuell and paſtime, as thoughe there had beene no accounte to bee made of the nexte dayes trauayle. But the Normans behaued themſelues warily and ſoberly, ſpending all that night in prayer and confeſſing theyr ſinnes vnto God, and in the Morning earely they receyued the Communion before they wente forth to the battayle.

Some wryte that when Duke William ſhoulde putte on hys armour to goe to the fielde, the backe halfe of his Curaſſes by chaunce was ſette on before by ſuche as holpe to arme hym, at whiche chaunce hee tooke occaſion of laughter, ſaying merily to them that ſtood by, No force thys is good lucke, for the eſtate of my Dukedome ſhall bee ere night chaunged into a Kingdome.

Beſide this, hee ſpake manye comfortable wordes vnto his menne, to encourage them to the battayle. Neither was Harolde forgetfull in that poynte on his part. And ſo at conuenient tyme when both partes were readie, they made forwarde eche to encounter wyth other, on the foreſayde fourtenth daye of October, with great force and aſſurance.

Polidor.

The battail betwixt ki Harolde a Duke Will am

In the beginning of the battayle, the Arrowes flewe abroade freſhly on both ſides, tyll they came to ioyne at hande ſtrokes, and then preaſſed eche ſyde vpon hys counterparte wyth Swordes, Axes, and other hand weapons right egrely.

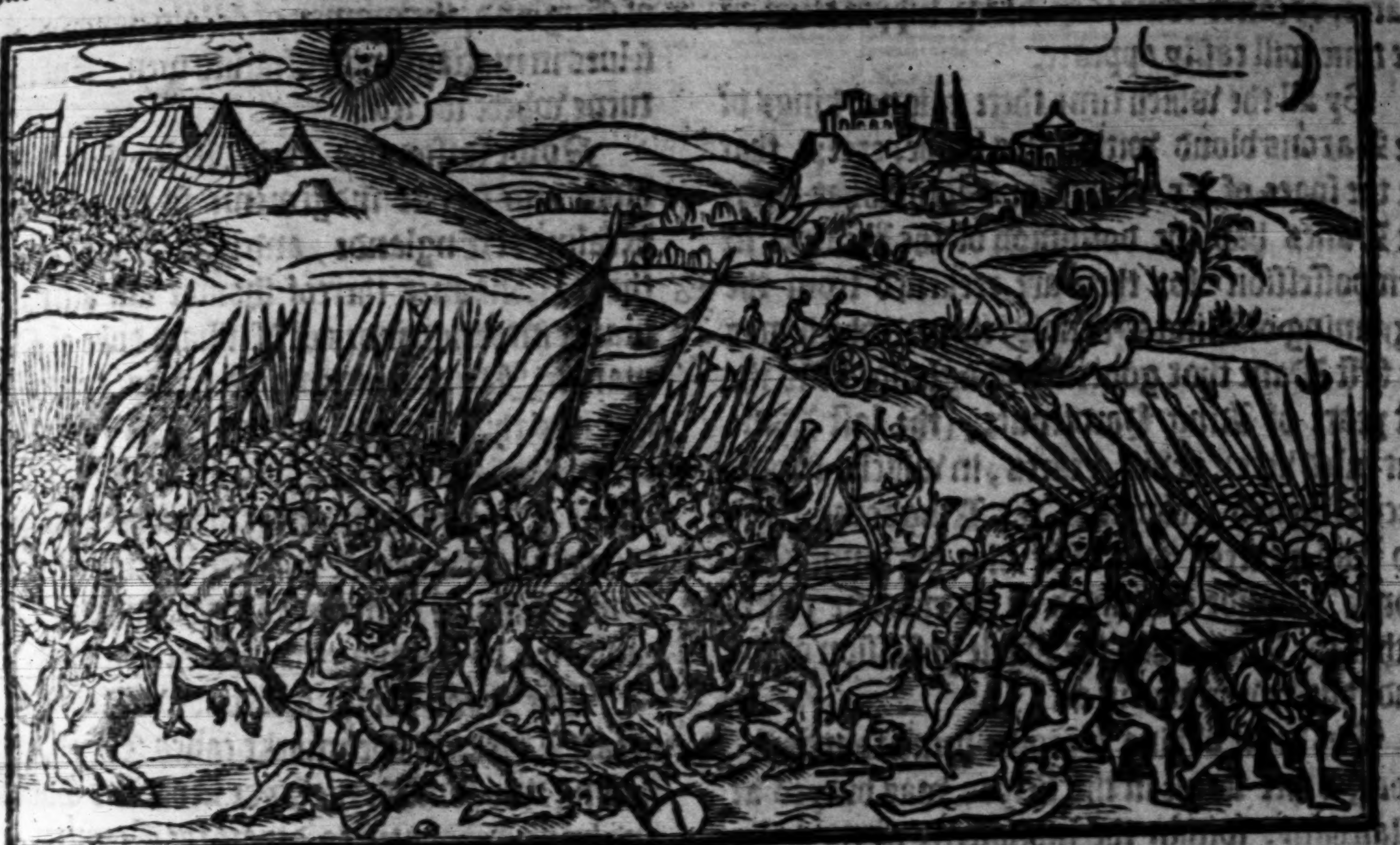
Duke William commaunded his Horſemenne to giue the charge on the breaſtes of hys ennimyes battayles: but the Engliſhe menne keeping themſelues cloſe togyther wythoute ſcattering, receyued theyr enimyes vppon the poyntes of theyr Weapons wyth ſuche fierceneſſe and in ſuche ſtyffe order, that manye of the Norman horſemen were ouerthrowne without recouerie, and ſlaine at the firſte brunte. When Duke William perceyued this inconuenience (as hee that well and throughlye vnderſtoode the ſkilfull poyntes of warre as well as the beſt) he gaue a ſigne to his men, (according to an order appoynted before hande vpon any ſuch occaſion, that they ſhoulde giue backe, and make a countenaunce as though they did flee, which was quickly done by the Normans, and withall they embattayled theyr footemen in new order, ſo that their Horſemen ſhifted themſelues on the wings, readie to reſkue the footemen if their array ſhoulde happen to be diſturbed. By this wiſe ſtratageme and pollicie of warre, the Engliſh men were deceyued: for they beholding the Normans ſomewhat to ſhrinke backe to bring themſelues into the aboueſayde order, thought verily that they had fledde, and thereuppon meaning to purſue them before they ſhoulde recouer theyr grounde, they brake theyr array, and beganne to followe the chaſe: whereupon the Normans (perceyuing nowe that all things came to paſſe as they deſired) ſpeedily returned, and caſting themſelues togyther quickly into araye, beganne to charge them againe of newe, and ſo hauing them at that aduauntage, they ſlue them downe on euerie ſyde. The Engliſhe men on the other parte fought ſore, and though theyr king were beaten downe among them and ſlayne, yet were they lothe to flee or giue ouer, ſo ſharpe was the battaile, that Duke William himſelfe had three horſes ſlaine vnder him that day, and not without great daunger of his perſon.

policie of
e William
under his
mies.

en. Hunt.

yl. Malm.

A ſore foughten battaile, King Harold ſlaine.



Some of the Engliſhe men got them to the heigth of an hill, and beate backe the Normans that forced themſelues to wynne the hill of them, ſo that it was long ere the Normans could preuaile, beeing oftentymes driuen downe into the bottom of the valley beneath.

l. Mal.

arres.

At length the Engliſh men perceyuing themſelues to bee ouermatched and beaten downe on euerye ſide, and thervnto greatlye diſcouraged wyth ſlaughter of theyr King, beganne firſt to giue ground, and after to ſcatter and to runne away, ſo that well was him that might then eſcape by flight, after that they had fought the moſt part of all that Saterday.

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pai to

The Normans followed the chaſe, with ſuche egre raſhneſſe, that a great number of them falling with theyr Horſes and armour into a blinde ditche ſhadowed with Reede and Sedges which grewe therein) were ſmoulдred and preſſed to death, ere they coulde be ſuccoured or get any reliefe.

de Bello.

l. Geme.

l. Malm.

e Normãs
llen a
ch.

The next day the Normans fell to gathering in the ſpoyle of the fielde, burying alſo the deade bodies of their people that were ſlaine at the battaile, gyuing licence in ſemblable maner to the Engliſh men to doe the like.

Of the death of Harolde diuerſe report diuerſly, inſomuch that Girald. Cambren. ſayth, how after king Harold had receyued many woundes, and loſt his left eye, hee fledde from the fielde vnto the Citie of Weſtcheſter, and liued there long after an holy life, as an Anker in the Cell of S. James, faſt by Saint Johns Church, and there made a godly ende. But the ſaying of Girald. Cambren. in that poynt is not to be credited, bycauſe of the vnlikelyhoode of the thing itſelfe, and alſo generall conſent of other wryters, who affyrme vniuerſally that he was killed in the battayle, firſt beeyng ſtryken through the left eye by the ſcull into the brayne with an arrow, whereupon falling from his horſe to the grounde, hee was ſlaine in that place, after hee had reigned nine Monethes and nine dayes, as Floriacenſis doth report.

Giral. Camb.

VVil. Mal.

Hen. Hunt.

Mat. VVeſt.

He was a man of a comely ſtature, and of a haute courage, and albeit that for his valyancie he was highly renowmed and honoured of all men, yet through his pryde and Ambition he

Floriac.

Simon Dun.

loſt the hartes of many.

Hen. Hunt.
Polidor.
The Chronicles of Normandie haue of Engliſhmen ſlaine. 67974. and of Normans. 6013.

There was ſlaine in this battaile beſides king Harolde and his two brethren, Gyrth and Leofrike, what on the one ſide and on the other, aboue twentie thouſande menne. And finally hereby the bloud of the Saxons ceaſſed to raigne in Englande after they had continued poſſeſſion of the ſame, from the fyrſt comming of Hengiſt, which was about the yeare of our Sauiour. 450. alias. 449. vntill that preſent yeare of King Haroldes death, which chaunced in the yeare. 1066. So that from the beginning of Hengiſt hys raigne, vnto Haroldes death, are reckened. 616. yeares, or (after ſome) 617. as by ſupputation of the time will eaſily appeare.

1066

616

By all the which time there raigned kings of the Saxons bloud within this lande, except that for the ſpace. of. xx. yeares and ſomewhat more the Danes had the dominion of the Realme in their poſſeſſion: for there are reckened from the beginning of King Suenois reigne, (which was the firſt Dane that gouerned England) vnto the laſt yeare of King Hardicnute, (the laſt Dane that ruled here). xxviij. yeares, in whiche meane ſpace Egelred recouering the Kingdome reigned two yeares, and after him his ſonne Edmonde Ironſide continued in the rule one yeare, ſo that the Danes had the whole poſſeſſion of the lande but. xxv. yeares in all.

The bodie of king Harold is buried at Waltham.

The bodie of king Harolde being founde among other ſlaine in the fielde, was buryed at Waltham, within the monaſterie of the holye Croſſe which hee before had founded & endowed to the behoofe of ſuche Canons as he had placed there, with fayre poſſeſſions.

Verily (as ſome wryters haue) reported, there was nothing in this manne to bee in any wyſe diſprayſed, if his ambitious mynde coulde haue beene ſtayed from coueting the Kingdome, and that hee could haue beene contented to haue liued as a ſubiect.

Ex. 6. libro Policraticon, ſiui de nugis curialium Iohn Sariſb.

Among other manifeſt proofes of his highe valiancie, this is remembred of him, that beeing ſent agaynſt the Welchmen (as before is partly mentioned) hee knowing theyr readie nymbleneſſe in ſeruice, and howe with their light armed menne they were accuſtomed to annoy and diſtreſſe thoſe that ſhoulde aſſayle them, hee likewiſe (to matche them) prouided light armed men for the purpoſe, and ſo being furniſhed with ſuche bandes of nymble men and light Souldiers, hee entered vpon the Mountaynes of Snowdone, and there remayned amongeſt the enimyes for the ſpace of two yeares. Hee ſore afflicted the Welche Nation; tooke their Kings, and ſent theyr heades vnto the King that ſent him aboute this buſineſſe, and proceeding in ſuche rigorous manner as mighte moue the hearers to lament and pitie the caſe, hee cauſed all the maſle kinde that might be mette with, to be miſerably ſlaine: and ſo with the edge of his ſworde he brought the Countrey to quiet, and wythall made this lawe, that if anye Welcheman from thenceforth ſhoulde preſume to paſſe the limittes ouer Offes ditch with any weapon about him, he ſhould loſe his right hand.

To conclude, by the valiant conduct of this Chieftaine, the Welche men were then ſo ſore brought vnder, that in maner the whole Nation might ſeeme to faile, and to be almoſt vtterly deſtroyed. And therefore by permiſſion of the king of England, the women of Wales ioyned themſelues in mariage with Engliſh men. But to returne where we left.

Nowe forſomuch as it pleaſed God by hys hidde and ſecrete iudgemente ſo to diſpoſe the Realme of Englande, and in ſuche wiſe as that the gouernaunce thereof ſhoulde fall after thys maner into the handes of William duke of Normandie, I haue thought good before I enter further into this Hiſtorie (beeing nowe come to the conqueſt of the Realme, made by the foreſayde Duke of Normandie) to ſet down his pedigrew, thereby to ſhewe howe he diſcended from the firſt Duke of that Countrey, who was named Rollo (and after by receyuing baptiſme cleped Robert.)

The ſayde Rollo or Rou, was ſonne to a greate Lorde in Denmarke called Guyon, who hauing two ſonnes, the ſayde Rou, and Gourin, and being appoynted to depart the Countrey, as the lottes fell to him and other, according to the maner there vſed (in time when their people were encreaſed to a greater number than the Countrey was able to ſuſtaine) refuſed to obey that order, and made warre agaynſt the King there, who yet in the ende by practiſe founde meanes to ſlea the foreſayde Guyon, and his ſonne Gourin, ſo that Rou, or Rollo, hauing thus loſt his father and brother, was compelled to forſake the countrey, with all thoſe that had holpe his father to make warre agaynſt the king. And thus dryuen to ſeeke aduentures, at length he became a Chriſtian, and was created Duke of Normandie, by gift of Charles King of Fraunce, ſurnamed Le Simple, whoſe daughter the Ladie Gilla hee alſo maried: but ſhee departing this life withoute iſſue, hee maryed Popee daughter to the Earle of Beſſin and Bayeulx, whome hee had kept as his wyfe before hee was baptiſed, and had had by hir a ſonne named VVilliam Longue eſpee, and a daughter named Ecrlata.

William Long eſpee, or *Longa Spata* had to wife the Ladie Sporta, daughter to Hubert Earle of Senlis, by whome he had iſſue Richard the ſecond of that name duke of Normandy, who maryed the Ladie Agnes, the daughter of Hugh le Grand le Grande, Earle of Paris, of whome no iſſue proceeded: but after hir deceaſſe, he maryed to his ſeconde wife a Gentlewoman named Gonnor, daughter to a knight of the Daniſhe line, by whō hee had three ſonnes, Richarde that was after Ye muſt note that there was one Richarde duke of Normandie before Rallo. Duke of Normandie the third of that name, Robert, & Mauger. He had alſo by hir three daughters, Agnes, otherwiſe called Emme, maried firſt to Egelred king of Englande, and after to King Cnute: Helloye, otherwiſe Alix, beſtowed vpon Geffrey Earle of Britaigne: and Mawde cowpled in mariage with Euldes Earle of Charters and Blais. Richard the thirde of that name maried Iudith, ſiſter to Geoffray Earle of Brytaigne, by whome he had iſſue three ſonnes, Richarde, Robert, and William, and as manye daughters: Alix, maried to Reignault Earle of Burgoyne: Alienor, maried to Baldwin Earle of Flaunders: and the thirde dyed yong, beeing affianced to Alfonſe King of Nauarre. Their mother deceaſed after ſhe had beene maried tenne yeares, and then Duke Richard maried ſecondly the Ladie Eſtric, ſiſter to Cnute king of Englande and Denmarke, from whome hee purchaſed to be deuorced, and then maried a Gentlewoman called Pauie, by whom he had iſſue two ſonnes, William Earle of Arques, and Mauger Archbiſhop of Rouen.

Richarde the fourth of that name Duke of Normandie, eldeſt ſonne to Richarde the thirde, dyed withoute iſſue, and then his brother Robert ſucceeded in the eſtate, whiche Robert begatte vppon Arlete or Harleuina daughter to a Burgeſſe of Felais, William ſurnamed the baſtard, afterwardes Duke of Normandie, and by conqueſt king of England.

Hitherto haue we continued the Hyſtorie of this land, wherein may appeare the variable chaunges of ſtates by courſe of times, and eſpecially foure notable Conqueſts: as firſt by the Romans, ſecondly by Saxons, thirdly by the Danes, and now laſtly by the Normans: in euerie of which alterations of the ſtate, what is chiefly to be conſidered (bycauſe wee haue partly touched the ſame in the Proheme) we here omit to make any further diſcourſe, and ſo proceede to the ſecond Booke as followeth.

ly Counte, Earle of Paris; of whome no iſſue proceeded: but after hir deceaſſe, he maryed to his ſeconde wife a Gentlewoman named Gonnor, daughter to a knight of the Daniſhe line, by whō he had three ſonnes, Richarde that was after Duke of Normandie, the thirde of that name, Robert, & Mauger. He had alſo by hir three daughters, Agnes, otherwiſe called Emme, maried firſt to Egelred king of Englande, and after to King Cnute: Helloys, otherwiſe Alix, beſtowed vpon Geffrey Earle of Britaigne: and Mawde coupled in mariage to Eudes Earle of Chartres and Blois. Richarde the thirde of that name maried Iudith ſiſter to Geffray Earle of Britaigne, by whome he had iſſue three ſonnes, Richarde, Robert, and William, and as manye daughters: Alix, maried to Reynald Earle of Burgoyne: Elienor, maried to Baldwin Earle of Flaunders: and the thirde dyed yong, being affianced to Alfonſe King of Nauarre. Their mother deceaſſed after ſhe had beene maried tenne yeares, and then Duke Richard maried ſecondly the Ladie Eſtrit, ſiſter to Cnute King of Englande and Denmarke, from whome hee purchaſed to be deuorced, and then maryed a Gentlewoman called Pauie, by whom he had iſſue two ſonnes, William Earle of Arques, and Mauger Archbiſhop of Roven.

Richarde the fourth of that name Duke of Normandie, eldeſt ſonne to Richarde the thirde, dyed withoute iſſue, and then his brother Robert ſucceeded in the eſtate, which Robert begatte vpon Arlete or Harleuina daughter to a Burgeſſe of Felais, William ſurnamed the baſtard, afterwardes Duke of Normandie, and by conqueſt King of England.

Hitherto haue we continued the Hyſtorie of this land, wherein may appeare the variable changes of ſtates by courſe of times, and eſpecially foure notable Conqueſts: as firſt by the Romans, ſecondly by Saxons, thirdly by the Danes, and now laſtly by the Normans: in euerie of which alterations of the ſtate, what is chiefly to be conſidered (bycauſe wee haue partly touched the ſame in the Proheme) we here omit to make any further diſcourſe, and ſo proceede to the ſecond Booke as followeth.

1577.

THE

Hiſtorie of Scotlande,

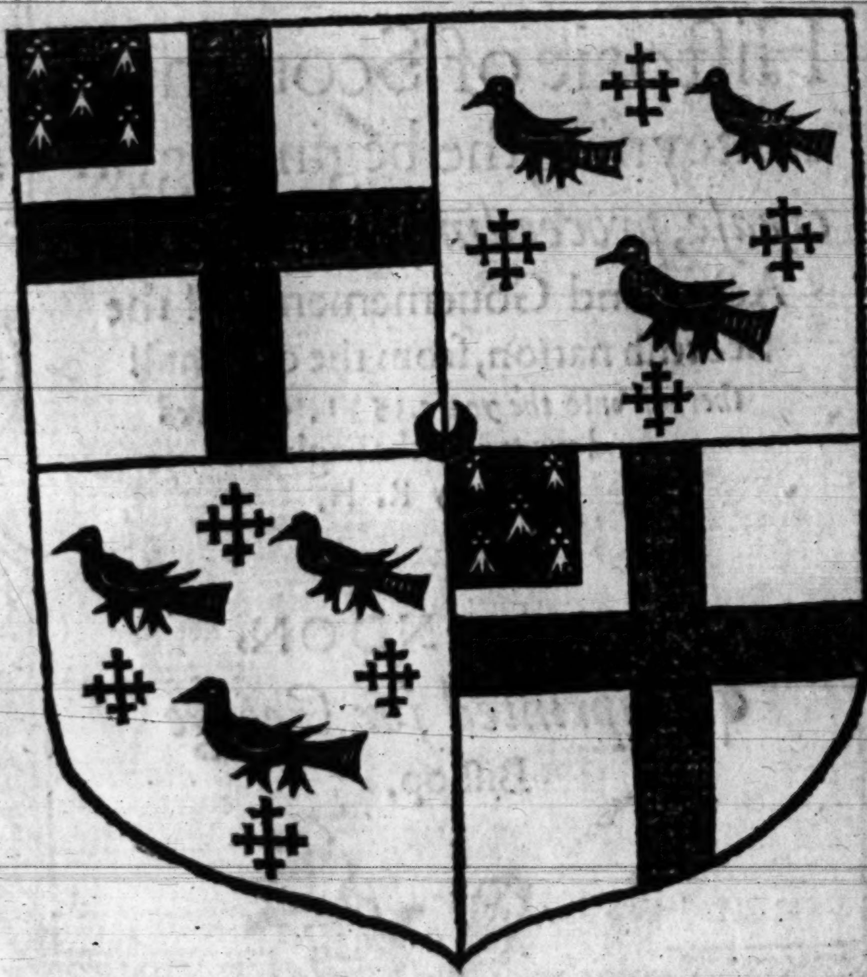
conteyning the beginning, in*creaſe, proceedings, continuance,*
Actes and Gouernemente of the
Scottiſh nation, from the originall
thereof vnto the yeare. 1571. Gathered
and written in the Engliſh
tongue by R. H.

AT LONDON,
¶ *Imprinted for George*
Biſhop.

God ſaue the Queene.

¶ The Authours out of whome this Hiſtorie of *Scotlande hath bene gathered.*

Hector Boece.
Iohannes Ferrarius Pedemontanus.
Iohannes Maior.
Iohannes Fourdon.
Rogerus Houeden.
Richardus Southvvell.
VVilhelmus Paruus, ſiue Neoburgẽſis.
Albertus Crantz.
Aeneas Siluius.
Edward Hall.
Richard Grafton:
Iohn Stovv: And others.



TO THE RIGHT Honorable the Lorde Robert Dudley, Earle of Leyceſter, Baron of Denbigh, Knight of the *moſt noble order of the Garter, Maiſter of the* Queenes Maieſties Horſe, and one of hir highneſſe priuy Counſell.

IT may ſeeme (right *honorable) a gret preſumptiō in me, to haue taken in hand the collection of this Scottiſh hiſtory, and other of diuers regiōs, conſidering ſo many ſufficient men as liue in theſe dayes, far more able to performe the ſame. But where at the motion of a ſpecial frend, I vndertooke to deale therin, more vpō truſt of his promiſed ayde than of mine owne abilitie, it pleaſed God to cal him to his mercy before the worke could be fully brought to end: but yet to anſwere the expectatiō of his frends, and truſt, which he had cōmitted to thē and me in this behalf, I haue done my good will to accōpliſh part of that, which in his life time was intended, although not to my wiſhed deſire, by reaſon of ſuch wantes as had bene ſupplied if he had liued to haue ſeene it publiſhed himſelf. It reſteth (right noble Earle) that it may pleaſe your Honor to accept my doinges in good parte, to whom I offer this parcell of my trauayles in this Hiſtorie of Scotlande, in regarde of the honour due to your noble Father, for his incomparable valure well knowen and approued, aſwel within that realme as els where in ſeruice of two Kings of moſt famous memory,* Henry the. viij. *and* Edward the ſixte, *ſounding ſo greatly to his renowme as*

Reginald VVolfe.

the ſame can not paſſe in ſilence, whileſt any remembraunce of thoſe two moſt pereleſſe Princes ſhall remain in written Hiſtories. I therfore moſt humbly beſeeche your honour to beare with my boldeneſſe in preſenting you with ſo meane a gifte, proceeding from one, although vnknowen to your Lordſhippe, yet not without experience of your bountifull goodneſſe extended towardes thoſe, to whome I recken myſelf, moſt beholden: as what is he within this realme almoſt of any degree, which findeth not himſelfe bounden to your Honour, either in his owne cauſes or his frendes? for ſuche is your inclination to pleaſure all men, as the ſame may ſeeme a peculiar vertue planted in your noble harte, mouing you ſo much to delite therin, as no time is thought by your Honour better ſpent, than that whiche you employ in doing good to others. But leaſt I ſhoulde enter into ſo large a diſcourſe as might be framed of this and other your excellent vertues (a matter far exceding my ſimple knowlege) I wil ceaſe to ſpeake further thereof, ſith the ſame is ſpread ouer al, aſwel this as other regions: for no where doe want greate numbers of ſuch as haue aboundantly taſted of your exceeding courteſies. In making you owner therfore of this abſtract of the Scottiſh hiſtories, I moſt humbly beſeech your honour if any thing be amiſſe, to impute the ſame to the imperfectiō and defect of better inſtructions, and with your benigne & fauourable interpretation to haue me therein excuſed. Suche as it is I addreſſe it to your good Lordſhip with ſo dutiful a mind as may be imagined, beſeeching God to preſerue your honor in long life, with plentiful increaſe of wiſedome, vertue & al wiſhful proſperitie.

Your honours moſt humble to commaunde
RAPHAEL HOLINSHED.

THE DESCRIPTION OF Scotlande, written at the firſt by Hector Boethus in Latin, and afterwarde tranſlated into the Scottish ſpeech by Iohn Bellendon Archdeacon of Murrey, and now finally into Engliſh, for the benefite of ſuch as are ſtudious in the Hiſtories, by W.H.

The Contents of the Chapters conteyned in this Booke.

1 OF the boundes of Albion, with the ſundrie commodities thereof, and of the great infirmities that fall vnto the people there for their intemperancie: and finally of the religion vſed there in olde tyme.

2 The deſcription of the Eaſt, VVeſt, and middle borders of Scotlande, with the moſt notable townes and floudes thereof.

3 The deſcription of Galloway, Kile, Carricke, and Cunningham, with the notable townes, lakes, and riuers in the ſame.

4 The ſituation of Renfrew, Cliddeſdale, Lennox Lowmund, Argile, Louchquaber, Lorne, and Kentire, with all the notable things conteyned in the ſame.

5 Of Ros, Stranauerne, and Murray lande, with ſuch Lakes and Riuers as are to be touched there.

6 Of Boene, Anze, Buquhane, Mar, Mernes, Fiffe, and Angus, with the Lakes, Flouddes, Abbeyes, Townes, and other notable commodities there to be ſeene and founde.

7 Of Louthian, Striuelin, Menteith, Calidon wood, Bowgewall, Gareoth, with the notable Cities, Caſtels and Flouds thereof.

8 Of the greate plentie of Hares, Hartes, and other wilde beaſtes in Scotland, alſo of the ſtraunge nature of ſundrie Scottiſh dogges, and of the nature of Salmon.

9 Of the ſundrie kindes of Muskels and Cockles in Scotlande, and Perles gotten in the ſame. Of vncouth and ſtrange fiſhe there to be ſeene, and of the nature of the herbe *Citiſus* commonly called Hadder.

10 Of the Iles of Scotlande, and ſuch notable things as are to be found in them.

11 Of the nature of their Claike Geeſe, and diuerſe maner of their procreation, and of the Iſle of Thule.

12 The deſcription of Orkenay, and Shetlande, with ſundrie other ſmall Iſles, and of the maners and conditions of the people dwelling in the ſame.

13 Of the maners of the Scottes in theſe dayes, and their compariſon, with the behauiour of the olde and ſuch as liued long ſince within this Ilande.

14 The deſcription of an auncient Pict, and ſuch as dwelled beyond the wall of Hadrian.

15 Of Biſhoprikes, Vniuerſities, and Counties in Scotland.

THE DESCRIPTION OF Scotlande, written at the firſt by Hector Boethius in Latin, and afterwarde tranſlated into the Scottiſh ſpeech by Iohn Bellenden Archdeacon of Murrey, and now finally into Engliſh, for the benefite of ſuch as are ſtudious in the Hiſtories, by W.H.

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5 Of Ros, Strahnuerne, and Murray lande, with ſuch Lakes and Riuers as are to be touched there.

6 Of Boene, Anze, Buquhane, Mar, Mernes, Fiffe, and Angus, with the Lakes, Houſes, Abbayes, Townes, and other notable commodities there to be ſeene and founde.

7 Of Louthian, Striuelin, Menteith, Callidon wood, Bowgewall, Garcots, with the notable Cities, Caſtels and Houſes thereof.

8 Of the great plentie of Hares, Hartes, and other wilde beaſtes in Scotland, alſo of the ſtrange nature of ſundrie Scottiſh dogges, and of the nature of Salmon.

9 Of the ſundrie kindes of Muſkels and Cockles in Scotlande, and Perles gotten in the ſame. Of vncouth and ſtrange fiſhe there to be ſeene, and of the nature of the herbe *Caſſus* commonly called Hadder.

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11 Of the nature of their Claike Geeſe, and diuerſe maner of their procreation, and of the Ile of Thule.

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14 The deſcription of an auncient Pict, and ſuch as dwelled beyond the wall of Hadrian.

15 Of Biſhoprikes, Vniuerſities, and Counties in Scotland.

TO THE RIGHT VVORSHIPFVL
Maiſter Thomas Secford Eſquier and Maiſter of the
Requeſtes, William Hariſon vviſheth all knovvledge of
God, with dayly increaſe of his giftes at this preſent,
and in the worlde to come life
euerlaſting.

HAuing by your ſingular curteſie receyued great helpe in my deſcription of the riuers and ſtreames of Britain, and by conference of my trauaile vvith the platformes of thoſe fevv ſhires of England vvhich are by your infinite charges alreadie finiſhed (as the reſt ſhall be in time by Gods helpe, for the ineſtimable benefite of ſuche as inhabite this Ilande) not a little pulliſhed thoſe rough courſes of diuerſe vvaters not exactly before time deſcribed by Leland our Countreyman, or any auncient vvriter, I coulde not deuiſe anye thing more agreable vvith mine abilitie & your good nature (vvhich greatly fauoureth anye thing that is done for a commoditie vnto many) than to ſhevv ſome token of my thankefulneſſe for theſe your manifold kindneſſes, by the dedication of my ſimple tranſlation of the deſcription of Scotland at this tyme vnto your vvorſhip. In deede the trauaile taken herein is not great, bycauſe I tie not my tranſlation vnto his letter, neither the treatiſe of it ſelfe ſuch, as taketh vp any huge rovvme in the volume of this Chronicle. But ſuch as it is, & vvhat ſoeuer it is, I yeeld it vvholy vnto you, as a teſtimonie of my good vvill, vvhich deteſteth vtterly to receyue any benefit though it be neuer ſo ſmal, and not to be thankfull for it. Certes my vocation is ſuch, as calleth me to a farre other kind of ſtudie, ſo that I exerciſe theſe things onely for recreation ſake: and to ſay the truth, it is muche vnſitting for him that profeſſeth Diuinitie, to applie his time any other vviſe vnto contemplation of ciuill Hiſtories. And this is the cauſe vvherfore I haue choſen rather, onely vvith the loſſe of three or foure dayes to tranſlate Hector out of the Scottiſh (a tongue verie like vnto ours) than vvith more expence of time to diuiſe a nevve, or follovv the Latin copie, vvhich is farre more large and copious. Hovv excellently if you conſider the arte, Boethus hath penned it and the reſt of his Hiſtorie in the Latin, the skilfull are not ignorant: but hovv profitably and compendiouſly Iohn Bellendon Archdeacon of Murrey his interpretour hath turned him from the Latin into the Scottiſh tongue, there are verie fevve Engliſh men that knovv, bycauſe vve want the bookes. VVherefore ſith the learned reade him in his ovvne ſtile, and his Countreymen in their naturall language, vvhy ſhould not vve borovv his deſcription and read the ſame in Engliſh likevviſe, ſith the knovvledge thereof may redounde to the great benefit of ſo many as heare or read the ſame. Accept therefore (right vvorſhipfull) this my ſimple offer, and although I aſſure my ſelfe, your naturall inclination to be ſuch, as that it vvill take nothing in ill part that is vvell meant tovvard you, hovve rudely ſoeuer it bee handled in the doing, yet I vvill not let to craue pardon for my
preſumption, in that I dare be ſo bold as to offer ſuch a trifle vnto you, whom
more vveightie affayres doe dayly call from things of ſo ſmall importaunce. Almightie God keepe your vvorſhip from time to time
in his feare, and bleſſe you and my good Ladie your vvife,
vvith ſuch increaſe of his benefites, as may
moſt redounde to his glorie,
and your ovvne aduauntage.

¶ The boundes of Albion with the ſundry commodities thereof, *and of the great infirmities that fall vnto the people there for their intemperancy, and finally of the Religion vſed there in old tyme.*

Chap. 1.

The Iſle of *Albion* contayneth in the whole circũference two thouſande myles, hauing in length 700. and in breadth 300. as appeareth well by the coaſt therof that lieth ouer agaynſt Fraunce where it is broadeſt, and from whence it gathereth narrower and narrower, till it come to the vtter Marches & laſt boundes of England and Scotland. For betwixte the Mule of Galloway that is on the weſt ſide ouer againſt the Iriſh ſeas, and Saint Ebbes head, that lieth vpon the Germaine Ocean towarde the eaſt, are ſcarcely 130. myles, and thenceforth it groweth ſmaller and ſmaller till it touch vpõ the North ſeas, where it is not aboue 30. miles, as I noted before in the deſcriptiõ of Brytaine. This Iſle is repleniſhed with people, horſes, and all other kindes of cattell and corne in moſte aboundant maner, except it be in ſuche places where as God of his ſingular goodneſſe hath otherwiſe indued the ſoyle with ritche mynes of Gold, Siluer, Tinne, Braſſe, Copper, & quickſiluer, whiche for the moſt parte are ſo plentiful, that they ſuffiſe not onely for the neceſſaries of the whole Iland, but alſo of ſundry regiõs that are ſituate round about it, if the inhabitauntes were ſkilfull and painefull to deale withall accordingly. But the abundaunce of all other things requiſite for the vſe of man, that is found generally in our Iland, maketh the people leſſe carefull of theſe commodities, and more gyuen to idleneſſe. For beſide the great plenty of thoſe things whiche heauen and earth do miniſter, as graſſe, corne, and cattell, and foules of ſundry kindes, there is ſuche ſtore of fiſhe in all parties of our ſeas, eſpecially towarde the North, that the ſame would ſuffiſe to feede and ſuſtayne all the people of the Iland, if there were none other commodities to be found within the ſame. For the inhabitants of all countries that border vpõ vs, as Fraunce, Flaunders, Zealande, Hollande, and a great part of Germany (eſpecially thoſe whiche lie neare vnto the coaſt) do ſayle hither with great numbers of veſſels dayly to fiſhe vpon our coaſts, and buie ſuch as we haue already caught, not only for their owne vſe, but alſo for the Lenton prouiſion of ſuch nations as lie vpon the Leuant ſeas, where they ſell the ſame at theyr owne willes, with very ſpedy vtterance. Many other riche and precious cõmodities are to be gotten in the ſayd Iſle, whereof the aforenamed nations do make no ſmall accompte, beſide theſe common things. What ſhall I ſay of our wolles, whiche are in ſo high eſtimation in all landes, bicauſe of their neceſſary vſes, and wherof a great part is ſo fine, and ſofte, that of it are made, the coſtly ſkarlettes, pliaunt gloues, and many other grayned and delicate clothes, of whiche I thought good to make this mention, bycauſe the reporte thereof is not yet made common and generally knowẽ to all men.

Dionyſius Alexandrinus ſaith that the wool of Brytaine is often ſponne ſo fine that it is in manner comparable to the ſpyders draught.

Certes this I dare boldly affirme, that if the kingdomes of Brytaine had ſuche grace giuen them from aboue as that they might once liue in vnitie, or by any meanes be brought vnder the ſubiectiõ of one Prince, they ſhould ere long feele ſuch a ſauour in this amity, that they wold not onely liue frankly of their owne, without any forain purchaſe of things, but alſo reſiſt all outward inuaſion, with ſmal trauayle and leſſe dammage. For as touching their perſons, and likewiſe theyr notable wittes, apt bothe for the attayning of learnyng and knowledge of handycraftes, they are inferiour to no other nation.

Thereunto we finde them to be couragious and hardy, offering themſelues often vnto the vttermoſt perils with great aſſurance, ſo that a man may pronounce nothing to be ouer harde or paſt their power to performe, if they woulde giue themſelues to liue temperately, and follow their predeceſſors in moderation of diet. Therfore it (is as I thinke) that almighty God in his prouidente diſpoſition of al things, hath ordeyned their groundes (otherwiſe plentifully indued with all kindes of commodities) to be deſtitute and voyde of wine, as forſeeing that the ſayde liquor whiche bringeth greateſt benefite vnto other countries, woulde come in the ende to be moſt pernicious and noyſome vnto them. For they are giuen to ſuch vnnatural rauening and greedy deſire of forraine thinges (whileſt they contempne or not regarde their owne) that they cannot refrayne the immoderate vſe of Wine, and exceſſe vſed in drinking of the ſame: In ſo much that we may ſee diuers to be ouertaken & haſted, not only with ſundry kinds of grieuous maladies common to vs & them of the mayne, but alſo many other whiche they haue not, neyther be any thing at all acquainted, with as experiẽce dayly teacheth. Some by long ſickneſſe and languiſhing greefes do grow into ſuche deformitie only thorow exceſſiue feeding, & greedy abuſe of wine, that if you knew them whẽ they were children and young men, you ſhall hardly remember them when they be old and aged: and that which more is in compariſon of other that liue more ſoberly, you will hardly thinke thẽ to be borne in the Ile, but rather ſuppoſe them to be chaungelings and monſters, brought out of other countries to gaze & looke vpon: diuerſe of them thorow the cõtinuall vſe of wine, are moleſted in their age, with phrenticall pangs and paſſions? ſeldome alſo ſhal you ſee thoſe that are giuen much vnto wine and ſuch welfare, to become parents of many children, ſith their naturall moyſture and generatiue force, is much abated, if not altogither extinguiſhed by ſuch immoderate diet. But to returne to our purpoſe, the Albanes or Brytons, as *Ceſar* in his Commentaries, & *Tacitus* in his Annales do report, were very religious, after the maner of religion vſed in old time. For in thoſe dayes the Prieſts of Brytaine named *Druides*, were very expert both in naturall and Morall Philoſophy, and from thence came the firſt profeſſors of that ſect and opinion into Fraunce. The principall ſeat alſo of their Prieſtes was in the Ile of Man, whiche was reputed at that ſeaſon, for the welſpring and fou̅tayne of all learning and knowledge, and after that their Prieſtes were ones conuerted to the Catholike fayth, they perſeuered in the ſame with great conſtancie, without any note of Hereſie.

The deſcription of the Eaſt weſt and middle borders of Scotland, with the moſt notable townes and flouds therof. Chap. 2.

THe Pictes had ſometimes the principall & moſt fertile parte of that countrey, whiche now is vnder the regiment of the Scottes, and after they had cõtinued in the ſame by the ſpace of. 1171. yeares, ioyned in maner in perpetuall league with the Scots, & mainteining mutually the warres ſometimes with the Brytaines & Romaines, & ſometimes alſo iarring with their Scottiſh neighbours, at the laſt they fel into extreme hatred one w̃ another, till it was brought to paſſe by the diuine prouidence, that the ſayde Pictes were ouerthrowen, their name extinguiſhed, & the kingdome vnited vnto that other of the Scots for euermore. After this time furthermore, although the Scottes haue bene very oftentimes aſſayled with moſt daungerous and terrible warres & oftẽtimes inuaded by enimies from diuers regions, yet ſuch hath bene the fauour of almighty God towards them, that ſtill they flouriſh & retaine theyr eſtate inuiolate.

Whatſoeuer wee haue generally ſpoken of Albion, that is chiefly to be vnderſtanded of the Scottes, & farre greater, eſpecially among the Scottes, as they call them in the high lande, as people that haue leſſe to do with forraine Merchants, & therfore are leſſe delicate, & not ſomuch corrupted with ſtrange bloud and alliaunce. Hereby in like ſorte it cometh to paſſe, that they are more harde of conſtitution of body, to beare of the colde blaſtes, to watche better, & abſteyne long, whereunto alſo it appeareth that they are bolde, nimble, and thereto more ſkilfull in the warres. As for their faith & promiſe, they holde it with greateſt conſtancie, as *Hector* hath ſet downe. Towardes the Almaine ſea, I find, that Scotland hath the Mers, ſometime the moſte plenteous region of the Pictes for their marche, which ſo long as the ſayd people did inhabite it, was called Deera, or Dere, but after their expulſion it was named Mers, that is to ſay, the Merches or limites of their cou̅trey. In proceſſe of time alſo the Scottes extended their boundes euen vnto yͤ Twede, which now diuideth Northumberlande from the Mers. On the other ſide of the countrey towarde the Weſt, ſundry ſmall bournes deſcend from the Cheriot hilles, & other mountaynes lying thereabout into the Solue, diuiding Cumberlãd from Annandale, & ſo being brought into one chanel, they fall togither into the Iriſhe Ocean, and ſtande for the bounds of Scotland vpõ that halfe of the countrey. The Cheriot hilles are in like ſorte taken for the middle Marches of the region, whiche with certaine ſmal brokes that fall frõ the ſame, do ſeparate both the countries, whereby their limites are knowen. The Mers hath vnder marches at ſeueral places (whether it is extended) as ſometime the Germayne ſea, ſometime Eaſt Lowthian, ſomtime the Twede, & ſomtime the Forth, & among many ſtrong holds & Caſtels, that ſtand vpon the borders, is the towne & Caſtell of Barwijck in time paſte called *Ordolucium*, as the inhabitantes are called *Ordoluci* (if *Hector* be not deceiued.) The Twede ſpringeth out from a meane head, and after his augmẽtation, with other ſmall waters that fall into the ſame, it deſcendeth with a large courſe into the Almayne ſea. Beyond yͤ Twede, to the middle March vnder the Cheriot hilles lieth Teuidale, that is to ſay, the vale of Tiffe: Beyond it is Eſkedale, or the vale of Eſke, of a riuer ſo called that runneth thorow the ſame: ouer againſt Eſkedale on the other ſide lieth Euſdale, ſo named of the riuer *Eus* that paſſeth thereby, & falleth into the water of Annande: But Tif and Eſke do runne into the Twede: furthermore on the weſt ſide ouer againſt yͤ Iriſh ſea, lieth Annandale, whereunto the Annand water giueth denomination, which marcheth ſomtimes without the bou̅des of Niddeſdale, where al the three riuers aforeſayd, that is to ſay, Eus, Annand & Sulway deſcende togither in one bottome into the Iriſh ſeas.

In Annãdale is a Loch or lake named Lochmaben. 5. miles in lẽgth & 4. in breadth, not only

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very ful of fiſh, but of ſuch kinde as few men are acquainted with. Beſide this lake alſo there is a caſtell of yͤ ſame name builded of purpoſe to reſtraine the furious dealing of theeues whiche do great hurt in thoſe quarters. For not only in Inandale, but in all the Dales or Vales afore rehearſed, are many ſtrong theeues, which often ſpoile the countrey, and exerciſe much cruel ſlaughter vpon ſuch as inhabite there in any troublous time. Theſe robbers (bicauſe the Engliſh do border vpõ their dry marches, & are their perpetual enimies) do oftẽ make forcible rodes into the Engliſh boundes, for their better maintenaunce & ſuſtentation, or els they pilfer priuily from them, as men leading in the meane ſeaſon a poore beggerly & very miſerable life. In the time of peace alſo, they are ſo inured to theft and rapine, that they cãnot leaue off to ſteale at home: & notwithſtãding that they be often very ſore handled therefore, yet they thinke it prayſe worthy to moleſt their aduerſaries, as they cal the truer ſorte, whereby it cõmeth to paſſe, yͤ many riche & fertile places of Scotlãd lie waſt & voyde of culture for feare of their inuaſion.

Not far from the Sulway (a water where great plenty of fiſh is to be had) are many quicke ſandes, & thoſe ſo perillous that no man may well go ouer the ſame, but with great difficultie & daunger of his life. This vale of Innand was ſomtime called *Ordouitia*, & the people thereof *Ordouices*, whoſe aunciẽt barbarouſneſſe is reported to be ſuche, that in times paſt they refuſed not to kill and eate ſuch priſoners as had yeelded themſelues vnto them. The very wõme in like ſort would ſlea their huſbands, if at any time they fled frõ the field, and returned to their houſes, only to giue occaſion vnto other mẽ to ſtand to their tacklings at euery ſuch aduenture.

On the Weſt borders & toward the North lieth Niddeſdale, ſo called of the water of Nidde. It beginneth with a very narrow courſe, and increaſing broder in the middle marches of Scotland, it finally reſtrayneth it ſelf againe, till it cõmeth at the ſea, whether it runneth with a ſwift courſe, as yͤ Scottiſh writers do report. In this vale ſtãdeth a towne named Dunfriſe, wherein many fine clothes eſpecially whites are made, which are brought vp & caried into England, Fraunce, Flãders & Germany where they are had in great price and eſtimation.

The Deſcription of Galloway, Kyle, Carricke and Cunningham, with the notable Townes, Lakes and Riuers in the ſame. Chap. 3.

ABoue Niddeſdale is Galloway (named ſometime Brigantia) the people whereof were in times paſt called *Brigantes*: this region is deuided by the water of Cree into two partes, whereof that which lieth neareſt to Niddeſdale, is called nether Galloway, & the other that is aboue the Cree is named vpper Galloway. In nether Galloway is Kirkcowbry, a rich towne & of a good trade in merchaundize, and in vpper Galloway is Whitherne in Latine *Candida caſa*, an Abbay dedicated to S. Ninian the Biſhop, & there lieth his carcaſe, which is honored of the people with great ſuperſtition and errour. Aboue Whitherne is Wigton towne, & not far from thence is the great lake of Myrton, the one halfe whereof doth freze by naturall congelation as other pooles and plaſhes do, but the other is neuer ſeene to beare any Ice at all, whiche vnto me doth ſeeme to be great wonder. In Galloway moreouer are two other lakes, the Salſet and the Neutramen, of equall length and breadth with the Lochmyrton: As for Galloway it ſelfe, it yeeldeth out a great point promontory or cape (which the Scots call a Mule or Muke) into the Iriſh ſea. The common ſorte name it the Mules Nuke, & by the rounding of it ſelfe, it maketh two great lakes, named Rean and Lowis, except I be deceyued, one of theſe lakes or pooles is xxx. and the other xvj. myles of length, & both full of Oyſters, Herring, Congers, Cockles, and other like kindes of fiſhe.

Some are of the opinion that *Brigantia* was the ſame region of Britain yͭ is now called Wales, wherein the Brytons inhabited many yeares after their expulſion out of Brytaine. But this opiniõ is falſe, ſith the Romaynes write how that Man the Iland lieth ouer againſt *Brigantium* and middeway betwene the ſame and Irelãd: for albeit that the brayes or bayes are now worne wider and farder diſtant ech from other by the waſhing and working of the ſea, yet the ſame latitude and eleuation of the pole that *Ptolomy* aſcribed to the Brygantes, agreeth well to the height of the pole ouer Galloway, which is very farre from Wales, ſithence the Ile of Man lieth alſo 100. miles from thence, and in the ſight of Galloway. In like ſort by the teſtimony of ſundry Authors both Iriſh and Spaniſh, we affirme that out of *Brigantium*, a citie of Spaine, (now named *Compoſtella*) there came a new company of people into Ireland called Spaniardes, & out of Irelãd another crew of the ſame nation with king Fergus into Albion, and in remembraunce of the citie Brigance, wherein they inhabited whileſt they were in Spayne, they called themſelues *Brygantes*. To this opinion in like ſort *Cornelius Tacitus* doth ſeeme to leane, who ſaith, that the Brygantes deſcended from the Spaniardes, whiche in his time dwelled in the vttermoſt partes of Brytaine, including vnder yͤ name the whole Iland of Albion. Theſe regions afore reherſed, that is to ſay, Innandale, Niddeſdale and Galloway, beſide fine wolles and ſtore of cattell, doth alſo abounde with all kindes of grayne, wheate onely excepted.

Aboue Galloway is Carrike, ſometime a portion of the region of the Silures, of whoſe name it is not yet certainely knowne, whether it was deriued from the famous citie Carricke, whoſe ruines do yet remaine, or not. Silury is diuided into three parts, *videlicet* Carrick, Kyle & Cunningham: In the firſt as I ſayd, was Carrick the noble citie: and in this countrey are many ſtrong Caſtels, bothe by naturall ſituation and pollicy of mã: herein alſo are fayre kine, and oxen whoſe fleſh is delicate, and very tender to be eaten, the tallow moreouer of theyr wombes is ſo moyſt & ſappy that it neuer waxeth harde, but relenteth of the owne accorde, and becõmeth like vnto oyle. Beyond Carrick is Kyle, ſo called of Coile King of Brytaine, ſomtime ſlaine in the ſayd region, and therein is a ſtone, not much aboue xij. miles from the towne of Air, ful xxx. foote high, & three elles of breadth, called the deafe ſtone, not without cauſe: for when a man is on the one ſide thereof, he ſhal not heare what is ſayde or done on the other, though there be neuer ſo great noyſe made, no not if a Canon ſhould be diſcharged of ſet purpoſe, which to me doth ſeeme impoſſible, neuertheleſſe the farder a man ſtandeth from the ſame, the better ſhall he heare what ſoeuer the noyſe be. Next vnto Kyle is Cunninghã the third part of Silurie, whoſe inhabitãts in time paſt were moſt noyſome to yͤ Romaines. In Kyle is a poole named Doune, from whence the riuer Doune, doth runne thorow the middeſt of that region into the Iriſhe ſea. In Cunningham likewiſe is a lake called Garnoth, equall in quantitie vnto the Doune, and no leſſe famous for the abundance of fiſh that is dayly found therein: and not farre from the ſame is the towne called Largis, where Alexander the thirde King of Scotland of that name, ſometime ouercame the Danes and Norwegians, whereby it grewe to be famous, and of more reputation among vs.

Reade in the Latin Hector, 12 foote highe 30. foote in length, & thre elles thicke.

The ſituation of Renfrew, Cliddiſdall, Lennox, Lowmund, Argile, Louchquhaber, Lorne, *and* Kentyre, *with all the notable things contayned in the ſame.* Chap. 4.

The water of Clide, deuideth Lennox on the North ſide from the Barrony of Renfrew, & it riſeth out of the ſame hill in Calidon wood, from whence the Annand falleth, and goeth with a long courſe into the Iriſh ſea: ſome cal this riuer Gluda, & Cluda, but *Tacitus* nameth it Glota. Not far alſo from the fountaines of Clide, ariſeth the water of Forth, that runneth on the contrary ſide into the Germaine Ocean. In like ſorte after the water of Clude hath run for a ſeaſon towarde the North, it gathereth ſomwhat inward til it come to the moũtaine of Granzeben, & from thence holdeth on with a ſwift courſe, til it fall as I ſayd into yͤ Iriſh ſeas. The coũtrey where it rũneth is named Clideſdale. Betwixt Clide & Lennox lieth yͤ Barony of Renfrew, wherin are two pooles named Quhinſouth & Leboth, of which the firſt is xij. miles in compaſſe, the other xx. and both very riche & plentifull of fiſh. But in Lennox that lieth next aboue Renfrew toward the Ocean (called by *Ptolomy* Lelgouia) is a great mere or lake that hight Lochmond, of xxiiij. miles in length, & eight in breadth, and within this Lhin or poole, are 30. Ilandes wel replenished with Churches & dwelling houſes, & in the ſame alſo are three things worthy conſideration, wherof the firſt is, that the pleaſant & very delicate fiſhe there bredde doth want finnes. The ſecõd is, that the water will often ſwell with huge waues though no winde be ſturring, and that in ſuch wiſe that the beſt Mariners in the countrey dare not aduenture to ſayle thereon. There is alſo a very fruiteful and commodious Ile therein, very neceſſary for the paſturage of cattel, whiche fleeteth hither and thither as the winde bloweth. This lake is ſituate at the foote of the hill called Granzeben, whiche were ſometime the marches or limites betwixt the Scots & Pictes, & are extended frõ Lochlowmund to the mouth of Dee. Certes the Pictes had no parte of the country beyond the Granzeben, nor toward the Iriſh ſeas, for this region was inhabited by the Scots. Eight miles frõ Lochlowmund is the caſtel of Dumbritaine named ſometime Alcluid, and here the water of Leuen falleth into the Clide.

¶ Beyond Lochlowmũd is Argile, an hilly coũtry and full of cragges and mountaines, therin alſo are two lakes Lochfine and Lochquho, that diuide the region into three partes, that in the middeſt beyng called Knapdale. In Lochfine likewiſe is more plenty of herring than in any parte of the coaſt that compaſſeth the Iland, but in Lochquho are ſuche kindes of fiſhe to be vſually had as are commonly bredde in freſh waters. There are moreouer in Argile two caſtels Glenunquhart and Enconell, and in it are 12. Iles, whoſe chiefe commoditie reſteth rather in paſturage for cattell, than aboundance of grayne. In Argile furthermore are many ritche mynes full of mettall, but the people there haue no ſkill to find and trie out the ſame. The conſtant report alſo goeth there, how there is a ſtone of ſuche nature, that if it be hiddẽ in ſtraw for a certaine ſeaſon, it will kindle of it ſelfe & conſume the ſtraw to aſhes. There are ſeuen other lakes in Argile, wherof ſome are thirty miles in length and breadth, and other leſſe. It was told me once by *Doncan Campbell* a noble Knight, that out of Garloll one of the pooles of Argile, there came a terrible beaſt in the yeare of grace, 1510. which was of the bigneſſe of a Greyhound, and footed like a gander, and iſſuing out of the water early in the mornyng about Midſomer time, did very eaſily and without any viſible force or ſtreyning of himſelfe ouerthrow huge okes with his tayle, and therevnto killed three men out right that hunted him with three ſtrokes of his ſayd tayle, the reſte of them ſauing themſelues in trees there aboutes, whyleſt the aforeſayde Monſter returned to the water. Thoſe that are giuen to the obſeruations of rare and vncouth ſightes, beleeue that this beaſt is neuer ſeene but agaynſt ſome great trouble & miſchief to come vpõ the realme of Scotland. For it hath ben diſcried alſo before that time, although not very often. Lorne abutteth vpon Argile, which was once a part of Argile, and reacheth out into the Iriſhe ſea, in maner of a cape or toũg, full 60. miles. This poynt alſo was called *Nouantia*, but now it is named Kyntyre, that is to ſay, the head of Lorne, whoſe vttermoſt part is not full 16. miles frõ Ireland. Some Authors affirme, that both Argile and Cantyre, were called *Nouantia* in old time, ſith *Ptolomy* maketh no mention of Argile in his Coſmography. In this Lorne is great abundance of Barley whiche the Scottes call Beir. Beyond Lorne is Lochquhaber, heretofore a portion of Murrayland, very riche in mines of Iron & Lead, & no leſſe beneficial to the country in all kindes of cattel. There are likewiſe many woodes, many lakes, & many riuers, but two of them are moſte notable for the plenty of Salmons, & other delicate fiſhe, aſwell of the ſalt as freſh water, which is there taken & almoſt without any trauaile: neyther is there any where els in all the Ile ſuch ſtore. The one of theſe is named Lochty, and the other Spanze, but vpon what occaſiõ theſe names were giuen vnto thẽ I finde as yet no certainty. The Lochty riſeth not aboue eight miles from Lochnes, & falleth beneath the ſame into the Germaine Ocean, & beſide it, there is a rocky cragge, running out at length into the ſea, named Hardnemorth. In yͤ mouth of Lochty likewiſe was ſomtime a riche towne named Inuerlochty, whether the marchaunts of Fraunce and Spaine did make their dayly reſort, till at the laſt it was ſo defaced by the warres of the Danes, that it neuer was able ſithence the ſayde time to recouer hir priſtinate renowne. But whether the negligẽce of the due repayre of this towne, proceedeth of the ſlouth of our people, or hatred that ſome enuious perſons do beare to cities & walled townes in our countrey, as yet it is vncertayne. Beyond Lochty is the caſtell of Dunſtafage, in time paſt named *Euonium*: beyõd Dunſtafage alſo is the mouth of the water of Spanze, where it falleth as I heare into the Germaine Ocean.

The diſcourſe of Ros, Stranauern, and Murray land, with the lakes, riuers and notable townes in them. Chap. 5.

BEyond the water of Spanze lieth Ros ſomtime called *Legia*, a very narrow region God it wote, but running out in greate lẽgth thorow the middeſt of the Ilande, being enuirõned on both ſides with the Ocean. That portion thereof whiche lieth neareſt to the Iriſh ſeas, is very difficulte for ſuche as trauell by the country, by reaſon of the high Mountaynes, whiche maketh the country more apt for wilde beaſtes than mankind to inhabite: neuertheleſſe waxing more fertile on that part whiche ſtretcheth toward yͤ Germaine ſea, it yeeldeth it ſelf to culture, & rendreth ſome grayne. In paſture alſo it is not altogither vnprofitable, ſith there is good graſſe, and very datable for their heards: for the valeys there, being watered with ſundry pleaſant ſtreames, do yeelde a ſweete & very ſauoury graſſe, wherewith all ſortes of cattell are very muche delited. In Ros are ſundry lakes, but Lochbrun is the greateſt. There are alſo many freſh riuers, fraught with excellent fiſhe, and finally a notable Firth or ſafe hauen called Cromart, wherunto diuers in time of neceſſitie do reſort, to auoyde the daunger of ſhipwrack, that otherwiſe would aſſuredly annoy thẽ. The Scottiſh mẽ call it heill of ſhipmen. In this region moreouer is yͤ towne called Thane, where the bones of Dutho an holy man (as they ſay) do reſte, & are had in greater eſtimation among the ſuperſtitious ſorte (as ſometime ouer the whole Iland) than the holy Goſpel of God and merites of his Sonne, wherby we are onely ſaued. Two auncient houſes are likewiſe maintained in one vale of the Ros, whoſe formes reſemble ſo many belles, but to what ende as yet I do not find. Next vnto the ſayd Ros lieth the Stratnauerne, as the vttermoſt regiõ of Scotland, yͤ coaſtes wherof abutting for a while vpõ the Deucalidon ſea, do afterwarde turne againe towarde the Almaigne ſeas, hauing partly the Deucalidon coaſt, and partly Catheneſe vpon the North ſide, Sutherland on the eaſt, Roſſia on the ſouth, & Deucalidõ againe vpõ the weſt. There are three great cragges or pointes lying on the vttermoſt ſide of Stranauerne, that is to ſay, the Hoye, Howbrun (the greateſt of yͤ three) and Downiſby, which bicauſe they ſhoote farre off into the ſea, do make two great Firthes and lakes, eche of them being ſeuerally diſtinguiſhed from other. Next vnto Catheneſe lieth Sutherland, a profitable region both for grayne and all kindes of prouiſion, but chiefly for the nouriſhment of beſtial, wherunto it chiefly encline th, as do the other two laſt before rehearſed. On the farder ſide alſo of this, lieth Murray land, ſomtime called *Vararis*, although the marches therof are changed from that they were of old. For whereas in time paſt all the regiõ lying betwene Spay and Neſſe to the Irelãd ſea, was named Murray, now it is knowen to be onely beyond the water of Spay & Kſſocke, & reacheth on vntill it come to the Iriſh ſea. Betwixt Ros and Murray land, is a great Bale, & likewiſe a diſcẽt of ſundry waters: for therinto fal the Neſſe, Nardin, Findorn, Los and Spay, wherof this latter runneth with ſo fierce and violent a ſtreame, that the force of the ſea at the flood ſtriuing to enter into the ſame, is put backe & may not reſiſt yͤ inuincible fal, & beats backe the water that deſcendeth into the Ocean. The Neſſe iſſueth out of a lake of the ſame name (which is not paſſing eight myles from the ſayde plaſhe, from whence the Lochtie runneth) and thence goeth into the Iriſhe ſeas: And this property it hath, that neither the ſtreame, neyther the lake it ſelfe will yeelde to be frozen in the very deepe of winter. Such alſo is the force therof, that if any Ice or whatſoeuer froſen ſubſtance be caſt therinto, it will by and by relent and diſſolue againe to water, whereby it becommeth very profitable for ſuche cattell as are benũmed with colde. In the mouth of the Neſſe, ſtandeth a towne called Inuerneſſe, where ſometime was great abũdance of herring taken, but now they be gone, by the ſecrete working of God. The common people put the fault in the riche & men of higher calling, who enuying the commoditie of the poore inhabitantes, will often ſeeme to bereeue them of this emolumẽt, by force and ſlaughter. Whervpon (as they ſay) it cõmeth to paſſe, that the encreaſe eftſones decayeth, & very ſmal ſtore is taken there by many yeares after ſuch iniurie offered. But to proceede: beſide Lochneſſe, which is 24. miles of length & 4. in breadth, by reaſon of the great woodes there ſtãding, is great ſtore of ſauage beaſts, as Harts, wild Horſes, Roes, and ſuche like. There are likewiſe Martirnes, Beuers Foxes, & Weſelles, whoſe ſkinnes and caſes are ſolde vnto ſtraungers at huge and exceſſiue prices. In Murray land alſo is not allonly great plenty of wheate, Barley, Otes, and ſuch like grayne, beſide Nuttes and Apples, but likewiſe of all kindes of fiſhe, and eſpecially of Salmon. The people thereof in like ſort do vſe a ſtrange maner of fiſhing: for they make a lõg Weele of wicker, narrow necked & wide mouthed, with ſuch cunning, that whẽ the tide commeth the fiſhe ſhoote themſelues into the ſame, & forthwith are ſo incloſed, that whileſt the tide laſteth he cannot get out, nor after the water is gone, eſcape the hands of the fiſhers. In this region moreouer is a lake named Spiney wherein is exceeding plenty of Swannes. The cauſe of their increaſe in this place is aſcribed to a certaine hearbe which groweth there in great abundãce, and whoſe ſeede is very pleaſant vnto the ſayde foule in the eating, wherfore they call it Swan Gyrs: & herevnto ſuch is the nature of yͤ ſame, that where it is once ſowen or plãted, it wil neuer be deſtroyed, as may be proued by experience. For albeit that this lake be fiue myles in length, & was ſometime within the remembrance of man very well ſtored with Salmon and other great fiſhe, yet after that this hearbe began to multiply vpon the ſame, it became ſo ſhallow, that one may now wade thorow the greateſt parte thereof, by meane whereof all the great fiſhe there is vtterly conſumed. In this portion furthermore, is the Churche of Pette, where the bones of litle Iohn remayne in great admiration. Certes this carcaſe hath bene 14. foote long, his members well proportioned according to his ſtature, and not fully ſixe yeares before this booke was written (by *Boethus*) hee ſawe his hanche bone, whiche ſeemed ſo great as the whole thighe of a man, and he did thruſt his arme into the hollowneſſe thereof, whereby it appeereth what mighty people grew vp in our region before they were ouercome with gluttony and exceſſe. In this quarter finally is the towne called Elgyn, not farre from the mouth of Spaye, and therin is a Cathedral church furniſhed with Chanons: there are thereto ſundry riche and very wealthy Abbayes in Murray, as Kyllos of the order of the *Ciſteaux*, and Pluſcardy of the Cluniackes.

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Of Boene, Anze, Buchquhane, Mar, Mernis, Fiffe, and Angus, with the lakes, floudes, Abbayes, townes, and other notable things conteyned in the ſame. Chap. 6.

NExt vnto the Murray lieth Boene, and Anze, two fertile and plentifull regions, whiche extend their boundes euen vnto the ſeas. They are both very notably indued with batable paſtures, and by reaſon thereof are very full of cattell, they yeelde moreouer excellent corne, & by meanes of theyr large woodes and foreſts not without great ſtore of wilde beaſtes, of ſundry kindes and natures. Neare alſo vnto the Douerne water, which is a riuer marueylouſly ſtored with fiſh, ſtãdeth a towne named Bamf, and vnder theſe two regions aforeſayde lieth Buchquhane, a very batable ſoyle for all kindes of cattell, but eſpecially of ſheepe, whoſe wooll exceedeth that of the like beaſt of all other countries there aboutes for whiteneſſe and fineneſſe. The riuers that are in this countrey do in lyke maner abound with Salmons, ſo that there is no one of them voyde of this commoditie, except the Rattra onely, wherein it is not hearde that any hath bin ſeene: herein alſo ſtandeth the caſtell of Slanis, in which the high conſtable of Scotlãd dwelleth, and neare vnto the ſame is a marueylous caue: for the water that droppeth into the ſame, in a ſhort proceſſe of time becommeth an harde white ſtone, and except they had bene oft remoued heretofore, the caue it ſelf had bene filled vp with the ſame many yeres agone.

This region is voide of rattes, & ſuch is the nature therof, that if any be brought thither from other places, they are found to die immediatly: finally it is moſt marueylous of all, yͤ as Otes do growe there in many places of themſelues without culture & tillage, ſo if a man come thither of ſet purpoſe to mow downe the ſame, he ſhal find nothing els but empty hulles & ſtraw: but if he chaunce vpon the ſodaine and without premeditatiõ of the thing to cut downe any (a matter impoſſible in my minde) he ſhall finde them ſo good & ful as any are elſwhere to be gathered & ledde home. Certes it appeareth hereby, that this is nothing els but an illuſion, wherewith the wicked fends do captiuate & blinde the ſenſes of the ſuperſtitious ſort: for that it ſhould be ſo by nature, it is a thing altogither impoſſible.

Nexte vnto this, lieth the greate region of Mar, whiche is very plentifull of cattell, and extendeth 60. miles in length, frõ the Almaigne ſeas to Badzenoch.

In this is the Citie of Aberdene, wherein is a Biſhops ſea, and noble Uniuerſitie, ſometime founded by William Elphinſton Biſhop there. This citie lieth betwixt two riche riuers, the Done & the Dee, wherin is the greateſt ſtore of Salmons that is to be founde againe within the compaſſe of Albion, and likewiſe the greateſt & longeſt if you reſpect their quantitie. Next vnto Marre, we haue Mernis toward yͤ ſea, a very fatte ſoyle ful of paſture, & abundantly repleniſhed with euery ſort of cattell. In this portion ſtandeth Dunnother the Marſhall of Scotlands houſe, & likewiſe the towne of Fordon, in whiche the bones of *Palladius* do reſt, who is taken generally for the Apoſtle of our nation. The water of Eſke is bound vnto this region, whiche is otherwiſe called Northeſke, a very daungerous chanell, & wherin many haue periſhed for default of a bridge, as they haue attempted to paſſe & repaſſe ouer the ſame. Angus bordereth vpon the Mernis, it was ſometime part of Horreſtia, & now watered with three notable riuers, as the Northeſke already mentioned, & marueylouſly repleniſhed with Salmõs, likewiſe the Southeſke, & finally the Tay, the nobleſt water in all Scotland, and remembred by the Romayne writers vnder the name of Tau.

In Angus alſo is an highe Mountayne or Promontory, called the redde Brayes, whiche lieth out farre off into the Almayne ſeas. The Tay alſo riſeth farre beyond the Mountaynes of Granzeben out of Loch Tay, whiche is a poole of 24. miles of length, and 10. of breadth, wherein are not onely diuerſe Iſlandes with Caſtels in them, but the water of the lake it ſelf (beyng moſte fine and ſubtile) is notably repleniſhed with great ſtore of fiſh, and therfore very commodious for ſuch as dwell about it. It falleth into the Almayne ſea beſide Dundee, a towne called in olde tyme *Alectum*, wherein I was borne, and in whiche the people trauayle very painefully about weauing and making of cloth. There are in Angus alſo many other cities & riche Abbayes, as Mountros, Brechin & Forfayr, beſide ſo many Caſtelles as lieth not in me to number. This likewiſe is not to be paſſed ouer with ſilence, that whereas Forfair was in tyme paſt a notable Citie, ſtrengthened with two royall Caſtelles, as the ruynes do yet declare, now it is brought vnto litle more than a countrey village, repleniſhed with ſimple cotages. Many lakes and pooles are alſo in Angus, and thoſe well fraught with fiſh. There is alſo in this countrey one place called the vale of Eſke, whoſe ſheepe haue ſuch white, fine, and excellent wooll, as the lyke vnto it is hardly to be founde againe within the whole Ilande.

After wee be ouer the Tay, we come vnto Fife, ſometime a parte of Ottoline: In this region groweth all maner of grayne ſo plentifully as elſwhere in any part of Albion, and where no corne, is there is no leſſe foyſon of cattell. There are blacke ſtones alſo digged out of the grounde, whiche are very good for firing, and ſuche is their intollerable heate when they are kindled, that they reſolue and melte yron and therefore are very profitable for Smithes, and ſuche Artificers as deale with other mettalles: neyther are they founde any where els (that I do knowe of) but betweene the Tay and the Tine within the whole Ilande. Salt is likewiſe made in this region in great quantitie of Sea water, whiche they boyle according to theyr maner. There are furthermore ſundry cities in the ſame, of whiche S. Andrewes is the cheefe, wherein is bothe the ſee of an Archbiſhop and a famous vniuerſitie. There are moreouer ſundry lakes, as Loch Torre and Loch Leuin, and in this later are diuerſe Iles, and in one of them alſo the Churche of Saint Phillane, a Scottiſhe ſaint, of no ſmall name and reputation.

Such are to be ſeene alſo in Lube.

Fife is diuided of Lowthian by the riuer of Forth that runneth a large and broade chanell into the Ocean ſeas. Certes it is a water very plentifully indued with Cockles, Oyſters, Muſkles, Seales, Pellockes, Mereſwyne, Whales, and greate foyſon of white fiſhe: and among many other Iles that are to bee founde in this Fyrth, that of Maie is of greateſt fame, bycauſe Adrian and his fellowes were killed in the ſame. In the middeſt of this Ile ſpringeth vp a fountayne of freſhe and cleare water, from an high rocke, whiche is not a litle to be maruey led at, conſidering the quantitie and ſituation of the Ile. Beſide this alſo is a wonderfull cragge, ryſing within the Sea, whereunto is ſo ſtricte and narrow a paſſage, that a man ſhall hardly come vnto it by a fiſher boate, and thereto but at one place. This rocke (called the Baſſe caſtell) is inuincible, and therin are many caues very profitable for defence, made heretofore by great labour and induſtry of man. Certes, there is nothing in this rocke that is not full of admiration and wonder: therin alſo is great ſtore of Soland geeſe (not vnlike to thoſe which *Plinie* calleth water Egles or as we, ſea Herons) & no where els but in Ailſay and this Rocke. At theyr firſt comming which is in the ſpring of the yeare, they gather ſuche great plenty of ſtickes & bowes togither for the buylding of their neſtes, that the ſame doth ſuffice the keepers of the caſtel, for the yearly maintenaunce of their fewel without any other prouiſion. Theſe foules do feede theyr young with the moſt delicate fiſh that they can come by. For though they haue already praied vpon any one, and haue it faſte in their becke or talons, yet if they happen as they flie toward the land to eſpy a better, they let the firſt fall againe into the ſea, & purſue the later, with great & egre ſwiftneſſe vntill they take holde thereof. Sometimes their pray is taken from them by the keepers of the caſtel, as are alſo their ſtickes from time to time for the aforeſayde vſe: but they making ſmall or rather no reſiſtaunce, do turne agayne forthwith, for more wood or fiſhe (as their loſſe requireth) not ceaſing till they haue buylded theyr neſtes with the one, & nouriſhed vp their young with the other, ſo that what by the timber of their neſts, the beguiling them of their pray, and ſtealyng away of their young, they bring yerely no ſmall commoditie vnto the owner of the caſtell. Within the bowells of theſe geeſe there is a kinde of greace to be had of ſingular force in Medicine, and flaying likewiſe the ſkinne from their bodies with the fatte, they make an oyle very profitable for the Gowte and many other diſeaſes in the haunches and groynes of mankinde. In this cragge more, there groweth an hearbe very pleaſaunt & delicious for Saladęs, but if it be taken vp and planted elſwhere, it eyther groweth not at all, or vtterly giueth ouer the vertues wherewith it was earſt indued. There was ſometime a ſtone found here in this rocke muche like to a water ſponge or pumiſe, hollow on the one ſide, and of ſuch nature, that if any ſalte water had bene powred thereinto, and ſuffred to runne thorow, it woulde forthwith loſe the naturall ſaltneſſe, and become freſh and very pleaſant vnto the mouth and taſte: we heare in theſe dayes that this ſtone is to be ſeene in Faſt caſtell, whether it was brought after it had paſſed many handes for the triall of this matter.

In this Firth alſo is the Ile Aymon, wherein is an Abbay. There are likewiſe diuers other Ilandes, and thoſe very full of Conies: and in the ſayde Firth are ſundry fiſhes oftentimes ſeene of monſtrous ſhape, with cowles hanging ouer theyr heades lyke vnto Monkes, and in the reſt reſemblyng the body of man. They ſhewe themſelues likewiſe aboue the water to the nauell, howbeit they neuer appeare but agaynſt ſome great Peſtilence of menne, or Murreyn of cattell: wherefore their onely ſight doth breede great terrour vnto the Scottiſhe nation, who are very great obſeruers of vncouth ſignes and tokens.

The deſcription of Lowthian, Striueling, Menteth, Calidon wood, Bowgewall, Gareoth, with the notable Cities, Caſtels and Floudes thereof.

Chap. 7.

ON the Southſide of the Forth lieth Lowthian, ſo called of Lothe or Loth, one of the Kinges of the Pictes, it was ſometime named Pictlande: but now it is parcell of the Scottiſh kingdome, and thereto for bounty of ſoyle is not inferiour to any region of Scotlande. In Lowthian are many Abbayes, Caſtelles and townes, as Hadington, Dunbar, Northberwijc and Leith: but Edenborow paſſeth them all, aſwell in pollicy of regiment as in forme of buylding and wiſedome, and riches of the inhabitantes: therein alſo is the caſtell of Maydens remembred by the moſte renowmed Authors, and alſo the Kings cheefe pallace, whiche tripleth the renowne of the aforeſayde citie. Not farre from thence moreouer, is a certayne oyly ſpring whiche riſeth out of the ground in ſuche aboundance, that the more is caried from thece, the more is reſtored: and the people are perſwaded hereof, that it is very medicinable agaynſt all Cankers and ſkalles. Not farre from the mouth of Forth is the caſtel of Dunbar, whiche by naturall ſituation and induſtry of man, is now become one of the chiefe holdes in Albion. It was ſometime the principall houſe appertayning to the Earles of Marche: and there harde by is a towne of the ſame name, wherein is a rich Abbay, or Colledge of Chanons founded by thoſe Earles. Nexte vnto Lowthian lieth Mers;, whereof I haue ſpoken already, but wee will nowe goe vp higher into the lande. Neareſt vnto Mers therefore lieth Teuidale, and aboue it is Twedale: nexte vnto

Twedale is Druyſdale, Walcopdale, Douglaſſedale, and Clidiſdale, and all theſe are ſuche names as the riuers haue that runne along their botomes. The principall towne of Cliddeſdale is Glaſco the Archbiſhops ſee, wherein is a notable Church erected in the honour of Saint Mungow, and buylded with great magnificence. In Glaſco alſo is a noble Uniuerſitie where the liberal Artes and Sciences are very zealouſly taught. In this region moreouer is a very riche mine of Gold, and another of Azure, the commoditie of whiche later is reaped with ſmall trauayle. There are ſometimes founde diuers precious ſtones alſo, as Rubies and Diamōdes. Certes this myne was diſcloſed in the time of James the fourth, who would no doubt, haue brought it to full perfection if he had longer liued, whereas now litle profite redoundeth thereby to the common wealth, bycauſe it is eyther vtterly neglected or not very much regarded. North of Glaſco lieth Menteith, and Striueling ſhire bordering vpon Argile & Lennox. In Striueling ſhyre is the towne of Striueling, and aboue it is the Caſtell of Striueling, which was ſometime called the dolorous Mountaine. At this towne alſo began the great Calidon wood, whiche ranne thorow Menteith and Stratherne, to Atholl and Lochquhaber, as *Ptholomy* writeth in his firſt table. In this wood were ſomtime white Bulles with ſhack hears and curled manes like fierce Lions, otherwiſe they were lyke vnto the tame, neuertheleſſe ſo wilde and ſauage, that they woulde neuer be made familiar, nor taſt of any hearbe or graſſe that mans hande had once touched, after many dayes. Being taken alſo by the induſtry of man (whiche was very hard to do) they would refuſe all ſuſtenaunce, and ſterue themſelues to death. As ſoone as any did inuade them, they would ruſhe vpon him with great violence, and beare him to the earth:) as for Dogges, Nettes, or any kinde of weapon they feared not, neyther cared for any maner of engine. It is ſayd that Robert Bruze after his Coronation did hunt one of theſe Bulles in the aforeſayde wood, being accompanied but with a ſmall trayne, in whiche voyage he eſcaped narowly with his life. For after the beaſt felt himſelfe ſore wounded by the hunters, he ruſhed vpō the King, who hauing now no weapon left in his hande wherewith to defend himſelfe, he had ſurely periſhed if reſkue had not come: howbeit in this diſtreſſe one came running vnto him who ouerthrew the Bull by playne force, and held him downe till the Hunters came that killed him out right. For this valiant acte alſo the King indued the aforeſaid partie with great poſſeſſions, and his linage is to this day called of the Turnebulles, bicauſe he ouerturned the beaſt, and ſaued the kings lyfe, by ſuch great prowes and manhood. Certes the fleſh of theſe beaſtes were reputed in old time as a moſt delicate foode, and onely meete for the nobility, notwithſtanding that it be very ful of ſinewes and griſtles, whereat ſome delicate feeders do often take offence. In times paſte alſo they were bredde in many places of the Calidon, but now they be all cōſumed by the gluttony of the inhabitants, ſo that none of them are left, but only in Comernald. On the eaſt ſide of Menteith lieth Stratherne, & bordereth alſo vpon Fife: thorow the valeys likewiſe of this region runneth the water of Ern, that falleth into Tay. This is moreouer worthy to be noted, that not foure miles from the confluence of Ern & Tay, there is a ſtone of ſmall quantitie, and yet of great wonder, for in what place ſoeuer it be layde, it wil not be remoued from thence by manuall practiſe, arte or engine, and yet one man may ſo ſoone moue it as an hundred. On the other ſide of Tay beyond Angus and Gowray lieth Stermond, a region plentifully indued both with graſſe and corne. Not farre from Stermond is Athole, wherein are many noble valeys and ryuers full of fiſhe, as pikes Lampernes, &c. The ſoyle there alſo is ſo boūtifull, that it yeeldeth corne in manner without any tillage: there is likewyſe therein a towne called Lud, whoſe fieldes are ſo plenteous that (if they be well tilled and dreſſed) they will yeelde greate ſtore of Barley without any ſowing of ſeede. Howbeit as this is in that parte of the region often verified, ſo in other there is a contrarious diſpoſition to bee founde in the earth, whiche turneth wheate ſoone into good & perfite Rye, the like whereof I heare, to be not farre from Luke and in the countreys thereaboutes. Weſt of Buchquhane and Borne, lieth Boſtgewell, and Gareoth very plentifull ſoyles bothe for graſſe and corne. In Gareoth alſo is an hill called Dounder, that is to ſay, the Golden mountayne: for the Sheepe that feede thereon are yellow, and their teeth of the ſame hewe, reſembling burniſhed golde. Theyr fleſhe moreouer is redde as it were tyngned with Saffron, and ſo is their wooll muche after the ſame maner. There is furthermore in the ſame region, an heape of ſtones lying togither in maner of a Crowne which yeeld a ſounde when one of them is ſtricken as if it were a bell. Some are of the opinion, that one Idoll Temple or other ſtoode heretofore in that place whyleſt the Scottiſhe nation was addicted to the worſhipping of Diuels. Many other regions are in Scotlād, as Bradalbane, Strabraun and Badzenoth with diuers ſmall territories and floudes, howbeit they are not ſo notable as thoſe which we haue already touched, and therefore I thinke it but folly to deale any farther with them.

Of the great plenty of Hares, redde Dere, and other wilde beaſtes in Scotland, of the ſtrange properties of ſundry Scottiſh Dogges, and of the nature of Salmon.

Chap. 8.

Hauing

Hauyng made this ſpeciall deſcription of the Realme of Scotland, now will I touche ſuch thinges as concerne the ſame in generall. Firſt of all therefore in the fieldes and wilde places of the countrey there is great plenty of Hares, red Dere, Fallow dere, Roes, wilde Horſes, Wolfes and Foxes. Theſe Horſes are not gotten but by great ſlight and pollicie: for in the winter ſeaſon the inhabitants turne certayne tame Horſes and Mares amongſt them, wherewith they growe in the ende to be ſo familiar, that afterward they go with them to and fro, and finally home into theyr Maiſters yardes, where they be taken & ſone broken to their handes. The Wolues are moſt fierce and noyſome vnto the heardes and flockes in all partes of Scotland, ſauing in one parcell of Angus, called Glennors dale, where theſe beaſtes do no maner of hurt vnto the domeſticall cattell, but pray onely vpon the wilde. Foxes do much miſchiefe generally in all ſteades, but chiefly in the Mountaynes, where they be very hardly hunted, howbeit arte hath deuiſed a meane to preuent their malice, and to preſerue theyr pultrie. Certes there is almoſt no houſe that dothe not for certayne dayes cheriſhe vp a yong Foxe, which the Scottes do call a Todde, and then killing the ſame, they mince the fleſhe thereof amongſt ſuche meate, as they giue vnto their foules and other litle beſtial, and by this meanes ſo many foules and cattell as eate hereof are preſerued from daunger of the Foxe, almoſt by two monethes after, ſo that they may wander whether they will, for the Foxes as it were winding or ſmelling the fleſhe of their fellowes yet in their croppes, will in nowiſe meddle with them, but eſchew and knowe ſuche a one, although it were among an hundred of other. In Scotland moreouer are Dogs of meruailous condition: for beſide the common nature and vniuerſall properties of Dogges of all other countries, there are three ſortes with vs, whiche are not ſeene elſwhere in any quarter of the worlde. The firſte is an Hounde of greate ſwiftneſſe, hardineſſe, and ſtrenght, fierce and cruell vpon all wilde beaſtes, & egre againſt theeues, that offer their Maiſters any violence. The ſecond is a rache or hound very exquiſite in followyng the foote (which we call drawing) whether it be of man or beaſt, yea he will purſue any maner of foule, and finde out whatſoeuer fiſh is caſt vp, or lurketh among the rockes, by that excellent ſence of ſmelling wherewith he is indued. The thirde ſorte is no greater than that of Raches, in collour for the moſt parte red with blacke ſpots, or els blacke and full of redde markes. Theſe are ſo ſkilfull that they will purſue a theefe or theefe ſtolen goodes in moſte preciſe maner, and finding the treſpaſſer, with great aſſuraunce, they will make a rayſe vpon him. Or if it be ſo that he haue taken the water for his ſauegarde, he ſhrinketh not to follow him, and entring and iſſuyng at the ſame places where the partie went in and out, he neuer ceaſeth to raunge til he haue noſed his footing, and be come to the place wherein the theefe is ſhrowded. The Dogges of this kinde are called Sleuthoundes. Certes this report would ſeeme mere incredible, excepte it were dayly had in experience vpon the borders of Englande and Scotland, where pillage is good purchaſe indifferently on both ſides. There is a lawe alſo among the borderers in time of peace, that who ſo denieth entraunce or ſute of a Sleuthound in purſuyte made after fellons and ſtolen goodes, ſhalbe holden as acceſſary vnto the theft or taken for the ſelfe theefe.

Of foules ſuche (as I meane) as liue by pray, there are ſundry ſortes in Scotlande, as Egles, Faucons, Goſhaukes, Sparhaukes, Marlions and ſuch like, but of water Foules there is ſo great ſtore that the report thereof may ſeeme to exceede all credite. There are other kindes of birdes alſo in this countrey, the like of whiche is no where els to be ſeene, as the Capercailze or wilde Horſe greater in body than the Rauen, and liuing only by the rindes and barkes of the Pine trees. We haue in like maner many More cockes and Hennes, whiche abſteyning from corne do feede vpon nought els, but the leaues of *Cytiſus*, whiche the Scottes do commonly call Hadder. Theſe two are very delicate in Eating. The thirde ſorte is reddiſh blacke of colour, in quantitie comparable to the Pheſaunt, and no leſſe delicious in taſte and ſauour at the table, our countrey men call them wild Cockes, and their cheefe ſuſtenaunce is by wheate. Beſide theſe, we haue moreouer another foule in Mers more ſtrāge and vncouth than all theſe afore mentioned, called a Guſtard, fully ſo great as a Swanne, but in colour of feathers and taſte of fleſhe, little differing from a Partriche, howbeit theſe byrdes are not very common, neyther to be ſeene in all places, ſuche alſo is their qualitie, that if they perceiue their egges to haue bene touched in theyr abſence by mans hād (whiche lie commonly on the bare earth) they forſake thoſe neſtes and lay in other places. All other our foules are common to vs and other nations. Salmon is more plentifull in Scotland than in any other region of the worlde, and bicauſe the nature of this fiſh is ſtrange, I wil ſet downe ſomuch as I do knowe hereof at this preſent time as followeth. The Salmon in Harueſt time, commeth vp into the ſmall riuers, where the water is moſte ſhallow, and there the male & female rubbing their wombe one agaynſt another, they ſhedde theyr ſpawne, which forthwith they couer with ſand and grauell & ſo depart away, from henceforth they are gant & ſlēder, & in apparance ſo leane yͭ thei appeare nought els but ſkin & bone, & therfore worthely ſayd to be growne out of vſe and ſeaſon, it is ſayd alſo yͭ if they touche any of their full fellowes, during the time of this theyr leanneſſe, yͤ ſame ſide which they touched ſouched will likewiſe become leane, wherby it commeth to paſſe, that a Salmō is oft ſeene to be fat on the one ſide of yͤ chyne, & leane on yͤ other. But to proceede, the aforeſayd ſpawne & milke being hidden in the ſande (as you haue heard) in the next ſpring doth yeelde great numbers of litle fiſh, but ſo neſhe & tender, for a long time that till they come to be ſo great as a mans finger (if you catch any of thē) you ſhal perceyue them to melt & their ſubſtance to diſſolue & fade euen as if it were gelly, or if layd forth againſt yͤ ſunne. Frō henceforth they go to the ſea, where within the ſpace of xx. dayes they grow to a marueylous greatneſſe, & then returning againe toward the place of their generation, they ſhew a notable ſpectacle not vnworthy to be conſidered of. Certes in Scotlande there are many linnes or pooles, whiche being in ſome places among the rockes very ſhallow aboue, & yet deepe beneath, with the fall of the water, & thereto the Salmon not able to pearce thorow the Chanell, either for ſwiftneſſe of the courſe or depth of the diſcent, of ſuch water as cōmeth againſt him, he goeth ſo neare vnto the ſide of the rocke or damme, if I ſhall ſo call it, as he may, & there aduentureth to leape ouer & vp into the lin, if he leape well at the firſt, he obtaineth his deſire, if not he, aſſayeth eftſoones the ſecond or third time, till he returne now into his cōtry: a great fiſh able to ſwimme againſt the ſtreame, that before was a litle hod & maugre his reſiſtence, caried with the violent courſe of the water into the mayne Ocean, ſuch as aſſay often to leape, and cannot get ouer, do bruſe thēſelues & become Meaſelled: others that happen to fal vpon dry land a thing often ſeene, are taken by the people (that watch their times) in cawdrons of hote water, which they ſet vpon the ſhallow & dry plottes with fire vnder them, in hope to catche the fatteſt, & ſuche as by reaſon of theyr weight do ofteneſt leape ſhorte. Certes yͤ taſt of theſe is reputed to be moſt delicate, and therfore their price is cōmonly greater than of the reſt. It is inhibited in Scotland to take any Salmon from the eight of September, vntill the xv. of Nouember. Finally there is no mā that knoweth readily whereon this fiſhe liueth, for neuer was any thing yet found in their bellies, other than a thicke ſlymy humour.

Of the ſundry kindes of Muſkles and Cockles in Scotland, and pearles gotten in the ſame: of the vncouth and ſtrange fiſh there to be ſeene, and of the nature of the herbe Cythiſus commonly called Hadder. Chap. 9.

HEre it reſteth that I ſhewe the nature of Muſkles & Cockles, whereof we haue many & ſundry kindes amongſt vs: of theſe alſo ſome are ſmall, and yet if they be eaten freſh, are not without a naturall delicacy in taſt. Others are greater & not vnlike in forme & quātitie to thoſe that haue the purple: & albeit that they are vtterly voyde thereof, yet is their meate and ſubſtance right pleaſant in the eating. There are of an other ſorte whiche are longer & greater, than either of theſe, called horſe Muſkles, to be had in the Dee & the Done, & in theſe are the pearles ingendred. Certes they loue to be reſident in the deepeſt and cleereſt waters that are voyde of mudde & filth, & ſuch is their eſtimation among the daintieſt kindes of foode, that they were not vnworthely called of old time, widowes luſtes. Their ſhelles alſo are as it were wrought euen from the very toppes, and thereto ful of ſpottes, wherein (as in yeld of gaine) they farre excede al other. Theſe early in the morning, in the gētle, cleere, & calme ayre, lift vp their vpper ſhells & mouthes, a litle aboue the water, and there receiue of the fine & pleaſant breath or dew of heauen, & afterwardes according to the meaſure & quantitie of this vitall force receyued, they firſt conceyue, then ſwell, and finally produce the pearle. They are ſo ſenſible & quicke of hearing, yͭ although you ſtanding on the bray or banke aboue them, do ſpeake neuer ſo ſoftly, or throw neuer ſo ſmall a ſtone into the water, yet they wil deſcrie you, and ſettle againe to the botome, without returne for that time. Doubtleſſe they haue as it were a naturall carefulneſſe of their owne commodity, as not ignorant, how great eſtimation wee mortall men make of the ſame amongſt vs, and therefore ſo ſoone as the fiſher men do catche them, they binde their ſhelles togither, for otherwiſe they would open, and ſhead theyr pearles of purpoſe, for whiche they know themſelues to be taken and purſued. Their maner of apprehenſion is this, firſt foure or fiue perſons go into the riuer togither, vp vnto the ſhoulders, and there ſtand in a compaſſe one by another with poles in their handes, wherby they reſt more ſurely, ſith they fixe thē in the ground, & ſtay with one hand vpon them: Then caſting their eyes downe to the botome of the water, they eſpie where they lie by their ſhinyng and cleereneſſe, and with their toes take them vp (for the deapth of the water will not ſuffer them to ſtoupe for them) & giue thē to ſuch as ſtand next them. The perles that are ſo gotten in Scotlād, are not of ſmall value, they are very orient and bright, light & round, & ſomtimes of the quantitie of yͤ nayle of ones litle finger, as I haue had & ſeene by mine own experiēce. Almoſt ſuch another muſkle found on the coaſt of Spaine, the ſhels whereof are gathered by ſuch as go in pilgrimage to S. James, & brought into Scotlād, but they are ẘout perles, bicauſe thei liue in ſalt water, which is an enimy to yͤ Margarite:

Cardane denieth this, lib. 7. de Subtilitate.

but Cardane alſo denieth it. In all the ſea coaſtes alſo of Scotlād are Cockles & Muſkles of the ſame forme, but without this commodity. Many vncouth and ſtrange ſhapes of fiſh likewiſe are ſeene there, whereof ſome are armed with ſhelles, ſome with harde ſkales, and diuers round as a ball ſkinned like an Ircheon or Hedgehagge, hauing but one conduſt bothe for purgation of their excrements, and reception of their ſuſtenaūce. To ſhew euery kinde of fiſh that is in Scotlād, it were but a vaine trauaile, ſith the ſame are knowē almoſt in euery region. In like ſorte we haue ſuch plenty of fiſhe vpon our ſeuerall coaſtes, that although Millions & infinite numbers of them be taken on the one day, yet on the next their loſſe wil ſo be ſupplied with new ſtore, that nothing ſhal be miſſing by reaſon of the yeſterfang: ſo bountifull is God in theſe his benefites vnto vs. Furthermore, there is another gift beſtowed vpon vs by the ſingular prouidence of God. For the greater dearth and penury of fleſh and corne is ſeene in Scotland, the greater ſtore of fiſhe is taken vpon our ſhores. In like ſorte in the deſertes and wilde places of this realme, there groweth an hearbe of it ſelf called Hadder or Hather very delicate, as *Columella lib. 9. cap. 4.* ſayth, for Goates and all kinde of cattell to feede vpon, and likewiſe for diuers Foules, but Bees eſpecially. This herbe in June yeeldeth a purple floure, ſweete as hony, whereof the Pictes in time paſte did make a pleaſaunt drinke, and very wholeſome for the body: but for aſmuche as the maner of making hereof is periſhed in the hauocke made of the Pictes, when the Scottes ſubdued their countrey, it lieth not in me to ſet downe the order of it, neyther ſhewed they euer the learning hereof to any but to their owne nation. Finally there is no parte of Scotland ſo barren and vnprofitable, but it produceth eyther yron or ſome other kinde of mettall, as may be proued eaſely thorow out all the Iles that are annexed to the ſame.

Galen lib. 1. de Antidotis ſaith that Cytiſus is no hearbe but a ſhrubbe, and ſo dothe Pliny lib. 12. cap 3. lib. 13. cap 24. lib. 16. cap. 38. And Columella in the end of his 5. boke, where he accompteth it amōg trees.

Of the Iles of Scotland, and ſuch notable things as are to be found in them. Chap. 10.

BEing fallen at the laſte into mention of our Iles, I wil addreſſe my ſelf to deſcribe the ſame, in maner and forme as followeth. In the Iriſhe ſea betwixt Ireland and Scotlande are forty and three Iles, whereof ſome are xxx. myles long, diuers xii. and others more or leſſe. Theſe are called by ſome writers *Euboniæ*, and by other *Hebrides*. But the principall of them all is that of Man, whiche lieth ouer agaynſt Galloway, and was ſometime the principall ſeate of the *Druydes*, as *Cornelius Tacitus*, *Ceſar* in his Cōmentaries, and other Romayne writers do teſtifie at large. North from the Ile of Man lieth Arran, otherwiſe named Botha, after S. Brandons time, who dwelled there in a little cottage, whiche (as all other the like were in thoſe dayes) was called Bothe. Frō Arran wee go to Hellaw and Rotheſay, whiche latter is ſo named of yͤ Scot, which brought the Scottes firſte out of Ireland into Brytaine. Not farre from this Ile is Ailſay, where there is ſuch ſtore of Soland geeſe as the ſayde before to be in Bas. Beyond Ailſay lie many other diſtinguiſhed by their ſeuerall names, but full of mynes, as of Iron, Tinne, Lead, and ſundry other mettals. Howbeit the moſte notable Ile belonging to Scotland is Ila, that lieth beyond the promontory of Nouant cliffe, (in Scottiſh the toūg of Lorne) within ſight of Lochquhabre. Certes it is a riche parcell, xxx. miles of length, and full of corne and mettall, if the people were cunning to finde and trimme the ſame. Not farre from thence is Cumbra, and Mula, fully ſo large as Ila both for length and breadth. In Mula is a fayre ſpring two miles from the ſea, from whence runneth a little broke or ſtrippet, whereof you ſhall reade more in the deſcription of Brytaine, *lib. 1. cap. 8.* Neare vnto this is Iona, otherwiſe called Columkill, in whiche is an Abbay, wherein the Kings of Scotlande were commonly buried from the time of Fergus the ſecond, vnto Malcoline Cammor, who erected the Monaſtery of Dunfermelin, where ſithence that time the moſte parte of our Kings haue bene of cuſtome interred. Paſſing forward to yͤ Northnorthweſt ſeas, ouer agaynſt Roſſe is an Ile named Lewis. lx. myles in length, in this Ile is but one fiſhe riuer, and it is ſayd that if a womā wade thorow the ſame at the ſpring of the yere, there ſhall no Salmon be ſeene there for a twelf moneth after, wheras otherwiſe that fiſhe is knowen to abounde there in very great plenty. Beyonde Lewis lie the Sky and the Rona, in the later wherof, it is incredible to ſay what of Seale, of Pellock & Porpaſſe is to be ſeene, whiche are nothing abaſhed at the ſight of any man. The laſt and vttermoſt Ile is named Hirtha, where the eleuation of the pole, is lxiij degrees, and ſithence the latitude of Man, is but lviij. I conclude, that from the Ile of Man the firſt Ile of Albion, to Hirtha the laſt Ile hereof are 377. myles, after 62. miles and an halfe to eche degree, as *Ptholomy* hath ſet down. It is named Hirtha, which in Iriſh ſoundeth ſo much as a Sheepe in Engliſh, for herein that kinde of cattell aboundeth, eche one being greater than any Bucke, their hornes longer and thicker than of the Bugle, and thereto they haue ſide tailles that reach vnto the earth. It is enuironed on euery part with rochy or rocky crags, whereby fewe veſſelles may lande there but at one place, where the working of the ſea is often times ſo terrible and rough, that no man dare aduenture thither without daunger of his lyfe. They that go thither therefore, do watch theyr times when the ſea is calme and ſtill. In the moneth of Iune alſo, a Prieſt commeth vnto them out of Leuiſſa, and miniſtreth the ſacrament of Baptiſme to all the children that haue bene borne there ſithe that moneth in the yeare precedent: whiche beyng done, and a certayne number of Maſſes ſayde, he receyueth Tithes of all their commodities, & then returneth home againe.

In the Ile of Lewis are two Churches or Chappels, wherof one is dedicated to S. Peter, another to S. Clement. The fame is, that ſo ſone as the fire goeth out in this Ile, the man that is holden of moſt cleane and innocent life, goeth to the Aultare with great ſolemnity, and there layeth a wiſpe of ſtraw, which being done they fall all to prayer, in the middeſt wherof fire commeth downe from Heauē and kindleth or ſetteth the ſame on fire.

Beyond this, is yet another Ile, but voyde of people and all other liuing Creatures, ſauing a certen kinde of beaſtes like vnto Sheepe, whoſe nature and forme I haue already touched in the deſcription of Brytaine, and therefore omitte it here, for haſte and breuitie ſake. Betwixt theſe Iles alſo is a right daungerous paſſage, ſith the ſea by working of oppoſite ſtreames hath ingendred a goulf, whiche ſometime taketh in an incomprehenſible deale of water, and ſomtimes caſteth it forth agayne, by meanes wherof many ſhippes that by rage of winde and weather are inforced to come that way, are eyther ſwallowed vp by the waues, or throwen againſt the rockes to their vtter daunger and ruine. The greateſt rage of this confluence is at a place called Corebrecke, where it will eyther ſinke or at the leaſt wiſe draw any ſhip vnto it, though it be a full myle diſtant from the ſame.

Of the nature of the Claike geeſe, and ſundry maners of their procreation, and of the Ile of Thule. Chap. 11.

NOw it is come to hande that I entreate of thoſe Geeſe, which are ingendred by the ſea, whoſe procreatiō hath hitherto bene thought to haue bene made vpon trees. But the opinion is falſe, and yet ſith theyr generation is ſtrange in deede, I haue not a litle trauayled, and with no ſmall diligence indeuoured to ſearch out the truth hereof, wherby I learne that their ingendrure is rather to be referred to the ſea, than any thing els, if my coniecture be oughtes: for although that they are in ſundry wiſe produced, yet I finde the ſame to be performed continually in the ſea, and not elſwhere, as ſhal appeare hereafter. All trees caſt into the Element in proceſſe of tyme become worme eaten, & in the holes therof are the ſayde wormes to be founde though very little and ſmall (in compariſon to that they be afterwarde) to be perceyued at the firſt. In the beginnyng, theſe wormes do ſhew their heades and feete, & laſt of all their plumes and winges. Finally when they are come to the iuſt meaſure and quantitie of Geeſe, they flye in the ayre as other foules do. This was notably proued in the yeare of grace 1490. in ſight of many people, beſide the Caſtell of Petſlego, whether the body of a greate tree was brought by working of the ſea. This tree beyng taken, it was caried to the Lard of the ſoyle, who ſone after cauſed it to be ſlitte in ſunder with a ſawe which being done, it is incredible to ſee, what a multitude of wormes came out of theſe holes. Of theſe alſo ſome appeared as if they had bene but newe ſhapen, diuerſe had head, foote and winges, but no fethers, the reſt were formed into perfite foules. At the laſt when the people had gazed thereon by the ſpace of an whole day, they caried it to S. Andrewes Churche beſide Tire, where the ſaide blocke remayneth ſtill to be ſeene. Within two yeares after there happned ſuch another tree to come into the fyrth of Tay beſide Dundee, worme eaten and full of young geeſe after the ſame maner: the thirde was ſeene in the hauen of Leith beſide Edenborow: alſo within a fewe yeares, in like ſorte a ſhip named the Criſtopher, after ſhe had lien three yeares at ancre in one of theſe yles was brought to Leith, where bycauſe hir timber was found to be rotten ſhee was taken in ſunder, and in hir keele were found infinite holes as if they had bene eaten with wormes or bored with a wimble, and eche one of them filled with ſuch creatures as I haue ſayde before. Here if any man will alledge that the Chriſtopher was buylded of ſuch timber onely as grew in theſe Iles, and that all rotes & trees there growing, are of ſuch nature as in their corruptiō do turne into theſe foules, I will diſproue his aſſertion by one notable example ſhewed before mine eyes. Maſter Alexander Galloway parſon of Kinkell, was with vs in theſe Iles, and giuing his minde with attentiue diligence to ſearche out a full reſolution with vs of theſe obſcure and hidden matters, it happned on a tyme that he toke vp a braunche of Alga, called in Scottiſhe, Seatangle, whiche hanged ful of muſkle ſhelles from the rote euen to the very top. Being alſo deſirous to ſee what was in them, he grewe to be more aſtoniſhed than

than before: for when he had opened one or two of them, he ſaw no fiſh but a foule perfitely ſhaped, fully anſwering to the capacitie of the ſhell.

Finally, knowing that I was very inquiſitiue of theſe and the like rare nouelties, he came haſtily with the ſayde hearbe and ſhewed it vnto me, who founde no leſſe by experience than I before reported. By theſe and many other reaſons and examples I cannot beleeue that theſe Claikes or Barnacles as I call them) are produced eyther by the qualities of the trees or the rootes thereof, but only by the nature of the ſea, whiche is the cauſe and productrix of ſo many wonderfull creatures. Farthermore, bycauſe the rude and ignoraunt people ſaw oftentimes the fruytes that fell from trees (which ſtoode neuer in the ſea, conuerted within ſhorte time into geeſe, they beleeued that theſe geeſe grewe vpon trees, hanging by their nebbes as apples and other fruyte do by their ſtalkes: but their opinion is vtterly to be reiected. For ſo ſoone as theſe apples or fruyte fall from the tree into the Sea, they grow firſt to be worme eaten, and in proceſſe of time to be conuerted into geeſe.

Thus haue I ſpoken ſufficiently of the Iles of the Hebrides adiacent vnto the realme of Scotland, and therewithall would ſhut vp my diſcourſe of the ſame, were it not that I haue ſomwhat to ſay alſo of Thule, not vnknowen vnto the Romaynes, as may appeare by *Tacitus*, who telleth how the Romaine nauy by the cōmaundement of *Agricola*, was ſent to vewe the coaſtes of the whole Iland of Brytaine, and in their returne reported how they had ſeene the Thule, with other Ilandes lying aboute the ſame. *Ptholomy* writeth that the Ile of Thule is one of the Shetland Iles, whiche lie neare vnto Norway, and beyond the Orchades, but this cannot be proued ſo by late experience: for Thule is many miles diſtant from Shetland. Some ſay that Thule is the ſame whiche wee call Iſland: other write that it is the laſt Ile of the Ocean ſea, and ſo is Iſland, which lieth in the colde froſty ſea, beyond the Artike circle toward the North pole. The people of Iſlande bycauſe no corne groweth among them, lyue onely by fiſhe, whiche they drie and powder ſo ſmall as meale doth come backe from the mill, afterward they mixe it with water, and worke it vp for bread.

Of the deſcription of Orkenay, and Shetland with ſundry other ſmal iles, and of the maners and conditions of the people dwelling in the ſame. Chap. 12.

BEyond the Iles of Scotland lie thoſe of Orkenay partly toward the Northweſt, and partly toward the Almaine ſeas. The principall Ile of theſe is called *Pomonia*, wherein is a Biſhops ſee, and two ſtrong caſtels. In theſe groweth no wheate, they are in like ſorte voyde of wood, howbeit al other graine groweth there very plentifully, they be without all venemous beaſts: alſo neither can ſuch as are brought thither liue any while, more than in Irelād, which ſuſteyneth no creature that is aduerſarie to mākinde; ouer and beſide this, there are no frogges: as for Eels they are ſeldome found & to be ſeene in the Orchades. Hauing thus fallen into the mentiō of Ireland, I thinke it good among diuers other rare gifts of nature to remember one thing that I haue proued by experience to be done there (although the tractation of Ireland & hir commodities appertaine not to this place) whiche farre paſſeth all that euer I haue redde in bookes. Certes there is a Loch, linne, or poole there, neare vnto the whiche by many miles, there groweth neyther hearbe nor tree, howbeit ſuch is the qualitie of this water, that if a ſtake be pitched in the ſame, the nature thereof dothe within one yeeres ſpace, alter and change exceedingly, for that parte thereof which ſtandeth in the grounde is conuerted into harde ſtone, the ſame that is enuirōned with water turneth into tough yron, onely that portion whiche is aboue the ſayd Element retaining hir former woddy ſubſtaunce, whereby it is often ſeene how in one and the ſame body, three diſtinct ſubſtances are found, that is to ſay, ſtone, yron, & wood, which farre exceedeth all credite. But to returne againe to our Orchades, whereof things of litle or no leſſe importaunce are to be rehearſed, for ſith there is great abundance of Barley wherof they make the ſtrongeſt Ale that is to be founde in Albion, and thereto knowen, that they are the greateſt drynkers of any men in the worlde, yet was there neuer dronken or man diſguiſed with drinke ſeene there, neyther any foole, or perſon otherwiſe berefte of his wittes thorow phreneſie or madneſſe. There is herevnto ſmall vſe of Phiſicke: for mankinde liueth there moſt commonly vnto extreme age in ſound & perfite health, whoſe bodies alſo are of ſtrong conſtitution & very white of colour. The Ewes that are to be found in theſe Ilandes haue for yͤ moſt part two or three Lās a peece, at euery eening, and therewithall they haue in this countrey ſuche plenty of foules bothe wilde and tame, as the lyke number agayne is not to be founde in Brytaine. Theyr horſes are litle greater than the French Aſſes, but in their labour they exceede all other, what ſhoulde I ſpeake of the plenty of fiſhe there to be had, which paſſeth al credite: among whiche there is one ſorte greater than any horſe, of marueylous and incredible

ſluggiſ

ſluggye deſire to ſleepe. This fiſh when ſhe prouideth to ſleepe, faſtneth hyr huge teeth vpon ſome cragge that lieth aboue the water, & then ſlumbreth or falleth into a moſte ſounde reſte, whiche the ſeafaring men eſpying, they forthwith caſt ancre, and then letting downe theyr ſhippe boates, they conueigh themſelues to the fiſhe, and bore a greate hole thorow hir tayle, whereinto they put one ende of a cable, and ſo make it ſure, the other ende is faſtned to a great ancre, whiche is let fall of purpoſe into the ſea, and thus is their enterpriſe attempted ere long to be atchieued. For after this wounde, it is not long ere the fiſhe awaketh, who feeling hir ſelfe to be hurt, leapeth at once into the ſea, thinking to hide and ſhrowde hir in the deepes: but being ſtayed by the weight of the ancre, and indeuouring in vayne to breake the cable, ſhe laboureth ſo vehemently, that at the laſt ſhe windeth hirſelfe out of hir ſkinne (for the which ſhe is commonly taken) and ſoone after alſo turneth vp hir belly, yeelding hir life vnto the waues, and hyr body to the Mariners, who make an excellent oyle of hir greace, and paſſing ſtrōg cables of hir hide or ſkinne. Certes ſuch is the force of Rope made of the ſkinne of this fiſhe, that they will holde at a plunge no leſſe than the Spaniſhe *Sparto*. Herein alſo they exceede yͤ ſame in that they will continue very long without fretting aſunder.

An hundred miles beyond the Orchades are the Schetland Iles, whoſe chiefe commodities ſtande onely by fiſh which is dried in the ſunne. There are brought alſo into Scotland out of theſe Ilandes great ſtore of Sheepes felles, oxe hides, Goate ſkins, & caſes of Martirnes dryed in the ſunne. And in the ſame maner the Marchaunts of Hollande, Zeelande and Germany, fetch them yearely by barter and exchaunge for other common and neceſſary wares, with the people of that nation, who for maners and conditions reſemble much the Orchanois. The ſame in like ſorte that is ſayde of the Orchanoys, concerning drunkenneſſe and frenesy, is verified on them, as is alſo their length of lyfe, although not in ſo rare maner: Sith theſe in ſteede of ſtrong Ale, content themſelues with water, and very ſlender diet. Beyōd the Schetlandes there are diuers other Ilandes, of lyke condition, but without corne and all maner of fleſhe to feede vpon. Theſe dry their fiſhe at the Sunne, and when they are thorowe ſtiffe, they grinde them to ſmal powder, which they worke vp with water into loaues, and ſo vſe the ſame in lieu of other bread. Theyr firing conſiſteth of the boanes of ſuche fiſhes as they take, and yet they content themſelues in ſuche maner with this their poore kinde of lyueloode, that they thinke their eſtate moſt happy in reſpect of ſuch as inhabite in the Maine. Certes there is no quarrelling amongſt theſe for wealth or gaine, but eche one prouideth ſuche ſtore of fiſhe in Somer whiche he taketh himſelfe, as ſhall finde his family, or keepe his houſe in winter. They are voyde of all ambitious moode, & neuer troubled with ciuile or forren warres, as men that deeme firme peace and quietneſſe, with mutuall loue and amity, to be the chiefe felicity to be ſought for in this life, and to remaine herein, ech one to his power dothe ſhewe his whole indeuour. This finally is to be added vnto their cōmendation, that they are ſimple, playne, voyde of crafte, and all maner of Serpentine ſuttlety, whiche endeth commonly with miſchiefe, and reigneth in the Maine. Once in the yeare there commeth a Prieſt vnto them from Orkenay (of whiche Dioceſſe they are) who miniſtreth vnto them the Sacrament of Baptiſme, and after a certayne tyme (hauing taken vp in the meane time his Tithes in fiſhe, whiche is their ſole increaſe, and very truly payde) he returneth home againe the ſame way that he came. If any giftes of nature are to be numbred as parcelles of worldly riches and renowne, they are not without theſe alſo: for the people of theſe Iles are luſty, fayre, ſtrong of body, and highe of ſtature, ſo yͤ nature hath not fayled to indue them with theſe things, and that in moſt excellent maner. What ſhould I ſay of their helth, whiche is and may be preferred aboue all treaſure, as they well know that are oppreſſed with long and grieuous infirmities: for here among theſe men, you ſhall very ſeldome heare of ſickneſſe to attache any, vntill extreame age come that killeth them altogither, and this is that exceeding benefit naturally appropried vnto their carcaſes. As for their quietneſſe of minde, it is alwayes ſuche as is conſtant, vnchaungeable, and therefore incomparable vnto any riches or huge maſſe of worldly treaſure.

Herevnto furthermore, if it be true riches (as it is in deede for ech one not to couet other mēs gooddes, but to content himſelf with that which is his owne, and not to ſtande in neede of any thing, can any men be founde in any other region more riche and fortunate than the Shetland men and theſe Ilanders? Finally, if thoſe be the true hōnors, and reuerent dueties whiche the obedient ſonne with greate ſincerity and voyde of all flattery, doth ſhewe vnto his good parents, and wherewithall the beſt ſort do merueylouſly reioyce and delite themſelues, & that theſe are alſo not wanting in theſe regions, can we iuſtly ſay that theſe mē do lacke any thing, or ſhall we not rather affirme with great aſſurance that they rather ſtand in neede of nothing that any mortal man can iuſtly wiſh or deſire? But if there be any man that will accuſe me of vntruth in the recitall of theſe things, as one that lieth lowde and by authoritie of a people dwelling far off, for ſo much as I my ſelfe was neuer in thoſe Ilandes, he ſhal vnderſtand that I learned all theſe things of the reuerent father Edward Biſhop of the Orchades, with whom one of theſe Ilanders dwelled, who not onely made a like rehearſall of theſe things with his owne mouth, but alſo verified the ſame in his owne perſon, for his height farre paſſed the cōmon ſtature of men, thereto he was excellently well featured in his limmes, ſo white of ſkinne ouer all, that he might contend in beauty with any lady of the lande, & finally ſo wight & ſtrōg of body, that no man in all thoſe quarters durſt rūne or wreſtle with him. Hereby alſo we may ſee, how far they are deceyued whiche iudge thē to be barbarous, & miſerable creatures that inhabite far from the Tropike lines, for there are no people more happy than thoſe that dwell in theſe quarters, as I haue proued already.

See Matthiolus vpon the firſt booke of Dioſcorides, capite de populo alba & nigra.

Alga.

Furthermore, among the rockes & cragges of theſe Iles groweth the delectable Amber, called *Electrum, Chryſolectrū*, or as *Dioſcorides* hath *Pterygophoron*, indued with ſo vehemēt an attractiue force, yͭ being chafed it draweth ſtraw, flore, and other like light matter vnto it. This gumme is ingendred of the ſea froth whiche is throwen vp by continuall repercuſſion of crags & rockes againſt the ſea walles, & through perpetual working of yͤ waues groweth in time to become tough as glew, til it fall at yͤ laſt from yͤ rocke againe into the ſea. Suche as haue often viewed & marked the generation of this gūme, whileſt it hāgeth on yͤ rocke, affirme it to be like a froth & bubble of water without al maſſy ſadneſſe, bycauſe that as yet it is not ſufficiently hardned by the working of the Element. Somtimes yͤ Seatangle is found enuironed alſo wō al, bicauſe it is driuē hither & thither by the working of yͤ waues, & ſo lōg as it fleetes to & fro in this maner, ſo long is it apte to cleaue to any thing that it toucheth. Two yeeres before I wrote this booke, there came a great lompe of Amber into Buchquhane, in quantity ſo bigge as any horſe, which the heardmē that kept their cattell neare hand caught vp, & not knowing in deede what it was, they caried it home, & threw a portion thereof into the fire: finally perceiuing a ſweete & delectable ſauour to proceede frō the ſame, they ran by & by to the Prieſt of yͤ towne where they dwelled, telling him how they had found a peece of ſtuffe whiche would ſerue very well in ſteede of Frākenſence, wherwith to perfume his ſainctes or rather Idols in the church. These mē ſuppoſed that ſir Iohn had ben more cunning than themſelues, but contrary to their expectation, it fell out that he was no leſſe vnſkilful & voyde of knowledge than they, & therefore refuſing the whole lumpe, he tooke but a ſmall portion therof, and returned the reſt vnto thē, whereby it came to litle proofe & leſſe gayne among the common ſorte, who ſuffred it to periſh by reaſon of theyr vnſkilfulneſſe. Certes when they brake it in peeces, it reſembled in colour vnto the pureſt golde, & ſhined as if it had bene the laie or flame of a cādle. Herein alſo the Prouerb was proued true, that the Sow reckes not of Balme. But ſo ſone as I vnderſtoode of the matter, I vſed ſuch diligence, that one portiō therof was brought to me at Aberden. And thus much of the *Hebrides*, *Orchades* & Schetland Iles ſubiect vnto the Scottiſh regiment. I might no doubt haue made reherſall of diuers other things worthy the noting in this behalfe. But I haue made choiſe onely of the moſt rare & excellent, and ſo would finiſh this deſcriptiō, were it not that one thing hath ſtayed me right pleaſant to be remembred, as an vncouth and ſtrange incident, whereof maſter Iames Ogilby Ambaſſadour from Iames our King, (among other) vnto the King of Fraunce, hath certified me, & whereof he had experience of late at ſuch time as he was conſtrayned by tempeſt of weather to get to land in Norway. Thus ſtandeth the caſe, being driuen, as I ſayde, vpon the ſhore of Norway, he and his company ſaw a kinde of people raungyng vp & downe in the mountaynes there, much like vnto thoſe which diuers pictures giue forth for wilde men, heary and vgly to behold. In the end being aduertized that they were ſauage & wilde beaſtes, yet neuertheleſſe deadly enimies to mākind, they vnderſtood therunto that although in the day time they abhorred & feared the ſight of man, yet in the night they would by great companies inuade the ſmall villages & countrey townes, killing & ſleying ſo many as they found, or where no dogges were kept to put by their rage & fury. Certes ſuch is their nature, that they ſtande in great feare of dogges, at whoſe barking & ſight they flie and runne away with no ſmall haſte & terrour. wherefore the inhabitants are inforced to cheriſh great numbers of the ſaid beaſts, therby to keepe off thoſe wilde men that otherwiſe would annoy them: they are moreouer of ſuche ſtrength, that ſomtimes they pull vp yong trees by the rootes to fight withall amōg themſelues. The Ambaſſadors ſeyng theſe vncouth creatures, were not a litle aſtonnied, & therfore to be ſure frō all inuaſion, they procured a ſtrōg gard, to watch al night about thē, with great fires to giue light ouer all that quarter, till on the morrow that they tooke the ſea & ſo departed thence.

Finally the Norwegiãs ſhewed thẽ, that there was another people not far of, whiche liued all the Sõmer time in the ſea like fiſh, & fed of ſuch as they did catch, but in yͤ Winter half (bicauſe the water is cold) they prayed vpon ſuch wilde beaſts as fedde on the mountaynes, whiche cõming downe from the ſnowy hilles to graſe in the valeys, they killed with dartes & weapons, & carried vnto their caues. In this exerciſe alſo they tie certaine litle bordes to their feete, which beare them vp from ſinking into the ſnow, & ſo with a ſtaffe in their handes, they make the better ſhifte to clime vp and come downe from the cragges and mountaines, whereof in that region there is very great plenty and aboundance.

Of the maners of the Scottes in theſe dayes, and their compariſon with the behauiour of the old, and ſuch as liued long ſince within this Iland. Chap. 13.

FOraſmuch as diuers noble men haue deſired me to ſhew apart the old maners of the Scots touched in my hiſtory, to the end it may be knowen how far our nation in theſe preſent dayes are different in their maners & behauiour frõ thoſe of our forefathers, & herevnto although I aſſure my ſelf already yͭ the reuealing of theſe things will procure vnto me the hatred of ſundry worthy or renowmed perſonages (of which few wil yeelde to heare their doings touched, or their errours reproued) yet bicauſe I owe ſuch duetie & ſeruice vnto thoſe that haue made this requeſt vnto me, & leaſt I ſhould ſeeme ingrate not to herken vnto thẽ in this behalf I haue cõdeſcended to the performaunce of their deſires, & ſomuch the rather, for yͭ they alledge how it wil be very profitable vnto al readers, but eſpecially ſuch as are not immoderately giuen ouer vnto their owne affections, nor ſo wholly drowned in their owne ſenſuality & pleaſures, but vpon conſideration of wholſome admonition will be very willing to leaue what ſoeuer offendeth in them. Firſt of al therfore, I will declare what vſages haue ben among our elders both in time of warre & peace, and by what wiſedome & induſtrie they haue preuailed ſo long time againſt ſuch & ſo many mighty aduerſaries, as firſt the Brytons, then yͤ Saxons, next of al the Danes whiche haue entred into this Iland with huge armies, to ſpoyle and ſubdue the ſame. Furthermore, I wil ſet downe with ſomuch breuity as I can, how the falling by litle & litle frõ the frugalitie and cuſtomes of their Forefathers, their vertue & force alſo began in like order to decay. And finally how in theſe daies either by the clemẽcy of our neighbours, or by their delicate negligence rather than by our owne prowes, we liue in ſecurity, & thereby as it were ouerwhelmed & wrapped vp in al auarice, & exceſſe, whereinto our want of exerciſe and martiall proweſſe doth marueylouſly impell vs. Certes I beleue that by this meanes ſuch as are of yͤ more couragious ſort (& yet reteyning a ſauour of the tẽperancie of theyr elders) will reioyce to heare their manhoode and great prowes cõmended in this wiſe, as others of the cõtrary ſect (in ſeruile maner addicted to gather good, and ſpende their times in idle exceſſe & riot) ſeeing their errours iuſtly reprehended, & the diſhonor gotten thereby openly reuealed, will the rather addreſſe themſelues to reformation of their eſtate, thereby to recouer the auncient renowme of their Forefathers, in anſwering to their prowes, than proue a reproche vnto their ſucceſſours, thorow their lewde behauiours neuer to be forgotten. This alſo I proteſt before al men, that what ſoeuer I ſhall ſpeake of the euill maners of our times, I do not meane it vnto all, but thoſe only whome blind ſelf loue, couetouſneſſe, intemperancy, exceſſe and abuſe of al Goddes good giftes haue ſo touched, that they deſerue much more to be reprehended then I will vouchſafe to attempt in this my lateward treatize, therefore if any man ſhall thinke him ſelfe to be rubbed on the gall by me, I counſell him that he conceale not his infirmity, by ſeeking reuenge on othermẽ, but rather indeuour to procure the remedy in firſt acknowledging his miſdemeanors, whiche is the one and better halfe of his cure.

Our elders although they were right vertuous both in warre abrode, and at home in peace, were yet neuertheleſſe in conuerſation & behauiour very temperate, whiche is the fountaine & originall of al vertues. In ſleepe they were cõpetent, in meate & drinke ſober, & contẽted with ſuch foode as was ready at hande and prepared with litle coſt. Their bread conſiſted of ſuche ſtuffe as grew moſt readily on yͤ ground, without al maner of ſifting and boulting, wherby to pleaſe the palate, but baked vp as it came frõ the mill without any ſuche curioſity, whiche is a great abaſing of the force therof vnto our dayly nouriſhment. The fleſh whereon they chiefly fed, was either ſuch as they gate by hunting, wherin they tooke great delite & which increaſed not a litle their ſtrength and nimbleneſſe, or els ſuche tame cattell as they breede vp at home, whereof beefe was accompted the principall, as it is yet in our dayes, though after another maner & far diſcrepant from the vſe and cuſtome of other countries. The ſtirkes or young beſettes vngelded, we either kill yoũg for veale, or geld, to the end that they may ſerue afterwarde for tillage in earing vp of the ground, but the cowcalfes and heighfers, are neuer killed till they be with Calf, for then are they fatteſt & moſt delicious to the mouth. The common meate of our elders was fiſh, howbeit not only or ſomuch for the plenty therof, as for that our landes lay oftẽ waſt and vntilled, bicauſe of the great warres which they cõmonly had in hand. They breake alſo their faſt early in the morning wͭ ſome ſlender repaſt, & ſo cõtinued without any other diet vntill ſupper time, in whiche they had but one diſh, whereby it came to paſſe, yͤ their ſtomackes were neuer ouercharged, nor their bones deſirous of reſt thorow the fulneſſe of their bellies. At ſuche time as they determined of ſet purpoſe to be mery, they vſed a kinde of Aquavite voyde of al ſpice, & only conſiſting of ſuch hearbes and rootes as grew in their owne gardens, otherwiſe their common drinke was Ale: but in tyme of warre when they were inforced to lie in campe, they contented thẽſelues with water as rediest for their turnes. Eche ſouldier alſo had ſo much meale as might ſerue him for a day, whiche he made vp in cakes, and baked on the coles, as the Romaines ſometimes vſed to do, and the Emperour *Caracalla* himſelfe as *Herodian* hath remẽbred. Seldome did they eat any fleſh in their tentes, except they gate it frõ their aduerſaries, ſuch as they had likewiſe was eaten half rawe, bycauſe they ſuppoſed the iuyce therof ſo vſed to nouriſh very abundantly. But fiſhe was much more plentifull amongſt them, eſpecially when they wãted their vſuall prayes, or could not attayne vnto them. They brought furthermore from their houſes to the field with them, a veſſel of butter, cheeſe, meale, milke, & vineger tempred togither as a ſhoote ancre againſt extreme hunger, on whiche they would feede & ſucke out the moyſture, when other prouiſion coulde not be gotten. In like maner whenſoeuer they had entred into league and amity with their enimies, they would not liue in ſuch ſecurity, that therby they would ſuffer their bodies and forces to degenerate, but they did keepe themſelues in their former actiuity and nimbleneſſe of limmes, eyther with continuall hunting (a game greatly eſteemed among our aunceſtors) or with running from the hilles to the valeys, or from the valeys to the hilles, or with wreſtling, and ſuch kindes of paſtime wherby they were neuer idle. Their heads were alwayes ſhauẽ, after the maner of yͤ auncient Spaniardes, with a litle tuft of heare only left on their forepartes, & neuer couered, except whẽ they were troubled wͭ ſickeneſſe, by whiche meanes it came to paſſe that fewe of our nation in olde time was ſeene to be balde & hearleſſe. They went alſo bare footed, or if they had any ſhone, they dipped them firſt in yͤ water ere they did put thẽ on, eſpecially in Winter when ſharpeſt weather ſhewed it ſelf, to the end that yͤ ſoles of their feete (which were wel hardned in Sommer with heate and in winter with cold, might be more ſtrong and able to ſuſteyne great labour and dayly trauaile. Their apparell was not made for brauery & põpe, but as ſhould ſeeme beſt to couer their bodies & ſerue their appointed vſes, their hoſen were ſhaped alſo of linnen or wollen, whiche neuer came higher than their knees, their breeches were for the moſt part of hẽpe, clokes alſo they had for winter made of courſe wooll, but in the ſommer time they ware of the fineſt that coulde be gotten. They ſlept moreouer eyther vpon the bare floore or pallets of ſtraw, teaching their childrẽ euen from theyr infancy to eſchew eaſe, & practiſe the like hardneſſe: & ſith it was a cauſe of ſuſpitiõ of the mothers fidelity towarde hir huſbande, to ſeeke a ſtrange nurſe for hir childrẽ (although hir milke fayled) ech womã wold take intollerable paines to bring vp & nouriſh hir owne children. They thought them furthermore not to be kindly foſtered, except they were ſo well nouriſhed after their birthes with the milke of theyr breſtes, as they were before they were borne with yͤ bloud of their owne bellies, nay they feared leaſt they ſhould degenerate & grow out of kinde, except they gaue them ſucke themſelues, and eſchewed ſtrange milke, therfore in labour & painefulneſſe they were equall, and neither ſexe regarded the heate in ſommer or cold in winter, but trauailed barefooted, & in time of warres the mẽ had their cariages & victuals truſſed behinde thẽ on their horſes, or els vpon their owne ſhulders without refuſall of any labour, enioyned vnto them by their Captaines. If it hapned them at any time to be vanquiſhed, they fled with ſuch ſpeede to yͤ mountaines, that no horſe might ouertake thẽ, & very oft eſcaped. The violence that was done to any one of them, was reputed cõmon to al, & ſuch was their deadly fude conceyued in theſe caſes, that vntil they had requited the like with more extremity, they would neuer be quiet nor let go their diſpleaſure. The nobleſt & moſt couragious Gentleman would ſooneſt deſire to be placed in the forewarde, where his vaſſalage or ſeruice & manhood ſhould readilieſt be ſeene, and ſuch was the friendſhip of the nobility amongſt thẽſelues, that whyleſt they contended which of them ſhould be moſt faithful & frendly to other, they would oft fal out, & quarel one wͭ another. Somtimes it hapned yͤ their Captaine was beſet wͭ extreme peril, or peraduenture ſome other of the nobility, in which caſes they yͭ were of his bãd wold ſuddenly ruſh in thorow yͤ thickeſt of their enimies vnto him, & deliuer him, or els if they could not ſo do, they would altogither loſe their liues with him, thinking it a perpetuall note of reproche to ouerliue their leader. The graues & ſepulchres of our noblemen, had com-

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mōly ſo many Obeliſkes & ſpires pitched about them, as the deceaſed had killed enimies before time in yͤ fielde: if any ſouldier had ben found in the fielde without his flint & tinder boxe, or had walked or gone vp & downe with his ſworde at his ſide, and not naked in his hād, for then vſed they light armor for yͤ moſt part, he was terribly ſcourged: but he that ſolde or morgaged his weapon, was forthwith cut frō his company & baniſhed as an exile: he that fled or went frō the battayle without leaue of his Capitayne, was ſlayne whereſoeuer he was mette afterwarde, without any iudgement or ſentence, and all his goodes cōfiſcated to the Prince: Their light armour in thoſe dayes conſiſted of the launce, the bow, the long ſword which hanged at the ſide of yͤ owner, & therto a buckler, but afterward heauier armour came into generall vſage. In theſe dayes alſo the womē of our country were of no leſſe courage than the men, for al ſtout maydēs & wiues (if they were not with childe) marched ſo wel into the field as did the men, & ſo ſoone as the army did ſet forward, they ſlew the firſt liuing creature yͭ they foūd, in whoſe bloud they not onely bathed their ſwordes, but alſo taſted thereof with their mouthes, with no leſſe religiō & aſſurance conceyued, than if they had already bene ſure of ſome notable & fortunate victory: when they ſaw their owne bloud run frō them in the fight, they wexed neuer a whit aſtonnied with the matter, but rather doubling their courages, with more egerneſſe they aſſailed their enimies. This alſo is to be noted of thē, that they neuer ſought any victory by treaſon, falſhed or ſleight, as thinking it a great reproch to winne the fielde any otherwiſe than by mere manhood, proweſſe, & playne dealing. When they went forth vnto the warres, eche one went with the King of his owne coſt (except the hyred ſoldier) which cuſtome is yet in vſe. If any were troubled with the falling Euyll, or Lepre, or fallen frantike, or otherwiſe out of his wits, they were diligētly ſought out: & leaſt thoſe diſeaſes ſhould paſſe further by inceſtuous generatiō vnto their iſſue & poſterity, they gelded the mē. But yͤ womē were ſecluded into ſome odde place farre off from the cōpany of men, where if ſhe afterward hapned to be gotten with childe, both ſhe & the infant were runne thorow with a launce: gluttons & raueners, drōkardes, & egregious deuourers of victualles, were puniſhed alſo by death, firſt being permitted to deuour ſo much as they liſted, & thē drowned in one freſh riuer or other.

Furthermore, as iuſtice in time of warre was cōmonly driuē to perke, ſo in daies of peace our countreymen that offended, were oft ſeuerely puniſhed & with inconuenient rigor. For they wel conſidered that after their people ſhould returne and come home againe from the warres, they would be giuē to ſo many enormities, that the ſame theyr exceſſe ſhould hardly be reſtrayned but by extreme ſeuerity: ſuche alſo was theyr nature, that ſo ſoone as they knew themſelues guilty of any offence committed agaynſt the eſtate or cōmon wealth, their firſt attempt was to ſet diſcord amongſt the Peeres & Princes of the realme, neuertheleſſe when they are gently intreated, & with courteous moderation, they are found to be very tractable, & pliant vnto reaſon: in priuate bargaynes & contractes they are ſo willing to giue euery man his owne, that they will yelde the more. And ſo farre is it growne into a cuſtome euē in theſe our dayes, that except there be ſome ſurpluſage aboue the bare couenaunt, they will breake of and not go forwarde with the bargayne. They vſed at the firſt the rites and maners of the Egyptians frō whence they came, & in al their priuate affayres they vſed not to write with common letters as other nations did, but rather with Cyphers and figures of creatures made in maner of letters as their Epitaphes vpon their tombes & ſepultures remayning amōgſt vs do hitherto declare. Neuertheleſſe in our times this Hieroglyphical maner of writing (I wote not by what meanes) is periſhed & loſt, and yet they haue certaine letters proper vnto thēſelues, which were ſometime in cōmon vſe: but among ſuch as retaine the auncient ſpech, they haue their aſpiratiōs, dipthōgs, & pronunciation better than any other. The cōmon ſorte are not in vre withall, but onely they which inhabite in the higher part of the coūtry, & ſith they haue their language, more eloquent and apt than others, they are called Poetes, they make alſo Poetes wͭ great ſolemnity & honour, being borne out therein by the authority of the Prince. Beſide yͤ ſkil alſo of many other artes & ſciēces, whoſe rules & Methodes are turned into yͤ ſayd language, are giuē by tradition frō theyr elders, they chiefly excel in Phiſick, wherin they go far beyond many other, who learning of thē yͤ natures & qualitie of ſuch hearbes as grow in thoſe quarters, do heale al maner of diſeaſes euē by their only applicatiō. Certes there is no regiō in yͤ whole world ſo barrē & vnfruteful, through diſtaūce frō the Sunne, but by yͤ prouidence of God all maner of neceſſaries for the ſuſtentatiō of mankind dwelling there, are to be had therin, if yͤ inhabitants were ſuch as had any ſkil how to vſe yͤ ſame in order. Neuertheleſſe our elders which dwelled continually vpō the Marches of England, learned yͤ Saxon toung through cōtinuall trade of marchandize and hazard of the warres, long ſince, whereby it came to paſſe that we neglected our owne language, and our owne maners, and thereto bothe our auncient order in writing and ſpeakyng is vtterly left among vs, that inhabite neare vnto thẽ, wheras contrarywiſe thoſe that dwell in the moũtaines reteyne ſtill their auncient ſpeach & letters, & almoſt all their olde rites, whereunto in time paſt their Forefathers haue bene accuſtomed. One thing hereof alſo may euidently be ſeene (for an example) in their boates whiche they call Carrockes, for being made of Oſiers & couered with Bull hides, they vſe to paſſe & repaſſe with them ouer their riuers & waters in catching of Salmons, & when they haue done, they beare them on their backes vnto what place ſoeuer it pleaſeth them. But we will now leaue the maners of our auncient friendes, & intreate of our later countreymen. In proceſſe of time therfore, and chiefly aboute the dayes of *Malcolme Cammor*, our maners began greatly to chaunge & alter. For when our neighbours the Brytons began, after they were ſubdued by the Romaynes, to waxe idle & ſlouthful, and thereupon driuen out of their countrey into Wales by their enimies the Saxõs, we began to haue alliãce (by proximity of the Romaines) with Engliſhmẽ, eſpecially after the ſubuerſion of the Pictes, & thorow our dayly trades & cõuerſation with them, to learne alſo their maners, & therewithall their lãguage as I haue ſayd alredy. Hereby ſhortly after it came alſo to paſſe, that the temperaunce and vertue of our aunceſtors grew to be iudged worthy of ſmall eſtimation amongſt vs, notwithſtanding that a certayne idle deſire of our former renowne did ſtill remayne within vs.

Furthermore as men not walking in yͤ right pathe, we begã to follow alſo the vaine ſhadow of the Germaine honor & titles of nobility, and boaſting of the ſame after the Engliſh maner, it fell out ere long, that where as he in times paſt was accompted only honorable, which excelled othermen not in ritches and poſſeſſions, but in prowesſe and manhoode, now he would be takẽ moſt glorious that wẽt loden with moſt titles, whereof it came to paſſe, that ſome were named Dukes, ſome Erles, ſome Lords, ſome Barõs, in which vain puffes they fixed al their felicity. Before time the noble men of Scotlãd were of one condition, and called by the name *Thanes*, ſo much in Latine as *Queſtores regij*, gatherers of yͤ kings duties, in Engliſh: and this denomination was giuen vnto them after their deſert & merite. But how far we in theſe preſent dayes are ſwarued from the vertues and temperaunce of our elders, I beleeue there is no man ſo eloquent, nor indued with ſuch vtterance, as that he is able ſufficiently to expreſſe. For whereas they gaue their mindes to doughtineſſe, we apply our ſelues to dronkenneſſe: they had plenty with ſufficiency, we haue inordinate exceſſe wͭ ſuperfluity: they were temperate, we effeminate: and ſo is the caſe now altered with vs, that he which can deuoure & drinke moſt, is the nobleſt man and moſt honeſt companion; and thereto hath no peere if he can once find yͤ vaine, though with his great trauaile to puruey himſelfe of the plentifulleſt number of new fine and delicate diſhes, and beſt prouoke his ſtomacke to receiue the greateſt quantitie of them, though he neuer make due digeſtiõ of it. Being thus drowned in our delicate gluttony, it is a worlde to ſee, how we ſtuffe our ſelues both day and night; neuer ceaſing to ingorge and poure in, till our bellies be ſo full that we muſt needes depart. Certes it is not ſuppoſed meete that we ſhould now content our ſelues with breakefaſt and ſupper only as our elders haue done before vs, nor inough that we haue added our dinners vnto their aforeſayd meales, but we muſt haue thereto our breuerages and reare ſuppers, ſo that ſmall time is ſpared wherein to occupy our ſelues vnto any godly excerciſe, ſith almoſt the whole day & night do ſcarcely ſuffice for the filling of our paunches. We haue alſo our marchants, whoſe charge is not to looke out, and bring home ſuche things as neceſſarily appertaine to the maintenance of our liues, but vnto the furniture of our kitchen, and theſe ſearch al the ſecrete corners of our forreſtes for veniſon, of the ayre for foules, & of the ſea for fiſhe, for wine alſo they trauayle not onely into Fraunce, whoſe wines do now grow into cõtempt, but alſo into Spaine, Italy and Greece: nay Afrike is not voyde of our factours, no nor Aſia, and only for fine and delicate wines if they may be had for money. In like ſorte they gad ouer all the world for ſweete and pleaſant ſpices, & drugges (prouokers vnto all luſt and licentiouſneſſe of behauiour) as men that aduenture their owne liues to bring home poyſon and deſtruction vnto their countreymẽ, as if the minde were not already ſufficiently bereft of hir image of the Diuinity; but muſt yet more be clogged & ouerladen with ſuch a franked caſe, therwithall to be extinguiſhed outright whiche already dwelleth or is buried rather in ſuch an vgly ſepulchre. The body likewyſe being oppreſſed with ſuch an heape of ſuperfluous foode, although otherwiſe it be indued with an excellent nature, cannot be able to execute his office, nor keepe it ſelfe vpright, but muſt needes yeelde as ouercome, & to be torne in peeces and rent with ſundry maladies.

Hereof alſo it commeth to paſſe that our coũtreymen trauayling into the colder regions are now a dayes cõtrary to their former vſage taken ſometime with feuers, whereby their inwards partes do burne & parch as it were with continuall fire, the onely cauſe whereof we may aſcribe vnto thoſe hoate ſpices and drugges which are brought vnto vs from the hoate coūtreys. Others of them are ſo ſwollen & growen full of humors, that they are often taken ſodenly and die of vehemēt apoplexies, and although here & there one or two recouer for a litle while, yet are they but dead people reuiuing agayne, leading the reſt of their liues like ſhadowes, and walking aboute as if they were buried already. Our youth alſo following theſe vnhappy ſteps of theyr parentes, giue themſelues wholy to luſt & licentiouſneſſe, hauing all vertue and knowledge in contempt, and eſchewing the ſame as a Peſtilence and ſubuerſion of their pleaſures, wherevnto they apply themſelues as vnto the moſt excellent trade. But ſithence they are now inured and as it were haunted with theſe vices, when tyme doth come of ſeruice and that our countrey ſhall ſtand in neede of manhood, theſe will be becomen ſo effeminate, that they muſte now ride on horſebacke as cladde in heauy armour, for on foote they cannot go by reaſon of their fatneſſe whiche choketh vp their vitall forces, neyther be able to performe any thing at all in compariſon of the ſoueraigne manhoode and proweſſe of theyr elders. So ſoone alſo as they returne home, bicauſe their poſſeſſions are not otherwiſe able to nouriſhe them vp in pleaſure and pampering of their mawes, they muſt fall to couetous and greedy practizes, thereby to enriche themſelues, or els proue ſtrong theeues, or finally ſowers of diſſention and diſcord among the Noble men, thereby to pray ſome commoditie. Certes theſe and other vices followyng them neceſſarily, proceede generally from none other fountayne than voluptuous life & intemperancy, the whiche if we would refrayne, there is no regiō vnder the Sunne that would proue more wholeſome, leſſe ſubiect to Peſtilence, nor more commodious and profitable for the ſuſtētation of hir people. Certes I diſpayre not of the redreſſe of theſe things, but ſtill hope that in ſhorte tyme theſe corrupted maners of my coūtreymen will be turned into a better frame, wee are not yet become impudent, neyther altogither haue caſt of vnſhamefaſtneſſe, ſithe that in a great many ſome remaynder of our auncient ſoberneſſe and manhoode doth yet appeare, and thereto newneſſe of lyfe with feruent deuotion increaſe euery day, through the working of the zeale of our Chriſtian religion in vs. This alſo will I adde, without offence I truſt vnto other nations, that there was neuer people more ſtedfaſt to my knowlege in the Chriſtian faith, nor more conſtant in theyr faithfull promiſes, than the Scots haue bene ſithence their firſt beginning: and for a concluſion I will ſay more, not onely for their prayſe, but alſo in exhorting them vnto perſeuerance, that as our people now liuing do paſſe their aunceſtors in ſumptuous & curious attyre, ſo they are more nette and fine in their houſes, better giuen to learning, & much more magnificent in buylding and decking of theyr Churches. God graunt them alſo to returne to their former frugality, and that with ſpeede. Amen.

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ome any.

Hetherto haue I tranſlated *Hectors* deſcription of Scotland out of the Scottiſh into the Engliſh toung, being not a litle ayded therein by the Latine, frō whence ſomtime the tranſlator ſwarueth not a litle, as I haue done alſo frō him, now and then following the Latine, and now and then gathering ſuch ſence out of both as moſt did ſtande with my purpoſed breuity. Now will I ſet downe the deſcription of an Auncient Pict, as I haue gathered it out of *Herodian* & other, and then I will giue ouer not only to wryte more at this preſent, but for euer hereafter of any Hiſtoricall matters, ſith I ſee that this honeſt kind of recreation is denied me, and all time ſpent about the ſame in theſe dayes vtterly condemned, as vayne and ſauouring of negligence, and Heatheniſh impiety.

The deſcription of an auncient Pict. Chap. 14.

The Pict (ſaith *Herodian*) hath generally no vſe of apparell, howbeit the nobler ſorte of them do wrappe theyr heades and wombes in houpes of yron, which they take for great brauery, eſteeming this kinde of attyre in ſuche as weare the ſame, to be a token of wealth and riches, and ſo great an ornament, as if they had worne Golde or any coſtly iewelles. Beſide this, and the ſhauing of theyr nether lippe, they paynted ouer their bodies with the images of al kindes of beaſtes, ſo that he was the gayeſt mā, that had his ſkinne moſt diſguiſed in this maner. Certes none of them regarded to weare any apparell, bycauſe they eſteemed it a greate glory to haue theſe paintings ſeene. In warres they were bolde, and deſirous to ſhedde bloud, contenting themſelues (in ſteede of other armour) with a ſhorte launce, and narrow target, or buckler, theyr ſwordes were tied to their naked ſides with a thong, and as for Iacke, ſhirt of Mayle, or Helmet, they made no regarde of them, bycauſe they would trouble thē in ſwimming, or otherwiſe at a pinche, whē they ſhould be compelled to wade. *Dion* wryting generally of the whole countrey, diuideth it with Herodien into the *Calidons*, and *Meates*, ſaying that the ſayde country is very ſauage, their Cities voyde of walles, & fields, without townes: they liue moreouer (ſaith he) by hunting and pray, and often times with the fruite of their trees: & albeit that they haue exceeding plenty of fiſh, yet they eate not of it. They liue naked in tents and without ſhoes on theyr feete, theyr wiues are common, and children generally looked vnto: they haue moreouer a populous regiment, & are very ready to ſteale: they fight in wagons, & haue little light & ſwift horſes, whiche runne alſo very ſwiftly, and ſtande at their feete with like ſtedfaſtneſſe. In ẏ nether end of their launces they haue hollow bullets of Braſſe, in eche is a litle peece or two of yron, whiche ratleth when they ſhake it, & maketh a ſtrange noyſe where many of them are togither. They haue alſo narrow daggers: but chiefly they can ſuſteyne hunger and colde beſt of all men, & likewiſe ſore labour: and if it happen them to hunger and haue no meate at hand, they wil ſitte in the marriſhes vp to the chinnes by many dayes togither. In the wooddes they feede on rootes or barkes of trees, and they haue a kinde of meate among them, whereof if they take but ſo muche as a beane, they neyther hunger nor thirſte in a long time after. And thus much of the meates (whiche were the neareſt vs) and the Caledons that dwelled beyond the wall, and both in their prouince called *Maxima Ceſarienſis*, wherof let this ſuffice.

The number of Biſhoppes in Scotland. Chap. 15.

THe Archbiſhoprijc of S. Andrewes.
Glaſquen.
Dunfalden.
Dunblanen.
Aberden.
Brechen.
Morany.
Ros.
Whitberne.
Cathnes.
Argadie.
Orkeney.
Ymor one of the Iles whiche are exempt and pertayne vnto the Pope.

There are three Vniuerſities.

SAint Andrewes.
Aberden.
Glaſquo.

Dukedomes.

ROthſay.
Albany.

Erledomes.

CAtnes.
Sotherland.
Roſſe.
Morany.
Buchquhan.
Garuiach.
Garmoran.
Mar.
Mernis.
Angus.
Gowri.
Fiffe.
Marche.
Athole.
Stratherne.
Menteth.
Leuenox.
Wigton.
Duglaſſe.
Carryke.
Crawford.
Annandale.
Durmonth.
Huntley.

Viſconties.

BErwijc, *alias* North Berwiſe.
Roxborow.
Selkyrk.
Twedale.
Dunfriſe.
Niddiſdale.
Wigton.
Are.
Lanarke.
Dunbritten.
Steruelin.
Lowthian.
Clakmanan.
Kymos.
Fiffe.
Perth.
Angus.
Marnis.
Aberden.
Bamph.
Fores.
Inuernes.

FINIS.

THE HISTORIE of Scotlande.

THE Scottiſh men, according to the maner of other nations, eſteeming it a glorie to fetche their beginning of great auncientie, ſay that their original diſcent came from the Greekes and Egyptians. For there was (as the Scottiſhe olde hiſtoriographers haue left in writing) a certaine noble man among the Greekes, named Gathelus, the ſonne of Cecrops which buylded the City of Athens: or as ſome other woulde, he was the ſonne of Argus Nealus, the fourth king of the Argiues. This Gathelus playing in his youth manye wilde and vnruly partes in the Countrie of Macedonia and Achaia, was dyuerſe tymes ſharpely rebuked by his father and other of hys friends: ſo that in fine diſdeining their correction and wholſome admonitions, he was baniſhed by his father: after which he got togither a number of ſtrong and luſtie yong men, ſuch as had vſed the like trade of liuing, and togither with them fled ouer into Egypt: & comming thither in the xxxiij. yeare of Pharao Orus, as then king of that Countrey, was receyued of him in moſt gladſome wiſe, for that his ſeruice (as it was thought) might ſtande in great ſtead, in thoſe warres which the Egyptians helde the ſame time with the Ethiopians that had inuaded the realme of Egypt, euen vnto Memphis. This Gathelus, to bee ſhort, went forth with his bandes agaynſt the ſame Ethiopians, vnder Moſes the Captaine generall of the armie, choſen thereto by diuine Oracle (as Joſephus wryteth which Moſes obteyned the victorie, and conquered Saba by force, he the chiefeſt and principall Citie which ſtoode in the Iſle Meroe.

Gathelus.

Gathelus gyuen to wil and pleaſure.

Gathelus went in to Egypt, Anno mundi. 2416.

Gathelus was enterteyned of Pharao.

Gathelus went agaynſt the enimies.

Moyſes Captaine general vnder Pharao.

Lib. 2. Cap. 7.

For ſuch tokens of valiancie and worthie prowes as Gathelus ſhewed, both in this Countrey, & in other places, he grew alſo into ſuch eſtimation with Pharao, that he gaue him his daughter in mariage. But Moſes was rather enuied than honored for his doyng, bycauſe the Egyptians doubted leaſt the Iſraelites ſhould encreaſe to ſuch a puyſſant multitude, that in the ende they might vſurpe and chalenge the gouernanſe of the whole Realme, and bring it by rebelling into their owne handes: wherefore diuerſe informations were made to the king agaynſt him, ſo that when he once perceyued himſelfe to be in daunger of the lawe, and looked for no mercie at their handes, fled from thence out of the Countrey, and gate him into the lande of Madian.

Gathelus his doings aduaunced.

Moiſes doings not alowed.

Moyſes fled.

Vnto Gathelus and his people, there was giuen a Citie called Thebes (Egyptiaca) being taken from the Iſraelites.

The Citie Thebes was giuen vnto Gathelus.

Here muſt you vnderſtande, that Pharaos daughter whiche Gathelus thus maryed, was called Scota, of whom ſuch as came of the poſteritie of that nation, were afterwardes, and are at this preſent day called *Scoti*, that is to ſay Scottiſh men: and the land where they inhabite *Scotia*, that is to ſay, Scotlande.

Scota daughter to Pharao.

Gathelus thus being aduaunced by ſuch honourable maryage, lyued all the dayes of his father in lawe Pharao Orus, in great honour. But after his diſceaſe, and in the thirde generation, an other king named Pharao Chencres, ſucceeded in his throne, who oppreſſed the people of Iſrael then abyding in Egypt, with more bōdage, than euer his father, or grandfather had don before him. Neyther was there hope of any redreſſe, till Moyſes returned by Gods appoyntment from amongſt the Madianites (where he had remayned in exile) into Egypt, and there declared vnto this Pharao Gods commaundement, touching the deliuerance of his people.

The credite of this hiſtorie of Gathelus, we leaue to the authors.

Iſrael oppreſſed.

Moſes called out of Madian into Egypt.

But forſomuch as his wordes were regarded, neyther with the king nor with his ſubiects, that lande was plagued in moſt horrible and terrible maner: and moreouer it was ſignified vnto ſuch as ſought to know what was meant by way of Oracles, that ſorer and more grieuous plagues ſhould after follow, if remedie were not founde the ſooner.

Moſes not regarded.

Exodus. 5.

Gathelus leauing Egypt, ſeeketh other countreyes.

Gathelus therefore being certified hereof, and giuing credite to the Oracles aforeſayde, determined out of hande to forſake the countrey, and ſeeke him a new place of abode in ſome other partyes, of the worlde. Wherefore he cauſed a number of ſhippes to be rigged, and all neceſſarie purueyance to be prouided,, and when the ſame was once readie and all things ſet in order, he tooke with him his wife and children, and a great multitude of people both Greekes and Egyptians, whom he embarqued in thoſe ſhippes, and hoyſing vp ſayles, departed out of the mouth of the riuer Nilus, in the yeare of the worldes creation 2433. when hee had dwelled in Egypt. 39. yeares and more.

Gathelus departing was, Anno mundi. 2453. W.H. 3643. H.B.

He was repulſed in Barbary

Beeing thus departed, after ſome trouble in the voyage, they arriued firſt on the coaſtes of Numydia, whiche is one of the regions of Affrike, now called Barbarie: but beyng put backe from thence by the ſtowte reſiſtaunce of the inhabitauntes, they tooke the Seas agayne, and landed in a part of Spayne, whiche long after was called Luſitania.

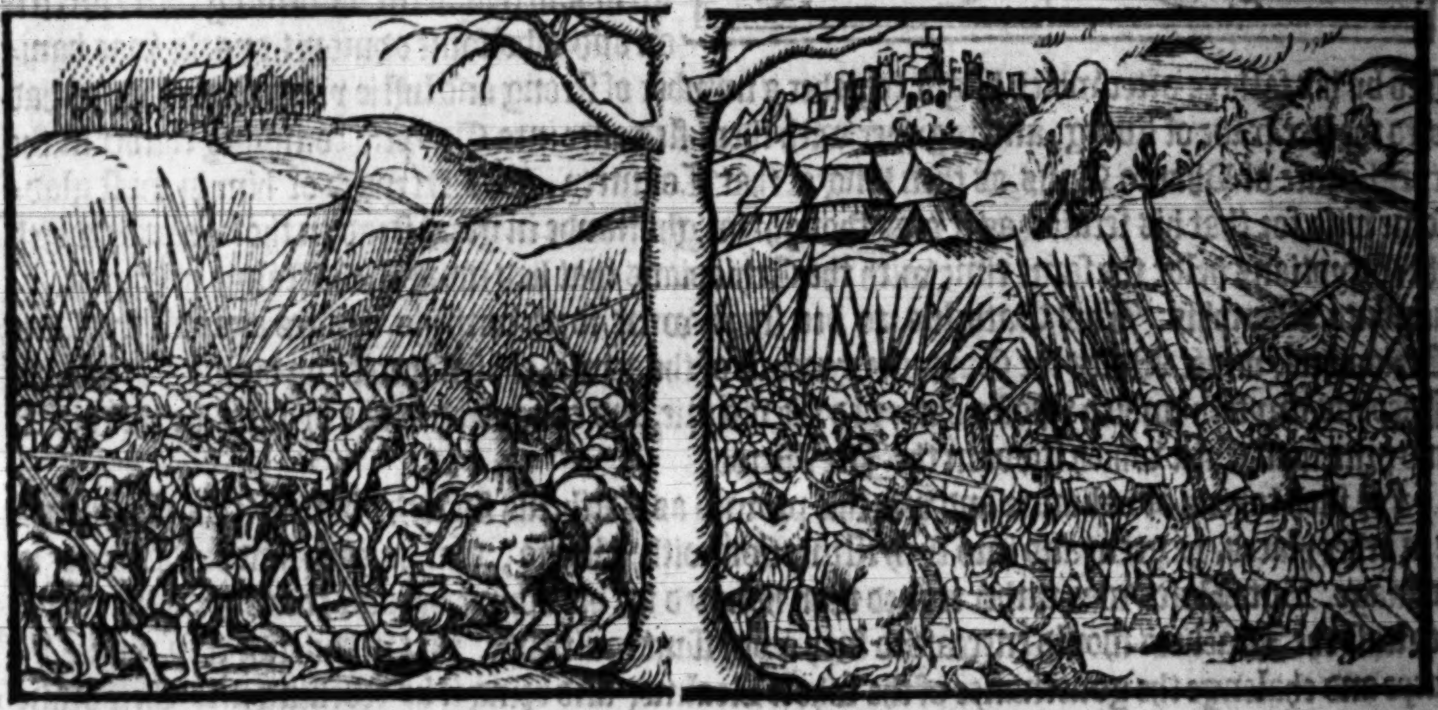
He landed in Portingale.

There be that haue written how it ſhould be cleped Port Gathele of this Gathelus, and certaine yeares after Luſitania, and eftſoones agayne in a maner to haue got the former name being ſomewhat corruptly called Portingale. But who is able in a mater of ſuch auncientie to auowche any thing for truth?

The inhabitants reſiſt Gathelus.

Were ouerthrowne.

Gathelus with his companie beyng thus come to lande, ſought abrode in the countrey for vytayles and ſuch other neceſſarie things as they wanted (for their long being on the Seas had waſted all their purueyance: whoſe arriual being once knowen in the countrey, the people aſſembled togither, and fiercely encountring with the ſtraungers, after ſharpe and cruell fight, in the ende the Spanyardes were put to the worſe and chaſed out of the fielde.



This victory put Gathelus and his folkes in hope of good ſucceſſe to haue their a place for them to inhabite in, and ſo to end their long wandering in ſtraunge and vncertaine places. And to the intent they might bring their purpoſe the more eaſily to paſſe, they found meanes by way of communication to ioyne in friendſhip with the Spanyardes, and obtayning of them a plotte where they might buylde a place for to inhabite in: ſhortly after they began the foundation of a Citie neare to the bankes of the Riuer called of auncient tyme Mundus, and afterwardes Bracchara.

A communication.

Gathelus buildeth the Citie Bracchara.

It chaunced after this, that the Spanyardes (perceyuing theſe ſtraungers to increaſe farther in puyſannce, than (as they thought) ſtoode well with theyr ſecuritie) ſought diuerſe occaſions to fal at debate with them, and to make warres vpon them: But when they vnderſtoode that Gathelus was as ready to defend, as they were to inuade, they eftſoones fell to a communication, and perſwaded with Gathelus that it ſhould be beſt for him and his people, for the auoyding of variance, to remoue vnto the Northſide of Spayne, lying vpon the coaſtes of the Cantabrian ſeas, nowe called Galitia (where be ſhould finde much voyde grounde, by reaſon of the ſmal number of Inhabitants) adding that if they would ſo do, they would ayde them to the vttermoſt agaynſt all ſuch as ſhoulde attempt to diſquiet their indeuours in any maner of wiſe.

A conſultation

Gathelus left Portingale, and went into Galitia.

He builded a Citie called Brigantia, and nowe Compoſtella.

This offer Gathelus gladly accepted, and cauſing publike ſacrifice to be celebrate in honour of the Goddes, he departed with all his people into Galitia, and there concluding a league with the inhabitants, buylded a Citie, which he named Brigantia, but after it was called Nouium, and nowe Compoſtella.

Gathe-
us.

maketh
wes and or-
nances.

HEre Gathelus being intituled by the name of a king, deuiſed and ordeyned lawes for his people to lyue by, that the City myghte not only be fenced with ſtrong walles, but alſo with good and holeſome ſtatutes and ordinaunces, the chiefeſt fortifications that may be for al Cities and Countreys. And bycauſe he would not only haue his ſayde people to liue vnder one lawe, but alſo to be knowne and called by one name, he gaue cõmaundement that they ſhould be all called Scottiſhmen (as before is ſayde) of his wife Scota.

The Spaniardes fight with the Scots infortunately.

In continuance of time, this nation grewe to a wõderful multitude, ſo that the Spaniards doubting the worſt, determined to foreſee remedie in tyme, and hereupon purpoſing vtterly to deſtroy them, got them againe to armour, and with their whole puiſſance comming vpon the Scottiſh men, gaue them a ſore battaile, though in the tide they were put to flight, the victorie remayning with the Scottiſh men, albeit not without great bloudſhed on eyther part, as the Scottiſh hyſtorie ſayth.

peace con-
cluded.

At length a neceſſarie peace was agreed vpon betwixt both parties, the conditions whereof were theſe: that aſwell Scottiſh men as Spaniards ſhould liue after their owne lawes, and neither of them to inuade other.

Gathelus mi-
niſtred iuſtice.

Gathelus hauing peace thus with his neighbors, ſate vpon his Marble ſtone in Brigantia, where he gaue lawes, and miniſtred iuſtice vnto his people, thereby to mainteyne them in wealth and quietneſſe.

A deſcription
of the ſeate.

This ſtone was in faſhion like a ſeate or Chayre, hauing ſuch a fatall deſtinie, as the Scottes ſay, following it, that whereſoeuer it ſhould be founde, there ſhoulde the Scottiſh men raigne and haue the ſupreme gouernance. Hereof it came to paſſe, that firſt in Spaine, after in Irelande, and then in Scotlande, the Kings which ruled ouer the Scottiſh men, receyued the Crowne ſitting vpon that ſtone, vntill the time of Robert the firſt king of Scotlande. The inſcription alſo of the ſtone though ingraued long time after, as ſhoulde appeare, was this:

Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocunq; locatum
Inuenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.

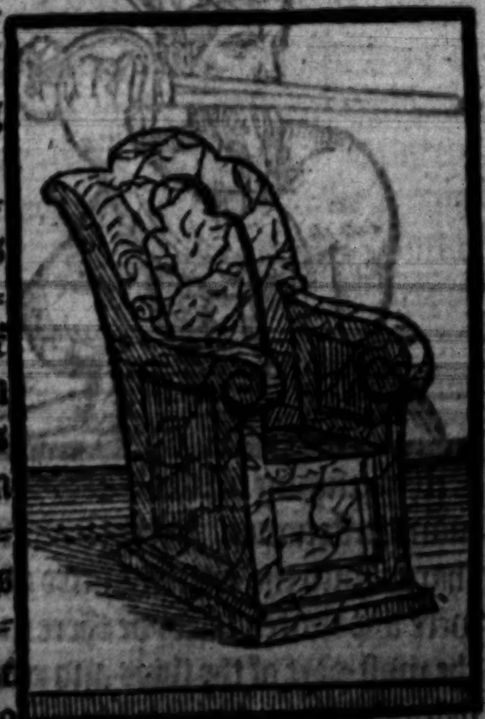
Which may be thus tranſlated:

Except olde ſawes do fayle,
and wiſards wittes be blinde,
The Scottes in place muſt raigne,
where they this ſtone ſhall finde.

But to returne where I lefte, touchyng Gathelus.

Galitia not ſufficient to find the Scots.

When he perceyued that his people multyplyed in ſuch wiſe, as the cuntrey which was appoynted him by the laſte agreement, was not able to ſuſteyne them, he was lothe to



breake the peace whiche he had eſtabliſhed wyth the Spaniards by ſeeking to enlarge the bounds of his dominion with breach of couenaunt: and therefore vnderſtanding that there was an Iſlād lying north ouer agaynſt Spaine, wherein were but fewe Inhabitours, he cauſed all ſuch ſhippes as he was able to make, to bee brought togither into an Hauen neare vnto Brigantia, and commaunding a great armie of his owne people and ſubiectes to bee aſſembled, he appoynted his two ſonnes whome hee had by his wife Scota, the one named Hyberus, and the other Himecus, to conuey them ouer into that Iſlande, whiche afterwardes they named *Hibernia*, after Hyberus, but nowe it is commonly called Irelande.

The Scottes ſeeke newe ſeates.

The Scots ariue in Ireland

At their firſt arriuall there, they came into the hauen of Dundalke, where getting a lande, they firſt encamped themſelues neare vnto the ſhore, and then ſente forth certaine of their folkes to ſearch if they could learne what people inhabited in the countrey, by whom at their returne, and by ſuch as they had happened vppon and brought with them, they vnderſtode howe there was no great number of Inhabitants in that Iſle, and that they which dwelled there were verie ſimple, ſuch I meane as liued onely by mylke and hearbes, with other the like things as the earth by nature brought forth of hir owne accorde, without mans helpe or vſe of any tyllage.

Iriſh men liue by milke and hearbes.

Herevpon Hiber with his brother Himecus, went not aboute with force, but by gentleneſſe to wynne thoſe people, mynding to ioyne them in friendſhippe ſo wyth theyr Scottiſhe men, that bothe the people myghte bee made as one.

Iriſh men are gently entreated.

Neyther was this harde to bee done, ſithence the Inhabitauntes (perceyuing the Scottiſhe men not to goe about to harme them came flocking in wholy about them, ſubmitting themſelues into their handes with gladneſſe.

Hiber.

WHEN thynges were once ſette here in a ſtaye, and that orders were gyuen howe the land ſhoulde be conuerted vnto tillage, and manured for yͤ better bringing forth of ſuche things as ſerue for mans ſuſtenance, Hiber (leauing his brother in charge with the gouernaunce of all thoſe whiche were appoynted to abyde there in Irelande with the moſt part of the ſhips and reſidue of the company, ſayled backe into Spaine, where finding his father Gathelus deade, hee ſucceeded in hys place of gouernment, to the great reioycing of all the people there.

Hiber returned into Spain

Hiber ſuc ded his f Gathelus.

This Hiber was a man of great courage, and more gyuen to the warres than his father before him, ſo that where his father contenting himſelfe with the boundes and limittes of the Countrey aſſigned him by compoſition, ſought no further (as is ſayde) to enlarge the ſame: Hiber ceaſſed not to conquere Cities and townes neare adioynyng to the borders of his ſubiectes, by reaſon whereof hys fame ſpredde ouer all thoſe parties: And in the ende conſtreyned his enimyes to ſeeke for peace, whiche hee willingly graunted: ſo that a league being concluded betwixte the Scottes and Spaniardes, the ſame toke ſuche good ſucceſſe, that within certayne yeares after, both the Nations, what by mariage and other contractes whiche they exerciſed togyther, became one: The ſucceſſion alſo of the Kings continued after Hibers deceaſſe in hys poſteritie a long ſeaſon. Amongeſt the whiche, Metellus, Hermoneus, Ptolomeus, Hibertus, and Simon Brechus, were of moſt worthie fame, as is recorded by ſuche as haue wrytten the Hyſtories of that Nation more at large.

Hiber a co querour.

A peace.

Spaniards Scots bec one peopl

Hem cus.

IN the meane whyle that theſe things were thus a doing in Spaine, Hemecus beeing left, as is before remembred in Irelande, to haue the gouernaunce there, ruled bothe the people of Scottiſhe men, and the former Inhabitaunts, with as muche indifferencie as was poſſible: yet coulde he not ioyne them ſo in one, but that after his deceaſſe eyther of them woulde haue ſeuerall Rulers of their owne Nation to gouerne them: by reaſon whereof, falling eftſones at diſcorde amongſt themſelues, there enſued ſharpe and cruell warres betwixte them, whiche beeing ended ſome tymes by truce (when bothe partyes happilye were throughlye wearyed,) they renued notwithſtanding theyr malicious ſtryfe agayne, ſo ſone as they had once recouered theyr decayed ſtrengthes, ſo that the one ſeeking the others deſtruction, they continued in great diſquiet for a long time.

Hemecus in Ireland

Diſſention.

Theſe Scottiſh men being thus troubled in Irelande, finally addreſſed an Ambaſſade vnto Metellus, who as then raigned amongeſt the Scottiſhe menne in Spaine, requiring him of ayde and ſuccour agaynſte theyr enimyes, who went aboute wyth tothe and nayle to expell all the Scottiſhe Nation out of Irelande,

The Scott ſende an A baſſadour to Metell in Spaine.

which they were like ynough to bring to paſſe, if in time there were not ſpedy remedie through his ayde prouided for the contrarie.

ſent to
the Scots
Irelande.

Metellus hearing theſe newes, as a man moued with a naturall zeale towarde all the Scottiſh linage, gaue eare to their requeſt, ſuppoſing it ſhould be his part to defende his kinneſfolke from all wrong and iniuries: immediately therefore he ſent his thre ſonnes, Hermoneus, Ptolomeus, and Hibertus, with a choſen power of warriours ouer into Irelande, where vanquiſhing the enimies with fierce and cruell battailes, they ſet the Scottiſh men in ſure and quiet poſſeſſion of all their lands and liuings. This done, Ptolomeus, and Hibertus remayned there to rule and inhabite the countrey, but Hermoneus who was the eldeſt brother, returned backe againe into Spain, there to ſuccede his father when time ſhoulde ſerue thereto. After this the Scottiſhe eſtate continued many yeares in good quiet in Ireland, the people ſtill increaſing in welth and puiſſance, till proſperitie the mother of contention, ſtirred vp grudge and partialities amongſt them, whiche ſhortly would haue decayed the force of yͤ Scottiſh nation, if the auncient Lords had not prouided redreſſe in time, which was to perſwade the people to haue a king of theyr owne, who beyng partaker with none of them in their factions, might haue the abſolute gouernãce of the whole: ſo that by common cõſent they ſent into Spaine for one Simon Brek, whoſe name was right famous amongſt them in that ſeaſon, both aſwel for that hee was lineally deſcended of the bloud royall, as alſo for that he had ſhewed many proues of his noble valiancie in ſundrie affayres and buſineſſe.

moneus
ned into
againe.

mon Brek.

ius came
Irelande.

This Simõ being glad of theſe tidings, ſayled quickly into Irelande, and brought thither with him amongſt other princely iewels and regall monuments, the fatal ſtone of marble, wherein he cauſed himſelfe to be crowned, in token of his full poſſeſſion, and eſtabliſhment ouer that kingdom.

Bre-
hus.

Brechus beeyng thus crowned, was yͤ firſt king yͭ raigned ouer the Scottiſh men in Irelande, who began his raigne there, in the yeere from the creation of the worlde, 3270: which tyme by maiſter Hariſons account is after the floud, 6161: from the firſt buylding of Rome, 55. after the entrie of Brutus into Brytaine, 870. and before the Incarnation of our Sauiour, 697.

4 H.B.

72. H.B.

And hauing ruled his ſubiects with great iuſtice by the ſpace of .xl. yeres or therabout, he died, after whoſe deceaſſe ſucceded Fanduſus, who had iſſue Ethion, and he begat Glaucus, whiche Glaucus begat Noitafilus, the father of Rothſay: all of them raigned ſucceſſiuely ouer the Scotiſh men in Irelande, as in the deſcription of that land more plainly may appeare.

Fanduſus.

Rothſay.

This Rothſay (perceyuing the Scottiſh nation encreaſed to a greater multitude in Ireland than the country was wel able to ſuſtaine) tranſported ouer certaine numbers of them into the Iſles auncientlý called *Ebonides*, afterwards *Hebrides*, but now by the Scottes, the weſtern Iſles, bycauſe they lie on the weſt halfe of Scotlande: and there they placed them to inhabite. He named alſo that Iſle which he firſt beganne to poſſeſſe, Rothſay, after his owne name. Which tranſlation of theſe Scottiſh men into thoſe Iſles was 133. yeares after the coronation of Brechus.

The Scottes
ſerie ouer into
the weſterne
Iſles.

They inhabite
the Iſle of
Rothſay.

This Rothſay had not beene long in thoſe Iſles, but that hearing of his fathers deceaſſe, he returned into Irelande to ſuccede in his place. Where the Scottiſh men perceyuing the fertilitie of the Iſles, and how the ſame ſerued wel for the breeding of cattel, became ſo deſirous to inhabite the ſame, that they went ouer thither dayly in greate numbers, with their wiues, children, and whole families, ſo that within a ſhorte time, they multiplied in ſuch wiſe, that the Iſles were not large ynough to finde them ſuſtenance, by reaſon wherof diuerſe companies of them got them ouer into the maine lande of the North part of this our Brytaine, called as then Albion, where they firſt inhabited a waſte and deſert portion thereof, lying towarde the weſt, ouer againſt the forerememberd Iſles, by them alreadie inhabited.

The Scottes
inhabite the
maine lande of
Scotlande.

That part where they firſt beganne to ſettle themſelues, they named *Argathelia*, after the name of their firſt Captain and guide Gathelus, but the Inhabitantes at this day call it Arguyle.

They inhabite
the countrey
called Arguile.

At their firſt comming bycauſe they perceyued they coulde not liue without lawes and ciuil gouernment they ſeuered themſelues into tribes, or as it were into hundreds, or weapentakes, euery of the ſame hauing a ſpeciall gouernour to ſee their lawes miniſtred, and iuſtice mainteyned: whiche gouernours were had in ſuche reuerence, that they were as much afrayde to ſweare by the name of any one of them, as they were by the Goddes.

They make
lawes and ordinances.

Gouernours
had in reuerence.

In this ſtate they continued many a yeare, encreaſing in proceſſe of time vnto a mightie nation, and liued in good reſt without trouble of warres or inuaſion made vpon them by any forraine enimie.

They liue in
peace.

In this meane time alſo, the Pictes, whiche were a certain people of Germanie, as moſt writers do agree, came and ſet foote alſo in another

The Pictes
came into
Scotland out
of Germanie.

part of Brytayne, which nowe is comprehended likewiſe within Scotlande.

Some ſay that they came forth of the hyther part of Scithia, and other there be whiche holde opinion, that they diſcended of the people named in olde time *Agathirſi*, whiche inhabited in a part of Sarmatia, & were called Pictes, bycauſe they vſed to paynt and colour theyr faces, or as ſome ſuppoſe, for that they vſed gay apparell of dyuerſe and ſundrie colours: but the ſame wryters generally confeſſe, that they firſt came into Germanie or hyther Scithia (that is to meane Denmarke) many yeares before they entred into Brytaine.

Pictes came out of Denmarke.

The Pictes came firſt into Orkney, chaunging their ſeates came into the maine lande of Scotlande, Pictlande, Firth.

Truth it is that they firſt came out of Germanie, into the Iſles of Orkeney, and there inhabiting for a ſeaſon, feryed ouer into Catheneſe, whereof it came to paſſe, that the ſtreyte there at this preſent is called Pictland firth: and ſo in cõtinuance of time encreaſing in number, they paſſed further into the lande, and got poſſeſſion of Roſſe, Murray land, Merne, and Anguſe, and after that, entring into Fiffe, and Lowthian, they droue ſuch Brytaynes from thence as inhabited there before, whiche were but a ſimple kinde of people, as thoſe that applyed nothing but onely nouriſhing and breeding of cattaile.

3363. H.B.

The Pictes make ſtrong holdes.

The Pictes require womẽ of the Sottes.

Theſe Pictes, as by conference of tymes may appeare, entred firſt into Scotlande, aboute the yeare after the creation of the worlde 3633, and being once ariued, they began to erect and builde certaine fortes, wherein they might defend themſelues, if any force of enimies ſhoulde chaunce to put them vnto ſuch ſhiftes: but perceyuing they could not continue any time without wiues to mainteyne their ſtock and progenie by bringing forth iſſue, they thought it expedient to require of the Scottiſhe men ſome number of women to marrie with, that thereby a ſure alliance might be had betwixt both nations, and that if neede requyred, they might the better defende them from their common enimies the Brytaynes, whome they knewe woulde be lothe to ſee the encreaſe of eyther Scottes or Pictes, as thoſe that were ſtraungers to them, and vſurpers vpon theyr confines.

A league made.

This requeſt was graunted, and a ful league ratifyed betwixt the Scottiſhe men, and Pictes, with couenauntes, that neither of them ſhoulde ſeeke to vſurpe anye peece of that whiche the other helde, but content themſelues wyth theyr owne marches. And further, hee that attempted to wrong the one, ſhoulde bee accompted an enimie to bothe: and agaynſte whome they ſhoulde bee readie to ioyne theyr powers in eyther others defence.

The ſucceſsion of the gouernment.

Alſo it was accorded, that if at any tyme it were doubtfull who ought to ſucceede in the gouernment of the Pictiſhe kingdome, ſome one diſcended of thoſe Scottiſh women ſhould be admitted to the throne.

Their alli
miſliked.

Diſſentio
preſent de
ſtroyer.

This allyaunce was euen at the firſt miſlyked of the Brytaynes, who doubted that if theſe two Nations ſhoulde once bee ioyned inſeparatly togyther, they might in tyme to come, encreaſe to greater puiſſaunce than ſhould ſtand well with the ſuretie of their eſtate. Therefore ſtudying howe to preuent that daunger, they thought the readyeſt meane to deſtroy both thoſe Nations was (if they might bring it to paſſe) to ſette them firſte togither by the eares amongeſt themſelues, that afterwardes when their powers were by ſuche meanes ſore abated, they might the more eaſily ſubdue them at their pleaſures.

The Picte
good huſ-
bandmen.

The Scott
giuen to h
ting and f
ling.
Good bow

This deuiſe the Brytaynes kept ſecrete for a time, till occaſion ſerued to worke theyr intent. In whiche meane while the affinitie betwixt the Scottes and Pictes increaſed to the welth of both nations, and for the iſſue ſake great loue and friendſhippe was mainteyned amongſt them: the Pictes applyed themſelues to tylling the grounde, and buylding of fortreſſes: the Scottes ſette all their delighte in hunting and fowling, vſing about the ſame to go armed in Jackes and light ieſternes with bowe and arrowes, no otherwyſe than if it had beene in open warre: For in this exerciſe they placed all the hope of the defence of their poſſeſſions, lands, and liberties.

The Bryta
ſend an Am
baſſadour
the Pictes.

A craftie ſu
geſtion.

Prophecies.

A league c
cluded with
the Brytay

At length, the Brytaynes perceyuing happily ſome grudge or enuie to bee entred amongſt them, they ſende ſolemne Ambaſſadours vnto the Pictes, declaring that it were more honourable for them to ioyne in league with the Brytaynes, than with the Scottes: whiche Brytaynes were knowne to bee right famous, both in peace and warre, and inhabited a Countrey moſt fruitefull and repleniſhed with all commodities neceſſarie, hauing therein riche mynes of diuerſe kindes of mettall, where the Scottes being a rude Nation, wilde and ſauage, inhabited a barraine Countrey, full of roughe and fruitleſſe mountaynes, delyting therto in nothing but in the ſlaughter of men and beaſtes: And herevnto they added that, (whiche moſt moued the Pictes) howe it was foretolde by prophecies, that the Scottes through treaſon ſhoulde vtterly in time to come extinguiſhe and deſtroye all the Pictiſhe bloudde, whiche perſwaſions induced the Pictes at the laſt, to make a league with the Brytaynes, who promiſed their ayde at all tymes in whatſoeuer enterpriſe the Pictes ſhoulde take in hande agaynſt the Scottes, and as often as occaſion ſhould require.

Picts be- : enimies Scots.

Thys league thus beyng confirmed wyth the Brytaynes, encouraged the Pictes ſo, that they ſought dayly howe to pyke quarelles, and fall out with the Scottiſhe men: wherevppon making Proclamation that no Scottiſh man ſhoulde enter into their borders, vpon paine of death: ſome ſuche as they toke within the ſame, they cruelly ſlue, other they ranſomed at exceſſiue ſummes: wherevpon the Scottes beeing kyndled with iuſt diſpleaſure, on the other ſide, requyted them with the like, euer as they caught any of the ſayd Picts by hap or otherwiſe amongs them or in their walkes.

Scots re- the in- done vn- them.

pen warre.

ſende into lande.

The one nation ſeeking thus to bee reuenged of the other, there enſued open warre betwyxte them: wherevpon the Scottiſhe men, to the ende they mighte bee the better able to maintaine their quarell, ſent ouer their Ambaſſadours vnto their kinneſmen in Irelande, requyring them of ayde in that preſent daunger, as hauing nowe not onely warres with the Pictes, but alſo wyth the Brytaynes, who mynded nothing, but the vtter deſtruction of them and their linage, except ſpeedie remedie were founde. And for that they ſaw it needefull, to haue one onely head and gouernor, they made ſute alſo to haue ſome captayne of honour wyth them into Albion, vnto whome as vnto their king they woulde ſubmyt themſelues.

y require uernour.

guhardus g in Ire- de.

In that ſeaſon amongeſt the Iriſh Scottiſhe men, there raigned a king named Ferguhardus, who inclyning to the petition of the Brytiſhe Scots, cauſed an huge army forthwith to be leuied, & thereto he appoynted his owne ſonne Ferguſius to be general of the ſame, a worthie yong gẽtleman, and an expert warriour: whom he ſent ouer with this puiſſant cõpany, with ſuch ſpeede as was poſſible. He had alſo with him the marble ſtone, that he might conceyue the better hope to raigne there as a king, bycauſe he went forth vnto ſuch a daungerous warre.

guſius ſent Scotland.

e marble e.

Such alſo as went with him in this iourney, had theyr wyues, their children, and all theyr ſubſtance with them, as the maner of the nation then was, when they went forth into any foreyn countrey.

guſius lan- n Albion.

liament.

Nowe it came to paſſe that this Ferguſius was no ſooner come into Albion amongeſt the Scottiſhe men there, but that in a Parliament called and aſſembled in Argile for the purpoſe, they firſt conſulted after what ſort they myghte mainteyne themſelues againſt their enimies, and what order for gouernment ſhould be obſerued amongſt them: where finally for auoyding of ſuch inconueniences, as might riſe through many gouernours, they decreed to chooſe onely one, whom in all things as their king and heade, they would from thenceforth follow and obey.

king is for be obeyed.

Ferguſius.

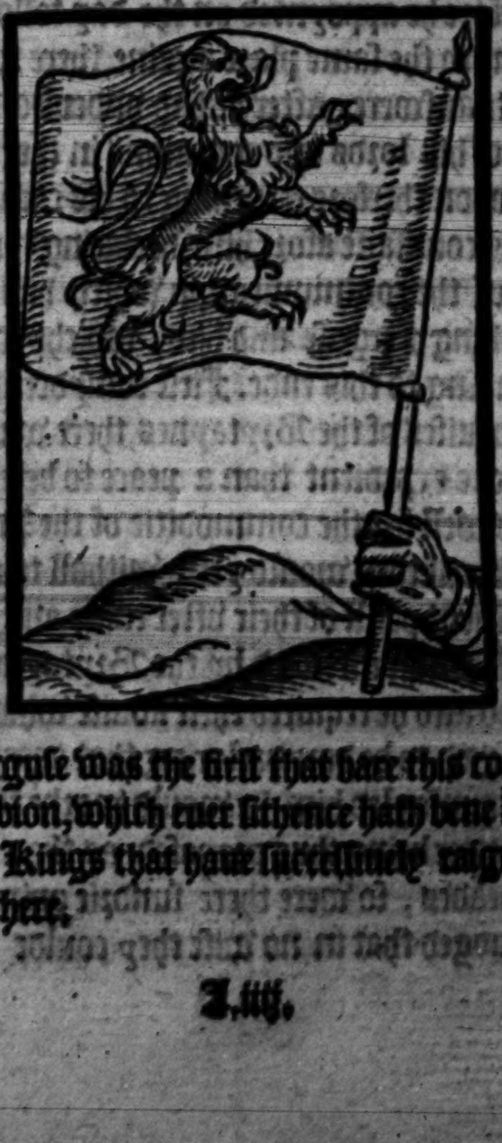
BUt bicauſe there was none thought ſo meete to beare that office, as Ferguſius, and that the chaire of hope was alſo broughte wyth him: they cõcluded by whole cõſent to commit that charge vnto him, & ſo to the great reioyſing of the people, he was placed vpon his marble ſtone, and crowned king, being the firſt of the Scottiſh nation that euer ruled in Albion as abſolute gouernour, who began his raign in the yeare after the creation of the worlde 3640, which is (as Hariſon ſayth in his Chronologie) before the incarnation of our Sauiour 327. after the buylding of Rome 420. and after the entring of Brutus into Brytayne 796.

Ferguſius the firſt king in Scotlande.

The kingdome of the Scottiſhe men beeing thus begunne in Albion, Ferguſius toke vppon him to rule as king, making prouiſion on al ſides to reſiſt his enimies: who whyleſt theſe things were a dooing in Argile, had aſſembled theyr powers: vnto whome alſo the Brytaynes had ioyned themſelues, and were now entred into the Scottiſh borders.

The Brytaines and Pictes agaynſt the Scottes.

Ferguſe hauing hereof knowledge, ſpeedily got togyther hys people, and came wyth Banners diſplayed to encounter hys enimyes. In king Ferguſes Banner, there was a redde Lion portrayed rampant, wyth hys tayle folden towardes his backe, as thoughe hee dyd beate the ſame, whiche is the maner of them, when they bee moued to diſpleaſure.



The kings Banner with a Lion gueles in it.

Ferguſe was the firſt that bare this cogniſance in Albion, which euer ſithence hath bene borne by thoſe Kings that haue ſucceſſiuely raigned after him there.

The Brytaynes are about to deceyue the Pictes.

Both the armies were nowe come within ſight of other, and readie to haue giuen the onſet, when there went a murmuring amongeſt the Pictes, that their companions the Brytaynes were gotten to a hyll a little beſide them, minding to ſee the ende of the battell before they did ſturre, and then if occaſion ſerued (as theyr hope was it ſhoulde) they purpoſed to fall vpon both partyes, as well Pictes as Scottes, and ſo to deſtroy them both, the vanquiſhers togyther with the vanquiſhed, as they founde them out of aray in following the chaſe.

Treaſon reuealed vnto Ferguſe.

The like report was brought vnto Ferguſe, by one that fled vnto his ſyde from the enimies campe, touching this treaſon of the Brytaynes, conſpiring the exterminion of both the people. By reaſon whereof, eyther parte beeing put in feare of that whiche might enſue through the malicious purpoſe of the Brytaynes, they kept their tents certaine dayes togither without making any haſte to battayle. And in the meane while Ferguſe ſent a meſſenger vnto the King of the Pyctes, requyring him to come to a communication before they ſhould fight, for that he had to informe him of ſuch matters as perteyned no leſſe to the ſafegarde and preſeruation of the Pictes, than of his owne people the Scottes.

Ferguſe ſendeth to the Pictes.

The king of the Pictes willingly gaue eare to this meſſage, and ſo a little beſide both the armies ſtanding in battayle array, the two kings accompanied with a fewe of their nobles mette togither, where in the ende the danger in whiche they both ſtoode, beeing plainly diſcloſed, and throughly wayed, they condiſcended to haue a further treatie of peace, whiche the King of the Pictes alledged hee mighte not conclude without the publike conſent of his ſubiectꝭ; and therfore he appoynted on the day following to returne to the ſame place againe, there to giue a reſolute anſwere, after he had vnderſtoode the mindes of his lords and commons in the ſame.

A peace to be concluded.

The king of the Pictes called his counſaile and commons.

Hereupon therfore returning to his campe, he called his counſaile afore him, declaring the ſubſtaunce of the communication which had bene betwixt king Ferguſe and him, whiche was in effect tending to this ende. Firſt conſydering the preſent deuiſes of the Brytaynes, there was nothing more expedient than a peace to be agreed vpon, as well for the commoditie of the Pictes, as Scottes, if they would yeeld withall to auoid the imminent perill of their vtter ruine and common deſtruction intended by the Brytaynes.

Diuerſe heads, diuerſe opinions.

Hereupō alſo he required their aduiſe what they thought good to be don: declaring that according as they counſayled him he would worke therin. This matter being thus propoſed, as there were diuerſe heades, ſo were there ſundrie opinions. Some iudged that in no wiſe they coulde enter friendſhip againe with the Scottes, who had ſo cruelly ſlaine and murthered a great number of the Pictiſh nation: and had ſhewed ſuch tokens of a beaſtlyke furious nature, that there was no hope to continue long in amitie with ſuche a raging kind of people: & hereto they held that it was not vnknowne how the prophecie went that the Scots ſhoulde in the ende deſtroy all the Pictiſh progenie. So that it were wiſdom to keepe their power vnder ſo lōg as was poſſible, & not to encreaſe the ſame by ioyning with thē in frendſhip.

A Prophe

Other were of a contrarie minde, eſteeming that in no wiſe the Scottiſh mens friendſhippe ought to be refuſed, vnleſſe they would determin to ſeeke newe dwellings in ſome other forrayne parties, ſith the Brytaines would not fayle, but vpon occaſion take what vantage they could to expulſe them both, aſwel Scottes as Pictes, out of the countreys now by them poſſeſſed. And as for that, which was alledged touching the prophecie, if the Goddes had ſo determined, then might no policie of man preuent it: and if there were no ſuch thing appointed by the ſame gods, what follye then were it to caſt ſuche dreadfull doubtes where no cauſe was. Ouer and beſides this, they had taken them wiues of the Scottiſh nation, and therby ingraffed their ſeede (the hope of their poſteritie) in that ſtock, which is the nereſt meane and forcibleſt occaſion to nouriſhe friendſhip, that is or may be amongſt people deuiſed: therefore it ſhould not be onely profitable but neceſſary alſo, to haue peace with the Scots, to renue againe with them the former league to the perpetual ſtrengthning and aduancement of both the nations.

The Pic admonii by their to peace.

Whileſt the Pictꝭ were thus in debating the matter, their wiues alſo being preſēt there in the armie, came in amongeſt them with their children, & in moſt lamentable wiſe beſought their huſbands to haue pitie vpon them, in their ſo ſorowfull caſe, and not to ſuffer their handes to be defiled with vnnaturall murther, ſithe it were leſſe diſcōfort to them with their ſillie little ones to die any kynd of death whatſoeuer it were, rather than to behold theyr huſbands with their fathers, their brethren, and other kinneſfolke ioyne togyther in battaile, and there to kill one another wythout all mercie and compaſſion.

The Pic moued pitie.

The Nobles and Gentlemen of the Pictes hearing the cries of theſe women, and being now ſomewhat moued to pitie, conſented at laſt to haue peace with the Scottiſh men, and to renew againe the olde league that was heretofore betweene them: And for mutuall iniuries heretofore committed, that there ſhould be had a mutuall recōpence according as might ſtande with equitie & reaſon. So that where the Brytains had bene the chiefe procurers of all that miſchiefe

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d as eni-
s.

and diſcorde betwixt them, in hope therby to deſtroy bothe the parties, they ſhould now be reputed from henceforth as cōmon enimies to them both: as for all other articles or conditions of agreement, it was ordeined that their king ſhould do therein as vnto him might ſeeme good.

e meeting
the twoo
ngs.

In the morning therefore, as was appointed, the king of Pictes meeting with king Ferguſe, declared what his ſubiectes were agreed vpon: & further opening his mind touching the eſtabliſhment of the peace, thought it conuenient to haue a day of meting betwixt them to ratify the ſame. Wherwith Ferguſe being well contented & glad that through his motion a peace ſhould thus enſue, a day was appointed betwixt them and kept accordingly, ſo that comming together, the auncient league was in all poyntes renewed, with ſome conditions added therto, auaylable as was thought, for the ſtronger confirmation therof.

n other day
en for the
ification of
e peace.

e Bryttains
homeward
appointed of
r purpoſe.

Before this, & after the firſt meeting betwixt the Scottes and Pictes, I meane ſo ſoone as the Brytains had vnderſtanding of this agreement, they had no luſt to tarie longer in the fielde, but rayſing their power, they departed their wayes homewardes, doubting leaſt the ſayd agreement might turne ſmally to theyr gayne.

e Scottes
d Pictes re-
rne home in
ace.

The Pictes and Scottiſh men alſo after they had thus fully ratified the peace and league betwixt them, brake vp their campes, euery man repayring to the place of his abode.

is Coilus
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ould ſeeme
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hom the
ytais name
Coilice.

lus his
btiltie.

The kyng alſo of the Bryttaines named Coil (ſoiournyng in that ſeaſon neare aboute Yorke,) beyng informed of this ſodeyne renouation of the league betwixt the Scottiſh men and Pictes, was nothing ioyfull of the newes: for he doubted leaſt in time to come their confederacie might be occaſion of their further increaſing in puiſſance, and after that ſome new occaſion of his trouble. Wherefore ſtudying by what wayes and meanes he might beſt prouide remedie for ſuche inconueniences as might enſue, he attempted nothing openly for the ſpace of twoo yeares, but onely watched his time, to the ende that if he might in that ſeaſon chaunce (through the inſolent courage of eyther nation) to eſpie any occaſiō ſeruiſeable for his turne, he might ſet vpon and be a plague vnto them bothe.

e Bryttains
ide the
cots and the
ictes for to
ne diſcord.

The Scottes and Pictes inuade the Bryttains.

At length alſo he cauſed his ſubiectes (ſuch I meane as bordered neare to the marches of both the people) to fetche prayes and booties out of the Pictiſh confines. So that when the Pictes ſent thither with requeſt to haue reſtitution made, it was by and by aunſwered that the Scottes had done ſuch treſpaſſes, (being a people inbred vnto ſuch feates by nature,) and not the Bryttaines, who were nothing guilty in that kind of matter: & thus would the Bryttans do in like ſort when they had robbed the Scots, ſo that with ſuch iniurious diſſimulation, aſwel Scots as Picts being not a litle offended, they entred ſone after into the Bryttiſh confines, robbing & ſpoyling the ſame, as their cuſtome is, with al maner of crueltie.

Coilus entred into Scotland with an armie.

Ferguſe aſſembled a great power of Scottiſhmen.

When Coil of Bryttaine had notice of theſe doings, he toke grieuous indignation thereat, & therupon determined to proue whether he might with open warres atchieue his purpoſe, which he could not bring to pas by his former cloked practiſe. And herwith aſſembling an army, he entred into the Scottiſh borders lying towards the Iriſh ſeas, waſting with fire & ſworde whatſoeuer he founde in his wayes, till he came euen to the riuer of Dune, where encampyng himſelfe vpon the bankes therof, he ſent forth companies of his Souldiers to deſtroy the countrey, and to bryng in all ſuche pryſoners as they ſhould lay handes vpon. But in the meane tyme, and ſo ſoone as Ferguſe heard of the approche of the Bryttons, he cauſed all the people in the countrey to gette them with theyr goodes and cattayles vnto the Mountaines, except ſuche as were able to beare armure: whom he appoynted to attend vpon him, to defende the countrey as occaſion ſerued. Wherof Coil hauing knowledge brought by an eſpiall, he ſent forth about fiue thouſand nimble men, and ſuch as had bene vſed to clyme craggie hilles, to go before and winne the paſſages, purpoſing the next day to follow himſelfe with the whole army. But the Scottiſhmen and Pictes being now aſſembled togither, and certified hereof alſo by their ſpies, they firſt fell in conſultation what they were beſt to do: & in the ende agreed that the ſame night they ſhoulde ſette vppon the Bryttiſhe camp: Ferguſe with his Scottiſhmen on the one ſide, and the kyng of the Pictes on the other: ſo that in the dead of the night the Scottiſh men killyng the watche, were entered into the Brittiſhe campe, ere Coil had knowledge of any ſuch thing: whereby it came to paſſe that whileſt the Bryttaines (awaked with the noyſe) drew vnto that parte where the Alarme roſe, to beate backe the Scottes, the Pictes commyng ouer the riuer of Dune, by a certayne blinde fourde, aſſayled them on the backes, to the great confuſion of the whole armie, by reaſon whereof the Bryttaines (ſeyng none other remedie but to ſaue themſelues by flight,) turned their backes and fled, in whiche turmoyle they were troden downe and fell by heapes one vpon another and were not able to helpe themſelues, nor yet to make ſhifte to auoyde the handes of their aduerſaries. In this buſineſſe alſo Coil himſelfe chaunced to be oppreſſed amongſt the reſt, ſo that he was founde dead in the ſearche of ſuch as were ſlayne, & after ſolemnly buried according to his eſtate in Troynouant, leauing the kingdom vnto his ſonne Siſellius, who with

Coil was ſlayne and his whole armie diſcomfited, of whom as Hector Boetius ſayeth, their countrey of Coil tooke name.

his mother Mertia gouerned the ſame together by the ſpace of many yeares.

Peace concluded.

Such Brytains alſo as eſcaped out of theyr enimies handes, gote them togither in the nexte morning, & perceyuing what loſſe they had ſuſteyned not only by the death of their Prince, but alſo in the ſlaughter of a greate parte of theyr whole armie, ſent an Herault vnto the Scottes & Pictes to require a peace, which though the moſt part of the people were not in will to haue cõſented vnto, yet perſwaded in the end by their Princes, they were contented to yeeld thereto: ſo that a generall peace was concluded, and ſpeedily publiſhed betwixt them.

A parliament.

An exhortation vnto quietneſſe and peace.

Immediatly hervpon the Pictes with theyr part of the ſpoile gotten at this iourney departed to their homes, & Ferguſe returned into Argile: where ſtudying daily for the quiet aduancement of the Scottiſh cõmune wealth, he called a parliament of his nobles, & firſt declaring to the aſſembly how much bound they were to the Gods for giuing them this victory ouer ſo puiſſant enimies as the Brytains were, he exhorted them to liue in friendly concord amongſt themſelues, and to abſtaine frõ violating the leagues, now concluded, aſwell with the Brytains, as before hand with the Pictes.

The lande is parted.

Obedient ſubiectes.

Alſo for the auoyding of enuious contention, and for the better aſſurance of euery mans eſtate, he iudged it neceſſary to haue a particion made of al the landes belongyng to the Scottiſh dominion. For before they occupied the whole as in commune, without knowyng to whom this peece or that did belong. Whiche politike aduiſe of Ferguſe, the Scottiſh men praiſed moſt highly, promiſing not onely to follow his counſayle herein, in all that he ſhoulde wiſhe, but alſo in all that he ſhould otherwiſe commaunde.

Men diuide the lande into portions.

The gouernment is giuen vnto the nobles by lottes.

Wherevpon ſhortly after there were choſen by his aduiſe. vij. auncient perſonages, men of good conſcience & great experience: which were apointed to be Surueyours of the whole countrey, & to deuide the ſame as neare as they coulde into a ſet number of equal portions, (but with this cõſideration, that according as the fruitfulneſſe or barraynneſſe of the ſoyle required, ſo they ſhould enlarge or diminiſh the circuite of their bounds.) Whẽ they had vewed the countrey, & according to their commiſſion, ſeuered forth the ſame into parts, they returned into Argile where Ferguſe then ſoiourned, & there in his preſence, the names of al his noble men that were reputed as Gouernours were put in lottes, euery of them to haue ſuch parte of the realme for his owne, as ſhoulde fall to him by good lucke and preſent happe.

By this meanes eche of them being placed as his chaũce fell, they inhabited their quarters with ſuch people as they had the leading of, ſo that afterwardes the countreys toke theyr names of thoſe the firſt Gouernours: which names for the more parte (being a little chaunged) remayne amongſt them euen vnto this day.

Statutes a
lawes are
made.

Ferguſe hauing thus without occaſion of enuie deuided his countrey amongſt his nobles and ſubiects, ſtudied furthermore to deuiſe lawes for the mayntenaunce of commune quiet amongſt them. And therfore amongſt other ordinances he made ſtatutes againſt murder, roberies, burning of houſes, and ſpecially againſt thefte.

Berigoniu

A place ap
ted for iu

He buylded alſo the caſtell of Berigoniũ in Loughquhabre on the weſte ſide of Albion, ouer againſt the weſterne Iſles, where he appoynted a courte to be kept for the adminiſtration of iuſtice: that both the Albion Scots, and alſo thoſe of the ſame Iſles might haue their acceſſe and reſorte thyther for redreſſe of wrongs, and endyng of all controuerſies. The reſidue of his life, he paſſed in reſte and peace with his neyghbours the Pictes and Brytaines, endeuouring by all meanes, to knit and couple the hartes of his ſubiectes in one friendly bande of inwarde loue and amitie.

Ferguſe w
into Irelan
and in hi
turne was
drowned.

Rocke Ferguſe, others
wiſe Knoc
Ferguſe.

Finally, ſaylyng afterwarde into Irelande to be arbitratour in a matter of variance betwixte the Nobles of that lande, as he returned homewardes, by force of tempeſt, the ſhippe wherein he was embarqued, was dryuen vpon a rocke, where he periſhed, after he had raygned as kyng amongſt the Scottiſh men in Albion aboute xxv. yeares. The rocke where he was thus caſt away, hath bene euer ſithence called Rocke Ferguſe, after his name.

Eſdadus.

Cruthneus.
Camelonu

This citie
Scottiſhe
ters take to
Camelodu
of the whi
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verily be
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ly erre.

In the ſame ſeaſon there raygned amongſt the Brytains one Elanius, named by Hector Boetius Eſdadus, and amongſt the Pictes one Cruthneus Camelonus, that buylded a famous Citie, vpon the banke of the riuer called Carone, as the Scottiſh wryters affirme, appointyng it to be the chiefe Citie of all the Pictiſhe kyngdome, where in times paſte there was a fayre commodious hauen apt to herbrough ſhippes in at all ſeaſons, but now it is damned vp in ſuche ſorte, that vnneath there appeareth any token where that hauen was: and the citie it ſelfe was finally ſubuerted by Kenneth kyng of Scotland, as after ſhall appeare.

Agneda no
called Edy
brough.
The caſtell
maydens.

The forenamed Cruthneus buylded alſo the Towne of Agneda, afterwardes called Edynbrough, of Ethus kyng of the Pictes, the caſtell was named, the caſtell of Maydens, for that the daughters of the Pictiſhe kings, were there kept vnder ſtrayte cuſtodie, appoynted to learne to ſow and worke, till they came to yeares of mariage.

But nowe to returne to the Scottiſh men. After the death of Ferguſe, the Nobles of the

Realme aſſembled togyther, to take councell whom they might chooſe to ſucceede in his place. Many of them in reſpect of the highe benefites whiche theyr nation had receyued by the politike gouernment of kyng Ferguſe, would not in any wiſe that his ſonnes, though young of yeares, ſhould be forgotten, but that according to reaſon & equitie, the eldeſt of them ſhould be elected, ſith they might not otherwiſe deliuer themſelues of the note of ingratitude towards his father, vnto whom they were more bounde than with toung might well be expreſſed.

he Scots cō-
lt about an
er election
a king.

Other hauing a ſpeciall regarde to the quiet of theyr common wealth, doubted leaſt if they crowned a chylde to theyr kyng during his minoritie, it coulde not be, but that there ſhoulde follow ſtryfe, enuie, and contention, for the gouernaunce of his perſon and realme amōgſt the Nobles, and that in ſuche wiſe, as the people being diuided into ſundrie factions, the due adminiſtration of iuſtice ſhoulde be neglected, the Nobles bearing and bolſtering vp all kindes of iniuries done or committed by any of their partakers.

And though it might ſo happen that they agreed vppon one ſpeciall gouernour, as reaſon was they ſhoulde, yet ſhoulde he ſeeke to aduaunce his kinſfolkes more than reaſon happely required, and peraduenture do things otherwaies muche diſpleaſant to no ſmall number of them, by that his priuate authoritie.

And againe the King ſhoulde no ſooner come to yeares of any diſcretion, but one or other woulde put him in minde to take vpon him to rule the whole himſelfe, before he vnderſtoode what charge he had in hande: and by reaſon of his frayle youth he lightly woulde not followe the councell of any, but ſuche as conſented vnto him in his ſenſuall luſtes and inordinate fanſies, whiche commonly raygne in ſuche Princes as take vppon them gouernance of realmes before they knowe (through wante of ſufficient yeares how to gouerne themſelues.

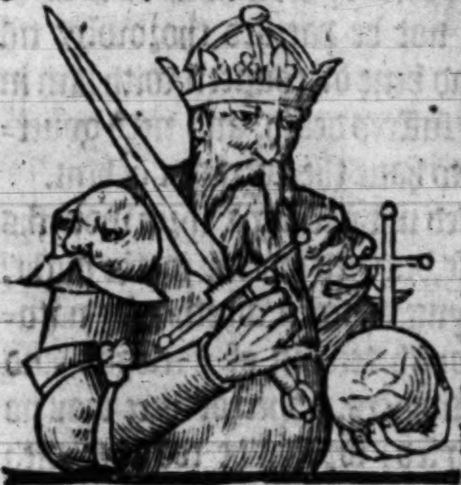
For theſe and the like conſiderations, alleaged by ſome of no ſmal authoritie amōgſt them, it was agreed in the ende, that one Feritharis the brother of the late deceaſſed Ferguſe ſhoulde ſhoulde be crowned King and haue the gouernance of the Realme during his life: and herewith in the meane time to ſee his Nephewes king Ferguſe his ſonnes brought vp in princely nurture and diſcipline, as appertayned to the Sonnes of a king: that after his deceaſſe, if he liued till any of them were come to rype yeares, they might ſucceede him in the eſtate and kingdome.

haris
e king.

This ordinance alſo they decreed to be obſerued as a lawe from thence forth euer after, that if the king died leauing no iſſue, but ſuche as were vnder age to ſucceede him, then ſhoulde one of his neareſt Couſins, ſuch as was thought moſte meete to occupie the roome, be choſen to raigne as king during his life, and after his deceaſſe the crowne to reuerte vnto his predeceſſors iſſue without controuerſie, if the ſame were ones growne vp to lawfull age.

By this meanes then were children excluded from obtayning the crowne, leaſt the publike libertie of the realme might chaunce to be put in daunger. But yet was it afterwardes perceyued that this deuiſe for chooſing of kings, miniſtred occaſion ſometimes to the vncle to ſeeke the deſtruction of the Nephew, and likewiſe to the Nephew to procure the diſpatche of the vncle and vncles Sonnes, with the committing of many haynous murders of right worthie princes, to the no ſmall daunger of ouerthrowing the whole ſtate of the commune wealth, ſo that finally that ordinance was clearly abrogated, as you ſhall heare hereafter.

The chooſing of kings was not alowed.



Feritharis.

But nowe to my purpoſe. After Feritharis with the full conſente of al the people was thus elected king, hee was inthronized with all ſolempnities in receiuing his kingly ornamēts, as his two edged ſword, his Scepter royal, & his crown of gold faſhioned in forme of a rampire made for defence of a towne or fortreſſe, ſignifying that hee tooke vppon him to preſerue the libertie of his countrey to ſee offendours duely puniſhed, and the execution of lawes with equall iuſtice truely miniſtred.

A two edged ſword.

Theſe ornamentes of inueſture remayned vnto the Scottiſhe kings, without being in any poinct chaunged, till the dayes of Achaius kyng of Scotlande, who eſtabliſhing a perpetuall league with Charles the greate Emperour and king of Fraunce, to endure for euer betwixte the Scottes and French menne, added vnto the crowne foure Flower de Lyces togither with foure croſſelettes deuided in ſunder by equall ſpaces, riſing ſomewhat higher than the Flower de Lyces, that thereby the obſeruing of the Chriſtian Religion and ſincere faithe, maynteined by the Scottiſhe nation, might be the more euident to all men that behelde it.

The crowne chaunged.

But now as touching Feritharis, ſhortly after he was thus inueſted kyng, he came to an enterview with the king of the Pictes, where many

The league with the Pictes confirmed.

things

The league with the Picts confirmed.

things being communed of, touching the wealth of bothe nations, the league was in ſolempne wiſe confirmed, and ſuche puniſhed as had done any thing ſounding to the breache of the ſame.

After this, beyng returned home, he ordered himſelfe in the adminiſtration of his charge very vprightly, without giuyng iuſt occaſion vnto any to finde himſelfe grieued: and thus continued he certaine yeares in ſuch loue of all the eſtates of the realme, that afterwards when his Nephewe Ferlegus the eldeſt ſonne of king Ferguſe, beyng nowe come to full age, through inſtigation of ſome inſolent perſons, and ſuch as by alteration hoped for aduauncement, required contrary to the ordinance before eſtabliſhed, to haue of him the crowne: the mater was taken in ſuch ill part, that where before the ſame Ferlegus was highly beloued and honored of all the people, they were now ready (if Feritharis had not with authoritie and gentle perſwaſions ſtayed them) to haue torne him all to peeces: but although their rage was ſomwhat appeaſed by Feritharis as is ſayd, yet woulde they not be pacified thorowly, till that all ſuch as had bene of councell with him in that practiſe, had ſuffred death, and new gouernours appointed to haue the ouerſight of him.

Feritharis ſuddainly died.

Ferlegus exiled.

Feritharis lyued not paſſing a three moneths after this buſineſſe, but died ſodenly in the night, the trueth not beyng knowen whether by naturall death, or through treaſon of Ferlegus and certaine of his complices, (whereof there was no ſmall ſuſpition rayſed) for that he togither with them found meanes to flee firſt to the Pictes, and after to the Brytains, were he paſſed the reſidue of his lyfe in great ſhame and ignominie.

An election of a new king.

Feritharis beyng thus dead in the .xv. yeare of his reygne, the Nobles aſſembled togither for the election of a new king, and in the end they agreed vpon Mainus the yonger ſonne of king Ferguſe, as then beyng about .xxiiij. yeares of age.

Mainus.

Iuſtice mayntayned.

Smal maters redreſt among neighbours.

Thys Mainus beyng of contrarie conditiõs to his brother Ferlegus, was thus aduãced to the crown by the whole cõſent of the Nobles & cõmons, who yet kept in freſhe memorie the noble gouernement of his father Ferguſe. He therfore ſtudying to anſweare the peoples expectation in followyng his ſayde fathers worthie actes, maintayned iuſtice in all points without ſufferyng any bearing or bolſtering of wrong. If there were any controuerſie riſen betwixt neyghbour and neighbour within one hundred or kandrede, he willed that the ſame might be taken vp and ended amongſt them at home by order of ſome authorized courte there. But if the mater were of ſuch importãce as that it could not well be decided without auctoritie of ſome higher courte, he would then haue the hearing thereof himſelf, at ſuch time as he vſed euery yeare once to haue a publyke aſſemblie out of al partes of his realme, to conferre togither for ſuch purpoſes: At what time alſo ſuche as were notorious offenders, were arraigned and puniſhed by death or otherwiſe, accordyng to the faulte which they earſt had cõmitted. Alſo for the more quiet of his ſubiects he cõfirmed the anciẽt league with the Pictes, theyr king named Chrinus, requiring the ſame by his ambaſſadours ſent vnto him. Moreouer this Mainus vpõ a religious deuotion towarde the Goddes, hauing an aſſured beliefe, that without their fauours al worldly policies were but vayne, deuiſed ſundry new ceremonies to be added vnto the olde: and alſo cauſed certaine places in ſundrie partes of his dominions to be appoynted out, and compaſſed about with great huge ſtones round lyke a ring: but towardes the South was one mightie ſtone farre greater than all the reſt, pitched vp in maner of an aulter, wheron their prieſts might make their ſacrifices in honour of their Goddes.

Great mat determined by the king.

Mainus co firmed the league wi the Pictes.

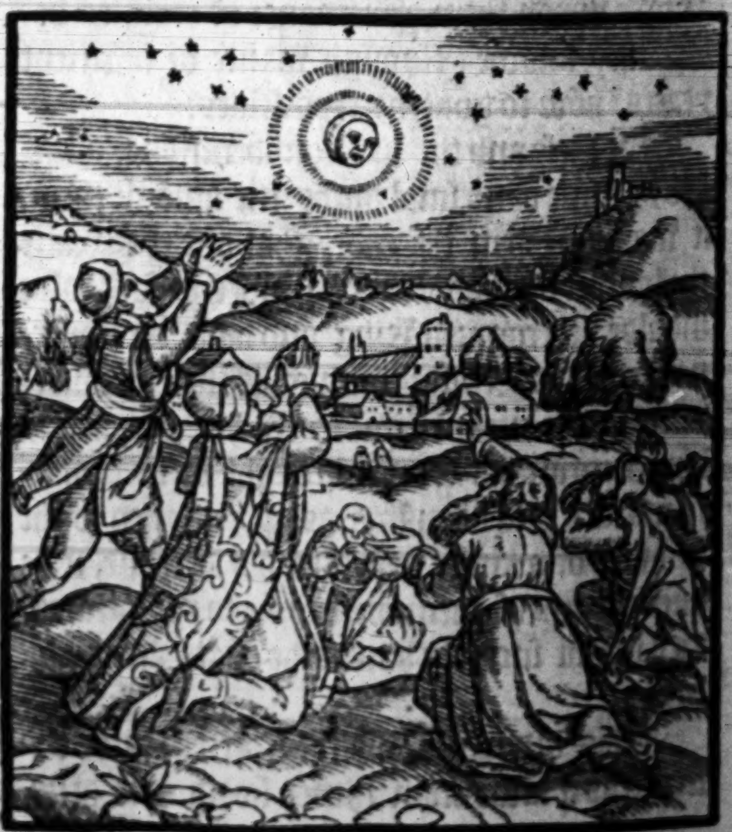
Mainus a uoute ma his religio

In witneſſe of the thing there remayneth vnto this day certaine of thoſe greate ſtones ſtanding rounde ringwiſe, which places are called by the cõmon people the old chapels of the Gods. A mã wold maruel by what ſhift, policy or ſtrẽgth ſuch mightie ſtones were rayſed in that maner.

Diana hono red of the Scots.

Diana Go deſſe of h ting.

Amongſt other the Goddes alſo, whiche the Scottiſhmen had in moſt reuerence, Diana was chiefe, whom they accompted as their peculiar patroneſſe, for that ſhe was taken to be the Goddeſſe of hunting, wherein conſiſted their chiefeſt exerciſe, paſtime and delite.



The new Moone i worſhipp

Vnto hyr therefore he inſtituted monethly ſacrifice, by reaſon wherof this vſe was takē vp, that ſo ſone as any of them got ſight of the new Mone nexte after hyr chaunge, he ſaluted hyr with certaine prayers or ſalutations moſt reuerently. Whiche cuſtome endured amongſt them many hundred yeares after.

A liuing prouided for the prieſts.

Mainus did alſo appoint worth liuings for the Prieſts to be taken of ſuche ſacrifice as was offered vp to the Goddes.

Finally, when he had thus inſtructed his people in lawes and ordinances, aſwel touching the religious ſeruice of the Goddes, as alſo for politike gouernment of his countrey, he ended his life, after he had raigned about .xxix. yeares: leauing the eſtate to his ſonne Doruadille, Elidurus raygning the ſame time in Brytaine, and Thaara amongſt the Pictes.

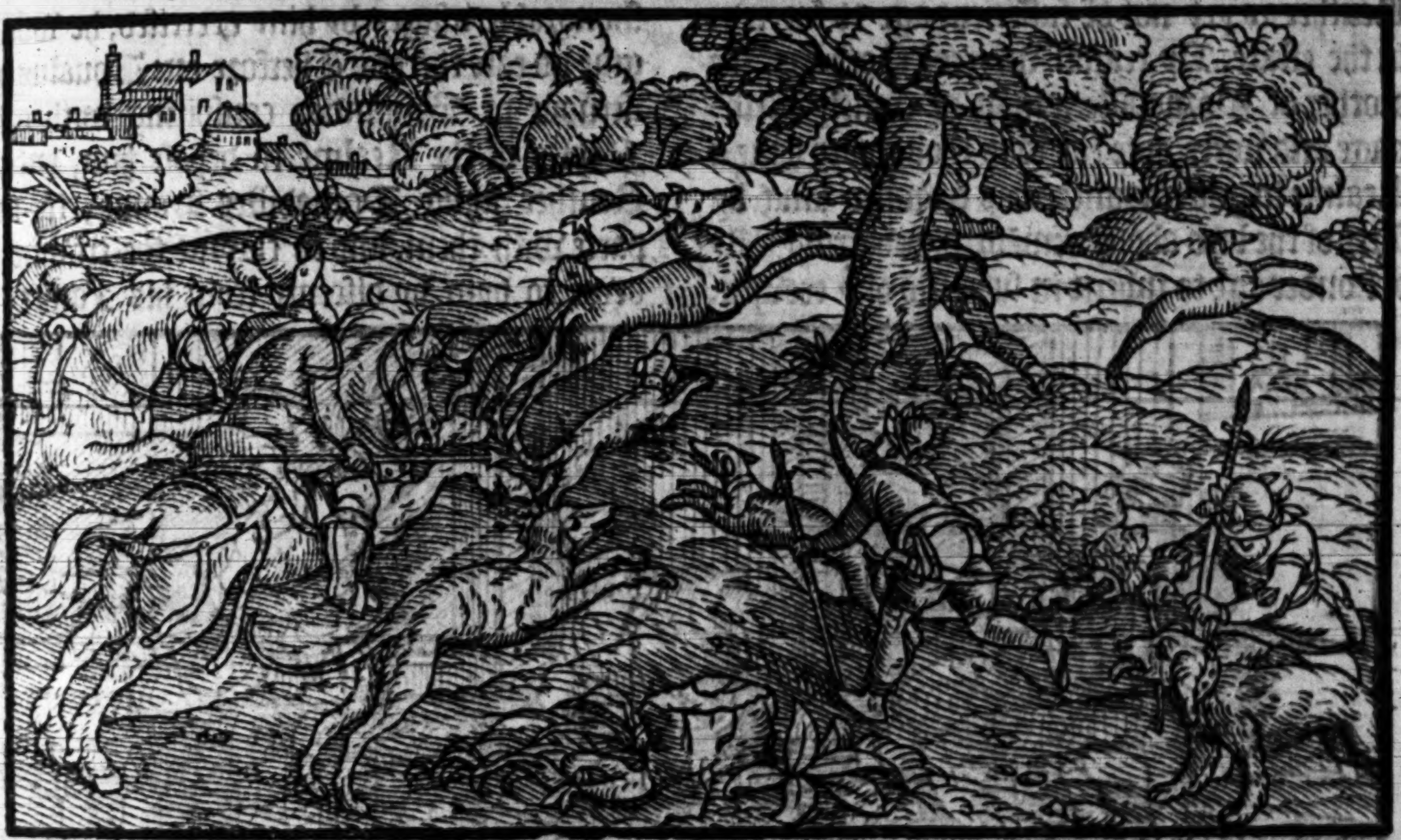
Doruadille.

DOruadille beyng crowned king of the Scottes, eſtabliſhed a newe league with the Brytaines by ſending his Ambaſſadours vnto them: and with the Pictes hee renewed and confirmed the auncient aliaunce.

Doruadille a louer of peace.

He ſet all his pleaſure on Hunting and keeping of houndes and greyhoundes, ordayning that euery houſeholder ſhoulde finde him two houndes and one greyhounde.

Doruadill had pleaſure in hunting.



If a hunter chaunced in following the game, to loſe an eye or a limme, ſo that he were not able to helpe himſelfe after that time, he made a ſtatute that he ſhould be found of the common treaſory.

The reward for killing of a Wolfe.

He that killed a Wolf ſhould haue an oxe for his paines. This beaſt in deede the Scottiſh men euen from the beginning vſed to purſue in al they might deuiſe, bicauſe the ſame is ſuche an enimie to cattayle, wherein conſiſted the chiefeſt portion of all their wealth and ſubſtance.

Lawes made for hunting.

Thus the Scottiſh men in this ſeaſon, ſetting all their delite on hunting, began alſo to vſe lawes and ſtatutes in proceſſe of time concerning the ſame. And firſt it was ordeyned, that he whoſe dogge did teyſe & go through to the end of the courſe with yͤ Deare, ſo that he were ſeene to be at the fall, ſhould haue the ſkinne: the head and the hornes to remayne to him whoſe dogge did beſt next. The bodie being dreſt and broken vp, ſhoulde be diſtributed at the pleaſure and diſcretion of the Maiſter of the game. The bowels and paunche were caſt to the dogges as the caſe required. And if there roſe any doubte in any of theſe points, they ſhould chooſe by common conſent, a iudge to determine of the matter.

The dogges rewarded.

But whether theſe deuices were lawes made by the kyng as then for the further aduancement of his pleaſure, or rather cuſtomes growen, and ratified by long and continual vſe, I can not tel, but certaine it is, they were obſerued through all the Scottiſh regiōs as hauing the force of lawes, and ſo are vſed euen vnto theſe dayes.

Old lawes allowed, & newe eſtabliſhed.

Beſide theſe ordinaunces for hunting, Doruadille commaunded alſo that all ſuch ſtatutes as Ferguſe had made ſhoulde be kept and obſerued: whereunto he added certaine new, namely diuers ſortes of puniſhments for ſundrie kindes of tranſgreſſions, according to the qualities of the ſame: whiche hee cauſed to be ingroſſed in bookes of recorde, and committed to the cuſtodie of a graue counſellour, who by a common conſent ſhould haue the interpretatiō of thoſe lawes if any doubt aroſe, and that when any offender ſhould come before the iudge, & heare the ſentence redde by him, the ſame offender might vnderſtād that he receyued nothing but right at the iudges handes: by reaſon whereof it came to paſſe, that ſuch offenders without repining willingly were contented to ſuffer any puniſhment what ſoeuer it was that the law did ſo appoynt them.

This cuſtome grewe into ſuche force, that it neuer might yet be abrogated amongſt them of the weſterne Iſles, but that euen vnto this day they haue theyr Lawiers amongſt them, without whoſe denunciation or decree taken out of the regiſter, no iudgement is reputed lawfull.

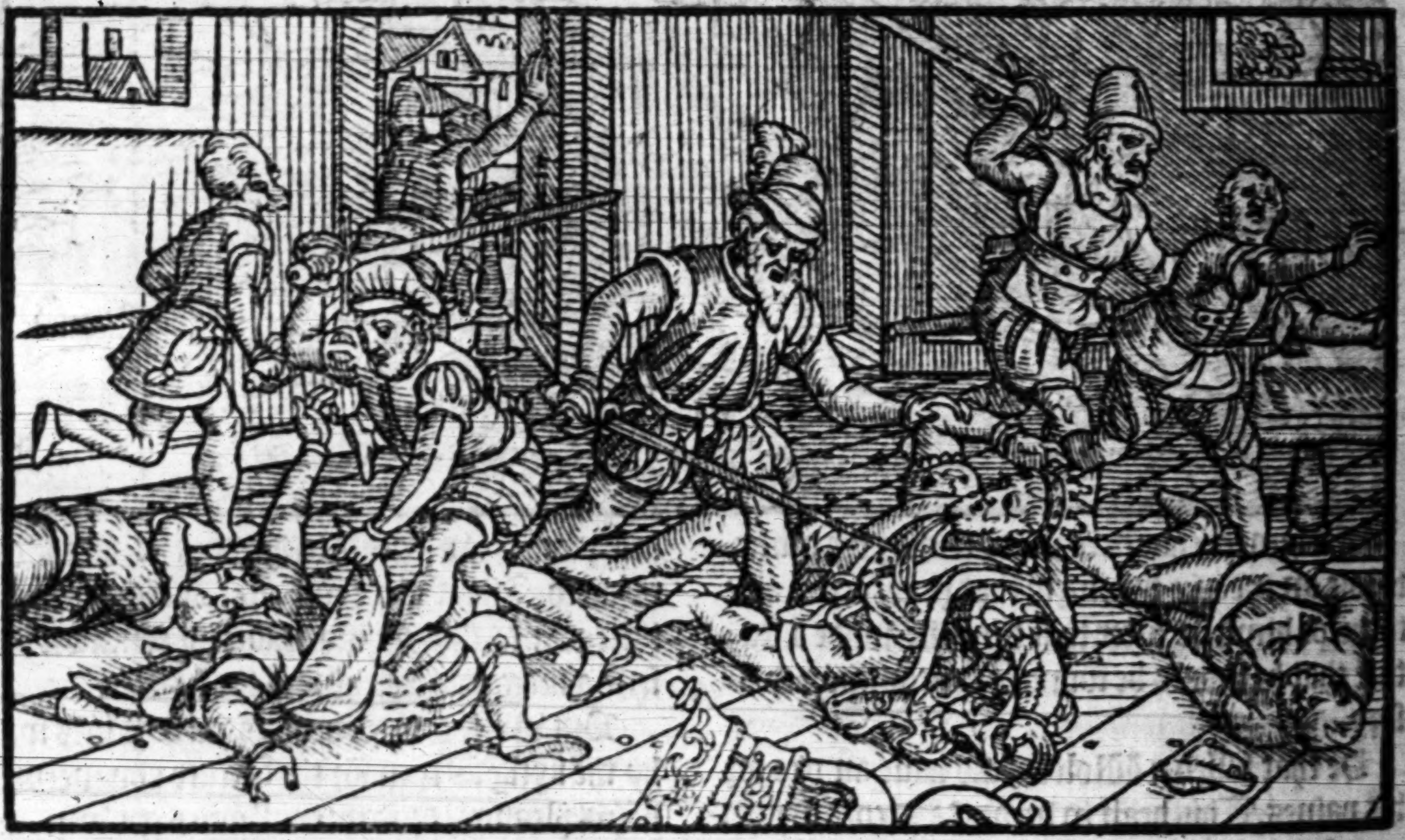
These were the actes and doyngs of kyng Doruadile, who in the .xxviij. yeare of his raigne departed this world at Berigonium, now called Dounſtafage, leauing behind him a ſonne called Reuther as yet not of ſufficient age to ſucceede in the eſtate. By reaſon whereof Nothatus the brother of Doruadille a man of comely perſonage and witte, apte (as was thought) to haue a Realme in gouernaunce, was crowned king by force of the law aboue remēbred, debarring childrē vnder age to inherit in ſucceſſiō of ẏ crowne.

Nothatus.

No-thatus.

This Nothatus had vnneth raygned two yeares, when all the people beganne to crie out vpon him, for ſuche tyrannicall partes as he practiſed aſwel againſt the meane eſtates as the highe. And for ſo muche as he being admoniſhed of his duetie and required to reforme certaine diſhonorable vſages by him exerciſed, he woulde giue no eare thereto: Therfore one Doualus gouernour of Brigantia, conſpiring with other Nobles of the Realme to depoſe him, enticed Reuther kyng Doruadilles Sonne, to take parte with them, and to clayme the crowne as dewe to hym by diſcente from his Father.

Brigantia, now called as the Scotter ſay Galloway.



And ſo aſſemblyng a companie of their faction, ſufficient for their enterpriſe, they entered the palayce where Nothatus lay, and after reaſoning with him of certayne points touchyng his miſgouernment in the eſtate, diuers of theyr companie not tarying till they were commaunded, raſhly fell vpon him, and murthered him togither with diuers of ſuche Nobles and Gentlemen, as they knewe to be enimies to Doualus and his friendes.

Nothatus murdered.

Reu-ther.

After this they proclaymed Reuther king, and crowned him with all due ſolēpnitie, diuers of the Nobles of ẏ realme being highly diſpleaſed therewith, for that they iudged it not only a greet offence to haue the king thus traiterouſly murthred, but alſo ſaw hereby the ancient ordināce of chooſing their king through conſent of the people, to be brokē by the wicked attempt of a priuate perſon, & an vnſkilfull yong man aduaunced to the crowne,

Reuther crowned king. Diuers Lords offended.

crowne, cōtrary to yͤ decree of an autentike law.

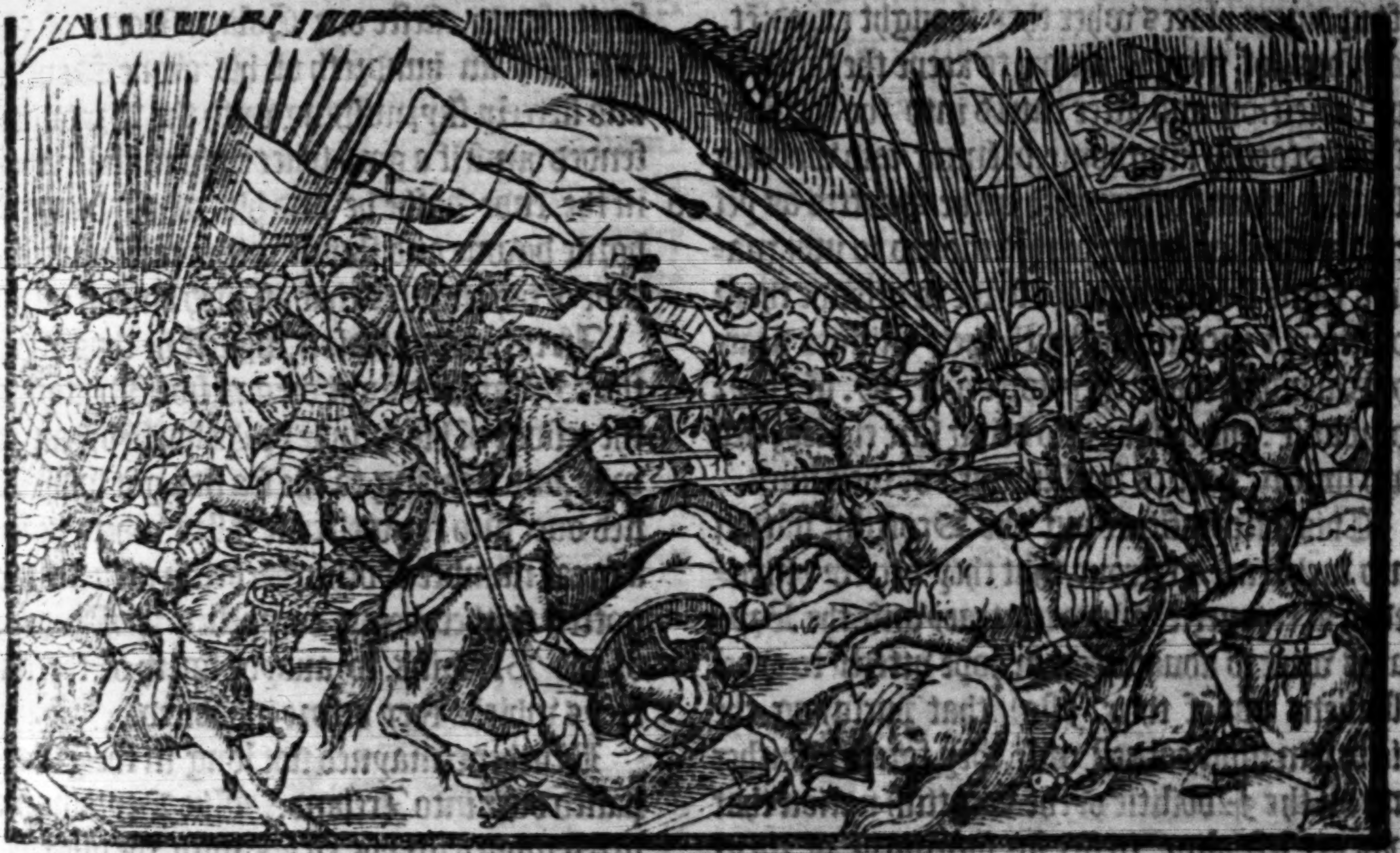
Amongſt other one Ferquhard the ſonne in law of Nothatus gouernour of Lorne & Cantyr called an aſſemblie of the people, and beganne to declare what enormities were like to enſue thorow this tirannicall attempt of Doualus.

Doualus hearing whereabout Ferquhart went, haſtly came to the place where this aſſemble was made, & there ſlaying diuers of the chiefe, he did put Ferquhard alſo in great hazarde of his lyfe, who by flying yet eſcaped his hands and, got him ouer into the Iſle of Ila, whither reſorted vnto him diuers of the Nobles (that fauored not Douale) with a great number of the commons.

In the end, Ferquharde perſwaded his cōpanions to ſet al feare a parte, and to returne with him into Scotlande to take reuenge of Douale and his complices, being traytours and enimies to the realme and common wealth, ſo that firſte ioyning handes, (whiche they did wette in mans bloud according to the cuſtome then vſed) they promiſed one to an other to liue and die in the quarel: and after embarquing themſelues in certaine veſſels, they entred the ſea and paſſed ouer into Scotlande, where gathering togither no ſmall number of ſuch as willingly reſorted vnto them to their ayde, they encountred with Douale in battayle, whoſe hoſte twyce in one day was put to flight neare to the citie Bergonium with the loſſe of an eyght thouſande men.

Ferquhart returneth into Scotland for to reuenge his iniurie.

Bergonium.



The night parted the fray, but in the nexte morning Douale & his partakers through greate indignation conceiued for that they were ſo beaten backe by Ferquhard (hauing in all his hoſte not paſt a x.M. perſons) fiercely came forth of theyr tentes to giue battaile afreſhe, & finding their enimies ready to receyue them, there was fought ſo cruell a battayle betwixt them, that in the end eyther parte being ſore trauayled with ſlaughter and long fight, was glad to giue place to the other, not paſſing an eight hūdred of all thoſe that were preſent that day in the fielde, as then being left aliue. Vpon Douales parte there was ſlaine Etthus kyng of Pictes, whoſe daughter kyng Reuther had maried, with a great number of his people: alſo Douale himſelfe with diuers of the Nobles of Scotlande, beſide Gentlemen and commons that tooke parte with him.

On the cōtrary ſide there died alſo Ferquhard himſelfe with diuers gouernours of Trybes, beſide the reſidue of the Nobles, Gentlemen and commons of Roſſe, Catheneſe, Marne, Argile, Cantyr, and Lorne, with them of the weſterne Iſles which were there with him.

Reuther eſcaping with lyfe from this bloudie encounter, in the night followyng departed his wayes with ſuch of his people as were left aliue. Wherof his enimies being aduertiſed in the next morning, purſued after him with ſuch diligence, that in the end they tooke him within a caſtell in Catheneſe whither he was fledde for ſuccour: he was pardoned of life, partly in reſpect of his fathers merites, and partly againe for that it was knowen how his tender youth was ſuch as had not deſerued death by any fact, otherwiſe thā in that he had followed the councell of malicious perſons. By this cruel murder & huge ſlaughter thus committed betwixte theſe two nations of Scottiſh men & Picts, bothe their forces were ſo greatly enfeebled, that they became an eaſie pray to their aūcient & cōmon enimies the Brytains, who in ſuch oportunitie of occaſion thought not to ſit ſtil til the ſame might haply be paſt & gone.

Reuther the king fledde.

Reuther purſued and takē.

He is pardoned of life.

Firſt therfore with a mightie armie the Brytains inuaded the Picts: the nobles of which nation perceyuing themſelues not able to make reſiſtance, fled with theyr wiues, their children, and the moſt parte of their goodes, ouer into the Iſles of

The Brytains vpō occaſiō inuade the picts. The Picts expulſed by the Brytains flee in to the Iſles of Orkeney.

Gethus king.

of Orkeney, and there aſſembling togither, they created them a new king to haue the gouernance ouer them, who was alſo named Gethus, and brother to the other Gethus a little before mentioned. Here alſo they remayned certaine yeares after, liuing in peaceable manner with the former inhabitants whom they found there, wronging them by no iniurious dealing at all (if the Scottiſh hiſtorie be true.)

Why Orkeney was called Pictland as ſome ſuppoſe, but the trueth ſhoulde ſeeme to be that they were ſo called bycauſe the Pictes inhabited there before they ſet foote in Brytaine.

Hereof moreouer as ſome ſuppoſe it came to paſſe, that theſe Iſles of Orkeney are named by diuers wryters the aũcient kingdome of yͤ Picts.

The Brytaines inuade the Scottes.

The Scottes ouerthrowen.

In the meane while the Brytains ſeaſing vpon ſuch countreys as theſe Pictes had forſaken, that is to ſay, the Mers, Louthien and other, they left in diuers places wher they thought expediẽt, garyſons of men of warre, to keepe the ſame in due ſubiection: and after entred into the confines of the Scottiſh kingdome, brenning and waſting all afore them, wherewith ſuche Scottes as yet remayned aliue, being highly moued to indignation, came ſtoutly into the fielde to defende theyr countrey, ⁊ encoũtring with their enimies neare to Kalendar wood, they loſte a ij. M. of theyr companie: the reſidue alſo being ſore chaſed, fled into ſundrie parties for ſauegard of their liues.

This diſcomfiture put the Scottiſhe nation into ſuch feare ⁊ terrour, that they vtterly diſpaired of al recouerie, where contrarywiſe the Brytains were ſo aduaunced (in hope vtterly to expel all aliens out of their Iſle) that purſuyng the victory in moſt earneſt wiſe, they forced Reuther and all the Nobilitie of the Scottiſh nation that was yet left aliue, to flee for ſauegarde of theyr liues into the caſtell of Berigonium, where they helde themſelues as in the ſureſt holde.

Scott beſieg deuoure one an other.

The Brytains being certified of the repaire of their enimies to Berigoniũ, enuironed the caſtell with a ſtrong and vehement ſiege, vntill that the Scots withi[illegible] conſtreyned through wante of vitayles to eate each other, according as yͤ lots fell by a cõmon agreement made amongſt them.

But when it came to paſſe, that euen thoſe that were reputed as heads and gouernours, ⁊ in whom conſiſted the hope of theyr whole defenſe, did now and then come to the ſhambles aſwell as other of leſſe reputation, they thought it beſte to trie by iſſuying forth, if any of theyr happes might be ſo good as to eſcape the daũger preſent, whereas by tarying ſtill within the fortreſſe, they ſhould but deuoure one another without any reuenge for loſſe of their liues, had vpon their fierce and cruell enimies.

The Scottes come fort fight.

Whervpon by common conſente there iſſueth forth, firſte one Colane Lorde of Cantyr with an hundreth of his owne Souldiers, and fiercely ſkyrmiſhing with the Brytains, defended himſelf a good ſpace right mãfully, though in the ende bothe he and his whole bande were borne downe and ſlayne with preaſſe and multitude of his enimies that aſſailed him on each ſide.

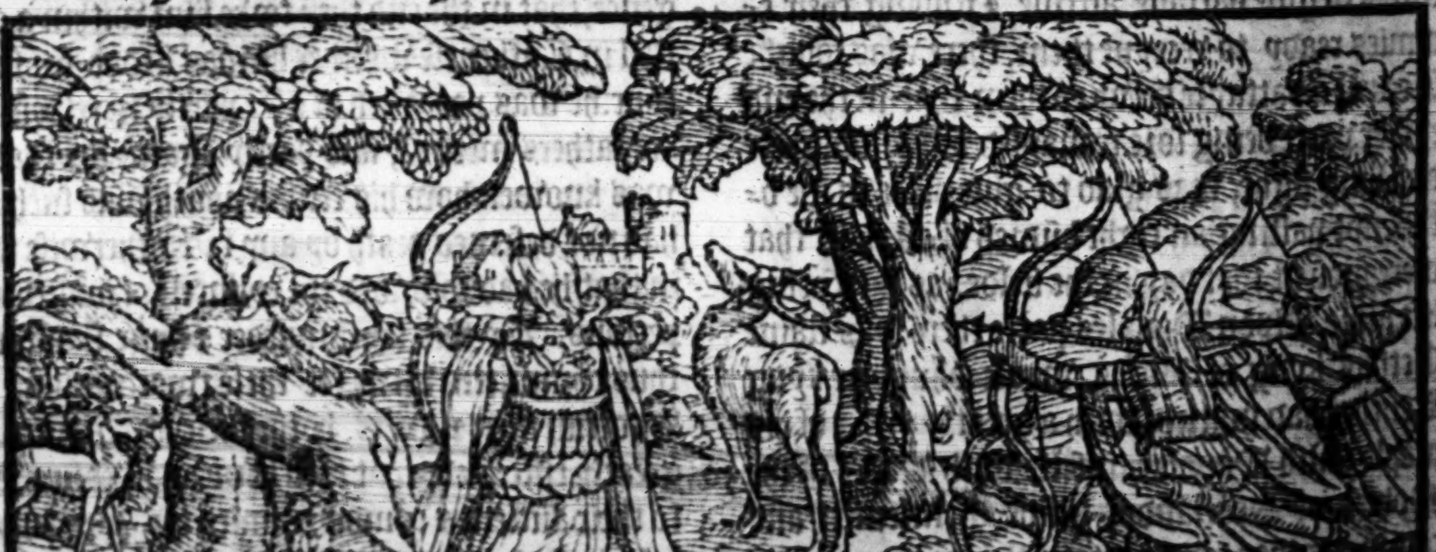
Reuther e peth.

In the meane ſeaſon, whileſt he thus occupied the Brytains in fight on one ſide, Reuther with the reſidue of his people brake forth by an other way, and eſcaping to the ſea ſide, got ſhippes and fled ouer into the weſterne Iſles, where he found a great number of other Scottiſh men, that were gotten thither, being compelled by Denus king of the Brytains, to auoyde forth of the countreys whiche they before inhabited.

Reuther ſeth into land.

They in the mou taines.

Reuther remayned not long in the Iſles, but paſſed ouer into Ireland. The Brytains not a littell moued for his eſcape with the other of the Scottiſh Lordes, reuenged theyr diſpleaſure on ſuch cõmons and other meane people as fell into their handes, ſo that ſuche as might eſcape, gotte them into the mõtaynes, ⁊ liued there by rootes, berries, ⁊ other wilde fruytes in ſommer, and in



winter by ſuch veniſon and fleſh of wilde beaſtes as they killed in the wilderneſſe: and ſometimes they came downe & made reyſes vpon the Brytaines that occupied theyr houſes and landes, fetching great booties very often from amongſt them.

This cruell warre laſted a .xij. yeares, till in maner all ſuch Scottes and Pictes as remayned in Albion were brought vnder ſeruitude to the Brytains. In which meane while, Gethus king of the Pictes kepte his ſiege royall in Pomonia the chiefeſt Iſle of the Orkeneys. Reuther alſo begot of his wife a ſonne named Thereus, and ſhortly after being procured by letters and meſſengers ſent vnto him from the foreſayd Gethus and ſuch Scottes as were yet remayning in Albion, he aſſembled a number of ſhippes togither, & firſt with a choſen power of warriours ſayled to the weſtern Iſles, where increaſing his numbers, he paſſed ouer into Albion, landing on the weſte halfe of Roſſe at Lough Bruum, & there comming a land, the firſt perſon that they mette with (according to a cuſtome vſed amõgſt them in thoſe dayes) they ſlew, & wetting the pointes of theyr weapons in his bloud, they firſte taſted thereof after theyr manner, then holding vp their weapõs into the ayre, they deſired of the Goddes that they might reuenge the bloud of their elders with happy battaile againſt the Brytains their enimies. After this, hearing that Gethus king of the Picts was alſo entred the lãd with a mighty power of Germains which were come to his ayd and was not paſt a .xxx. miles of, he ſtayed there abiding for his comming, to the intent that ioyning theyr powers togither, they might be the better able to furniſh theyr enterpriſe.

Reuther is ſent for out of Ireland.

A cuſtome.

The Germains in ayde of the Pictes.

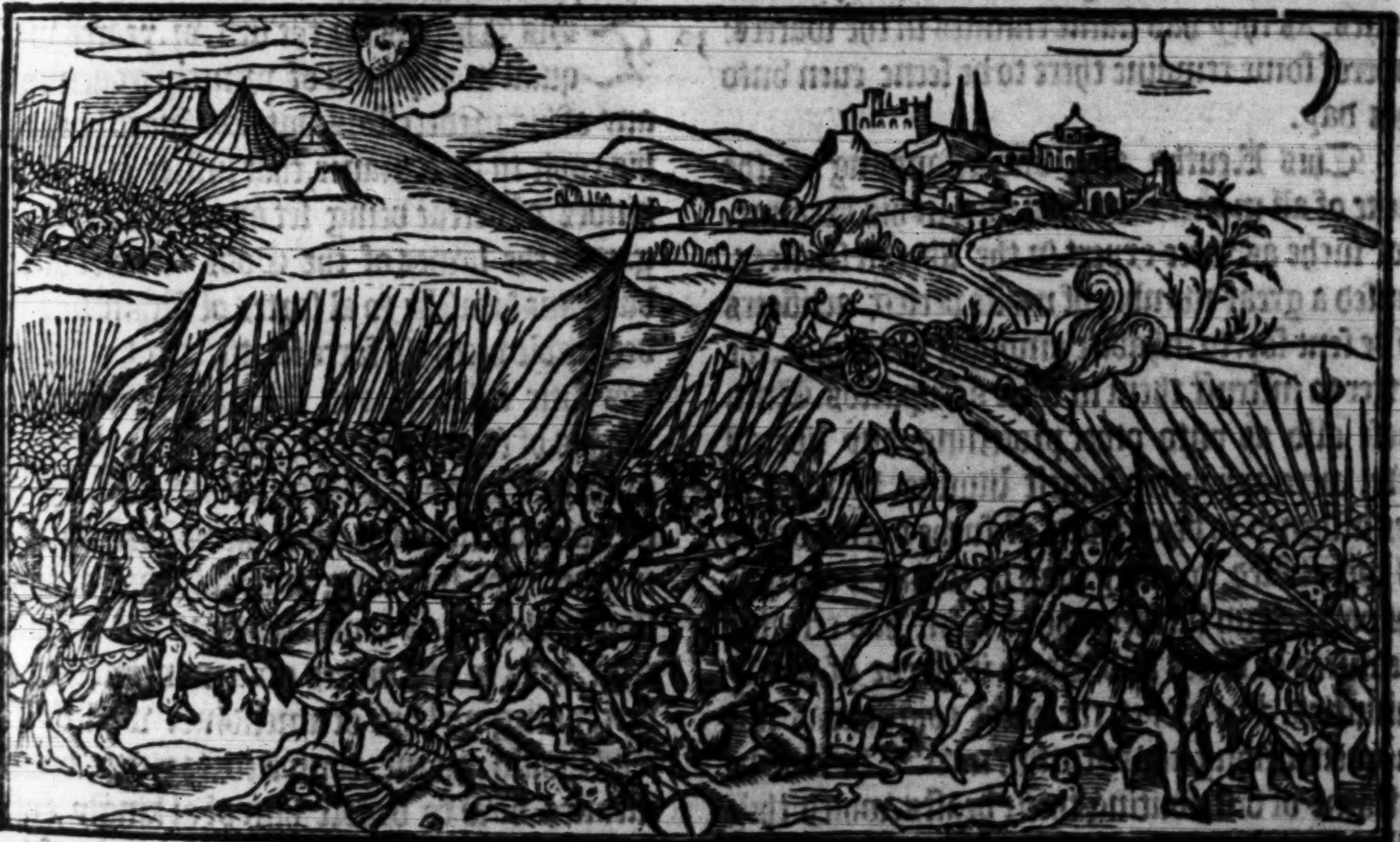
The third day after they mette togither with great ioy and cõgratulations, vnto whom with all ſpeede a great number alſo of thoſe Scottiſhmen end Pictes that had ſtill continued in the countrey (during the time of the perſecution by the Brytains) dayly reſorted and came flocking in from eche ſide vnto them.

Reuther and Gethus meete & ioyne their powers togither.

Siſillius king of the Brytains who ſucceded after Denus, as then lately deceaſſed, hauing knowledge hereof, aſſembled a great army of his ſubiectes, and hearing that the Scots and Picts were entred into the borders of his Realme, hee haſted forth to encounter with their powers, & ſo ioyning with them in battaile, after long and cruel fight, in the end the victory remayned with the Scottiſh men and Pictes, by the greate valiauncie and manfull prowes of Reuther: wherevpon the place where that battaile was foughtẽ hath bene euer ſince called Redirdail, as ye wold ſay Reuthers valley.

The Brytains are diſcõfited by the Scottes and Pictes.

Whereof Rethirdail tooke the name.



This victorie was not very pleaſant to any of the parties, by reaſon of the greate numbers of men ſlaine on bothe ſides, in ſo muche that they were gladde to fall to agreement immediatly after, & concluded a peace, with conditions that the Scottiſh men & Pictes ſhould be reſtored againe vnto their auncient poſſeſſiõs & lands in Albion.

A peace concluded.

This peace cõtinued a long time after inuiolate betwixte theſe nations. The peace that Reuther returned thus into Albion, was before the birth of Chriſte. 216. after the buylding of Rome. 529. and from the creation of the world. 3750. Reuther by Beda in his Eccleſiaſticall hiſtorie of England is named Reuda: who alſo ſuppoſeth him to be yͤ firſt of al yͤ Scottiſh princes yͭ ſet any foote in Brytain there to inhabite, his cõming thither was (as ſeemeth to ſome) long after the ſuppoſed time here before alleged. And verily there is great cauſe to moue a doubt of yͤ truth of that which Hector Boetius hath written in following (as he ſaith) other authors, touching the firſte comming into Brytaine, aſwell of the

104 H. B.

4295. H. B.

Reuther by Beda is named Reuda.

Scots & Picts: for if it were true that ſo long before the comming of the Romains into this Iſle they were here plāted & growē to ſuch puiſſance, it is ſtrange that no mentiō is made of them in any of their writings, till aboute the yeare.360. after Chriſt, as in place conuenient it ſhall more plainely appeare. Reuther paſſed the reſidue of his dayes without any further warres, forrayne or ciuill, and ſo departed this worlde at Berigonium, in the.xxvj.yeare of his raygne.

An. mundi. 4997.H.B.

Reutha.

After Reuther his deceaſſe, his vncles Sonne called Reutha ſucceeded in the kingdome, choſen thereto by the common agreement of all the eſtates, bycauſe that Thereus Sonne to Reuther vneath come to the age of tenne yeares, was thought vnable to take the charge vpon him.

An ordinance for buriall of theyr Princes.

Reutha therfore being thus elected to raygne as king ouer the Scottiſh mē, ordained that ſuch noblemen as had atchieued any notable exployte in defence of their countrey, ſhould be had in perpetual memorie, & buried in ſolempne wiſe in ſepulchres aloft vpō hilles or mountaines, vpō the which were ſet ſo many Obeliſks or lōg pointed ſtones, as they had ſlaine enimies in the warres: wherof ſome remaine there to be ſeene euen vnto this day.

Obeliſkes or pointed ſtones

Craftes men brought into Scotlande to inſtruct the people.

Liuings appointed forth vnto theſe craftes men.

A law for Phiſitions & Chirurgions.

This Reutha alſo vnderſtandyng of the lacke of all maner of craftes men in his Realme, & of ſuche as were expert in the liberall ſciences, cauſed a great number of moſte perfect artificers to be ſent for, to inhabite amongſt his people, the better to inſtruct them in their occupatiōs. Vnto theſe alſo as vnto other profeſſing any liberall arte, were appointed honeſt liuings, by way of fees aſſigned to be receiued, of ſuche oxen & beefes as were killed, to euery man of ſcience & artificer his parte. And further eche of them had certaine meaſures of Otes and Barly in ſtede of yearly annuities. For as yet the vſe of coigne was not knowen among the Scottiſh men. The whiche cuſtome of diſtributing theyr beaſts, which they killed in this wiſe, is ſtill vſed in the Weſterne Iſles euen vnto theſe our dayes. Reutha perceiuing furthermore that through vnſkilful Chirurgions & Phiſitions many wounded & diſeaſed perſons were oftentimes caſt away, ordeined by the aduice and conſent of his counſell, that none ſhould take vpō them as a Chirurgion or Phiſition, vnleſſe they were by long experience well practiſed aforehand in thoſe ſciences. For before that time they vſed to carie forth ſuch perſons as were ſicke or otherwiſe hurte, and to lay them in ſome open place in the ſtreetes or market ſtedde, that al ſuch as came by, might according to their knowledge declare their aduiſe, and ſhew if they had bene vexed with the like diſeaſe) by what meanes they had eſcaped the daunger, & recouered agayn theyr health. For no mā might without the note of high reproche paſſe by in keeping ſilence in this behalf. And this was according to the cuſtome of the olde Egyptians.

Reutha thus ſtudying for the aduauncement of the common wealth of his ſubiects, continued in the eſtate with great proſperitie, til finally perceyuing himſelfe farre growen in age and not ſo able to trauell in the affayres of the realme as he was before, he cauſed a parliament to be aſſembled, and there in preſence of all the eſtates he required to be diſcharged of the gouernment: and that the ſame might be cōmitted vnto his couſin Thereus, who as then was not onely of ſufficient age to take it vpon him, but alſo of ſuche towardneſſe as that in eche mans opinion he was thought likely to atteyne vnto the prowеſſe of any of his noble progenitours.

Reutha reſig ned the eſtat vnto his cou Thereus.

Thus, Reutha after he had raygned a.xvij. yeares, returned to a priuate lyfe, reſigning the whole rule of the realme vnto the foreſayd Thereus being through his perſwaſion receyued as king of all eſtates by common conſent there in that preſent aſſemble.

Thereus.

This Thereus for the firſt.vj.yeares was equall in al points of princely gouernmēt to any of his predeceſſors, but afterward he chaūged his copie in ſuch maner, that iuſtice and all other kindes of vertue being ſet aparte, he neyther regarded the lawes of the Gods nor yet of men, but gaue himſelfe to al ſortes of filthineſſe & moſt deteſtable vices, ſo farre forth, that his ſubiectes (as their cuſtome is in following the maners & vſages of theyr Princes,) became ſo outragious in theyr licentious liuings, and namely the Nobles and Gentlemen, that thereof enſued thefte, murder, rape, ſpoyling, and all kindes of oppreſſion of thoſe ſeely ſoules that had not meane to reſiſt, ſo as in fine diuers gouernours of the tribes perceyuing no hope of amendmēt whileſt Thereus ſhould raygne, conſpired togither, deuiſing meanes how to depoſe him of al kingly authoritie. But he hauing notice of their purpoſed intentions, and doubting the ſequele thereof, conueyed himſelfe out of the way, in moſte ſecrete wiſe, fleyng for ſuccour vnto the Brytaines, vnto whom though he made earneſt ſuyte for ayde to be reſtored home againe, yet coulde hee purchaſe no ſuche fauour amongſt them: ſo that leading a miſerable lyfe long time after within the citie of Yorke, hee finally there ended his daies. He raigned in Scotland about.xij.yeares or more.

Iuſtice neglected and vice embraced,

The nobles cōſpire agai Thereus.

Thereus fled to the Brytain

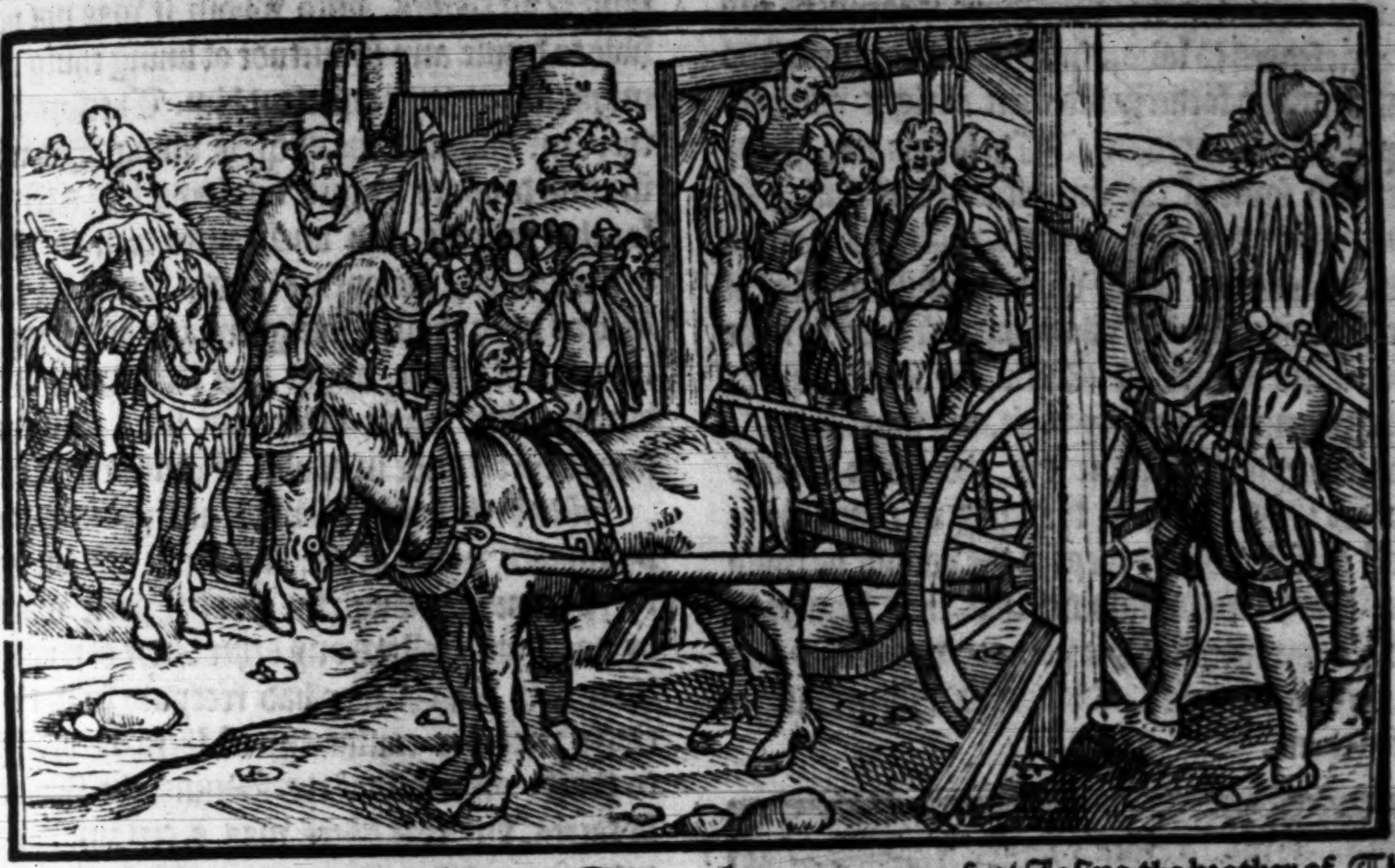
Imme-

Cona-
us.

Conanus is
ſen king.

IMmediatlye after this his auoyding yͤ Realme, the Nobles and peeres choſe one Conanus Lord of Galoway to rule yͤ eſtate as Gouernour, whoſe authoritie had beſie euer great amõgſt the people. His ſtudie was chiefly imployed how to reduce the Lordes & Nobles of the Realme, into concorde and friendly amitie, where before through the negligence of Thereus eche ſought others deſtructiõs. Alſo he cauſed due puniſhment to be executed vpon all ſuch as liued by robbyng & reuing, of whom in the beginning of his gouernment there was no ſmal nũber: but he weeded them forth, in ſuche wiſe that ere he lefte off, there was not one of them to be founde.

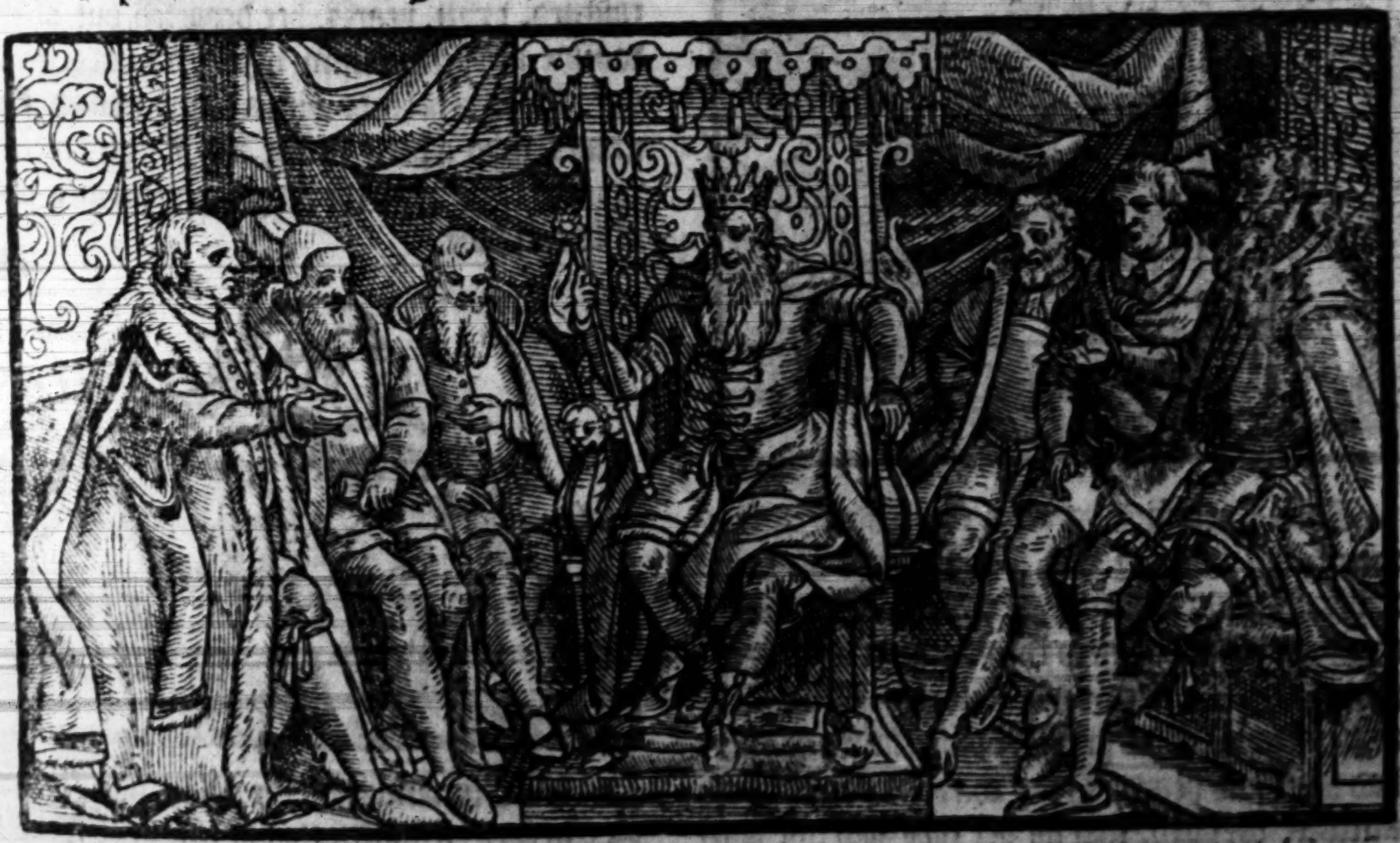
Conanus perſecuteth offendours.



e renoun-
the eſtate.

At length, after it was vnderſtood that Thereus was deade, this Conanus renounced the adminiſtration in preſence of all the eſtates aſſembled in parliament at Berigonium, where by common conſent Joſina the brother of Thereus was choſen to raygne as king, for that Thereus had lefte no iſſue behinde him to ſucceede.

Joſina elected king.



oſina.

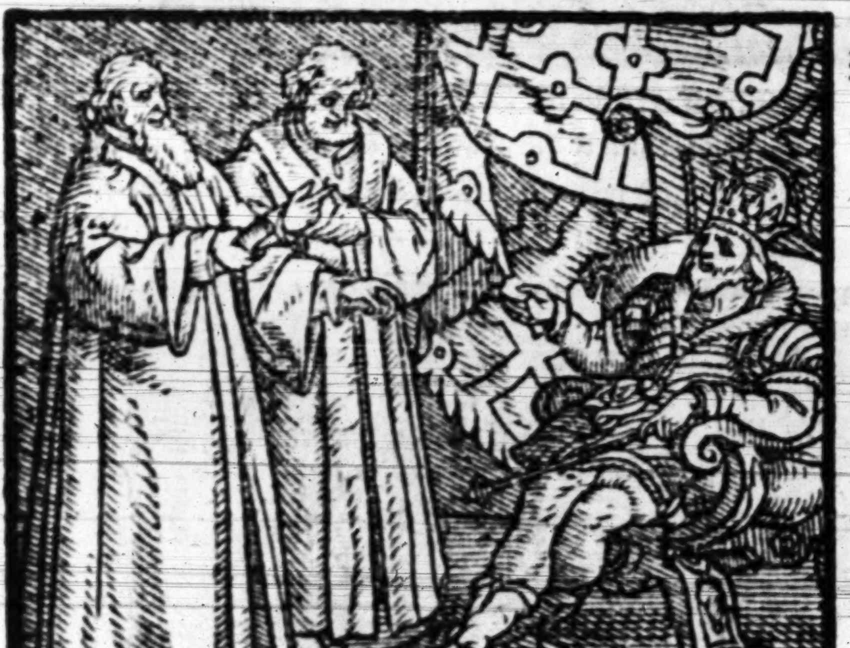
THis Joſina, being proclaymed king, renewed the auncient leagues with the Picts and Brytaines.

He had Phiſitions in greate eſtimation: for that during his abode in Ireland, he was nouriſhed of a childe amongſt them, and by reaſon thereof had ſome knowledge in their facultie, ſpecially he vnderſtoode the vertues and properties of hearbes, wherewith in thoſe dayes the Scottes vſed to heale and remedie all maner of ſores and diſeaſes, which as then were fewe in nūber in reſpect of the ſundrie kinds which are now knowē amongſt vs: and al by reaſon of the ſuperfluous feeding and exceſſe of meates and drinkes vſed in our time, where as our elders ſuffiſed with a little, liued without ſurfeyting, the chiefeſt breeder of ſuche ſtraunge and manifolde ſickneſſes.

Surfeiting the cauſe of ſtrāge diſeaſes, which ſo commonly now raigne.

In this Ioſina his dayes it chaūced that a Portingale ſhippe was driuen and drowned by force of a ſtreyneable tempeſt, neare vnto the ſhore of one of the Scottiſh Iſles, where diuers of thoſe that were within the ſame ſhippe, Maryners and other, eſcaped to land, amongſt whom were two auncient and fatherly old men of right reuerend aſpect and countenance. Theſe two in companie with ſome of the inhabitaunts of that Iſle came ouer vnto Berigonium, where the king as then ſoiourned. They were Spaniſh prieſtes of the Pagane religion, whoſe purpoſe was to haue gone vnto Athens in Grecia, as ſome wryte: But whence ſoeuer they were, and what purpoſe ſoeuer they had, certaine it is, they were Philoſophers: and therefore the king receyued them moſt ioyfully, doing them al the honour he could deuiſe, and commaunding that they ſhoulde be lodged within his owne palayce, where they had all things needefull, and accordingly miniſtred vnto them.

Two auncient philoſophers through ſhipwracke arriue in Scotland, & are ioyfully receyued of the king.



Theſe Philoſophers after they had refreſhed themſelues at their eaſe for the ſpace of. xiiij. dayes, the king cauſed them to come before him, requyring them to ſhew their opinion what they thought by the nature of the ſoyle, the maners and cuſtomes of his people, ſo farreforth as they had ſeene and heard. They without pauſing for anſwere declared, that as yet they had not had time to learne thoſe things but onely thus farre, by coniecture they ſuppoſed that the ground was more likely to be fruitefull of metall mines, than of corne and grayne, as conteyning farre more riches vnderneath the earth than aboue, and this they ſayde that they gathered by the influence of the Heauens vnder the whiche it lay. And as for the rites and vſages of the people, in one pointe they coulde in no wiſe commende them, for that in religiō they followed the ſuperſtitious rites of the Egyptiās, worſhipping the immortall Gods in the ſhape of beaſtes and foules, where as God was euen the ſame that did comprehende bothe heauen and earth, with the waters and al things in them conteyned, whom they named Nature, and as it were the prymordiall cauſe or beginning of all things, vnto whom it was not poſſible to deuiſe any ſimilitude of liuing thing that might in any wiſe repreſent him. Therefore (ſayd they) mē ought to worſhip the liuing God with fire and deuoute prayer, buylding him a temple for that purpoſe, and onely vnto him to burne incenſe, and to perfourme vowes: at whoſe hāds ſuch as liued chaſtly, vprightly, and according to the rules of iuſtice, ought euer to looke for ſome high benefite, where other that liued contrarily might euer ſtande in doubte of contrary reward.

The Scottiſh religion reproued.

Vpright liuing well warded at Gods hands.

With theſe their ſenſible inſtructions they perſwaded many of the Scottiſhe nation vnto their opinion, though the greateſt parte woulde by no meanes follow any other kinde of religion, than that whiche they had receyued from their elders: neyther coulde any of them be brought to thinke otherwiſe of the Sunne, the Moone & Starres, but that there was a certaine deuine power or godhead in euery one of thē. And thus much of theſe ſtraungers briefly and by the way, who came into Scotlād at this preſent, but now to proceede with our purpoſe, when Ioſina had raigned. xxiiij. yeares, hee departed out of this worlde at Berigonium, beyng a man of greate age. He lefte behinde him a ſonne named Finnanus, who a little before his Fathers deceaſſe was by conſent of the people proclaymed king of Scotlande.

Ioſias depa- teth this life.

Finnanus.

This Finnanus had the nobles of his realme in ſuch eſtimatiō, that he ordeyned that nothing ſhould be decreed or practiſed touching the publike affayres of the realme, except they were firſt made priuie and of counſell in the ſame. He ſought alſo to winne the fauour of his people by meekeneſſe & gentle intreating of thē, in ſomuch that though he wente aboute to reſtore the olde religion ſomewhat defaced by his father through information as is ſayde of the two aboue mentioned ſage Philoſophers, yet did he not conſtreyne any man to worſhip the Goddes, otherwiſe than his fanſie ſerued him.

elates or-
ed in reli-
on.
elates in the
ld Scottiſh
ng called
urerglis.

He was the firſte that inſtituted thoſe Prelates whiche gouerned after the manner of Biſhoppes, in all maters pertayning to religion, and were called in the Scottiſh tounge Durerglijs and in Latine *Druides.*

e Scottes
ake Man
Angleſey.

Theſe *Druides* were appointed to be reſident within the Iſle of Man, as the Scottiſh menne holde opinion, but other thinke rather that they were reſident in Angleſey in the Brytiſh tongue called *Mon.*

Unto theſe alſo hauing great liuings aſſigned them, were the inferiour prieſts ſubiect, as receyuing at their handes all iniunctions & orders for the vſe of their ſacrifices and other ceremonies.

e authori-
e of the
uides in-
ſed.

Theſe *Druides* afterwardes applied thẽſelues ſo earneſtly to the ſtudie of Philoſophy, aſwell naturall as morall, that they were had in no ſmall reuerence of the people, as they that were bothe accompted and knowen to be men of moſt perfect lyfe and innocencie: by meanes whereof theyr authoritie dayly ſo farre forth increaſed, that finally iudgements in moſte doubtfull maters were committed vnto their determinations, offenders by theyr diſcretion puniſhed, and ſuche as had well deſerued, accordingly by theyr appoyntments rewarded.

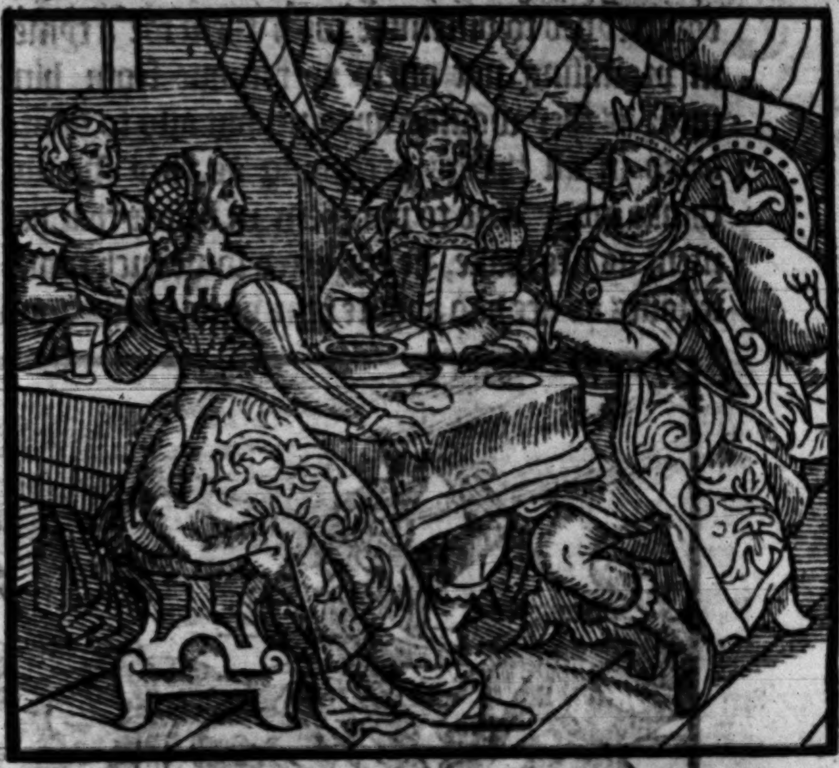
Moreouer ſuche as refuſed to obey theyr decrees and ordinaunces, were by them excommunicate, ſo that no creature durſte once keepe companie with ſuch till they were reconciled agayne, & cleerely by the ſame *Druides* aſſoyled.

Plinie, Cornelius Tacitus, Strabo, and Iulus Ceſar, with diuers approued Authours, make mencion of theſe *Druides,* ſignifying how the firſt beginning of their religion was in Brytaine, (which ſome comprehende all wholly vnder the name of Albion) and from thence was the ſame religion brought ouer into Fraunce; for Finnanus was not onely prayſed for his ſetting forth of that Heathen religion, but alſo for his politike gouernment of the eſtate in ioyfull reſte & quietneſſe. Neyther was his fame a little aduaunced for the mariage concluded and made betwixt his ſonne Durſtus and Agaſia daughter to the kyng of Brytains, for by that allaunce he wanne diuers of the Brytiſh nation vnto his friendſhip.

Finally, this Finnanus died at Camelon beyng come thither to viſite the kyng of Pictes as then ſore diſeaſed, after her had raigned about the ſpace of a.xxx. yeares. His bodie was conueyed vnto Berigonium, and there buried amongſt his predeceſſours.

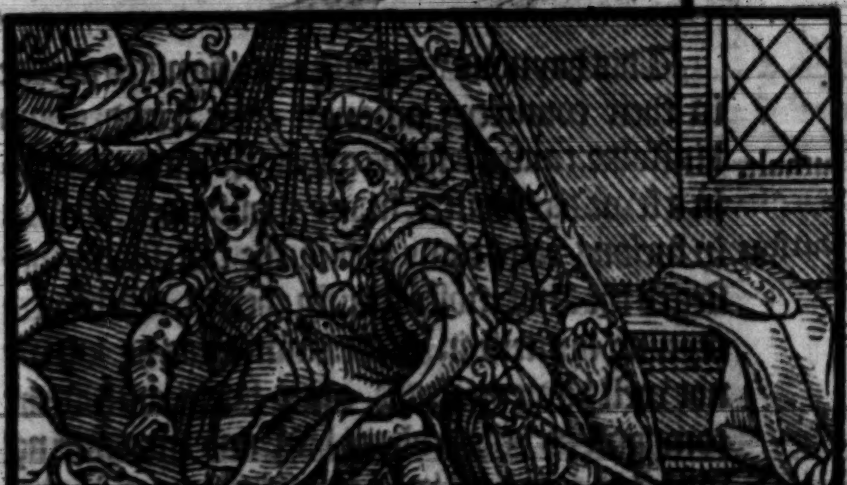
Durſtus.

After hym ſucceeded his ſonne ye forenamed Durſtus, farre differyng from his noble father in all vertuous demeanour, as he that was altogether



gyuen to banquetting and exceſſiue drunkenneſſe. Suche of the nobles as his Father had in highe reuerence he made light accompts of: accepting onely thoſe that of theyr wicked deuices could finde out new kindes of voluptuous pleaſures, through whoſe perſwaſions ſome of his peares he cõfined, ſome he ſpoyled of al their ſubſtance & inheritance, other he put to death without iuſte cauſe or any kinde of lawfull meanes.

Wicked counſellers.



Furthermore he forſoke the cõpanie of his lawfull wife Agaſia, cauſing hyr to be forced and abuſed by diuers vile perſons in moſte vilanous maner.

A conſpiracie.

With theſe and the ſemblable inordinate practiſes he procured the indignation of his people ſo farre forth agaynſt him, that thoſe of the weſterne Iſles with them of Cantyr, Lorne, Argile and Roſſe, conſpyred togither in the reformation of ſuche diſorders as were dayly vſed in the adminiſtration of iuſtice, by the wicked ſuggeſtion of euill diſpoſed councellours, againſt whom they pretended to make theyr warre, and not againſt theyr king.

A craftie and cloked diſſimulation.

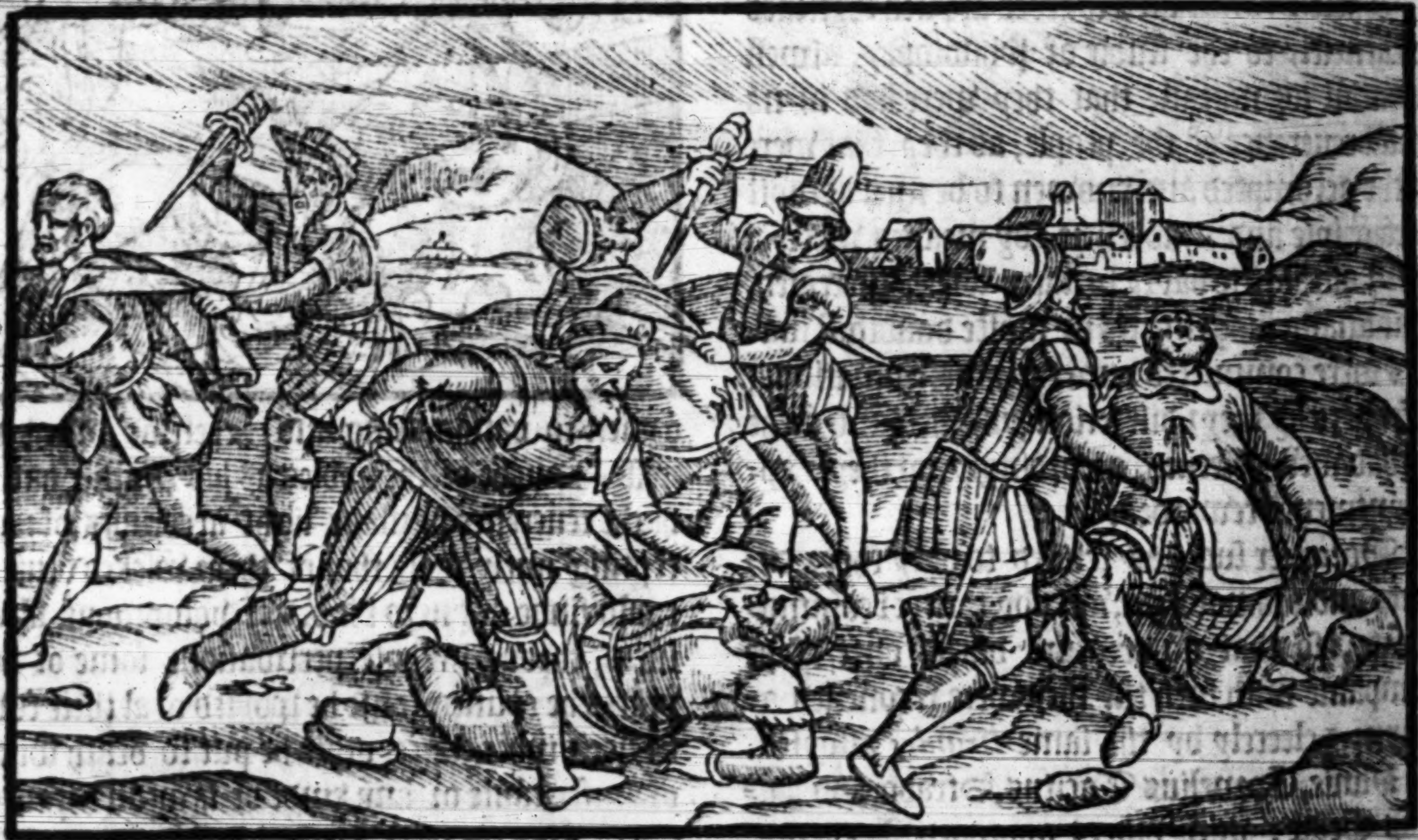
There were ſo many alſo that fauoured them in this quarell, and ſo fewe that leaned to the king to ayde him againſt them, that he was conſtreyned to diſſemble with them for a tyme, in promiſing not onely to remoue from him ſuche as they woulde appoint, but alſo to be ordered in all things according as they ſhoulde thinke good. And to put them in beliefe that hee ment as hee ſpake, he cōmitted ſome ſuch counſellours as hee had aboute him vnto warde, and other ſome (of whome he little paſſed) he ſente vnto them as pryſoners, to receyue ſuch puniſhmēt by death or otherwiſe, as they ſhould thinke conuenient.

Craftie diſ mulation.

He further alſo in preſence of Doro the gouernour of Cantyr, ſente to him for that purpoſe, ſware in ſolempne wiſe afore the image of Diana, to performe all ſuche promiſes and couenantes as he was agreed vpon and had made vnto the conſpiratours.

A cruell m ther.

With whiche cloked diſſimulation they being deceyued, came without ſuſpect of further guile vnto Berigonium, where at their firſte comming he was readie to receyue them (as ſeemed by his fayned countenance) with gladſome harte and moſte friendly meanyng: but they were no ſooner entred the Caſtell, but that a number of armed menne appointed for the purpoſe, fell vpon them, and ſlewe them all without mercie.



A new tumult.

King Durſtus beſieged.

Durſtus is ſlayne.

This haynous act being once ſignified abrode in their countreys amongſt their friendes and kinſfolke, cauſed a new commociō, ſo that within a fewe dayes after, many thouſandes of men in furious rage came before the caſtell, and beſieged the king moſte ſtraitly therein. Who perceyuing himſelfe in ſuche daunger as he knewe not well howe to eſcape, came forth with ſuche companie as he had about him, and encountring with his enimies was ſtraight wayes beaten downe amongſt them, and ſo at once loſte there bothe kingdome and life in the .ix. yeare of his raygne.

Ewyn is cho ſen king.

Durſtus being thus diſpatched, his children doubting the indignation of the people conceyued agaynſt them for theyr fathers faulte, to auoyde the peril, fledde ouer into Ireland, and immediatly the Nobles of the Realme aſſembled themſelues togither for the chooſing of a newe king, in no wiſe minding to haue any of Durſtus his race to raygne ouer them, leaſt they woulde ſeeke by ſome meanes to reuenge his death: howbeit at length when they were at poynt to haue fallen at variaunce in ſuſteyning of contrarie opinions aboute the election of their Prince, through a wittie oration made by Coranus gouernour of Argile, who alleged many weightie reaſons for the auoyding of ſedition, they all agreed to committe the free election vnto the ſame Coranus, promiſing firmely to accept whome ſo euer hee ſhoulde name. Hereupon Coranus conſulting a little with the peares of the Realme, named one Ewyn the vncles ſonne of Durſtus, who as then remayned in Pictlande, whither hee had withdrawen himſelfe in Durſtus his dayes, beyng baniſhed the realme by him, for that he coulde not away with his corrupt maners.

This election was acceptable to all eſtates, for that thereby the adminiſtration of the kingdome continued in the lyne of theyr former kings.

Ewyn.

AND Ewin ſhortly after was brought forth of Pict lande with al regall ſolempnitie, and at Berigonium placed vpon the ſtone of Marble, to the great reioyſing of the people there aſſembled. Herewith alſo the nobles of the realme putting theyr hands in his, bound themſelues by othe to be loyall and faithfull ſubiectes vnto him in all points, which cuſtome of ſwearing fealtie then firſte by Ewins commaundement begon, and continued many hundred of yeares after amongſt his and their poſteritie: in ſomuch that the Captaines of the Trybes alſo required the ſame kinde of othe of them that inhabited within theyr liberties, whiche in parte remayneth yet vnto this day amongſt thoſe of the Weſterne Iſles, and ſuche as inhabite in the mountaynes. For at the creation of a new gouernour, whom they name theyr Captaine, they vſe the like ceremonies: whiche being ended, at the nexte fayre kept within that countrey, proclamatiō is made, that no man inhabiting within his iuriſdiction, ſhall name this newe gouernour by any other name from thenceforth, than by the aunciēt and accuſtomed name as ſuche rulers aforetime haue bene called by. And that ſo ofte as they heare him named, they ſhall put off theyr cappes or hattes, and make a certaine curteſie in ſigne of honour due to him, in ſuche maner as we vſe in hearing diuine ſeruice, whē any holy miſterie is in doing, or any ſacred name of the almightie creatour recited.

Swearing of fealtie firſte begonne.

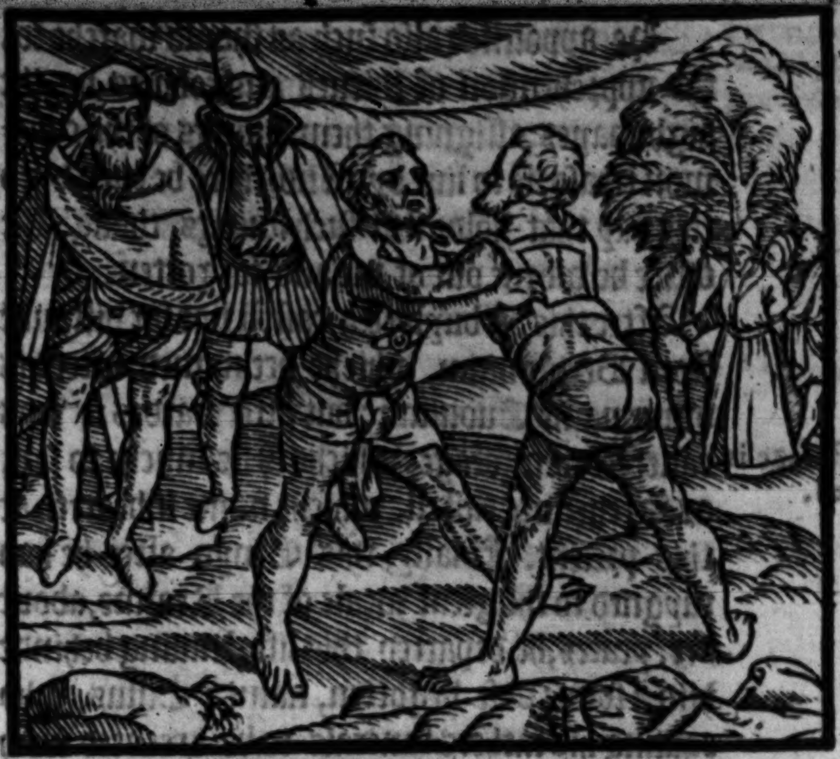
Honorable reuerence.

But now touching king Ewyn, his chiefeſt ſtudie was to mainteyne iuſtice throughout his dominion, and to weede out ſuche tranſgreſſers as went aboute to trouble the quiet eſtate of his ſubiectes.

The dutie of a good Prince.

Furthermore conſidering what inconueniencie proceeded through the vſe of voluptuous pleaſures and wanton delytes, he ordeyned that the youth of his realme ſhoulde be trayned to endure hardneſſe, payne and trauell, as to lie vpon harde bordes without any feather beddes or pillowes vnder them. Alſo to exerciſe themſelues to throw the darte, to ſhoote, to wraſtell, and beare armure aſwell in time of peace as of warre: that when nede required, trauell and ſuche kinde of exerciſes, ſhould be no payne but pleaſure vnto them: where otherwayes lacke of vſe, might make the ſame intollerable. Whileſt Ewyn is thus occupied aboute the ſetting forth of neceſſary ordinaunces for the wealth of his Realme, the kyng of the Pictes did ſende vnto hym Ambaſſadours, to require his ayde agaynſt the Brytons, who were entred his countrey in robbing and ſpoyling the ſame.

A notable ordinance.



Ewyn conſenting quickly to that requeſt, leuied an armie forthwith, and with all ſpeede paſſed forward to ioyne with the Pictes, in purpoſe to reuenge the olde iniuries done to his nation by the Brytayns, who likewiſe were as readie to receyue battayle as the Scottes and Pictes were deſirous to giue it, ſo that both the armies encountring togither (the Scottes and Pictes on the one ſide, and the Brytayns on the other) there enſued a ſore conflict betwixte them, continued with vnmercyfull ſlaughter, till night parted them in ſunder: No man as then able to iudge who had the better, but either parte beyng priuie to their owne loſſes, withdrew themſelues further off from the place of the battell, ſo that the Scottes and Pictes the ſame night gotte them into the mountaynes of Pictelande, and the Brytons ſo ſone as it was day made homewards with all ſpeede towardes their countrey, leauing no ſmal pray and bootie behind them, which the Scottiſh men and Picts recouered cōming downe withall ſpeede frō the mountaines, when they once heard that their enimies were departed.

A doubtfull battayle.

King Ewyn being returned from this iourney, determined to paſſe the reſidue of his lyfe in reſte and quietneſſe, appointyng iudges in euery parte of his Realme, for the miniſtring of iuſtice and executing of the lawes according to the due forme and ordinance of the ſame.

He appointed alſo ſuch as ſhould watche for the apprehenſion of thieues and robbers by the high wayes, aſſigning them liuings of the common treaſorie to liue by. And there be euen vnto this day that holde ſtill ſuch liuings, though the office be worne out of vſe and forgotten.

Dounſtafage is buylded.

After this, he buylded a caſtell not far diſtaunt from Berigonium, whiche hee named after his owne name Euonium: but afterwardes it was called Dounſtafage, whiche is as muche to ſay, as Steuennes caſtell, whiche name it beareth at this preſent. Finally, this Ewyn after he had raygned to the great weale of the Realme, about xix. yeares, he departed this life, leauing behinde him a ſonne baſe begotten, named Gillus, who cauſing his fathers funerals to be executed with all ſolempne pompe and ceremonies, raiſed vp ſone after ſundrie Obeliſkes aboute his graue neare vnto Dounſtafage, where he was buried.

The crafty working of Gillus.

There were preſent alſo at the buriall, twoo of Durſtus his ſonnes, whome Ewyn in his life time had reuoked home out of Ireland where they were in exile. Bothe theſe, aſwell the one as the other, bicauſe they were twinnes and not knowē whether of thē came firſt into the world, looked to be king after Ewyn. Their names were Dothan & Dorgal. And ſuch malicious emulatiō and enuious ſpite, roſe betwixt the two brethren for the attayning of their purpoſe, that greater could not be deuiſed, whiche Gillus, like a craftie & ſubtill Foxe, by couert meanes ſought ſtill to augment: and in the end cauſing them to come togither for ſome concluſion of agreement, at length when he had ſet them further at oddes than they were before, he procured a number of Souldiers appoynted for the purpoſe to rayſe a tumult, (as though it had bene in taking of contrary partes) and there to ſlea them bothe. Thus Gillus hauing brought to purpoſe that he came for, ſheweth in countenaunce as though he had bene much offended therewith, and done what he coulde to haue appeaſed the matter, and herewith he commeth running forth with a highe voyce, declaring to his cōpanie, that if he had not made good ſhifte for himſelfe, he had bene ſlaine by the handes of Dothan and Dorgall, who fell into ſuche miſchiefe themſelues, as they had prepared for other. Herevpon alſo he required his friendes and ſeruaunts moſt earneſtly to conuey him into ſome ſure place where he might be out of dāger, and in better ſecuritie: in ſo much that many of thoſe that hearde him, giuing credite to his wordes, went with him with all ſpeede vnto Dounſtafage, where being receyued into the caſtell with diuers of the Nobles that followed him, he gotte him into a galery, and there making an inuectiue oration againſt the Sonnes of Durſtus, and touching by the way what perill might enſue to the common wealth by ciuill diuiſion, he perſwaded them to committe the rule vnto his handes, vntill it might be certainely knowen, vnto whom the ſame of right appertayned.

Durſtus twoo ſonnes are ſlaine.

The Nobles through fea consented create Gill king.

Thoſe that were preſent, perceyuing to what iſſue his paynted proceſſe tended, and doubting leaſt if they ſhoulde ſeeme to ſtande againſt him at that inſtant in this his demaunde, they might happely be the firſte that ſhoulde repent the bargaine, conſented to proclayme him king: wherevpō he required al ſuch as were preſent, to ſweare to him fealtie, and to do him homage according to the cuſtome. And herewith agreably as he had before promiſed, and according to his fathers will, (as he alledged) he diſtributed among them all ſuche cattell as belonged to his ſaide father. Whereby he wanne the greater fauour of many, but yet not iudging himſelfe altogether in ſuretie, by reaſon that Dothan had left behinde him three ſonnes, as then remayning in the Iſle of Man, in the bringing vp of the Druides, he purpoſed therefore to diſpatche them alſo for the better aſſurance of his eſtate, and therevpon made a iourney thither himſelfe, fayning as though he meant nothing but al loue and friendly affection towardes the children, by whiche meanes he gate twoo of them into his handes, the one named Liſmorus, being about twelue yeeres of age, and the other Cormacus that was two yeares yonger. The yongeſt of the three named Ederus, being aboute ſeuen yeares olde, as his better happe was, chaunced to be ſicke at that time, by reaſon wherof he eſcaped his hands: Gillus feyning as though he wiſhed to haue the other two brought vp like the children of a Prince, he ledde them away with him into Scotland, leauing certaine of his ſeruants behinde him, to ridde Ederus the yongeſt out of the way at leyſure, and as for the other twaine, the night following after his comming home to Dounſtafage, hee cauſed them to bee murthered, euen in their Tutors armes, whoſe ayde moſt pitifully they beſought and required.

Gillus goeth about to mu ther Dotha ſonnes alſo.

A deteſtable murther.

But the woman that had the keeping of Ederus now in his ſickneſſe, prouided more warely for his ſauegarde, for ſhee ſmelling out what was the kings purpoſe, in the dead of the night gotte hir ſelfe togither with Ederus into a ſhip, and paſſed ouer into Argyle, where being ſet a lande, ſhe caried him on hyr ſhoulders vp into the mountaines, and there within a ſecrete denne ſuſteyned his languiſhing life for certaine monethes in great care and miſerie.

Ederus eſca peth.

Gillus notwithſtanding theſe his cruell actes, ſhewed yet in outward appearaunce, that no man was more deſirous of the quiet ſtate and proſperous ſucceſſe of the common wealth than hee:

Gillus cou terfeyteth zeale to i

euer reaſoning amongeſt his nobles, and that in the preſence of his cōmons, touching the maintenance of iuſtice, and puniſhment of miſdoers, whereas hee himſelfe thyrſted continually and moſt of all after the bloud of thoſe who he doubted any thing likely to attempt the reuenge of his wicked miſgouernance: inſomuch that he cauſed in one place and other, all ſuch to be murthered and ſlaine as bare any good wil toward the lawfull line of Durſtus.

he Scottes
e againſt
illus.

Nowe the people ſeeing the dayly ſlaughter of the nobilitie, and at the laſt growing to be verie ſore moued againſt him, namely thoſe of Galloway, Kyle, Carrike, and Coningham, wyth them of Cantyr, Lorne, and Argyle, they aſſembled their powers togyther, and with all ſpeede marched forth towardes the place where they thought to finde the Tyrant: who hearing of this their conſpiracie, aſſembled ſuch puiſſance as he could make, and hauing no other refuge but to trie the matter by battell, made towardes hys enimies with more ſpeede than good ſucceſſe; for ere the two armies came to ioyning, a greate number of Gillus his friendes fled to the contrarie part, ſo that herevpon doubting the iſſue if hee were conſtrayned to fight, hee ſtale priuily from amongſt the reſidue of his folkes, and getting into a fiſhers boate, conueyed himſelfe ouer into Irelande: whoſe departure being once knowne, his Souldiours yelded themſelues vnto Cadall, gouernour of Galloway, who was Captain generall of all the conſpiratours, and nowe by conſent of all the eſtates created gouernour of the realme, till they had choſen a king.

illus depar-
eth ſecretely
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uer into Ire-
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dal of Ga-
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n gouernor
f the realme.

This Cadall immediately vpon the greate authoritie giuē him, gat firſt al the beſt fortreſſes into his handes, as Berigonium, Dunſtafage, and other: then hee paſſed ouer into the Iſle of Ila, to prouide the better for the reſiſting of Gillus, if hee ſhoulde attempt any thing by purchaſing ayde amongſt them of the weſterne Iſles. Thither was brought vnto him alſo, the yong Ederus (by ſuch of Durſtus his friendes, as had eſcaped the cruel handes of Gillus) whom Cadall cauſed to be honourably conueyed vnto Epiake the chiefeſt Citie of Galloway, there to bee brought vp in princely nuriture, that cōming to full age he might the better bee able to take vpon him the gouernance. In whiche meane while Gillus made all the friendes in Irelande that he could, inſomuch that vpon ſuch golden promiſes as hee made vnto the chiefeſt gouernours there, they conſented to ayde him with all their forces. Whereof Cadall being aduertiſed, he thought it beſt that a king ſhould be choſen, and thereby an vnitie to be framed amongſt all the eſtates of the realme, wherevpon cauſing a counſell to be aſſembled for the ſame intent, by common agreement, one Ewen, a man of worthie fame, nephew to king Finnane by his brother Douall, was in the end proclaimed king: who was lately come frō the Iſle of Gowere into Albion, in cōpany with Cadall, & kepte himſelfe cloſe hitherto within the ſayde Iſle, for doubte of Gillus that ſought amongſt other to haue deſtroyd him alſo.

lande and
other take E-
piake not to
be ſo farre
orth.

Gillus pur-
chaſeth ayde
in Irelande.

Ewyn the ſe-
conde of that
name choſen
king.

Ewin.

This Ewin being the ſeconde of that name, made great prouiſion in the beginning of his raigne to reſiſt the ſayde Gillus his enimie. And hearing that he had bene in the Iſle of Ila, and put the ſame to fire and ſworde, he prepared an army and ſhips alſo, to tranſport therewith ouer into Irelande, there to reuenge that iniurie vpon ſuche as had ayded Gillus therein, to the hinderance of his countrey.

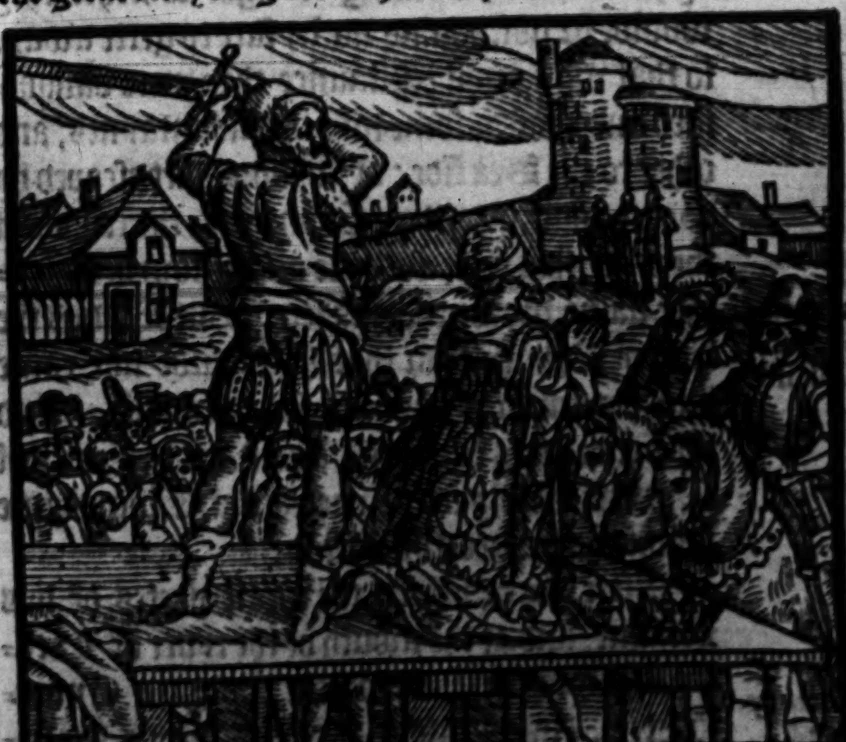
Cadal with an
armie is ſent
into Irelande

The forenamed Cadall, gouernour of Galloway, was appoynted alſo to haue the leading of this armie: who taking the ſea at Dunſtafage, directed his courſe ſtreyght ouer vnto the coaſtes of Irelande, where taking lande and encountring with his enimies, he put them to the worſe, inſomuch that Gillus fearing to fall into his aduerſaryes handes, fled out of the fielde into the next wood, where hee thought to haue ſaued himſelfe. His ſouldiours alſo perceyuing him to bee fled, gaue ouer the fielde, and yeelded themſelues vnto Cadal, who tooke them to grace, and forthwith ſent out certaine companies to ſeeke Gillus, who foūd him in a den cloſed about with thicke woddes and buſhes, where he had lien hid certain dayes & was almoſt ſterued for hunger.

Gillus is takē.

Thoſe that found him immediately ſtroke off his heade, and preſented the ſame vnto Cadal, to the great reioycing of all the companie.

Gillus be-
headed.



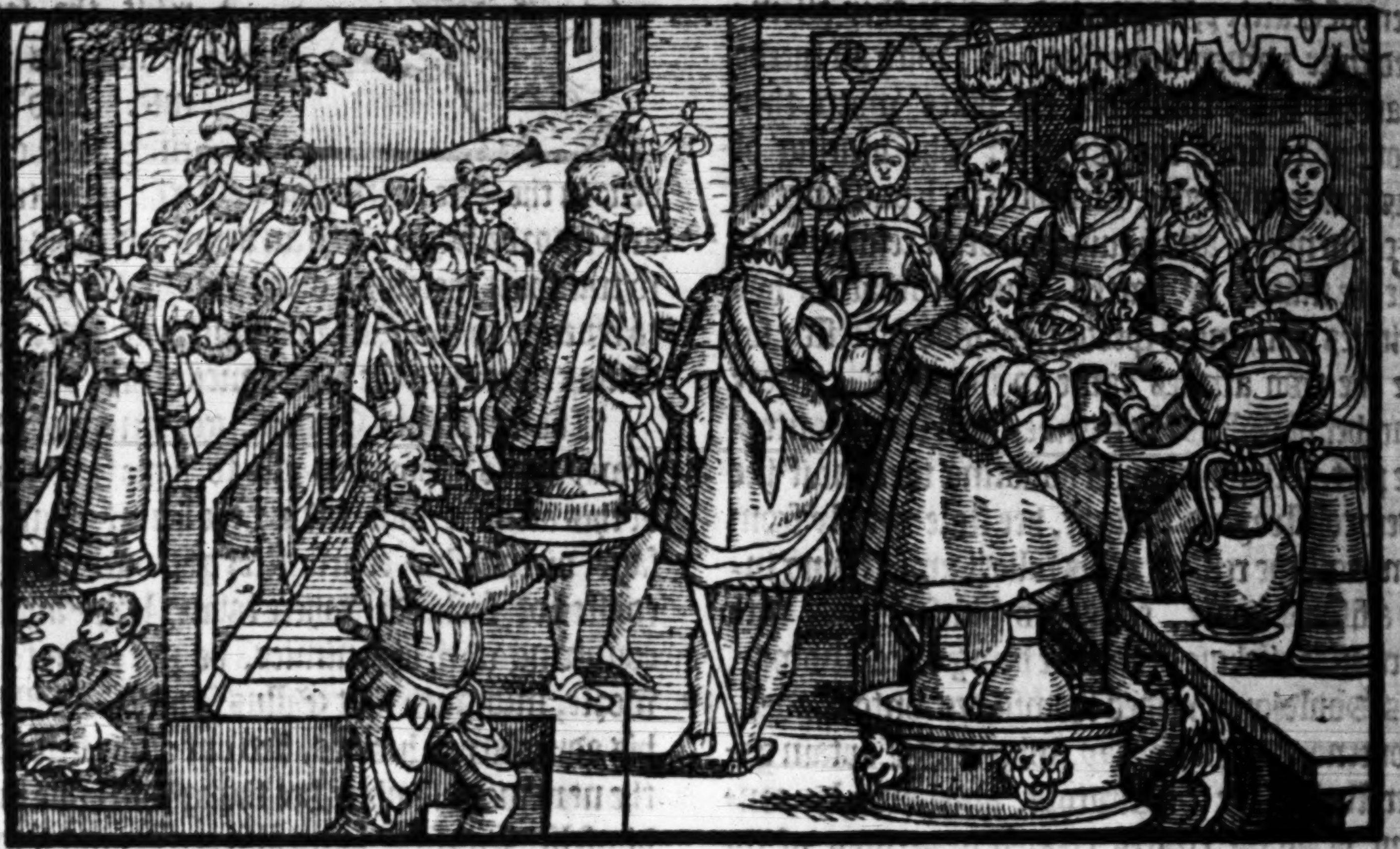
A ſhipwrake by a tempeſt.

Cadal for his good and faythful ſeruice is rewarded,

Thus after that Cadall had atchiued his enterpriſe with good ſucceſſe, he tooke the ſea againe to returne into Scotlande, but by meanes of a grieuous tempeſt, he loſt the greateſt part of hys armie, with all the ſpoyle and ryches that they had gotten in that voyage. Whiche miſchaunce ſore blemiſhed the glorie of ſo famous a victorie, ſo that the reioyſing of many, was turned into dolefull mourning for the loſſe of their friendes and kinneſfolke, but namely Cadall tooke it ſo grieuouſly, that nothing coulde bee more offenſiue vnto him. Howe beeit, after he was come a lande, the King and other of the Nobles recomforted him in all that they might, and the king gaue him alſo much fayre landes, with diuerſe Caſtelles, in Galloway in recompence of hys good and faythfull ſeruice at ſundrie tymes ſhewed in defence of hys Countrey, and made hym Gouernour of Galloway alſo, whiche hee verye thankefully accepted.

An enteruiew betwixt the kings of Scots and Picte.

After this king Ewin came to an enteruiew with the king of Pictes in the borders of Galloway, and there renued the auncient league betwixt the Scottiſhe men and Pictes. For more corroboration whereof, Sijora the daughter of Gethus the thirde king of the Pictes, was ioyned in maryage with Ederus, the ſolemnization being kept at Epiake.



The people of Orkney inuade Catheneſe.

Bladus king of Orkney ſleaeth himſelfe.

These things thus accompliſhed, Ewin returned vnto Dunſtafage, where beeing certified by letters from the Lieutenant of Roſſe, that the Ilanders of Orkney had paſſed Pictland Fyrth, and were entered into Catheneſe, robbing and ſpoyling that Countrey with a greate part of Roſſe, he leuied an armie with all ſpeede, and haſted towardes the enimies, conſtrayning them by his ſodaine comming to fight whether they woulde or not, hauing no leyſure to gette away, ſo that with ſmall reſiſtaunce they were vanquiſhed and chaſed, ſome into the mountaynes, and other to the Sea ſide: of whome part eſcaped by Boates ouer into their Countreys, the reſidue of them in this their ſodaine ouerthrow being eyther ſlaine, drowned, or taken. But Bladus the king of Orkney, for that he woulde not come into his enimies handes, ſlue himſelfe. And thus ended this enterpriſe againſt the enimies of Orkney: greatly to the encreaſe of Ewins fame amongſt the Scottiſh nation.

Enuerlochtey is buylded.

After this he viſited the weaſt partes of hys Realme, and at the mouth of the ryuer of Lochtey he buylded a Citie whiche he named Enuerlochtey, enfranchiſing the ſame with a Sanctuarie for the refuge of offenders. Thys Citie afterwardes was muche frequented wyth Marchauntes of Fraunce and Spaine, by reaſon of the great aboundance of Salmons, Herrings, and other fiſhe whiche was taken there. The olde ruines of this Citye in part remayne to be ſeene in that place where it ſtoode, euen vnto this day.

Enuerneſſe buylded.

Cadall deceaſſed.

He likewiſe buylt an other Citie in the Eaſt parte of the Realme neare to the water called Lochneſſe, which he named Enuerneſſe, after the name of the ſame water. Whither in tymes paſt there reſorted many Marchantes of Germanie, wyth ſuch marchandiſe as the Inhabitantes of the Countrey there ſtoode in neede of, exchaunging the ſame with them for Marterne ſkinnes, and other ſuch furres, wherewith they made their returne. This Citie is as yet remayning, and beareth the olde name, rich and well ſtored with diuerſe kinds of Marchandiſe, ſo that this Ewin proued a moſte famous Prince for his worthie exploytes right fortunately atchieued, bothe in peace and warre. And finally vnderſtanding the death of his deare and entyrelye beloued friende Cadall, hee repayred vnto Epiake, as well to giue order for the pacifying of his ſonnes beeing at variance for their fathers inheritance, as alſo to doe the more honour to his friende nowe deceaſſed, by erecting ſome monument neare vnto his Sepulchre.

Comming therefore to Epiacke: and ſetting an accorde betwixt the yong men, hee cauſed an Image to be made in all poyntes reſembling the perſonage of Cadal, as neare as might be: which he placed in the myddeſt of the Market ſteede, commaunding the ſame to be honoured wyth burning of Incenſe and other diuine Ceremonies.

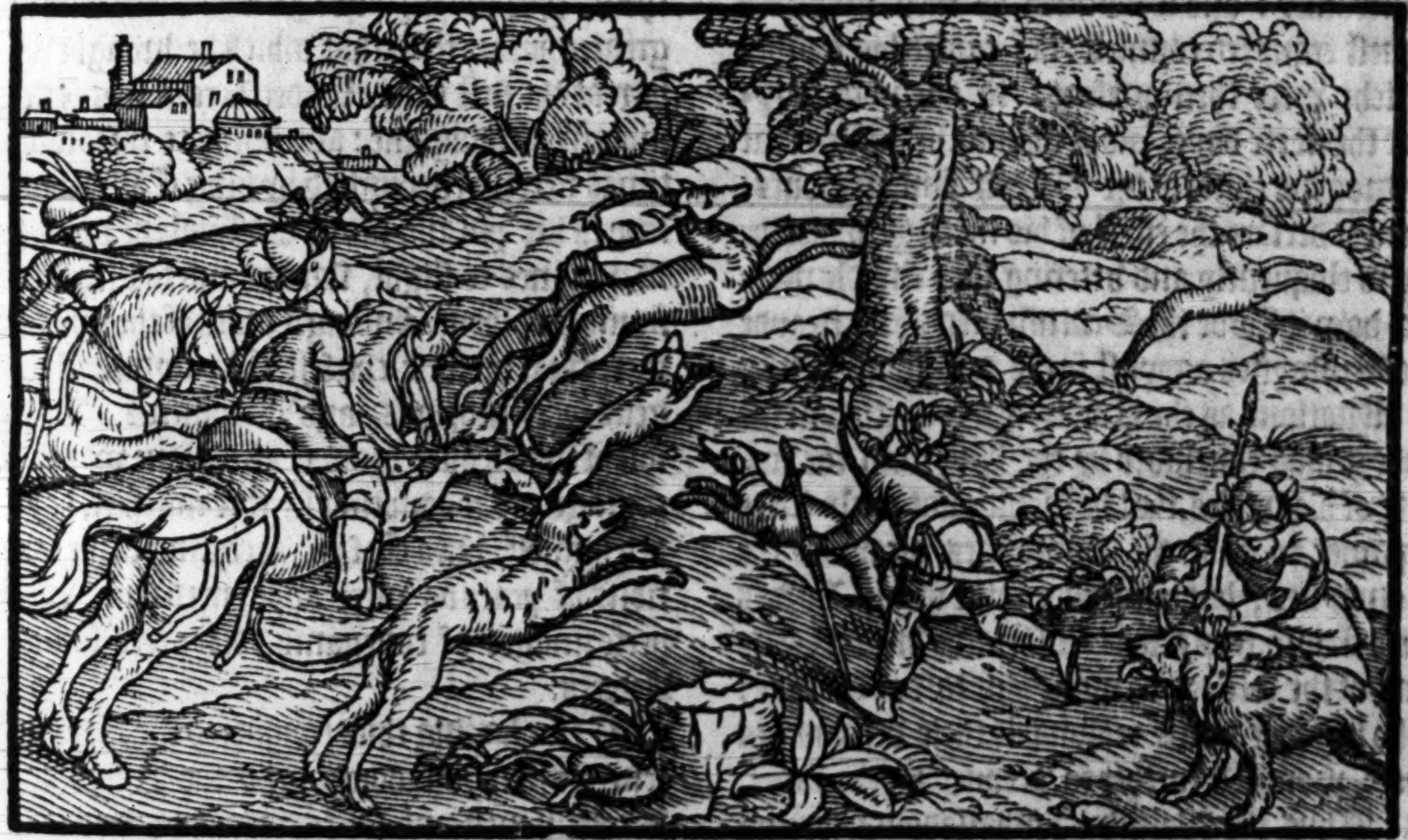
Within fewe dayes alſo, through inwarde ſorrow, as was thought, for the loſſe of ſo deare a friende, he began to waxe ſicke himſelfe, and at length perceyuing he ſhoulde not eſcape preſent death, he cauſed Ederus (of whome before mention is made) to be brought vnto him, into whoſe handes with many wholſome aduertiſementes howe to vſe himſelfe in gouernment of his ſubiects, he wholy reſigned the eſtate, the which after his deceaſſe he knew to be due vnto him without all queſtion and controuerſie: and afterwarde departed this worlde when he had raigned ſeuenteene yeares continually for the moſt part in high wealth and felicitie.

Ewin reſigneth the eſtate.

Ewins deceaſe.

Ederus.

After the deceaſſe of Ewin, Ederus was in maner before expreſſed receyued for king by the whole aſſent of all the Scottiſhmē. Whoſe chiefe delight was altogyther in hunting and keeping of Houndes and Greyhoundes, to chaſe and purſue wilde beaſtes, and namely the Woolfe the herdmans foe, by meanes whereof his aduancement was muche the more acceptable amongeſt the Nobles, who in thoſe dayes were whollye gyuen to that kynde of pleaſure and paſtyme.

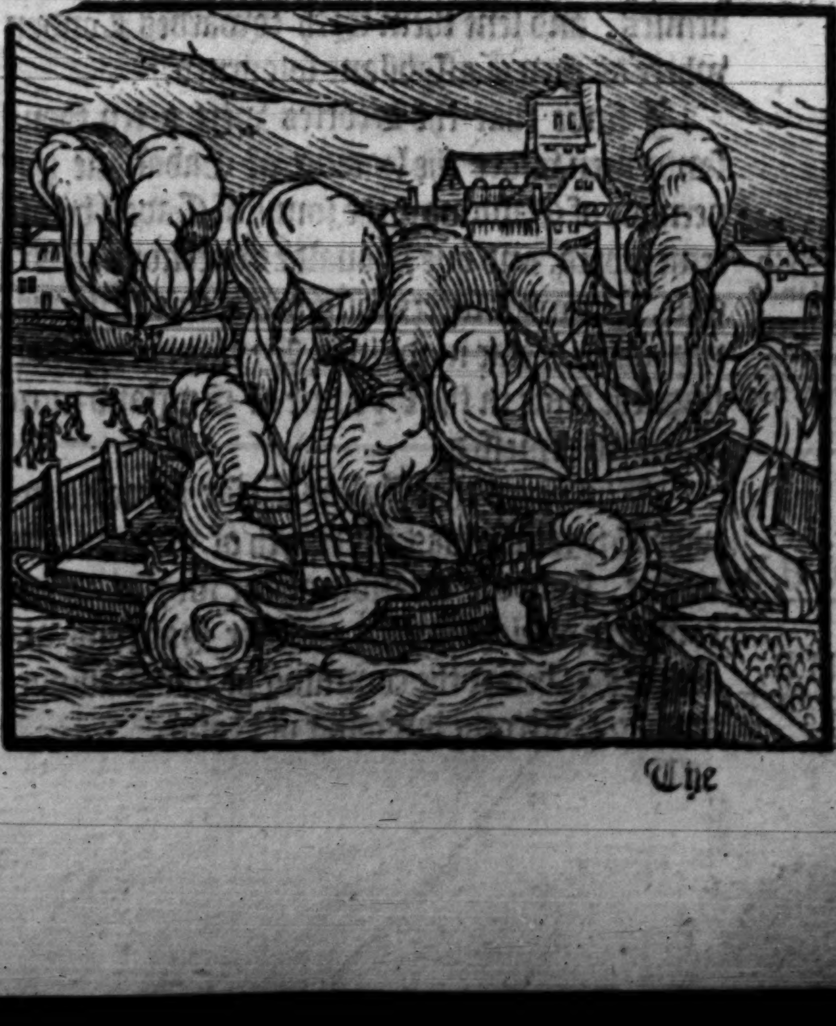


In the begynning of his raigne there was no trouble towardes, the publike ſtate of the Realme being maynteyned by vpright iuſtice, and all tranſgreſſions through terrour of due puniſhmente politikely repreſſed.

Bredus inuadeth the Scots.

The firſt that went about to put him to any notable trouble, was one Bredus of the Iſles, neare of kinne to Gillus that vſurper and murtherer, who with a power of Iriſh men and other of the weſterne Iſles landed in Argyle, waſting and ſpoyling the countrey with fire and ſworde, whereof Ederus being aduertiſed (who was the ſame time in thoſe partes a hunting amongſt the mountaynes) gathered an armie with all ſpeede, and haſting to the place where his enimies ſhips lay at ancre, he firſt burned ẏ ſame, to take away all meane from them to eſcape by flight.

Ederus burneth his enimies ſhips.



The morning next following he did ſet vpon them alſo at vnwares: of whome ſome hee ſlue, and the reſidue being taken, either in the fight or chaſe, by his commaundement were hanged, and cruelly executed to the example of all others.

Ederus went into the weſtern Iſles.

After this, he paſſed ouer into yͤ weſtern Iſles, where hee did execution vpon ſuch as had ayded Bredus, putting ſome to death, and cauſing other to fine at his pleaſure, and depriuing ſome vtterly of all that euer they had.

Caſſybilane king of the Brytaynes, requireth of the Scottiſh men ayde agaynſt the Romaines

At his returne againe into Scotlande, there met him Imbaſſadours ſent from Caſſybilane king of the Brytaynes, requyring him of ayde agaynſt Julius Ceſar, who (as the ſame king had perfite vnderſtanding) was appoynted very ſhortly to paſſe the ſeas from Fraunce, ouer into this Iſle, with a mightie power of Romaynes, to ſubdue the Inhabitants vnto the ſeigniorie and iuriſdiction of Rome.

Androgeus chiefe Ambaſſadour of the Brytaynes, declareth the effect of his meſſage.

The Scottes graunt to ayde the Brytaynes agaynſt the Romaynes.

Ederus receyued theſe Imbaſſadours very courteouſly: and forſomuch as their mayſters requeſt requyred counſell, hee cauſed his Lordes whiche were then preſent, to aſſemble togyther the nexte daye, afore whome he willed that Androgeus chiefe of the Britiſh Imbaſſadours, ſhoulde declare the effect of his meſſage, which he did ſo eloquently and vttering ſuch ſenſible matter, how it ſtoode the Scottiſh men vpon, to ayde the Brytaynes agaynſt ſuche common enimies to all nations as the Romaynes were, that in the ende it was concluded by the king with the aduice of his nobles, that he ſhoulde not onely ſende a power to ayde the Brytaynes agaynſte the Romaynes, but alſo ſende ſome of his Lordes with Androgeus and his aſſociates vnto Gethus king of the Pictes, to moue him to doe the lyke: who hearing howe reaſonable their demaundes were, promiſed further to accompliſh the ſame.

Thus the Britiſhe Ambaſſadours hauing ſpedde, according to their deſires, repayred homewardes: immediately vppon whoſe departure both the kings, Ederus, and Gethus, leuied their armies, and ſent them forth towardes London where as then Caſſybilane ſoiourned.

Cadallane and Douald wyth ten thouſande Scottiſh men ſend to ayde the Brytaynes.

I finde that the Scottes were a ten thouſande men vnder the leading of Cadallane gouernour of Galloway, the ſonne of Cadall before remembred, and one Doualde gouernour of Argyle. But what ſucces followed of this firſt iourney which Ceſar made into Brytayne, ye ſhall finde the ſame in the Hyſtorie of England more at length expreſſed.

5139. H.B.

60. H.B.

The yeare that Julius Ceſar came to inuade Brytaine, was the fourth of Ederus hys raigne, from the creation of the worlde 3912. complete, whiche is after maiſter Hariſons account 54. before the comming of our Sauiour, and 692. after the buylding of Rome.

The Brytaine exalted in pride.

The Brytayne refuſe ayde being offred them.

The Scottiſhe men and Pictes hauing theyr part of the ſpoyle which the Romaynes at theyr departure left behynde them, were ſente home to their Countreys with great thankes and rewards for their paynes, but the Brytaynes were ſo exalted in pryde by the departure of the Romaynes, that they beleeued verily they ſhoulde haue no more to do with thoſe enimies, or if they had, they thought themſelues ſtrong ynough to repulſe them without ayde of other. By meanes whereof when king Ederus was informed howe the Romaynes prepared to inuade them afreſhe, and had ſent them word thereof, offering to them his ayde: they made no account of that offer, but anſwered yͭ it was not neceſſarie for euery light inuaſion of forraine enimies to ſeeke helpe at other mens handes, being of puiſſance ſufficient of themſelues to reſiſt the ſame well ynough.

Julius Ceſar inuadeth thi land the ſeconde time.

The Brytay are ouerthrowne.

Caſſybila yeeldeth Ceſar.

But of this refuſall of ſo friendly an offer, it was not long ere the Brytaynes ſore repented them. For ſhortly after Julius Ceſar with a far greater power than that which he brought wyth him at the firſt time, landed here in this Iſle amongſt them againe: and being at three ſundrie times fiercely encountred by king Caſſybilan, at length hee put the ſame Caſſybilane wyth hys Brytaynes to flight, ſlaying and taking a great number of them. Amongſt other of the priſoners, were three of their chiefeſt Captaynes, Androgeus, Ciſentoriges, and Tenantius. By reaſon of which ouerthrow Caſſibylane was ſo diſcouraged, that doubting further miſchief, he yeelded himſelfe vnto Ceſar, accepting ſuche conditions of peace as were appoynted him, and for performance of couenants, delyuered ſufficient pledges.

Julius Ceſar his meſſage vnto the Sco and Pictes.

The anſwere of the Scottes and Pictes vn to Ceſar his Ambaſſador

Ceſar hauing thus conquered the Brytayns, ſent his Ambaſſadours vnto the Kings of the Scottiſh men, and Picts, requiring them to ſubmit themſelues as Caſſybilane had done, or elſe he bad them looke for open warres at the Romaynes handes, which they might aſſure themſelues they ſhould in no wiſe be able to ſuſtaine, conſidering their mightie and huge puiſſance, hauing the moſt part of the whole worlde at theyr commaundement alreadie. Wherevnto aſwell the one king as the other, made this or muchwhat the like anſwere, that they were bent ſooner to loſe theyr liues than theyr lybertie. Which their reſolution if they were putte to the tryall, ſhoulde be euidently proued by the deed it ſelfe.

Ceſar ſendeth new meſſengers vnto the Scottes and Picts, but the ſped muche like to the former.

Ceſar hauing receyued this anſwere from theſe two nations, he ſendeth newe meſſengers vnto them with a more roughe embaſſie, who not onely by threates, but alſo by great reaſons went about to perſwade them vnto ſubmiſſion. But they perſiſting in their former opinion for defence of their liberties, and vtterly refuſing all maner of bondage, would encline by no meanes to come in any bonde of friendſhippe with the Romaynes.

he rebellion f the Gaules reaketh Cæſar his purpoſed iourney eyond the aters.

After the returne of theſe laſt meſſengers, Ceſar was fully reſolued to enter into their Countreys, to force them vnto that by dynt of ſworde, whereunto by treatie he might not enduce them: and had ſet forwarde on that iourney ſhortly after in deede, if he had not beene called backe into Fraunce, to pacifie ſundrie commotions there rayſed by the reuolting of the people inhabiting thoſe Countreys, where the Picardes and Normans, with other the inhabitantes neare aboute Chartres, now dwell.

lendar or ledon wood

The common Scottiſhe Chronicles record, howe Iulius Ceſar came as farre as Kalendar wood, & there wan by force the citie of Camelon where the Pictiſh kings vſed moſt to ſoiourne.

his cannot e true, for æſar came ot neare Scotland, as in the Hiſtorie of nglande it ppeareth.

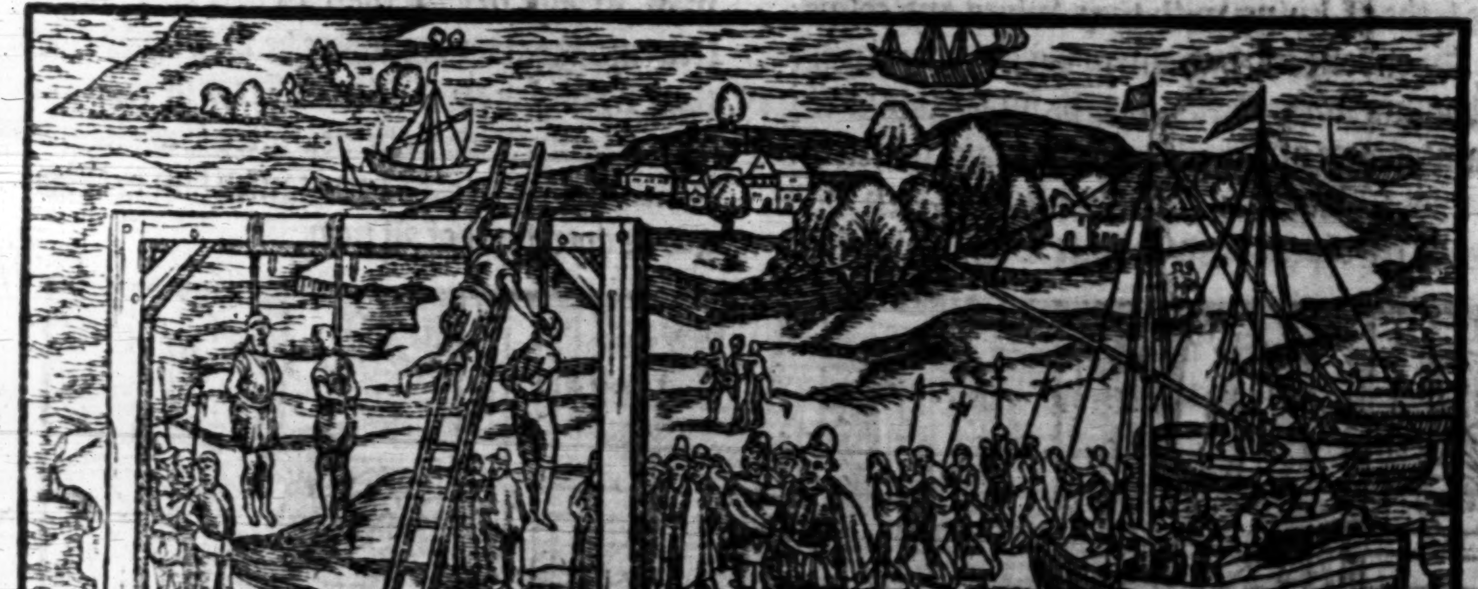
Herevnto the ſame Chronicles adde, that Ceſar buylded a great ſtone houſe of. xxiiij. cubites in heigth, and of. xij. cubites in breadth, of ſquare hewen ſtones, right workemanly framed, which houſe they ſaye Ceſar cauſed to be vſed in ſteede of a iudgement Hall, and here placed it neare the Ryuer of Caron, ouer agaynſt the fornamed Citie of Camelone, as a witneſſe that the Romaynes armie had beene ſo farre forwarde within that Countrey.

Iulius Hoſ

Suche an houſe there remayneth to be ſeene euen vnto this day, and is called Iulius Hoff, that is Iulius Hall, or Iulius Court. Howbeit, other more agreeable to the likelyhoode of a troth, wryte that this houſe was ſometymes a Temple, buylded to the honour of Claudius Ceſar, and of the Goddeſſe Victoria, by the Romaine Captaine Veſpaſian, at ſuche tyme as he made warres in that Countrey, before hys aduauncement to the Empyre.

Murketus nephew vnto Gillus inuadeth the weſterne Iſles.

But to returne vnto Ederus. About the ſame time in which he looked to be inuaded by Iulius Ceſar and the Romaynes, and for that purpoſe had ſent for them of the weſterne Iſles to reenforce his hoſt, he was now inforced to conuert it another way, for there was one Murketus, nephewe vnto the aboue remembred Gillus, that came with a nauie out of Irelande to robbe and ſpoyle thoſe Iſles, being deſtitute as then of men to reſiſt him. But Ederus hearing thereof, diſpatched Cadallanus with an armie into thoſe parties for defence of his ſubiectes: which Cadallanus behaued himſelfe ſo politikely in this exployte, that ſetting vpon the enimies as they lay at ancre, he tooke thẽ in the night ſeaſon without making any great defence, and after hanged thẽ by along the ſhore ſide within ẏ Iſle of Gowre: Murket himſelfe being honoured with an higher place to hang in than al the reſt, due to him that was their chief head and leader in that voyage.



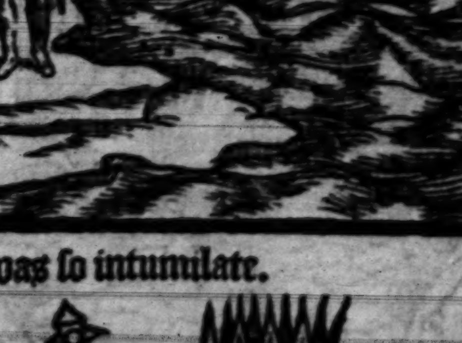
ket is ged with y more.

41. H.B.

16. H.B.

Ederus departeth this life.

The remnant of Ederus his raigne paſſed without any other notable trouble: and ſo after he had raigned 38. yeares, he deceaſſed a very olde man, about the 23. yeare of the Empyre of Auguſtus Ceſar. He was buried alſo at Dunſtafage with all due pompe and ſolemnitie, hauing dyuerſe obelyſkes (as the cuſtome then was) erected and ſette vp aboute the place where hee was ſo intumulate.



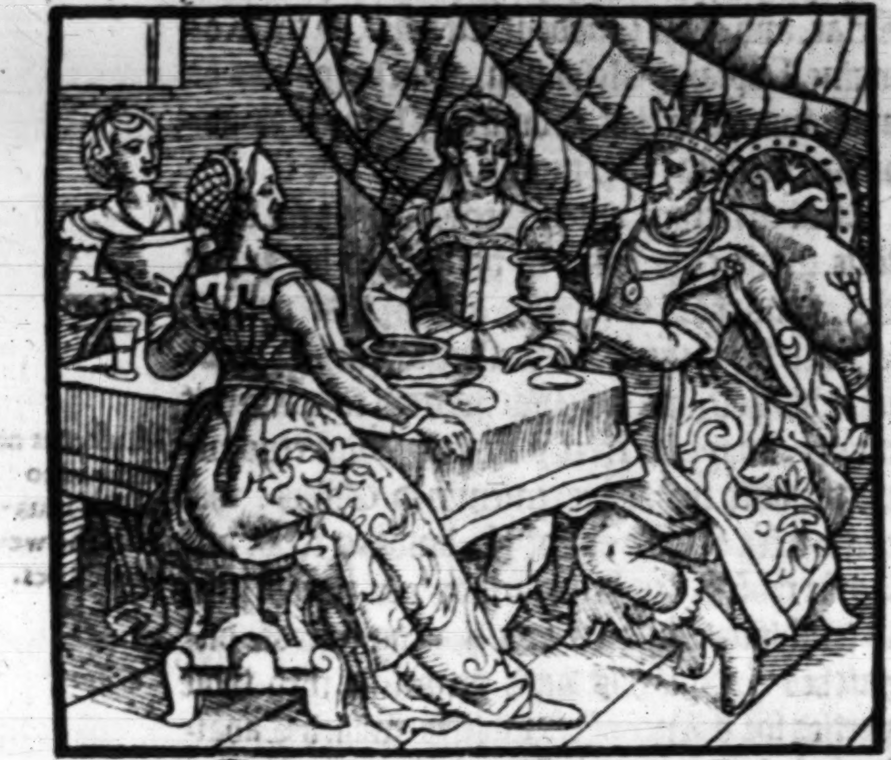
Ewin.

After hym reigned his ſonne Ewyn, the third of that name, nothing lyke in anye princelye qualityes vnto hys noble progenitors, but contrariwiſe infamed

med in all kynde of vices.

A licentious king.

In the firſt yeares of his raigne he was wholy drowned in laſciuious lecherie, abandoning himſelfe altogither to lie waltring amongſt a ſort of vile ſtrumpettes, hys luſt beeing neuer thorowely ſatiſfied, though he neuer ſo often awearyed.



The nobles of the realme he had in no regard at all, of whom ſome he confined, and ſome hee cauſed to be murthered, onely bycauſe hee might the more freely without gainſaying haunte hys vile trade of liuing with their wiues and coſins.

Fylthie lawes.

Such delite he had alſo in his filthie and moſt abhominable ribaldrie, that he made lawes for maintenance of the like amongſt his ſubiectes, as thus: That it might be lawful for euery man to marrie diuerſe and ſundrie wiues, ſome ſixe, ſome ten, according to their ſubſtance and qualities, And as for poore mennes wiues, they were appoynted to be common vnto the Lordes of the ſoyle: and further that the ſame Lordes ſhoulde firſt deflowre the Bride after hir mariage: which laſt ordinaunce tooke ſuch effect, that of manye hundred yeares after it coulde by no meanes be abrogated, though the two former liberties were by authoritie of the Kings ſucceeding, ſhortly after this Ewins deceaſſe taken away and reuoked.

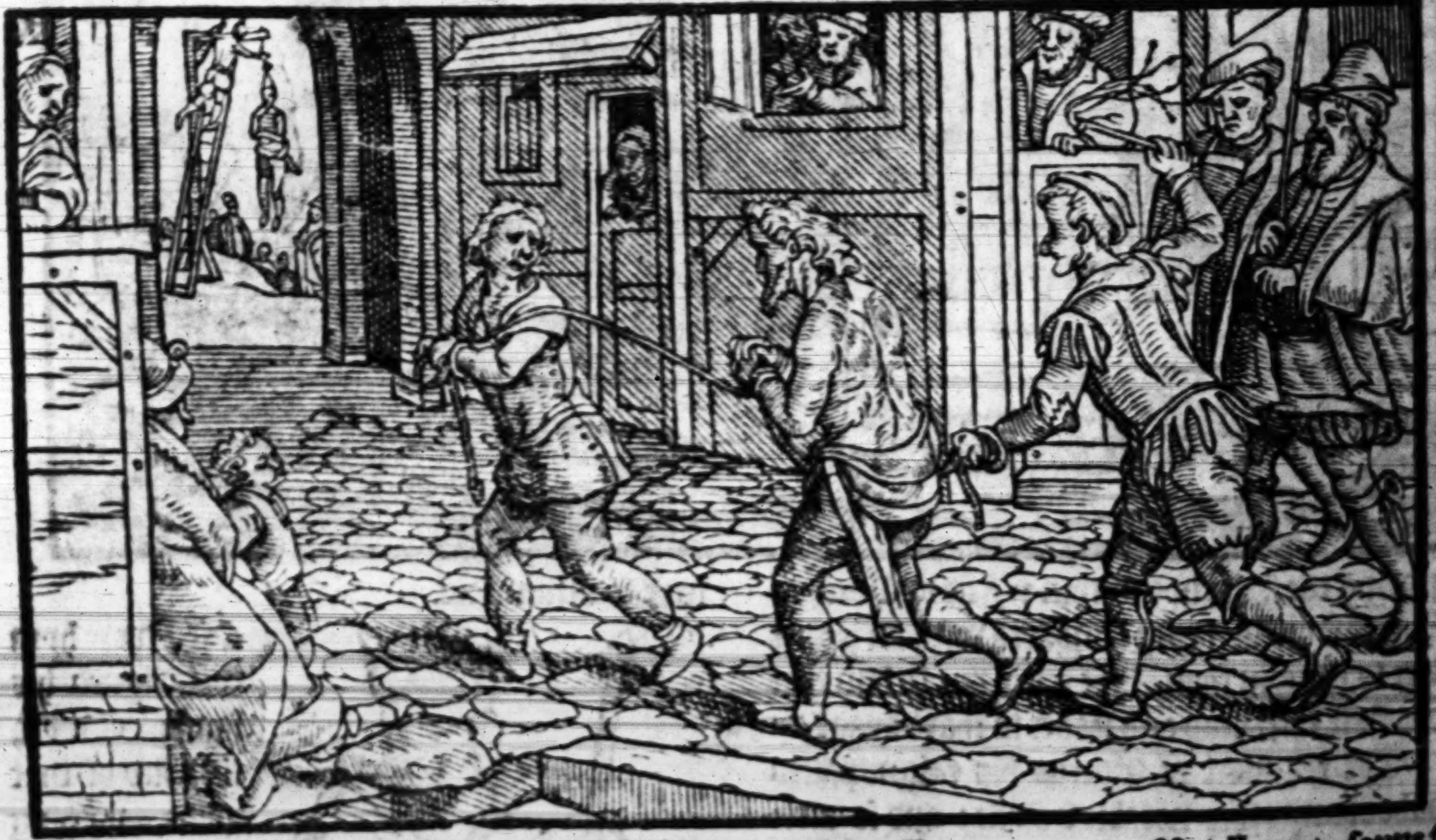
Ewin is purſued and forſaken of his ſubiectes.

But now to cōclude touching yͤ doings of this Ewin, ye ſhal vnderſtand, yͭ at length ſuch lords as greatly abhorred his vile conditions and vſages, conſpired agaynſt him, and rayſing an armie of their friendes and partakers, encountered with him in the fielde, and there tooke him priſoner, being deſtitute of all ayde and ſuccours: For ſuch as he brought with him not once offered to ſtrike one ſtroke in his quarell.

Ewin condemned to perpetual priſon.

Ewin being thus taken, was by and by condemned to perpetuall priſon: and Cadallane of whome ye haue heard before, immediately proclaymed gouernour of the Realme. Howbeit the night following after that Ewin (according to the iudgement pronounced agaynſt him, was committed vnto warde) a preſumptuous yong man, in hope to haue thankes of Cadallane, entred into the chamber where he was encloſed, and there ſtrangled him. But in ſteede of thankes he was recompenced with death: for Cadallane deteſting ſuch a wicked deed, cauſed him to be hanged in open ſight of all men.

Ewyn is ſtrangled.



Such was the ende of Ewin: beeing thus diſpatched in priſon, in the ſeuenth yeare after he began his raigne ouer the Scottiſh men, beeing the ix. yeare of Auguſtus Ceſar his gouernment of the Romaine Empyre.

32. H.B.

Metellane.

After Ewin ſucceeded Metellanus, ſonne to one Carrane, the brother of Ederus a prince of moſt gentle behauiour.

This Metellanus mainteyned his ſubiects in great quietneſſe and reſt, without any maner of warres, either forraine or Ciuill.

Such wicked lawes as his predeceſſour had eſtabliſhed, he did what he could to aboliſhe. But ſuch yong Gentlemen as delited in ſenſuall luſt, and licentious libertie, ſtode ſo ſtiffely therein agaynſt him, that in the ende he was glad to leaue off his purpoſe.

baline
g of the
ytaynes.

About the ſame time alſo there came vnto Kymbaline king of the Brytayns an Ambaſſador from Auguſtus the Emperour, with thankes, for that entring into the gouernment of the Brytiſh eſtate, he had kept his allegeance towarde the Romaine Empyre: exhorting him to keepe hys ſubiectes in peace with all their neighbours, ſithe the whole worlde through meanes of the ſame Auguſtus, was now in quiet, without al warres or troubleſome tumults.

Theſe Ambaſſadours went alſo vnto Metellanus the king of the Scottiſh men, exhorting him to acknowledge a ſuperioritie in the Romaine Emperour, vnto whome the people inhabiting in the furtheſt partes of the Eaſt, had ſent their ambaſſadors with rich iewels to preſent his perſon withall. Wherewith Metellanus beeing partly moued to haue a friendly amitie with the Romaines, he ſent vnto Rome certaine rich preſents to the Emperour, and to the Goddes in the Capitoll, in ſigne of honour, by whiche meanes he obteined an amitie with the Romaines, which continued betwixt them and his kingdome for a long time after.

Thus a generall peace as then raigning throwout the whole worlde, it pleaſed the gyuer and authour of all peace to bee borne at the ſame tyme, of that bleſſed virgin Marie, in the Citie of Bethleem in the tribe of Iuda. Which bleſſed and ſalutiferous byrth came to paſſe in the xlj. yeare of Metellanus hys raigne, and in the xlij. of Auguſtus hys Empyre: from the fyrſte eſtabliſhing of the Scottiſhe kingdome by Ferguſius 324. yeares, and after the creation of the worlde 3966. as Hariſon in his Chronologie doth manifeſtly conclude.

After this, Metellanus raigned certain yeares in continuall peace and quietneſſe, euer readie to do the thing that might bee to the contentation and weale of his people.

Metellane departeth this worlde.

29. H.B.

14. H.B.

Finally, hee paſſed oute of this life in the xxxix. yeare of his raigne, which was the. xxviij. after the byrth of our Sauiour, and. xiij. of Tyberius the Emperor. Howbeit he left no iſſue aliue behind him to ſucceede in the gouernment of the kingdome: for thoſe children which hee had begotten, hee buried in his life time, by meanes whereof, one Caratake, ſonne to Cadallane, and nephewe to king Metellane by his ſiſter Europeia, was proclaymed King, as he that excelled in ryches and puyſſaunt authoritie aboue all other the peeres and highe eſtates of the realme, and had not a little to doe in the adminiſtration of publike affayres in the latter dayes of his vncle Metellane.

Caratake is proclaymed king.

This Catatake all the Brytiſh and Engliſhe writers take to be a Brytaine, and inhabiting within that portion of the Iſle now called Englande.

Caratake.

THe firſt thing he did after he was eſtabliſhed in the eſtate, he ſailed into the weſterne Iſles to appeaſe a rebellion moued by the Gouernour there. Which done, and the authours puniſhed, he returned into Albion, and came vnto Cariſtonium, whiche was ſometymes a famous Citie, and Metropolitane of Scotlande, ſituate within the Countrey cleped Carrycke, as it appeareth by the ruynes there remayning euen vnto thys daye.

In this Citie was Caratake borne, and therfore fauouring it the more, hee lay there moſte commonly, and did what he coulde to aduaunce the wealth and ſtate thereof.

Caratake was borne in Carricke.

Whileſt theſe things were a doing in Scotlande, Kymbaline king of the Brytaynes dyed, who for that hee had beene brought vp in Rome, obſerued his promiſed obedience towardes the Empyre: but Guiderius ſucceeding diſdayned to ſee the libertie of his countrey oppreſſed by the Romaines, and therfore procuring the Brytains to aſſiſt him, aſſembled a power and inuaded the Romaines with ſuch violence that none eſcaped with life, but ſuche as ſaued themſelues within Caſtels and Fortreſſes. The Emperour Claudius that then gouerned the Romaine Empyre aduertiſed hereof, ſent two Captaynes, Aulus Planctius, and Cneus Senſius to appeaſe that rebellion. They landing in Brytaine with their armie, vanquiſhed Guiderius in battaile, ſo that he was conſtrayned to ſend vnto Caratake king of Scots for ayde agaynſt the common enimies of both nations. Caratake hauing conſydered the effect of this Meſſage, gaue counſaile to the Brytaynes to ſende into Fraunce then called Gallia, to practiſe wyth the people there to moue ſome rebellion agaynſt the Romaines, in hope of helpe, whiche they were aſſured to haue by the Brytaynes. This counſaile was followed, for immediatly

Kymbaline king of Brytaynes dieth.

Guiderius the Britiſh king rebelleth agaynſt the Romaines.

Planctius otherwiſe Plautius.

Guiderius ſendeth to Caratake for ayde.

raunce in thoſe dayes Gallia.

Guiderius ſlaine.

The Emperor Claudius commeth into Brytaine.

Claudius ſayleth into the Orkneys.

immediatly vpon the Ambaſſadours returne, there were ſent ouer into Fraunce certain intelligenſaries to moue ſome conſpiracie which had taken effect (by reaſon of the generall hate of ſeruitude wherein the Romaines kepte the people ſubiect to them in thoſe dayes) if Guiderius had not beene conſtrayned to giue battayle, and chaunced to be ſlaine in the ſame ere the Gaulles coulde bee reſolued vppon any determinate purpoſe. This ouerthrowe beeing reported in Fraunce, cauſed the Gaulles to ſtay theyr intended rebellion. Shortly after Claudius hymſelfe came ouer into Brytayne, and receyuing the Brytaynes vnder his obeyſaunce, ordered things among them at his pleaſure. And after preparing his nauie and armie with all purueyaunce conuenient, hee ſet forwarde towardes the Iſles of Orkney, purpoſing to conquere the ſame, for that they had ayded the Brytaynes in theſe laſt warres agaynſt the Romaines. But approching neare to thoſe Iſles, he was in danger to haue beene caſt away by a tempeſt ryſing by chaunce, euen as he was entered the ſtreyte betwixt the Orkeneys and Dungiſbie heade in Cateneſe called Pictlande Frith: yet at length getting to lande, hee founde in that Iſle where hee fyrſt arryued, no bodie at home, all the people through feare vpon the firſt ſight of the great multitude of ſhippes beeing fled to hyde themſelues in caues and dennes amongeſt the rockes and mountaynes.

Now Kirkewale

Claudius taketh the king of the Orkneys.

Claudius therefore leauing this Iſle, paſſed into Pomonia the chiefeſt of all the Orkneys, where diſcomfiting ſuche as appeared abrode to make reſiſtance, he beſieged the king of theſe Iſles named Ganus, within a Caſtel whither hee was withdrawne, and finally cauſing him to yeelde himſelfe priſoner, led him with other nobles of Brytayne (whome hee had for pledges) vnto Rome, the more to ſet forth the glorie of his triumph at his returne vnto the Citie.

The doubt of Claudius going into the Orkneys.

Dion Caſsius.

But whatſoeuer Hector Boetius and others write of this paſſage of Claudius into the Orkneys, it is not like that he came there at all, for if he ſtayed not paſt .xvj. dayes in Brytayne, as by Dion Caſſius it appeareth that hee did not in deed, how ſhould we ymagin that he coulde both pacifie the South partes of Brytayne, and after go into Orkney and conquere the ſame within ſo ſmall a time, being readie to returne towardes Rome at the ende of thoſe .xvj. dayes, as the ſayd Dion affirmeth? But this diſcourſe haue I made according to their owne Hiſtories, leaſt I ſhould ſeeme to defraude them of whatſoeuer glorie is to be gotten by errours, as the maner is of them as well as of other Nations, whiche to aduaunce their antiquities and glorie of theyr aunceſtours, take the aduantage oftentymes of wryters ſcant worthie of credite.

Aruiragu ſaketh his ful wife.

But nowe againe to our purpoſe. Aruiragus being eſtabliſhed in the kingdome of Brytayne, vpon ſome priuate diſpleaſure forſooke his wyfe named Voada, the ſiſter of Caratake king of the Scottiſh men, and maryed one Geniſſa a Romaine Ladie, whiche acte manye of the Brytaynes diſallowed, the more in dede, bycauſe he had fayre iſſue alreadie by Voada, as a ſonne and two daughters. But this was done, as all men iudged, by the counſell of Aulus Planctius, thereby to breake all friendſhip and alliaunce betwixt the Brytaynes and Scottes, to the ende that in no caſe of rebellion they ſhould ioyne their powers togither.

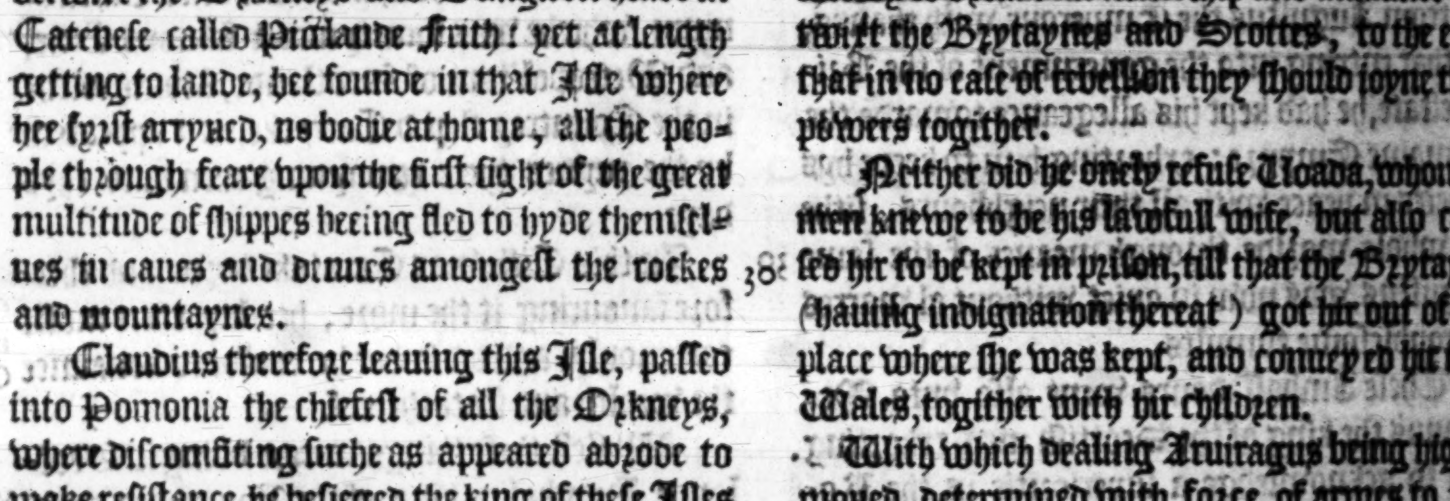
Voada im ſoned.

Voada is d uered out priſon, a conueyed Wales.

Neither did he onely refuſe Voada, whom al men knewe to be his lawfull wife, but alſo cauſed hir to be kept in priſon, till that the Brytayns (hauing indignation thereat) got hir out of the place where ſhe was kept, and conueyed hir into Wales, togither with hir children.

Aruiragu ueth his e mies an o uerthrow.

With which dealing Aruiragus being highly moued, determined with force of armes to puniſh them that had thus miſuſed him: but perceyuing that not onely thoſe people which inhabited the Countrey, nowe called Wales, and other that adioyned on the North Marches thereof were readie to defende the Queene agaynſt his malice, he was fayne to require ayde of the Romaynes, who with their Captaine Aulus Planctius aſſembling togyther with ſuch of the Brytayns as tooke part with Aruiragus, ſet forwarde towarde the enimies, and ioyning with them in battail, did giue them the ouerthrow.



...mmotion ...Ar- ...g a.

The next day after this victorie thus gotten, worde was brought that the people inhabiting in the countreys, which we now cal Lancaſhire, Yorkſhire, and Darbiſhire, were vp in armor agaynſt the king and the Romaines, by reaſon whereof Aruiragus and Aulus Planctius withdrewe towardes London, that defending the ſea coaſtes towards Fraunce, they might yet haue the ſea open at all tymes whatſoeuer chaunced.

And to reenforce their power, Aulus Planctius ſent ouer for two Legions of Souldiors into Fraunce, to come with all ſpeede to his ayde.

...e Brytayns ...ke them- ...n ſtrong.

The Brytaynes who had gone ſo farre in the matter that they could not wel withdraw themſelues, now being certified of al their enimies doings, thought beſt to make themſelues ſo ſtrong as was poſſible. And to the ende that they might proceede in ſome orderly meane, all the greateſt Lordes ⁊ eſtates aſſembled togither at Shrewſburie, in thoſe dayes called Corinium, where they concluded vppon a league to ayde one another with all their might and maine agaynſt the Romaines and Aruiragus, who went aboute to bring them wholy vnder ſeruile ſubiection and thraldome of the ſame Romaines.

...e Brytaines ...mble them ...es at ...rewſburie.

...ey confe- ...ate them- ...es togither

They beeing thus agreed to make warres in this quarell; and for the ſame purpoſe to ioyne theyr whole puyſſance togither, there roſe a doubt whome they myght choſe for theyr generall Captaine, for that it was feared leaſt there might growe ſome ſecrete enuie amongeſt the Nobles being of equal power, if one ſhould be in this caſe preferred before an other.

For the auoyding of which miſchiefe, by the graue admonition of one Comus, a noble man of the parties of Wales, they accorded to ſende Meſſengers vnto Caratake the King of Scotlande, requyring him to ayde them in their right and iuſt quarel agaynſt Aruiragus and the Romaines, whereby hee might reuenge the iniurie done to his ſyſter Queene Voada and hir iſſue, whome the father throughe counſayle of the Romaines purpoſed to diſenherite, to the ende, ſuche chyldren as he had by Geniſſa (for that they were of the Romain bloud) might enioy the kingdome.

...take cho- ...n the cap- ...e of the ...ytaynes.

...ragus ...th diſen- ...te hys ...e children ...h he had ...Voada.

They further declared, that all the Brytiſhe Lordes, whiche were confederate in this enterpriſe, had choſen him by common aſſent to bee their general and chief leader, if it might ſo pleaſe him to take it vpon him, as their truſt was hee would: conſidering the iuſt cauſes of their warre, and the ſuretie whiche by victorie gotten might enſue vnto al the inhabitants of the whole Iſle of Albion.

...take pro- ...ſed and vn- ...the By- ...ynes.

Caratake hauing hearde the ſumme of their requeſt, and throughly waying the ſame, promiſed them to be readie with his whole puiſſance in the beginning of the next ſpring, to come to theyr ayde, vnto what place ſoeuer they ſhoulde thinke expedient: and thereof hee tolde them, they myght be moſt aſſured: wylling them in the meane time ſo to prouide for themſelues, as theyr enimyes myght haue no aduauntage at their handes.

With this agreeable anſwere the Brytiſhe Meſſengers returned vnto Shrewſburie to the confederates, who reioyſing at the newes, made prouiſion agaynſt the next Spring to goe agaynſt the Romaines, in hope of good ſucceſſe, ſpeciallye throughe ayde of the Scottes and Pictes, who alſo wyth theyr King called Conkyſt were willing to helpe towardes the delyuering of the lande from bondage of the Romaines, whoſe neſtling ſo neare their noſes, they were loth to ſee or heare of.

The Pictes ioyne with Scottes and Brytaynes, agaynſt the Romaines.

So ſoone therefore as the ſpring approched, all thoſe three people, Brytaynes, Scottes, and Pictes, gathered theyr powers togither, and met in Yorkeſhyre, in purpoſe to encounter wyth theyr enimyes in battayle, whereſoeuer they founde them.

Aruiragus ⁊ Aulus Planctius hauing knowledge of all the doings of the confederates, likewyſe aſſembled their power, and comming towardes them, for a while forbare to ioyne in battayle, throughe counſaile of Planctius, who perceyuing the moſt part of the Brytaynes and Scottes to be but newe Souldiers, taken vp of late to fil the numbers, knew that by protracting tyme they woulde be ſoone out of heart, throughe watching and euill harborough, in ſuch ſort that in the ende they ſhoulde be eaſie ynough to deale with: and euen ſo it came to paſſe. For the Romaines refuſing to fight a generall battayle, yet ſcoured ſo the fieldes on eche ſide abrode, that neyther the Brytaynes nor Scottes coulde goe forth any wayes for forrage or vittailes, but they were ſtil ſnatched vp, ſo that what through hunger, lacke of ſleepe, and other diſeaſes, many of the Brytaynes began to conuey themſelues from the campe home to theyr houſes, of whome ſome beyng taken by the enimies, declared yͭ the whole armie of the confederates was in great diſtreſſe and ſore enfeebled by ſuche vnaccuſtomed trauaile and diſeaſes as they were enforced vnto in the campe. Wherevpon Aruiragus and Aulus Planctius determined the next day to giue battaile. And ſo in the morning they arrayed theyr people and marched forth betymes towardes the campe of the confederates.

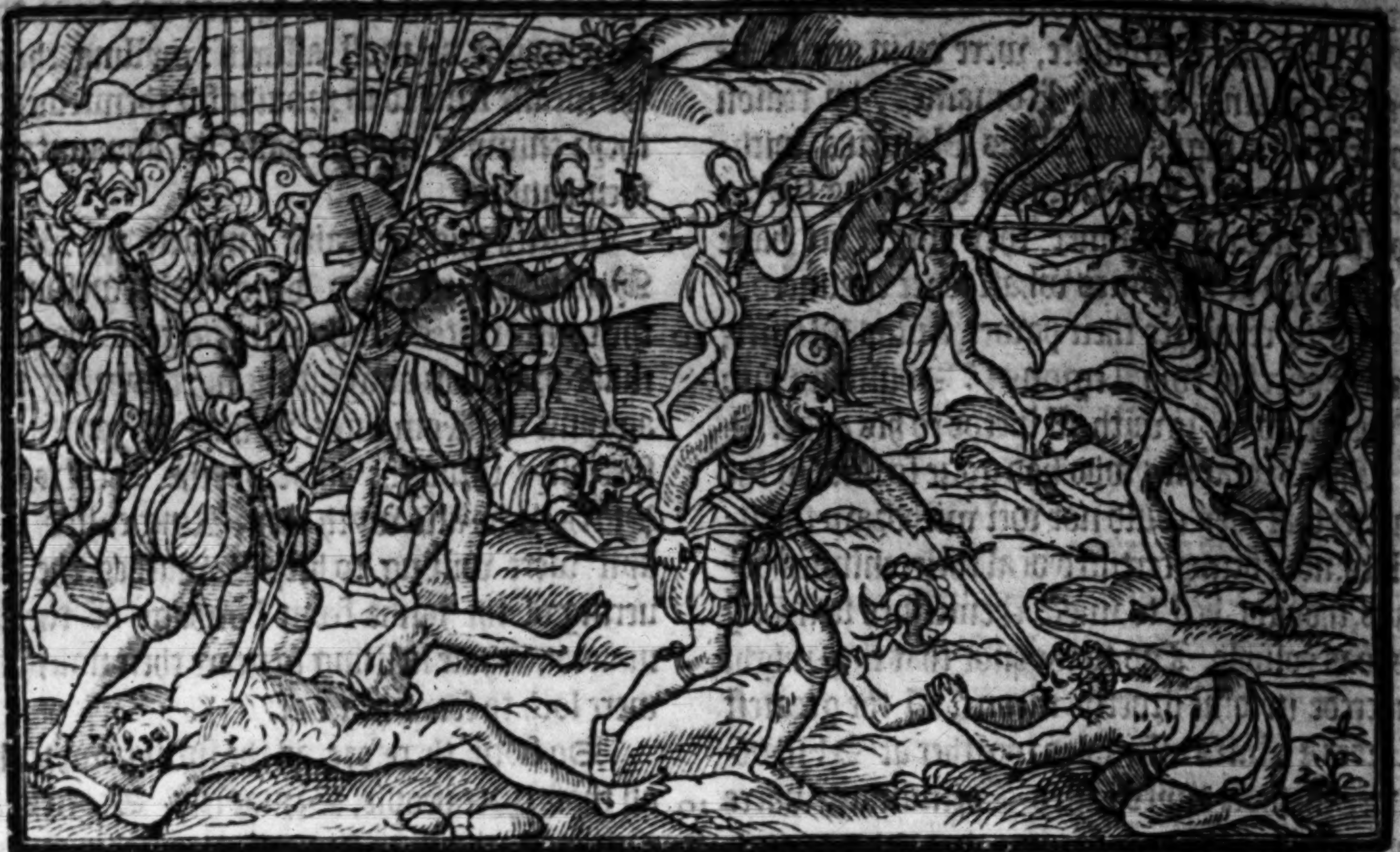
The Brytaynes awearied through trauaile.

Caratake who (as ye haue hearde) was generall of all the confederates, vnderſtanding the enimies intent, was as readie to receyue battayle as they were to offer it: wherevpon there enſued right great and vnmercifull ſlaughter be-

The Romains giue battail to the Brytaynes.

twixt them on both partes without ſparing at al tyll ſuch time as the night parted the fray, with ſuche loſſe on eyther ſide, that after they were once got in ſunder, neither part had any haſt afterwardes to ioyne againe: ſo that in the morning there appeared none in the fielde but onely the deade bodyes, thoſe that were left aliue as wel on the one part as the other being fled and ſcattered into the woddes and mountaynes.

Night p the fray.



Caratake returneth home to Carictonium.

Ambaſſadors are ſent vnto Caratake from Aulus Planctius.

Aruiragus and Planctius got them vnto London: and Caratake commaunding his people home ech man into his Countrey, he himſelfe withdrewe firſt towardes Yorke, and after vnto the Citye of Carrike. Whither ſhortly after there came vnto him Ambaſſadors from Iulus Planctius, ſent to knowe vpon what occaſion hee did ayde the Brytiſhe rebelles agaynſt the Romaine Empyre, declaring that if he woulde not be conformable to make a worthie amendes for ſo preſumptuous an enterpriſe, he ſhoulde be ſure to haue the Romaines his enimies: and that in ſuche wiſe, as he ſhoulde perceyue, it were muche better for him to ſeeke their friendſhippe, than to abyde their enimitie. Herevnto Caratake anſwered, that he had iuſt cauſe to do that which he did. Conſidering the iniuries which his ſiſter Voada with hir ſon Guiderius had & were lyke to receyue by their counſel & meanes: & therefore he was ſo little mynded to make any amendes for that was done, that he thought it more reaſon that the Romaines ſhoulde clearly auoyd out of the whole poſſeſſion of Brytaine, eyther elſe they might aſſure themſelues to haue aſwell the Brytaynes, as alſo the Scottes and Pictes to be their perpetual enimies, and that onely for the chalenge of their auncient liberties & freedom.

Caratake his anſwere vnto the Ambaſſadours.

The Romaine Ambaſſadors being returned with this anſwere, Planctius tooke no ſmall indignation therat, ſore menacing to be reuenged of ſo high and cōtumelious wordes pronounced agaynſt the maieſtie of the Romaine Empyre.

Aruiragu reuolteth

About the ſame tyme Aruiragus vpon truſt conceyued by ioyning his power with the other confederate Brytaynes to expulſe the Romaines quite out of the realme, and ſo to recouer the entyre eſtate reuolting from thē, fled vnto Shrewſburie, where the ſame time ſuch Brytiſh Lordes as were enimies to the Romaines, were aſſembled againe in coūſail, by whom Aruiragus was receyued with great gladneſſe (ye may be ſure) of thoſe Lordes, truſting by his meanes to haue their force in maner doubled.

Geniſſa th wife of A ragus dic

His wife Geniſſa being the ſame ſeaſon great with childe, tooke ſuch thought for this reuolting of hir huſband, that trauayling before hir tyme, ſhe immediatly dyed therewith.

A meſſeng ſent vnto C dius the E perour fro Planctius.

But Iulus Planctius perceyuing now thorowly how little truſt there was to be put in the Brytaynes, diſpatched a meſſenger in all haſte with letters vnto Claudius the Emperour, who as then ſoiourned at Rome, ſignifying vnto him in what daunger the ſtate of Brytaine ſtoode, if tymely prouiſion were not the ſooner made.

Claudius waying the matter by good aduiſe of counſaile, ordeyned by decree of the Senate, that Veſpaſian (of whom ye haue heard before) ſhould be ſent hither with an armie to tame the prowde and loftie ſtomackes of the Brytaynes, with their confederates the Scottes and Pictes.

Veſpaſian commeth to Brytayn

Veſpaſian herevpon departing from Rome, came into Fraunce, and encreaſing his legions, with a ſupplie of ſuch ſoldiers as he found there, paſſed ouer into this our Brytaine, where contrarie to the report which he had heard afore hys comming, he founde euery fortreſſe ſo wel furniſhed after yͤ warlik order of the Romaine vſage, and moreouer all ſuche companies of menne of warre as kept the field, ſo well appoynted and orderd, that he coulde not but much prayſe the greate diligence and politike gouernment of Planctius.

Nowe when Veſpaſian had a little refreſhed his men, and taken order howe to proceede in the reducing of the Brytaynes to theyr former obedience, he ſet forwarde towarde Aruiragus and other the enimies, whome he vnderſtoode as then to be at Yorke making their aſſemble, not generally of all that were able to beare a Clubbe, as they did the yeare before, but out of all parties a choſen number of pyked men were ſent for, as out of Deuonſhire and Cornewal there came ſix thouſande: forth of Wales and the marches xij. thouſande, and the lyke number forth of Kendal, Weſtmerlande, and Cumberlande. Out of Oxfordſhire and other the partyes of Brytayne ſubiect vnto Aruiragus, there came a. xxxv. thouſād. Al which numbers aſſembled neare vnto Yorke, euery man bringing hys prouiſion with him to ſerue him for two Monethes ſpace. Unto the ſame place came alſo Caratake with. xxx. thouſande Scottiſhe men: and Mythara otherwyſe called Tharan, king of the Pictes, with almoſte as many of his ſubiectes.

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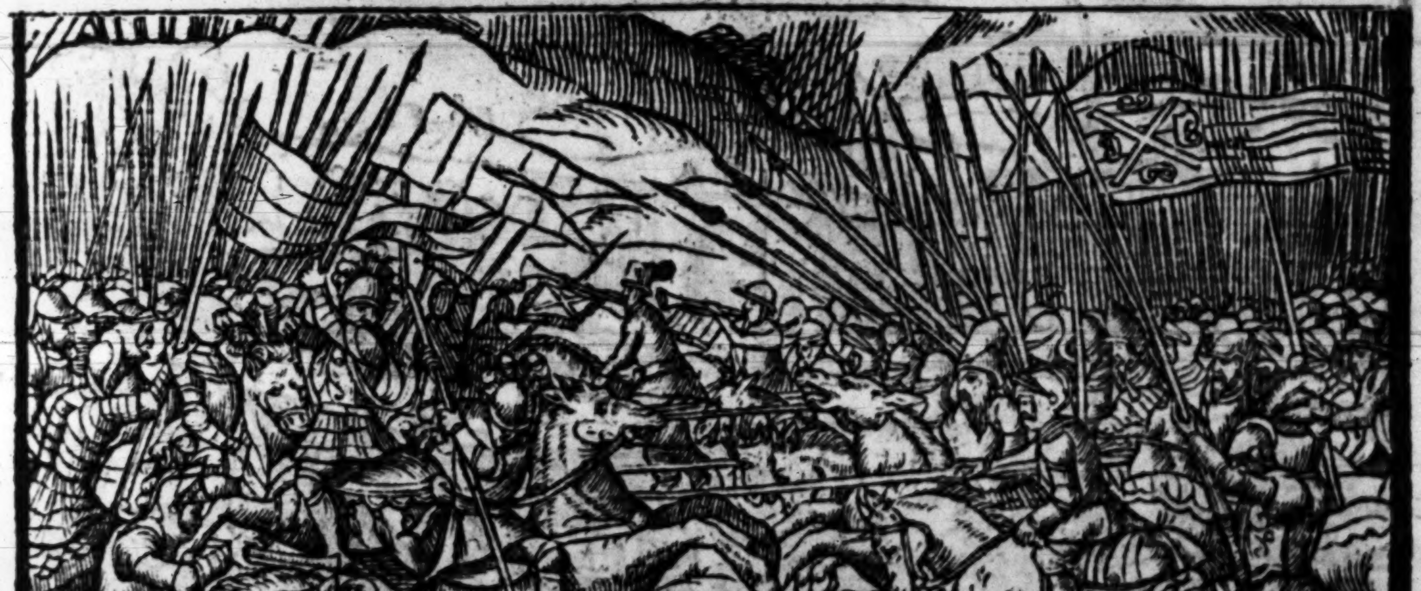
e Scots and
ictes come
aide the
rytaynes.
ythara or
aran king
the Pictes.

Veſpaſian being certified ſtill from tyme to tyme of all the doings of hys enimies, haſted with all ſpeede towardes them. And by the leading of truſtie guydes comming to the place where they were encamped within a Marriſhe grounde not paſſing. xij. myles from Yorke, hee fiercely vpon a ſodaine ſetteth vpon them wythin their campe ere they thought that he had beene neare them. But yet notwythſtanding they manfully ſtoode to their defence: inſomuch, that thoſe in the right wing of the Romaines armie, were lyke to haue beene diſtreſſed, if Veſpaſian perceyuing the daunger, had not ſent a Legion to their ayde in tyme, wherby the battayle was newly in that part reſtored.

Veſpaſian aſ-
ſayleth the
Brytaynes in
their campe.

The Captaynes on eyther ſyde did what they coulde to encourage their folkes to ſticke to their tackle without giuing ouer by any meanes, conſidering what gaine came by victorie, and what loſſe enſued by receyuing the ouerthrow.

The Brytaynes, Scottes, and Pictes, lyke enraged Lyons, ranne vppon the Romaines, with ſuch cruel deſire of reuenge, that euen when they were thruſt through vpon the poynt of any weapon, they woulde runne ſtill vpon the ſame, to come vnto him that helde it, that they might requite him with the like againe. But yet would not all that their fierce and deſperate hardineſſe preuaile, for fortune by fatall appoyntment being bent to aduaunce the Romains vnto the dominion of the whole worlde, ſhewed hir ſelfe ſo fauourable vnto them in this battaile, that in the ende, thoughe the Brytaynes wyth the confederates did what lay in men to do for attayning of victorie, yet were they beaten downe and ſlain euerie mothers ſonne, a fewe onely except, which eſcaped by flight.



e deſperate
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erthrowe.

Aruiragus ſeeing the ſlaughter of his people, woulde haue ſlaine himſelfe, but that ſome of his ſeruantes caryed hym by force out of the fielde, that hee myght bee preſerued yet vnto ſome better fortune.

Caratake eſcaping by flight, fled into hys countrey, but Tharan king of the Pictes, not coueting to liue after ſuch loſſe of his people, threw away his armor with al his kingly ornaments, & ſitting down vpon a ſtone, as a mā paſt himſelf, was there ſlain by ſuche as followed in the chaſe.

Caratake eſ-
capeth.
Tharan king
of the Pictes
is ſlaine.

Aruiragus being conueyed out of danger, and gotten into Yorke, conſydered howe by reaſon of this great diſcomfiture, it was vnpoſſible to reſyſt the Romaine puiſſaunce, and therfore

Meſſengers ſent by Aruiragus vnto Veſpaſiã with ſubmiſſion.

with conſent of the reſidue of his Nobles that were eſcaped from the battaile, hee ſent an Heralde vnto Veſpaſian, offering to ſubmit himſelfe in moſte humble wyſe vnto any reaſonable conditions of peace and agreement. Wherevpon Veſpaſian comaunded that Aruiragus ſhould in priuate apparell come in vnto him, for he would not talke of any peace, except he had Aruiragus preſent, and therefore hee ſent vnto him his ſafeconduct to aſſure him ſafe both to come and goe.

Aruiragus cõmeth in vnto Veſpaſian. Aruiragus is reſtored again to his former dignitie.

Aruiragus ſeeing no other remedie, came in vnto Veſpaſian, according to his appoyntment, and vpon his ſubmiſſion was pardoned of all his treſpaſſe, and placed againe in the kingdome.

The Brytaynes are pardoned but yet deliuer newe hoſtages.

The Cities and good townes alſo that were partakers in the rebellion, were in ſemblable wyſe forgiuen without fining or other indemnitie, and ſo likewiſe were all the Nobles of the Countrey. Howbeit for the better aſſuraunce of their loyaltie in tyme to come, they delyuered new hoſtages.

Their lawes abrogated. New lawes.

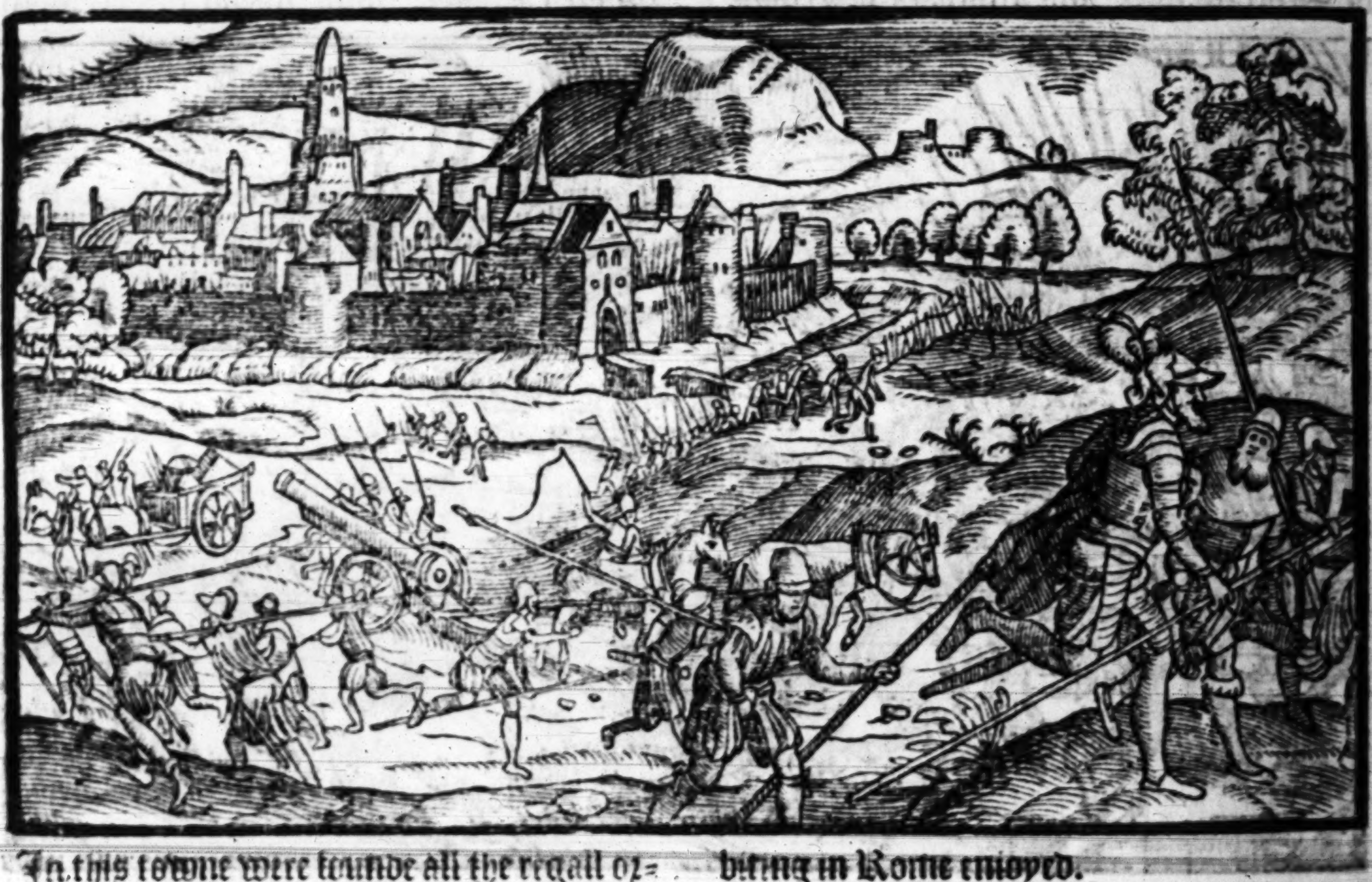
Their auncient lawes alſo were abrogated, and the Romain lawes in their place eſtabliſhed. For the adminiſtration of the whiche, in euerye prouince was appointed a Romaine iudge to ſee good orders obſerued according to the forme thereof. By which meanes the Brytiſh nation eftſoones returned vnto hir former obedience of the Romain Empyre.

All the winter following, Veſpaſian laye at Yorke, making his appreſtes agaynſte the nexte ſpring to go againſt the Scottes and Pictes. So ſoone therefore as the Sommer was come, Veſpaſian ſetteth forward with his armie, and entering into the marches of his enimies, hee did put them in ſuch feare, that the Pictes were glad to yeeld themſelues vnto him, a few of the nobles & ſome other except, which were withdrawne into Camelon, in hope through ſtrength of that town to defend themſelues from all aſſaultes.

Camelon beſieged by Veſpaſian.

Veſpaſian being certified therof, came and beſieged them within the ſame city, not minding to depart till he had them at his pleaſure. This ſiege cõtinued til they within being in dãger to famiſh through want of vittailes, ſurrendred themſelues with the towne into Veſpaſians handes.

Camelon ſ rendred.



The kings regal ornaments taken.

In this towne were founde all the regall ornaments: as the crowne, and ſworde, with other iewels belonging to the kings of the Pictes. The ſworde hauing the haft of golde, and a purple ſcabbarde verie fynely wrought and trimmed, Veſpaſian vſed to weare in all the warres wherein he afterwardes chaunced to bee, in hope (I cannot tell of what good ſucceſſe and lucke to follow thereof.

The Pictiſh Lordes which were within Camelon, were commaunded to deliuer pledges: and after licenced to depart without any other domage.

Camelon peopled with Romaines.

Veſpaſian himſelfe remayning at Camelon, tooke order for the peopling of the towne wyth Romaines, graunting them the vſe of the liberties and priuileges which the Romaines inhabiting in Rome enioyed.

Iulus H
This was a
Colcheſter
the Britiſh a
Engliſh wry-
ters do geſ

Alſo ouer agaynſt the towne vpon the banke of the Ryuer of Carone, he buylded a Temple, in honour of the Emperour Claudius, wherein he ſette vp two Images, the one repreſenting Claudius, and the other the Goddeſſe Victoria.

Caratake aſ ſembleth a armie.

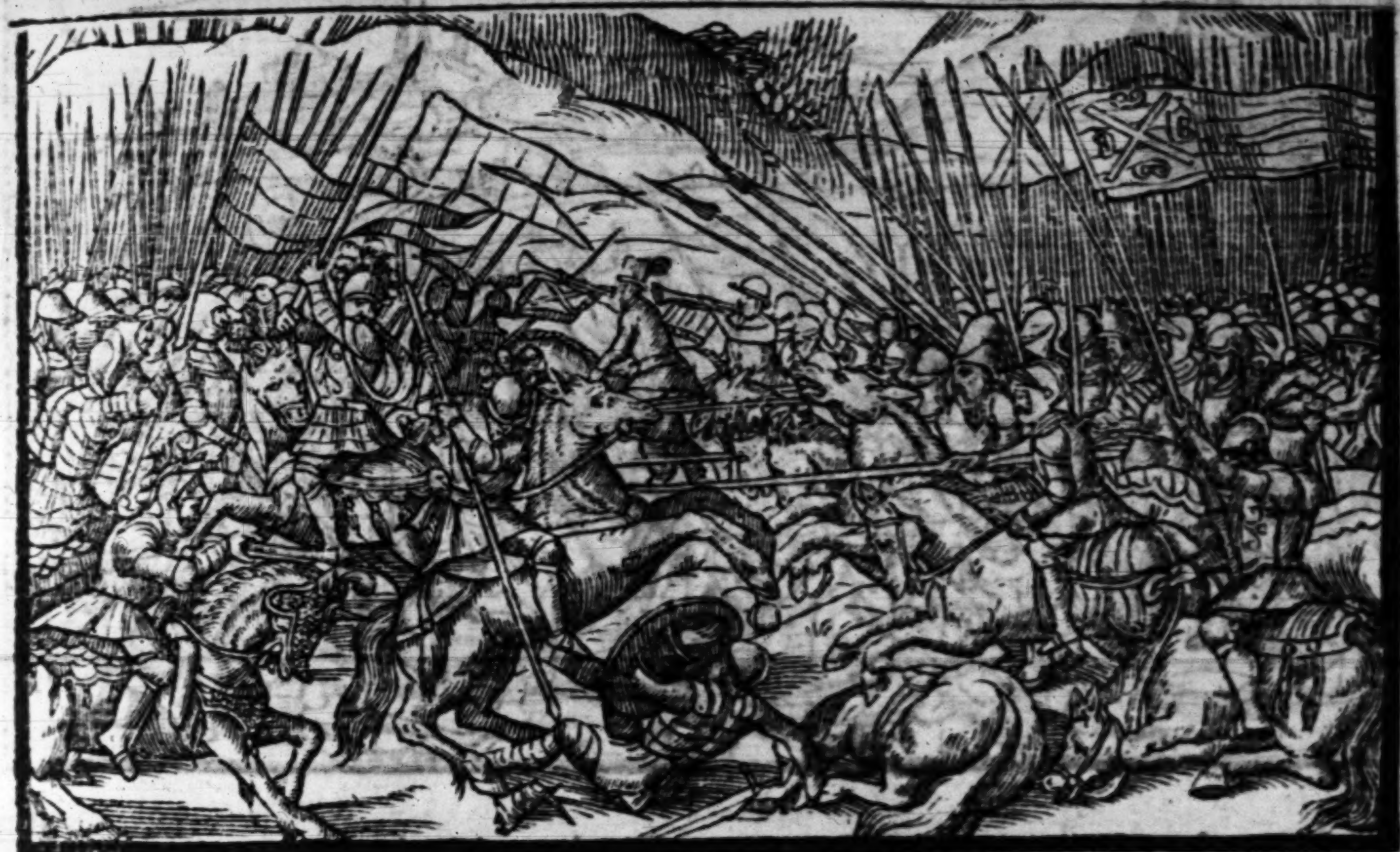
Whileſt he was thus occupied, tidings came to him, that Caratake king of the Scottiſh men had aſſembled in Galloway, a great armie of Scottes, Pictes and Brytaynes, in purpoſe to come agaynſt the Romaines, to reuenge the laſt ouerthrow. Wherupon Veſpaſian with al ſpeede ſent forth a ſtrong power vnder the leading of Iulus Planctius to encounter the enimies.

Planctius ſent forth an armie agaynſt Caratake.

Planctius being approched within foure miles of them, encamped himſelfe in a ſtrong place, as thoughe hee minded not to paſſe further, tyll Veſpaſian with the reſidue of his whole puiſſance were come to his ayde. Neuertheleſſe night was no ſooner come on, but that hee gaue generall commaundement through his hoſt, that euerie man ſhoulde make him readie to depart at a certaine houre vnder the Standarts of their captaynes in order of battaile. And ſo, in the ſecond watche of the night, he ſet forwarde, following certaine guydes, (which knew all the ſtrayts and paſſages of the countrey) till he came to the place where Caratake with his armie was lodged: and firſt killing the watche that ſtoode to defende his entrance, till the armie was rayſed, he ſet vpon the whole campe, and though he founde ſuche reſiſtaunce, that the battaile continued right fierce and cruell from the dawning of the daye, tyll it was highe Noone, yet in the ende the victorie remayned with the Romaines, and the Scottes with the Pictes, and ſuche Brytaynes as were on their parte, put to flight and chaſed. Caratake eſcaping out of the battaile, fled into Argyle, and got him to the Caſtel of Dunſtafage.

Planctius ſetteth vpon the Scottiſh camp.

aratake fly-
en into Dun-
ſtage.



Dyuerſe of the Brytaynes and Pictes which as yet had not ſubmitted themſelues, were put in ſuch dread through brute of this ouerthrow, that immediately therevpon they came in and yeelded themſelues vnto Veſpaſian. And in ſemblable wiſe the people of Galloway vtterly dyſpayring longer to defende theyr Countrey agaynſt Planctius (who was nowe entered into their confines, and had taken the Citie of Carricke) offered to become ſubiectes vnto the Romaines, which they might neuer be brought vnto before that tyme.

he people of
alloway ſub-
mit themſel-
ues to the Ro-
aines.

Theſe newes being certified vnto Veſpaſian by a Purceuaunt, he rode ſtreight wayes vnto Carrike, and there receyued the othes of the nobles, and other the inhabitants of the countrey.

adors
Ca-
take.

That done, he ſent Ambaſſadours vnto Caratake, to trie if he might perſwade him by any meanes to become friende vnto the Romaine Empyre, in acknowledging ſome maner of ſubiection therevnto: but this deuiſe was to ſmall purpoſe, for Caratake was determined rather to ende hys lyfe as a free Scottiſhe man in defence of libertie, than to become thrall vnto any forrayne Nation, in hope to liue long tyme in ſeruitude, doubting leaſt if he came any wayes forth within the daunger of the Romaines, they woulde vſurpe the whole dominion vnto themſelues.

aratake vt-
erly refuſeth
o become a
ubiect.

Whoſe mynde when Veſpaſian vnderſtoode by his anſwer made to the Ambaſſadours which were ſent vnto him, he was minded to haue gone with an armie vnto Dunſtafage where Caratake lay, but that he was infourmed what daungerous paſſages he muſt marche through, all full of deſart Mountaynes, bogges and quauemyres, without any prouiſion of vitailes or forrage to be found by all the way as the army ſhould paſſe.

Leauing therefore this enterpryſe, hee cauſed ſo many veſſelles to be aſſembled, as coulde bee prouided on all partes, purpoſing to haue paſſed ouer into the Iſle of Man., into the which there were gotten togither a great ſort of Brytaynes and Pictes, that had eſcaped the Romaines handes. But this iourney was alſo broken by an other incident, for euen the ſame tyme newes were broughte that the Brytaynes of the Iſle of Wyght, with the Kentiſh men, and diuerſe other the inhabitantes vppon the South coaſt, were reuolted, and had ſlaine diuerſe Romaines, which lay in gariſons in thoſe partes.

The Iſle of Wight rebelleth.

Veſpaſian therefore mynding to cure thys wounde ere it ſhould throughly feſter, haſted thither with al ſpeed, & with little a do pacifying the

Veſpaſian appeaſeth the Rebelles.

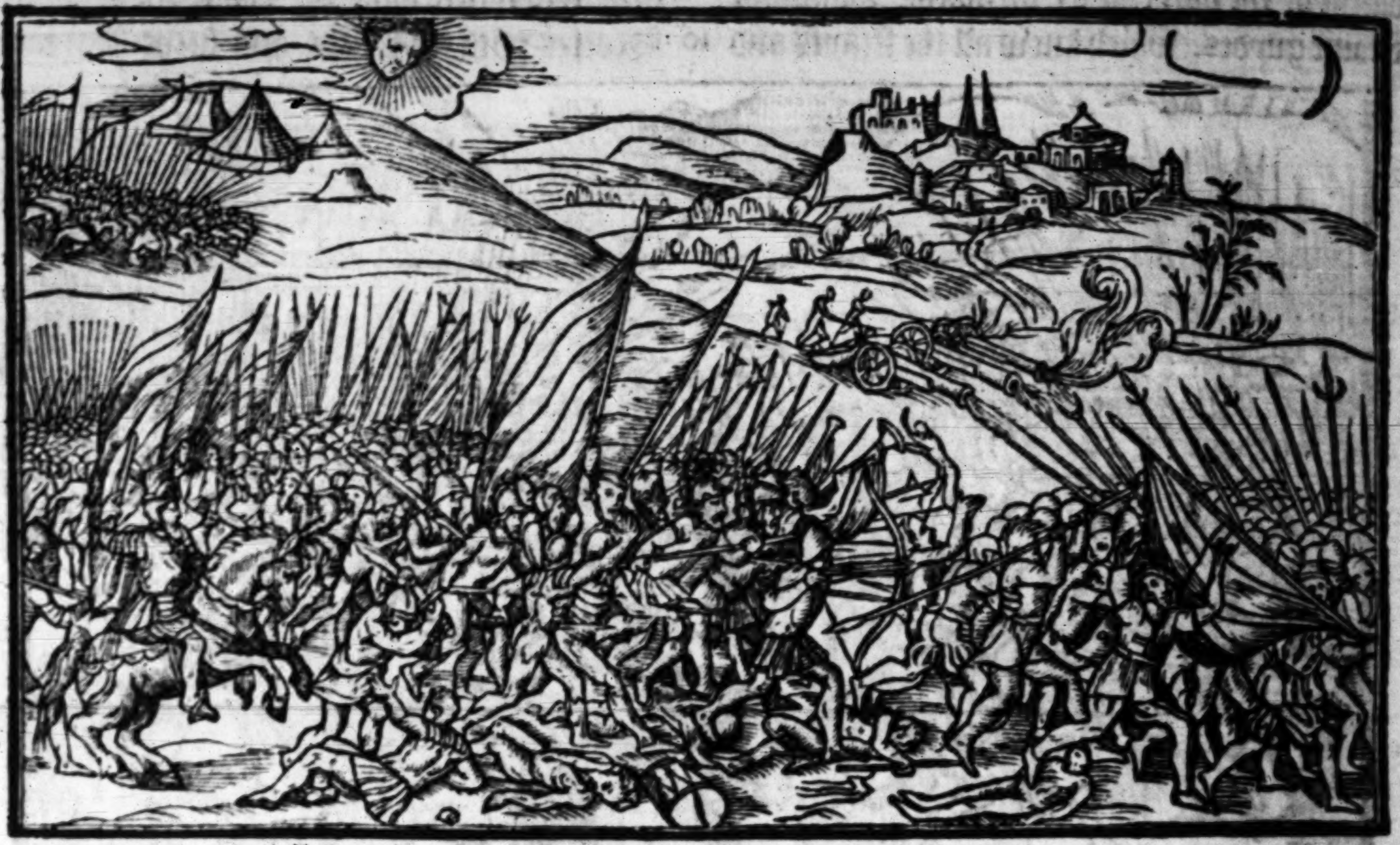
rebelles, cauſed the chiefe offenders to be puniſhed in his reſpect according to their deſerts.

Veſpaſian returneth to Rome.

Planctius lef as gouernor.

Planctius prepareth to me the Scottes.

Shortly after being ſent for by the Emperour Claudius, hee returned vnto Rome with great glorie for his noble and high atchieued victories. Iulus Planctius was left in charge with the gouernment of Brytayne after Veſpaſians departure: who hearing that Caratake had aſſembled a great armie of Scottes and other ſuch Brytaynes and Pictes as had not yet ſubmitted themſelues vnto the Romains, in purpoſe to recouer againe thoſe Countreys which Veſpaſian had lately cōquered, he likewiſe prepared to meete them, ſo that both the armies encountering togither, there was foughte a righte terrible battaile wyth great ſlaughter on both partyes, tyll finally the victorie enclyning to the Romaines, more throughe ſkilfull policie than puiſſaunt force, the Scottes, Pictes, and Brytaynes were diſcomfited and chaſed into the bogges and mariſhes, the common refuge in thoſe dayes for the Scottes, when by any aduenture they chaunced to be put to flight.



The Romains through policie vanquiſh the Scottiſh men.

After this ouerthrowe the warre was continued for a two yeares ſpace by rodes and incurſions, made one vppon another in the confines of Kyle and Galloway. In whiche meane tyme Planctius fell ſicke of the Flixe, whiche ſtyll continuing wyth hym, brought hym at length in ſuche caſe, that he was not able to trauayle at all in the publyke affayres of hys offyce. So that hee wrote his Letters vnto the Emperour Claudius, ſignifying vnto him in what caſe hee ſtoode, and therevpon requyred that ſome ſufficient perſonage might bee ſent to occupie his roome.

Planctius falleth ſicke.

Claudius hauing receyued his Letters, and vnderſtanding the effect of the ſame, ſente one Oſtorius Scapula, a man of highe lynage, and of good experience both in peace and warre, to haue the gouernance in Brytayne.

Oſtorius Scapula is ſent into Brytayne.

About the tyme of whoſe arriuall into Brytayne, Iulus Planctius departed out of thys worlde at Camelon, where hee then ſoiourned. Hys bodye was burned, and according to the vſage of the Romaines in thoſe dayes, the aſhes were cloſed in a Cheſt, and buryed within the Church of Claudius and Victoria, which (as is ſayde) Veſpaſian buylded neare vnto Camelon, vpon the Riuer ſide there. Hereof was a cuſtome taken vp amongſt both Scottes and Pictes, as ſome thinke, to burne the bodies of the deade, and to burie the aſhes. Whereof there hath beene founde diuerſe tokens and monuments in thys our age. As in the yeare 1521. at Findour a village in Merne, fiue miles diſtant from Aberdine there were founde in an olde graue two Cheſtes of a ſtraunge making ful of aſhes, either of them being engrauen with Romaine letters, whiche ſo ſoone as they were brought into the ayre, fell to duſt. Likewiſe in the fieldes of an other town called Kenbacken in Marre a ten myles diſtant from Aberdyne, about the ſame tyme were found by certayne Ploughmen two Sepulchres made of cut and ſquared ſtones, wherein were a foure Cheſtes, of workemanſhippe, bigneſſe and inſcription lyke to the other two. Many the ſemblable monumentes haue beene founde in diuerſe places in Scotlande in tymes paſt: but it is to be thought, that in theſe Sepultures there were Romaynes buryed, and neyther Scottes nor Pictes.

Aulus Planctius dyeth.

The vſage a mong Scott to burne the deade bodie

But nowe to our purpoſe. Immediatly vpon the comming of Oſtorius into Brytayne, The Brytayns yet eftſoones rebell.

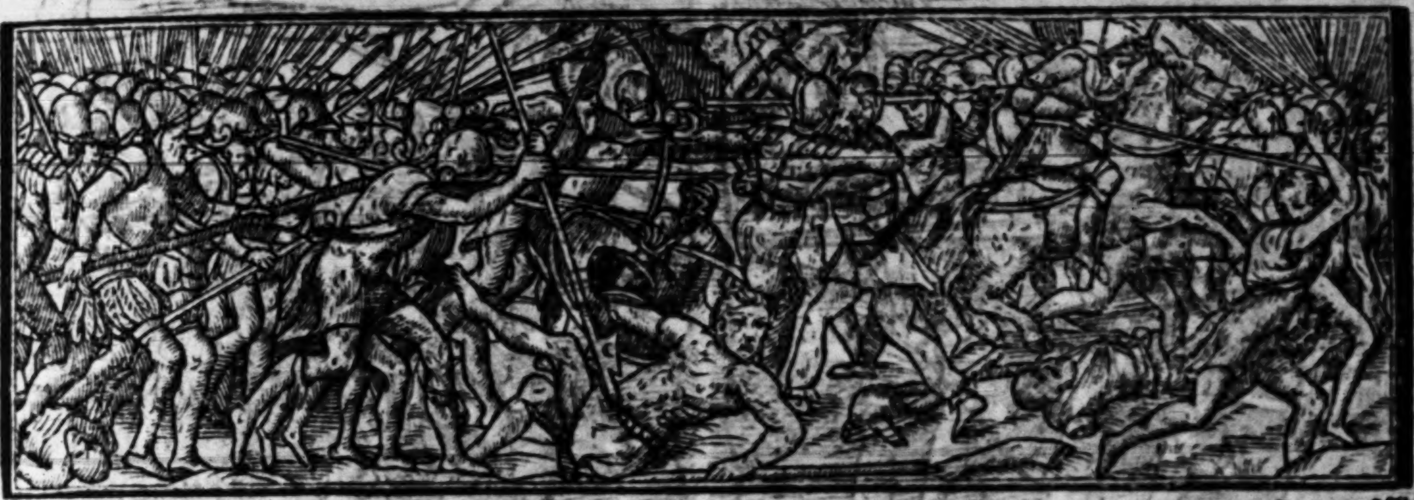
the people of the weſt Countreys rebelled, procuring the Northren men with the Scottes of Galloway, and all the Pictes to doe the like.

The Brytayns require ayde of Caratake.

They ſent alſo vnto Caratake, requyring him in this common quarell agaynſt the Romaines to put to his helping hande for recouerie of the auncient libertie of the whole lande of Albion, conſidering it was like they ſhoulde matche well ynough with this new Romain captaine Oſtorius Scapula, that vnderſtoode little of the maners and vſages of the Brytaynes.

The Brytaynes of the weſt part are chaſed

But this notwithſtanding, Oſtorius beeing enformed of all theſe practiſes, and remembring what furtheraunce it were for a captaine in the begynning to win a name by ſome prayſe worthy enterpriſe, he made firſt towards the weſtern Brytaynes, whome he thought to ſurpriſe ere they ſhoulde aſſemble with the other rebels, and ſo meeting with them, he chaſed and toke a great number of them as they fled here and there, out of all order.



Iceni.

Oxfordſhire is aſſayled.

Some take the Iceni to be the Norffolk men

After this, he went agaynſt the people called *Iceni*, which (as ſome think) inhabited the Countrey nowe called Oxfordſhire, but others take them to bee Norffolke men, who beeing gathered togither, were gotten into a ſtrong place, encloſed about with a great ditche, as they vſe to fence paſture grounds, that no Horſemen ſhould breake in vpon them: yet this notwithſtanding, Oſtorius aſſayled them within their ſtrength, and in the ende breaking downe the rampyre, with ſuche ayde as he had, burſt in at length amongſt them, ſleaing and taking the moſt part of them: for fewe or none eſcaped, they were ſo kept in on eche ſide. But of this battaile, and likewiſe of other enterpriſes which Oſtorius and other of the Romaine Lieutenants atchieued here in Brytayne, ye ſhal find more thereof in the hyſtorie of Englande according to the true report of the Romaine wryters, the which verily make no mention either of Scottes or Pictes tyll the yeare of our Lorde 320. at the ſooneſt. And as for the Silures and Brygantes remoued by Hector Boetius ſo farre Northwarde, it is euidently proued by Humfrey Lluyd and others, that they inhabited Countreys conteyned nowe within the lymyttes of Englande. The lyke ye haue to vnderſtande of the *Ordonices* where Caratake gouerned as king, and not in Carricke, as to the well aduiſed Reader I doubt not but it may ſufficiently appeare, as well in the deſcription as hyſtorie of Englande aforeſayde.

They of Galloway are beaten and pacifyed.

But nowe to returne where wee lefte: the brute of this late victorie quieted the buſie myndes of ſuch other of the Brytaynes, as were readie to haue reuolted. But they of Galloway woulde not at the fyrſt giue ouer, but in truſt of ayde at the handes of Caratake continued in theyr rebellion, till Oſtorius came thyther, and beate downe ſuche as made reſyſtaunce, whereby the other were ſoone pacifyed.

Kile and Cantyre waſted and ſpoyled.

After this he entered into the confines of Kile and Cantyre, ſpoyling and waſting thoſe countreys, and brought from thence a great number of captiues.

Caratake aſſembleth an armie.

With which iniurie Caratake being not a little kindled, he aſſembled a mighty army, wherein he had at the leaſt .xl. thouſand men, what of his own ſubiects & other ſuch as came to his ayde. For after he was entered into Pictland, there came vnto him out of all parties no ſmall number, of ſuch as deſired either to be reuenged on the Romains, either elſe to looſe life and libertie both at once, for the taſt of bondage was ſo bitter vnto all the inhabitants of Albion in this ſeaſon, that they in maner were wholy conſpired togither to remoue that yoke of thraldom from their ſhoulders which ſo painfully pinched them.

The ſtrength of the place where Caratake was encamped.

Of this matter ye may reade more in Englande.

Caratake thus furniſhed with an armie, choſe forth a ſtrong place to lodge in, fenced on the one ſide with the courſe of a deepe foordleſſe Riuer, and on the other ſides it mighte not bee approched vnto for the ſteepeneſſe of the cragges and ſuch fencing as they had made with great ſtones, in places where there was any eaſie way to enter.

Women encamped.

Women placed in order of battayle.

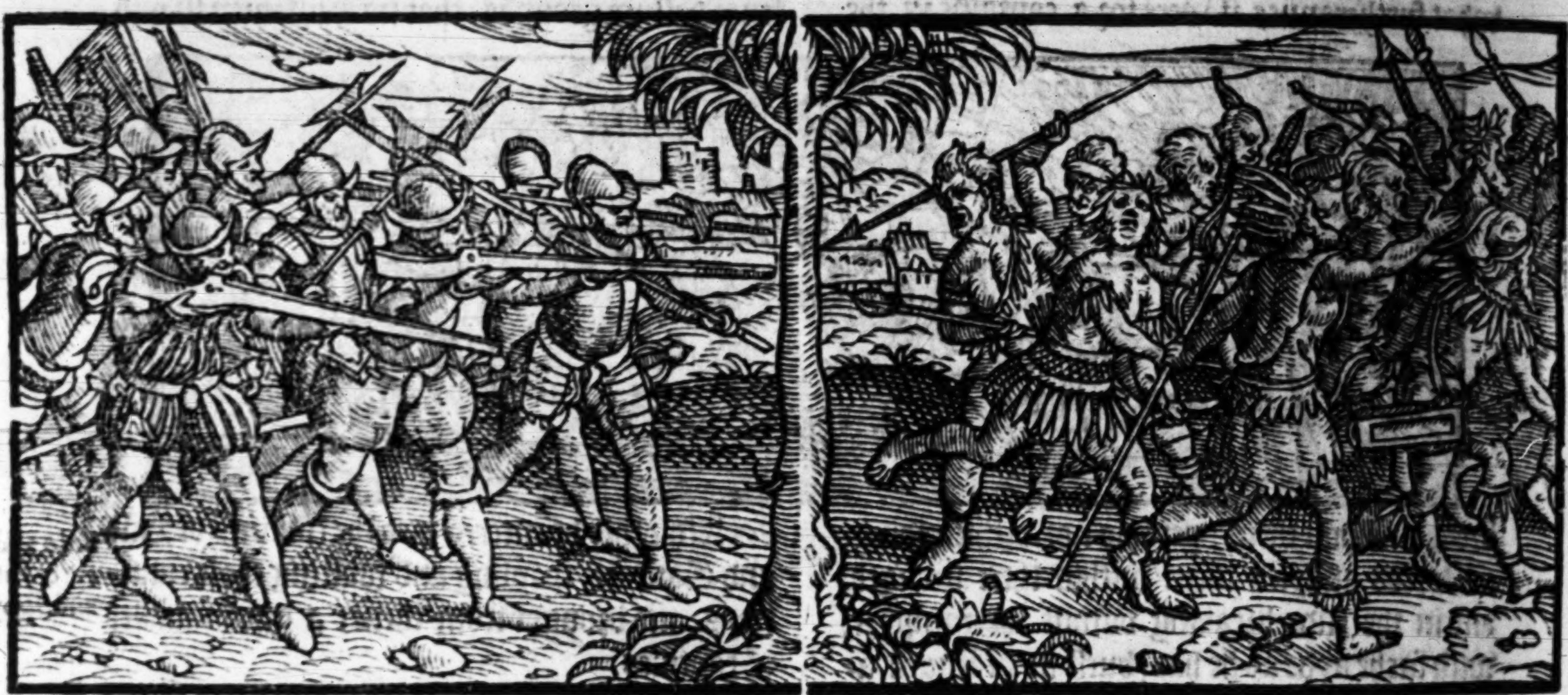
All ſuche women as were ſomewhat ſtept in age, and came thither with them, in greate numbers, were by Caratake placed on eyther ſyde hys battayles, both as well to encourage the men to doe valiauntly wyth ſhowting and hallowing vnto them, as alſo to aſſayle the Romaines with ſtones as they ſhoulde approche. Other ſuche as were yong and luſtie, were appoynted to keepe aray amongeſt the men to fight in the battaile.

Caratake and his Captaynes exhort their men to fight.

Caratake hauing thus ordered his fielde, and hearing that Oſtorius was come to giue battail, he exhorted his people to ſticke to it like men, and ſo in ſemblable wiſe did all his Captaynes and Sergeantes of the bandes, going from ranke to ranke to encourage their Souldiers, declaring howe that thys was the armie that muſt eyther bring libertie or thraldome to them and theyr poſteritie for euer.

Oſtorius encourageth his Romaines.

On the other part, Oſtorius minding to trie the matter by battaile, ſette his people in araye after the auncient maner of the Romaines, willing them to conſider that they were diſcended of thoſe parents and auncetours whiche had ſubdued the whole worlde: and againe, that thoſe with whome they ſhoulde now matche, were but naked people, fighting more with a certayne maner of a furious rage and a diſordered violence, than with anye polityke diſcretion or conſtancie.



Caratake ouerthrowne by the Romains. His Queene was taken.

Herewith vpon commaundement giuen on both partes, the battaile began right hote, and for a good ſpace verie doubtfull, till the practiſed knowledge of the Romaines vanquiſhed the furious violence of the Scottes, Pictes, and Brytaynes: who being put to flight, fledde into the Mountaynes to eſcape the enimies handes, who purſued them moſt egrely.

Caratake betrayed by his ſtepmother.

Amongeſt other of the priſoners there was taken Caratakes wife, with his daughter and brethren. He himſelfe fledde for ſuccour vnto his ſtepmother Cartimandua: but as aduerſitie findeth fewe friends, ſhe cauſed him to be taken and deliuered vnto Oſtorius.

This was in the ninth yeare after the beginning of the warres.

Caratake is ſent vnto Rome.

Oſtorius vſed him verie honourably, according to the degree of a king: Finally he ſent him vnto Rome, togyther with his wyfe, his daughter, and brethren. Hys fame was ſuche through all places, that where hee paſſed by, the people came flocking in on ech ſyde to ſee him, of whom they had hearde ſo muche report for his ſtoute reſiſtaunce made ſo long a time agaynſt the Romaine puiſſance.

Is ſhewed vnto the people in a triumph.

At his comming to Rome hee was ſhewed in tryumphe, all the people beeing called to the ſight: for the victorye and apprehenſion of him was iudged equall wyth anye other atchieued enterpryſe agaynſt whatſoeuer the moſt puiſſant enimies of former tyme.

Caratake reſtored to libertie.

The Emperour Claudius vppon reſpecte as was thought of his Princely behauiour and notifyed valiauncie, reſtored hym to libertye, and reteyning hys daughter and eldeſt brother at Rome as pledges, vpon his othe receyued to bee a true ſubiect vnto the Empyre, he ſent him home into his Countrey againe, aſſigning vnto hym the gouernance of Galloway, with Kile, Carricke and Cunningham.

Caratake departeth this life.

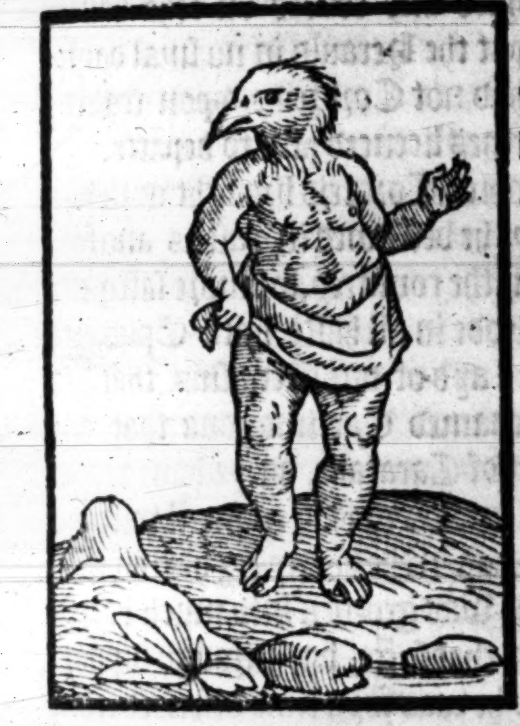
He lyued not paſſing a two yeares after hys returne into Scotlande, ſtudying moſt chiefely during that tyme howe to preſerue hys people in peace and quietneſſe. Hee departed thys worlde one and twentie yeares after the deceaſſe of hys vncle Metellane, in the yeare of our Lorde. 54.

54

Straunge ſightes

A little before hys falling into the handes of the Romaines, there were ſundrye ſtraunge ſyghtes ſeene in Albion, as fighting of horſemenne abroade in the fieldes, wyth greate ſlaughter, as ſeemed on bothe partyes: and forthwyth the ſame ſo vanyſhed awaye, that no appearaunce of them coulde any where bee perceyued.

Alſo a ſort of Woolues in the night ſeaſon ſet vpon ſuche as were keeping cattayle abroade in the fieldes, and caried away one of them to the woodes, & in the morning ſuffred him to eſcape from amongſt them againe.



Moreouer at Carrike there was a chylde borne, perfit in al his lymmes, ſauing yͤ head, whiche was lyke to a Rauens. Theſe vnketh ſightes and monſters put the people in no ſmall feare: but after that Caratake was reſtored to his libertie and countrey, all was interpreted to the beſt.

Cor-
breide.

After Caratakes deceaſe his younger brother Corbreide was choſen to ſucceede in his place, in the. lviij. yeare after Chriſte, for his elder brother was departed at Rome throughe chaunge of aire not agreable to his nature.

This Corbreid was a ſtoute mā of ſtomake, much reſembling his brother Caratake. In the firſt beginning of his raigne he did his endeuour to purge his dominion of ſuche as troubled the quiet ſtate thereof by robbing & ſpoyling the huſbande men and other the meaner people of the cōtrey, of the which robbers there was no ſmall number in thoſe dayes, ſpecially in the weſterne Iſles, alſo in Roſſe and Catneſe.

In the meane time the Pictes hauing created there a newe king called Conkiſt, gouernour of Mers & Lothian, they ſet vpon the Romains being aboute to make fortreſſes in thoſe parties. And but that ſuccours came in time from the next Townes and Caſtels adioyning, they had ſlaine all the whole number of them, and yet ayded as they were, the maiſter of the campe, and eight other of the captaines, with diuers officers of bands, beſide common ſouldiers, loſt their lyues there.

The Pictes moue warre againſt the Romains.

Shortly after alſo, the ſame Picts ouerthrew a number of forragers with ſuche companies of horſemen as came to defende them.

The Pictes ouerthrow the Romaine forragers.

Herewith Oſtorius being not a litle moued, made ready his bandes, and fiercely encountred with the Pictes, who defended themſelues ſo vigorouſly, that the fore warde of the Romains was neare hande diſcomfited. Whiche daunger Oſtorius perceiuing, ſpeedily came to relieue the ſame, but preaſſing to farre amōgſt his enimies, he was ſore wounded, and in greate daunger to haue bene ſlaine. The night comming vpon parted the fraye, not without huge ſlaughter on both partes.

Oſtorius encountreth the Pictes.

Oſtorius is wounded.

After this, the warre continued ſtill betwixte them with often incurſions and ſkirmiſhes. At length the Pictes with ſuche other Brytains as were come vnto them out of the Iſle of Man & other parties, encountred with the Romains in battayle, and vpon the firſte ioyning, of purpoſe gaue backe, trayning ſome of the Romains to purſue them vnto ſuche places, where they had layde theyr ambuſhes, and ſo compaſſing them about, ſlewe a great number of them, and chaſed the reſidue into the ſtraytes of the mountaynes, where they were alſo ſurpryſed by ſuche of the Pictes as returned from the battayle.

The Romains trayned forth into ambuſhes and ſo diſtreſſed.

Oſtorius vnderſtanding how the mater wēt, withdrewe with the reſte of his people vnto his campe: and ſhortly after ſent a Purceuant vnto Rome, to enforme the Emperour in what ſtate things ſtoode in Brytaine, by reaſon of this rebellion of the Pictes, who neyther by force nor gentle perſwaſions could be pacified.

The Emperour determining to prouide remedie therfore, ſent worde againe that he would not that the Pictes ſhoulde be eftſoones receyued vpon theyr ſubmiſſion, if they were driuen to make ſuyte for pardon, but vtterly to be deſtroyed and exterminated. For the accompliſhment whereof, he appoynted two legions of ſuche men of warre as ſoiourned in Fraunce to paſſe ouer into Brytaine.

But in the meane whyle Oſtorius departed this worlde, whether of his hurtes as the Scottiſhe chronicles make mention, or through ſickneſſe as ſhoulde rather ſeeme by Cornelius Tacitus, it forceth not.

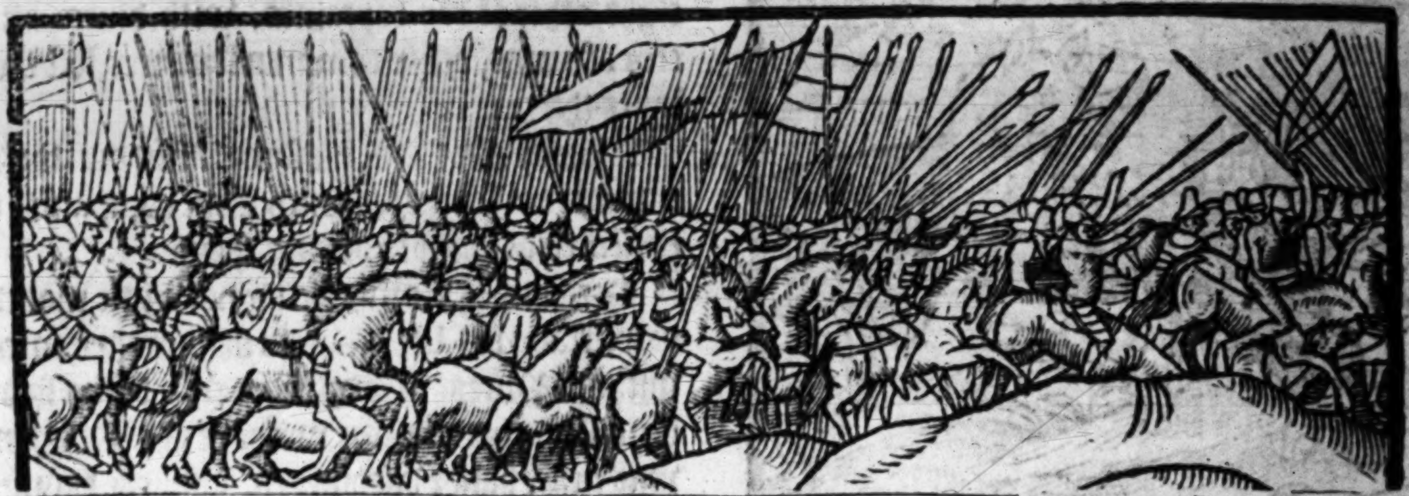
Oſtorius dieth

After whoſe deceaſe Manlius Valens had

Manlius Valens inuadeth the Pictes.

the chiefeſt charge, who bringyng his army foorth to encounter the Pictes that came to ſeeke battell, was fiercely fought withall. Notwithſtãding the victory had abidẽ on his ſide, if at the very point there had not come ſuccours to the Picts, (that is to witte) iiij.C. horſemen out of the countrey of Kendall, by whoſe freſh onſet the Romains were diſcõfited and chaſed vnto their campe, there being ſlayne aboue.iij.thouſande of them at that ouerthrowe, and on the Pictes ſide there wanted a two thouſande of theyr numbers at the leaſt.

The Roma are diſcõfi by the Pic



Aulus Didius commeth into Brytaine.

About the ſame time there arriued in Brytain an other Romain captaine to be general in place of Oſtorius now deceaſed, his name was Aulus Didius. With him came the.ij.legions afore remẽbred. At his firſt cõming ouer he muſtered the old crewes of the Romaine ſouldiers firſt, much blaming them for their negligence in ſuffering the enimies ſo to encreaſe vpõ them, to the great daunger of looſing all that, (through ſlouth and fayntneſſe of courage) whiche lately before in Brytaine had bene wonne and cõquered by high prowes and valiant cõduct of his predeceſſours. In the ende he exhorted them to put away all feare, and fully to determine with themſelues, to recouer againe the honour which they had lately loſt, whiche he ſayde would eaſily be brought to paſſe, if they would take vnto them manful ſtomakes, and obey him and ſuche other as had the gouernaunce and leading of them.

The Picts ſent to the Scottes for ayde.

The Pictes being enformed that this Aulus Didius was arriued with this newe ſupplie of men, and prepared to come againſt them, they thought good to ſende vnto Corbreide king of Scotlãd to require his ayd againſt the Romains reputed as commune enimies to al ſuch as loued libertie, and hated to liue in ſeruile bondage.

For whiche reſpect Corbreide was the ſooner moued to cõdiſcend vnto yͤ requeſt of the Picts: & thervpõ aſſembling an armie entred into Galloway. Whereof Aulus Didius being certified, ſent an Heraulde vnto him with all ſpeede, commaũding that he ſhould depart out of thoſe quarters, ſithe hee had no right there, conſidering that Galloway was aſſigned vnto Caratake but for terme of his own life, by force of the Emperours graunt, and now by the death of the ſame Caratake was reuerted againe vnto the Empire.

Cæſius Naſica entred with an armie into Galloway.

The Heraulde had vnneath done his meſſage when worde came vnto Corbreide how an armie of the Romains vnder the guiding of *Cæſium Naſica* was entred into yͤ marches of Galloway to the great terrour of all the inhabitants, doubting to be ſpoyled and robbed on eche hande. Theſe newes put the Herauld in no ſmal daunger of his life, had not Corbreide vpon regarde to the law of armes licenced him to departe.

Venuſius th husbande of Cartimanda

The hoſte which Corbreid brought with him into Galloway, he beſtowed in caſtels and fortreſſes abrode in the countrey, for more ſafegard, but he himſelfe rode in all haſte vnto Epiake, to haue the aduiſe & ayd of one Venuſius, that had maried the forenamed Cartimandua that vnkind ſtepmother of Caratake, as ye haue hearde before. This Venuſius was of councell with his wife Cartimandua in the betraying of king Caratake, & therfore was growen into much hatred of the people for that facte, but through ſupport of the Romains he was for a time defended from all their malices. Notwithſtanding in the ende being awearied of the proude gouernment of the Romains, he reuolted frõ them vnto Corbreide. Wherewith his wife being offended, founde meanes to apprehend bothe him and his brethern with certaine of his kinſfolkes, and layed them faſt in pryſon.

Venuſius re uolteth.

Cartimandu is buried quicke.

But nowe Corbreide at his cõming thither, did not onely ſet them at libertie, but alſo tooke & cauſed Cartimandua to be buried quicke.

In the meane while a certaine number of Scottes diſtreſſed a fewe foragers of the Romains, but following the chaſe ſomwhat raſhly, they were encloſed by the enimies and ſlayne. This miſchaunce put the Scots in great feare, and the Romains in hope of good ſucceſſe, ſo that Naſica was in purpoſe to haue aſſayled a certaine ſtrõg place, wherin a numbre of the Scottiſh mẽ were gotten, & had fortified yͤ entries, had not other newes altered his purpoſe: for hearyng howe an other armie of the Scottes was ioyned with the Pictes, and were approched within a three myles of him, hee brought his hoſte foorth into a playne where hee ordered his battayles ready to receyue thē. Whereof the Scottiſh men hauing knowledge, haſted forth towardes him, & were no ſooner come in ſight of the Romains, but that with great violence they gaue the onſet, moſt fiercely beginning the battaile, which continued till ſunne ſetting with great ſlaughter on bothe ſides: At what time the Romains were at the point to haue diſcomfited theyr enimies, had not thoſe Scottiſhmen (whiche were left in fortreſſes (as is ſayde) abroade in the countrey, come at that ſelfe inſtant to the ayde of their fellowes, by whoſe meanes the battaile was renewed againe, whiche laſted till that mirke night parted them in ſunder. The Romains withdrewe to theyr campe, and the Scottes and Pictes gotte them vp into the mountaynes.

e night
ted the fray

peace con-
ded.

Shortly after a peace was concluded betwixt the parties, with theſe conditions: that the Romains ſhould content thēſelues with that which they had in poſſeſſiō before the beginning of theſe laſt warres, and ſuffer Corbreide to enioye all ſuche countreys as his brother Caratake helde. And likewiſe the Picts paying theyr former tribute for the finding of ſuche gariſons of Romains as lay at Camelone, they ſhoulde be no further charged with any other exactiōs. Moreouer it was agreed, that neither the Scottes nor Pictes from thence forth ſhould receyue or ſuccour any rebelles of French men or Brytains, nor ſhoulde ayde by any maner of meanes the inhabitantes of the Iſle of Man, who had done many notable diſpleaſures to the Romains during the laſt warres.

Didius
eth this
e at Londō.

This peace continued a.vj.yeares during the life of Iulus Didius, who at the end of thoſe.vj. yeares, departed this life at London, leauing behinde him all things in good quiet.

nnius is
Lieute-
t of Bry-
ne.

After his deceaſſe the Emperour Nero who ſucceeded Claudius, appointed one Verannius to be lieutenant of Brytaine, a man very ambitious and muche deſirous of honour, by meanes wherof, in hope to aduaunce his name, he ſought occaſiōs to haue warres with the Scottiſh men: And at length hearing that certaine of them being borderers had fetched booties out of Picteland, he ſent a great power of Romains to make a rode into the nexte Marches of the Scottes, from whence they brought a great ſpoyle, bothe of men and goodes.

nnius de-
eth this
e.

With which iniuries the Scottes being moued, ſought dayly in ſemblable ſorte to be reuenged, ſo that by ſuche meanes the warre was renewed. But before any notable encounter chaūced betwixte them, Verannius died. His laſte wordes were full of ambitious boaſtes, wiſhing to haue liued but two yeares longer, that hee might haue ſubdued the whole Iſle of Albion vnto the Romaine Empyre, as if he might haue had ſo muche tyme he doubted not to haue done.

Paulinus Suetonius.

Paulinus Suetonius ſucceeded in his place, a man of an excellent witte and very deſirous of peace. He firſt cōfirmed the auncient league with Corbreide king of Scotlande: a recompence being made in euery behalfe for all wrongs and iniuries done on eyther parte.

Angleſey and not Man, was thus inuaded by Suetonius.

After this (as Hector Boetius hath gathered) he conquered the Iſle of Man: but for aſmuche as by probable reaſons it is apparant inough that it was not Man, but the Iſle of Angleſey whiche the Brytaines name *Mon*, and at this time was ſubdued by Suetonius, wee haue here omitted to make report thereof, referring you to the place in the Engliſhe chronicle, where wee haue ſpoken ſufficiently after what ſorte Suetonius bothe attempted and atchieued this enterpriſe, whiche being brought to ende, he was ſent for into Gallia, to repreſſe certaine tumults rayſed among the people there. In whoſe abſence the Brytaines thinking to haue a meete time for their purpoſe, moued a new rebellion, but by the relation of Cornelius Tacitus, this chaunced whileſt Suetonius was buſie in conquering the Iſle of Angleſey, as in the Engliſh chronicle it likewiſe appeareth, with the ſtraunge ſightes and wonders whiche happened about the ſame time, wherevpon the Soothſayers (as Hector Boetius hath declared) that the Romains ſhould receyue a great ouerthrow. Vpon truſte of whoſe wordes the Pictes and other Brytaines inhabiting in Camelone and in the Marches thereaboutes, ſet vpon ſuche Romains as inhabited there, & ſlewe a great many of them ere they were in doubte of any rebellion. The reſidue whiche eſcaped, gotte them into an old churche, where they were ſlaine eche mothers ſonne.

The Scots and pictes kill the Romains.

Petus Cerialis his men being ſlaine returned.

Alſo Petus Cerialis comming with a legion of footemen and a troupe of horſemen to theyr ſuccours, was encountred by the Pictes, and being put to flight, loſte all his footemen, hardly eſcaping himſelfe with the horſemen to the cāpe. Shortly after he tooke vp his tentes and returned towardes Kent, where Catus the procuratour or receyuer as I may call him of Brytaine as then ſoiourned, who vnderſtanding howe the whole Iſle was on eache ſide in an vprore, fled ouer into Fraunce then called Gallia.

Catus the procuratour of Brytaine, fled into Fraunce.

Queene Voada deſireth ayde of hyr brother Corbreide.

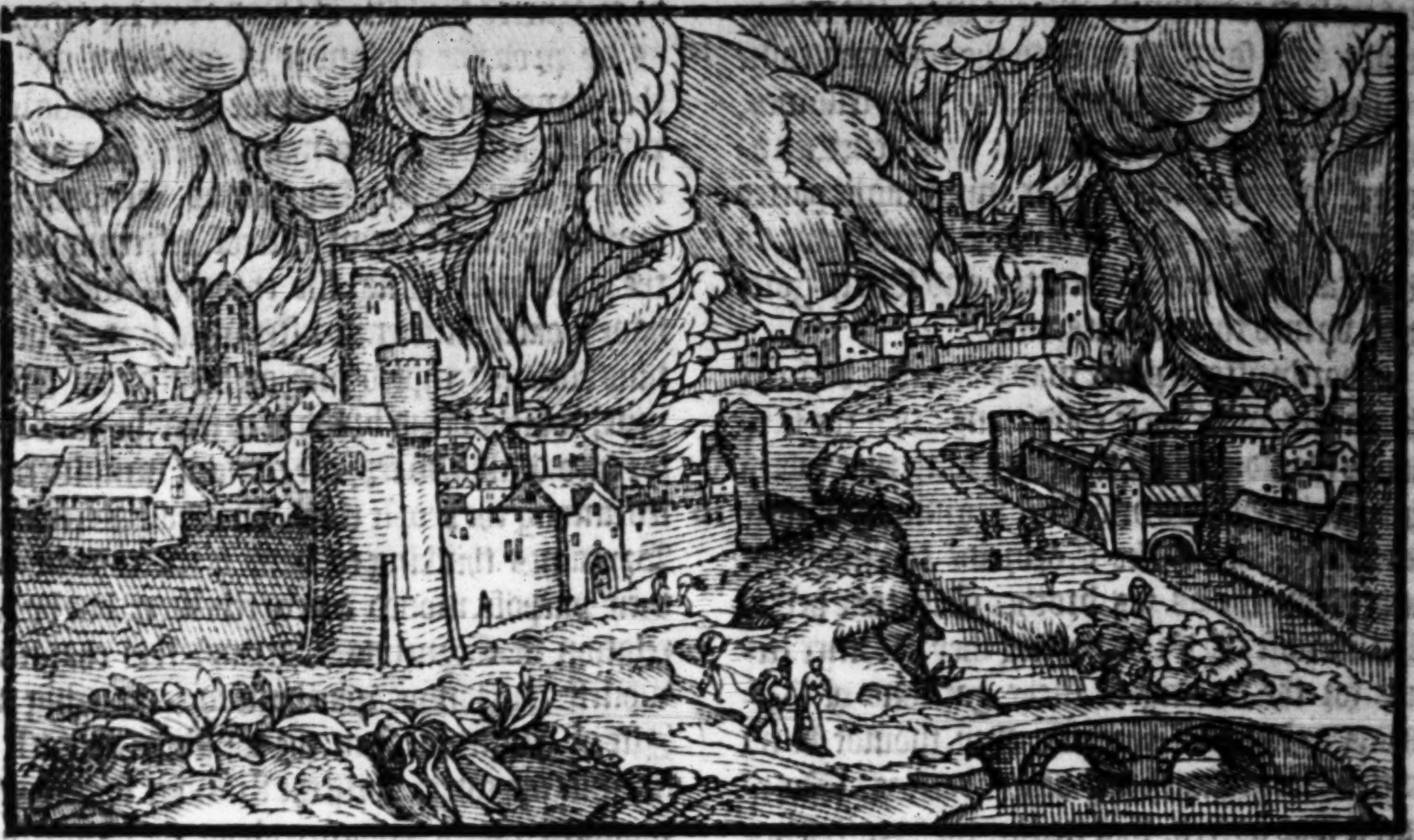
This meane while Queene Voada ſent vnto hyr brother Corbreide king of Scotland, requiring his ayde againſt the Romains, who had ſo vilely vſed hyr and hyr doughters, to the greate diſhonour of hyr and all hyr linage, and nowe was the time to be reuenged of ſuch iniuries the whole nation of the Brytains through the couetous dealing of the procuratour Catus being riſen in armes to recouer theyr ancient liberties.

Corbreide being highly diſpleaſed towardes the Romains for yͤ euil intreating of his Siſter, determined either to ſee hyr ſatiſfied by worthie recompence, or els to be reuenged on them that had miſuſed hyr. And hereof gaue ſignification vnto Catus the procuratour that was as then returned into Brytaine with a power of men of warre.

Charanat king of th Pictes.

Corbreide receyuing but a ſcorneful anſwere from him, found meanes to ioyne in league with Charanat king of the Pictes, and gathering togither a mightie armie of one and other, purſued the Romains and their aſſociates, ſlaying down a wonderfull number of them. He alſo brenned and deſtroyed diuers townes, ſuche as in keeping their allegiance to the Romains, ſtoode earneſtly to their defence as Barwike & Carlile with other.

The Roma ſlaine.



Dutchmen arriue in Scotland.

Aboute the ſame ſeaſon there arriued in the Frithe a number of Dutche ſhips, fraught with people of Metherne or Morouia, a regiõ in Germanie ſituate betwixt Boheme and Hungarie. They were driuen out of theyr owne countrey by the Romains, and aſſembling togither vnder a famous captaine named Roderike, came down to the mouth of yͤ Rhine, where making ſhift for veſſels, they tooke the ſeas to ſeke them ſome new habitations: and thus arriuing in Picte lande, were ioyfully receyued of the Pictes and Scots, for that they were reputed right valiant men, & glad to reuenge theyr owne iniuries againſt the Romains. Namely with the Pictes they were much eſteemed, for that they came foorth of the ſame countrey from whence theyr auncetours were diſcended.

Methernes were men of goodly ſtature

Theyr huge bodies and mightie limmes did greatly commend them in the ſight of all men before whom they muſtered, ſo that comming to the place where the kings of Scottes and Pictes were encãped with their people ready to marche foorth towardes the enimies, they were highly welcomed and vpon theyr offer receyued into companie and appoynted to goe foorth in that iourney, in ayde of Queene Voada againſt the Romains.

Women come with the queene in armor.

With this Voada was aſſembled a mightie hoſte of the Brytains: amongſt whome were a v.M. women, wholy bent to reuenge the villanies done to theyr perſons by the Romains, or to die in the payne. And for this purpoſe were they come well appointed with armor and weapon, to be the firſt that ſhould giue the onſet.

Voada hearing of hyr brothers approch with the king of Pictes and their armies, met them on the way accompanied with a greate number of the Nobles of Brytaine, and brought them to hyr campe with great ioy and triumphe.

After taking aduiſe how to behaue themſelues in theyr enterpriſe, they thought it good to make haſte to fight with the Procuratour Catus, ere any new power of men of warre might come to his ayde foorth of Gallia nowe called Fraunce. Wherevpon marchyng towardes him, they met togither in the fielde, where betwixte them was ſtriken a right fierce and cruel battayle: but in the ende the horſemen of the Romains, parte beyng firſt put to flight, the footemẽ were beaten downe on eache ſide: Catus himſelfe beyng wounded eſcaped very hardly by flight, and ſhortly after got him ouer into Fraunce.

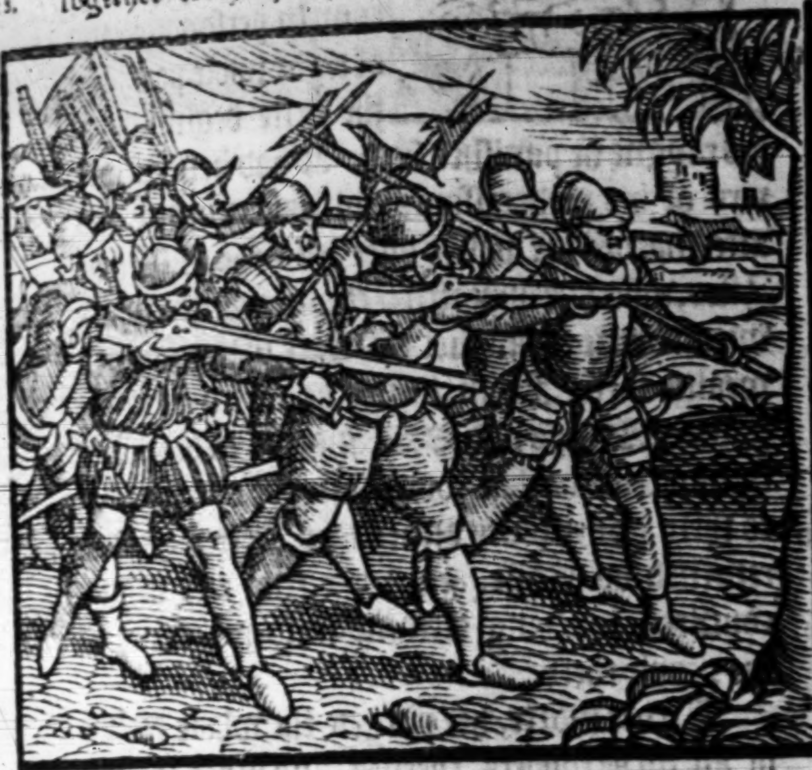
The Ro are put to flight and o uerthrowe.

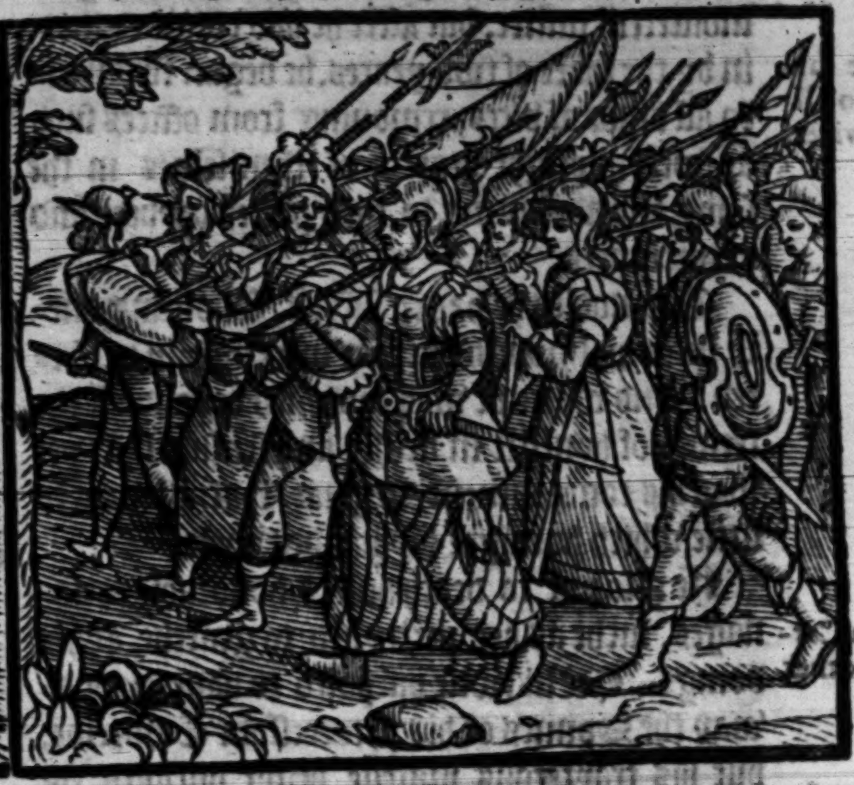
Catus was wounded.

The Scottes and Picts with other the Brytaines hauing atchieued this victory, purſued their enimies frõ place to place, ſo that there died by the ſword, what in the batayle and els where in the chaſe a.lxx.M. Romains & other ſtraungers which ſerued amongſt them, and of Scots, Pictes, and other Brytaynes, were ſlaine.xxx. thouſande.

70000. Romains ſlai and. 3000 Brytains.

The Gouernour Suetonius being then in Gallia, hearing of this ouerthrow, and in what daunger things ſtoode in Brytayne, by reaſon of the ſame, came ouer with two Legions of ſouldiours, and .x. thouſande of other Brygants, as ayders to thoſe Legions.





Voada the Queene vnderſtanding his arriuall, aſſembled againe hir people, and ſent vnto the Scottes and Pictes to come to hir ayde: who togither with the Morauians came wyth all ſpeede vnto hir. When they were thus aſſembled, Brytaynes, Scottes, Pictes and Morauians on one part, and Romaines with theyr aydes on the other, they marched forth to encounter togyther with deliberate myndes to trie the matter by dynt of ſworde, being earneſtly exhorted therto by theyr gouernours on either ſide. So that ioyning puiſſance agaynſt puiſſance, they fought a right cruell battaile, manye in the beginning being ſlaine and borne downe on both ſides. But in the ende the victorie abode with the Romaines, the Brytaynes wyth other the Albians were chaſed out of the fielde. There were ſlaine of them at the poynt of a .lxxx. thouſande perſons as Tacitus wryteth. The more part of the Morauians, togither with their captaine Roderike were in that number. Voada the Queene doubting to come into the handes of hir enimies, ſlue hir ſelf. Two of hir daughters were taken priſoners, and brought armed euen as they were founde fighting in the battaile, vnto Suetonius.

The eldeſt of them within a fewe monethes after was maryed vnto a noble Romaine named Marius, who had defloured hir before time. He was alſo created king of Britaine by the Emperours authoritie, that thereby the ſtate of the Countrey might bee reduced vnto a better quiet. He vſed to lie moſt an ende in the partyes of Kendale, and named a part thereof (where he paſſed the moſte parte of his tyme altogither in hunting) Weſtmerlande, after his owne name, though afterwardes, when the Romaines were expulſed, a portion of the ſame adioyning nexte to the Scottes, was called Cumberlande.

The Morauians which eſcaped from the diſcomfiture, had that portion of Scotlande aſſigned forth vnto them to inhabite in, that lyeth betwixt the Riuers of Torne and Spey, called euen vnto this day Mourrey lande.

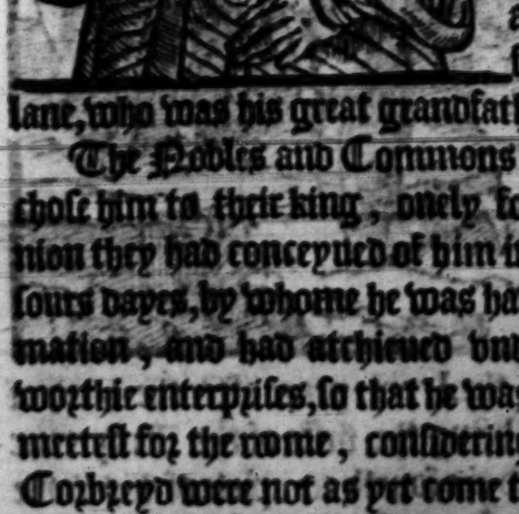
Corbreyd being thus ouerthrowne, and hauing his power greatly infeebled thereby, paſſed the reſidue of his life in quietneſſe: For the Romaines being troubled with ciuill warres, medled neither with the Scottes nor Pictes, but onely ſtudied to keepe the ſouth partes of Brytayne in due obedience.

Corbreid dead

Finally Corbreyd departed this worlde, after he had raigned a .xxxiiij. yeares, and was buried amongſt his elders neare vnto Dunſtafage, with many obeliſkes ſet vp about him.

Anno Chriſti. 71. H.B.

Dardan.



After Corbreyd ſucceded one Dardan, which for his huge ſtature was afterwarde ſurnamed the great. He was lyneally deſcended from Metellane, who was his great grandfather.

The Nobles and Commons of the Realme choſe him to their king, onely for the good opinion they had conceyued of him in his predeceſſours dayes, by whome he was had in great eſtimation, and had atchieued vnder him manye worthie enterpriſes, ſo that he was thought moſt meeteſt for the rowme, conſidering the ſonnes of Corbreyd were not as yet come to ripe yeares to enioy the ſame. For the ſayd Corbreyd had three ſonnes in all, Corbreyd, Tulcane, and Breeke. The eldeſt had beene brought vp with Voada,

Corbreyd his three ſonnes.

Queene of the Brytains, whereby he had learned the maners & vſages of the Bryttiſh natiō, and therevpon was ſurnamed Galde: for ſo the Scottiſh men vſe euen vnto this day to name any of theyr owne countrey men that hath learned the courteſie and manners of ſtraunge countreys. But to returne to Dardane, in the beginning of his raigne he gouerned the eſtate by good indifferent iuſtice, but after he had cōtinued therein by the ſpace of two yeares, he began to fall into all kinde of vices, remouing from offices ſuch as were vpright bearers of themſelues in the ſame, and aduancing to their places brybers and extorcioners.

Dardane falleth into all kind of vices.

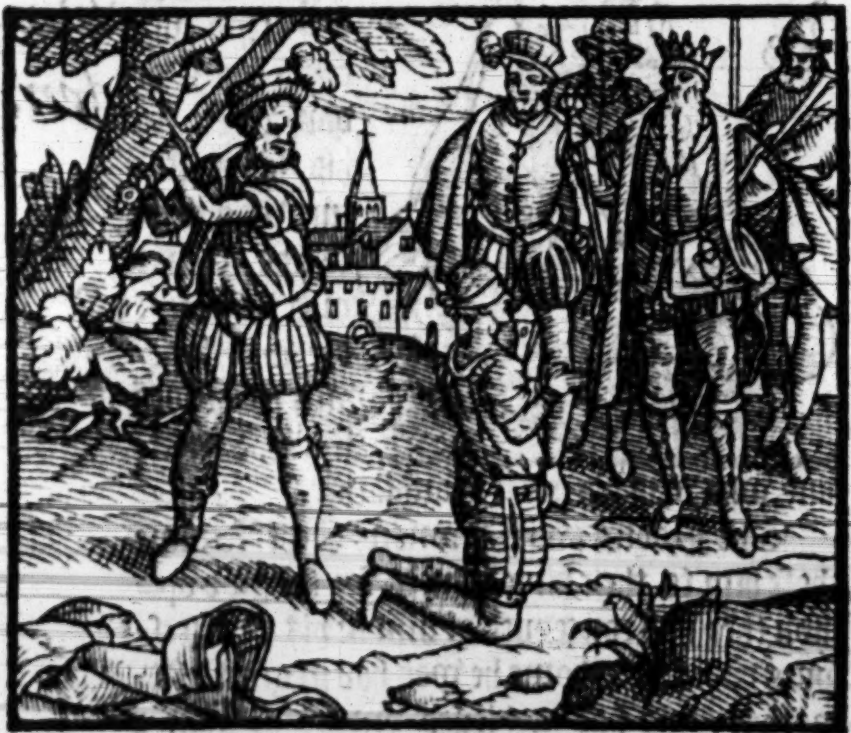
The nobles he had in ſuſpect, fauouring onely ſuche as through flatterie were by him preferred: And where he was drowned beyond all the termes of honeſtie in fleſhly and ſenſual luſt, yet was his couetouſneſſe ſo great, that all was to little which he might lay handes vpon.

His coſin Cardorus & other

He alſo put to death diuers honorable perſonages, ſuche as hee perceyued to grutche at his doings. Hee likewiſe purpoſed to haue made away the Sonnes of his predeceſſour Corbreide, but his trayterous practiſe being diſcloſed, the moſte parte of the Nobles and commons of the Realme rebelled againſt him, and ſending for Corbreide Galde the eldeſt ſonne of the former Corbreide, remaynyng as then in the Iſle of Man, (where hee ſhoulde haue bene murthered) they choſe him to their King. And at length beating downe all ſuche as made reſiſtance, they gotte that cruell tyrant Dardane into their handes, and bringing him forth before the multitude, they cauſed his heade to bee openly ſtriken of.

The commōs rebell.

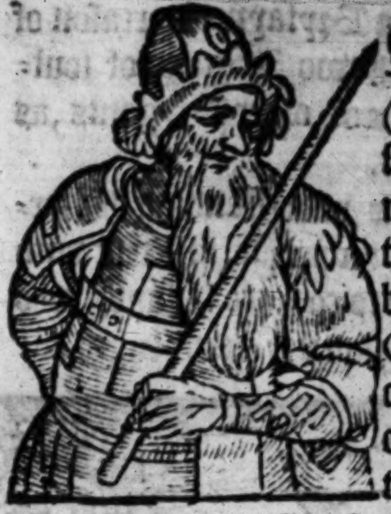
Dardane is beheaded.



This was the .lxxxj. yeare after the birth of our Sauiour, being the firſte of the Emperour Domitian, and the fourth complete of his owne raygne ouer the Scottiſh men.

75. H. B.
6. of Veſpaſian. H. B.

Corbre
Galde.



CORbreide Galde being thus choſen (as I haue ſayde) to ſuccede in the gouernment of Scotland after Dardane, is called by Cornelius Tacitus Galgacus, a prynce of comely perſonage, and of right noble porte. In the firſte beginning of his raygne he puniſhed ſuche as had bene furtherers of his predeceſſours miſgouernment, and afterwardes hee paſſed ouer into the Weſterne Iſles, where he appeaſed certayne rebelles, which went aboute to diſquiet the ſtate of the common wealth there. From thence he ſayled vnto the Iſles of Lewys and Skie, and put to death certaine offenders that woulde not be obedient vnto their gouernours and iudges. After this hee returned by Roſſe, and ſet a ſtay alſo in that countrey, touching certaine miſdemeanours of the people there.

Galdus ot
wiſe called
Galgacus,
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Galde pun
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ſubiectes.

To bee ſhorte, hee purged the whole realme of all ſuche robbers, theeues, and other the lyke offenders agaynſt the quiet peace of his ſubiectes, as were hugely increaſed by the licencious rule of his predeceſſour Dardane, and herevnto hee was mightely ayded by the Morauians, who purſued ſuche offenders moſte earneſtly, and brought in vnto him no ſmall number of them, euer as they caught them.

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By this meanes was the ſtate of the common wealth brought into better quiet, and the yeare next enſuing being the thirde of Galde his raygne, hee called a counſell at Dunſtafage, wherein hee labored muche for the abrogating of the wicked lawes inſtituted by king Ewyn, as before is partely ſpecified: but hee coulde not obtaine more than that poore men from thence forth ſhould haue their wiues free to themſelues without being abuſed from time to time indifferently by their landelordes as heretofore they had bene.

Galde lab
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Whileſt he was thus buſied about the eſtabliſhing of holſome orders and ſtatutes for the wealth of his ſubiectes, worde was brought him that Petilius Cerialis a Romaine Captaine being ſente from Veſpaſian the Emperour to haue the gouernment of Brytaine, was landed with a puiſſant armie in the countrey, and minded ſhortly to inuade the borders of his realme, as Annandale and Galloway.

Petilius C
lis a Ro
captaine
by Veſpa
into Bryt

With theſe newes Galde being ſomewhat aſtonied, thought good to vnderſtande the certaintie of the enimies doings, before hee made any ſturre for the leauying of his people, & therefore appoynted certaine light horſemen to ride forth,

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forth, and to bryng certaine newes of that whiche they might heare or ſee: who at theyr returne declared that the enimies armie was abroade in the fieldes, vppon the borders of Pictlande, and had giuen the Pictes already a great ouerthrow, and further, howe they were turned weſtwarde on the lefte hande, in purpoſe to enter into Galloway.

The Pictes ouerthrowē by the Romains.

The Romains purpoſe to enter into Galloway.

Galde being thus certified of the Romains approche towardes his countrey, determined to giue them battayle before they entred into the inner partes of his Realme, and therefore with all ſpeede hee aſſembled his people, to the number of fiftie thouſande menne, all ſuche as were able to beare armor, being readie to repayre vnto him in ſuche preſent neceſſitie for defence of theyr countrey.

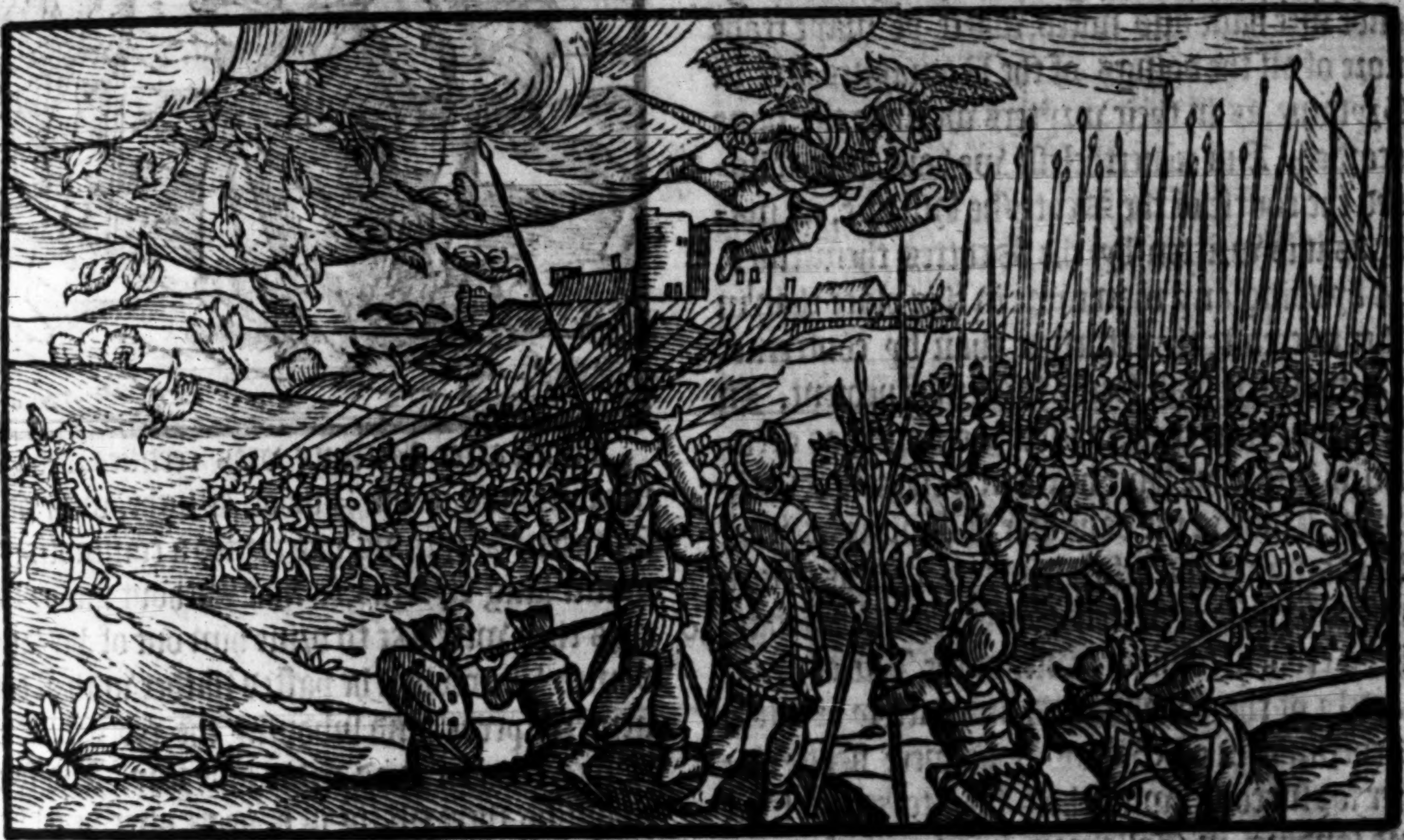
Galde determineth to fight with the Romains.

It hath bene reported, that as hee marched forth towardes his enimies, ſundrie ſtraunge ſightes appeared by the way. An Egle was ſeene almoſt all a whole day, flying vp and downe ouer the Scottiſhe armie, euen as though ſhe had laboured hyr ſelfe weary.

Strange ſights appeare to the Scottiſhe armie.

Alſo an armed man was ſeene flying round aboute the armye, and ſuddenly vaniſhed away.

There fell in lyke manner out of a darke cloude in the fieldes through the whiche the armie ſhoulde paſſe, diuers kindes of birdes that were ſpotted with bloud.



These monſtruous ſightes troubled mennes mindes diuerſly, ſome conſtruing the ſame to ſignifie good ſucceſſe, and ſome otherwiſe. Alſo the chiefeſt captaynes amongſt the Scottes were not all of one opinion, for ſome of them waying the great force of the Romaine armie, beyng the greateſt that euer had bene brought into theyr countrey before that day, counſelled that they ſhoulde in no wiſe be fought withall, but rather to ſuffer them to weary themſelues, till vitayles and other prouiſions ſhoulde fayle them, and then to take the aduauntage of them as occaſion ſerued: Other were of a contrarie minde, iudging it beſte (ſith the whole puiſſaunce of the Realme was aſſembled) to giue battayle, leaſt by deferryng time, the courage and great deſire which the people had to fight, ſhould ware faynt and decay: ſo that all things conſidered, it was generally in the ende agreed vpon to giue battayle, and ſo comming within ſight of the enimies hoſte, they made ready to encounter them. At the firſte the Scottes were ſomwhat amazed with the greate multitude of theyr aduerſaries, but through the cheerefull exhortations of theyr King, and other their Captaines, theyr ſtomackes beganne to reuiue, ſo that they boldely ſette vppon the Romaines, whereof enſued betwixte them a righte fierce and cruell battayle, howbeit in the ende the victorie inclined to the Romains, and the Scottes were chaſed out of the fielde. Galde himſelfe was wounded in the face, yet eſcaped hee out of the battaile, but not without great daunger in deede, by reaſon the Romaines purſued moſt egerly in the chaſe.

The Scottes all of one minde.

The Scottes agree to fight with the Ro- maines.

The Scots are diſcomfited.

There were ſlaine of the Scottiſh menne (as theyr chronicles make reporte) aboue a twelue thouſande, and of the Romains about ſixe thouſande.

This victorie beyng thus atchieued, the Romains gote poſſeſſion of Epiake with the greateſt parte of all Galloway, and paſſed the reſidue of that yeare without any other notable exployte: but in the ſommer followyng Petilius the Romaine gouernour wente aboute to ſubdue the reſte of the countrey, the Scottes often-

The citie called Epiake, is wonne by the Romains.

The Scottes durſt not fight any field with the Romains.

oftentimes making diuerſe ſkirmiſhes with him, but in no wiſe durſte ioyne with them puiſſance agaynſt puiſſance, leaſt they ſhoulde haue put their Countrey into further daunger, if they had chaũced eftſoones to haue receyued yͤ ouerthrow.

Touching al the doings of the Romains in Brytain yee ſhal finde ſufficiently in the hiſtorie of England.

Here haue wee thought good to aduertiſe the Reader, that although the Scottiſh wryters impute all the trauayles whiche Petilius ſpent in ſubduing the Brygantes, and Frontinus in conquering the Silures, to be employed chiefly agaynſt Scottes and Pictes: the opinion of the beſt learned is wholy contrarie thereunto, affyrming the ſame Brygãtes and Silures not to be ſo farre North by the diſtance of many myles, as Hector Boetius and other his Countreymen do place them, which thing in the Hiſtorie of Englande wee haue alſo noted, where ye maye reade more of all the doings of the Romaynes here in Brytaine, as in their wryters we finde the ſame recorded. But neuertheleſſe we haue here followed the courſe of the Scottiſhe Hiſtorie, in maner as it is written by the Scottes themſelues, not bynding any man more in this place than in other to credite them further than by conference of authours it ſhall ſeeme to them expedient. In the meane time then, whileſt Petilius was occupied as before ye haue heard in yͤ cõqueſt of Galloway, Vodicia the daughter of Aruiragus (whõ the Romains had before time miſuſed as before in this treatiſe is partely touched) gathered togither a crew of ſoldiours within the Iſle of *Man*, partely of the inhabitants, and partely of ſuche Scottiſh men of Galloway as were fledde thither for ſuccour: with theſe ſhee tooke the ſeas, and landing in Galloway, vpon purpoſe to reuenge hyr iniuries in times paſt receyued at the Romains handes, ſet vppon their tentes in the night ſeaſon, when they looked for nothing leſſe than to be diſquieted, by reaſon whereof they were brought into ſuche diſorder, that if Petilius had not cauſed ſuche fire brandes to be kindled as he had prepared and dreſſed with pitche, roſen and tallow, for the like purpoſe, the whole campe had bene in great daunger: but theſe torches or fyre brandes gaue not onely light to ſee where to make reſiſtaunce, but alſo being caſte in the faces of the enimies, ſtayed theyr hardie forwardneſſe, whereby the Romains hauing leaſure to place themſelues in array, defended the entries of theyr campe, till the day was ſprong, and then giuing a full onſet vppon theyr enimies, they put them quite to flight.

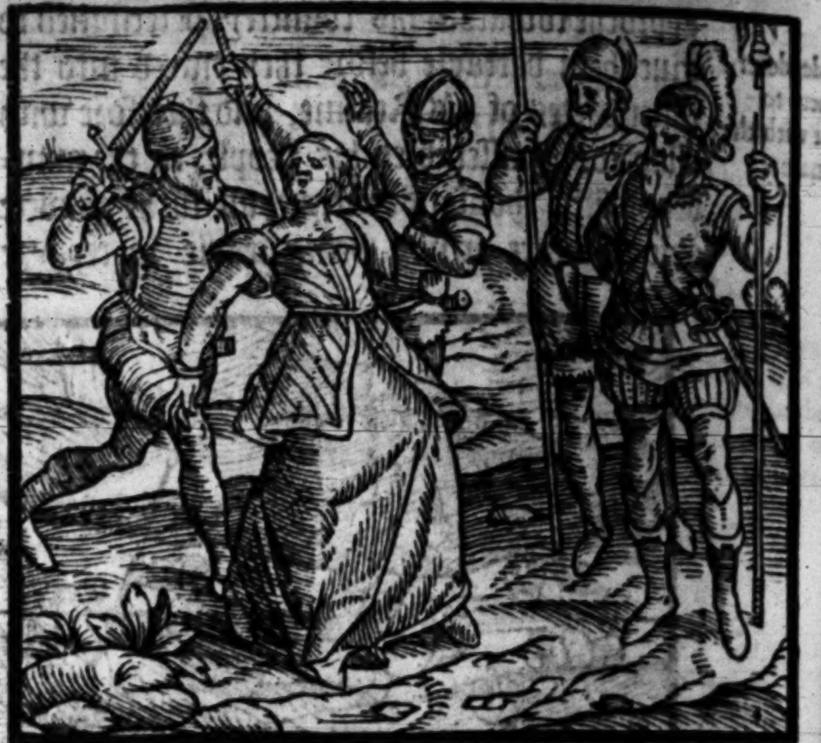
Vodicia reneweth warres with the Romains.

The Romaine campe aſſailed in the night by Vodicia.

But Vodicia not herewith diſcouraged, haſted with al ſpeede vnto Epiake, and taking that Citie ſhe ſetteth fire on it, and ſlewe ſuche Romains as ſhe founde there, whereof Petilius being certified, ſente foorth a legion againſt hyr to withſtande hir attemptes. Thoſe that had the charge of them that were thus ſent, vſed ſuch diligence, that laying an ambuſhe for hir in a place fitte for that purpoſe, they ſo incloſed hir, that ſlayng the moſte parte of hir companie, ſhe was taken pryſoner hir ſelfe, and being brought aliue vnto Petilius, vpon hir ſtoute anſwears made vnto him, as he queſtioned with hir aboute hyr bolde enterpryſes, ſhee was preſently ſlayne by the ſouldiers.

Epiake is takẽ and brenned by Vodicia.

Vodicia is ſlayne.



Anone after Petilius was certified, that the inhabitaunts of the Iſle of Wight, with other ſoutherne Brytains, had rayſed a commotion againſt king Marius, ſo that without ſpeedy ſuccors they were like to driue him out of his kingdome: whereupon he haſted thither with al conuenient ſpeede, and ſubduing the rebelles, ſet all things there in good order and ſtay. And ſo remayning there till the next yeare after, he fel ſicke of the flixe and died. Immediatly whereupon the Emperour ſente one Iulius Frontinus to ſucceede in his place.

The Brytai rebell.

The Brytai are apeaſed.

Petilius the Romaine le gate died.

This Frontinus brought with him a two legions of ſouldiours, and after he had taken order with king Marius for the keeping of the Brytains in due ſubiection of the Empire, he purpoſed to bryng ſuche vnto obedience as inhabited within and beyond the woodes of Calydone, and as yet not vanquiſhed by any man.

Iulius Fro nus ſente Brytaine.

The Silure miſtaken fo Scottiſh me

Therefore entring firſt into Galloway, and viſiting ſuch garriſons of the Romaines, as Petilius had left there for the keping of that quarter, he commended their loialtie and diligence, in that they had looked ſo well to their charge, that the enimie had gayned no aduauntage at theyr handes, whileſt the armie was occupied in the ſouth partes about other affayres there.

Frõtinus p poſeth to p ſue the co queſt of th Sylues wh the Scots m ſtake for G loway me

Hee alſo ſent an Heralde vnto the king of the Pictes with letters, requiring him to renue by confyrmation the former league betwixt hys people and the Romaines, and not by any meanes to ayde the Scottes as before time they had done to their great loſſe and hinderance.

Frontinus quireth to ioyne in rie with th Pictes.

The Pictiſhe
g refuſeth
e in league
h the Ro-
ains.

Hereunto the king of Pictes muche ſuſpecting the matter, made a direct anſweare, that hee ſawe no cauſe why hee ſhoulde in fauour of the Romains ſuffer his confederates the Scottes to be ſubdued and brought to deſtruction without all reaſon or equitie: and therfore he was determined by the aduice of his peeres and counſellours, to ayde the Scottes againſt ſuche as ſought nothing but the meanes howe to bring the whole Iſle of Albion into thraldome and ſeruile bondage.

alde reſiſteth
e romains.

reaſon of
ckeneſſe, he
ithdraweth
to Argile.

The Scots are
iſcomfited.

They ſubmit
emſelues to
e romains.

Frontinus little regarding this vntowardly anſweare, ſette forewarde to ſubdue ſuch Scots as were yet diſobedient. And ſo entring into the borders of Kile, Carrike and Coningham, had diuers ſkirmiſhes with ſuche as king Galde had aſſembled to defend his countrey, but for ſo much as hee was diſeaſed with ſickeneſſe, hee was at length conſtrayned to withdrawe himſelfe into Argile, leauing his power behinde him to reſiſt the enimies attemptes: but ſhortly after his departure from amongſt them, they were fought withall by the Romains and diſcomfited, three thouſande of them being ſlaine in the fielde. By reaſon of whiche ouerthrowe thoſe countreys ſubmitted themſelues to the Romains, perceyuing no hope otherwiſe howe to eſcape that preſent daunger.

Frontinus being vexed with ſickneſſe, returneth to Rome.

Iulius Agricola is ſent into Brytaine.

Theſe Scots of Carrike, Kile, and Coningham, being thus brought into ſubiection, the armie was licenced to withdraw to their lodgings for the winter ſeaſon, during the which, Frontinus fel ſicke of ſuperfluous abundance of fleume, which vexed him in ſuche ſorte, that the Emperour Domitian, who as then gouerned the Romaine Empyre, ſent for him home vnto Rome, and appointed a right valiaunt perſonage, one Julius Agricola to ſucceede as lieutenaunt of Britaine in his roume.

The Scots of Annandale beate downe the Romains.

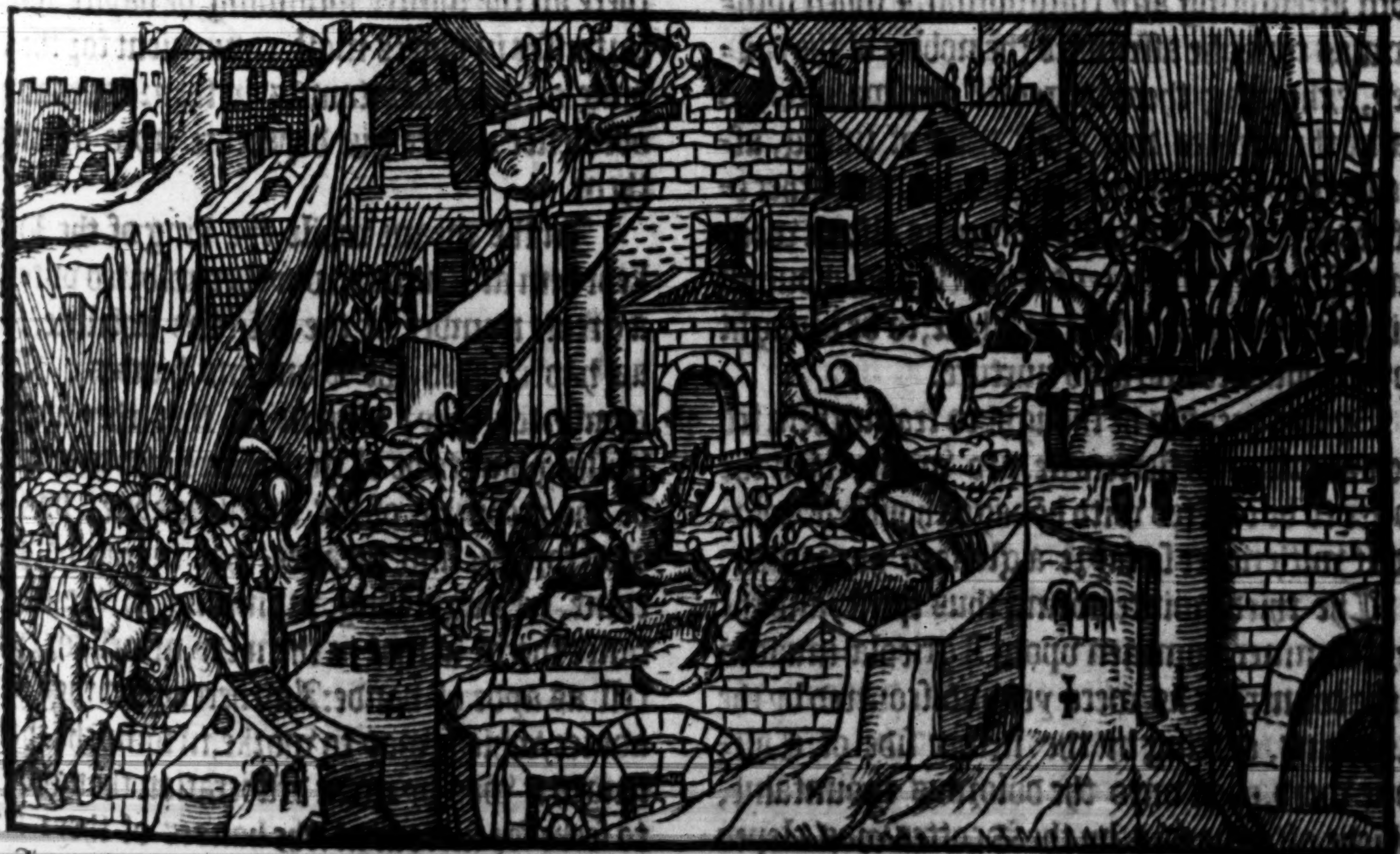
Aboute the time of whoſe arriuall there, the Scottes of Annandall ſlewe a great number of the Romains, with whiche ſucceſſe they procured alſo the Pictes with the inhabitants of Galloway, Kyle, Carrike and Coningham to rebell.

Agricola prepareth to goe againſt the Scottes.

Karanath king of the Picts is diſcomfited by the Romains.

Camelone taken by force.

Theſe newes being reported vnto Agricola, he made his prouiſiõ with al ſpeede to go againſt them. And firſt entring into the borders of Picte lande, he reduced ſuch as inhabited about the cõfines of Barwike to their former ſubiection, and after marching forth towardes the citie of Camelone, Karanach king of the Picts encountred him by the way, but being fiercely beaten off by the Romains, he fled backe into the citie, & within three daies after hauing reenforſed his power, he eftſoones gaue battayle againe to his enimies, but then alſo being vanquiſhed, hee loſt the moſt parte of al his men, & ſo immediately thervpon was Camelone wonne by force, & a great number of the Citezens ſlaine.



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The Scots of Annandale ſlaine by their wiues.

Agricola cauſed it to be newly fortified, and further through fame of this victorious beginning, he recouered the moſt parte of al the caſtels and fortreſſes of Picte lande.

The forenamed Karanach eſcaping out of that preſent daunger, got him beyonde the water of Firth, for the more ſuretie of his owne perſon.

Agricola hauing ſped thus in Pict land, marched forth againſt them of Annandall: who at the firſt, making reſiſtaunce for a time, at length were conſtreyned to giue backe, and ſo fledde to their owne houſes, where in the night following by their owne wiues they were murthered eche mothers ſonne: for ſo the women of that nation vſed to put away the ſhame of their huſbandes when they had at any time fled out of the fielde, from theyr enimies.

Agricola vnderſtanding that by winning him ſame in the beginning, it ſhould be no ſmall furtherance vnto him for the atchieuing of other enterpriſes in time to come, determined to purſue his good fortune. And therupon prepared to ſubdue the Iſle of *Man*, but wanting veſſels to conuey his armie ouer, he found meanes that ſuch as could ſwimme, and knew the ſhallow places of that coaſt, made ſhifte to paſſe the goulfe, and ſo got a land, to the great wonder and amazing of the inhabitants, who watched the ſea coaſtes, to reſiſt ſuche ſhippes as they looked for, to haue arriued vpon theyr ſhore: but nowe diſpayring to reſiſt ſuch kind of warriours as endaungered thẽſelues to paſſe the ſeas in that maner of wiſe, they ſubmitted thẽſelues vnto Agricola.

Here is a manifeſt errour in the Scottiſh writers, taking Man for Angleſey.

Agricola aſſayleth the Iſle of Angleſey, and not Man as Hector Boetius miſtaketh it.

Who taking pledges of them, and appoynting certaine garriſons to keepe diuers holdes and places of defence within that Iſle, paſſed ouer with the reſidue of his people into Galloway, where he ſoiourned all the winter followyng: whiche being paſſed, and ſommer once come, he aſſembled his men of warre againe, and viſited a great parte of that countrey with Kyle, Carrike and Coningham, the inhabitants wherof he put in ſuch feare with the onely ſhewe of his warlike armie, diſpoſed in ſuche politike order and wiſe conducte, that there was none to be founde that durſt aduaunce themſelues to encounter him, ſo that he ſpẽt that ſommers ſeaſon in keeping ſuch of the Scottes as had bene aforetime ſubdued, from attempting any commotion, & when winter was come, he aſſembled the nobles of the coũtrey, exhorting them by gentle perſwaſions, to frame themſelues to a ciuill trade of liuing, aſwell in buylding of temples, houſes, and other edifices after the Romaine maner, as alſo in wearing of comely and decent apparell, and aboue all things to ſet their childrẽ to ſchole, to be brought vp in eloquence and good nurture.

The Iſle of Angleſey is ſubdued by Agricola.

Agricola wintereth in Galloway.

Agricola ſtudieth to bring the Scots vnto ciuilitie.

By this meanes he thought to frame them frõ their accuſtomed fierceneſſe, & to winne them the ſooner to be cõtẽted with bõdage, though he coloured it with neuer ſo fayre a gloſſe of humanitie.

The thirde winter being thus ſpent, and the next ſommer commen vpon, Agricola inuaded ſuche countreys as were yet vndiſcouered by the Romains, entring by the nether ſide of Calidone wood, euen vnto the dolorous mountaine, whiche afterwardes by the Scottes was cleped Sterling. It was called the dolorous mountain for that in the night ſeaſon, there was heard right lamentable noyſe and cries as though the ſame had bene of ſome creatures that had bewayled theyr miſerable caſes: whiche vndoubtedly was the craftie illuſions of wicked ſpyrites, to keepe mens mindes ſtill oppreſſed in blinde errours and ſuperſtitious fantaſies.

Kalẽdar wood

Agricola commeth vnto Sterling.

Illuſion of ſpirites.

Agricola conſidering the naturall ſtrength of this mountaine with the ſite of an olde ruinous caſtel that ſtood thereon, he cauſed the ſame with all diligence to be repaired, & a bridge to be made ouer the Forth there, by the which he paſſed with his whole armie ouer into Fyfe, and the day after hearing that the king of the Pictes was withdrawen into a caſtell thereby, ſtanding vpon an high mountaine cleeped Bernart, he enuironned the ſame with a ſtrong ſiege, howbe it his hoped pray was not as then within it, for Karanach king of the Pictes, enformed of the Romains approche, gotte him forth abrode into the fieldes, and aſſembling his power purpoſed by night, to haue brokẽ the bridge which Agricola had made ouer the Forth at Sterling, but being repulſed by ſuche as were ſet there to defende the ſame, in his returne from thence hee was encountred by Agricola himſelfe, who being certified of this attempt of his enimies, had leuied his ſiege & was comming towardes them, ſo that both the hoſtes meeting togither in the fieldes, there was fought a ſore battayle betwixt them, though in the ende the Pictes were diſcomfited, and their king the foreſayde Karanach chaſed vnto the riuer of Tay, where he got a boate, and eſcaped to the furtherſide of that water.

Agricola b deth the c of Sterlin with the bridge.

Moũt Ber

Karanach a ſayleth Ste ling bridge, which the R mains defe ded.

Karanach eſtſoones ſed.

By reaſon of this ouerthrowe, Agricola brought in ſubiection thoſe countreys, whiche lie betweene the waters of Forth and Tay, as Fyfe, Fothryke, and Ernedalle, and ſoiourning there all the winter following, he buylte ſundrie fortreſſes in places moſt conuenient for the keeping of the inhabitauntes in theyr couenaunted obedience, after his departure from amongeſt them.

Fyſe with ther cou brought ſubiection the Rom

In the meane while the king of the Pictes kept him at Dunder, whyther reſorted vnto him a greate number of the Pictiſhe nobilitie, ſuche as had eſcaped the Romains handes. Theſe comforted theyr king in all that they mighte, willing him to be of good cheere, and to hope wel of the recouerie of his loſſes agayne, by ſome good fortune and meanes that might happe to come, ere ought long, promiſing to the furtherance therof al that in them lay, aſwell for counſell as ayde of hande: And hereuppon they toke aduice, whiche way to worke, in ſomuche that at length it was by great deliberation thought good to ſeeke for ſuccour at the handes of theyr auncient confederates the Scottes, and ſo incontinently there were certayne meſſengers diſpatched with all ſpeede vnto Galde the Scottiſhe kyng, requiring him in that common ieopardie to ioyne in league with hys auncient friendes the Pictes, agaynſt the ambitious and moſte cruell Romains, who ſought nothing els but ye vtter ſubuerſiõ of the whole land of Albion, as was manifeſtly apparãt by their proceedings.

Karanach forted by nobles.

The Pi ſende for vnto king Galde.

hauing alreadie occupied and wrongfully ſurpriſed a great part not onely of the Pictiſh kingdome, but alſo of the Scottiſh dominions, minding ſtil to go forward in ſuch vnrighteous conqueſts, if by timely reſiſtãce they were not ſtaied.

lde promi-
to ioyne
league with
Pictes a-
the Ro-
ins.

Galde vpon this requeſt and motions of the Picts gladly conſented to ioyne his power with theirs, in common defence of bothe the realmes (againſt ſuch common enimies as the Romains were eſteemed) hauing herevnto the aſſent of all his peeres and chiefeſt counſellours.

The Scots ſlea
Romaine
diers, ly-
g in certaine
riſons.

Thus whileſt the kings of the Scottes and Pictes were concluding a league togither for defence of themſelues and theyr countreys, certaine Scottes entred into the confines of Kyle, Carrike and Coningham, & wanne diuers fortreſſes, wherin certaine garriſons of Romaine ſouldiers ſoiourned, whom they ſlewe downe right without al mercie, ſpoyling the whole countrey.

The riuer of
Clyde, other-
e called
de.
gricola re-
ing the
Scottes, could
yet winne
the caſtell of
Dunbreton,
ciently
called A wil-
uch or Al-

Agricola hauing knowledge hereof, wente ſtreightwaies thither with a power, and purſuing them that had done thoſe iniuries, ſome hee toke amongſt the hilles and mountaynes, whither they were fledde, and the reſidue hee chaſed beyond the riuer of Clyde, but the caſtel of Dunbryton hee coulde not by any meanes obtayne, though he aſſayed to winne it euen to the vttermoſt of his power. It was called in thoſe dayes Alcluth that is to meane: All ſtone.

The Scottiſh men being thus driuen backe, Agricola repaired ſuche caſtels and fortreſſes as they had ouerthrowen and beaten downe.

e romayne
e arriueth
the water of

In the yeare following, being the fifth after the firſt comming of Agricola into Brytaine, he cauſed his ſhippes to be brought about from the Iſle of Wight into the water of Lochfine in Argile, thereby to put his enimies in vtter diſpayre of eſcaping his handes eyther by water or lande: And thereupon paſſing ouer the riuer of Clyde with his armie, and finding his nauie there, hee ſet vpon the countrey of Lennox, in purpoſe to ſubdue the ſame. But after he had made ſundrie ſkyrmiſhes with the inhabitauntes, hee was certified by letters from the gouernour of Camelone, that the Pictes were ready to rebell, by reaſon whereof he left off this enterprice againſt the Scottes, and drew backe into Picke lande, leauing a parte of his armie to keepe poſſeſſion of the water of Clyde till his returne againe into thoſe parties.

gricola inua-
Lennox.

cola re-
into
, to
le-
ce of the
ple there.

At his comming into Picke lande, he appeaſed the rebelles with ſmall a do, puniſhing the chiefe authours according to their demerites. This done, he returned vnto the water of Clyde, lying al that winter beyond the ſame, taking order for the gouernment of thoſe parties, in due obedience of the Romaine Empyre.

returneth
Clyde.

Agricola purſueth his enterpriſe againſt the Scottes.

The ſommer following he appointed his nauie to ſearch alongſt by the coaſt all the hauens and creekes of Argyle, and of the Ilandes neare to the ſame. Whileſt he by land paſſing ouer the water of Leuine, went about to cõquere townes and caſtels, though halfe diſcouraged at the firſt by reaſon of the rough wayes, ſtrayte paſſages, high mountaynes, craggy rockes, thicke woodes, deepe marriſhes, fennes and moſſes, with the great riuers, whiche with his armie hee muſte needes paſſe, if he minded to attayne his purpoſe: but the olde ſouldiers beyng enured with paynes and trauayle, ouercame all theſe difficulties by the wiſe conduict of theyr worthie Generall and other the Captaynes, and ſo inuading the countrey toke Townes and Caſtels, of the whiche ſome they beate downe and raſed, and ſome they fortified, and ſtuffed with garriſons of men of warre.

All the Scottes aſſemble.

About the ſame time by commanndement of king Galde and other the gouernours of Scotland, all the able men of Cantyre, Lorne, Murrayland, Lugemarth, alſo thoſe of the weſterne Iſles, and of all other parties belonging to the Scottiſh dominions, were appointed to aſſemble and come togither in Atholl, at a place not paſſing fiue miles diſtant from the caſtell of Calidone now cleped Dunkeld, there to abide the cõming of Karanach king of the Pictes, to the end that ioyning togither in one armie, they might worke ſome high exploit. But he hauing aſſembled .xv. thouſand of his mẽ of warre, as he marched alongſt by the mountaine of Granzbene, in times paſt cleped *Mons Grampius*, there chaunced a mutinie amongſt his people, ſo that falling togither by the eares, Karanach himſelfe comming amongſt them vnarmed as hee was, to parte the fray, was ſlayne preſently at vnwares, by one that knewe not what hee was. By reaſon of whiche miſchaunce that iourney was broken, for the Pictes being vtterly amazed and diſcomforted herewith, ſkaled and departed in ſunder.

Karanach king of the Pictes ſlaine by miſfortune of one of his owne ſubiectes.

Galde with his Scottes nowe being thus diſappointed of the Pictes his chiefeſt ayde, durſt not ieoparde to trie the chaunce of battayle with the enimies, but determined with lighte ſkirmiſhes, and by withdrawing of vitayles out of their walke, to ſtoppe them from further proceeding in conqueſt of the countrey, and in the meane tyme to prouide agaynſt the nexte ſommer newe ayde and ſuccours to keepe the fielde, and ſo to encoũter with them, puiſſance againſt puiſſance, if they remayned ſo long in the countrey.

An ambaſſage from the Scots vnto the Picts.

The Scots reſting, vpõ this reſolutiõ, thought good to ſend ſome honorable ambaſſade vnto the Pictes to moue thẽ vnto mutual agreemẽt & cõcord amõgſt thẽſelfs, wherby they might be able to reſiſt the common ruine of their countrie as then in preſent daunger to be oppreſſed by the Romaines.

The Pictes brought to agreement amongſt themſelues.

Thoſe that were ſente on this meſſage dyd ſo dilygently behaue them ſelues, in bringing their purpoſe to paſſe, that the Pictes in the ende agreed to ioyne in friendly amytie one with an other, and to chooſe one Garnard to their king to ſuccede in the roume of Karanach.

They alſo confirmed the former league with the Scots, and by theyr procurement ſent meſſangers vnto the Norwegians and Danes, requiring them of ayde againſt the Romains the common enimies of all ſuch nations as loued to liue in libertie, where ſo euer the ſame were inhabiting in any part on the whole face of the earth.

Ambaſſadours ſent vnto the Danes & Iriſh men for ayde.

There were alſo ſent ambaſſadours vnto the Iriſh men from the Scottes for the ſame intent, and from both thoſe places there was great ayde promiſed, as frō them that eſteemed themſelues halfe bounde by a naturall reſpect, to ſuccour ſuch as were diſcended of the ſame aunceſtours and countreys that they were of, and now lyke to be expulſed out of thoſe ſeates, whiche theyr forefathers had got poſſeſſion in by iuſte title of conqueſt, and lefte the ſame vnto their poſteritie to enioy for euer.

The fame of Galde his puiſſance, putteth the Romains in feare.

Whileſt theſe things were thus in doing, Galdus deuiding his armie into ſundrie partes did what was poſſible to reſiſt al the attempts of the Romains. Who ſtanding in doubte of his puiſſaunce rather through fame thereof, than for anye apparaunt ſight or other knowledge had, durſte not put themſelues in daunger to enter into Calidone woode of all that ſommer, and the winter following was ſo extreeme, by reaſon of froſt, ſnow, and coldneſſe of ayre, that they were not able to enterpriſe any exployte on neyther parte: howbeit the ſommer was no ſooner come (being the ſeuenth after the comming of Agricola into Brytaine) but that they prepared to inuade one an other againe with al their forces.

An ayde of Iriſh mē, come to the ſuccors of the Scottes.

Forth of Ireland there came (according as was promiſed) a greate power of men of warre and ioyned with an army of Scottiſh men in Atholl, being there alreadie aſſembled in greate numbers out of all the quarters of the Scottiſhe dominions. Thither came alſo Garnard king of the Pictes with his power.

Galde choſen to be generall againſt the Romains.

All whiche forces being thus aſſembled togither by cōmon agreement amongſt them, Galde king of the Scots was choſen to be theyr generall, who hearing that Agricola with his hoſte was entred into Kalendar wodde, deuided the whole armie into three battailes, and ſo marched forth toward the enimies in purpoſe to encounter them. Agricola being of this aduertiſed by ſpialles, parted his people alſo into three wardes, doubting to be encloſed within ſome cūberſome place by reaſon of the great multitude of his enimies, that were eſteemed to be in number aboue fiftie thouſande of one and other.

Galde ſette
vpon one p
of his enim
in the nigh

Galde on the other ſide vnderſtanding by ſpials this order of the Romains, in the dead of the night ſetteth vppon one of thoſe legions whiche was lodged next vnto him, and finding meanes to ſlea the watche, was entred into the enimies lodgings before they had any knowledge of his comming, ſo that the fight was right fierce and cruell euen among the Romaines tentes and lodgings.

But Agricola being certified of this enterpriſe of the Scottes, ſent forth, with all ſpeede a certaine number of light horſemen and footemen to aſſayle them on the backes, and ſo to keepe them occupied till hee might come with all the reſidue of his people to the reſcue. They that were thus ſent, accompliſhing theyr enterpriſe according to the deuiſe in that behalfe appointed, gaue a right fierce and ſtoute charge vpon the Scottes and Pictes, greatly to the reliefe of thoſe that were by them aſſayled, and withall ſore amazed and diſordered by reaſon of the enimies ſudden inuaſion.

Agricola c
meth to
ſuccour
men.

By this meanes the fight cōtinued right fierce and cruell on al ſides, til at length the day beginning to appeare, ſhewed to the Scottes & Pictes the plaine vew of the whole Romaine armie, approching vnder the conducte of Agricola, to the ſuccour of his people, being thus in daunger to be diſtreſſed. Herewith were the Scots and Pictes put in ſuch feare, that immediatly they fel to rūning away towards the woodes and bogges, the accuſtomed places of theyr refuge.

Agricola
comfiteth
enimies.

This ouerthrow did ſo abaſh both the Scots & Picts, that they durſt attempt nomore the fortune of battaile till they had ſome ayde out of Denmarke, but onely did what they could to defend their townes & countrey, by making ſundry reyſes vpon their enimies as occaſion and opportunitie ſerued. But the Romains ſuppoſing nothing to be to harde for their vndaunted valiancie, but that they were able to ouercome what ſo euer ſhould ſtand at defence againſt them, determined at length, to find an ende of the Iſle of Albion, and ſo paſſing through Kalender wod, and ouer the riuer of Amound, they pitched their fielde neare to the riuer of Tay, not farre from the caſtell named Calidone or Kalendar.

The
paſſe th
Calidon
wood,
the riue
Amound

The Picts by reaſon that theyr enimies were lodged ſo neare vnto the confines of theyr countrey, doubting what might follow thereof, brenned the citie of Tuline, leaſt the ſame enimies chauncing to take it, ſhould furniſh it with ſome garniſon of menne, to the great daunger of the whole Pictiſh kingdome.

The Pi
brenne
tie of T

This citie ſtode vppon the banke of Tay, right beautifully buylte, with many fayre caſtels and Towers, as may appeare euen vnto this day by the olde ruines thereof, ſtrong rather by the workemans hande, than by nature.

The Scottiſh men in our time call the place Inchtuthill.

he place ere Tulyne ode, is calby the inbitantes at day Inchhill.

All theyr wiues and children they remoued vnto the mountaynes of Granzbene for theyr more ſuertie and ſafegarde.

e Germains ming to e the Roans, rebell nſt theyr ptaine and ſters.

About the ſame time the Romains were not a little diſquieted, by reaſon of a mutinie whiche chaunced amongſt ſuche Germaines as were appoynted to come ouer vnto Agricola, as a new ſupplie to furniſhe vp ſuche numbers as were decayed in his armie. Theſe ſlaying theyr Captaine, and ſuche other Romains as were appoynted to haue the order of them for their trayning in warlike feates at the beginning, as the maner was, got certaine pinneſſes whiche they happened vpon in the riuer of Tamys, and ſayling aboute the Eaſt and North coaſtes of this Iſle, arriued in Tay water, offering themſelues to the Scottes and Pictes to ſerue againſt the Romains, whoſe malice they dread for theyr offence committed if they ſhoulde returne into theyr owne countreys, whiche lay aboute the mouth of the Rhine, and was as then ſubiect to the Romaine Empyre, the inhabitants in thoſe dayes, being cleped Viſipithes, the whiche as ſome ſuppoſe inhabited Cleueland and Gulick.

ſe Viſpites nhabited e parties bere the ntains of ſſen, & the ine, nowe led Hochg, frõ whẽce remoued the nether ntreyes.

Theyr offer was accepted moſte thankfully, and in places appoynted for them to inhabite amongſt the Murrayes, bicauſe they were diſcended as it were of one nation.

nes and rwegians, e ayde Scots and s.

Whileſt theſe things were thus a doing, there came alſo the long wiſhed ayde from the Danes and Norwegians, to the number of tenne thouſande men, vnder the leading of one Gildo.

do is kepte off from g by the ains.

This Gildo with his nauie firſte arriued in the Frithe betwixt Fyfe and Louthian, but for that the Romains kepte him off from landing there, he caſte aboute and came into the riuer of Tay, where he landed all his people, and prouiſion whereof he had good ſtore bothe vittayle and armure.

do arriueth Tay water.

nelius Tamaketh mention of forraine e to come to ſuccours of enimies, rehẽding m all vnder name of ons.

Garnard king of the Pictes hearing of theyr arriuall there, forthwith vpon the newes departed from Dundee, accompanied with a greate number of his Nobles, and cõming to the place where Gildo with his armie was lodged, receyued him in moſte ioyfull wiſe, feaſted and banquetted him and his people, and ſhewed them all the tokens of moſte hartie loue and friendſhip that coulde be deuiſed.

ard the g of the es, ioyfully ueth Gil-.

Gildo himſelf was led by the king vnto Dundee, and lodged with him there in the caſtle, his people were prouided for abrode in the countrey in places moſte for theyr eaſe, to refreſhe themſelues the better after their painefull iourney by the ſeas.

Galde cõmeth vnto Dundee to welcome Gildo.

Shortly after there came vnto Dundee the Scottiſhe king Galde, who for his parte did all the honour that in him lay vnto Gildo, ſhewing himſelfe moſte ioyfull and gladde of his cõming, yeelding vnto him and his people ſuche thankes and congratulations as ſerued beſte to the purpoſe, and receyued no leſſe at his and their handes againe.

Gald, Garnard and Gildo, aſſemble a cõuſel at Forfare, where they deuiſe how to proceede in theyr warre.

After they had remayned thus certaine dayes togither at Dundee, bothe the kings Galde and Garnarde togyther with this Gildo, wente vnto the Caſtle of Forfare, there to conſulte with the Captaines and gouernours of theyr menne of warre, how to mayntaine themſelues in theyr enterpriſe againſt the enemie. At length they reſolued not to goe forth into the field til the winter ſeaſon were paſſe, for doubte of the inconuenience that might enſue by reaſon of the extreame colde intemperancie of ayre, to the whiche that countrey is greatly ſubiect.

They determine to reſt al the winter, & make fronter warre onely.

In the meane time they toke order for the furniture of all things neceſſarie for the warres, to haue the ſame in a perfite readineſſe agaynſt the nexte ſpring, and till then they did appoynt onely to keepe fronter warre, that the Romains ſhoulde not ſtray abroade to fetche in vittayles and other prouiſions, to theyr owne gaynes and the vndoing of the poore inhabitants.

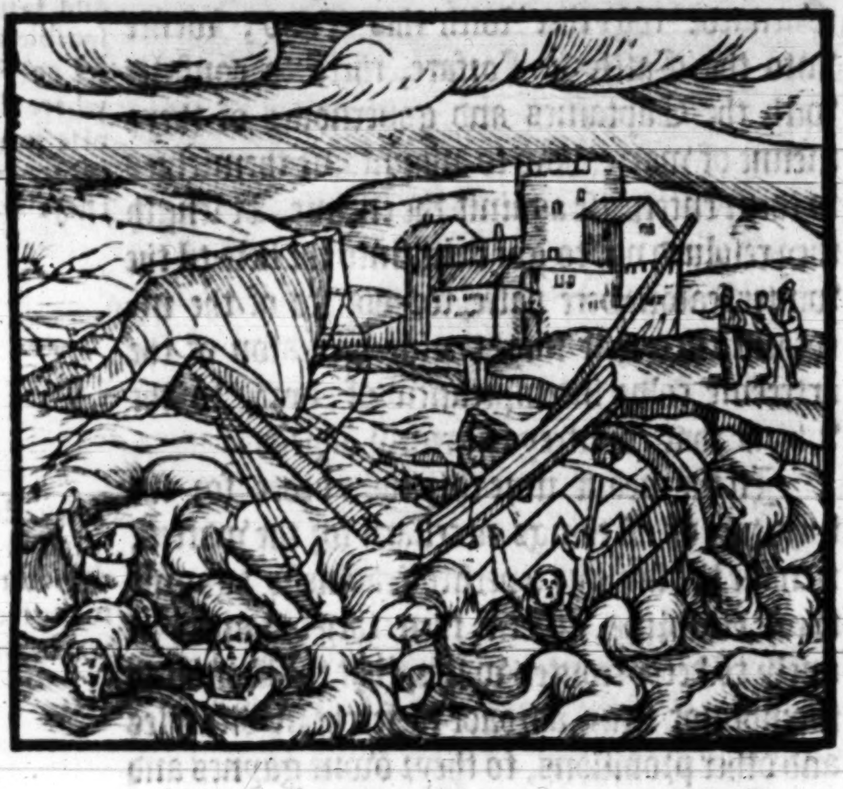
Upon this determination when the counſell was broake vp, Galde withdrewe into Atholl, to defende thoſe parties, and Garnarde with the Daniſhe generall Gildo, furniſhed all the Caſtels and holdes in Angus, ouer agaynſt the riuer of Tay, to ſtoppe the paſſages of the ſame, that the enimies ſhoulde enter no further on that ſide. Thus paſſed the winter for that yeare, without any great exployte on either part atchieued.

Agricola ſendeth forth his nauie of ſhips, to diſcouer the furtheſt poynt of Brytaine northwarde.

In the beginning of the nexte ſommer, Agricola appointed his nauie of ſhips to ſayle aboute the coaſtes of the furtheſt partes of Albion, making diligent ſearch of euery creeke and hauen alongſt by the ſame. The Mariners executing his commaundement, ſayled rounde aboute the Northe coaſte, diſcouering many of the Weſterne Iſles, and likewiſe thoſe of Orkney, till at length they founde out Picte lande Firth, being a ſtreyte of Sea, of twentie miles in breadth, whiche ſeparateth the Iſles of Orkney from the poynt of Cathneſſe, paſſing with ſo ſwifte a courſe, that without an expert pylote the ſhippes that ſhall paſſe the ſame are oftentimes in great daunger, by reaſon of the contrary courſe of the tydes.

The Romaine mariners therfore finding certaine huſband men in the next Iſles, conſtreined them to go a ſhipborde, and to guide them thorow that ſtreyte, promiſing them high rewardes for theyr labour: but they vpon a malicious intent not paſſing for their owne liues, ſo they might be reuenged of theyr enimies in caſting away ſuche a notable number of them togither with theyr veſſels, entred the ſtreyte at ſuche an inconuenient time, that the ſhippes were borne with violence of the ſtreame againſt the rockes and ſhelues, in ſuche wiſe that a number of the ſame were drowned and loſte without recouerie.

The Romaine ſhips through want of pylots are loſte in Pictlād Firth.



Agricola making a bridge ouer Tay water, paſſeth by the ſame with his hoſte, and encampeth neare to the foote of the mountayne of Granzbene.

Some of them that were not ouer haſtie to follow the firſte, ſeing the preſent loſſe of theyr fellowes, returned by the ſame way they came vnto Agricola, who in this meane tyme had cauſed a bridge to be made ouer yͤ riuer of Tay, by the whiche hee paſſed with his whole armie, and encamped on the further ſide thereof neare to the rootes of the mountayne of Granzbene, leauing the bridge garniſed with a competent number of ſouldiers to defende it againſt the enimies.

The Pictes being not a little troubled herewith, diſpatched foorth a meſſenger with all haſte vnto Galde the Scottiſhe king, ſignifying vnto him the whole matter, and therevpon requyred him of ayde.

Galde king of the Scottiſh men commeth to the ayde of the Pictes.

Galde hauing muſtered his people aſwell Scottiſhe as Iriſhe, aſſembled them togither to the number of .xl. thouſand perſons, what of one and other, and incontinently with al ſpeede marcheth foorth to come vnto the ayde of the Pictes, and ſo within a fewe dayes paſſing ouer the mountaine of Granzbene, he arriueth in a valley beyonde the ſame mountayne, where he findeth the Pictes, Danes, and Norwegians, encamped togither not farre off from the hoſt of the Romains.

The Scots
Pictes deter
mine to gi
battayle to
Romains.

Galde exho
teth his pe
ple to figh
manfully.

Here taking aduiſe togither, and in the ende determining to giue battayle, king Galde (vnto whome as before is expreſſed, the gouernance of the whole was committed) aſſembling togither all the number of the confederates, made vnto them a long and pithie oration, exhorting them in defence of libertie, (the moſt precious iewel that mã might enioy) to ſhew theyr manly ſtomakes againſt them that fought onely to depriue them of that ſo greate a benefite.

And ſithe they were driuen euen to the vttermoſte boundes of theyr countrey, he perſwaded them to make vertue of neceſſitie, and rather chooſe to die with honour, than to liue in perpetuall ſhame and ignominie, whiche muſt needes enſue to theyr whole nation, if they ſuffered themſelues to bee vanquiſhed in that inſtaunt. With theſe wordes, or other muche what of the ſemblable effect, Galde ſo moued the hartes of his people, that they deſired nothing but to ioyne with theyr enimies and to trie it with them by dinte of ſworde, which they vniuerſally ſignified according to theyr accuſtomed vſe with a great noyſe, ſhoute and clamour.

On the other parte Agricola, though he perceyued a greate deſire amongſt his ſouldiers to fight, yet hee was not negligent on his owne behalfe to encourage them with moſte cheerefull wordes and countenaunce, ſo that bothe the armies being thus bente to haue battayle, the generals on bothe partes beganne to ſette them in array.

Agricola to the ende his armie being the leſſer number ſhoulde not bee aſſayled both a front and on the ſides, prouided (by diſpoſing them in a certaine order) a remedie againſt that diſaduantage.

Galde by
ſon of his
titude,
keth to en
his enimie

On the other ſide, king Galde, by reaſon of the aduauntage whiche hee had in his greate multitude and number, ordered his battayles thereafter, with a long and large fronte, placing the ſame vppon the higher grounde, of purpoſe to compaſſe in the enimies on eche ſide.

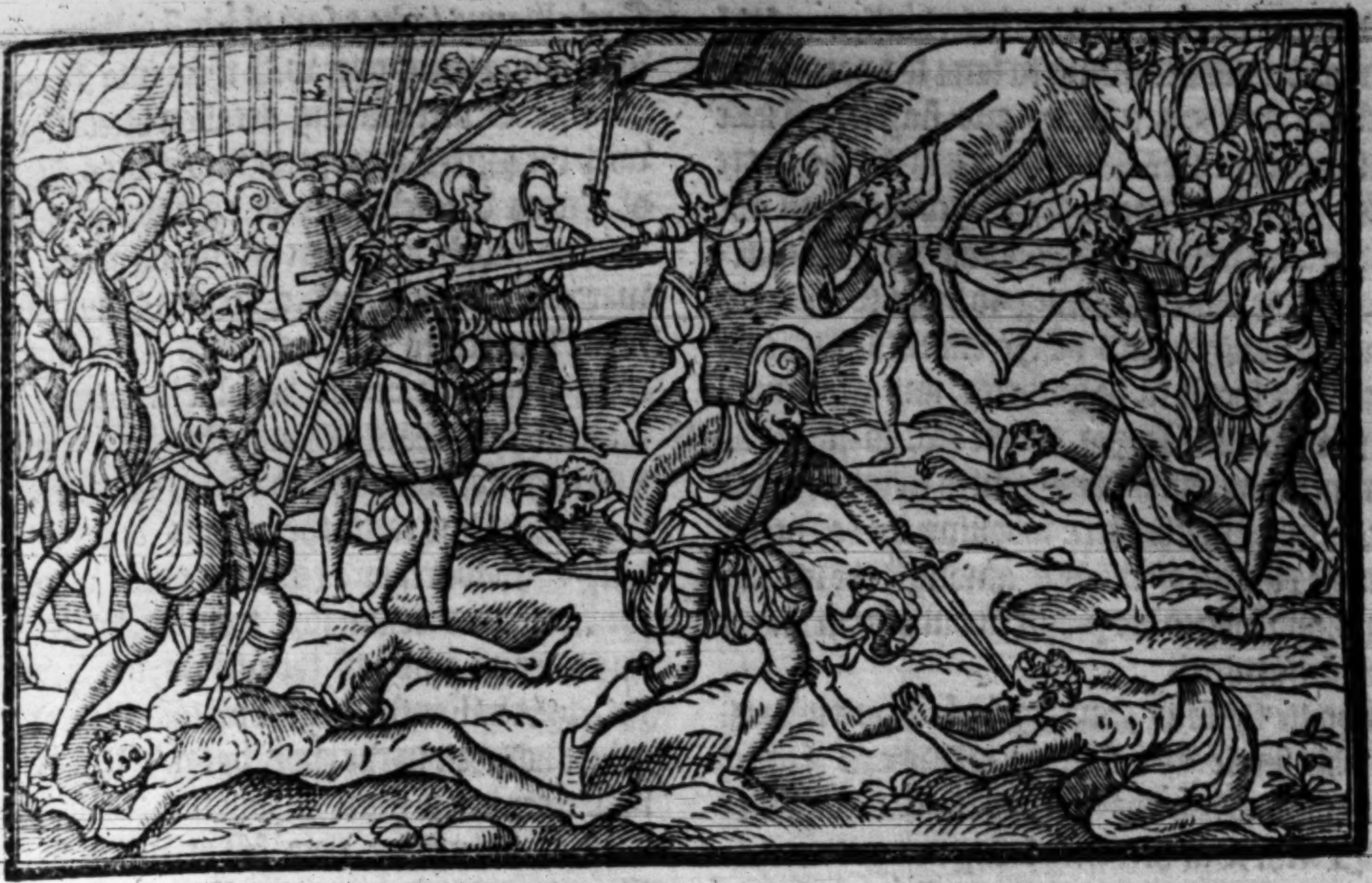
The armie
approch to
ther to figh

They ioy

The Scotti
mens diſad
tage, by re
of their
weapons.

At the firſte approche of the one armie towardes the other, the battayle was begonne righte fiercely with ſhotte of arrowes and hurling of dartes, whiche being once paſte, they ioyned togither to trie the matter by hande ſtrokes, wherein the Scottes and Pictes had one diſaduauntage, for thoſe that were archers (or as I may call them kernes) comming once to fight at hande blowes, had nothing but broade ſwordes and certaine ſorie light bucklers to defende themſelues with, ſuche as ſerue to better purpoſe for menne to ryde with abroade at home, than to bee caried foorth into the warres, though the ſame haue bene ſo vſed amongſt the Scottiſh men, euen till theſe our dayes.

The



The Romains therefore being well appointed with armure and broade Tergettes, ſlewe downe right a greate number of theſe Scottes and Pictes thus ſlenderly furniſhed, without receiuing any great domage againe at their hãds, till king Galde appoynted his ſpeare menne to ſteppe forth before thoſe archers and kernes, to ſuccour them, and therewith alſo the bill menne came forewarde and ſtroke on ſo freſhly, that the Romains were beaten downe on heapes, in ſuch wiſe that they were neare at poynt to haue bene diſcomfited, had not a bande of Germains (whiche ſerued amongſt the Romains) ruſhed forth with greate violence vppon the Scottiſhe men where moſte daunger appeared, and ſo reſtored againe the faynting ſtomakes of the Romains, whereby the battayle renewed on bothe ſides againe right fierce and cruell, that greate ruthe it was to beholde that blouddie fight and moſte vnmercyfull murder betwixte them, whiche continued with more violence on the Scottiſhe ſide than any warlyke ſkill, till finally the night comming on tooke the dayes light from them bothe, and ſo parted the fray.

The Romains withdrewe to theyr campe, and the Scottes and Pictes with theyr confederates the Danes, Norwegians and Iriſh men, ſuche as were left aliue got them into the nexte mountaynes, hauing loſte in this cruell conflict the moſte parte of theyr whole numbers.

Cornelius Tacitus agreeth not in al points with the Scottiſhe Chronicles in a booke which he wrote of the lyfe of Julius Agricola, where hee intreateth of this battayle. For hee ſpeaketh but of .xxx. thouſande men, (which he comprehendeth vnder the generall name of Brytains) to be aſſembled at that time agaynſt the Romains, making no mention of any Scottes, Pictes, Iriſh men, Norwegians or Danes, that ſhould be there in their ayde.

The number of them that were ſlayne of the Brytains ſide (as the ſame Tacitus recounteth) amounted to aboute .x. M. men, & of Romains not paſſing .iij. C. and .xl. Amongſt whom was one Aulus Atticus, a captaine of one of the cohortes. But as the Scottiſh writers affirme, there died that day of Scottes, Pictes and other their confederates at the poynt of .xx. M. and of the Romains and ſuche as ſerued on their ſide, as good as .xij. M. Moreouer the night following when Galdus with the reſidue of his people which were left aliue was withdrawen to the mountains, & that the huge loſſe was vnderſtoode by the wiues & kinneſwomen of the dead, there began a pitiful noyſe amongſt them, lamẽting and bewailing theyr miſerable caſe & loſſes.

The number of them that were ſlayne at this battayle.

But Galde doubting leaſt the ſame ſhoulde come to the eares of ſome eſpialles, that mighte lurke neare to the place where hee was withdrawen, cauſed an huge ſhoute and noyſe to be rayſed by his people, as though it had bene in token of ſome reioyſing, till the women bewayling thus the death of theyr friendes might be remoued out of the way. This done, they fell to take counſel what was beſt to do in this caſe: & in the end al things conſidered, it was determined that ſomewhat before the dawning of ẏ next morow euery man ſhould diſlodge & withdraw himſelfe into ſuche place as he thought moſte meeteſt for his ſafegard, ſaue only ſuch as were appointed to attend Galde & Garnard into Atholle whether they minded with al ſpeede to go. Thus leauing a greet nũber of fires to diſſimule their departure, they diſlodged & made away with al ſpeede poſſible. In the morning when their departure was once diſcouered, a great nũber of ẏ Romains fol-

Women bewayle their friendes.

The Scottiſh men and Picts breake vp their campe.

lowed

The Romains in purſuyng vnaduiſedly are diſtreſſed.

lowed as it had bene in the chaſe, but ſome of thẽ vnaduiſedly aduenturing to farre forward, were encloſed by theyr enimies and ſlayne. Thoſe that wrought this feat gotte them to the nexte hilles and ſo eſcaped. At length when all the fieldes and countreys adioyning were diſcouered, and the ſame appearing to be quite deliuered of all ambuſhmentes of the enimies, Agricola cauſed the ſpoyle to be gathered, and after marched forth into Angus, where (for ſo muche as ſommer was paſte) he appointed to winter, and ſo comming thyther and ſubduing the countrey, he tooke pledges of the beſt amongſt the inhabitants, and lodged his people about him in places moſt conuenient.

Agricola ſubdueth Angus and wintreth there.

Agricola is certified of the miſchaunce of his nauie.

Aboute the ſame time Agricola heard newes, from his nauie (as thẽ riding at ancre in Argile) what miſhap had chaunced to the ſame in Pickland Frith. But herewith being not greatly diſcouraged, he gaue order that the ſhippes whiche had eſcaped ſhould be newe rigged and furniſhed with all neceſſarie prouiſiõs, & manned throughly, bothe with able mariners and men of warre. This done, he appoynted them eftſoones to attempt fortune, and to take theyr courſe agayne to come rounde aboute by the Orkeneys, and ſo vp alongſt by the eaſt coaſte: whiche enterpriſe they luckely accompliſhed, and in the water of Taye they brente the Daniſh fleete lying there in herbrough.

The Romaine fleete ſayleth round aboute the north point of Albiõ

Here is to be noted, that before the fore remẽbred ouerthrow of the Scottes and their confederates at the foote of Granzbene, there happened many ſundry vnkithes & ſtrange ſightes in this Iſle. Amongſt other there appeared flying in thẽ ayre certaine firie viſions, muche to be wondered at. Alſo a great peece of Kalendar wood, ſeemed in the night time as it had bin on a flaming fire, but in the morning there appeared no ſuch tokẽ. There was in lyke manner ſeene in the ayre the ſimilitude of certayne ſhippes. And in Angus it rayned Frogges. At Tuline there was a childe borne hauing bothe ſhapes, ſo filthie a ſight to beholde, that forthwith they ridde it out of the way for offending others eies. Theſe prodigious things were diuerſly interpreted, according to the variable fancie of man.

Straunge viſions.

Shippes ſeene in the ayre.

It rayned frogges.

A monſtruous childe borne.

Domitian the Emperour enuieth the proſperous ſucceſſe of Agricola.

Agricola is ſente for to Rome, one Cneus Trebellius appointed in his place whiche cauſeth the ſouldiers to make a mutinie.

After that the proſperous ſucceſſe of Agricola was once notified to the Emperour Domitian, he tooke ſuche enuie thereat, that ſhortly after, vnder a colour to ſende him into Syria to be lieutenant there, he countermaunded him home vnto Rome, appoynting one Cneus Trebellius to ſucceede him in the gouernment of Brytaine, but ỹ armie bearing more fauour vnto one Trebellianus being couſin to Agricola, cauſed no ſmal trouble amongſt the ſouldiers, ſo that in the end after certaine bickerings betwixt them, Trebellianus tooke a ſort of ỹ beſt ſoldiers away with him, & went ouer with them into Fraunce.

The Scottes taking occaſion hereof, ioyned with the Pictes, and entred into Angus. Whereof Cneus Trebellianus being informed aſſembled his people, who perceyuing no greate forewardneſſe in theyr leader, created Caius Siſinnius (brother to the forenamed Trebellianus) theyr Captayne, but hee woulde in no wiſe meddle with that charge, though they were very earneſt in hande with him to take it vpon him. In the meane time came the enimies vnder the leading of Galde ready to giue the onſet, wherwith the Romains being ſore troubled, by reaſon of this diſcorde amongſt themſelues, ſet forewarde yet, right valiantly, to giue battaile to theyr enimies: howbeit in the ende, bycauſe that Siſinnius receyued a mortall wounde, and ſo departed out of the fielde, they fell at length to running away, the Scottes and Pictes following in the chaſe right fiercely.

The Scots occaſiõ of cordé amo the Roma come forth gainſt them.

The Scots vpon the mains.

The Rom are diſcõ

This atchieued victorie after ſo many vnluckie enterpryſes highly reioyced the appalled hartes of the Albions, hauing bene continually in maner now for the ſpace of l. yeares through aduerſe fortune, grieuouſly oppreſſed by the Romains, who being not a litle diſcouraged by this ouerthrow, withdrewe themſelues wholly vnto Tulyne, and ſhortly after for theyr more ſafegard, they got them ouer the riuer of Tay, breaking the bridge whiche they had made there, to the ende that by the ſame the Scottes and Picts ſhould haue no paſſage in that place.

The Ro withdraw Tulyne. They reti backe oue water of and break bridge af them.

But Galde hauing got this notable victorie with the ſpoyle of the Romains campe, thought it beſt with the aduice of his nobles, to purſue the Romains without delay, not ſuffering them to haue time to prouide for reſiſtance. And herypon cõming to the caſtle of Calidone otherwiſe Kalendar, they gotte ouer the riuer of Tay, by a bridge of wood layde ouer the ſame riuer, whiche in that place is but narrow, by reaſon of the rockes and cliues forcing the bankes on eyther ſide to a ſtraytneſſe.

The Scots ouer the of Tay, to Calido caſtel.

The Romaine Capitanes alſo not ignorant of the paſſage of the enimies, brought forth their armie, and made themſelues ready to encounter them, but for that the forenamed Caius Siſinnius was not able to ſtirre by reaſon of his woũdes receyued in the laſt battayle, they choſe one Titus Celius, a valiant Gẽtleman of Rome to be theyr leader, and ſo vnder his conduite ſetting vpon their enimies they fought right fiercely for a time, but yet in the ende they were put to flight, and chaſed into Calidone.

The Sco eftſoones battayle romains.

The ro are again comfited.

There were ſlayne of the Romaine parte in this encounter to the number of. v.M. and of the Scottes and other the confederates. ij.M.

After

The Brytayns [illegible] of the [illegible] fallen to the Romains, [illegible] to their obedience.

Aſter this victorie thus obteyned by the Scottes, a great number of the Brytaynes reuolted from the Romain obedience, as thoſe that inhabited the coũtry which we now cal Wales, with the marches, ſlaying and chaſing awaye ſuch Romaines as lay abrode in thoſe parties.

This done, they ſent vnto Galde king of the Scottes certaine meſſengers with rich iewelles and gyftes, in token of their reioycing and gladneſſe for his victories, promiſing him furthermore ſuch ayd as they were able to make againſt the Romaines the common enimies of all the whole Albion nation.

The Romains [illegible] to Marius [illegible] of the Brytaynes ſyde.

Marius king of the Brytayns doubteth rebellion of his ſubiectes.

Marius counſelleth the Romaines to leaue the north partes vnto the enimies, and to drawe vnto him into the ſouth partes to kepe the ſame.

In this meane while, did the Romains within Calydone caſtel direct their meſſengers with letters vnto Marius king of the Brytaines, ſignifying vnto him the preſent daunger wherein things ſtood in thoſe parties by the cruel rage of yͤ Scottiſhmen and Pyctes, whom fortune had aduaunced with the gaine of two foughten fieldes, inſomuch that if timely ſuccours were not the ſooner ſent, the loſſe woulde be irrecouerable. Hereunto Marius anſwered, that as thẽ a cõmõ conſpiracie, appeared to be in hand amongſt his ſubiects ſo far forth yͭ he doubted greatly the ſuretie of his owne eſtate: And as for hope of ayde to be ſent from Rome, he ſawe ſmal likelihood, conſidering the ſlender prouiſion there through the miſgouernemente of cruel Domitian, who by reaſon of the hatred whiche the people bare him, regarded nothing but howe to keepe them from riſing vp in armor againſt him, and therefore he thought it neceſſarie that leauing the north parts to the enimies, they ſhould all withdrawe towardes him into the ſouth partes, to keepe yet the more fruitfull portion of the Iſle in due obedience, ſithe their puiſſance might not ſuffice to retaine and rule the whole.

The romains withdraw into Cantyr, and after into Galloway.

These newes greatly abaſhed the Romaine armie, and muche the more for that aboute the ſame time it was ſhewed them howe king Galde with an huge armie of Scottiſh men and Pictes, was come within tenne myles of them. Whereupon the Romaines not knowing at that inſtant what was beſt for them to doe, in the ende they concluded to withdrawe into Cantyr, where being arriued, and perceyuing themſelues as yet to be in no great ſuretie there, they went away from thence with ſpede into Galloway.

Galde purſueth the romaines.

In the meane time king Galde ſuppoſing it beſt eftſoones to fight with them ere they mighte haue any ſpace to reenforce their power, followed them with all diligence, not forcing though hee left behinde him diuerſe Caſtelles and fortreſſes furniſhed with ſendrie garriſons of his enimies, ſo that he might diſcomfit and chaſe away their maine power whiche hee thought might as then eaſily be done, conſidering the great multitudes of people whiche came flocking in on eche ſyde, preſenting themſelues with offering their ſeruice vnto him, & ſhewing furthermore great tokens of ioy and gladneſſe, for that it had pleaſed the gods at length yet to declare themſelues fauourable in this their relieuing of the oppreſſed Brytayns. Hereunto Galdus on the other ſyde giuing them heartie thankes for their trauayle, hee receyued them very gently, myxing his talke wyth moſt comfortable wordes, therewith to put them in hope of ſuch good and proſperous ſucceſſe, as that ſhortly they ſhoulde thereby bee reſtored intyrely vnto theyr former liberties, and perpetually delyuered from all forrayne ſeruitude and bondage.

The romains determine againe to fight with the Scots

The romains fiercely aſſaile the Scottes.

But to proceede, at length he did ſo muche by his iourneys, that hee came into Galloway, where the Romaines with al ſpede (ſeeing none other remedie) reſolued themſelues to giue him battayle, and thervppon exhorting one an other to playe the men, ſithe theyr onely refuge reſted in their weapons poyntes, they fiercelye gaue the onſette, and at the firſt, put the lefte wing of the Scottes and Pictes wholy vnto the worſt. In whiche wing according to their maner in thoſe dayes vſed, there were a greate number of women mingled amongeſt the men. Galde therefore perceyuing the daunger, ſuccoured them (with ſuch as were appoynted to giue the looking on till neede requyred, and then to go where they ſhoulde bee commaunded.) By whiche meanes the battayle on that ſyde was renued a freſhe, the women ſhewing no leſſe valiancie than the menne, and therewith muche more crueltie, for they ſpared none at all though they offered neuer ſo muche to haue their lyues preſerued.

Straunge dealing in womẽ and contrarie to their nature.

The romains flie to their campe.

In fine, the Romaines beeing chaſed in the left wing, their ouerthrow gaue occaſion to al the reſidue to flee backe to their campe, being purſued ſo egrely by the Scottes and Pictes, that they had muche adoe to defende the entries of theyr trenches, where both partyes fought right egrely, tyll at length the night parted them both in ſunder.

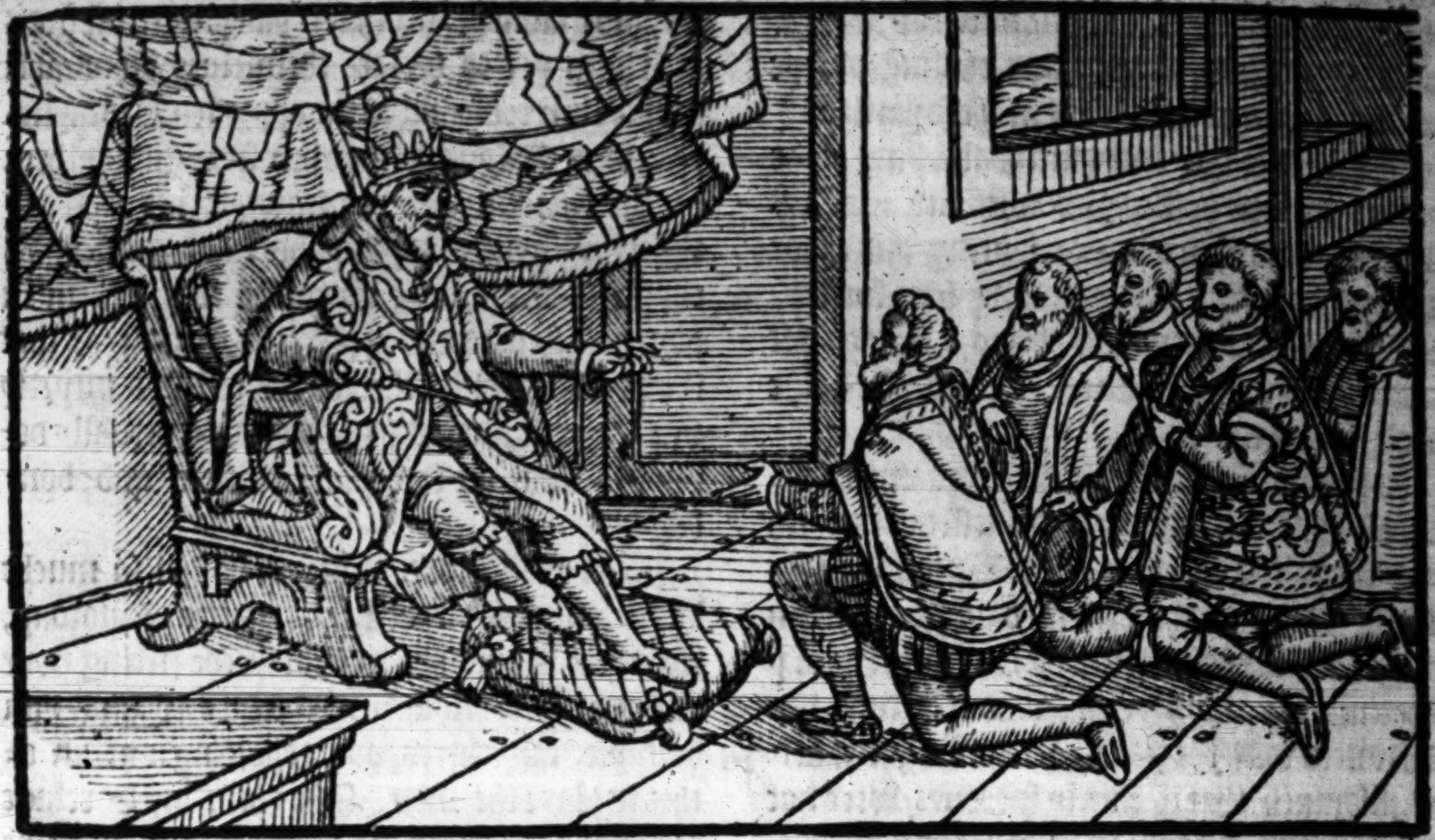
The Scottes purpoſe to aſſaile the romain campe.

The romains require a communication.

Being parted, the Scottes gaue not themſelues to reſt, but prouided them of all things neceſſarie agaynſt the next morning to aſſayle their enimies a freſh, and namely from the next wood they fetched great plentie of fagottes and bruſhe to fyll the trenches withall. But this theyr demeanor and purpoſe being vnderſtood of the Romaines, they requyred a communication, the whiche (though ſome perſwaded Galdus to the contrarie,) vppon deepe conſiderations of fortunes frayle fauour, was at length graunted vnto them, and foure auncient Romaines clad in right honourable and verie riche apparel came

The Romains ſub mit themſelues as vanquiſhed.

forth and were admitted to the preſence of the kings (Galde of the Scottes, and Garnard of the Pictes) vnto whome with humble ſubmiſſion they acknowledged themſelues as vanquiſhed, and that by the iuſt wrath and reuenge of the equall Goddes, which agaynſt them they had conceyued for the wrongfull inuaſion of that which in no wiſe of right appertained vnto them. Therefore if it might pleaſe thoſe kings to brydle and refrayne their diſpleaſure agaynſt them, in licenſing them vnder ſome reaſonable conditions of appoyntment to depart, it ſhoulde bee a thing reſounding ſo muche to theyr fame and glorie, as nothing coulde bee more, conſidering ſo humble ſute made to them by the Oratours of thoſe people who were reputed as vanquiſhers of the whole worlde.



The conditions of peace preſcribed to the Romaines by the Scottes and Pictes.

Herewyth falling proſtrate at the feete of thoſe Kings, they beſought them of pardon, in ſuche pitifull wyſe, that the heartes of the hearers beganne ſomewhat to mollifye, and at length Galde tooke vppon hym to anſwere in name of all the redſiue of the Scottiſh and Pictiſhe Nations, and in the ende concluded, that they were contented to graunt a peace on theſe conditions: That the Romaines ſhoulde ceaſſe from that daye forwarde in anye wyſe to infeſt or diſquiet by waye of any inuaſion the Scottiſhe and Pictiſhe borders, and alſo to departe wholye out of thoſe Countreyes, reſtoring all ſuch holdes and Fortreſſes as they helde wythin the ſame. And further to delyuer all pryſoners, pledges, and fugetyues whatſoeuer as then remayning in theyr handes, togyther wyth ſuche goodes and ſpoyle as they had latelye taken.

Theſe conditions beeing certyfied to the Romaynes by theyr Oratours, were gladly accepted, ſith they ſawe no better meane, howe to delyuer themſelues out of that preſent daunger.

The Romai depart out o Galloway.

And ſo delyuering ſufficient Hoſtages for perfourmaunce of all the Articles of agreement, they departed without protracting time, marching Southwardes to come into Kent, where Marius king of the ſouth Brytaynes ſoiourned as then.

Agricola as the Scottiſhe Chronicles report, left at his departure towardes Rome, to the number of. lx. thouſande men in the Romain armie what of one and other, but nowe at theyr departure out of Galloway, there remayned vnneath. xx. thouſande, the reſidue being diſpatched by one meane or other.

The Romai giue vp all their holde and fortre which they kepe within the Scottiſhe or Pictiſh d minions.

By this concluſion of peace then, the Scottes and Pictes got againe the whole poſſeſſion of all ſuche Countreyes as the Romaines had before wonne and takē away from them, as the Mers, Louthian, the Marches about Barwike, Fyffe, and Angus, wyth Kyle, Cantyr, Coningham, and Galloway: all the Romaine gariſons departing oute of the fortreſſes, and leauing the ſame vp vnto the former owners.

Galdus hauing thus ended the warres with the Romaines, tooke order to ſet good directions amongſt his people for the quiet and peaceable gouernment of the common wealth, viſiting dayly the countreys abrode, the better to vnderſtande the ſtate of them, and to refourme the ſame where it was needfull. Further conſidering that as warre breadeth good ſouldiers ſo peace by iuſtice ryddeth them out of the way, if they bee not the better prouided for.

Galdus ſtudi eth to preſerue his ſu iects in goo quiet now af ter the warr were ended.

Suche as had ſerued long time in the laſte warres, and had not any trade nowe in tyme of peace whereby to get theyr lyuing, he placed in garriſons neare to the borders of the Brytaynes for defence of the Countrey.

ch as sought
o trouble the
ace were
nished.

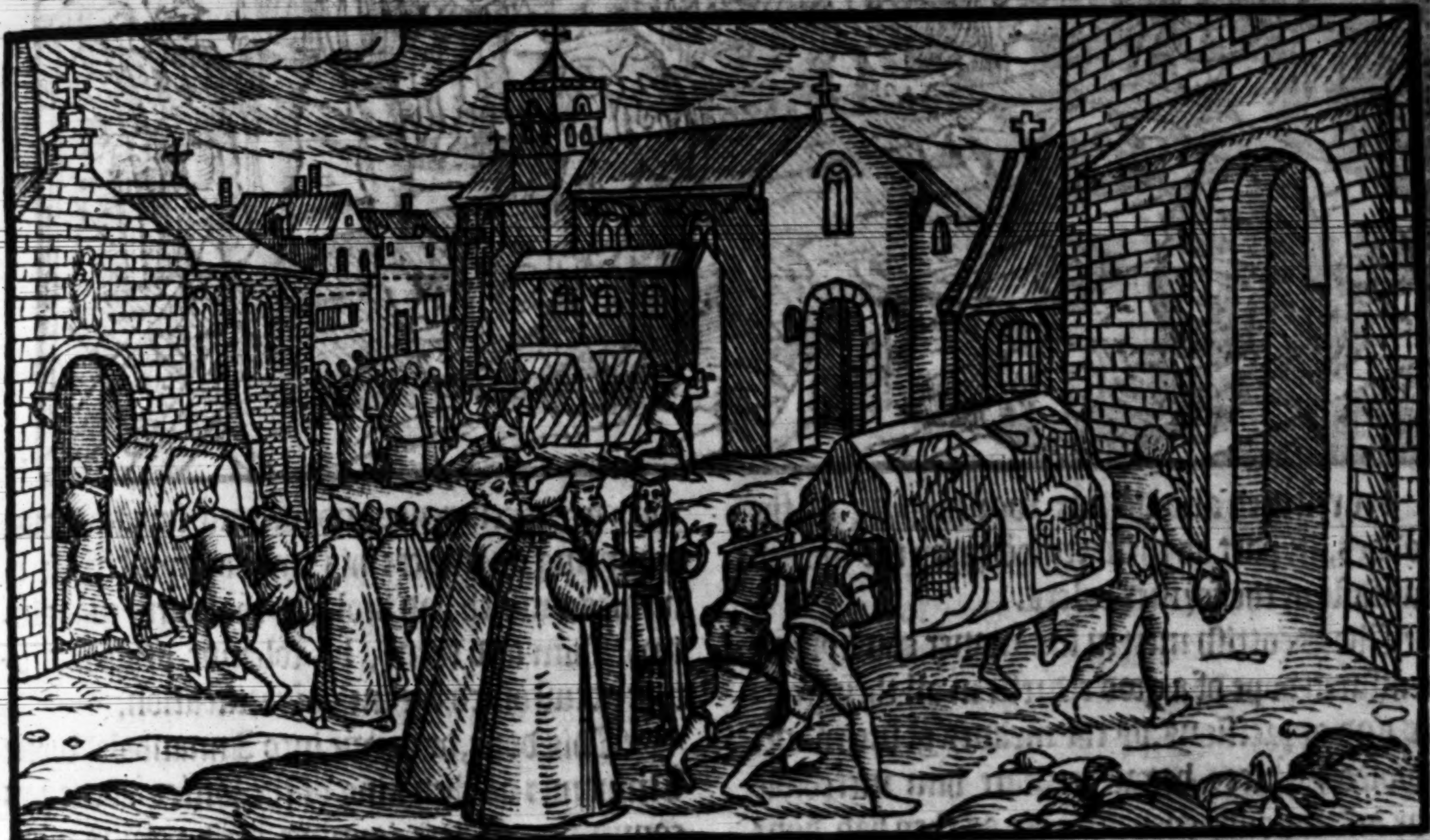
After this, hee came to an entreuewe wyth Garnarde king of Pictes at Calidone, or Kalendar, to redreſſe certain troubles rayſed betwixt their ſubiectes being borderers concerning the limittes of their Countrey: where perceyuing a ſort of euill diſpoſed perſons to bee wholy in the fault, vpon a naughtie intent to ſteale and trouble the peace whiche they had with ſuch trauaile and labour ſought to reſtore, they puniſhed the offenders, and ſet al things in good quiet, and ſo departed in ſunder with great loue & friendſhip.

Galde departeth this life at Epiake.

3. H.B.
5302. H.B.
103. H.B.

alloway ta-
en the name
Galde.

Thus Galdus applying all his ſtudie and diligence to aduaunce the common wealth and quiet ſtate of his Countrey, lyued many yeares ſo highly in the fauour of all his ſubiectes, that the like hath beene but ſeldome hearde of: finally to their greate griefe and diſpleaſure hee ended hys lyfe, more deare to them than theyr owne at Epiake, in the .xxxv. yeare of his raigne, (whiche was about the .xv. yeare of the Empyre of Adrian, the 4098. yeare after the worldes creation, and from the byrth of our ſauiour .131. and was buryed with greate lamentation in moſte pompous maner, and layde in a goodly Tumbe which was rayſed with mightie huge ſtones, hauing a great number of obeliſkes ſet vp round about it according to the maner. Furthermore to the ende his memorie ſhoulde euer endure, the Countrey where hee fought laſte with the Romains was called Galdia, after his name, which by addition of a fewe letters is nowe called Galloway, and before that tyme Brygantia, as the Scottes do holde: but howe that ſeemeth to agree with a truth, ye may reade in the Hiſtorie of Englande.



Lug-
hake.

n vngracious
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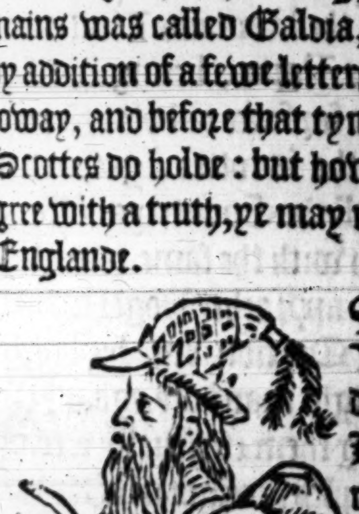


After this famous Prince was thus departed hence, his ſon Lugthake ſucceeded in rule of the Scottiſhe kingdome, no leſſe abhorred of al men for his deteſtable and filthye vices ioyned with all kind of crueltie and couetouſneſſe, than his father was beloued for his noble and excellent vertues. This Lugthake went ſo farre paſſe the boundes of all continencie in following his ſenſuall luſtes, that he forced and rauiſhed not onely aunt, neece, and ſiſter, but euen his owne daughters alſo. Such as were honourable perſonages and meete to gouerne in the common wealth he nothing regarded, but committed the adminiſtration of things vnto vile perſons, and ſuch as coulde beſt deuiſe howe to inuent quarels agaynſt the riche,, whereby they might be fleeſed of all whatſoeuer they had: and oftentymes vpon ſome forged cauſe cruelly put to death. So little did he prouide to ſee offenders in any wiſe corrected, that contrarily hee mainteyned them in ſuche ſorte therein, that iuſtice was quite baniſhed, and nothing but ſpoyle and rauine exerciſed.

he inconti-
nence of
Lugthake.

His ſmall regarde to the nobilitie.

Fauor ſhewed to men of baſe condition.

Offenders mainteyned.

Iuſtice is baniſhed.

Thus he continued about two yeares, to the greate ruyne of the common wealth. Finally, when he went about to put to death ſuche as in an aſſemble called at Dunſtafage ſpake againſt the miſordered gouernment of the realme, he was there murthered amongeſt the people, with a number of thoſe alſo, whome he vſed to haue attendaunt on his perſon for ſafegarde of the ſame.

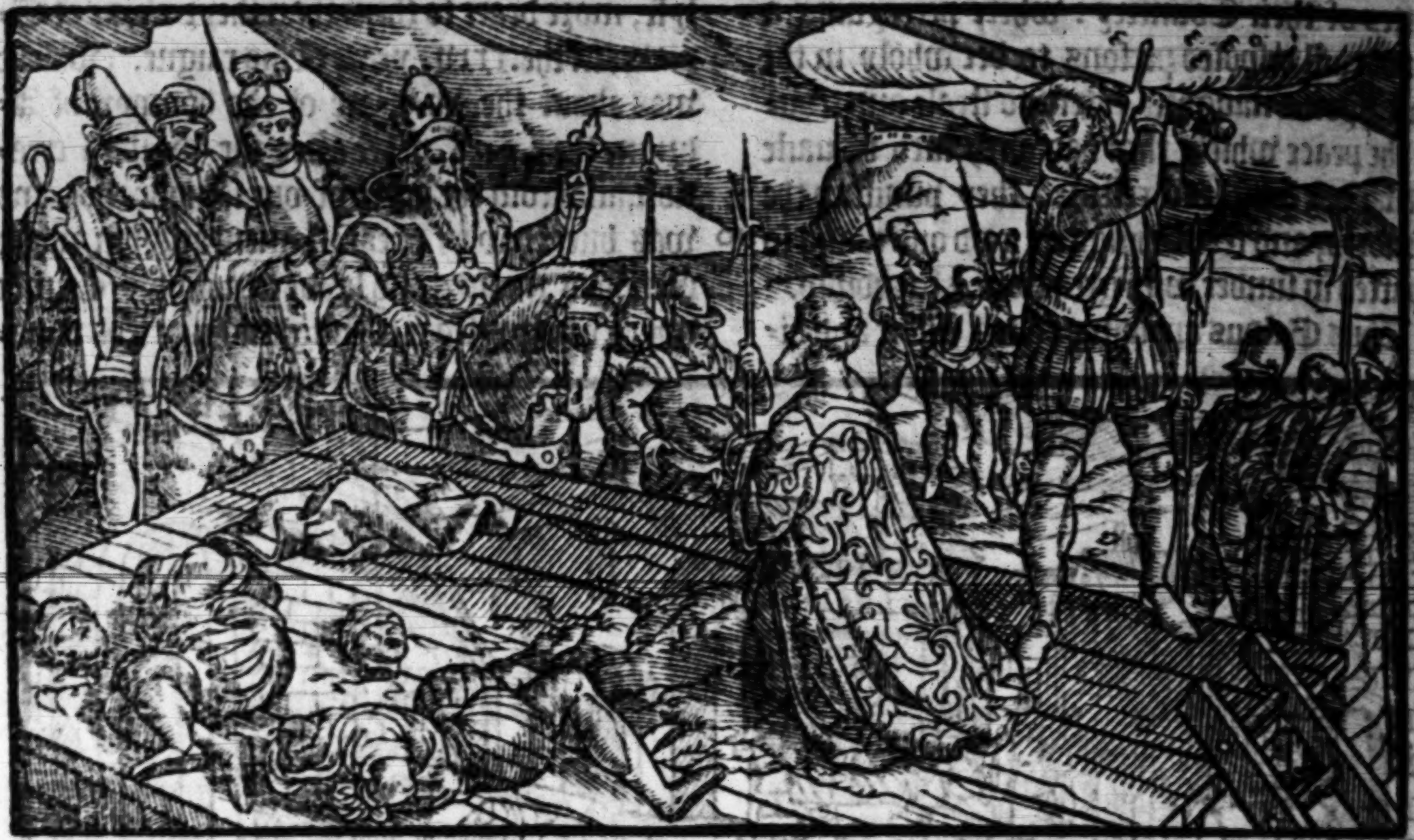
Lugthake woulde haue put to death ſuch as ſpake agaynſt his miſgouernment.

Lugthake is murthered with a number of his mē.

His owne bodie was ſolemnly buryed by appoyntment of the Nobles, hauing reſpect to his fathers benefites, but the carkaſſes of hys Garde were caſt out into the fieldes, there to bee deuoured of beaſtes and byrdes of rauyn.

Mogall nephew to Galdus is admitted king, and ſtudieth to redreſſe abuſes.

AFter Lugthake was thus diſpatched, one Mogall the Nephewe of Galdus by his daughter was admitted king in his place. Hys chiefeſt ſtudie was to reforme the decayed ſtate of his Countrey, and firſt he cauſed ſuch wicked Counſellours of his predeceſſours and Uncle Lugthake, as had eſcaped with life (when theyr maiſter was made away) to be put to death, according to their iuſt deſeruings.



He reſtored alſo the due worſhipping of the Goddes, in part as then neglected, by the wicked counſaile of the former rulers.

Mogal is beloued of his ſubiects.

The Scottiſh men in like maner conceyuing an aſſured hope of a good redreſſe in all their grieues and oppreſſions, by the meanes of ſuch a wel diſpoſed Prince, began to beare him incredible loue and fauour, euen the lyke as they had done to his grandfather Galdus.

The Picts deſire ayde of the Scots againſt the Romains

In the meane time came certaine Imbaſſadours from the Pictes vnto this Mogall, requyring him of ayde agaynſt the Romaines and Brytayns, who by a ſodaine inuaſion had done much hurt in Pictlande, to the great diſtreſſe of the inhabitants.

The Romains inuade the Scottiſh borders.

The ſame time they of Galloway certified him alſo by letters, that the ſame Romains had made a rode into theyr Countrey, and ledde away a great bootie of goodes and priſoners.

Mogall requireth reſtitution of wrongs done by the Romaines.

Mogall hauing a mynde no leſſe gyuen to deedes of chiualrie, than to the ſtudie of ciuill gouernment and religious deuotion, reioyſed that he had iuſt occaſion giuen him to ſhewe ſome proofe of his valiant inclination, and ſo herevpon ſent an Herald at armes vnto the Romains, requyring to haue reſtitution and amendes for the iniuries thus by them committed.

Mogall prepareth to the warres.

Mogal viſiteth his grandfathers ſepulchre.

The Heralde doing his meſſage, receyued nothing but ſcornefull wordes, and diſdainfull menaces, whereby Mogall beeing throughly kindled with deſpite, aſſembled his power togyther forth of all the parties of his dominions, and comming with the ſame into Galloway, viſited his grandfathers Sepulchre, honouring the ſame with great reuerence and ſolemne ſupplications, requyring as it were his ayde agaynſt thoſe enimies, which had violated the league made betwixt him and them, by ſolemne othes and other accuſtomed meanes of ratification.

The Picts a Scots ioyne their powe togither, an enter into th landes of th enimies.

This done, he drewe into Innandale, where Vnipanus as then king of the Pictes abode hys comming. There ioyning their powers togyther, they marched forth into Cumberland, and ſo forwarde into Weſtmerlande, with fire and ſworde, waſting and ſpoyling thoſe Countreys, as then belonging to the Romaines.

Lucius An nous Lieu nant of Bry taine

Lucius Antenous the Romaine Lieutenant lying the ſame tyme at Yorke, beeing certified herof by ſuch as fledde for feare out of thoſe parties thus inuaded by the Scottes, gathered a mightie armie out of all the Countreys of Brytayne, and haſted forth with the ſame towardes his enimies, of whoſe approche Mogal hauing notice, he made a long Oration vnto his people to encourage them to fight manfully againſt the Romaines, perſwading them effectually thereto by many familier examples brought in of the valiant enterpriſes atchieued by their elders, in defence of their Countrey and libertie of the ſame.

Mogall exhorteth his men to doe valiantly.

Lucius Ante nous likewi encourageth his folkes.

In like maner Lucius Antenous for his part exhorted the Romains and other his ſouldiours, to call to remembrance the victorious exployttes of their predeceſſours, and how that as then they ſhould fight but with a rude and barbarous people, running to battaile more vppon a furious rage and violent madneſſe, than with any diſcretion or aduiſed order, ſaying furthermore, that it lay nowe in their handes with no great adoe to recouer that which through the negligent ſlouth of Cneus Trebellius was before loſt, whereby they ſhould attaine great honour and famous renoume for euermore.

e battaile
gonneth be-
ne the
aines and
ots.

By this meanes the armies on both ſides being kindled with deſire of battaile, in hope of victorie, they drew neare togither, and began the fight right fiercely at the firſt with throwing and ſhooting of dartes and arrowes ſo thicke that one might vnneth ſee another.

rel fight.

e Romaines
yre.

cius Ante-
s is woun-
d.

e Romaines
put to
ght.

The place was more for the aduauntage of the Scots than of the Romaines, bycauſe they were compelled to fight as it were by companies and partes, by reaſon of bogges and mariſhes, with ſuch ſideling bankes on the ſydes that they could keepe none aray: yet all theſe impediments notwithſtanding, this battaile was fought ſo farre forth to the vtterance, that in the ende after a wonderful ſlaughter on both ſides made, when their ſwordes and other weapons were ſpent, they buckled togither with ſhort daggers. Finally the violent charge of the Scottes & Pictes, was ſuch, that the Romaines were conſtrayned to retyre, which their generall Antenous perceyuing, did what hee coulde to ſtay them, and to bring them forward againe, but as he was moſt buſie in the forefront to exhort them herevnto, he was wounded with an arrowe, and therevpon departed out of the battaile, which gaue occaſion to diuerſe other of his companie to followe him, by meanes whereof all the reſidue fell to running away, and made towarde the next wood, there to ſaue themſelues as well as they might, though ſome companies perceyuing that they could not reache thither without manifeſt daunger, cloſed themſelues togither and departed by an other way, which they tooke at aduenture, not knowing towardes what partes they drewe, ſo that they lay al the night following within two miles of the Scottes and Pictes, who for that the day was in maner ſpent (before the Romaines were put to flight,) encamped themſelues in the ſelfe ſame place where the battaile was fought, and in the morning hearing that parte of their enimies were lodged ſo neare them, and knew not which way to draw, they ſent a number forth of their campe to fight with them, and to kil them if they reſiſted, or to bring them captiue to the king if they ſhoulde ſeeme willing to yeelde.

Thoſe that were thus ſent, founde the Romaines in verie good order of battaile for ſo ſmal a bande, not minding to yeeld themſelues as priſoners. By reaſon of which their obſtinate wylfulneſſe, they were ſlaine in the ende euerie mothers ſonne.

Lucius Ante-
ous ſendeth
ters vnto
Rome certi-
fying the Em-
perour Adrian
f the ouer-
rowe.

Lucius Antenous hauing thus receyued the ouerthrow, diſpatched a poſt vnto Rome with all haſte, ſignifying vnto the Emperour Adrian the whole maner of the diſcomfiture, and howe that by reaſon therof things ſtood in great daunger here in Brytaine, if ſpedie ſuccours were not the ſooner ſent, for the enimies were neuer more cruell and fierce, than at this preſent, not onely the men, but alſo the women (as in the laſt battaile he ſawe plaine proufe) who cared not for the loſſe of their owne lyues, ſo that they might die reuenged.

Women as readie to the battail as men.

Adriā the Emperour prepareth to go into Brytayne.

When Adrian vnderſtood theſe newes, he purpoſed forthwith to goe himſelfe into Brytayne, cauſing therefore an armie to be leuied, he paſſed forth with the ſame into Fraunce, then called Gallia, and comming to Calliſe, he tranſported ouer into Brytayne, where hee learned howe the Scottes and Pictes were neuer more buſie than at this preſent, hauing of late waſted and ſpoyled the Countrey euen to the Riuer of Tine.

Adrian tranſporteth into Brytayne.

Adrian commeth to York.

Herewith Adrian being ſore offended, ioyned the power which he had brought with him from Rome, with the other which he had cauſed to be rayſed in Fraunce and Brytayne. This done, he remoued to Yorke, where ſoiourning certaine dayes to refreſh his people, he afterwardes drewe towardes the borders, and comming to the riuer of Tine, he paſſed ouer the ſame.

He paſſeth ouer the riuer of Tine.

Adrian findeth nothing abrode in the countrey of his enimies.

What maner of people he had to doe with.

The fourth day after, he came into a Countrey wherein was left no kinde of earthly thing ſeruing to mans vſe, and ſo paſſing forwarde a day or two, he found neither corn, nor other prouiſion of vittaile, nor any kind of liuing creature, all the people being fled into the mountaines and marriſh groundes, where no man might come vnto them, as cõmonly in caſe of extreme daunger they were accuſtomed to lie abroade in the ſame without houſe or any couerture ouer their heades. Howbeit for all that he gaue not ouer to purſue them, but finding them out where they lurked in the hilles and woods, he grieuouſly afflicted them, and that in ſundrie maner. In the ende eſpying the barrenneſſe of the ſoyle, rudeneſſe of the people, and that there was no hope left to come by ſufficient prouiſion for the maintenance of his armie, he determined not to ſpend any longer time in ſuche a vaine and fruitleſſe trauaile, and therfore returned vnto Tine, where to reſtraine the Scottes and Pictes from inuading ſuch of the Brytaynes as were ſubiect to the Romaine Empyre, he cauſed a great trench to be caſt ouerthwart the lande, from the mouth of Tine to the ryuer of Eſke, and a wall to bee made on the inner ſyde of the ſame, of turfe and ſoddes.

Adrian beginneth to make a wall for ſafegarde of the Britaynes againſt the Picts & Scots.

The Scottiſh Chronicles make mention that it was begonne by Adrian, but not finiſhed tyll the dayes of the Emperour Seuerus, who made an ende of it, and therfore the ſame Chronicles name it the wall of Septimius Seuerus.

The romaine wryters doe confirme the ſame.

Adrianus hauing thus diſpatched in the North partes of Brytayne, in hys returne viſited Wales with the Marches of the ſame, ſetting an order amongeſt ſuch as had moued a commotion agaynſt the Magiſtrates in thoſe partyes, the Authours whereof hee puniſhed according to their offences, and ſo then he came to London, whither at the ſame tyme a great number of the Brytayne Nobilitie reſorted to doe hym honour, according to theyr duties. And hee for hys parte ſhewed them ſuche friendlye entertaynment, that they coulde not wiſhe any better.

Adrian commeth to London.

After this he ſayled ouer into Fraunce, taking Lucius Antenous with him, bycauſe hee coulde not away with the ayre of Brytayne, in whoſe place he left one Aulus Victorinus Lieutenant there, who diſpoſed dyuerſe garriſons of Souldiours in places neare vnto the forerememberd Wall, for defence of the inhabitauntes agaynſt the violence of the Scottes and Pictes. Who ſeeing this demeanor of the Romaines, deuided thoſe landes and Countreys (whiche they had lately waſted on the further ſyde of Tine) in ſuche ſorte betwyxte them, that all whatſoeuer laye towardes the Iriſhe Sea, remayned to the Scottes, and the reſt coaſting vpon the Almayne Seas, fell vnto the Pictes for their portion.

Adrian returneth towarde Rome.

Aulus Victotorius Lieutenat of Brytaine.

The Scottiſhemen and Picts deuide the countreys beyonde Tine betwixt them.

After this Mogall liued many yeares in good quiet without any trouble of enimies. But being puffed vp in pryde by ſuche notable victories as he had thus got of the Romaines the conquerours of the worlde, hee coulde not in tyme of peace maiſter hys owne vnruly appetytes, but that drowned in the fylthie luſtes of the bodye, hee ſpared neyther Mayde, Wydowe, nor wyfe.

Mogal through pride abuſeth himſelfe in ſundrie kindes of vices.

Againe hee was giuen to ſuche vnquenchable couetyſe, that nothing mighte ſuffice hym, fynding many forged matters agaynſt the riche, whereby to bereue them both of life and ſubſtaunce. Hee was the fyrſt whiche ordeyned that ſuche as were baniſhed or condemned for anye cryme, ſhoulde forfeyte all theyr landes and goodes wythoute any conſideration had, eyther to wyfe or chylde, whiche is obſerued at the full euen vnto theſe oure dayes, where before it was otherwyſe in that Countrey.

A coueto
and cruel o
dinance.

But theſe ſo notable vices in the Prince coulde not long continue vnpuniſhed, for at length a conſpiracie was practiſed agaynſt him, whereof hee hauing knowledge (whether by witchcraft or otherwyſe by relation of friendes, the certaintie is not knowne) in the deade of the night hee armed himſelfe, and with two of his ſeruauntes onely fledde to the next wood, not gyuing notice of his departure to any other of his houſeholde.

A conſpir
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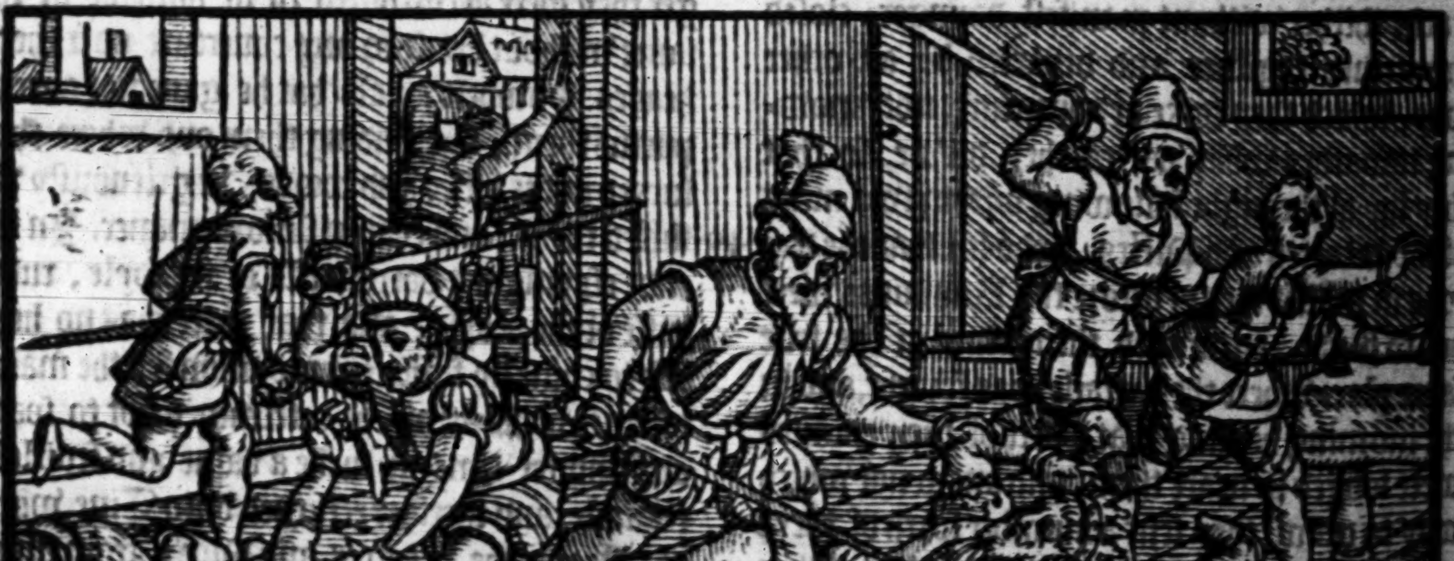
gaynſt Mo

Mogall fle
out of his
owne hou

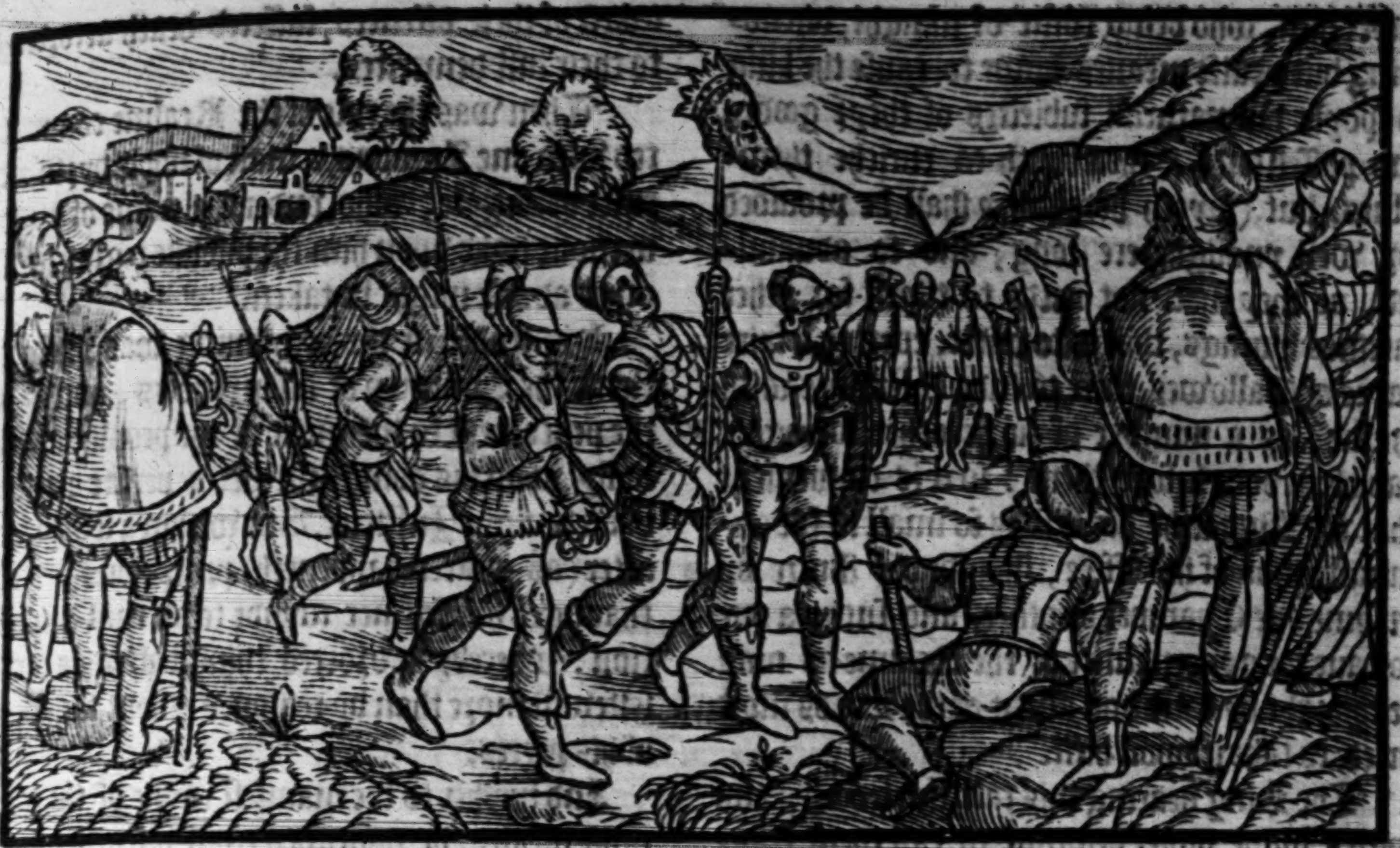


The morning being come, and knowledge had how he was thus departed, the conſpiratours purſued after him, who perceyuing them to approche, ſought wayes how to haue eſcaped their handes: but ſuch was his happe that hee fell amongeſt other that were as readie as the fyrſt to wreake their malice vppon him, and ſo by them hee was immediately murthered in the .xxxvj. yeare of his raigne, beeing the. 4136. of the world, and after the byrth of our Sauiour 169. Antonius Pius then gouerning the Romaine Empyre, and Philatus ſurnamed Albus, raigning amongeſt the Pictes. His heade being ſmitten off, was ſet vppon a poles ende, and caryed aboute in deriſion: but afterwardes in reſpect of his lynage it was buryed togither with

Mogal is m
thered.

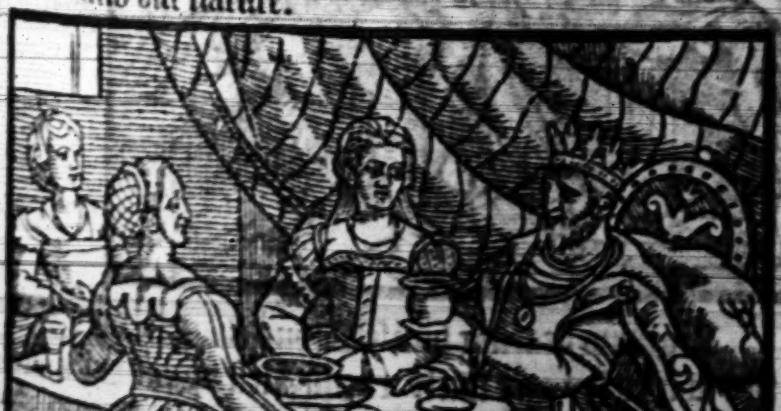
148. H.B.

the



the bodie by appoyntment of the nobles, notwithſtanding the commons thought it moſte vnworthie of any ſuch honour.

Mogal being thus diſpatched, as ye haue heard, his ſonne Conarus was admitted King, who (as is reported) was priuie to the cõſpiracie deuiſed agaynſt his father, and as hee came to the gouernment by wicked meanes, ſo in the ende hee vſed hymſelfe muche what accordinglye in the ſame: for after hee had for a tyme diſſembled hys naughtie nature, he beganne at the laſt openly to ſhewe himſelfe in his right colours, committing firſte of all the adminiſtration of publike affayres vnto men of baſe condition and vile nature.



Conarus giuen to exceſsiue gluttonie.

His chiefe delyght was altogyther in banquetting and coſtly fare, not regarding the auncient temperancie in feeding vſed amongſt hys worthie anteceſſours.

In waſting therefore hys kingly reuenewes vppon ſuch ryotous exceſſe, hee was nothing abaſſhed to require in an open aſſemble of hys Nobles, a ſubſidie to bee graunted towardes the maintenaunce of ſuche royall cheere, as hee iudged to ſtand with his honour to haue dayly in his houſe: And therefore whereas the rentes that belonged to the crowne were not ſufficient to furniſhe the charges, he requeſted a generall contribution to bee leuied throughe the Realme, of euerie perſon according to theyr abilities, for the maintenaunce of ſuche ſuperfluous expences as hee dayly vſed in exceſſiue banketting.

The Lordes conſpire againſt Conarus.

The Lordes marueyling to heare hym moue any ſuch demaunde, and conſidering wythall the occaſion thereof, they aſked reſpite to make theyr aunſwere tyll the next day: whiche beeing graunted, in the night following they communed ſecretely togyther, and in the ende concluded, not onely to denie hys requeſt, but alſo to depoſe him of all kingly gouernment, ſithe hys naughtie life requyred no leſſe.

The anſwere of the Lordes to the demaũd of Conarus.

The next day therefore when they were againe ſet downe in the Counſell Chamber, one of them in name of the reſidue, toke vpon hym to ſpeake, declaring that the Lordes and Commons of the Realme, marueyled not a little how it ſhould come to paſſe, that the king hauing no warres wherewith to conſume his treaſure, ſhoulde yet bee enforced to demaunde a tallage for maintenaunce of his eſtate and charges of hys houſeholde, but the faulte was knowne well ynoughe to reſte in ſuche as hee moſte vnworthylye had preferred to rule thinges

under

vnder him, who being come of naught, did nothing but deuiſe meanes howe to cauſe the king to ſpoyle his naturall ſubiectes of theyr goodes and poſſeſſions, therewyth to enriche themſelues, but, (ſayeth he) as they ſhall be prouided for well ynoughe ere long, and ſo aduaunced, as they ſhall not neede to thyrſt for other mennes lyuings, that is to witte, euen to a faire payre of Gallowes, there to ende their liues with ſhame, as a number of ſuche other loſengers had often done before them: ſo it is conuenient that the King ſithe his ſkill is ſo ſmall in the adminiſtration of his office, ſhoulde bee ſhutte vp in ſome one Chamber or other, and ſuche a one to haue the gouernaunce of the Realme as may be thought by common aſſent of the Lords moſt meete to take it vpon him.

Conarus is taken and committed to cloſe keeping.

The King hearing this tale, ſtarted vp, and with a loude voyce beganne to call them traytours, adding that if they went about any hurte to his perſon, they ſhoulde deare abye the bargaine. But notwithſtanding theſe wordes, ſuch as were appoynted thereto, caught him betwixt them, and had him forth to a place aſſigned where they layde hym vppe maugre all hys reſiſtaunce.

Conarus his miniſters are puniſhed for their offences.

In lyke maner, all ſuche as had borne offices vnder him, were attached and had to priſon, where the moſt part of them vpon examination taken of their offences, ſuffered death according to their iuſt demerites.

Argadus i choſen to uerne the Realme.

Then was the rule of the Realme commytted vnto one Argadus, a man of noble byrth, and ruler of Argyle, who vnder the name of a Gouernour tooke vpon him the publike regiment, till other aduiſe might be taken.

Argadus a vpright i ſticier.

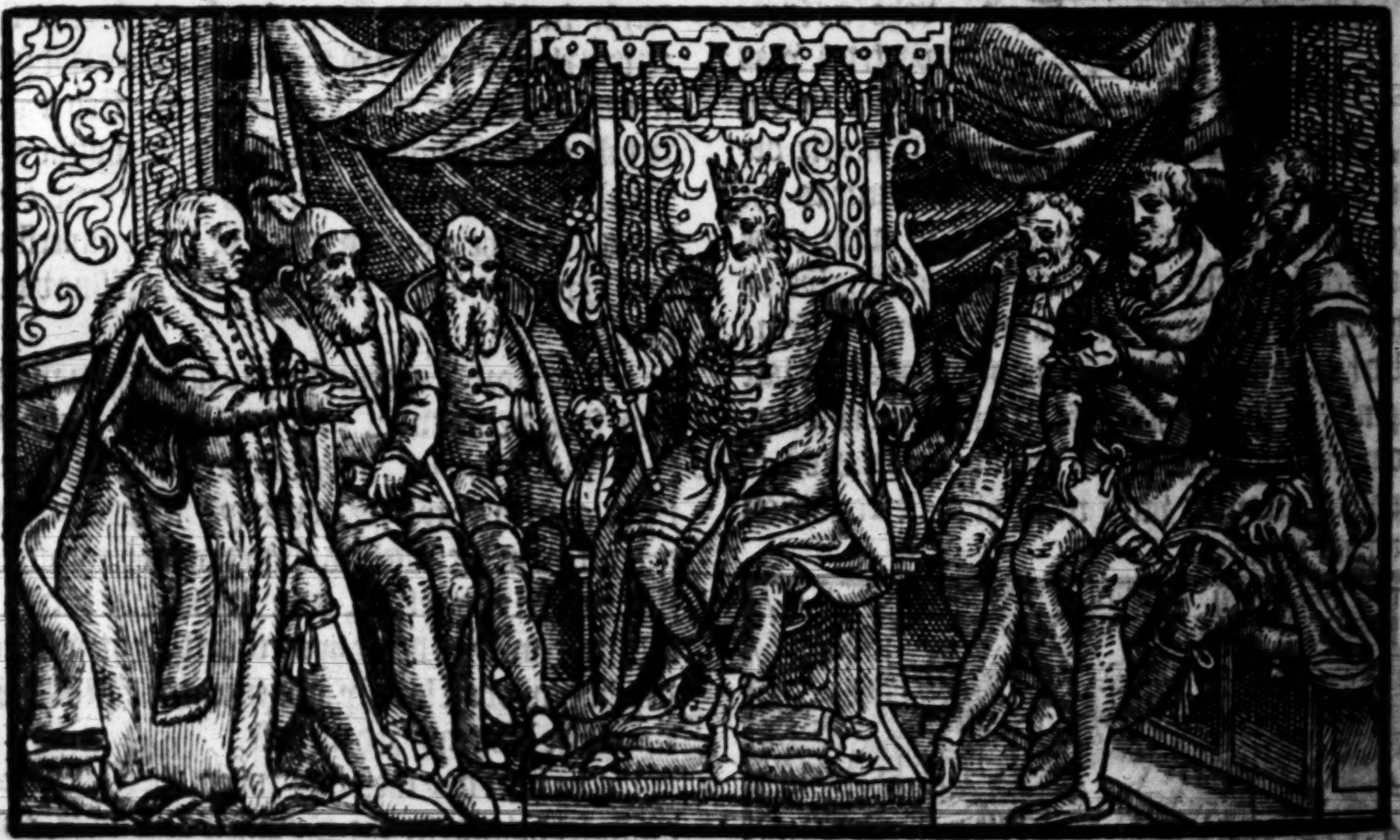
Proſperiti chaungeth condition

His ſtudie in the beginning was onely to clenſe the Countrey of all myſdoers, and to ſee the peace kept to the quiet of the people: and finally in all his doings ſhewed a perfite patrone of an vpright Iuſticier. But within a few yeares after (as it often happeneth) proſperous ſucceſſe chaunged his former mynde to an euill diſpoſition, whereby he ordered things after his owne ſelfewill more than by reaſon, without the aduiſe of his peeres.

And further to the manifeſt ruyne of the common wealth, he nouriſhed ciuill diſcorde and ſedition amongſt the nobles, ſuppoſing it to make for his welfare, ſo long as they were at oddes. He alſo maryed a Pictiſh Ladie, the better to ſtrengthen himſelfe by this his forraine aliaunce.

Argadus is rebuked.

Hereupon the Peeres of the Realme vnderſtanding what miſchiefe might enſue by theſe manifolde and ſundrie abuſes of the gouernour, cauſed a Parliament to be called, where in preſence of the whole aſſemblie, they layde vnto his charge, howe (that through his miſgouernment and preſumption, not onely in coupling himſelfe in maryage with a wife of a ſtraunge Nation, but alſo for attempting many other things preiudicial to the eſtate of the Realme, without conſent of the Nobles or Commons of the ſame) he had deſerued greeuous puniſhment, his treſpaſſe being ſo much the greater, in yͤ conſidering the meane howe he came to that dignitie, he anſwered not their expectation, nor performed the truſt which was generally committed vnto him.



Argadus c feſſeth his fault.

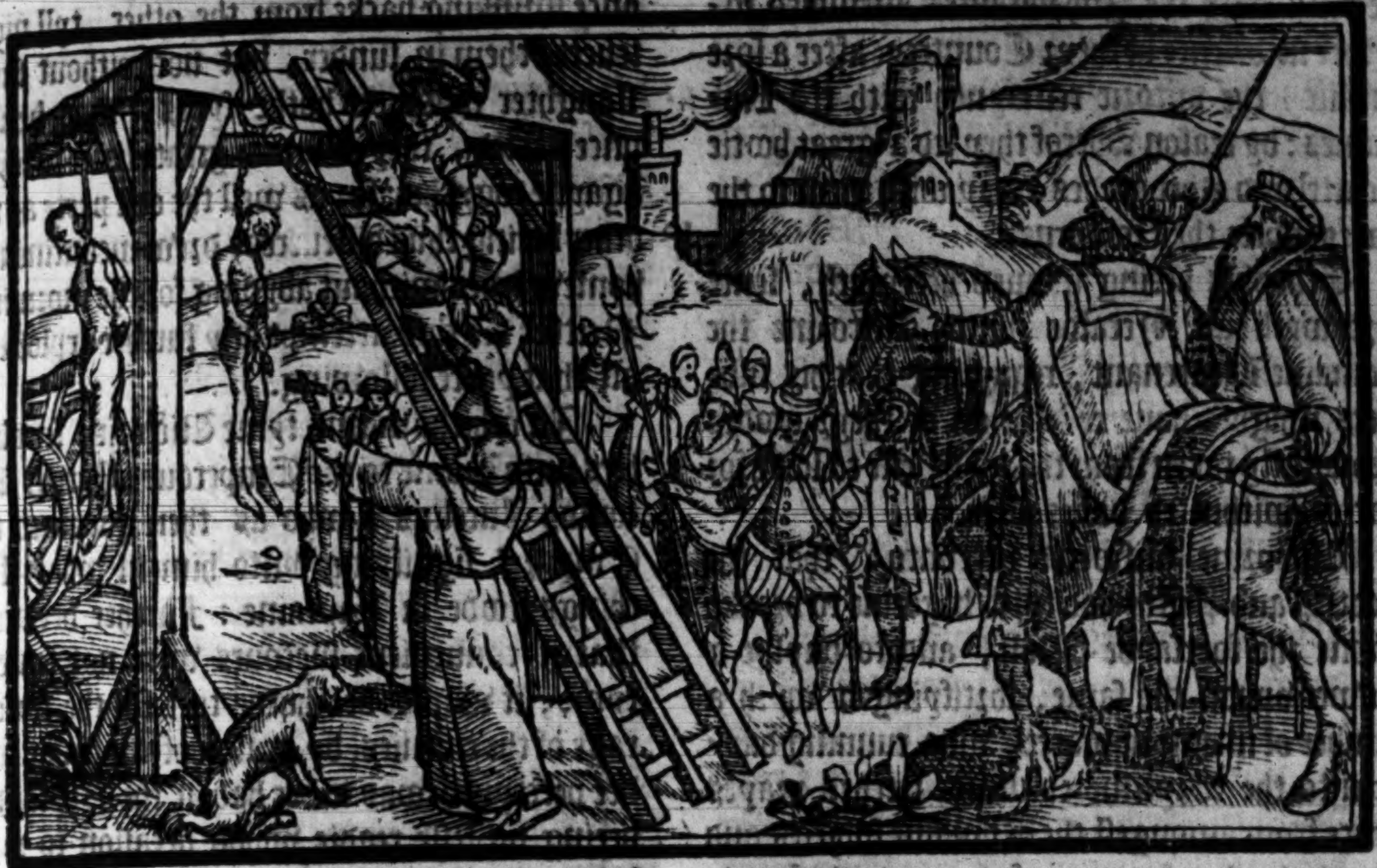
Argadus hearing himſelfe thus charged, and not able to lay any likely excuſe, fell vppon hys knees, and partly as it were confeſſing his fault with teares guſhing frõ his eyes, beſought them of pardon, wholy ſubmitting himſelfe to bee ordered at their diſcretion.

Argadus i permitted continue i his office.

The Lordes being moued with this humble ſubmiſſion of Argadus, vpon promiſe he ſhoulde redreſſe al his former miſdemeanours, were contented that he ſhould continue ſtill in the adminiſtration of the Realme, but ſuch as had beene his chiefeſt Counſellours were committed to warde.

his for-
misgo-
uance, and
himſelf
better ad-

After this ſharpe admonition and warning thus giuen, Argadus did nothing touching the gouernment of the common wealth, without the aduice of his Peeres, and ſome after amongeſt other things, he tooke order for the limitting how farre the authoritie of inferiour officers, as Bayliffes, Boroughmaiſters, Conſtables, and ſuch other ſhoulde extende. But eſpecially he trauailed moſte diligently for the puniſhing of theeues and robbers, of whom none eſcaped with life that fell into his handes.



cookerie
ished.

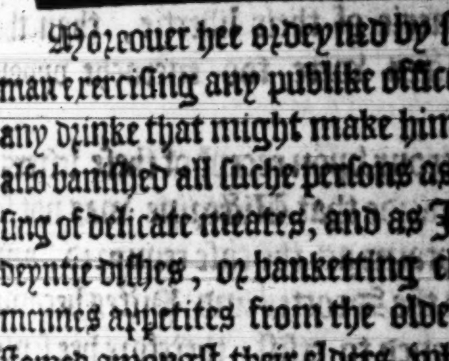
Moreouer hee ordeyned by ſtatute, that no man exerciſing any publike office, ſhould taſte of any drinke that might make him drunken. Hee alſo baniſhed all ſuche perſons as vſed with dreſſing of delicate meates, and as I may call them, deyntie diſhes, or banketting cheare, to allure mennes appetites from the olde rude fare accuſtomed amongſt their elders, who ſought not to follow theyr delicious appetites, but onely prouided to ſuſtayne nature, which is ſatiſfied with a little, and that voyde of coſtly furniture.

Argadus thus beeing occupied in reforming the ſtate of the common wealth, brought many euill doers into good frame and order, and ſuch as were vpright liuers of themſelues, endeuored ſtill to proceede forward to better and better.

rus de-
out of
worlde.
62. H.B.

At length in the eight yeare of his gouernment Conarus beeing conſumed with long impriſonment, departed oute of this life, in the fourtenth yeare after the begynning of hys raigne.

Etho-
us.



the
of
is cho-
king.

After whoſe deceaſſe, the nobles and other eſtates of the realme aſſembling themſelues togither, choſe one Ethodius, Nephew to King Mogall by hys ſiſter, to raigne ouer them.

But Argadus being highly rewarded with landes and lyuings for his faythfull and diligent paynes taken in the aduauncement of the publike weale, during the time of his gouernment, was thereto ſoone after created as it were Lorde Preſident of the Counſell, thereby to bee chiefeſt in authoritie next to the king, in the ordering and rule of all publike affayres and cauſes.

Argadus is create Lorde preſident of the counſell.

Shortly after Ethodius (as the cuſtome of newe kings in thoſe dayes was) went ouer into the weſterne Iles, there to take order for the adminiſtration of iuſtice, where immediately vpon his arriual, it was ſhewed him that not paſſing two or three dayes before, there had beene a great cōflict fought betwixt ẏ nobles or clannes of the countrey, by reaſon of a ſtrife that was ſtirred amongſt their ſeruants, being a cōpany of naughtie and vnruly fellowes, to the great diſquiet of the Inhabitants.

Ciuil diſcorde amongſt the Lordes of the Iles.

Herevpon was Argadus ſent forth incontinētly with a power to appeaſe that buſineſſe, and to bring in the offenders, that they might receyue rewarde according to their demerites. Argadus forthwith haſted towardes the place, where he vnderſtood the rebelles to be remayning, and apprehending their whole nūber of thē, ſome by force, and ſome vpō their humble ſubmiſſion, he returned back with them to the king, who cauſing the matter to be throughly heard, ſuch as were ẏ chiefeſt beginners, & moſt in fault, were puniſhed by death, and the other fined at the kings pleaſure.

Argadus is ſent forth to apprehend the rebelles.

The Iland rebelles are puniſhed.

The Iland people beeing thus appeaſed, the king returned into Albion, where as then lying at Ennerlochther, a towne (as is ſayde) in Louchquhaber, worde came vnto him, yͭ the Romaines had broken downe the Wall buylded by the Emperour Adrian, and made a greate rode into the Scottiſhe and Pictiſhe borders, where meeting with the Inhabitantes aſſembled togyther in defence of theyr Countrey (after a ſore conflict) the victorie remayned with the Romaines: by reaſon wherof they led a great bootie of cattel and other goodes away with them to the places where they ſoiourned.

The Romains inuade the Pictiſh & Scottiſh borders.

Ethodius requyreth reſtitution of his ſubiects goods taken away by the Romains.

Ethodius beeing moued herewyth, ſente forthwyth an Heralde vnto Victorine the Romaine Lieutenant, requyring that his ſubiectes myghte haue reſtitution of theyr goodes wrongfully taken from them, or elſe to looke for warres within .xv. dayes after.

Victorines anſwere to Ethodius requeſt.

Victorine anſwered herevnto, that the Scottes and Pictes had fyrſt begonne to breake downe the foreſayde Wall, and to buylde a Tower vppon the ſame, fortifying it wyth a number of menne of warre, who running dayly into the Brytiſhe confines, fetched prayes thence from amongeſt the Romaine ſubiects, and though hee had ſent dyuerſe tymes to the Scottiſhe and Pictiſhe Wardens for reſtitution, yet coulde hee neuer haue anye towardly anſwere, ſo that hee was conſtrayned to begynne the warre in manner and fourme as hee had done alreadie.

Ethodius exhorteth the king of the Picts to make warres againſt the Romains.

Ethodius not a little kyndled with this anſwere, wrote ſtreyght wayes vnto the King of the Pictes, exhorting him in reuenge of ſuche iniuries as his ſubiectes had lately receyued at the handes of the Romaines, to inuade the Wall on that ſyde where it deuided his Countrey from the Brytaynes, and to breake in vppon the enimies by the ſame, and for his parte hee promiſed ſhortly after to come, and to ioyne with him in ſuch a neceſſarie enterpriſe agaynſt the common enimies of both their Countreyes.

The Pictiſh king giuing thankes to the meſſenger for his paynes, promiſed with all ſpeede to ſette forwarde according to the aduice of Ethodius.

The Romaines in like maner hauing knowledge of the whole intention of the two Kings, with all ſpeede made preparation alſo for the warres, but the Scottes and Pictes firſt breaking in vpon them, did muche hurt abrode in the Countreyes next adioyning. Which when the Romains perceyued, they paſſed by the enimies campe in the night ſeaſon, and entered into the Pictiſhe borders, waſting and ſpoyling all afore them.

The Scottiſhe men & Pictes inuade the Brytiſh borders.

When the two Kings vnderſtoode this, they haſted forth towardes them, and were no ſooner come within ſight of them, but that they made eche towardes other, and ſo encountering togyther, there was fought a ſore battaile with doubtfull victorie, for the right wings on eyther ſyde vanquiſhed the lefte, the breaſtes of bothe the battayles keeping theyr grounde, the one not once ſhrinking backe from the other, tyll night ſeuered them in ſunder, but not without ſuche ſlaughter made on bothe ſydes, that beeing once parted, they made no greate haſte to ioyne agayne togyther: for as well the one parte as the other beeing thus diſſeuered, drew incontinently homewardes without abyding for the morning. Neither did they attempt any further exploite of all that yeare following.

The Ro encounte the Scot men & P

Night pa the battail

Victorin deth lett to Rom

In whiche meane tyme Victorine ſent letters vnto Rome to the Emperour Marcus Antonius Aurelius, who as then gouerned the Empyre, ſignifying vnto him in what ſtate things ſtoode in Brytaine: Further declaring that if conuenient ſuccours were not ſente in tyme, it woulde bee harde to reſiſt the furious rage of the enimies, by reaſon of the ſmall truſt hee perceyued was to bee had in the Brytaines, beeing no leſſe readie vppon occaſion to make warres in recouerie of their libertie, than the Scottes or Pictes were too encroche vppon them.

The Emperour vpon recept of theſe letters, thought in his minde that Victorine was not ſo valiaunt a Captaine as the caſe requyred, and that therevppon the Scottes and Pictes became the more enboldened to reſiſt, therefore hee ſente for him home, appoynting one Agricola Calphurnius to ſucceede in hys roome, who was (as ſome haue lefte in wryting) the Nephew of Iulius Agricola, the moſte famous Captayne of the Romaines that euer came into Brytaine.

Victorin ſent for turne v Rome, a Calphur ſent into taine to ceede in h roome.

This Calphurnius comming into Brytain with an armie, ioyned to the ſame the power which he founde there, as well of the Brytaynes as of other ſeruing vnder the Romaine enſignes. Which done, he repayred to Yorke, and after towardes the Riuer of Tine, where beeing arryued, he marched forth into the borders of his enimyes, finding all the Countrey rounde aboute him ſo clearly waſted and burned, that there was not a houſe left ſtanding, nor a graine of corne, or one heade of Cattell to be founde therein. Yet notwithſtanding al this, forth he paſſed through Northumberlande, and entering into Pictlande waſted al that was before him with fire & ſworde. And for ſo muche as Winter came vpon, when hee had done his will in that behalfe, hee returned vnto Yorke, where hee ſoiourned vntill the Spring.

Calphur entreth the borde his enim

Calphur returneth Yorke.

When

Welchmē against Romains.

When Sommer was once come, hauing made his prouiſion to warre on the Scottes and Pictes, worde came vnto him, that the Welchmen were reuolted, and beganne to rayſe warre agaynſt the Romaines, ſo that taking order for the repayring of the Wall made by Adrian, which the enimies in dyuerſe places had broken downe, and leauing a ſufficient number of men of warre for defence of the ſame agaynſt all inuaſions that might bee attempted, he turned the reſidue of his power agaynſt thoſe Welche Rebelles, whome in the ende, though not without much ado he reduced to obedience.

Welch- brought their for- bedience

inhabi- of the Wight to the maines, and cōſtreined to be

Immediatly after this, he heard alſo howe the Brytaynes of the Iſle of Wight were vp in armor agaynſt ſuche Romaines as ruled there, ſundrie noble men of the maine Iſle taking their part, but they alſo were at length brought againe to their former ſubiection, and the authours of that rebellion puniſhed by death.

name of cola' dred to the Scot men and ctes.

In the meane tyme the Scottes and Pictes determined not to attempt any further exployte agaynſt the Romaines, doubting the verie name and linage of Agricola in the Lieutenaunt Calphurnius, by calling to remembrance the noble atchieued conqueſtes of his grandfather Iulius Agricola, of whoſe victorious exploytes, beſyde that which ye haue here before heard: the Engliſh hiſtorie alſo doth make a long rehearſall.

phurnius to re- the eſtate Brytaine.

phurnius eth vn- Rome.

lius Tre- sent as tenaunt Brytaine.

Calphurnius being thus at quiet on that ſide, intended wholy to reform al miſorders amongſt the Brytaynes, which being brought to indifferent good paſſe, he was ſent for home againe vnto Rome by the Emperour Antonius Commodus, the ſonne and ſucceſſour of the forerembred Marcus Aurelius, ſending one Publius Trebellius into Brytayne there to ſupplie hys charge.

This Trebellius comming into Brytain, at the firſt vſed himſelfe very vprightly in his office, ſhewing all honor and loue towardes the Brytaynes, ſubiectes to the Romaine Empyre, and namely to Lucius, who raigned as king of the lande, vnder the name and authoritie of the Romaine Empyre.

Tre- giuen couetouſnes

But after that he had once wonne him a peece of credit amongſt them, he chaunged his maners, or rather diſcouered his naturall inclination, ſo wholy giuen to couetouſneſſe, that his only ſtudie was ſet whiche way to fill his bagges, not caring howe vntruly hee forged accuſations agaynſte the riche, ſo that eyther by death or baniſhment, their goodes might be confiſcate, and ſo come to his handes.

is hated of Brytaines.

By this wicked gouernment, the Brytaines beganne ſo ſore to hate him, that had it not beene for the loue of their king, the foreſayde Lucius, (who holpe to appeaſe them) there had beene ſome Rebellion practiſed agaynſte him in the South part.

The Scottes and Pictes renue the warre againſt the Romaines.

Now the Scottes and Pictes hauing knowledge of this miſliking in the Brytayns towards the Romaine Lieutenant, thought it a time conuenient for them alſo to be doing, to the ende they might reuenge their former iniuries: and hereupon leuying an armie, they came to the oft remēbred wall, & ouerthrowing the ſame in diuerſe places they entred into the Britiſh cōfines with great ſpoyle and crueltie.

Trebellius fighteth with his enimies, is forſaken of his owne men, and chaſed out of the fielde.

Trebellius being hereof informed, haſted forth with all the power he coulde make, to reſiſt their inuaſions: but finding the enimies readye in the field, and encountring them ſooner than he looked for, he was euen vpon the firſt ioyning abādoned of the moſt part of his whole armie, whiche conſiſted of Britains & Frenchmē, thē called Gauls, ſo that the reſidue beeing beaten downe, he was glad to ſaue himſelfe as well as he might by ſetting the ſpurs to his horſe, and galloping away.

Weſtmerland and Kendall ſpoyled by the Scottiſh men and Pictes.

After this, gathering togither his people again as they fled from the diſcomfiture, he retired back with them vnto Yorke, hauing loſt in this bickering a great number of his beſt ſoldiers, and men of warre: for the Scottes and Pictes miſſing no ſmall number of their frends in that battaile, wer not ſatiſfied with thoſe whom they had likewyſe ſlain in the fight, but alſo fel vpon their priſoners which they had taken, and ſlue them alſo in reuenge of their fellowes whom they had loſt.

Afterwards they harried the cōtreys of Weſtmerland and Kendal in moſt cruel wiſe, Trebellius not being ſo hardy to fight with them again for doubt of ſome traine that might bee practiſed by the Brytaines. Neither was his ſuſpition grounded vpon the credite of any light information, as may appeare by that which followed: for immediately after, the Cōmons of the countrey roſe againſt the Romaines, in purpoſe to haue driuen them all out of the land.

The Brytiſhe Cōmons riſe againſt Trebellius, one Caldorus a Pict beeing their captaine.

The ſame commons are vanquiſhed.

Their captain was one Caldorus a Pict born. There were alſo diuerſe of the Britiſhe nobilitie amongeſt them not knowne, for they were diſguiſed in ſtraunge apparel, counterfeiting themſelues to be of the vulgar ſort. The furie of theſe people was great, but yet in the ende the politike order of the Romains vanquiſhed them, howbeit not without great ſlaughter on both ſides.

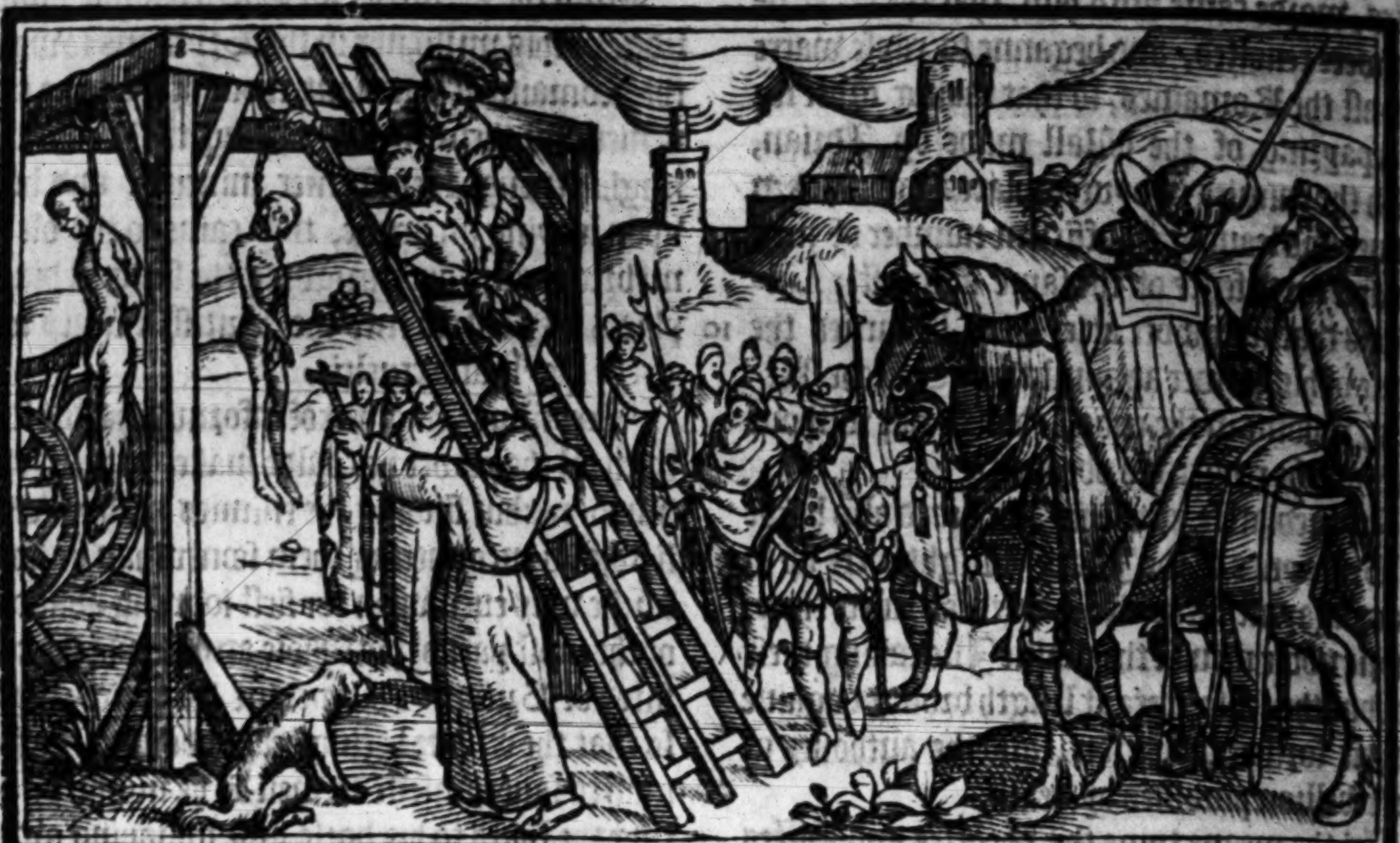
Caldorus reioyceth at the ſlaughter as wel of the one part as of the other.

Caldorus eſcaping the handes of his enimies, fled into his natiue countrey of Pictland, not a little reioyſing that he had procured ſuch ſlaughter amongſt the Romaines and Brytaines, both being enimies to him and his countrey.

Suche priſoners alſo of the Brytaynes as fell into the handes of the Romains, were hanged vp, vpon ſundrie trees and gibets: whereat other of the Brytains being offended, in ẏ night ſeaſon

The ſpite of the Brytaynes ſhewed towardes the Romaines.

tooke downe thoſe deade bodies, and hanged vp as many of the Romaines in theyr places, the truth beeing neuer knowne who were the doers of that act.



Trebellius writeth to the Emperor Cōmodus for ayde.

The Lieutenant Trebellius perceyuing thus what daunger he ſtoode in on euerie part, wrote vnto the Emperour Commodus, that without ſome reformation were had, the Romaines were not like to keepe foote any long ſeaſon in Brytayne, and therefore requyred to haue ſome ayde ſent ouer vnto him in time. But the Emperour doubting leaſt the fault reſted moſt in the Lieutenant himſelfe, appoynted that one Pertinax an auncient gentleman, & one for his high and notable vertues greatly eſteemed both amongſt the men of warre, and alſo in the Senate, ſhould go into Brytaine, to bee Legate there in place of Trebellius.

Pertinax ſent as Lieutenant into Brytaine.

This Pertinax comming into Brytain, according to the Emperours appoyntment, tooke vpon him the office. And firſt ſetting a ſtaye amongſt the Brytaines, by right prudent and wel aduiſed gouernmēt, he afterwards made a iourney agaynſt the Scottes and Pictes, dryuing them by great ſlaughter beyonde Adrians wall, and ſo conſtreyned them to remaine within their own confines, purſuing them no further, for that hee was ſente for home vnto Rome, where the Emperour Commodus beeing murthered amongſt his owne men, he was agaynſt his will preferred to his place.

Pertinax driueth back both the Scots and Pictes.

Pertinax is choſen Emperour.

About the ſame time the ſtate of the Scottiſh common wealth was brought into great daunger through an other incident, as by reaſon of a rebellion ſtirred by them of the weſterne Iſles, who not quieted in their ſtomackes for the death of their friendes executed by Argadus (as before ye haue heard) aſſembled thēſelues togither, and comming ouer into Argyle, ſpoyled and harryed the countrey in pitcous wiſe. For redreſſe whereof, Argadus was ſent thither againe with an armie, and in the meane time Ethodius the king with a great hoſt of Scottiſhe men and Pictes lay in campe neare vnto Adrians wall, to reſiſt the inuaſion of the enimies on that ſyde, if happely they ſhould attempt any new exploygt againſt him in thoſe partes.

Argyle infeſted by the Iland men.

The Ilande men hearing of Argadus hys approche, drewe themſelues togither to receyue him by battaile, if he minded to offer it. In which meane time two thouſand Iriſhe men were landed in that Countrey, in hope of ſpoyle, and hearing that Argadus was comming that wayes forth to fight with his enimies, they layde themſelues ſecretely in ambuſhe by the way where hee ſhoulde paſſe, and when he was paſſed by them, they brake forth vppon his rerewarde ſodainly, putting his people in ſuche diſorder by their violent impreſſion at the firſt brunt, that though he did what in him laye to bring them againe into aray of battayle, yet in the ende hee was there ſlaine with two thouſande of his armie, the reſidue eſcaping by flight out of the handes of their wilde and cruel enimies.

The Iriſh lande in Argyle.

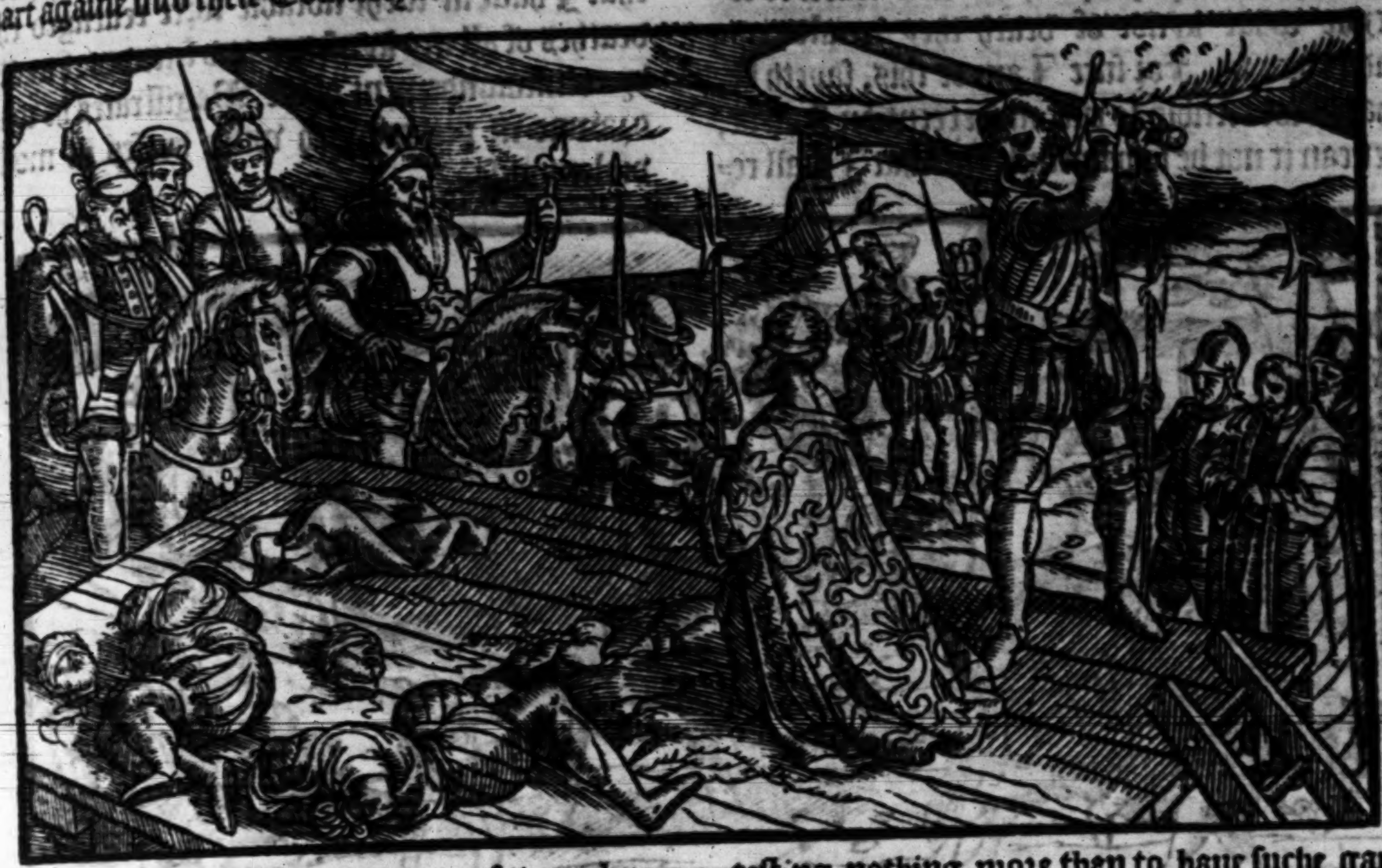
The Iriſh lay an amb to entrapp Argadus.

Argadus is ſlaine.

Ethodius hauing knowledge hereof, with an armie of .xx. thouſand men haſted forth towards Argyle to reuenge the death of his valiant Captaine Argadus vpon the rebelles. Who hearing of his comming, made towardes the Sea, and woulde gladly haue bene gone, but by reaſon of a contrary winde they were forced to ſtay agaynſt their willes, ſo that hee finding them ſtill in the Countrey, wrought ſo warely by cloſing them vp among the Hilles and Mountaynes, that finally conſtrayned through famine, they ſubmitted themſelues vpon theſe conditions, that their heade Captaine with two hundred others of the chiefeſt, ſhoulde yeeld themſelues ſimplie to the

The Ilande men yeelde themſelues.

kings mercie, and the reſidue to be licenced to depart againe into their Countreys.



Execution.

Thoſe that were appoynted to bee deliuered to the king, with their captaine, ſuffered death by ſentence of the Nobles and Peeres of the realme. Whereat the other taking indignation, thoughe they had alreadie yeelded vppe theyr weapons, yet beganne they to fall vppon the Scottes with hurling of ſtones, and other ſuche things as came to hande, tyll finallye they were beaten downe by the armed Souldiers, and a greate number of them ſlayne: the reſidue eſcaping as well as they myght, fledde into the Mountaynes.

odius viſi-
his coun-
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the main-
ted.

The Iſlande menne beeing thus vanquiſhed, and the Romaines attempting nothing agaynſt the Scottiſhe men or Pictes, Ethodius viſited all the partes of his Realme, taking order for the due execution of Iuſtice amongeſt hys ſubiectes.

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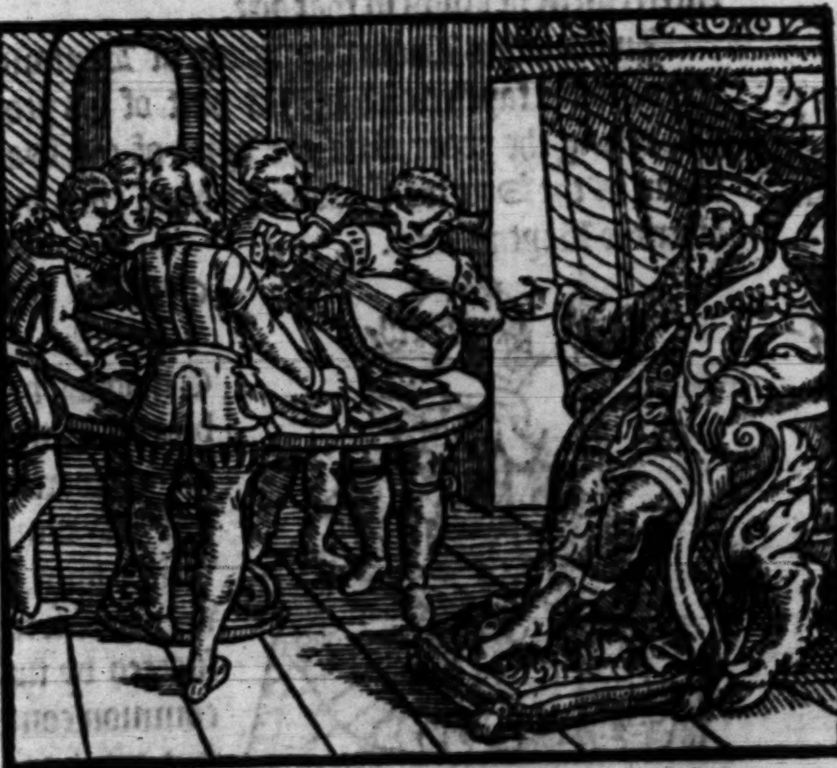
ued vnto.

And for that hee woulde not ſpende his time in idleneſſe, beeing nowe at reſt from warres, hee beganne to exerciſe himſelfe in hunting, and for the better nouriſhing of game, hee tooke order that all ſuche ordinances as had beene deuiſed by his elders, ſhoulde ſtraytely bee obſerued and kept: as that no man ſhoulde bee ſo hardie to goe aboute to deſtroy any Hares with nettes, grennes, or Harepypes: Neither to kill them in theyr formes by anye meanes: nor after that they had beene once courſed and eſcaped, to follow the ſute, to the entente to ſtarte them agayne. Alſo that none ſhoulde goe aboute to kyll anye Harte or Hynde, during all the Winter ſeaſon, at what tyme they were accuſtomed for hunger to leaue the Mountaynes, Forreſtes, and Woddes, and to come downe into the fieldes and couertes, neare vnto the townes and houſes.

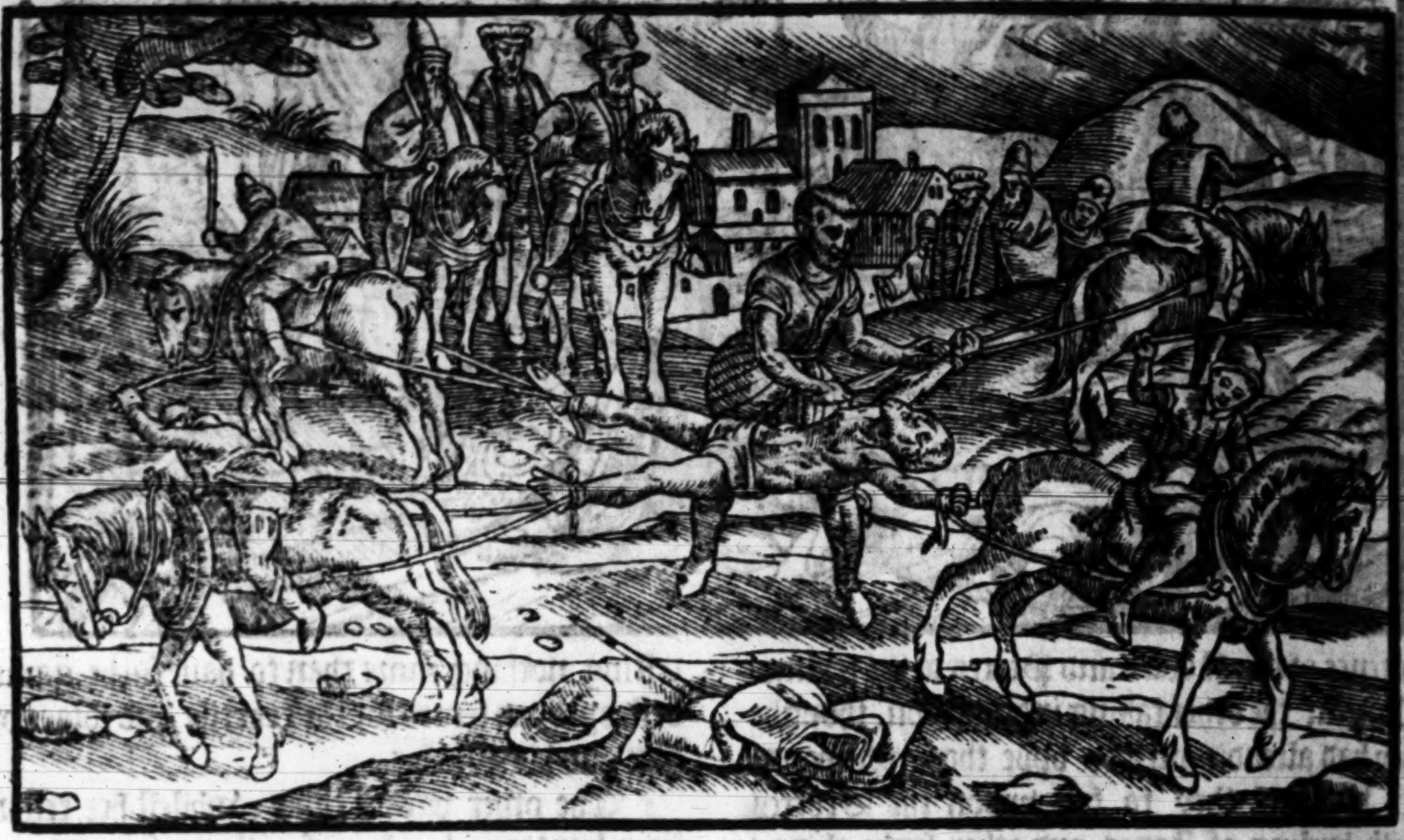
He ordeyned moreouer therunto, that no man ſhoulde preſume to kill any Hinde Calues, deteſting nothing more than to haue ſuche game deſtroyed, as ſerued for the exerciſe and ſolace of him and his Nobles.

The other vacant tyme, whileſt hee reſted from hunting, hee ſpent for the moſte parte in hearing of Muſick, hauing diuerſe cunning players of ſundrie kindes of Inſtruments attending in his court.



Ethodius murthered by a Muſician.
194. H.B.

At length ſetting all his pleaſure in hearing of a Muſition beeing borne in one of the weſt Iſles, hee was murthered by him in the night time within his owne chamber. The murtherer beeing apprehended, and examined vpon what occaſion hee did that heynous fact, for the which he had deſerued the moſt extreme kinde of puniſhment that might be deuiſed, he anſwered: that in reuenge of the death of ſuche his kinſmen and friendes as the King hadde cauſed to bee executed in Argyle, hee purpoſed long before to doe that deede, and nowe that hee had accompliſhed hys purpoſe, hee was readie to receyue what kynde of death they woulde adiudge him to. For ſure I am of this, ſayeth he, that howe terrible ſo euer my execution ſhall be, yet can it not be ſo painefull, but that I ſhall reioyce euen in the verie inſtaunt of my death, for that I haue in ſuche notable ſorte reuenged the deathes of all my kynſmen and friendes. Finally by commaundement of the Magiſtrates he was drawne in peeces with wilde horſes in moſte violent wiſe.



Septimus Seuerus. H.B.

Ethodius raigned. xxxiij. yeares, vntyll the latter dayes of Caracalla the Emperour. Hee was buryed at Dunſtafage with all ſuche pompous ceremonies as was accuſtomed about the enterrement of kings in that age.

Brytayne receyueth the Chriſtian faith in the yeare 187.

In his dayes Lucius the King of Brytaine receyued the fayth with a great part of his people, beeing the yeare after the byrth of our Sauiour, as the Scottes Chronicles haue 187. but after the Brytiſh 177.

Satrahel.

After the death of Ethodius, his brother Satrahel or Serrahell (as ſome write hym,) was choſen to ſucceed by the common conſent and voyces of al the eſtates of the Realme. For although Ethodius left a ſonne behinde him, yet bycauſe hee was very yong in yeares, hee was thought inſufficient to haue ſo great a charge (as the rule of a kingdome) committed vnto his handes.

Satrabel ſeeketh to deſtroy ſuch as were in fauor with his predeceſſor.

Thys Satrahell was ſubtile of nature, and a greate diſſembler, whoſe purpoſe was to defraude the iſſue of hys brother Ethodius from attayning at any tyme vnto the rule of the kingdome, and therefore to bring hys purpoſe the better to paſſe, hee founde forged matter agaynſt all ſuch as were familier friends vnto Ethodius, thereby to put them vnto death. Neyther dealt hee any thing more ſincerely with a great number of other of his wealthie ſubiectes, whoſe landes and goodes hee onely ſought to enioye at his owne will.

Diſcord
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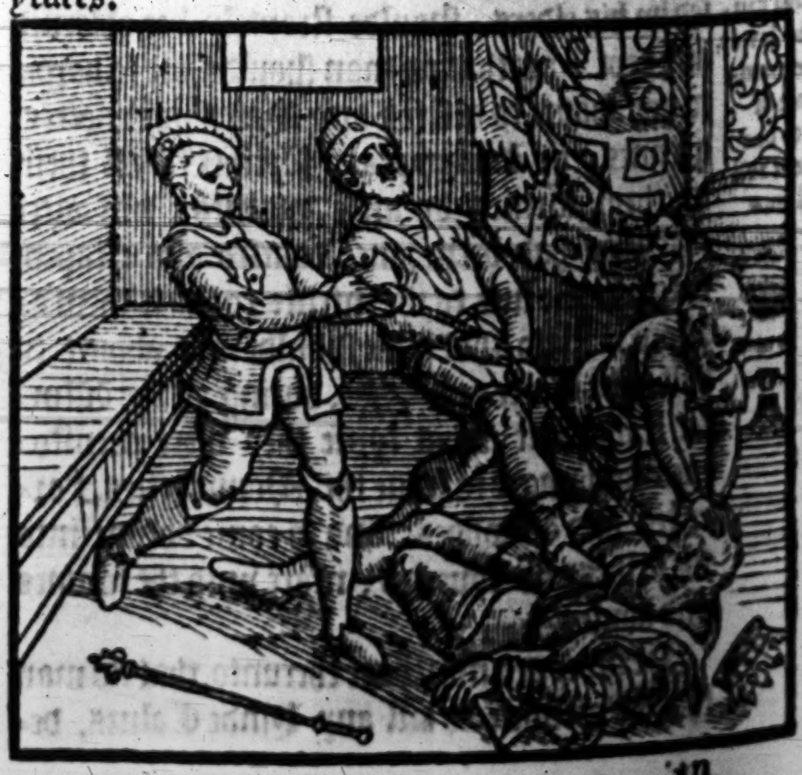
people th
the kings
gouern

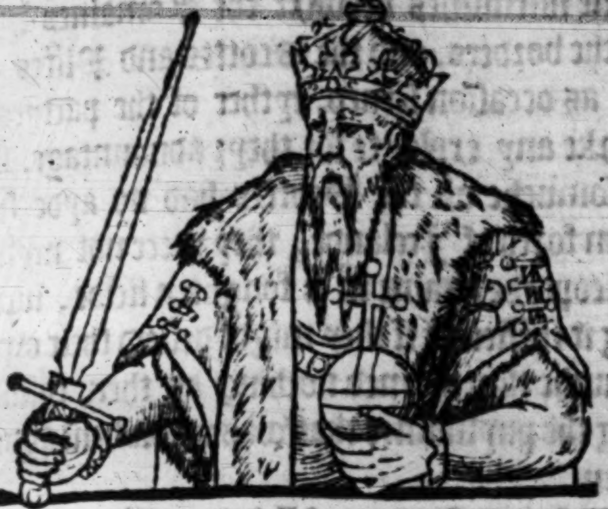
By meanes whereof ſuche miſchefe enſued through the Realme, and ſuch ciuil ſedition dayly roſe amongſt the people, that pitie it was to beholde it: the king beeing not ſo bolde all the while, as once to ſhewe his face abrode for redreſſe thereof, by reaſon hee vnderſtoode well ynoughe what hatred the people bare towardes hym, neyther did his keeping within doores ſaue his lyfe any long tyme, for in the ende his owne ſeruauntes founde meanes to ſtrangle him, and that before hee had raigned fully foure yeares.

Serrahel
gled to de
by his ow
ſeruants.
197. H



In

Donald



onald ſtudi-
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ie.

IN his place ſucceeded his brother Donald, a Prince of far cõtrary nature and conditions, for he was free, curteous, and without al deceyte, more righteous than rigorous, ⁊ afore all things deſyrous that peace and concorde might proſper among his ſubiectes. Neither bare he with offenders, but ſuche as were diſobedient agaynſt the lawes ⁊ wholſome ordinances of the realme, he cauſed to be duely puniſhed: finally he tooke ſuch order for reformation of things, that hee reduced his ſubiectes as it had beene from a wylde and ſauage rudeneſſe, vnto a perfect ciuill trade of humanitie.

ucius the
ng of Bry-
ynes dyeth.

e Romains
rpoſe to
ke a pro-
nce of the
ngdome of
e Brytaynes.

Aboute the ſame time Lucius king of the Brytaynes beeing deade, the Romaynes perceyuing that a Kings authoritie amongeſt the Brytaynes, did nothing elſe but diminiſhe the maieſtie of the Imperiall iuriſdiction amongeſt them, determined not to ſuffer any more of the Brytiſhe Nation to enioy that title.

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h men.

This thing mooued the Brytaynes to ſuche indignation, that by procurement of one Fulgentius, dyuerſe of them rebelled, and chooſing the ſame Fulgentius to theyr generall, they dyrected a Meſſenger with letters vnto Donalde King of the Scottes, requyring him to ioyne wyth them in league agaynſte theyr auncient enimyes the Romaines, whoſe endeuour (as hee knewe) had euer beene from tyme to tyme, howe to bring the whole Iſlande vnder theyr ſubiection, and to extinguiſhe all the Nobilitie and auncient inhabitours of the ſame. Adding furthermore, that if he woulde nowe put to hys helping hande, the time neuer ſerued better for the diſpatching of them wholly out of the Iſle, conſidering the ſundrie rebellions attempted as well by the people of Germanye and Fraunce, as alſo of the eaſterly Nations and Countreys.

pro-
to ayde
gentius.

Donald receyued the Meſſenger moſt friendly, and being glad to vnderſtande of theſe newes, hee promiſed to ayde Fulgentius with all the power he was able to make, and to meete hym at ſuche day and place as hee ſhoulde afterwarde appoynt. The lyke anſwere was made alſo by the king of Pictes, vnto whom in ſemblable wiſe Fulgentius had directed his letters.

The Brytaynes come to Adrians wall, and pull it downe to let in the Scottes.

The Scottiſhe men & Pictes come to the ayde of the Brytaynes.

Thus the Brytaynes (being confirmed with hope of great ayde from the Scottes and Pictes) aſſembling their hoſte togyther, reſorted vnto the wall of Adrian, which they ouerthrew in diuerſe places, that their friendes might haue the more free acceſſe and entrie vnto them by the ſame. Neither were the Scottes and Pictes ſlowe for theyr part to make forwarde: ſo that they likewyſe comming thither, holpe to throwe downe that Wall, and to fyll vp the trench or ditch that went alongſt the ſame.

The Scots and Pictes inuade the Brytaynes.

The Scottes helpe the Brytayns to ſpoile their owne countrey.

Thys done, ioyning theyr powers togither, they paſſed forth towardes Yorke, in hope to haue founde the Romaine Lieutenaunt Trebellius within that Citie, and to haue beſieged him therein: But hauing knowledge howe hee was withdrawne into Kent, there to gather a power, they lefte theyr purpoſe of beſieging that Citie, and fell to ſpoyling and harrying of the Countrey abroade on euerie ſyde, conſtrayning the moſte parte of the people to come in and yeelde themſelues vnder theyr obeyſance.

Thus they continued in paſſing from one quarter of the Countrey to another, till Winter enforced them to breake vppe their campe, and to lycence the Souldiours to departe home into theyr Countreys, tyll they had newe ſummonance to aſſemble and meete againe.

Trebellius certifieth the Emperour of the ſtate of Brytaine.

In this meane tyme Trebellius certifyed the Emperour Seuerus of all thys trouble and rebellion in Brytayne, whervppon Seuerus with all ſpeede leuyed an armie, and ſette forwarde with the ſame himſelfe in perſon towarde Brytayne, as in the Engliſhe Hiſtorie more plainly it may appeare.

At his comming into Brytaine, hee ſlacked no time, but aſſembling his power, prepared to go agaynſt the enimies.

Fulgentius encourageth the Brytaynes to ſticke vnto their begun enterpriſe.

Fulgentius doubting the force of his enimies ſent Imbaſſadours vnto him to treate for peace, but Seuerus woulde not graunt to any, whereupon Fulgentius confirmed the myndes of the Brytaynes with all comfortable wordes, in the beſt wiſe hee coulde, exhorting them to ſticke to theyr neceſſarilye begonne enterpryſe, for recouerie of theyr long wyſhed libertie, whiche he doubted not, but by vanquiſhing the Emperour at that preſent, they ſhoulde aſſuredlye attayne: And as for victorie, hee was in no doubt, ſo that they woulde plucke their heartes vnto them, and trie it forth manfully by dynte of Sworde lyke fellowes and brethren knitte in one faythfull bande of truſtye concorde, conſydering the enimyes armie beeyng gathered of ſo many ſundrie nations and languages, that conſent in one opinion, the chiefeſt meane for the atteyning of victorie, muſt needes bee wanting amongſt them.

The Brytaynes moued herewith, promiſed hym to liue and dye in the quarell. Whereupon he toke aduice with them, whiche way to mainteyne themſelues agaynſte Seuerus, of whoſe comming they were alreadie certifyed. For Seuerus hauing diſpatched the Brytiſhe Ambaſſadours from him, ſet incontinently forwarde towards Yorke, leauing his yonger ſonne named Geta in the South partes to haue the gouernaunce of the ſame in hys abſence. Hys eldeſt ſonne Antoninus he toke with him in this iourney agaynſt his enimies.

Seuerus ſetteth forth towardes his enimies.

At his comming to Yorke, hee did ſacrifice to the Goddes, according to his Ethniſhe cuſtome, and alſo toke aduice with his Captaines howe to procede in his enterpriſe agaynſt hys enimies.

Seuerus commeth to York.

This done, he marcheth forth with hys armie towardes them, who beeing alreadie ioyned with the Scottes and Pictes, were determined to abyde him, in ſo muche that thoſe of the one ſide came no ſooner in ſight of the other, but that they haſted forth to ioyne togyther in battayle, whereof enſued great ſlaughter betwixt them, though the Brytiſhe part (notwithſtanding their ayde of Scottes and Pictes) were not able long to endure agaynſt the great multitude and practyſed ſkil of the Romaine Souldiours, ſo that in the ende they were opened perforce and put to flight with the loſſe of xxx. thouſande, what of Brytaynes, Scottiſhmen and Pictes.

Seuerus is encountered by his enimies.

Fulgentius is put to flight, and his armie diſcomfited.

Fulgentius himſelfe ſeeing the diſcomfiture and huge ſlaughter made of his people, had run in amongſt the thickeſt preace of his enimyes, had not thoſe that were aboute him ledde him away by force, and ſo at length he got him among the troupes of the Scottiſhe men and Pictes, and togyther with them paſſed ouer Tine, and ſo into the borders of his friendes, where he got togyther ſuche Souldiers as he coulde, that had eſcaped from the battail, and retayned them with wages ſo well as hee myght, in hope vpon occaſion to employ them eftſoones agaynſte his enimyes. The Scottes alſo ſent into Irelande for ayde, and the Pictes into Denmarke and Norway.

Fulgentius withdraweth into Pictland.

Suche of the Brytiſhe Nobilitie as fell into the handes of the Romaines, Seuerus puniſhed moſte grieuouſly, but the Commons he vſed more gentlye, as it were making excuſe for them beeing procured thereto by theyr Captaines.

After this, when Winter was come, hee appoynted hys menne of warre to drawe vnto places conuenient for them to lodge in, tyll the next Spring. Hee himſelfe wintered at Yorke.

Seuerus wintereth at York.

In the next Sommer there was little done worthie to be ſpoken of, but that there were certayne ſkirmiſhes betwixt the Romaines lying on the borders, and the Scottes and Pictes, euer as occaſion ſerued, eyther of the partyes to worke any exployte for theyr aduauntage. But forſomuche as the Scottes had no ayde ſente them forth of Irelande, they were not mynded to ieoparde againe in a foughten fielde, ſuppoſing it ſufficient if they might defend their owne, thoughe they gayned nothing as then, conſidering the puyſſaunce that was readie bent againſt them.

At length Seuerus fell ſicke at Yorke, and his ſonne Antoninus lying on the borders beyonde Tine, cauſed the wall afore mentioned, deuyding the Brytayns from the Scottes and Picts to be repayred.

Seuerus ſickeneth.

The wall is repayred.

This wall was buylt (as is before recyted) firſt by Adrian the Emperour, to ſtay the Scottiſhe men from inuading the lands apperteyning to the ſubiectes of the Romaine Empyre, and after ouerthrowne in dyuerſe places as well by Scottes and Pictes, as by the Brytaynes, in ſort as before is partly mentioned. Antoninus cauſed it to be fortified with Baſtilyons, one being placed ſo neare to another, as trumpettes being appoynted in eche of them, the ſounde might be heard betwixt to warne one another vpon the firſt diſcrying of the enimies approche.

Finally Seuerus dyeth, though not ſo ſoone as his ſon Antoninus wiſhed, in hope after him to attaine the Emperiall dignitie. Concluding therefore a league with the Scottiſhe men and Pictes, and graunting peace to Fulgentius, and other ſuch Brytiſhe rebelles as were fledde wyth him into Pictlande, hee receyued ſufficient pledges, and then returned towardes London, where his mother with his brother Geta as then lay.

Seuerus di

Antoninus i
hope to be
Emperor co
cludeth a pe
with the en
mies.

Shortly after, both the brethren departed forth of the Iſle, and went to Rome, as in the Hyſtorie of Englande it appeareth.

But now to returne vnto Donald the Scottiſhe king, ye ſhall vnderſtande, that being delyuered of forrayne trouble, he ſtudied chiefely how to preſerue his people in good peace and perfecte tranquilitie. Which minde our Sauiour Chriſt the authour of all peace and concorde had gyuen vnto him, being lately afore conuerted vnto the true faith from his wicked paganiſme and heatheniſhe Idolatrie.

Donald ſtu
ous to main
teyne his ſu
iects in pea
and concor

For as we finde in Hector Boetius, in the dayes of the aboue mentioned Emperour Seuerus, he ſent a meſſenger with letters vnto Pope Victor (Zephirinus ſayeth Hariſon) being the xv. in number, as they ſay, after Saint Peter, declaring vnto him that hee was fully mynded to receyue the Chriſtian Religion, and vtterly to forſake the ſuperſtition ſeruice of the heatheniſhe Goddes, and therefore inſtantly requyred him to

Donald con
uerted vnto
Chriſtian b
liefe in the
dayes of the
Emperour
Seuerus.

ſende ouer into Scotlande ſome godly learned men to inſtruct him in the right beliefe.

The Pope hearing this, and being glad to increaſe the faith of Chriſt through all parties of the worlde, ſent with all ſpede into Scotlande ſuch well diſpoſed perſons as he thought moſte meete for that purpoſe, who at theyr arriuall there, did theyr endeuour in ſuch diligēt ſort, that not only the king, but alſo through his enſample a great number of the nobilitie were baptiſed, & clearely forſoke their former errours & idolatrie.

e Scottiſh
n receyued
faith is
eere of our
.203.
199. H.B
H.B.

This was in the yeare after the byrth of our Sauiour. 203. from the creation of the worlde 4170. and after the firſte erection of the Scottiſhe kingdome. 520. as Harriſon in his chronologie dothe manifeſtly confirme.

Moreouer this Donald was the firſte as the Scottiſhe chronicles alledge, that cauſed ſiluer and golde to be coyned in his realme. The ſtamp whiche he deuiſed for the ſame, was a croſſe on the one ſide, and his face on the other. Before that time the Scottes vſed no coyne, but eyther exchāged and bartered ware for ware, either elſe, occupied with Bryttiſhe and Romaine money, as diuers marble cheſtes full of the ſame whiche haue bene founde of late yeares in ſundry partes of Scotland, do very well witneſſe.

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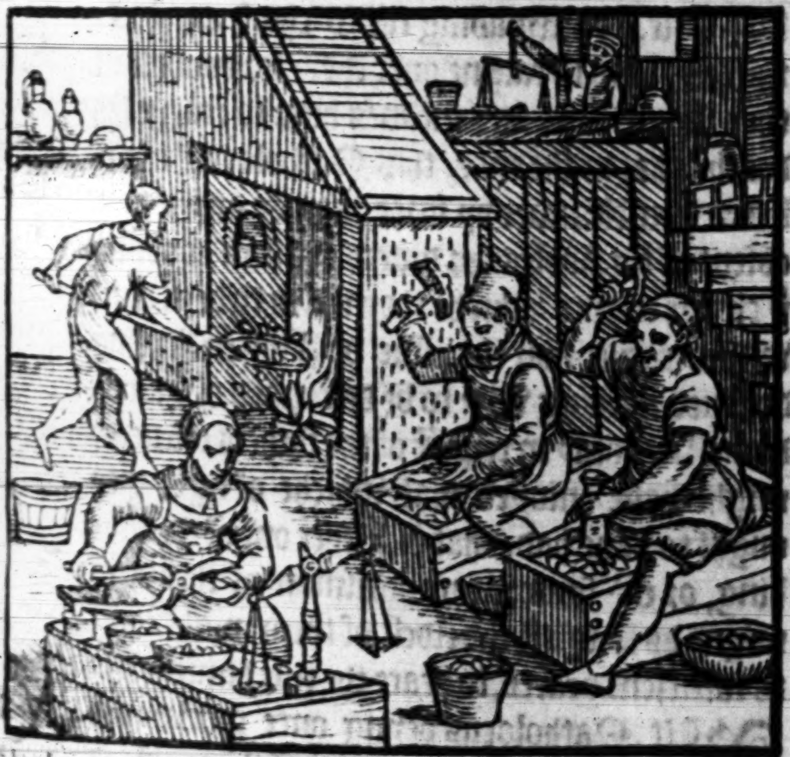
e gold to be
ned in
land.



Finally king Donald in the. xxj. yeare of his raigne departed out of this life, and was buried according to the maner of our Chriſtian religiō, without any heatheniſh ceremonies.

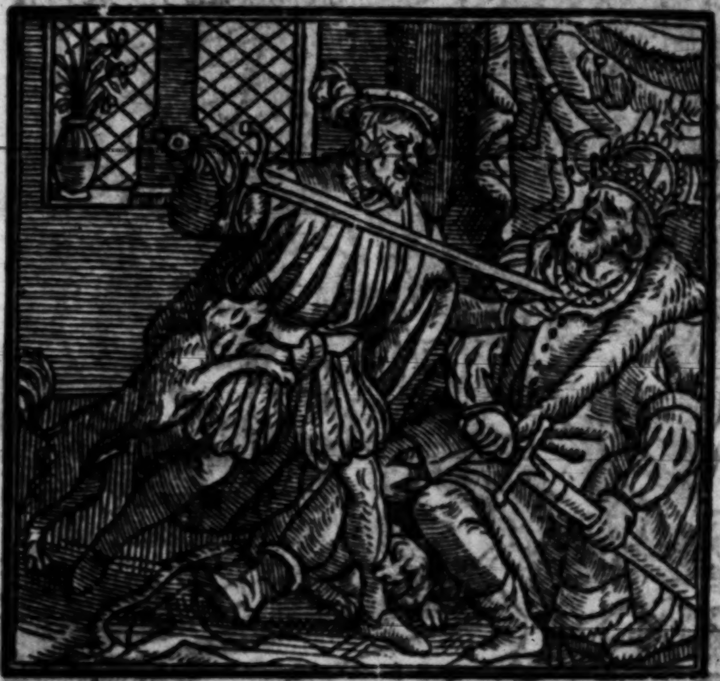
out of
worlde.
no chriſti
16.H.B.

Etho-dius.

After him ſucceeded Ethodius the ſeconde, and ſonne of the former Ethodius, whiche prince proued ſo very a foole, that the regiment of the realme was quite taken from him, and committed vnto certaine Noble men, who being deuided into ſundry quarters of the realme, toke very good order for the due gouernment of the parties ſo to them limitted, and vſed themſelues very vprightly in all their doings. As for cauſe of warres they had none, for Seuerus before his death had giuen ſuche order for the gouernment of the Brytains, that they durſt not once ſtirre by reaſon of ſuch pledges as were deliuered and conueighed to Rome, whiche were the chiefeſt of all the Brittiſh nobilitie. At length Ethodius being apt for nothing but to fil his coffers, as one though doltiſh, yet naturally giuē to vnquenchable couetouſneſſe, was ſlaine by thoſe that were appointed to the garde of his perſon, in the. xvj. yeare of his raigne.

e power-
nance of the
realme com-
mitted to ſun
e noble mē.

Ethodius being giuen to couetouſneſſe, is ſlaine by his owne ſeruants that wayted vpon him. Anno chriſti. 231. H.B.



Athir-co.

Then was his ſon Athirco elected by the generall voyces of all the eſtates, who in the beginning of his raygne ſhewed himſelf very ſober, gētle, courteys, and friendly of behauiour, exerciſing himſelfe in all laudable paſtimes conuenient for his eſtate, and herewith he was ſo free & liberall towardes all men, that hee wanne him wonderfull muche prayſe and loue amongſt his people.

But theſe his noble vertues encreaſed not in him togither with age, but contrarily decayed, in ſuche ſorte, that after he had raigned. viij. yeares, he was quite altered: in place of liberalitie, embracing auarice: for courteſie and amiable countenaunce, he vſed ſterne and loftie lokes: for cōmendable exerciſes, he gaue himſelfe wholly to filthie pleaſures and ſenſuall luſtes of the bodie: & ſuch as could further his purpoſe moſt in theſe his beaſtlie affections, hee cheriſhed & had them moſt in eſtimation, not regarding at all the nobilitie of his realme, but was as ready to wrong them by villanous iniurie, as hee was any other

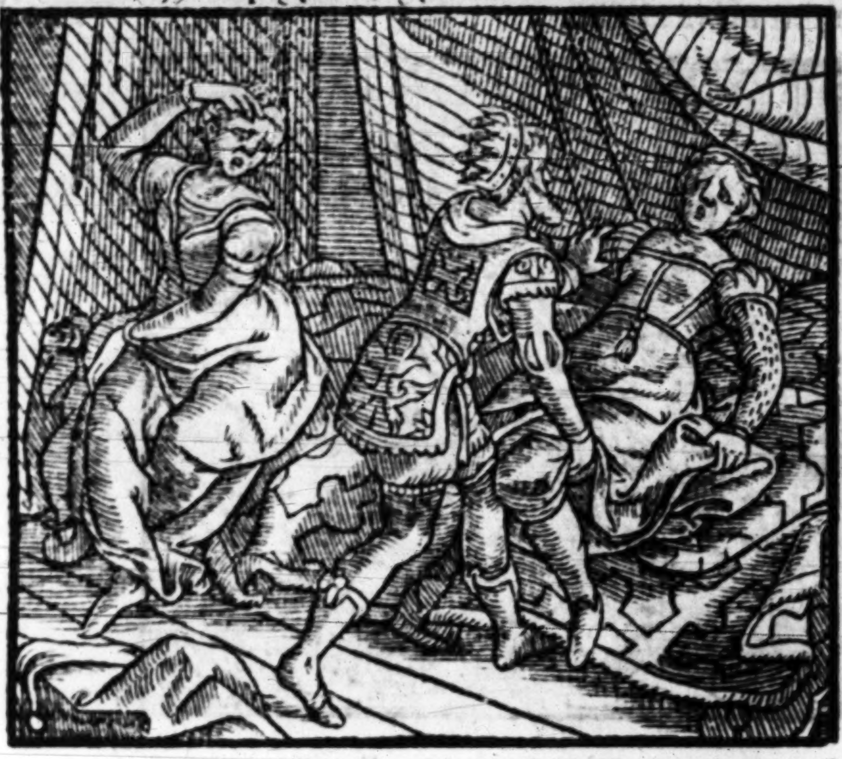
Athirco chaūged in conditions frō good to bad.

Athirco regardeth not his nobles.

of the loweſt and meaneſt degrees.

It chaunced that a noble man in Argſle (being one of no ſmall anthoritie amongſt the people of that countrey) named Natholocus, had two fayre yong Gentlewomen to his daughters: now the king being very deſirous to ſatiſfie his luſt vpon them, forced them both the one after the other, and not ſo content, deliuered them afterwardes to be abuſed in the ſemblable ſorte by his pages and ſeruaunts. The father vnderſtanding this villanie done to his daughters by theyr owne lamentable complaint, ſente for his friendes, and opening vnto them the whole matter, he requyred theyr aſſiſtaunce.

The villanous acte of Athirco, in abuſing a Noble mans daughters.



They being in a wonderfull furie to heare of ſuche an iniurie done to their bloud, promiſed in reuenge thereof to ſpende bothe life, landes and goodes, and forthwith departing in ſunder, they prepared themſelues to aſſemble theyr powers, procuring a greate number of other Noble men to ioyne with them in ſo neceſſarie an enterpriſe, as to rid the countrey of ſuche a caytife wretch, reſpecting nothing but the ſatiſfying of his filthie carnal luſtes, and the accompliſhment of his moſt beaſtly appetites.

The kinſmen and friends of the gentlewomen conſpire againſt Athirco.

When they were once got togither in a companie, they marched forth towards Dunſtafage, where they vnderſtoode that the king as then did ſoiourne, a great multitude of people ſtill reſorting vnto them by the way, after it was once knowen whereabout they went. Athirco hearing of theyr approche, called togither his power ſuppoſing at the firſt to haue beaten downe his enimies, but when hee had throughly wayed the matter, and conſidered of what force and power they were, and how feeble his part was through want of good willes in his people, hee priuily ſtale away from them, and woulde haue paſſed ouer into Ila, one of the weſterne Iſles, to haue procured ſome ſuccour there, but being embarqued and ſet from the ſhore, he was by contrarie windes driuẽ backe againe to land, where doubting to come into his enimies handes, hee choſe rather to ſlea himſelfe, and ſo ended his wretched life in ſuche miſerable extremitie after hee had raigned the ſpace of .xij. yeares. His raigne continued till the dayes of the Emperour Gordian the third, or as other ſay, till the time of the Emperour Ualerian. But as Maſter Hariſon hath gathered, hee raigned in the dayes of the Emperour Aurelius Claudius. Doorus the brother of Athirco vnderſtãding of the death of his brother, diſguiſed himſelfe in beggers weede for doubte of death, and went into Pictlande with .iij. of his Nephewes, ſonnes to the ſame Athirco, whoſe names were Sindock, Carance, and Donald.

Athirco doubting to be forſaken of his owne mẽ, if it came to the triall of battaile, cõueyed himſelfe from amõgſt them.

Athirco ſlayeth himſelfe.

242. H.B.

Doorus the brother of A-thirco conu-eth himſelf out of the w

Howbeit Natholocus hauing knowledge whither he was fled, ſent forth certaine of his ſeruants with cõmaundement to ſearche him out, commaunding furthermore very ſtraightly, that if they founde him, they ſhould diſpatch him out of life, for feare of further miſchiefe. But they that were ſent, finding one in all features & proportiõ of body reſembling Doorus, ſlew the one in ſteede of the other, & ſo returning home to their Maſter, they made him very ioyfull of ẏ newes, although in deede they came not neare to Doorus. Then Natholocus cauſing the eſtates of the Realme to aſſemble, he handled the matter in ſuch wiſe, by diſſwading thẽ to chooſe any of Athircos bloud to raigne ouer thẽ, (for doubt leaſt they ſhould ſeeke any meanes how to reuẽge his death,) that in the ende, this Natholocus was elected himſelf, more by force, than by any cõmon cõſent of the nobles: for diuers of them doubting ẏ craftie nature (whiche they knew to be in him) wiſhed rather that the iſſue of Athirco (hauing deſerued nothing why to be defrauded of ẏ kingdome, ſaue only in reſpect of the fathers offences) might haue enioyed that whiche of right they ought to haue had, that is, either one of thẽ to be king, or els ſome neare kinſman of theyrs to raigne as king, til the eldeſt of them might come to ſufficient yeares, to beare the rule himſelfe.

Natholocus ſeeketh the life of Doo

Natholocu chosen to b king.

Na-tholoc

BUt Natholocus beyng once proclaymed king by the multitude, and Athircos bloud attaynted of treaſon, and ſo publiſhed, according to the cuſtome, he tooke the othes of thoſe that were preſent, and then repayred vnto Dunſtafage, there to be inueſted according to the manner.

Natholocus goeth vnto Dunſtafage be inueſti-ted.

This done, hee called ſuche aſide as he ſuſpected, and talking with them alone, hee exhorted them to be faithfull, promiſing to be theyr aſſured good Lorde and Maiſter, and for an earneſt thereof, he gaue vnto diuers of them very great rewardes.

Natholocu ſeeketh to p cure loue the nobili through bribes.

Generally vnto all men he ſhewed himſelfe very gentle and tractable, thereby to winne their loues, for the better eſtabliſhment of his newe

atchiued

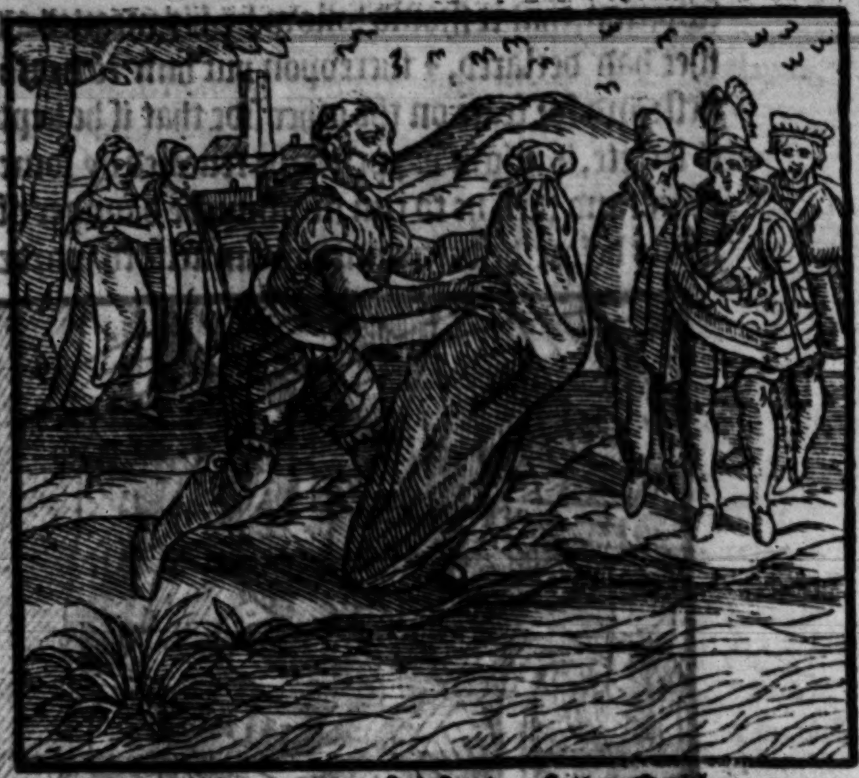
atchieued eſtate: And hereto he employed ſuche riches as the former kings had heaped togither amongſt the Nobles, ſtudying by all meanes to auoyde all ſeditious quarels and ſecrete diſcordes amongſt them.

...rtune fauo-
...g Natho-
...s for a
... began to
...ge cou-
...nance.

Thus ruling the realme at his will for certaine yeares, at length fortune began to ſhewe a chaunge of countenance after hir olde accuſtomed guiſe. For Doorus the brother of Athirco (whome as ye haue heard Natholocus ſuppoſed to haue bene dead) wrote certaine letters ſignifying his owne eſtate with the welfare of his Nephewes the children of Athirco vnto certaine Scottiſhe Lordes, whome hee knewe to fauour his cauſe.

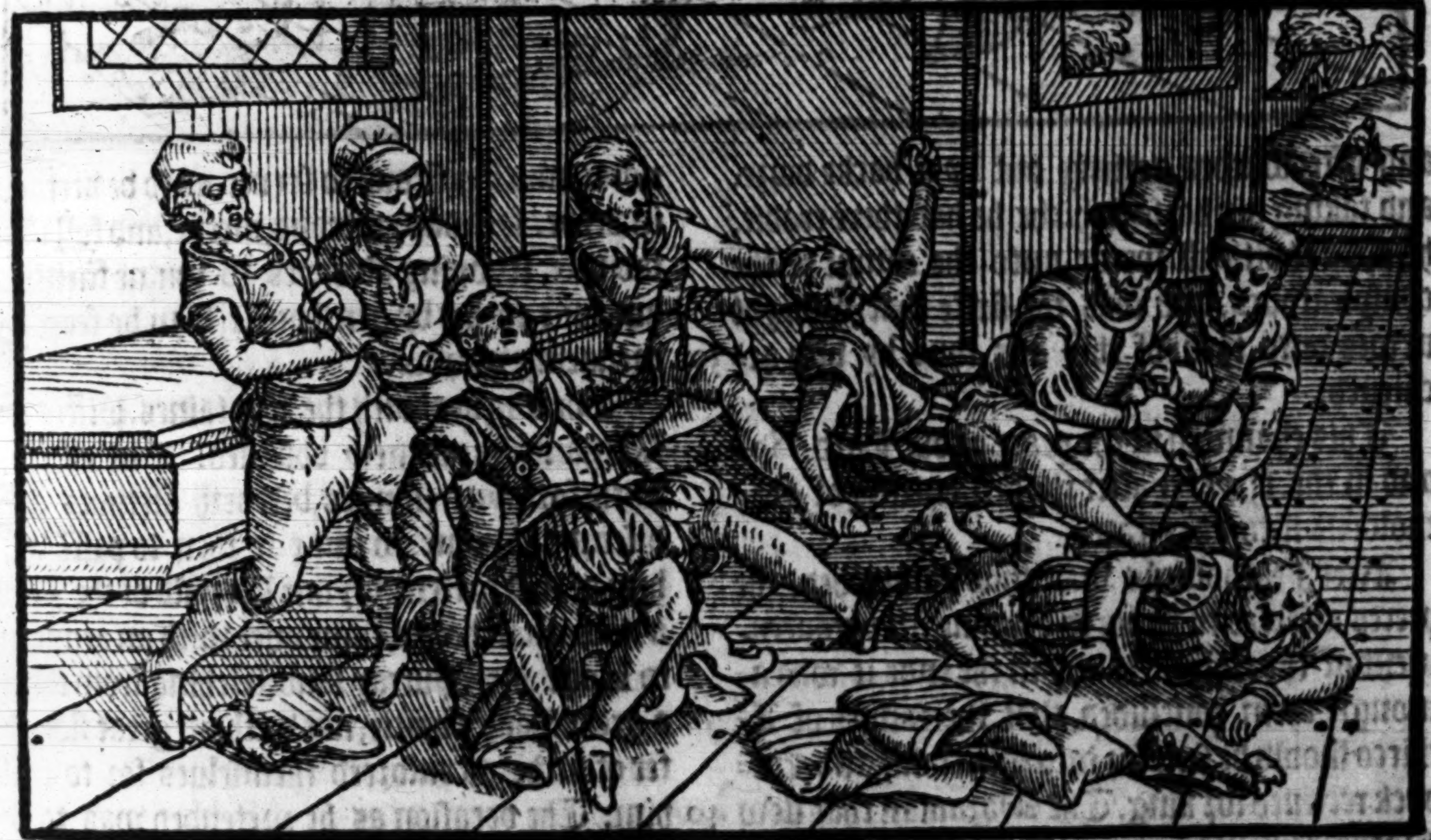
Doorus wry-
...ta vnto cer-
...e Scottiſh
...s, to moue
...m to rebel-
...n.

Whiche letters hee deliuered vnto a Pictiſhe woman, appoynting hyr how and to whome ſhe ſhoulde deliuer the ſame, but the woman apprehended by the way, and brought vnto Natholocus, hee cauſed hyr ſecretely to be ſacked and throwen into a riuer.



Afterwardes ſending for ſuche of the Nobles as the direction of the foreſayde letters had giuen him occaſion to haue in ſome ſuſpicion, he committed them firſt to pryſon, and at length cauſed them to be ſecretely ſtrangled.

Natholocus putteth ſuch to death, as he ſuſpecteth to fauour Doorus.



...bellion a-
...nſt Natho-
...us.

Whiche wicked deede being once notified abroade, moued ſo the hartes of theyr friends and alies, that they procured the people to rebell: and ſo gathering them togither, they rayſed open and cruell warres againſt him.

Natholocus enformed of their determinations, withdrewe himſelfe priuily into Murraylande, there to get togither an armie to reſiſt his enimies, and for that he was deſirous alſo to vnderſtande ſomewhat of the iſſue of this trouble, he ſent one of his truſtie ſeruaunts being a gentleman of that countrey, vnto a woman that dwelt in the Iſle of Colmkil (otherwiſe called Iona) eſteemed very ſkilfull in foreſhewing of things to come, to learne of hyr what fortune ſhould happe of this warre, whiche was already begunne.

...olocus
...deth vnto a
...che, to
...w the con-
...ſion of his
...mies at-
...mptes.

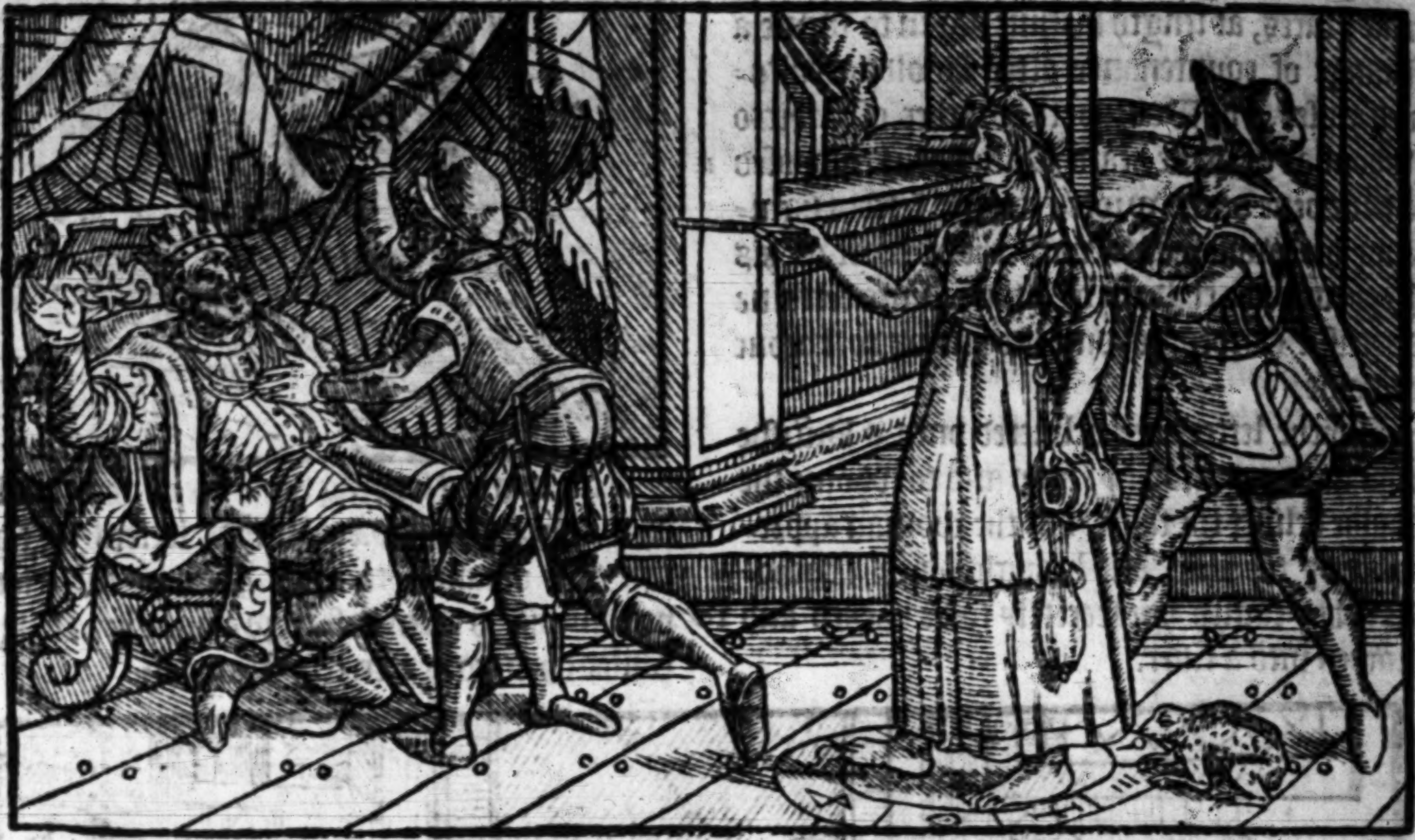
The Witche conſulting with hyr ſpyrites, declared in the ende howe it ſhoulde come ſhortly to paſſe, that the king ſhoulde bee murthered not by his open enimies, but by the handes of one of his moſte familiar friendes, in whom hee had repoſed an eſpeciall truſte. The meſſenger demaunding by whoſe handes that ſhoulde be, euen by thine ſaith ſhe, as it ſhal be well knowen within theſe fewe dayes. The Gentleman hearing theſe wordes, rayled againſt hyr very bitterly, bidding hyr go lyke an olde Witche: for he truſted to ſee hyr brent before he ſhoulde committe ſo villanous a deede. And departing from hyr, hee wente by and by to ſignifie what anſweare hee had receyued: but before hee came where the King lay, his minde was altered, ſo that what for doubte on the one ſide that if hee ſhoulde declare the truthe, as it was tolde him, the king mighte happily conceyue ſome greate

The witches anſwere.

What happened by giuing credite to the woordes of a Witche.

ſuſpition, that it ſhould follow by his meanes as ſhee had declared, & thereupon put him to death firſt: and for feare on the other ſide that if he kept it ſecrete, it might happen to be reuealed by ſome other, and then he to run in aſmuche daunger of life as before: he determined wͭ himſelfe to worke the ſureſt way, and ſo comming to the king, hee was ledde aſide by him into his priuie chamber, where al other being cõmaũded to auoide, he declared how he had ſped: & then falling forthwith vpõ Natholocus, with his dagger he ſlew him outright, & threwe his body into a priuie:

Natholocus murthered.



and afterwardes getting out by a backe doore, and taking his horſe whiche he had there readie, he fledde with all ſpeede vnto the campe of the conſpiratours, and was the firſte that brought newes vnto them of this acte thus by him atchieued.

1252.H.B.

This chaunced in the yeare of our Lord.280. and in the.xi.yeare after the firſt entring of Natholocus into the eſtate.

The Lordes of the realme aſſemble togither to chooſe a new king.

After Natholocus was thus diſpatched, the peeres aſſẽbled togither to ordeyne for ẏ gouernment of the realme, where in the ende it was amongſt them concluded, that the ſonnes of Athirco ſhould be ſent for into Pictland, and Findock receiued for king. The Morauian that ſlew Natholocus was appointed to fetch them, who according to his commiſſion, comming into Pict lande, conueyed them right honorably into Argile, where Findocke beyng already choſen king was placed on the ſtone of marble with all the ceremonies in that caſe appertayning.

The ſonnes of Athirco are ſent for, & the eldeſt of them named Findock choſen to raygne.

Findocke.

Findocke his noble qualities, and vertuous diſpoſition.

This Findock was in ẏ flower of his age, of perſon moſt beutyfull, cleane made, and of a goodly ſtature: wherewͭ were ioyned moſte excellent gifts of the minde, not ſo much deſirous to ſeeme, as to be vertuous in deede. He was curteous, meeke, and full of affabilitie, ſtudying alwayes to winne friendſhip and loue, rather by gentleneſſe, than by feare and menacing wordes.

Findock obſerueth the leagues confirmed of former tymes with his neighbours.

The leagues with the Brytaines, Pictes and Romains hee firmely obſerued. But as peace with forrayne enimies, breedeth ofttimes ciuill diſcorde at home, ſo came it then to paſſe with him at this preſent: for one Donald of the Iſles, a noble man borne, came ouer with an armie into Roſſe and Murray land, fetching from thence a great ſpoile & bootie, not without great ſlaughter of ſuche as enforced themſelues for to reſiſt him. The occaſion as he pretended was to reuenge the death of Natholocus. But Findock vnderſtanding his doings, prepared an armie with ſhippes, and ſayled ouer with the ſame into the Iſle of Ila, where encountring with Donald and other his enimies, he vanquiſhed & chaſed them egerly without returning once backe, till eyther the ſworde or the ſea had made an end of them all.

Thoſe of the out Iſles inuade the countreys of Roſſe and Murray lande.

Findocke maketh a iourney into the Iſles to ſubdue the rebelles.

Donald himſelfe taking a boate in hope to haue eſcaped, the preaſſe was ſuch at his entring into the ſame, that before they could get it off frõ the ſhore, it ſunke by meanes of the ouerlading, and ſo he and all they that were on borde were drowned therewithall.

Donald is drowned.

The king hauing atchieued this victory, returned into Albanie: but the Iland men not fully quieted with this ſlaughter of theyr fellowes, ſent ouer into Ireland, and got from thence certaine

The Iland men with ayde of the Iriſhe kernes, make ofte inuaſions into Argile, & other of the Scottiſh countreys.

taine Kernes, who vnder the leading of an other Donald, the ſonne of the former Donald, made ſterres now and then into Argile and Cantyre, doing many ſhrewde turnes in the ſame, ere they could be ſuppreſſed.

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gaine to
ke the re
s of the

But Findock being ſoone enformed of theſe tidings, went ouer againe into the Iſles, & ſuche of his enimies as he founde, he cauſed to be hanged, to giue other enſample, what to looke for when they ſhould rebel, but Donald eſcaped, and got ouer into Ireland, where he remayned till he heard that the king was returned backe into Albanie, and then he came againe. But perceyuing himſelfe not able to worke ſuche feates as he hoped to haue done, he ſente a meſſenger vnto the king, offering to yeelde himſelfe & to become his true ſubiect if he might get his pardon, and be at his owne libertie. But being anſweared that hee ſhould not be receyued, vnleſſe hee would come vnto Dunſtafage with other of his chiefeſt complices, and to ſtande wholly at the kings mercie: he refuſed thus to do, deuiſing an other meane how to be reuenged.

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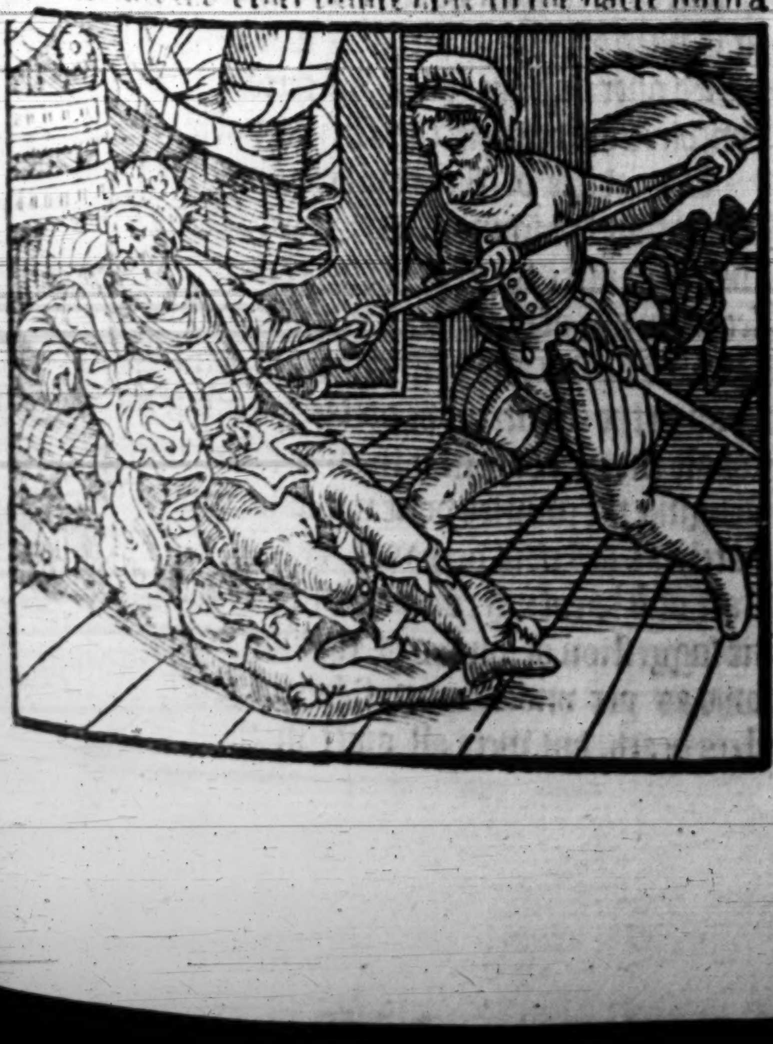
ſons.

Therefore to beginne withal, he procured two naughtie perſons to go ouer into Albanie, and to fayne themſelues to haue fled from him, where alſo he willed them to offer theyr ſeruice vnto the king, and to diſcloſe vnto him certaine light ſecretes of the ſayde Donalds, thereby to winne credite if it might be, and in the ende to eſpie a time to ridde him out of the way.

Theſe craftie mates, working according to Donaldes wicked inſtructions, at length with much a do they gate credite, & after credite they got place ſo neare the king by the furtherance of Caraunce the kings brother (whome they made priuie alſo vnto theyr intent) that finding all things correſpondent to theyr purpoſe (one day as the king hunted) the one began to feede him with a tale of yͤ hatred whiche the Ilanders bare towards him, whereto he gaue very good eare, whilſt the other ſmote him to the harte with a Iaueline, and ſo leauing the iron ſticking in his bodie, he fled away in haſte, with his trayterous companion and fellow.

Findocke is ſlayne.



Thoſe that were neare, ſeing what had happned, ſome of them ran to him to ſee if they might relieue him, as then ſtrugling with the pangs of death, other followed the murtherers, and ouertaking them, brought them backe to receyue theyr meede, according to that whiche they had iuſtly deſerued: being alſo examined, they confeſſed how they were procured vnto it, not only by Donald of the Iſles, but alſo by Carantius the kings owne brother, who of ſet purpoſe being out of the way at that preſent, & hauing knowledge that he was accuſed of the kings death, fled out of the countrey as a baniſhed man, firſt into Brytaine, from whence (after he had remayned there for a time) hee went vnto Rome, and ſeruing in the warres vnder the Emperours Aurelius Probus, Carus, & Diocletianus, he became right famous and a very ſkilfull captayne. But if this reporte be true that Carauſius of whome Eutropius maketh mention were diſcended of ſo high parentage, meruaile it is, that neyther the ſame Eutropius, nor any other of the Romaine writers, could at no time come to the knowledge thereof, whiche if they had done, no doubte they woulde haue ſpoken ſomewhat of the ſame: for although he might happely vpon the conſideration aforeſayd counterfaite himſelf to be borne of ſome baſe kinred, & ſo for a time to diſſẽble what he was, yet afterwards that he attayned vnto ſo high degree of honour, as to vſurpe the imperiall robes of purpure, and to poſſeſſe the dominion of Brytaine, it is not like but that to aduaunce his credite and authoritie royall he would haue ſet forth to the vttermoſt the nobilitie of his birthe, if he had bene come of any, and that ſo apparantly to the worlde, that aſwell his enimies as friendes ſhoulde bothe haue knowen and ſpoken of it.

The murtherers confeſſe by whoſe procurement they did the deede.

A pretie induction (if not forged) to the hiſtorie that afterwardes followeth of Carauſius or Carantius as the Scottes wryte him.

Donald

Findocus beyng thus ſlayne in the x. yeare of his raygne, and buried with great lamentation of the people at Dunſtafage, his brother Donald, thirde ſonne to Athirco, was admitted to the kingdome, who immediatly vpon his entring into the eſtate, prepared to go into the Iſles againſt Donald that common enimie of Scotland.

But this Donald himſelfe, deliuered the king of a great peece of that trauayle. For ſo ſoone as he hearde that the murther by him cõtriued was executed, he aſſembled a mightie power of the

Donald of the Iſles inuadeth Scotland.

Iland men, and tranſporting with them ouer into Roſſe, proclaymed himſelf king, perſecuting with fire and ſworde all ſuche as denied him obedience.

King Donald being aduertiſed of that attẽpt of his aduerſarie, ſpeedily marcheth forth with ſuch power as he had already aſſembled, ſending proclamations abroade, that all other appointed to ſerue, ſhould follow him with ſpeede.

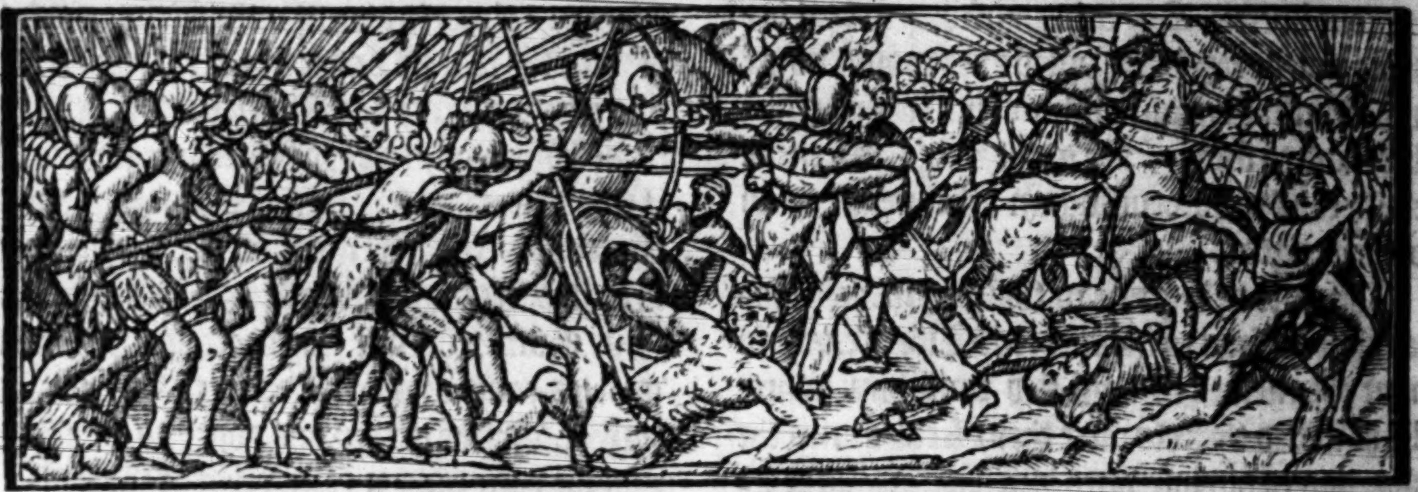
Donald of the Iſles ſodenly ſetteth vpõ the enimies.

Thus cõming into Murray land, he pitched downe his tents, purpoſing there to abide the cõming of the reſidue of his armie: But Donalde of the Iſles vnderſtanding all his demeanour & whole intention, thought it beſt to aſſayle him within his campe, before all his power ſhoulde come vnto him, and being thus reſolued, hee ſet forewarde in the night time, and was vpon his enimies before that his cõming towardes them was once ſignified in their campe.

The king then vnderſtanding his aduerſarie to be at hand, bringeth forth his men, ſetteth thẽ in array, and exhorteth them with many pithie wordes, to receyue their enimies with manly ſtomackes.

The Scott ouerthrow

But the Iland men encouraged alſo by theyr Captaine, gaue the onſet ſo roundly, that the Scottiſh men had not leyſure to occupie theyr ſhotte, but were enforced euen at the firſte to ioygne at hand blowes, which were beſtowed in ſuche furious ſorte, that in the ende the Scottes being oppreſſed with multitude, were cõſtreyned to giue backe, ſome ſauing themſelues by flight, and ſome ſtanding at defence till they were beaten downe and killed in the place.



Donald departeth this worlde.

There were ſlayne on the kings parte three thouſand men, and .ij. thouſand taken priſoners: amongſt whom were .xxx. perſonages of honorable eſtate togither with the king himſelf being woũded ſo ſore, that he died within .iij. dayes after the battell, rather through anguiſh of minde than of his hurtes, as ſome haue written, in the ſame yeare that he began his raigne.

Donalde of the Iſles taketh vpon him as king.

Donald of the Iſles hauing thus got the victory, tooke vpon him as king, accordingly as he had cauſed himſelf at the firſt to be proclaymed.

Donald

A giltie conſcience.

But bycauſe hee came to the eſtate thus by bloud, he continued ſtill in doubte and feare of newe conſpiracies, being giltie in conſcience of his wrongful vſurpation.

Thoſe pryſoners alſo whiche he had taken in the battell, he kept in perpetuall captiuitie, menacing them preſent death if any of their friendes and alies attempted any ſturre againſt him.

Moreouer hee nouriſhed priuie factions amongſt the nobilitie, ſuppoſing therby that their powers would be the more feeble in any publike exploite that was to be moued againſt him: finally if any miſchiefe happened among them, he cauſed the matter throughly to be looked vpon, but with ſuch regarde that he alwayes enriched his owne cofers with the forfaytures and penalties which he tooke vp amongſt them.

He ſeldome times went abroade, and when he ſtirred forth any whither, he had his garde about him appoynted with weapon in warlike ſorte, for doubte of treaſon. He aduaunced diuers of baſe condition to great wealth & honour, and behaued himſelf ſo in ſundry ſortes with his miſtruſtful crueltie, that many there were which dradde him, & but a fewe that loued him, ſo that in the end being in a maner runne into the deadly hatred of al men, he was murthered one night at Enuerlochthee (whither he was come to haue paſſed ouer into the Iſles) by certayne that had conſpired his death in the .xij. yeare of his reigne.

Donald of Iſles is m thered. Anno ch 273. H

Crathlyn chiefe co ratour i murtheri of Donal

The chiefe of the conſpiratours was one Crathlynt the ſonne of king Findock, who immediatly after the deede done, conueyed himſelf ſecretely out of the chamber, and repayring vnto certaine nobles and gentlemen inhabiting neere hand in the countrey, he declared vnto them the whole mater, exhorting them to ayde him in reuenging thẽ iniuries done not only to them priuately as he knew very well, but alſo to yͤ whole ſtate of yͤ Scottiſh cõmõ wealth, by the naughtie ſuggeſtion of diuers of the kings complices, who as yet vnderſtood nothing of theyr Maiſters death, but were all quiet in theyr beddes,

Crathlyn cureth th bles of t countrey oppreſſe ſeruaun king D as men ſuſpecting nothing leſſe than that which was now happened.

The Gentlemen hearing the newes, and reioyſing greatly thereat, got them to theyr weapons, and early in the very dawning of the day, comming vpon the kings houſhold meagny, they ſlew aboue xj.C. of them in the place where they lodged, the reſidue eſcaping forth of the houſe, and thinking to ſaue themſelues, were beaten downe in the coũtrey as they paſſed, by the people, who bare ſo deadly and mortall hatred vnto the late king, that they not onely reioyced muche at his death, but thought themſelues ſufficiently reuenged, when they could kill any that did belong vnto him.

Crath-
ynt.

rathlynt is
e king.

After this Crathlynt, being certainly knowen to bee the ſonne of king Findock, by ſuche euident tokens as were ſhewed by him that brought him vp, was (partely in reſpect of his iuſt title, & partly for conſideration of his good ſeruice in deliuering his countrey of ſo deteſtable a tyraunt) aduaunced to the gouernment of the kingdome, by conſent of all the eſtates, and ſo being confirmed king, he perſwaded with the people that all the linage of the late tyrant Donald might be plucked vp, euen as it were a tree by the rootes, leaſt any of them haply remayning aliue, ſhould find meanes afterwards to diſturbe ẏ cõmon wealth.

The people cõſented lightly herevnto, as they that beſide the mortall hate whiche they bare towards Donald, were now ſodenly in loue with Crathlynt, not only for his witte and other qualities of the mind, but alſo by reaſon of his comely perſonage and paſſing beautie, ſetting forth all his doings greatly to his high prayſe & commendation.

The kinſmen and friends of Donald of the Iſles are perſecuted.

The iſſue therfore with other the kinſmen and alies of Donald were ſought for, and thoſe that were found, without any difference or reſpect of age or ſexe, were cruelly put vnto death.

The politike gouernment of Crathlynt.

Whiche done Crathlynt appoynted forth iudges and other adminiſtratours of iuſtice to ſee the lawes executed, and the countreys gouerned in good and quiet order, euery man being aſſigned to his owne proper circuite. Theſe hee chooſe out of the moſt ancient peares and barons of his realme. The yonger ſorte he reſerued to attend vpon his perſon. When he had taken direction in this wiſe for the rule of his kingdome, he went vp into the mountains of Granzebene, there to paſſe the time for a whyle in hunting the harte, and other wilde beaſtes, whether came vnto him ambaſſadours from Thelargus king of the Pictes, declaring the ioye whiche theyr maiſter had conceyued for the ſlaughter of Donald, and the reſtoring of the right bloud againe vnto the eſtate, requiring that the ancient league betwixt the Pictes and Scottiſhmen might be once againe renewed.

Crathlynt goeth to hunt in the mountains of Granzbene, anciently called Grampeus mons.

An ambaſſade frõ the Pictes.

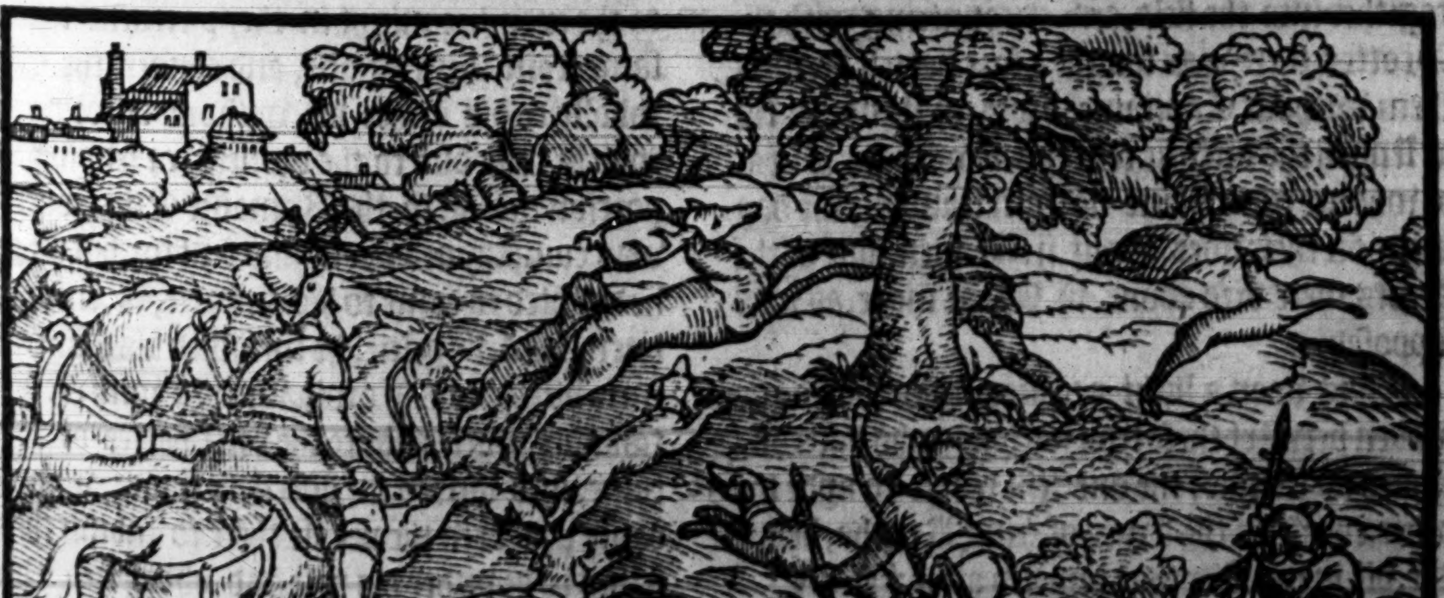
The Pictes require the league to be renewed.

Crathlynt receiued theſe ambaſſadours moſt ioyfully, giuing them hartie thankes on the behalf of theyr Maſter for this ſignification of his good will ſhewed by theyr comming, and herewith promiſed, that during his life he woulde gladly obſerue the olde auncient amitie eſtabliſhed betwixt the two nations: according to the tenure of the old league.

Crathlynt promiſeth to obſerue the auncient amitie betwixt the Scottiſhe men and Pictes.

Moreouer when the ſayde Ambaſſadours ſhould departe, he tooke vnto them to deliuer frõ him as a preſent vnto theyr Maiſter certayne horſes, with Houndes and Greyhoundes, ſuche as he thought that kyng Thelargus wanted.

The preſent ſent by Crathlynt vnto the king of the Pictes.



Diuers Pictiſh Lordes come vnto Crathlint to hunt and make merie with him.

And ſhortly after yͤ returne of theſe ambaſſadours into theyr countrey, diuers yong Gentlemen of the Pictiſhe nobilitie repayred vnto king Crathlynth, to hunte and make mery with him, but when they ſhould depart homewardes, perceyuing that the Scottiſh dogges did far excelle theyrs, both in fayreneſſe, ſwiftneſſe, hardineſſe, and alſo in long ſtanding vp and holding out, they got diuers bothe dogges and bitches of the beſte kindes for breede to be giuen them by the Scottiſh Lordes, and yet not ſo contented, they ſtale one belonging to the king from his keeper, being more eſteemed of him than all the other whiche he had aboute him. The Maſter of the leaſhe being enformed hereof, purſued after them which had ſtolē that dogge, thinking in deede to haue taken him from them, but they not willing to departe with him, fell at altercation, and in the end chaunced to ſtrike the Maſter of the leaſh through with theyr boore ſpeares that hee died preſently, whervpon a noiſe and crie being rayſed in the countrey by his ſeruants, diuers of the Scottes, as they were goyng home from Hunting, returned, and falling vpon the Pictes to reuenge the death of theyr fellowe, there enſued a ſhrewde bickering betwixte them, ſo that of the Scots there died .lx. Gentlemen, beſides a great number of the commons, not one of them vnderſtanding till al was done what the mater ment. Of the Pictes there were aboute an hundred ſlayne.

A prayſe of the Scottiſh dogs.

The Pictes ſteale one of the kings beſt greyhoundes.

The Scottes & Picts fight for a greyhound.

What miſchief enſued vpon ſo light an occaſiō, as the ſtealing of a dog. This chaunced about the yere of Chriſte.288. as Io. Ma. noteth.

The kinſmen and friends of the Scottes that were thus ſlaine, were wonderfully moued with the iniurie committed, in ſo much that without commaundement of king or captayne, they aſſembled in greate number togither, and entring into the Pictiſhe confines, they began to robbe, ſpoyle and kill after the maner of warre, wherewith the Pictes being ſet in a rage, came forth togither into the field, and encountring with the Scottes, there was fought a ſore battell betwixt them without Capitaine, order, or ſtanderd, till at length the victorie remayned with the Picts, of whome were ſlaine notwithſtanding the day went on their ſides, about .ij. M. men, but of the Scots there died aboue. iij. M. or more, as was ſuppoſed.

The Scottes robbe the Pictiſh borders.

The Scots and Picts encoūter in battaile.

The Scottes diſcomfited by the Pictes.

Thus vpon a light occaſion was the league broken betwixt theſe two nations, who had continued as friends, the one ſtill readie to ayde the other, euer ſithe the dayes of king Reutha, being the .vij. in number that raigned after Fergus.

Of what continuance the league was betwixt the Scots and Pictes, and now broken about a ſmall matter, as begonne about a dogge.

Theſe two nations beyng thus fallen at debate, it was wonder to vnderſtand with what crueltie the one ſought to deſtroy the other. No pitie might moue their cruell hartes to ſpare eyther man, woman or childe that fell into theyr handes: Suche was theyr inordinate and lyke deſire which they had to ſhedde ech others bloud.

Cruell warres.

At length Thelargus king of the Picts being a very aged mā, & perceyuing what miſchief was happened through the follie of a few wilfull perſons, appoynted certaine of his counſell to go as Ambaſſadours vnto king Crathlynt, to finde ſome meanes to haue the mater taken vp, for the auoyding of the imminent daunger that was like to enſue to both nations.

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They according to theyr inſtructions comming to the place where Crathlynt as then ſoiourned, had much ado to get licence to come vnto his preſence: but at length being admitted, they vſed ſuche humble perſwaſions grounded vpon reaſonable conſiderations, that although no peace could be fully cōcluded, yet a truce was graunted them for three moneths ſpace, whiche was but ſorYly obſerued, for deadly hatred and inward deſire of reuenge was entred ſo farre into the breſtes of the commons on bothe ſides, that neyther commaundement nor puniſhment might ſtay them from the inuading of one an others confines, maugre theyr Princes and all theyr ſore reſtraints.

A truce grau
ted.

In this meane time was the eſtate of the Romaine Empyre in Brytaine brought into trouble by Carantius, of whome a little before mention hath bene made. Eutropius nameth him Caurassius: he woulde not be acknowen at his comming to Rome of what linage hee was diſcēded, and ſo he was reputed to be but of ſome baſe ſtocke, but yet through his worthie ſeruice in the warres, he atteyned vnto great honour, and was appointed by Diocletian to haue the ſouerayne regarde ouer the coaſtes of the french Ocean, to defende the ſame from Pyrates of the Saxons and other Germains, that ſore moleſted the ſame in thoſe dayes. But for that he vſed to ſuffer thoſe rouers to take ſpoyles and pryſes, to the ende hee might in theyr returne take the ſame from them againe, and conuert the gayne wholly to his owne vſe, without reſtoring that whiche was due to the owners, or ſending any porcion thereof to the Romaine Emperour, hee was complayned vpon, and ſent for, but for that he doubted to come to his anſwere, as one which knew himſelfe giltie, he furniſhed his nauy with men, vittayles and ordinaunce, & with the ſame tooke his courſe aboute the weſt partes of Brytaine, and landed in Weſtmerlande, where he eaſily procured the people there to ſubmit themſelues to be vnder his rule and obeyſance, & promiſed to deliuer them from the grieuous yoke and bondage of the Romaines.

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Thus hauing begonne the fundation of that whiche hee purpoſed to atchieue, for his further aduauncement therein, hee ſent ambaſſadours vnto his Nephewe kyng Crathlynt, bothe declaring what he was, ⁊ alſo excuſing the treſpas ſurmiſed againſt him, foꝛ being of counſell touching the murder of his bꝛother Findock, father to the ſame Crathlynt: ⁊ therefoꝛe if in putting away al miſtruſt of his innocēcie in that behalf, he would ayde him againſt the Romains: hee doubted not but that he ſhould in ſhoꝛt time vtterly expel them out of all Bꝛytaine, ⁊ enioy all thoſe pꝛouinces within the ſame, (which as then they poſſeſſed) vnto his owne vſe ⁊ this, he ſayd, ſhould be moꝛe honoꝛ ⁊ gaine both to the Scottiſh men ⁊ Picts, if they could be cōtented to renew frendſhip, ⁊ ioyne with him in ayde againſt their comon enimies, than to ſeeke to deſtroy one an other, as he lately vnderſtoode they had done foꝛ a dogge. Crathlynt hearing the woꝛdes of theſe ambaſſadours, reioyced not a little, that his vncle Carātius was not only aliue, but alſo had through his valiācie atchieued ſo high renowme as to be accounted one of the woꝛthieſt warriours amongſt al the Romaine Captaines. And herewith vpō good aduice he determined to ayde him in that his enterpꝛiſe foꝛ the conqueſt of Bꝛytaine to the vttermoſt of his power. Adding further that if it were not foꝛ the warres whiche he doubted to haue with the Picts, he would not only ſende him ayde of men, but alſo come with them himſelf: and hereof he aſſured the ambaſſadours both by woꝛde of mouth ⁊ letters. Who returning with ſuch anſweare vnto their Maiſter Carantius, he reioyced not a little, to vnderſtand how well they had ſpedde, and ſo much the moꝛe foꝛ that he receyued aboute the ſame time the like anſweare from the king of Pictes.

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Shoꝛtly after he came to an enterueu with the king of Scottes at the water of Eſke, where after he had purged himſelfe with many woꝛdes of excuſe, touching the murder of his bꝛother Findock, there was an aſſured friendſhip cōcluded betwixt them. And at the motion of Carantius, Crathlynt was contented to come to a cōmunication with the king of Picts, foꝛ concluſiō of a peace, to the intent, that both of them might ioyne their powers togither, in ayde of Carātius againſt the Romains. At this communication both the kings mette, ⁊ Carantius likewiſe was there, as a man indifferent betwixt them bothe, to do what he could, to linke thē both in amitie. And verily his preſence there ſtoode ſo much in ſteede, that chiefly through his perſwaſion grounded vpon great reaſons ⁊ weightie conſiderations, they agreed to cōclude a peace, ⁊ to renew the old league in ſuch manner ⁊ forme, and with ſuch cōditions, as ſhould be thought requiſite by the aduiſe ⁊ diſcrete order of. viij. auncient perſons: iiij. to be choſen on the one parte, ⁊ iiij. on the other. Which. viij. perſons taking the matter in hand, did ſo aduiſedly giue oꝛder foꝛ the auoyding of all cauſes of grudge ⁊ hatred, that bothe partes held them ſatiſfied with their arbitrement and direction, ſo that a ioyfull peace was confirmed, and all variance vtterly quenched.

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Peace confirmed agayne betwixte the Scottiſh men and Pictes.

In this meane time Quintus Beſſianus the Romaine lieutenant in Bꝛytaine, vnderſtāding how Carantius was thus reuolted, and had not only cauſed them of Weſtmerland to rebell, but alſo ſlayne and chaſed the Romains out of that countrey, he was not a little diſquieted, ⁊ determined with all ſpeede to go againſt him, ⁊ to reuenge theſe iniuries. Within a fewe dayes after hauing his armie readie, hee entred into Weſtmerland: but hearing that his enimies were already come to Yoꝛke, ⁊ had won the citie by ſurrender, he turned his foꝛce thitherwarde, in purpoſe to fight with them, though hee vnderſtood they were in. iij. great battels, as the Scottes in one, the Pictes in an other, ⁊ thoſe of Carantius his retinew in the third. He lodged that night within a ſtrong place fenſed aboute with mariſſes. But Carantius vnderſtanding all the manner of his enimies by his eſpials, ⁊ being in cāpe within. x. miles of them oꝛ therabout, in the ſame night he raiſed his field without any great bꝛuite, and by the leading of certaine guides hee marched ſtraight towards the place where Baſſianus was encaped, ſo that anone after yͤ ſpꝛing of the day he came thither: whereof Baſſianus being aduertiſed, and perceyuing he ſhould haue battell, maketh readie foꝛ yͤ ſame, giuing the beſt exhoꝛtation he could vnto his people to play the men: but foꝛ ſo much as the moſt parte of his armie were Bꝛytains, all his woꝛdes nothing auayled: foꝛ they deſirous to ſee the vtter ruine of all the Romaine power, euen at the very poynt when the battels ſhould haue ioyned, withdꝛew thēſelues aparte without any ſtroke ſtriken, and got thē vp into the next mountayns, to ſee what would inſue. The reſidue of the Romain armie, ſeing thēſelues thus foꝛſaken of their fellowes, ⁊ their ſides left bare ⁊ open foꝛ the enimie to enter vpon them, fell to plaine running away, but by reaſon of the mariſſe ground cōpaſſing them in on each ſide, ſeruing wel to purpoſe foꝛ yͤ Scots, ⁊ other the confederates, a great nūber of the Romains, ⁊ other of their parte were ouertaken and ſlaine. Amongſt whom Baſſianus himſelf was one, ⁊ Hircius themperours pꝛocuratoꝛ an other.

Quintus Baſſianus entreth into Weſtmerland, but hearing that his enimies were at Yorke he turneth thitherwardes.

The Brytains betray the Romains.

The Romains are diſcōfited.

The ſlaughter of the Romains.

The Bꝛytains (who as is ſayd refuſed to fight in the beginning of the battell) yeelded thēſelues vnto Carantius, ⁊ ſware to be his true liege men ⁊ ſubiects. In like manner Carantius appointed al ſuch of the nobilitie as were betwixt. xx. yeres and. lx. to remaine with him in hoſtage: but the ſpoyle of the field he diuided amongſt his people equally, ſo that aſwel the Scottiſh men ⁊ Picts, as alſo his owne ſouldiers held thē well content

The Brytains yeelde themſelues vnto Carantius.

Carantius or Carautius, as Eutropius nameth him, vſurpeth the kingdome of Brytaine.

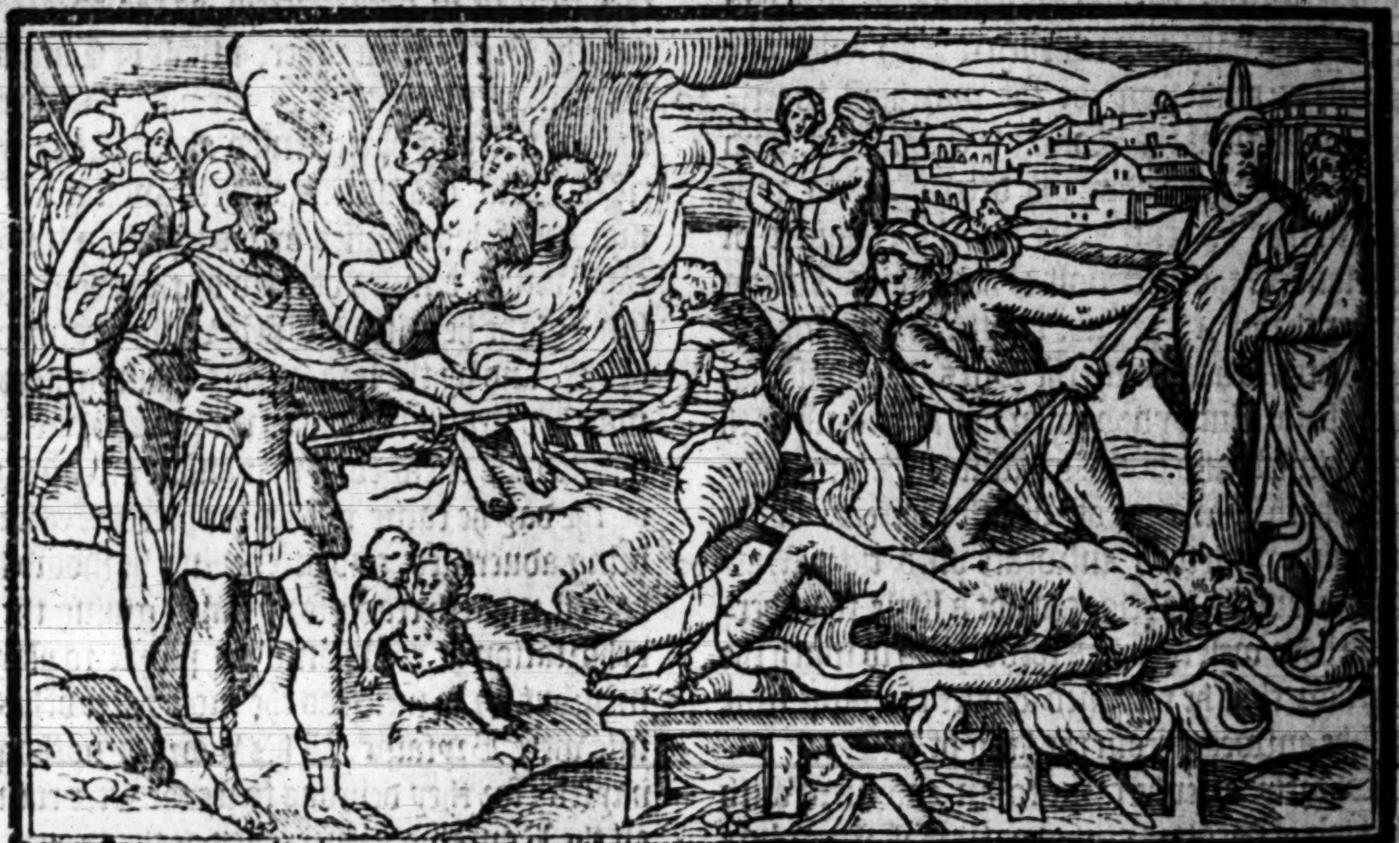
and ſatiſfied therewith. After this victory Carantius cauſed himſelf to be proclaymed king of Brytaine, vſurping the gouernment therof wholy to himſelf, and retayning. 2000. of the Scots and Pictes, to attend vpon the ſauegard of his perſon, ſent the reſidue home laden with riches of the enimies ſpoyle. Hee ſent alſo with them his ambaſſadours, to render thankes vnto bothe the kings for theyr ayd in this ſo proſperous a victorie, aſſigning vnto them as a portion of the conqueſt, the countreys of Weſtmerland and Cumberland, with all that region whiche lay betwixt Adrians walle, and the citie of Yorke, to enioy as their owne proper patrimonie for euermore. Finally the ſayde Carantius was ſlayne by his companion Alectus, as in the Engliſh hiſtorie ye may finde more at large.

Carantius hauing got the victory, deuideth the gaine in aſſigning to his cōfoederates their due portions.

After this Crathlynt king of the Scots deliuered frō troubles againſt the Romains, deuiſed ſundry good ordinaūces for the quiet ſtate of the Scottiſh cōmon wealth, cauſing the peace to be diligently obſerued betwixt him and the Pictes.

Alſo in his dayes the perſecution of the Chriſtians chaūced, which the Emperour Diocletian cōmaūded to be executed in moſt furious wiſe, ſo that there were fewe partes of the world (where any Chriſtians were knowē to inhabite) that taſted not of that his cruell ordinaunce and ſcourge in that behalf. In Brytaine alſo, as wel as in other places, there was no ſmall quantitie of innocent bloud ſhed, with moſte vnmercifull murder committed, to the greate triumphe of Chriſtes croſſe, that glorious enſigne of our religion.

The perſec of the Ch ſtians by D cletian.



In whiche time Conſtantius Chlorus father to Conſtantine the great, was reſident in Brytaine, who adiudging the Scottes to be a people wholly giuen to pillage and ſlaughter, as they were in deede, determined with himſelfe to haue brought them to ſubiection. But ere he could atchieue any notable enterpriſe he died, leauing behind him the fame of a right gentle and worthy Prince, ſauing that in one poynt he ſore ſtayned his honor, for that hee was one of the chiefe that perſecuted the Chriſtian flocke vnder Diocletian, forcing no ſmall number of the faithfull amongſt the Brytains, to flee vnto the Scottes & Picts to auoyde his perſecutiō. Whom Crathlynt receyued for his part moſt louingly, and aſſigned vnto them (as the Scots ſay) the Iſle of Man for a place of habitation, deſtroying al ſuch temples of the heathen religion belonging to the *Druides*, which had cōtinued there ſith the beginning. And vtterly aboliſhing al the ſuperſtitious rites & cuſtomes of the ſame *Druides*, with their whole order and brotherhood, he erected a tēple there, which he dedicated vnto Ieſus Chriſt our Sauiour, wherin the Chriſtiās might celebrate their deuine ſeruice, according to their profeſſiō. This Church being richly endowed was the firſt Biſhops ſea amōgſt the Scots, & therupon was taken for the mother Church of the realme. It is now called the church of Saint Sauiour.

Conſtantius perſecuteth the Chriſtians.

Many of the Brytains flee to the Scottes, to auoyde perſecution.

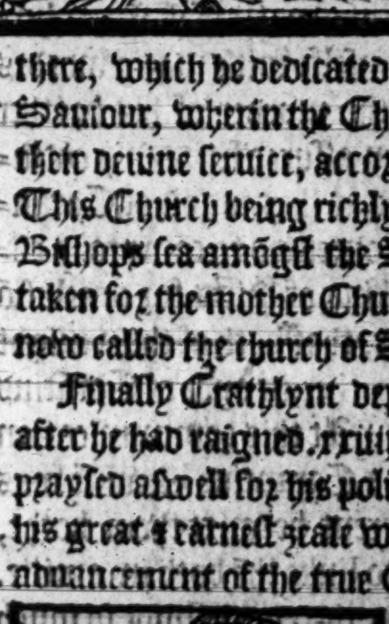
Crathlyne diſtroyeth the temples of the falſe goddes in Man.

The firſt B ſhops ſea i Scotland. Sodorenſis clesia.

Finally Crathlynt departed out of this life, after he had raigned. xxiiij. yeares, being muche prayſed aſwell for his politike gouernmēt as for his great & earneſt zeale which he bare towards yͤ aduancement of the true Chriſtian religion.

Crathlynt d parteth out this world

Fincor mak.



FIncormak that was hys vncles ſonne, ſucceeded him in the kingdom, and was placed on the ſtone of marble, to the great reioycing of al yͤ eſtates, who wiſhed him a proſperous raigne, and long to cōtinue therin.

There liued in king Crathlynts dayes, a noble Chriſtian called Amphibalus a Brytaine borne, who fleeing frõ the perſecutiõ then rayſed in his countrey, came vnto the ſame Crathlynt, & by him was created the firſt biſhop of S. Sauiours church in Man, this Amphibalus did very much good amongſt the Scots & Brytains in ſetting forth the word of life, & rooting out of their harts all ſuperſtitious errours, of blinde gentilitie.

There were other alſo of right famous memorie about the ſame time, that ceaſſed not in preaching, and inſtructing the people in the right beleue, as Modocus, Priſcus, Calanus, Ferranus, Ambianus, and Carnocus, called by an old auncient name in the Scottiſh tongue *Culdei*, that is, to vnderſtande Cultores dei, or as you woulde ſay in Engliſh the worſhippers of God.

But nowe to the purpoſe touching Fincomark, ye ſhal vnderſtãd, that he began his raigne in the yere, (as W. Harriſon ſaith) after the birth of our Sauiour. 325. after the creation of the world. 4292. and from the firſt eſtabliſhing of the Scottiſhe kingdome. 652. and in the. 20. yeare of Conſtantine the Emperour.

It chaunced that Octauius king of the Brytains was vanquiſhed by Traherus a Romaine capitaine, & forced for his refuge to flee vnto this Fincomark then king of Scottes, who receyued him as a friẽd. And furthermore though he were required by Traherus to deliuer him vnto his hands, as a traytour & a rebell vnto the Romain Empyre, yet Fincomark refuſed ſo to do, chooſing rather to ſuſtayne all Traherus his malice, and to haue warres with the Romaine Emperour thã to betray his friend, who had put his life into his hands vpõ an eſpeciall truſt of ſafegard.

Herewith Traherus being not a litle moued, aſſembled his power, & entred into weſtmerlãd, the which countrey had remayned in the Scottiſh mens hands euer ſith Carantius deliuered it ouer vnto thẽ. Fincomark hearing that the Romains would thus make him warres, had likewiſe rayſed a puiſſant armie, to reſiſt thẽ, ſo that he had at the leaſt. lx. M. perſons togither in one armie, as. xxx. M. of his owne countrey men, xx. M. Picts, & x. M. of ſuch Brytains as followed after Octauius. Fincomark being thus furniſhed, haſted forth to encounter with his enimies before they ſhoulde haue time to do any notable domage vnto his ſubiects, & ſo comming within ſight of them, ſent an Heralde vnto Traherus, to vnderſtand the cauſe why he thus inuaded his cõutrey, but receiuing frõ him an vntoward anſwere, he brought forth his people into the fielde in order ready to giue battell, & ſo ioyning with the enimie, there was fought a right ſore & cruell conflict, which cõtinued for a time with vnmercifull murder and ſlaughter on bothe partes.

Finally whan the Romains were at point to haue got the vpper hand, they were ſodenly put in ſuche feare with the ſight of a number of huſbande men, who had got togither theyr cattell & were driuing the ſame away, that ſuppoſing they had bene ſome newe ſuccours comming to ayde theyr enimies, they immediatly fled vpon the ſame, leauing the victorie to their aduerſaries: howbeit of the Scottes ſide were ſlayne (as theyr chronicles report. xv. M. men, and on the Romaine parte about. xvj. thouſand.

The Romains flee.

The numbers ſlayne.

Traherus himſelfe eſcaped vnto Yorke, but hearing that Fincomark, and Octauius purſued after him, he forſooke that Citie & got him into places of more ſuretie, ſo that when the enimies came thither, the Citezins yeelded themſelues, & receyued Octauius as their Prince, offering frõ thence forth to be vnder his rule & gouernment.

Yorke is yeelded vnto Octauius.

The newes of theſe atchieued victories being bruted throughout the realme, cauſed a greate number of the nobles to come in vnto Octauius, who receyued them moſte thankfully, and to cõclude wrought ſo by theyr ſupport, that he was ſhortly after reſtored to the gouernaunce of the whole realme, & eſtabliſhed therein according to his owne wiſhe. This done, Fincomark returned into his countrey, aſwell himſelfe as other of his nobles & mẽ of warre, being highly rewarded for their paines & trauaile ſuſteyned in that iourney. There was alſo promiſe made and confirmed by ſolemne othe, that the countrey of weſtmerlãd with ſuch other parties as were aſſigned vnto his predeceſſor king Crathlynt, by order of Carantius at the time of theyr ioyning togither in league againſt the Romains, ſhould for euer remayne vnto Fincomark, and to his ſucceſſors the Scottiſh kings without any clayme or title to be made to the ſame by any of the Brytains: but this promiſe was not long kept, for ſhortly after that Octauius had once chaſed all the Romaines forth of the Brittiſh confines, and that Traherus was fled ouer into Frãce, there was a councell called at Yorke, where it was not only ordeyned, that from thence forth there ſhould neuer any ſtraunger be ſuffred to raigne ouer the Brytaines, but alſo that the boundes of the realme ſhould be extended forth beyond the wall made (as before is recited) by the Emperour Adrian, euen vnto the old auncient bounds, and limites, expulſing forth the inhabitants of forraine nations.

Octauius obtayneth the rule of Brytaine.

Weſtmerlande aſsigned to the Scottiſh men.

A councel kept at Yorke.

Suche an immoderate luſte of inlarging his dominion enflamed the harte of Octauius, that neither regard of his othe, nor remẽbrance of benefites receyued, might ſtay him from ſeeking to wrong them, whoſe ayde had reſtored him vnto his former eſtate and dignitie, as before we haue reherſed. For herevpon there were. x. M. men of

Octauius coueteth to enlarge his dominion.

The Brytains inuade Weſtmerland.

warre ſent into Weſtmerlande, to the intent to conquere the ſame out of the Scottiſhe mens handes: but beyng encountred with a power of Scottiſh men & Pictes, they were ſharply repulſed and quickly put to flight. About the ſame time alſo, Traherus returned out of Fraunce with .ij. legiõs of Romains, and .xx. M. of other aydes. And giuing battel vnto Octauius, he vãquiſhed his armie, & conſtrayned him for his refuge to flee vnto the mouth of Humber, where he got certaine veſſels & ſayled into Norway, there to ſaue his life, bicauſe that Scotland was now no ſure refuge for him: And thus was Traherus againe in poſſeſſion of Brytaine, as lieutenant to Conſtantine the Emperour: but ſhortly after he was by certaine conſpiratours in fauour of Octauius murthered, and then Octauius returned againe: as in the Engliſh chronicle is mentioned more at large.

Traherus returneth into Brytaine.

Octauius is vanquiſhed by Traherus.

Traherus by a conſpiracie is murthered.

Octauius is reconciled with Fincomark.

Immediatly vpon his returne, he reconciled himſelf with Fincomark the Scottiſh king, and was contented that he ſhould quietly enioy the cõtreys of Weſtmerland & Cumberland, with ſuch other territories as Carantius had grãũted in former time vnto Crathlynt. He likewiſe ſent vnto the king of the Pictes, & concluded a friendſhip with him, to the intent he might haue ayde frõ him alſo, if it chãũced the Romains eftſoones to inuade his countrey, as ſhortly after they did, not ceaſing til they had ſo awearied him with cõtinual warres, that in the end to be at reſt (as his age & other neceſſities then required) he deliuered into theyr handes, certaine caſtels & fortreſſes, & alſo became tributarie to the Emperour on condition he might vſe the office and name of a king all the reſidue of his dayes. Theſe things being thus quieted in Albion, yͤ Romains, Brytains, Scottiſh men and Pictes, continued in friendly peace without any notable trouble, till the .ix. yeare of the raigne of Valentinian Emperour of Rome: & firſt of Damaſus the Pope. In yͤ which yeare Fincomark king of Scottes departed this life, after he had gouerned the eſtate aboue .xlvij. yeares. This was in yͤ yeare of our redẽptiõ .372.

Octauius entreth into amitie with the Pictiſh king.

Octauius becommeth tributarie vnto the Romaine Emperour.

17. of Conſtans & Conſtantius Emperours. H. B.

Fincomark deceaſſed.

358. H. B.

This Fincomark, left behind him .ij. ſonnes, the one named Eugenius, being as then aboute .xviij. yeares of age, the other hight Ethodius, & was yonger thã his brother by one yeare, ſo that neyther of them might ſucceede theyr father by reaſon they were not of yeares ſufficient to rule, according to the auncient ordinance.

Eugenius & Ethodius ſonnes to Fincomark.

Hereupon a councell was called in Argile, where there was hard holde betwixt the .iij. Nephewes to king Crathlynt, that were begotten by .iij. of his brethren, which of them ſhould gouerne the lande: their names were Romacus, Fethelmacus, & Anguſianus. Romacus had a Pictiſh lady of the bloud royall of that nation to his mother, & for that his father was eldeſt brother next vnto Crathlynt, he looked to be preferred, though he himſelf was yonger in yeares thã eyther Fethelmacus or Anguſianus. Fethelmacus gaue his conſent with ſuche voyces as he had vnto Anguſianus, wherwith Romacus being not a little offended, ſought meanes to haue diſtroyed them both: but his practiſe being diſcouered, cauſed many to withdrawe theyr good willes frõ him, whereby his aduerſaries were the more encouraged: & thereupon the councell brake vp, either parte deuiſing how to ſtrengthen thẽſelues againſt the others practiſes. But for ſo much as Anguſianus vſed plaine meanes without any fraudulẽt dealing, he got the more frẽds, ſo that Romacus was conſtreyned in the end to require ayd of the king of Picts, who being neare of kinne to him, might not denie his requeſt.

Romacus, Fethelmacus and Anguſianus, ſonnes to three ſeuerall brethren, pretende a right to the eſtate.

Romacus keth mea to diſtroy h couſins.

Anguſianu with vprig dealing pu chaſeth the more frien ſhippe.

Anguſianus therefore vnderſtanding what daunger he was in, if he fell into his aduerſaries hands, got togither an armie of ſuch as fauoured his cauſe, & encountring with him in battel was put to flight, & forced to flee into the Weſterne Iſles with his couſin Fethelmacus, where remaining for a while, at length he was aduertiſed that the inhabitants had conſpired againſt him, for doubt whereof he got him ouer into Ireland.

Romacus quiſheth Anguſianus.

Romacus.

Anguſianus beyng thus chaſed out of the realme, Romacus was receyued by the moſt part of the nobles and cõmons for theyr king: But as the accuſtomed manner of tyrants cõming thus to the gouernement of a realme, through euill meanes is to rule with crueltie, ſo did he behaue himſelf, according to that ſemblable rate, ſo ſoone as hee thought himſelfe to be ſure of the eſtate. Wherefore ſuche as had borne any euill will to Fincomark, & were out of fauour in his dayes, thoſe did Romacus call vnto him, & afterwarde vſed their councel aboue al other mens, aduauncing them alſo to moſte high rule & riche offices. Againe thoſe whiche had bene in fauour with Fincomark, or bare any affection towardes his iſſue, he ſought couertly to bereaue them both of life, landes, and goodes, ſo that by ſuche his doings, there was gathered no light ſuſpitiõ, that he would likewiſe ere long find meanes to diſpatch Ethodius and Eugenius the ſonnes of the ſame Fincomarke, therby to be the more aſſured of the crowne & kingdome it ſelf. The two childrẽ alſo fearing aſmuch on their owne behalfe, by the aduiſe & help of their truſtie friendes, conueyed thẽſelues into weſtmerlãd, & after ouer into the Iſle of

Romacus is receyued fo king.

Romacus uerneth ty nically.

Ethodius and Eugenius th ſonnes of F comark, are conueyed the Iſle of Man, where they remayned looking for a day.

The Scottiſhe …des conſpire …ſt Ro-…

Then began baniſhments, confiſcations of goodes, & ſlaughter of ſuch as were thought to be fauourers of Anguſians cauſe, without reſpecte either of ſexe or age, til the nobles of the Realme being not a little moued with ſuch his cruell doings, & tirannicall gouernment, conſpired togither by ſecrete meanes how to deliuer their countrey of ſo pernicious a tyrant: And to bring this their purpoſe the more ſpeedily to paſſe, they wrought ſo cloſely, that they had aſſembled a great armie, & were come with the ſame within x. miles of the place where he then lay, ere he had any vnderſtanding of their enterpriſe, ſo that whereas he (being vnprouided of reſiſtance) aſſayed by flight towardes Pict land to haue eſcaped their hands, it preuayled him nothing, for he was taken by the way, and receyued ſuch end as his former paſſed life had very well deſerued, in the .iiij. yeare of his raigne: his head was ſet vpō the end of a pole, & caried about to be ſhewed vnto the people to their great reioyſing. There were ſlaine alſo at the ſame time beſides him, diuers Scots & Pictes, who had bene of councell with him in al his cruel practiſes. After which executiō done, they ſente for Anguſianus, who returned into Scotland, & was proclaimed king, aſwel by conſent of the Lordes, as fauour of the cōmons.

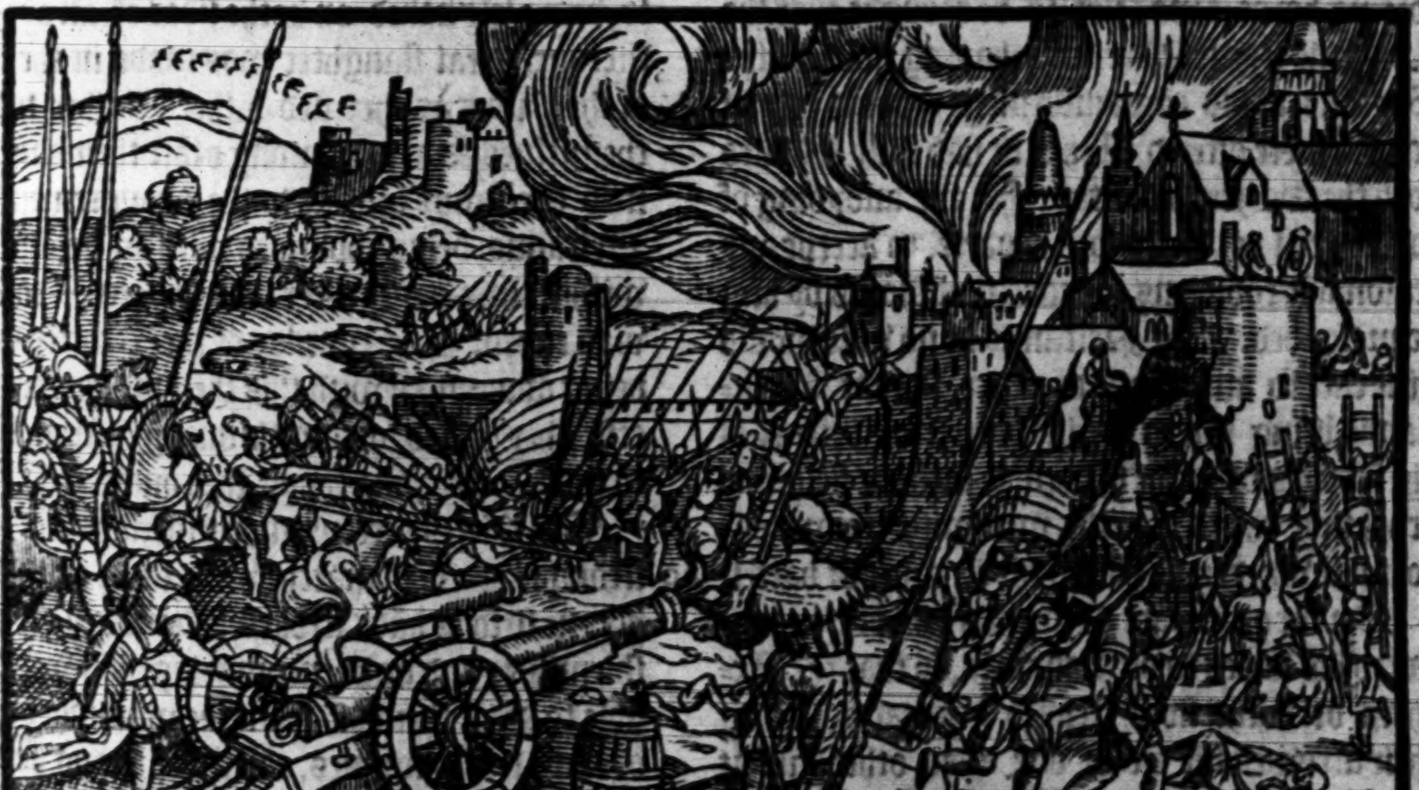
…acus ap-…ended and …to death.

…guſianus …oclaymed …ng.

Aboute the ſame time bicauſe the Brytons had ſlaine the Romaine lieutenant, the Emperour Conſtantius ſent one Maximus thither to chaſtiſe the rebels, with whom the ſame Maximus encountring in battell gaue them a great ouerthrow. And within three dayes after Octauius king of the Brytons, through griefe, age & long ſickneſſe, being conſumed to the laſt point, departed this life. He left a ſonne behinde him named alſo Octauius, who doubting to fall into yͤ hãds of the Romains, fled into the Iſle of Man, & remayned there certaine yeares vnknowen with Eugenius and Ethodius, the ſonnes of Fincomark. The Brytons alſo perſiſting in their rebellion, were eftſoones diſcomfited in battel by Maximus, and ſore by him perſecuted til he had brought them againe to their full ſubiection.

Nectanus king of the Pictes maketh ſore warres vpon the Scottes.

Whileſt theſe troubles cōtinued in Brytain, Anguſianus king of Scots was ſore diſquieted by Nectanus king of Pictes, who enforced himſelf to reuenge the death of his couſin Romacus, making ſundrie rodes & forrayes into the Scottiſh confines, & greatly endamaged the countrey, by ſpoyling of goodes, murthering of the inhabitants, & brenning of townes with the villages, & in the end hauing his power increaſed by the ayd of certaine Scottiſh men, which had borne good will to Romacus, he preaſſed ſo ſore vpō Anguſianus, that he had no remedie but to trie the hazard of battell in a pitched fielde: for no friendly perſwaſiōs to haue peace or any agreemẽt could be hard, though Anguſianus made hũble ſuite to haue purchaſed the ſame. Wherefore perceiuing no hope of attonement, he prepared an army, & met his enimie in the field, where after ſore fight and much ſlaughter, the victorie remayned with Anguſianus, & Nectanus with his Pictes were chaſed and forced to ſaue themſelues by flight.



The Pictes diſ-…comfited by Scottes.

Nectanus deſirous of reuenge.

Nectanus himſelfe neuer reſted till he came vnto Camelone, where he called a counſell of his nobles to haue their aduiſe by what meanes he might be reuẽged of the iniuries receyued by the Scots, whereof he was moſt deſirous, not regarding into what daunger he brought his owne realme; ſo he might ſomewhat eaſe his rancour and diſpleaſure, which he had thus conceyued againſt his enimies the Scottes.

Neither wãted there diuers great perſonages in that aſſemble which (to content his minde and to winne fauour of him) ſet forward the matter in ſuch earneſt wiſe (that notwithſtanding what other could ſay to the contrarie) it was ordeyned that with al ſpeede an army ſhould be leuied, and ledde forth into the Scottiſh borders.

Nectanus inuadeth the Scottiſh confines.

Nectanus hauing thus the conſent of his nobles to inuade the Scottes a new, cauſed men of warre to be takẽ vp through all the parties of his dominion, & that of the choyſeſt men that might be gotte: the whiche being once aſſembled, hee ſtayed not long but ſet foreward with them, and entred into Kalendar wood, ſpoyling & deſtroying all afore him at his owne will and pleaſure.

Anguſianus ſueth for peace.

Nectanus refuſeth al offers of peace.

Anguſianus vnderſtãding his furie, & doubting leſt the Brytains through ſetting on of the Romains ſhould ſeeke to ioyne with the Pictes to the deſtruction of the Scots, thought good to aſſay if by any friendly meanes hee might bring Nectanus to fal vnto ſome reaſonable point, rather than by the warres to endaunger bothe the Pictiſh & Scottiſh eſtates, in putting the ſame in aduenture to fall into the hands of theyr ancient enimies the Romains & the Brytons. Hereupõ therfore he wrote vnto Nectanus a gẽtle letter, declaring therin al ſuch daungers & incõueniẽces as might enſue by this warre thus by him attempted. And againe how neceſſary it were for both nations to haue peace togither as then, cõſidering howe it was not to be thought that the Romaine legate Maximus (hauing now all the Brytons at his cõmaundement) would reſt (if occaſiõ were offered) til that he had fully ſubdued both the Scottes & Pictes: For the anoyding of which peril he offered for his parte, to accept any reaſonable cõditions of peace, that ſhould by him be preſcribed. But Nectanus in no wiſe would giue eare to any treatie of peace, ſo that Anguſianus being forced to giue battell for defence of his ſubiects, brought his people into the field, and exhorting thẽ to play the men with ſundrie cõfortable wordes, he placed thẽ in order of battel.

Anguſianus & Nectanus ioyne in battel with their armies.

Anguſianus is ſlayne.

The Scots are diſcomfited.

On the other part Nectanus likewiſe encouraged his folkes to do valiantly, ſo that the Archers on bothe ſides ſtepped forewarde, letting their arrowes flie freely one at an other, till at length comming to hand blowes they ſtroke on freſhly, beating downe and killing without ſparing on either ſide, ſo that a good ſpace the victory was doubtful. At length Anguſianus perceiuing his people to be put to the worſe, ruſhed forth into the thickeſt of the preaſſe amõgſt his enimies, where hee was quickly eſpied, oppreſſed with preſſe and ſlaine out of hand, the moſt part of his people miſſing him, and not vnderſtãding what was become of him, ſuppoſed yͭ he had bene fled, & therefore fell alſo to running away, but the reſidue that ſtoode ſtill at their defence were ſlaine downe right.

Nectanus
alſo ſlayne.

Thus the victory remayned with the Pictes, but neither part had any cauſe to reioyce, for the chieftains on both ſides were ſlayne, beſides many thouſands of other, ſo that aſwell the one natiõ as the other departed frõ the place right penſiue & ſorrowfull, giuing many a ſore curſe vnto ſuche as had bene the procurers & nurriſhers of ſuch deteſtable hatred betwixt thoſe two natiõs, which had ſo long a time bene conioyned in the faithfull bande of amitie, to the great quiet and wealth of both the countreys. After this bloudy battell, aſwell the Scots as Pictes ſat ſtill for a ſeaſon, not attempting any enterpriſe of importance the one againſt the other.

Fethel
macus.

The Sco
diſcomfite
pictes.

An other
ctanus ki
the pictes
eth of hur
receyued
the fight
the ſcottes.

ANguſianus raigned not paſte .ij. yeares before he was ſlaine thus in the field, as ye before haue herd, in whoſe place ſucceeded his couſin Fethelmacus with little better ſucceſſe, for in yͤ .ij. yeare of his raigne, deſirous to be reuẽged of the Pictes, he aſſembled an armie, & entring into Angus, began to ſpoyle & ſlea downe right all yͭ was before him, without regard to impotent, aged, tender infants, or other. The Picts alſo being kindled herewith, gathered their power togither, & encountring with the Scots, there was a ſore battell fought betwixt them, but the Scots firſt putting the wings of their enimies hoſte to flight, at length diſcõfited their mayne battell alſo, being left naked on bothe ſides of all ayde or ſuccour, great ſlaughter was made in the chaſe of the Pictes as they fled hither & thither to ſaue themſelues. So that among other their king named Nectanus brother to the aboue remembred Nectanus, being wounded with an arrow died within three dayes after that this cruell conflict was ended. The courage of the Scottes nowe being aduaunced with this their proſperous ſucceſſe, they paſſed forthwith ouer yͤ riuer of Tay, to robbe, harrie, and ſpoyle the countrey of Fyfe.

Hierguſt i
choſen kin
pictes.

A pretence
treaſon.

The Pictes perceyuing themſelues not to be ſtrong inough to matche with theyr enimies in playne field at hãds ſtrokes, determined yet with ſkirmiſhes and light encountrings if it were poſſible to keepe them off from the winning of any of theyr fenſed townes, caſtels or ſtrong holdes. And to be the more able to mayntaine thẽſelues in this theyr purpoſed intention, they choſe one Hierguſt to theyr king, a man of ſubtill nature, and craftie imaginatiõ. This Hierguſt deuiſing how to deliuer his countrey of ſuch an intollerable enimie as Fethelmacus was, procured two ſlie fellowes Picts by nation, to cõterfeyte thẽſelues for Scots, & for that they were cunnyng throwers of the darte, in which kinde of exerciſe the ſame Fethelmacus tooke great pleaſure, they were apointed to make ſute to be in ſeruice with him, to the intent that when they might eſpie theyr time, they ſhould ſlea him, by one kinde of meane or other.

They (according as they were inſtructed cõming into Scotland) found meanes not only to haue place in the kings houſe, but alſo to corrupt one of his Muſitians an harper, & to bring him to be of counſell with them, in this their wicked purpoſe. By reaſon whereof, in one night as hee lay at Carryk, where he was buſie to make his prouiſion there for the warres againſt the Picts, the ſame Muſitian (hauing playde in the kings bed chamber, till he had brought him a ſleepe) did let in thoſe .ij. Pictiſh traytours, who forthwith ſlew him euen as he lay ſo ſleeping: but the king groning grieuouſly at the deadly ſtroke, ſome of them that watched before the chamber doore, perceyuing what was happened, followed after the murtherers, who fledde with all ſpeede vnto the next mountaines, where they ſought to defende themſelues with hurling downe ſtones vpõ thẽ that came vp towardes them: but in the end, being taken, & confeſſing the dede, with the whole manner of the ſame, they were drawen in peeces with wilde horſes, the Muſitian being alſo apprehended & conuict of the treaſon, ſuffered ſemblably the like kinde of death. Fethelmacus came to his end in the .iij. yeare of his raigne being the ſecond yeare after the death of the Emperour Valentinian. In this ſeaſon (as in times paſte hath bene beleeued) certaine bones of the Apoſtle S. Andrew, were brought forth of *Achaia*, a prouince in Grecia into Scotland, by a Grekiſhe Monke named Regulus Albatus, cõmonly called S. Reule, a man in thoſe dayes highly eſteemed, for the opiniõ which the world had cõceiued of him for his holy & vertuous life, to whõ king Hierguſt gaue his palaice that ſtoode in yͤ part of Fife, where yͤ ſame Regulus firſt lãded: at whoſe contẽplacion alſo, he erected a church in old time called Kirkruil, yͭ is, the Church of S. Reule, afterwards named yͤ old church of S. Andrewes, ſtãding in the abbey churchyarde, where yͤ Chanons were wont to be buried. But to leaue this matter to yͤ further report & credite of yͤ Scottiſh Chronicles, wee will proceede with our purpoſe.

lmacus
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bedde.

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perour
tinianus.

69. H.B.

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Pictland, &
of Scot-

After the death of Fethelmacus the nobles & cõmons of the Scottiſh natiõ ſent into the Iſle of *Man* for Eugenius the ſonne of king Fincomarke, where he wͭ his brother Ethodius had remained, during the dayes of the .iij. laſt remẽbred kings, Romacus, Anguſianus, & Fethelmacus.

e Scottes
into the
Man, for
to make
king.

Eugenius.

This Eugenius at his cõming into Albanie was inueſted king of the Scots by cõmon conſent of all the nation. About the ſame ſeaſon Maximus the Romaine lieutenãt in Brytain, vnderſtanding of the late diſſention betwixt the Scottiſh men & Picts, deuiſed whiche wayes he might beſt ſubdue both thoſe nations, therby not onely to enlarge the boundes of the Romaine Empyre, & to deliuer the Brytains from inuaſions of thoſe ſo cruell enimies, but alſo to haue the ſouth part of the Iſle more obedient & loyall vnto the ſame Empyre than heretofore it had bene. He thought good therfore in yͤ beginning to aſſay if he might ioyne in friendſhip with the one of the natiõs, til he had deſtroyed the other: for he cõſidered it would be an harde peece of worke to haue to do with them both at one inſtant time.

genius is
ed king.

The practiſe of Maximus to deſtroy the Scottes.

Wherupõ directing his letters vnto Hierguſt king of the Pictes, he required to renewe the old league with him & his people, promiſing to ayde him againſt the Scots, cõmon enimies not only to the Pictiſh natiõ, but alſo to all ſuch people as loued reſt & quietneſſe, as might eaſily be perceiued by their continuall practiſe & vſage, euer ſeeking to diſturbe their neighbours with rodes and forrayes, ſo that it ſtood with a general common wealth to haue thẽ vtterly diſtroyed & extirped.

He ſendeth vnto Hierguſt king of the Pictes.

Hierguſt right ioyful of theſe newes, gaue hartie thanks vnto almightie God, that had moued the Romaine lieutenant to make ſuch offer vnto him, wherby the furious rage of yͤ Scots might be once repreſſed, & put away frõ his people, and therfore willing to cõfirme a friendſhip with the ſame lieutenãt, he promiſed to renew the auncient league betwixt the Romains & Picts, vpon any reaſonable cõditiõs, which he ſhould deuiſe, not only requiring his ayde at this time againſt the ſayd Scots, but alſo at all other as occaſion ſhould demaund. Maximus hauing receyued this anſweare, he foũd meanes alſo to come to a cõmunication with Hierguſt neare vnto Yorke, where the league was cõfirmed betwixt them, & therein yͤ Scots not only adiudged for cõmon enimies, both to yͤ Romains & Brytains, but alſo to the Picts. And further therwith were certaine orders appoynted how the warre ſhould be purſued with al expeditiõ againſt thẽ. Theſe things thus finiſhed, & both the Princes returned to their homes, Maximus ſente an Heralde vnto Eugenius the Scottiſh king, cõmaunding him on the behalf of the Romaine Empire, to make reſtitutiõ for al wrõgs & iniuries done vnto the Pictiſh nation. And further to deliuer into the handes of Hierguſt the king of the Picts the authors of the ſame wrõgs & iniuries, to be puniſhed at his diſcretiõ, or if he would refuſe thus to do, that thẽ he ſhould looke to haue the Emperour and the Romaine people enimies vnto him & all his nation.

Hierguſt his anſweare vnto Maximus his meſſage.

Maximus and Hierguſt ioyne in friendſhip, and the Scottes proclaymed enimies to thẽ both.

An Herald ſent frõ Maximus vnto Eugenius

Eugenius for anſwere herevnto, declared that ſith his entring into the gouernmẽt of the Scottiſh eſtate, hee had done nothing that might be thought preiudiciall either to the Romains or to the Brytains their ſubiects: And as for the Picts he would be gladde to haue a peace with them if there might bee amendes made for all diſpleaſures done on either parte, according as ſhoulde be thought to ſtande with equitie and reaſon.

The anſweare of Eugenius vnto the Herald.

Neyther did hee ſee what cauſe the Romains ſhoulde haue to make warres for the Pictes, agaynſt thoſe that had done them no diſpleaſure: but if it were ſo, that hee muſte needes haue warres, he would do what in him lay to defende the libertie of the Scottiſh natiō, truſting chiefly in the ſuccours of almightie God, who vſed to fauour the cauſe of the iuſt and innocent, againſt ſuche as ſought to wrong them vpon fayned quarrels without occaſion giuen.

Maximus rayſeth a mightie armie.

He inuadeth the Scottiſh regions.

Maximus receyuing this anſwere from Eugenius, aſſembled with all ſpeede a ſtrong and mighty armie of Romains, Brytains, & French men, with the which entring into Weſtmerlād, he ſpoyled that countrey moſt miſerably, taking diuers caſtels & ſtrong holdes by force, the which he furniſhed with garriſons of his people, and then paſſing into Annandale, brenned and haried the ſame: from thence he entred into Galloway, omitting no kinde of tyrannie that mighte be ſhewed againſt the inhabitantes, ſo that the fear was greate throughout all the countrey: for of many yeares before, ſo great an armie had not bene ſeene in thoſe parties.

Cruell warres.

Eugenius gathereth his power, fighteth with his enimies, and is diſcomfited.

The Romains following to forewardly in the chaſe, receiue domage.

Eugenius notwithſtanding, gathering his power togither, determined to trie the fortune of battell, & ſo ioyning with his enimies neare vnto the water of Cree, his people were quickly put to flight, & chaſed, by reaſon that they were muche inferiour in number: but the Romains purſuyng the chaſe, happed to light amongſt thē of Argile, whiche had not bene at the battell, but were cōming towards it, and now fiercely encountring with ſuche as purſued theyr friends, they cauſed them to retyre backe with ſome loſſe, wherevpon the other Scottes alſo (which were chaſed) returned, and gaue a freſhe onſet, ſo that if night had not come on the ſooner, there had bene a far greater multitude of yͤ Romains ſlain in that bickering than they themſelues did thinke of. Herevpō the Romains doubting what theyr enimies intēded to do, they fortified their campe that night very ſtrōgly: but Eugenius vnderſtanding what a multitude of his folkes were ſlaine in the battell, ſo that the very ſtreame of the water of Cree was ſtopped vp with dead carcaſes, he thought beſt with the aduice of his peares, to licence his people to departe to their homes, and not to fight any more with his enimies for that time.

Eugenius breaketh vp his armie.

Whiche being done, he himſelfe repayred the ſame night vnto Carricke, where he remayned for a ſeaſon, making prouiſion for defence of his realme the beſt he could deuiſe. Maximus hauing knowledge in the morning how the Scots were quite gone theyr wayes, he determined to haue followed thē, but being aſcertayned of a rebelliō amongſt the Brytains in Kent, he chāged his purpoſe, & returned thitherwardes, to appeaſe that tumulte, leauing in Galloway a good parte of his armie to keepe ſuch holdes as he had got in that voyage. The yeere following Maximus was ſo buſied in yͤ ſouth parts of Brytaine, that he could not attēd vnto the warres againſt the Scots, otherwiſe than in maintayning ſuch garriſons as he had placed in their countreys, by reaſon whereof ſundry bickerings happened betwixt them of the ſame garryſons & the Scots, who laboured not onely to deliuer theyr owne countrey out of the handes of all forrainers, but alſo to inuade & deſtroy Pictlande, ſo that they harried the countrey of Fyfe, with part of Menteth, and Sterling ſhyre, brenning and waſting townes, caſtels and houſes moſt cruelly.

A rebellion in Kent.

The Scott domage the pictes.

Wherof Maximus being certified, made ſemblāce as though he were ſore grieued therewith, but inwardly he could haue reioyced at nothing more than to heare of the iniuries done by the Scots vnto yͤ Picts, ſuppoſing it to make chiefly for his purpoſe: & herevpō preparing an armie againſt the next ſommer, whē he had diſpoſed al things in a quiet order amongſt the Brytains, he ſet foreward with the ſame towardes Galloway, where being arriued, there was no kinde of crueltie ſpared againſt the poore inhabitants.

Maximus hi fayned gri

Maximus e ſoones inua deth the Sc

Eugenius in the meane time vnderſtāding yͤ cōming of his enimies, muſtred his people, & appointed the aſſemble to be made in the countrey of Kyle, whiche way hee heard that his enimies would trauayle. Thither came alſo not only al the able men of the Scottiſh dominiōs, but likewiſe a great number of luſtie and ſtrong womē apt to beare armure, according to the old accuſtomed guiſe of theyr nation, ſo that there were numbred in this armie .l. M. perſons right fierce and hardie, deſirous either to vāquiſh the enimie with dinte of ſworde, or els to die preſently in the place.

Eugenius pre pareth an ar mie to defe his countre

Women to the war

The num of the Scot armie.

Maximus hearing that the Scots were thus encāped in Kyle, marched towards thē, & lodged the ſame night not far off frō the riuer of Mūda, where knowledge was giuen vnto Eugenius, yͭ Maximus was come within .v. miles of him, with a greater armie, than he had at his laſt encoūtring wᵗ him in Galloway. Theſe aduertiſements cauſed no ſmall ſturre to be rayſed in the cāpe, ſome being ſtrikē with preſent feare, where other cōtrarywiſe moued with high indignatiō, deſired nothing ſo much as to ioyne in battell wᵗ the Romains, whoſe cruell tirannie they very much deteſted. Eugenius himſelfe ſhewed no countenance of feare at all, but encouraging his people with comfortable wordes, he brought the ſtreight in order of battell, deuided into three wardes, cōmitting one of them to the leading of his brother Ethodius, & the ſecōd to Doalus the gouernour of Argile, reſeruing the .iij. to himſelf.

The appro of Maxim towardes th Scottes.

Eugenius forteth hi people.

This done, he made vnto them a pithie oration, declaring how neceſſarie it was for them to play the men, conſidering that in victorie conſiſted the onely hope of libertie, and in beeing vanquiſhed, theyr Countrey was endaungered to be brought into perpetuall bondage for euer, for the onelye marke which the Romains ſhotte at, was to oppreſſe the libertie of the whole Iland, and to reduce the ſame into the forme of a Prouince, to be gouerned at the wil of the victorers, to the breach of all their olde auncient lawes, and long continued cuſtomes.

With theſe and many other like reaſons hee went about to encourage the myndes of his ſubiects, in ſuch wiſe, that in maner the moſt part of them determined rather to die with honour, than to liue in ſuch miſerie, as they feared woulde enſue if the victorie ſhoulde reſt vpon the Romains ſide. And as they were in ſuch talke togither, ſodainly commeth in one of theyr ſcoutes wyth newes, that Maximus with his armie was euen at hande.

e ſodaine
uall of
nimies.

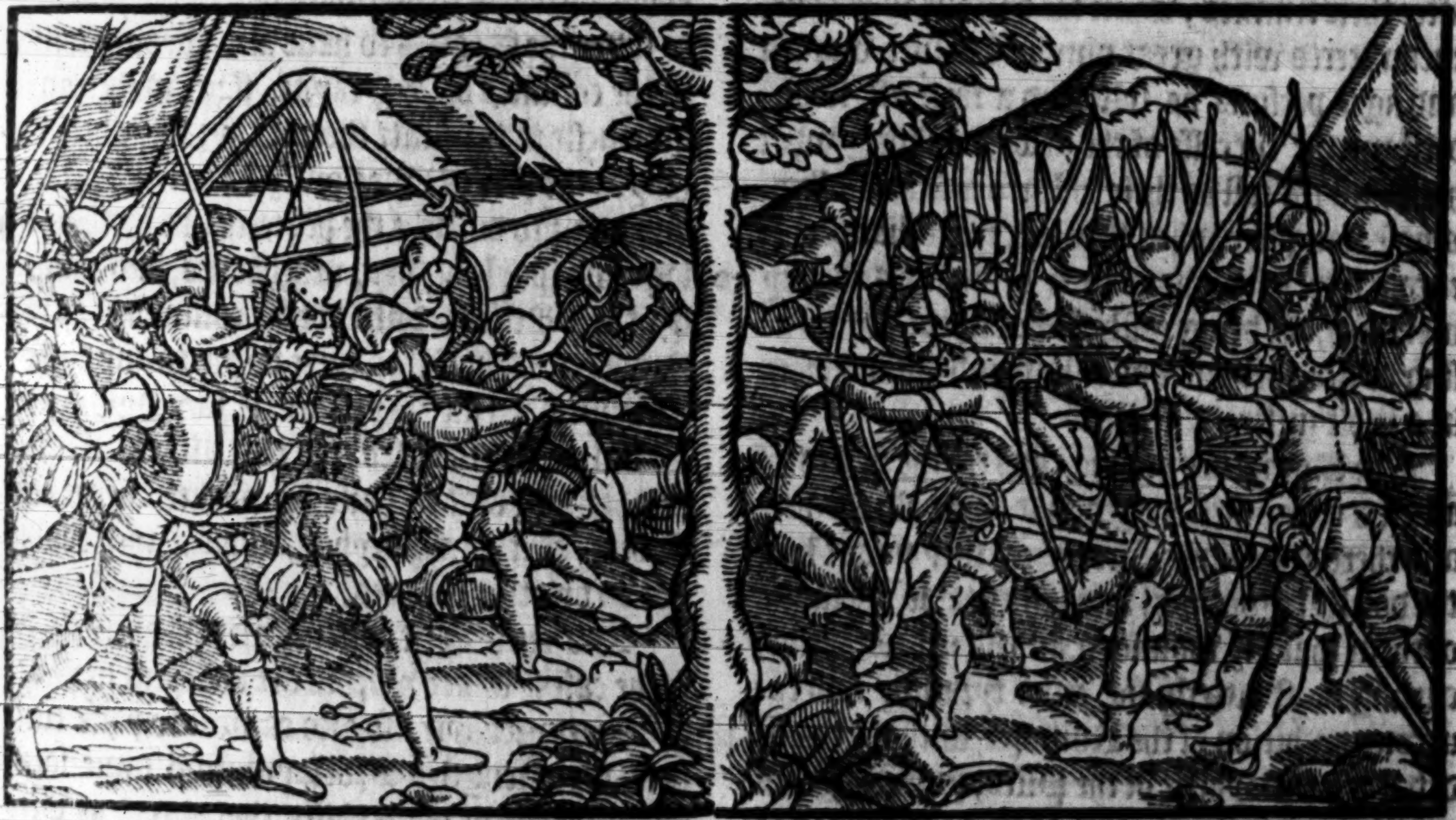
This was in the morning anone after the Sunne was vp, whereas he was not looked for till the euening following, inſomuche that the ſame his ſodaine arriuall chauncing ſo farre contrarie to theyr former expectations, troubled all their heads, and brought them into a great maze, for that hereby they were conſtrained to chaunge the order of theyr battailes to haue the ſunne on their backes, as they had prouided at the fyrſt it ſhould haue bene, if the enimies had not come vntill the after noone.

Yet notwithſtanding, they had no ſooner chaunged their place, and gotten themſelues into array of battaile againe, but that with great violence they preaſſed forwarde to giue the onſet vpon the Romaines. Which Maximus perceyuing, made all the ſpeede he coulde, to ſet his men in order of battaile, that he might receyue his enimies comming thus to encounter him.

The Scottes giue the onſet

So both ſides beeing fully bent to battayle, and approched within daunger of ſhot, they lette flie the ſame moſt egerly, albeit that through haſting forth to ioyne at hande ſtrokes, there was little hurt done with bowes or dartes.

The battailes ioyne.



The Scottes crying vpon the name of their worthie and moſt famous auncetter king Gald, layde aboute them moſte fiercely after they came once to the ioyning: and lykewiſe the Romains being encouraged with the chearefull wordes of the Lieutenaunt Maximus, boldely encountered them, ſo that it was doubtfull at the firſt whether part ſhould haue the worſe ende of the ſtaffe: but ſhortly there followed variable ſucceſſe, for on the one part, they of Roſſe and Mar, being appoynted vnder Ethodius to encounter that wing of the enimies where the Pictes were, fought ſo egerly and with ſuch fierce willes, that they eaſily put the Pictes vnto flight, beating downe a great number of them as they woulde haue paſſed the water of Dune, but ſtreight wayes after fallyng to the ſpoyle, they were ſlayn downright by a legion of ſuche Romaines as were ſente by Maximus vnto the ſuccours of the Pictes.

Ethodius ouer
eth the
Pictes.

The Scots hauing vanquiſhed the Picts, are ſlaine by the Romains.

On the other ſide in the left wing thoſe of Argile, Cantyre, Kyle, and Coningham, who were matched with the Brytaines, French men, and Germains, after long and cruell fight were there ſlaine in the place, greatly to theyr fame and glorie for euer, ſo that by this meanes the maine battaile of the Scottiſh men wherein Eugenius himſelfe ſtoode amongſt his people, was left bare and naked on both the ſydes. Which Maximus perceyuing, he cauſed the ſame to bee aſſayled on ech part with ſuch violence, that in the end longer reſiſtaunce preuayled not, but that their mayne battaile muſt needes be opened perforce, by meanes whereof Eugenius choſing rather to die in the place, than eyther to ſaue his life by flight, or

The Scottiſh battaile is ouerthrowne.

Eugenius is ſlaine.

by rendering himſelfe into his enimies handes to liue in miſerie.&c. was there ſlaine togither with a great number of his nobles and gentlemen, hauing determined by the example of their maiſter to die rather ſpeedily with honour, than longer to liue with ſhame and reproch.

Thus Eugenius loſt his life with his kingdome in the thirde yeare after his firſt entring into the rule, hauing enioyed few good dayes in reſt during the ſayde tyme.

The furious rage of the Scottiſh Carters.

Such of the Scots alſo as were appoynted to kepe the cariage and truſſe of the field, ſeeing their Lordes and maiſters thus ſlaine, ruſhed forth with ſuch weapõs as they had at hãd, in purpoſe to ſlea ſome number of their enimies, not paſſing though it ſhould coſt them alſo their owne liues, ſo that they might die reuenged. The ſlaughter was great whiche at the firſt was made, more through an obſtinate deſire of reuenge, than by any valiant actiuitie: but this companie being anon broken in ſunder, and driuen backe, they were finally ſlaine and beaten downe.

Moreouer the Romains that purſued in chaſe after their enimies, when the battaile was done, encountered with great numbers of ſuch women and aged perſons as followed a farre off, to vnderſtand the ſucceſſe of the fielde, doubting what happe might fall to their children and kinſfolkes, whoſe ſlaughter when they perceyued, like people enraged they flew vpon ſuch Romaines as they met with, but being eaſily vanquiſhed, and refuſing to flee, they were alſo ſlain and cut in peeces in a moſt miſerable maner.

The Romaines hauing thus rid the fieldes of all kind of enimies, lodged that night abrode, here and there at their pleaſure, where they might hear the dolefull gronings, and lamentable cõplaints of them that lay wounded, and as yet not deade, curſing moſt bitterly the cruel tyrannie and couetous ambition of the Romans, with that moſt deteſtable diſloyaltie of the Picts, procuring this murther and deſtruction of thoſe people that had deſerued farre otherwiſe at their handes.

The ſpoyle deuided amongſt the ſouldiers.

When the morning was come, Maximus the Lieutenaunt cauſed the ſpoyle of the deade bodyes to be gathered, and equally deuided amongſt his men of warre. And ſuch as were founde ſore wounded and not dead, to ſhewe ſome token of clemencie, according to the olde accuſtomed maner of the auncient Romaines, hee commaunded ſurgeons to ſee to the cure of them. The other being deade, he ſuffered to be buryed, cauſing the

The buriall of the dead bodies by appointment of Maximus.

corps of Eugenius hymſelfe to bee enterred in moſt ſolemne and pompous ſort, after the vſage of the Romaine Princes.

Ethodius ſe wounded, committe the cure of Surgeons.

His brother Ethodius beeing found mangled in moſte pitifull wiſe, and in manner halfe deade, was alſo taken vp by commaundement of the ſame Maximus, and Surgeons charged to haue the ordering of hym, and to ſhewe theyr diligence for the cure of his hurtes in moſt ſpeedie and gentle wiſe.

The victorie thus atchieued, Maximus ſurueyeth the Countreyes of Kyle, Carricke, and Conningham, with that alſo of Calidone, and ſeazeth the ſame into hys handes, ſuffering the Inhabitauntes to enioye both goodes and landes in peace and quietneſſe vppon theyr othes of allegeaunce, wythoute anye further moleſtation.

Hierguſt de ſireth the v deſtruction the Scottes.

Hierguſt King of the Pictes with other the Nobles of that Nation, were nothing contented therewith, deſirous to ſee the vtter deſtruction of all the Scottiſhe race. Wherevnto Maximus at the firſt would not agree, alledging the ancient cuſtom of the Romains, who ſought rather to vanquiſh by benefites, than by the ſword, euer vſing to ſpare ſuche as ſubmitted themſelues, and in no wiſe to ſpot their honour nor maieſtie of their Empyre with crueltie.

The earneſt ſute of the Picts to ha the Scottiſh men baniſh and expulſ out of the Countrey.

But the Pictes not ſatiſfied herewith, went about earneſtly to perſwade him in no condition to ſuffer the Scottes to haue any abyding within the confines of Brytayne, if hee wiſhed anye quietneſſe in the eſtate thereof, for theyr delyght (ſayde the Pictes) was onely ſet to ſeeke occaſions howe to diſturbe the peace, to liue by the pyllage and ſpoyle of theyr neighbours, and namely of the Pictes, vnto whoſe confuſion (as the Prophecies ſpake) they were begotten and borne. Finally when all theyr earneſt ſute myſſed the wiſhed effect, they fell to, and aſſayed if they might bring that to paſſe by wicked meede and through corrupting brybes, whiche they coulde not do by other meanes.

Where wor faile, gyftes preuaile.

And euen as it oftentymes chaunceth in ſuche caſes, where wordes are but ſpent in waſt, giftes yet preuayle: ſo alſo came it to paſſe euen here, for at length a Proclaymation came forth by procurement of the Picts, that al ſuch as were naturall Scottiſhe men, ſhoulde by a certayne day auoyde oute of thoſe Countreyes that they poſſeſſed in Brytayne, vppon paine of loſing life and goodes, and to delyuer vp theyr houſes and landes vnto ſuche Brytaynes and Pictes as were appoynted by the Romaines for to enioy the ſame.

The proclamation for the auoyding of all Scottiſhe men forth of the whole Iland of Brytaine.

The Scottes plagued for their beaſtly crueltie.

The Scottes perceyuing themſelues not able to make any reſiſtaunce, obeyed thys commaundement, ſome of them paſſing ouer into Ireland, ſome into the weſterne Iles, and ſome of them got ouer alſo into Norway, and Denmarke, and manye there were that got intertaynment amongeſt the Romaine Souldiers, and went ouer with them into Fraunce, as yet called Gallia, to ſerue in the warres there, and in other places vnder yͤ Emperours enſignes.

he cruel dea-
g the Picts.

The Pictes were ſo cruel and diligent to ſee all the Scottiſh linage confined, that they would not conſent that a certaine number of gentlewomen ſhould remaine behinde, who had their huſbandes ſlaine in the laſt warres, and made interceſſion in moſte lamentable wiſe vnto Maximus, that they might bee permitted to abide in their natiue Countrey all the reſidue of their lyues, though in ſeruile eſtate, to the ende that they might bee buryed after the ſame were once ended in graues with their ſlaine huſbandes.

rtandis
ueene of
ottes.

Moreouer where Cartandis Queene of the Scottes, late wife vnto Eugenius, was brought vnto Maximus, with two gentlewomen and a groome from the tumbe of hir huſband, where ſhe had remayned euer ſithe his buriall in continuall mourning, forſomuche as ſhe was a Brytayne, and diſcended by lynage from the Princes of Wales. Maximus lamenting hir miſerable caſe, aſſigned the Citie of Carricke vnto hir, with certaine other reuenues for the maintenance of hir eſtate. But after ſhe had taken leaue of ſuche as had the cõduction of hir, and was come into a village not farre from Carricke aforeſayd, it chaunced that a ſort of Pictiſhe ryders, (or as I maye call them robbers) met with hir, ſmall to hir profite, & leſſe to their own eaſe, for they did not only ſlea hir groome, but alſo beate hir gentlewomen, and ſtripped both them and hir of all that they had, whereof Maximus being enformed, cauſed them that had done ſo vile a deede to bee apprehended and executed by death, according as they had deſerued. The Queene hirſelfe being brought backe vnto Maximus, and honourably entreated, had all hir ſubſtance reſtored vnto hir againe ſo neare as it was poſſible.

he Pictes of-
with
imus.

But the Pictes being offended herewith, and ſpecially for the putting to death of their men, ſundrie of their Nobilitie came vnto Maximus, and began to make a ſore complaint in that behalfe, declaring that the deſertes of their Nation had not beene ſuche towarde the Romaine Empyre, as to haue their people put to execution for a womans ſake, being both an enimie and a priſoner: therefore they requyred that ſhe might be confined into Brytayne, and according to the tenor of the proſcription, ſpoyled of all hir goodes.

andis la-
teth hir
rtunate
tate.

Here Cartandis being preſent hirſelfe, began to make pitifull lamentation, bewayling hir moſt vnhappie eſtate, in that contrarie to the order of hir wretched caſe and preſent miſerable fortune, ſhe ſhoulde nowe be forced to returne againe into hir Countrey: wiſhing rather than ſhe ſhould be inforced ſo to doe, that ſhe might offer vp hir life, as a ſacrifice in the place of hir huſbandes burial: and therefore holding vp hir handes vnto Maximus in moſt pitifull wiſe, ſhe beſought hym inſtantly, that it might pleaſe him, either to ſuffer hir to paſſe the reſidue of hir life after ſuch ſort as ſhee thought beſte agreed wyth hir widowlike eſtate, or elſe to take the ſame from hir preſently by ſome violent meanes of execution.

There was not a man other than the Pictes, that ſawe and heard hir at that inſtant, but lamented hir wofull diſtreſſe, ſo that in the end the requeſt of the Pictes was diſallowed, and Cartandis hauing liuing aſſigned hir for the maintenance of hir degree, was licenced to depart into what place ſhee thought expedient, there to liue as ſhee thought beſt withoute lette or diſturbaunce.

The Monaſterie of Iona buylded by baniſhed Scottiſh Monkes.

The ſame tyme the Scottiſhe Biſhops and Prieſts beeing baniſhed as well as the other ſort of the Scottiſh people, a number of their Monkes got them into the Iſle of Iona, now called Colmkill, where they erected a Monaſterie for theyr owne habitation, the worthineſſe whereof hath beene right famous, euen vnto theſe our dayes, as that whiche was afterwarde endowed wyth many fayre reuenues by diuerſe of the Scottiſhe kings, who had their burials there after the returne of the Scottes into Albanie as ſhal be hereafter expreſſed.

The time that the Scottes were thus confined.

5547. H.B.

379. H.B.

710. H.B.

The ſecond yeare of Iulian the Apoſtata. H.B.

The yeare in the whiche the Scottiſhmen were thus vanquiſhed by the Romaines and Pictes, and finally confined out of theyr ſeates, was from the creation of the worlde 4319, after the byrth of our Sauiour 352. from the beginning of the Scottiſhe kingdome 679. and the thirde yeare of Magnentius.

Straunge viſions.

The ſame yeare before Eugenius gaue battail vnto Maximus, many ſtraunge ſightes were ſeene in the furtheſt partes of Albion, ſtryking a wonderful dread into many mens hearts.

Swordes and weapons ſeene in the ayre.

In the night ſeaſon in the ayre were ſeene firie ſwordes and other weapons moue in a long ranke, after comming togither on a heape, and being chaunged into an huge flame as it had ben a firebrande, it then vaniſhed away. The waters of the ryuer of Dune ran with bloud, the bankes of the ſame ryuer flaſhed oft tymes as they had beene all on a fire. There were ſeene alſo a number of ſmall byrdes fall out of the ayre ſo thicke, that it ſeemed it had rayned byrdes, and incontinently came a great number of Rauens that deuoured vp the ſame.

It rayneth byrdes.

Certaine Witches and Southſayers declaring that theſe things betokened the deſtruction of the Scottiſhe kingdome, were commaunded by the Prieſtes to holde their peace on payne of death, as they that tolde nothing but lyes and fables, though afterwardes their tales proued moſt true.

But to returne to our hiſtorie. Ethodius the brother of Eugenius being cured, as is ſayde by commaun-

Ethodius confined into Denmarke.

commaundement of Maximus, was yet baniſhed amongſt the reſidue, and conſtrained to take an othe, that he ſhoulde immediately repayre into Denmarke, and hereafter not to approch nearer vnto the coaſtes of Albion, for doubt of ſome newe attempt that might be made by the Scots through his meanes, thereby to returne into their Countrey agayne, and to recouer theyr former eſtate.

Gillo choſen captaine of the baniſhed Scots in the weſtern Iles comming into Argile, is vanquiſhed by the Pictes.

But this ſtayed not them of the weſterne Iles, but that aſſembling themſelues togyther, and choſing one Gillo to their capitain they paſſed ouer into Argyle, where in the ende they were encountered by ſuch Pictes as were ſet there to defende that Countrey, and ſlaine eche mothers ſonne. Their veſſelles were alſo taken and brought into ſundrie Hauens of the Countrey to ſerue for defence of the coaſtes vppon any newe enterpriſe which the Scottes ſhoulde chaunce to make: but the other Scottes perceyuing they were not able to furniſhe forth a newe armie in the Iles by any ayde they might purchaſe there, ſayled ouer into Irelande, where preſenting themſelues vnto the King of that Region, they declared vnto him from poynt to poynt all their infortunate chaunces, and lamentable calamities which were happened vnto them of late through the tyrannicall puiſſance of the Romaines, and malicious enuie of the Pictes, in ſuche ſort as nothing coulde be more miſerable than their preſent eſtate, conſidering the ruine of ſo mightie a kingdome, and the final baniſhment of the inhabitants from their houſes and lands, which had beene in poſſeſſion of them and theyr elders, by the ſpace almoſte of ſeuen hundred yeares.

The Scottes repayre into Irelande.

The king of Irelande with his nobles lament the Scottiſh mens caſe.

The Iriſhe king with his Nobles moued with pitie to heare and vnderſtande ſo dolefull calamities to haue chaunced vnto that Nation, whoſe good or bad happe coulde not but touche them verie neare, conſidering they were diſcended both of one progenie, comforted theſe Scottiſhe men to the beſt of their powers, and in the ende concluded to ayde them with tenne thouſande men, and to furniſh them forth with ſhips, vittayles, and munitions to paſſe into Albanie for recouerie of their Countrey.

The Iriſh men conclude to ayde the Scottiſhmen.

This ayde being put in a readineſſe, and the ſhippes rigged and decked as was requiſite for ſuch an enterpriſe, they tooke the ſeas, and landing in Cantyre, chaunced to meete with Heirdorſtane brother to Heirguſt king of the Pictes, accompanied with a great number of Picts and Brytaynes aſſembled to defende the Countrey, but being ſharpely aſſayled of the Scottes and Iriſh men they were quickely put to flight, and ſuch as were ouertaken dyed on the ſworde, to the great terrour of all the newe inhabitants that were planted in thoſe parties.

The Scottes and Iriſhmen lande in Cantyre.

The Pictes encounter with the Scots and Iriſh men, and are diſcōfited.

This Victorie thus atchieued, there were that gaue counſell not to attempt fortune ouer farre, but to take ſuche booties of goodes and priſoners as they had got in the Countrey, and to returne therewith into Irelande. Other were of a contrarie opinion, ſuppoſing it beſt to followe the victorie, and eyther to recouer againe theyr auncient ſeates, or elſe to die in the valiaunt attempt thereof. Which aduice was followed, as the beſt, though it proued otherwiſe: for before they could come to any concluſion of that enterpriſe, the Romaines, Pictes, and Brytaynes gathered themſelues togither, & gaue battail again to that Scottiſhe and Iriſhe companie, wherein they ouerthrewe them, to theyr vtter ruyne and deſtruction.

The Scots
Iriſh men
ouerthrow

The newes of this infortunate encounter being brought into Irelande, put the king and his Nobles there in ſuch feare of the Romaines, that they thought it beſt wt al ſpeed to ſend Ambaſſadors vnto Maximus to ſew vnto him for peace. They that were ſent at the firſt were ſore blamed and checked by Maximus, for that they had ayded the Scottiſhe men in the laſt inuaſion made into Albion: but at length accepting their excuſe, hee graunted a peace vpon certaine conditions, wherof the moſt principall article was, that in no wyſe they ſhould receyue, ayd, or ſuccour any enimie to the Romain empire. This Maximus hauing got a quiet peace on ech ſide, vſed al meanes poſſible howe to procure the loue of his ſouldiers and men of warre, ſhewing hym ſelfe not only gentle, curteous and meeke towardes them, but alſo ſo liberall and free, that his bounteous giftes paſſed all vnderſtanding: in ſo muche that as is reported by writers, he beſtowed in one day neare hande as much in rewardes, as the reuenue of Brytayne yeelded to the Empyre in a whole yeare.

The king
Irelande ſe
keth for pea

Maximus g
teth peace
the Iriſh

Maximus ſe
keth by his
bounteous
beralitie to
win the peo
ples fauour.

This franke liberalitie and curteous behauiour he vſed not onely towardes the Romaines, and his other men of warre, but alſo towardes the Brytaynes and Pictes, conforming hymſelfe ſo neare vnto theyr manners and faſhions, that at his comming into Pictlande, he layde away his Romaine apparell, and arayed himſelfe in garments after the Pictiſh guiſe.

By this maner of meanes therefore hee wan him ſuch loue and fauour, as well amongeſt his ſouldiers, as alſo amongſt the Pictes and Brytaynes, that in the ende by common conſente they choſe him for Emperour, in the 383. yeare after Chriſte, proteſting generally, that they would owe onely theyr obeyſance vnto him as to their ſupreme gouernour.

Maximus is
choſen Empe
rour in Bry-
tayne.

Here the Scottiſh Chronicles ſomewhat varie from other writers, who affyrme that Maximus was thus aduaunced to the Imperiall dignitie, rather by conſtraint of his men of warre, than by any meanes which he of himſelfe vſed to attaine vnto the ſame. Where the ſaide Chronicles neuertheleſſe ſhewe, that it came chiefly to paſſe by his owne ſeeking, procuring certain perſons to worke for him as inſtruments to frame other to this his purpoſed intent.

Maximus ruled the eſtate of Brytaine vii. yeares.

He helde the dominion of the Empyre being thus preferred to the Imperial eſtate, the ſpace of fiue yeares. All the countreyes and people of Albion beeing at his cōmaundement without contradiction: which had not chanced vnto any one mā before his time, ſith yͤ Ile was firſt inhabited.

The Emperor Gratian is ſlain by Maximus.

At length deſirous of more Empire, he paſſed ouer into France with a mightye armie, in purpoſe to ſubdue al France and Italie, with ſuch other countries as were obedient vnto Gratian as then Emperor of Rome. But how proſperouſly he ſpedde in the beginning, and how at length he was ſlain at Aquileia in Italy, ye ſhal find in yͤ hiſtorie of England a great deale more at large.

By reaſon of ſuch trouble in the eſtate of the Romaine Empyre, Octauius the ſonne of Octauius late king of the Brytaynes, the which (as before is ſayde) fledde into the Iſle of Man, and after departing from thence, got ouer into Fraunce, returned nowe into Brytayne, and did ſo much there, that the Brytains receyued him to theyr king: but ſhortly after he was conſtrayned to agree with the Romaine Emperour Theodoſius, ſo that the Brytaynes ſhoulde pay theyr wonted tribute, and liue vnder ſuche lawes as by the Emperor ſhould be to them preſcribed. In al other reſpects, Octauius ſhoulde be reputed during his life for king. Immediately herevpon two Lieutenāts were ſent from Theodoſius, of whō the one named Martius ſoiourned at London, and the other called Victorine, at Yorke. And with al expedition they began to put the Romain lawes in practiſe, aboliſhing the olde Brytiſhe lawes, to the greate offence of many that coulde not well brooke ſtraunge ordinaunces. Namely the Pictes repyned ſore thereat, and vſed moſt an ende their owne lawes and conſtitutions, greatly to the contempt of the Romaine eſtate.

Whereof Victorine the one of the Romaine Lieutenants hauing knowledge, gaue ſtrayte commaundement vnto Hierguſt the Pictiſhe king, that in no wiſe hee ſhoulde ſuffer the olde lawes and rude ordinaunces of his Countrey, to be vſed any longer amongſt his ſubiects, vppon payne that might enſue for diſobedience ſhewed towards the Maieſtie of the Romaine Empyre.

Hierguſt nowe perceyuing into what thraldome and miſerie his Countrey was brought, by meanes of the warres which he had procured agaynſt his neighbours the Scottiſhe men, as a man ſore repenting his paſſed follie, and ſeeing no readie meane preſente howe to reforme the ſame, being aged and ſore broken with continuall ſickneſſe, he got himſelfe ſecretly into his priuie Chamber, where immediately hee ſlue hymſelfe, to be ridde of the ſight of that preſent ſeruile eſtate, into the whiche he ſawe both him and his whole Countrey reduced.

Hierguſt ſlayeth himſelfe.

The Pictes are forbidden to create a king.

Whoſe death being once knowne, Victorine commaunded that the Pictes ſhould not chooſe any other from thenceforth, to raigne as King ouer them, nor to obey any other Magiſtrates, but onely ſuch as ſhoulde bee appoynted to haue the gouernment of them, by commaundement and commiſſion of the Romaine Emperour. For it was agreed, as he alledged, by the tenour of the league, concluded betwixt Hierguſt and Maximus, that after the deceaſſe of the ſame Hierguſt, all his dominions ſhoulde bee gouerned by Romaine officers in fourme of a Prouince. Howbeeit the Pictes nothing regarded the wordes of Victorine, but by common agreement choſe one Durſtus the ſeconde ſonne of Hierguſt to bee their king.

Durſtus is choſen king of the Pictes.

Wherevpon Victorine beeing enformed of theyr doings, rayſed a power, and made ſuche ſpeede towardes them, that hee was gotten ſo neare vnto the Citie of Camelon, ere they had any knowledge of his approch, that Durſtus with other of the Nobles, beeing as then within the ſame, could not haue ſpace to eſcape their wayes, but being forthwith beſieged within it, at length they were taken by force of aſſault, and the citie ſacked, to the great enryching of the Romaine armie, and vtter vndoing of the poore Inhabitauntes.

Durſtus is beſieged of the Romaines.

Durſtus with other the chiefeſt priſoners were firſte had vnto London, and from thence conueyed to Rome, there to haue iudgement by decree of the Senate. The reſidue of the nobles that were taken there, ſuffered in the markette place at Camelon.

Durſtus is brought priſoner to London.

Thus was that tumult appeaſed, and the Picts commaunded to pay yearly vnto the Emperours procurator the fourth parte of all theyr reuenues growing of theyr corne and cattell. Beſide this trybute hee charged them alſo wyth diuerſe baſe ſeruices, as to labor in mettal mines, to digge ſtones forth of the quarreys, and to make bricke to bee ſent into Brytaine, or into other places whyther it pleaſed hym to commaunde it.

The Picts become tributaries.

They are put to their baſe ſeruices.

The cauſe why hee burdened them in ſuche ſort was (as hee ſayde) to teache them to knowe themſelues. For they were become ſo loftie ſithe the departure of the Scottiſhmen out of the Ile, that if they were not reſtrayned in time by authoritie of the Romaine puiſſaunce, the whole

Brytiſh nation were like to be ſhortly diſquieted, by theyr wilfull meanes and inſolent preſumptions.

The Pictes are commaunded to dwell beyonde the water of Forth.

Neither was it thought ſufficient vnto Victorine to charge the Pictes in manner as is before ſpecified, but to theyr further greeuaunce hee deuiſed an other way, whereby to bring them in the ende vnto vtter deſtruction, whiche was this: he conſtrayned them togither with theyr wyues, children, and whole familyes, to remoue beyonde the water of Forth, and to leaue all the Countreys on this ſyde the ſame water as well thoſe whiche they aunciently had inhabited, as the other which of late apperteyned vnto the Scottes, and were aſſigned vnto them by Maximus to poſſeſſe, after that the Scottes were expelled.

A wall made to diuide the Brytains from the Pictes.

All whiche Countreys thus by the Pictes nowe left voyde, were appoynted by Victorine vnto the Brytaynes, as ſubiectes to the Empyre, to be inhabited. And for a perfite diuiſion betwixte the Pictes, and the ſame Brytaynes, hee commaunded a Wall to bee made, and a trench to be caſt alongſt by the ſame, from Abyrcorne, throughe the territorie of Glaſkow vnto Alcluthe, or Aulodcluch, now called Dunbreton, ſo running from the Eaſt Sea vnto the Weſt. Hereto proclamation was made, that if any of the Pictiſhe nation did enterpriſe to paſſe this Wall, and to enter into the Brytiſhe confines withoute licence of the Magiſtrates, hee ſhould die for it.

The Picts forbiddẽ to paſſe ouer beyonde that wall.

The Scottes liue in other Countreys.

Whyleſt the Pictes through theyr owne fault, are thus brought into moſte miſerable ſubiection of the Romaines, the Scottiſhe men as is ſayde) beeing baniſhed the lande, lyue in other Countreyes by ſhyfting oute the tyme ſo well as they myght, ſome continuing wyth theyr wyues and children, gotte a poore lyuing wyth theyr hande, as exercyſing ſome Science or occupation. Other there were that followed the warres, and ſerued vnder ſundrye worthie Captaynes here and there as occaſion ſerued.

Ethodius brother vnto Eugenius, late King of Scotlande.

Eith the ſonne of Ethodius, begot Ferguſe

But Ethodius the brother of Eugenius commaunded (as is ſayde) to goe into Denmarke, was ioyfully receyued of the King there. Who alſo gaue hym an office, therewyth to mainteyne hys degree, ſo that hee lyued there certayne yeares in ryght honourable eſtate, and begatte of his wyfe whom he brought thyther wyth hym forth of Albanie, a ſonne named Erthus, who after his fathers deceaſſe hadde iſſue by hys wyfe called Rocha (a Ladie of highe Parentage amongeſt the Nobles of Denmarke, as daughter to one Rorichus ſecond perſon of the Realme) a ſonne named Ferguſe, whoſe chaunce was afterwardes to reſtore the Scottiſh nation againe to their former eſtate and Kingdome.

The Gothe make an expe dition aga the Empyr of Rome.

In his yong yeares, hee was appoynted to ſerue vnder Alaryke the Gottiſhe King in that famous voyage which he tooke in hande agaynſt the Romaine Empyre. For ſuche was the hate as then of all the Northerne Regions and Kingdomes towardes the Romaine name, that by generall agreement they conſpyred togyto the vtter ruyne and finall deſtruction thereof. And ſo eche of them ſente forth a power in ayde of the ſayde Alaryke choſen by common conſent as Generall of the whole enterpryſe.

Ferguſe wa ſent to ayde the Gothes.

Ferguſe being ſet forth by the King of Denmarke with a power of Danes, and with a choſen number of ſuche Scottiſh men as were withdrawne into thoſe parties went with the better will, for that beſyde the common quarell, he bare a priuate grudge towardes the Romanes for the vſing of his auncetters ſo cruelly in expulſing them oute of theyr owne homes and natiue Countrey.

Rome ſacke

This Ferguſe was preſent with the Gothes at the wynning of Rome, in the ſacking whereof, amongeſt other ſpoyles, hee gotte (as is reported) a certaine Cheſte full of bookes, the whiche ſome holde opinion hee brought afterwardes into the weſterne Iles, and cauſed them to bee kept in Iona, nowe Colmekill, within a librarie there buylded for the ſame intent. Which bookes (as is to bee ſuppoſed) were certaine hyſtories or monumentes of olde antiquities. But the ſame were ſo defaced in the dayes of Hector Boetius (who as hee himſelfe wryteth, cauſed them to be brought ouer vnto him to Aberdyne) that it coulde not be vnderſtoode of what matter they intreated.

Ferguſe wa Captain vnde Alarike and Athaulf ki of the Goth

It is wrytten moreouer of Ferguſe that hee continued wyth Alaryke in all hys enterpryſes, ſo long as hee lyued, and afterwardes ſerued vnder hys ſucceſſour Athaulfus, to hys greate fame, and in ſuche honourable eſtimation, as fewe were founde comparable vnto him in thoſe dayes.

Ferguſe with leaue retur againe from Italie into Denmarke.

At length requyring a ſafecundyte to returne into Denmarke, he was licenced to depart with highe and right bountifull rewardes, as in part of recompence of his good and faythfull ſeruice ſhewed, during the tyme of the warres, as wel in the life time of the ſayd Athaulfus, as alſo in the dayes of his predeceſſour the foreſayde Alaryke.

Saint Nini

About the ſame ſeaſon, the Biſhoppes ſea of Candida caſa, otherwyſe called Quhitterne, was fyrſt inſtituted by one Ninian a preacher, that tooke greate paynes, (as the report hathe gone) to inſtruct the Pictes and Brytaynes in the Chriſtian fayth. Hee was afterwardes reputed a Saint, and the place of his buriall had in ſuch veneration, that many vſed to reſort thither for deuotion ſake, as the maner in tymes paſt was when pilgrymage goings were vſed.

But nowe to returne where wee left touching the Pictes, and to ſhewe the maner howe the Scottes returned againe into Albanie: Yee ſhall vnderſtande, that the Pictes beeing brought into ſeruile bondage (as before wee haue partlye declared) and doubting dayly of worſe to enſue, they ſent ſecrete meſſengers vnto ſuche Scottes as remayned in exyle in the Weſterne Iles, in Norway, and in other partes of the worlde, promiſing them, if they woulde giue the attempt for recouerie of theyr auncient dwelling places in Albanie, they ſhoulde bee ſure of all the ayde that in them lay, being readie to ſpende their lyues to reuenge the iniuryes whiche they dayly ſuſteyned at the Romaines handes, whoſe contynuall practiſe euer was howe to oppreſſe the auncient libertyes of all ſuch Nations as came vnder theyr ſubiection. The experience whereof they nowe felte, to theyr vnſufferable greeuaunce, looking for nothing elſe but ſhortlye to bee expulſed oute of theyr Countrey, and dryuen to goe ſeeke them other places to inhabite in ſtraunge Countreys, after the manner of Outlawes, as it had chaunced alreadie to the Scottes by commaundement of Maximus, as before is expreſſed.

The Picts ſent
into forraine
Countreys to
all home the
Scotts.

Ferguſe vnto whom amongſt other this meſſage was chiefly directed, reioyced greatly of the newes. And firſte conferring with the king of Denmark, of whoſe ayde he knew himſelfe aſſured, by his aduiſe he ſent letters abrode forthwith into Norwaye, Orkney, the Weſterne Iles, and into Ireland, vnto ſuch of the Scottiſh men as dwelt in thoſe places to vnderſtande theyr minde herein.

gus ſent
to the Scots
ſperſed.

And beeing certifyed that they were vniuerſally agreed, not onely to trye theyr chaunce for recouerie of theyr former eſtate and Kingdome, but alſo had choſen him to be gouernour & generall Capitaine in that enterpryſe: he prepared partly at his owne coſtes, and partly at the charges of the king of Denmarke, and other of his friendes and alyes there, a greate multitude both of men of warre and Shippes, in purpoſe to paſſe ouer into Albanie to recouer hys Grandfathers eſtate, whiche as it was thought myght nowe bee the more eaſily brought to paſſe, ſithe the Pictes woulde ayde him thereto, vppon an earneſt deſire whiche they had to reuenge theyr owne iniuries receyued at the Romaines handes, and to delyuer themſelues from ſuch thraldome as they dayly felte themſelues oppreſſed wyth, doubting withall ſhortly to bee quite expelled out of theyr whole Countrey, as they had bene forced to forgoe a great and the better part thereof alreadie.

prepa-
[illegible]
warre.

In this meane tyme, one Gratian diſcended of the Brytiſhe bloud, by conſent of the Romain Legate Martius, (both of them going agaynſte theyr allegiaunce) vſurped the gouernaunce of Brytayne by his owne priuate authoritie: but ſhortly after, they two falling at variance togither, the one of them ſlue the other. And then the Souldiers not ſtaying till they vnderſtoode the pleaſure of Honorius the Emperour, choſe one Conſtantine to ſucceed in the place of Martius, who paſſing ouer into Fraunce, was ſlaine there by Conſtantius, one of the Captaynes of the ſayd Honorius.

Gratian vſurped the gouernance of Brytaine.

Martius ſlain.

Conſtantine ſucceedeth Martius.

Conſtantine is ſlaine.

Victorine the other of the Romaine Legates hearing of the deathe both of Martius and Conſtantine, remoued from Yorke vnto London, the better to prouide for the ſafe keeping of the lande to the Emperour Honorius hys vſe: for that hee doubted ſundrie daungers whiche might chaunce, by reaſon the Countrey was as then vnprouided of men of warre, the moſte part of them beyng tranſported ouer into Fraunce, with the forenamed Conſtantine, and not agayne returned.

The Lieutenãt of the north commeth to London.

The Pictes enfourmed of theſe things, ſente worde with all ſpeede vnto Fergus, requiryng him to make haſte, ſith if he ſhould haue wiſhed for a conuenient tyme, a better coulde not bee deuiſed: conſidering the preſent ſtate of things as well in Brytayne, as in other partes of the Romain Empyre, the people euerie where being readie to moue rebellion.

The Picts ſend ſpeedily vnto Ferguſe.

Ferguſe vnderſtanding the whole, by ſuche meſſengers as ſtyll came one after another vnto hym from the Pictes, hee haſted to departe wyth all diligence: and when all things were readie, hee tooke the Sea with hys armie, and within eight dayes after, he arryued in ſafetie wythin the Fyrth of Murray lande with all his veſſelles and people, where taking lande, and worde thereof beeing brought into Irelande, into Orkeney, and into the Weſterne Iles, all ſuche of the Scottiſhe lynage as lyued in thoſe parties in exyle, came wyth theyr wyues, children, and whole families in moſte ſpeedie wiſe vnto hym, as thought the Countrey had beene alreadie recouered out of the enimies handes, withoute all doubtes of further perill or buſineſſe.

Ferguſe arryued with his ſhips in Murrey Fyrth.

The Pictes alſo reioyſing greatly at the newes of his comming, repayred vnto hym, and ſhewed him all the honour that might be deuiſed, beſeeching him to pardon and forget all iniuryes and diſpleaſures by them wroughte and contryued in tymes paſte agaynſte the

The Picts ioyfully receyue Ferguſe.

Scottiſh nation, ſithe now they were readie for the aduauncement thereof to ſpende theyr lyues agaynſt ſuch as were enimies to the ſame. Neither was the fault theyrs, in that Hierguſt had conſented with the Romaines to baniſhe the Scottiſh people, but in their aunceſters, who being blinded through the fayre wordes and ſweet promiſes of the Romaines, ſawe not the myſchiefe which they brought vpon their own heads, and their poſterities. Therefore they deſired him to renue againe the league betwixt the Pictiſhe and Scottiſh Nations, with ſuch conditions of appoyntment as it ſhoulde pleaſe him to preſcribe.

The Pictes craue pardon excuſing them ſelues.

Ferguſe by conſent of his Nobles anſwerd, that he was contented to ſtabliſh the league with them, euen according to the tenour of the auncient agreement, and to ioyne his power wyth theyrs to helpe to reſtore them vnto their former eſtate and liberties, ſo that they woulde bee contented to ſurrender vp into the Scottiſhe mens handes, all ſuch townes and Countreys, from the which they had beene expulſed by great fraud and iniurie. And as for the diſpleaſures done to the Scottiſhe men in tymes paſt by ayding the Romaines agaynſt them, (as he thought) the Pictes had felt puniſhment ynough for the ſame alreadie, being reduced into moſt ſeruile and miſerable bondage, as iuſtly rewarded by almightie God for their great vntrouthes, vſed and ſhewed towardes theyr auncient neighbours, faythfull friendes and allies.

Ferguſe.

The Picts puniſhed for their vntruthes

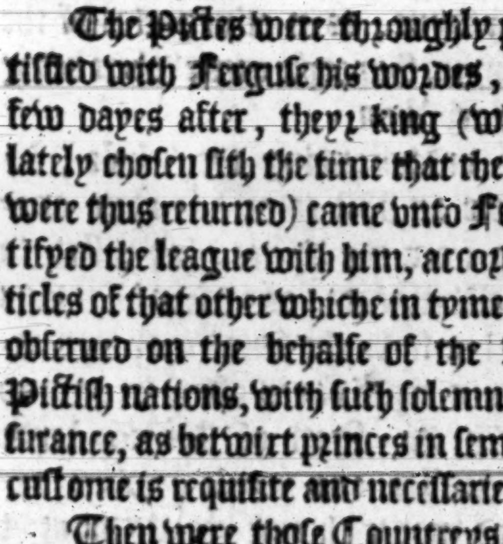
The Pictes were throughly pleaſed and ſatiſfied with Ferguſe his wordes, ſo that within few dayes after, theyr king (whome they had lately choſen ſith the time that the Scottiſh men were thus returned) came vnto Ferguſe, and ratifyed the league with him, according to the articles of that other whiche in tyme paſt had beene obſerued on the behalfe of the Scottiſhe and Pictiſh nations, with ſuch ſolemne othes and aſſurance, as betwixt princes in ſemblable caſes, of cuſtome is requiſite and neceſſarie.

The auncient league renued again betwixt the Scottes and Pictes.

Then were thoſe Countreys reſtored to the Scottiſh men againe, out of the which they had beene expelled by the Romaines power.

The Scottes reſtored to their cõtryes

Ferguſe



Ferguſe is cõueyed into Argyle, and there inueſted king.

And Ferguſe then being cõueyed with a ryght honorable cõpanie of lords, gentlemen, & commons into Argyle, was there placed on the Chayre of Marble, and proclaymed king wyth all ſuch accuſtomed pompe and ceremonies as to him apperteyned.

This was in the. xlv. yeare after the Scots had beene dryuen forth of Albanie, and after the byrth of our Sauiour 424. in the yeare after the death of Honorius the Emperour, and from the firſte erection of the Scottiſh kingdome 750. yeares complete.

422.H

396. Io.

The 18. y of the Emp Honorius

755.H

All ſuche Caſtelles alſo and Fortreſſes as the Pictes helde within any of thoſe Countreys, which belonged vnto the Scottes, were ſurrendred into theyr handes in peaceable wiſe: but the reſidue whiche the Romains kepte were earneſtly defended for a whyle, though at lẽgth through want of victuals & other neceſſaries, they lykewyſe were deliuered.

If I ſhould here ſay what I thinke, and that mine opinion might paſſe for currant coyne, I would not ſticke to affyrme that either now firſt (or not long before their late ſuppoſed expulſion from hence) the Scottes ſettled themſelues to inhabite here within this Ile, and that they had no certain ſeates in the ſame til then. But that comming either forth of Irelande, or frõ the weſterne Iles wher they before inhabited, they vſed to make often inuaſions into this land, greatly moleſting as well the Brytaynes, the auncient inhabitants thereof, as the Romaines that then helde the Ile vnder their ſubiection. For I can neyther perſwade my ſelfe, nor wiſhe other to beleeue, that there was any ſuche continuaunce in ſucceſſion of kings, as their hiſtories doe mention, and as we haue here before ſet downe in following the ſame hiſtories, bycauſe wee will not willingly ſeeme to offer iniurie to their nation, which peraduenture are otherwiſe perſwaded, & thinke the ſame ſucceſſion to be moſt true, where other perchance may cõiecture (& not moued therto without good reaſon) that ſuche kings as in their hyſtories are auouched to raigne one after another here in this Ile, eyther raigned in Irelande, or in the oute Iles, and that verily not ſucceſſiuely, but diuerſe of them at one ſeaſon, and in diuerſe places. Which miſtaking of the courſe of hyſtories hath bredde errours, not onely among the Scottiſh wryters, but euen among ſome of the Brytiſhe and Engliſhe writers alſo, as to the learned and well aduiſed readers it may plainly appeare. And as for Galde, and ſome other happely, which they take to be kings of Scottes, although they raigned in that parte of this Ile which afterwardes was poſſeſſed by Scots, and after them named Scotland, yet were they more Brytaynes, and had little to do with Scottes, except perchaunce we may thinke that they helde the out Iles in ſubiection, where the Scots were then inhabiting, farre longer time perhaps (before their ſettling in Brytayne) than theyr hyſtories

When the Scottes fi got certai ſeates he this Ile o Brytaine ſome thi make mention.

…orine pre-
…eth an ar-
…to goe a-
…st the
…es.

But nowe to returne where wee left. After that Victorine the Romain legate was aduertiſed of all the foreremembred doings of the Scottiſhmen and Pictes, he cauſed an armie to be leuied with all ſpeede, and haſted forth with the ſame vnto Yorke, where beeing arriued, hee attempted by an Heralde at armes to perſwade the Pictes to forſake their confederacie lately concluded with the Scots: but perceyuing he could not bring it to paſſe, he determined to purſue both thoſe nations with open warre: and ſo therevpon ſetting forward, he paſſed forth till he came neare vnto Camelon, wher he encāped with his whole armie, hauing therein (as the report went) about fiftie thouſand perſons at the leaſt.

…torine see-
…h to per-
…e the Picts
…taking
…with the
…tes.

…torine en-
…peth neare
…Camelon
…50000.

…guse pas-
…the Forth.

…guse pur-
…eth to as-
…le his eni-
…es in the
…ning of
…day.

Ferguſe being aduertiſed hereof, hauing in like maner alreadie aſſembled a mightie huge hoſte, both of Scottiſhmen and Pictes, came therwith ouer the Forth, and marched forth with all ſpeed in the night ſeaſon, in purpoſe to haue ſet on hys enimies verye early in the dawning of the next morning: but Victorine hauing knowledge therof, commaunded his men to be arraunged and ſet in order of battaile by the third watch of the ſame night, ſo that being readie to receyue the Scottes vpon their firſt approch, there was fought a right ſore and cruell battaile, with ſuch ſlaughter on both partes, that the ryuer of Carron (neare vnto which their battailes ioyned) was well neare filled with dead bodies, and the water thereof ſo chaunged into a ruddie hewe, that it ſeemed as though it had runne altogither with bloud. In the ende (whileſt as yet it was doubtfull to whether ſide the victorie would encline) there came ſuch a ſodaine ſhower of raine, mixed with ſuche great abundance of hayleſtones, that neyther part was able to haue ſight of other, ſo that by reaſon of the violent rage of that huge ſtorme and tempeſt, eyther ſide was fayne to withdraw from the other.

…e riuer of
…rron runneth
…h bloud.

…e battaile
…ered by
…on of a
…pest.

There were ſlaine in this battaile ſuch great numbers of men, aſwell on the one ſide as the other, that they had ſmall luſt to ioyne in battaile againe for certaine yeares after.

…e Lieutenāt
…ng di-
…s holdes,
…eth into
…nt.

…e Scots and
…ts breake
…eir camp.

For the Romain Lieutenant vnderſtanding what loſſe of people he had ſuſteyned without attempting any further exployte, appoynted certaine of his companies to lie in garriſon wythin ſundrie fortreſſes in Pictlande, and wyth the reſidue hee returned into Kent. In like ſort the Scottes with their confederates the Pictes, perceyuing themſelues not able as then to make any further attempt agaynſt theyr enimies, brake vp theyr armye, and deuiſed onely howe they might defende that, which they had alreadie in poſſeſſion.

Athole aſsigned to the Pictes.

And forſomuch as the Pictiſhe Nation was encreaſed to a greater multitude of people, than thoſe Countreys which they then held, were able to finde with ſufficient ſuſtenance (conſidering what a great portion of their auncient ſeates the Brytaynes and Romaines kept from them) it was agreed by the Scottes, that they ſhoulde enioy the Countrey of Athole, with other landes bordering neare vnto the ſame, lying wythoute the compaſſe of the Mountayne of Granzebene.

The Pictes then beeing placed in Athole, encreaſed there wonderfully, and buylt many fayre Caſtels and towers in thoſe parties, to the great beautifying of that Countrey,

The Brytaines by the appointment of Victorine make a Wall.

In which meane while, Victorine the Romaine Lieutenant commaunded the Brytayns to make haſt with the wal, wherof ye haue heard made of turfe, and ſuſteyned with certaine poſtes of tymber paſſing ouerthwart the borders betwixt them and their enimies, beginning as yee haue heard, at Abircorne, and ſo ſtretching forth by Glaſcow, and Kyrkpatryk, euen vnto Alcluch, nowe Dunbryton. lxxx. myles more Northward, than the other wal, which the Emperor Adrian cauſed (as is ſayd) to be made.

The Scottiſhe men and Picts interrupt the making of that Wall.

Wherof the Scottes and Pictes being enformed, they aſſembled themſelues togither, and vnder the leading of a noble man called Graym, they ſet vpon the Brytaynes, as they were buſie in working about the ſame, and ſlue not onely a great number of labourers and ſouldiours, which were ſet to labour and defende the worke, but alſo entering into the Brytiſh borders, fetched from thence a great bootie of Cattaile and other riches, which they fou͂d diſperſed abrode in the cou͂trey.

Graim, otherwiſe called Graham, and his lynage.

This Graym (who as I ſayde was chiefe of this enterpryſe) was brother vnto the Scottiſh Queene, the wife of king Ferguſe. He was borne in Denmarke (as ſome holde opinion) in the time of the Scottiſh mens baniſhment, and had a Scottiſh man to his father deſcended of a noble houſe, and a Daniſh Ladie to his mother. He himſelfe alſo maried a noble woman of that nation, and had by hir a daughter, whome Ferguſe by the perſwaſion of the king of Denmarke tooke to wife, and had iſſue by hir (afore his comming into Scotlande) three ſonnes, Eugenius, Dongarus, & Conſtantius, of whom hereafter in their place mention ſhall bee made, as occaſion ſerueth.

Ferguſe maried a daughter of Graym.

Diuerſitie of opinions touching the originall beginning of the Graymes.

Other there be, that affyrme how this Graym was a Brytayne borne, and that through hate which he bare towardes the Romaines for their cruell gouernment, he fledde forth of his natiue Countrey, and continued euer after amongſt the Scottes, as firſt in Denmarke, and afterwardes in Albion, euer readie to doe what diſpleaſures hee coulde deuiſe agaynſt the Romaines maynes and other theyr friendes or ſubiectes. Of thys Graym thoſe Scottes which vnto this day beare that ſurname, are ſayde to bee diſcended.

But now to the purpoſe, ye ſhall vnderſtand, that after that it was knowne in forraine countreys, howe the Scottes had gotte foote agayne within thoſe Regions in Albion, which theyr elders of auncient tyme had poſſeſſed, there came dayly dyuerſe companyes of that Nation out of Spaine, Fraunce, Germanie, and Italye, (where during the tyme of theyr baniſhment they had ſerued vnder ſundrye Captaynes) vnto Ferguſe to ayde hym, in recouerie of theyr Countrey and auncient ſeates, oute of the whiche they had beene moſte cruelly expulſed. So that Ferguſe nowe ſeeing hys power thus not a little augmented by theyr comming, entereth into the borders of Kyle, Carrik, and Cunningham, ſpoyling and harrying thoſe Countreys on euery ſide: but ſhortly thereupon commeth the armie of the Romains, with whom the Scottes encountering in battaile, receyued no leſſe domage than they minded to haue done vnto theyr aduerſaries. Whereupon being forced to leaue that Countrey, they drewe backe into Argyle, where Ferguſe wyntered for that part of the yeare which yet remayned.

The Scottiſh men returne into theyr Countrey.

Ferguſe inuadeth the confines of the Brytaynes.

The Scots put to the worſe.

When Sommer was come, he was counſayled to haue eftſoones offered battayle vnto Victorine, who as then was entered Galloway, & rather to trie the vttermoſt poynt of Fortunes chaunce agaynſt him, than to ſuſtaine ſuch diſpleaſures and iniuries at the Romaines handes, as by them were dayly done vnto him and hys people, but there were other that gaue other aduice, alledging how the daunger was great to ieopard againe in battaile with the Romaines, being mē of ſuch ſkill and practiſe in the feates of warres, conſidering what loſſe had chaunced in the two former battayles. Againe, there was great likelyhoode, that if he coulde be contented to forbeare for a tyme, and ſeeke to defende the borders of his Countrey, ſo well as he might without giuing battayle, it muſt needes come to paſſe that ſhortly the Romaine Empyre ſhoulde bee brought vnto ſuch ruynous decay, by reaſon of the multitude of enimies, whiche as then inuaded the ſame on eche ſide, that in the ende Victorine doubting his owne ſuretie, woulde conuey himſelfe wyth his men of warre out of the Countrey, and then ſhoulde it bee an eaſie matter for the Scottes and Pictes, to recouer again all ſuche Countreys, as anciently belonged to theyr elders, and whollye to reſtore the eſtates of theyr common wealthes vnto theyr former dignities.

Victorine inuadeth Galloway.

Ferguſe is diſſwaded to fight with the Romaines.

The Romaine Empyre inuaded by barbarous nations.

This aduiſe was followed as the beſt and moſt likely, ſo that making ſundry rodes into the borders of their enimies Countreys ſo to keepe them ſtill occupied, Ferguſe and the Scottes refuſed vtterly to come to any foughten field with them. Shortly after alſo it chaunced that Victorine was accuſed vnto the Emperour Honorius of ſome ſecrete practiſe agaynſt his Maieſtie, as to bee about to vſurpe the crowne of Brytayne, whereunto hee was compelled in deede, by the ſouldiers whoſe heartes hee had wonne through his bounteous liberalitie ſundrie wayes declared towardes them and vnderſtanding at this preſent, that he was mynded to haue fled his wayes for doubt of the ſayde information made againſt him, they moued him with ſuch earneſt perſwaſions to take vppon him the Imperiall dignitie, promiſing euen to liue and die with him in defence thereof, aſwell agaynſt Honorius, as all other, that in the ende he conſented vnto their deſires, and ſo was proclaymed Emperor, and clothed in purpure, vſing thereto all the other Imperial ornaments, as if he had bene Emperour in deede. But afterwardes when one Heraclianus was ſent with an army by Honorius into Brytayne agaynſt this Victorine, the moſt part of the ſouldiers, with thoſe Brytaynes which had acknowledged him for their ſupreme gouernour, beganne to feare the ſequele of the matter, and afterward requiring pardon for their offences, they tooke Victorine, and deliuered him priſoner vnto the ſame Heraclianus, with dyuerſe other of hys confederates, and ſo by this meanes was the eſtate of Brytayne recouered vnto the behoofe of Honorius, who ſhortly after ſent for Heraclianus, mynding to ſende him into Affrike againſt one Athalus, who vſurped there againſt the Romaine Empyre.

Victorine
cuſed vnto
Honorius.

Victorine
keth vpon
the name a
authoritie
Emperour
Brytayne.

Heraclian
ſent agayn
Victorine.

Victorine
deliuered i
to the hand
Heraclian

Heraclianu
ſent into A
fricke.

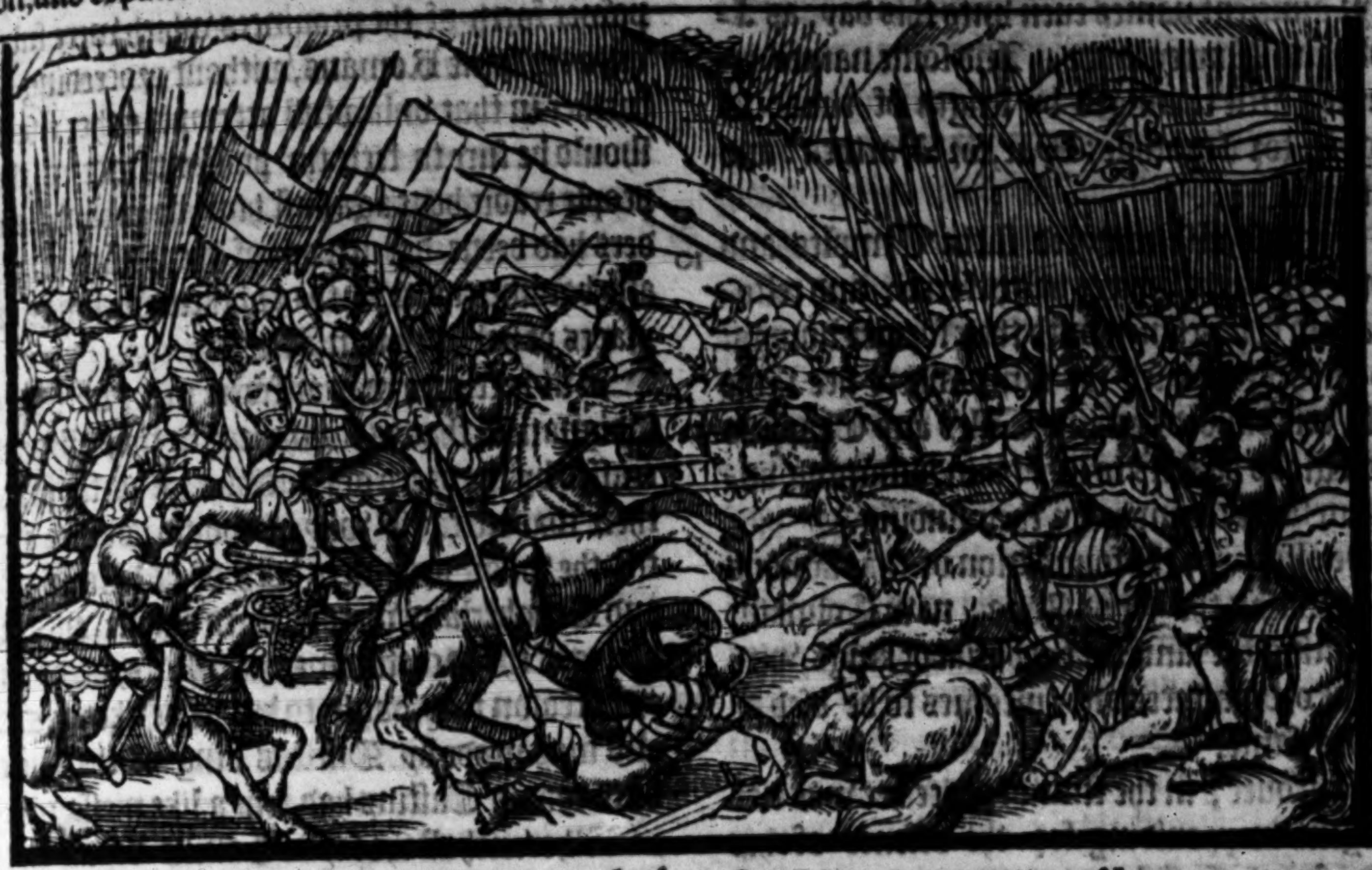
At his departure forth of Brytayne, he left one Placidus as Lieutenant and generall of the Romaine armye in thoſe parties: a man of no greate courage, and leſſe ſkill, which being perceyued of the Scottes, gaue occaſion vnto Ferguſe theyr king to renue the warre. And firſt hee procured Durſtus king of the Pictes, being the third of that name to ioyne with him in that enterpriſe, according to the articles of the league. Who cōſenting thereunto, whē their powers were once aſſēbled, they entred into ẏ marches of their enimies ouerrūning the moſt of part Kile, Carrik, & Cōningham, and after they had taken their pleaſure there they

Placidus li
tenant of B
taine.

The warre
ued by the
Scottes.

The Scots a
Pictes inua
the borders
their enimi

they entered into Gallowaye, deſtroying all before them, which way ſoeuer they paſſed. Then turning into Pickland, they ſubdue the whole region, and expulſe all ſuch Romaines and Brytaines as inhabite in the ſame.



Placidus gathereth a power.

Placidus being aduertiſed hereof, gathered a great power, and commeth forwarde towardes them, with whom encountring in battaile, after long fight, his horſemen chaunced to be put to flight, ſo that the legions of his footemen being left naked on the ſides, were ſo ſore beaten with the ſhot of arrowes, and hurling of dartes, that in the ende they were forced to breake their array, and ſo being chaſed, left to the Scottes and Pictes a great and ioyfull victorie. Placidus himſelfe eſcapeth vnto Yorke, whither the Scottes were minded to haue purſued him, had not the want of ſuch numbers as they had loſt at the battaile, ſomewhat abated their couragious intents.

encounte- with his mies.

cidus recei- the ouer- we.

fleeth to ke.

In the meane time Placidus not onely moued wyth this ouerthrowe, but alſo waying wyth himſelfe after what ſorte the Romaine Empyre was afflicted, with inuaſion of the barbarous Nations in Germanie, Fraunce, Spaine, Italie, and Affrike, thought it good to conclude ſome peace with the Scots and Pictes, for doubt of further miſhappes that might enſue. And ſo by ſuche meanes as he made ſhortly after, a league was concluded betwixte the Scottes, Pictes, and Romaines, wyth theſe conditions, that the Scottes and Pictes ſhoulde enioy and keepe theyr auncient ſeates and Regions, whiche they had nowe recouered, and hereafter not to make anye rodes or forrayes into the Prouince belonging to the Romaines, and that the ſame Romaines contenting themſelues with the Brytiſhe confines, ſhoulde not moue any warre or hoſtilitie towards the Scots or Pictes.

dus ſee- to haue

ague con- ded betwixt es, Pictes, Romaines.

This league being thus concluded and ratified, the Scottiſhe men and Pictes endeuoured themſelues to reduce the ſtate of theyr common wealth into the auncient fourme and order.

Ferguſe deuideth the lande in partes.

Ferguſe made partition of landes and groundes throughout all his kingdome, and aſſigned the ſame forth vnto his ſubiectes the Scottiſhmen, and to ſuch other ſtraungers as were come into Albion to ſerue him in the warres agaynſt hys enimies, and were mynded now to remain there. The other that were deſirous to depart agayne into theyr Countreys, he gaue them honourable rewardes, with ſafeconduits to paſſe their wayes at their owne pleaſures.

The names of diuerſe places in Scotlande chaunged.

At this time alſo were the names of diuerſe Countreys and people chaunged in the parties of Scotlande, vpon ſundrie conſiderations, as Cornana a part of Scotlande, lying in the furtheſt ende of all the Countrey, tooke a newe name of one Cathus, a valiant Captaine, and of the promontorie there ſhooting forth into the ſea called Neſſe: ſo that beeing compounde togither, that countrey was cleped Cathneſſe.

Cathneſſe, whereof it is ſo named.

Alſo of certaine Iriſhe men called Roſſians, the countrey of Roſſe tooke that name, beeing afore named Lugia.

Roſſe.

That part of the Countrey auncientlỹ called Thezalia, which lyeth on the Sea coaſt, beganne to be called Buthquhane, of the trybute vſed to be payed there for ſheepe, of the which kind of Cattell there is greate ſtore in that Prouince. For Quhane in the olde Scottiſhe tongue ſignifyed trybute: and Buth, a flocke of ſheepe.

Buthquhane.

The ſignification of the name of Buthquhane.

The other parte of Thezalia lying into the landewarde, was called Bogdale, of the Ryuer named Bog, which runneth through the middes of it.

Bogdale.

Louchquhaber tooke the name of a greate meare or water, into the whiche the Ryuer of

Louchquhaber

Quhabre falleth and paſſeth through the ſame; notable by reaſon of the great plentie of Salmõs taken therein.

Athole, Murray lande.

Argyle, for Argathile: and Mar, for Marthea.

Some other Countreys there be, which keepe theyr auncient names euen vnto this day, as Athole, and Murrey lande. And ſome names remaine a little chaunged by length of time, as Argyle, for Argathile: Mar, for Marthea: and ſuch like.

Ferguſe repayreth churches, and prouideth liuings for religious perſons.

Ferguſe alſo repayred ſuche Temples and Churches as the warres had defaced, and reſtored again Churchmen vnto their former liuings: and further encreaſed the ſame where hee ſawe cauſe, and builded certaine Celles and Chappels for religious perſons to inhabit in, aſſigning vnto them large reuenues for their finding.

The firſt foundation of the Abbay within the Ile of Iona now Colmkil.

He alſo layde the foundation of that famous Abbay within the Ile of Iona, now Colmkill, appoynting the ſame for the burial of kings, with certaine ordinaunces and cuſtomes to be vſed about the ſame.

Ferguſe repayreth his Caſtels.

Moreouer, in the time of peace hee was not negligent in prouiding for the defence of his realme. Such Caſtels as were decayed and ouerthrowne by the enimies in the warre time, he repayred, and in thoſe which ſtoode towardes the borders of the Brytiſh countreys, he placed ſundrie garriſons of ſuch ſouldiers as wanted trades to gette theyr lyuing nowe, in tyme of peace, aſſigning them ſufficient ſtypendes to lyue vpon.

Placidus the Lieutenant of Britaine dieth.

The Scots and Pictes renue the warre.

In this meane tyme, Honorius the Emperour being dead, and the eſtate of the Romaine Empyre dayly falling into decay, it chaunced alſo that Placidus the Lieutenant of Brytaine departed out of this life, by reaſon whereof the Scottiſh men and Pictes tooke occaſion to renue the warres, making as it were a clayme vnto the Countreys of Weſtmerlande, and Cumberlande, which theyr elders in tymes paſt had held and poſſeſſed.

The crueltie of the Scottes and Pictes.

Entering therefore into thoſe Countreys, they take, ſpoyle, and deſtroy all ſuch of the Brytiſh nation as went about to deſtroy them. Neither ſpared they impotẽt age or other, but ſhewed great crueltie agaynſt all ſuche as came in theyr wayes. Many an honeſt woman they rauiſhed and miſuſed after a moſt villaynous maner.

Caſtius ordeyned Lieutenãt of Brytayne.

Dionethus, or Dionotus as ſome bookes haue.

Caſtius ſen- deth vnto Ferguſe.

The Romaine ſouldiers after the deceaſſe of Placidus, ordeyned one Caſtius to ſucceede in his roomth, who beeing aduertiſed of thys enterpryſe of the Scottiſhe men and Pictes, doubted leaſt (as the trouth was) that Dionethus the ſonne of Octauius ſometyme King of the Brytaynes, in hope to attayne the Crowne of Brytayne, as due to him by inheritance, would nowe ſeeke to ayde the Scottiſhe king Ferguſe, whoſe ſiſter he had in mariage. Caſtius therfore more deſirous of peace than of warres, ſent forth a meſſenger at Armes vnto king Ferguſe, requiring him to remember the league made betwixt him and the Romaines, and to withdrawe hys power forth of the prouinces which were ſubiect vnto the ſame Romans, without proceeding any further in that vnlawfull attempt, either elſe hee ſhould be ſure to feele the puiſſant force of thoſe people readie bent agaynſt him, by whom his elders had beene dryuen out of theyr Countreys, and baniſhed quite forth of al their dwellings and places of habitation in Albion.

The anſw of king F guſe.

But hereunto was anſwere made with great indignation, that as for the league thus alledged, ceaſſed by the death of Placidus, & as for peace, there was no cauſe why he ſhould looke for any, till the whole prouinces both of Weſtmerlande and Cumberland were reſtored againe vnto the hands of the Scottiſh men and Picts, according as of reaſon they ought to be. The like anſwere alſo was made by Durſtus king of the Pictes vnto whom Caſtius had ſent a like meſſage.

Caſtius ray ſeth an ar

Dionethus ioyneth w the Scott agaynſt th Romaines.

Wherwithall the ſayde Caſtius beyng not a little moued, aſſembleth an armie, and with all ſpeed marcheth forth towardes his enimies: but before his entring into Weſtmerland, wher they were as then lodged in campe, hee had perfect knowledge how Dionethus with his Welchmẽ (for his landes lay in Wales) was alreadie ioyned with the Scottes.

The armie ioyne in ba taile.

The Roma giue back

The Scott follow in th chaſe to

Whiche newes ſore appalled the heartes of the Brytaynes, but yet beeing encouraged with comfortable wordes of their Captaines to procede, forwarde they goe togither with the Romaines, and within three dayes after they came within ſight of their enimies, being raunged in battaile readie to receyue them, ſo that ſtreight wayes buckling togither, there was a right fierce and cruel battaile fought betwixt them, til finally the multitude of the Scottiſhe archers & Kernes ſo compaſſed in the battailes of the Romains on eche ſide, and ſpecially on the backes, that in the ende, and by reaſon of the loſſe of their generall Caſtius (who was ſlaine there amongſt them,) thoſe of the middle ward being diſcomfited, brake theyr array, and fledde. Wherevpon the reſidue likewiſe followed: the Scots, Picts, and Welchmen purſuing them ſo egerly without all order, that there was no ſmall nũber of them diſtreſſed by the Romains, the which in their giuing back, kept thẽ cloſe togither, readie to defend thẽſelues, & to beat down ſuch of their enimies as followed more raſhly than warily in the chaſe, not once regarding to keepe any order of battaile: but yet by other companyes that purſued more orderly togyther for theyr moſt aduauntage, there was great ſlaughter made both of the Romains and Brytaynes.

…nethus
…claymed
…g of Bry-

AFter this victorie thus atchieued, Dionethus was proclaymed King of Brytaine, and ſore warres continued in the lande by the purſute of the Welchmen, Scottes, and Pictes, to the great hazard of the Prouince, and likely expulſing of al the Romains quite out of the ſame.

… Lieute-
…t the
…maines in
…ce or

…imianus
… ouer into
…ayne.

About this time alſo there remayned in France, one Etius Lieutenant to the Emperour Valentinianus, who vnderſtanding all theſe things by letters and meſſengers ſent from the captains which yet remayned aliue in Brytaine, appoynted one Maximianus being a kinne to the Emperour, to paſſe with an armie in all haſte ouer into Britaine, to ayde and ſuccor the Romains and ſuche Brytaynes there, as ſtill continued in theyr allegeance whiche they had promiſed vnto the Romaine Empyre.

…imianus
…eth the
…aynes to
…e with
… to go a-
… the
…ttes.

This Maximianus at his arriuall in the Iſlande was moſt ioyfully receyued by the ſouldiers and ſubiectes of the foreſayde Empyre. All the Lordes and nobles of the Countrey reſorted alſo vnto him, ſhewing themſelues moſt glad of his comming, and promiſing with what ayde ſo euer they were able to make, to goe with him againſt their enimies. Wherevpon procuring them to aſſemble their powers, and to ioyne the ſame with his, which he had brought ouer with him, he paſſed through the countrey vnto Yorke, and ſo from thence marched forth towards the Scottes being alreadie aſſembled in campe to defende the countrey of Weſtmerland againſt him.

The Scottes and Pictes aſſembled agaynſt the Romaines.

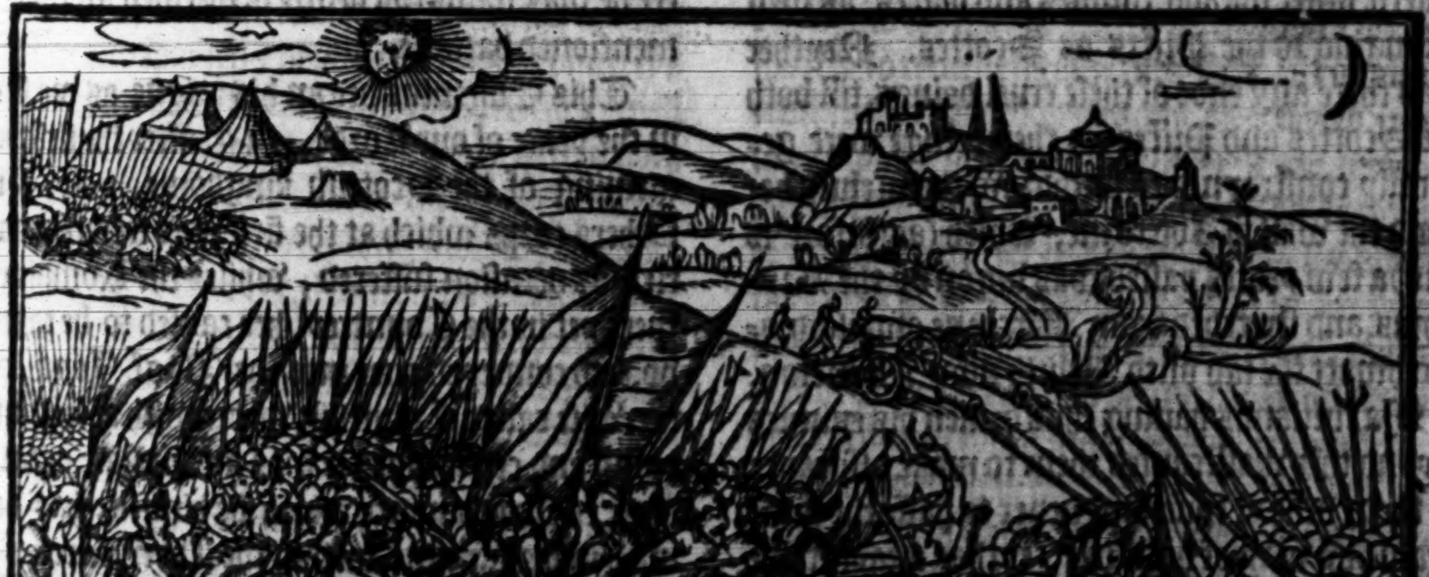
There were both the kings of Scots & Pictes, Ferguſe and Durſtus, with Dionethus naming himſelfe king of the Britaines, who had brought with him beſide the Welchmen a great number of thoſe Brytaynes that inhabited in the Countreys now accounted the marches of Wales, the which onely amongſt al other the Brytaines acknowledged him for king.

The armies prepare to battaile.

Ferguſe exhorteth his people to do valiantly

Right miniſtreth hope of good ſucceſſe.

When both the armies were come neare togither, they camped for that night the one in ſight of the other, and in the morning following they prepared themſelues to battail. Ferguſe firſt making an earneſt oration vnto his people to encourage them the more boldly to giue the onſet, declared amongſt other things how the right was on theyr ſide, which alwayes ought to miniſter hope of good ſucceſſe in them, that enterpriſe any thing in defence thereof, where contrarily all ſuch as attempted to diſquiet other by iniury & wrong doing, could not but looke for an euill concluſion of their malicious intentes and purpoſes. Neyther were other of his captaines negligent in their duties, but that both in exhorting theyr bandes, they vſed moſt comfortable wordes, and in diſpoſing them in good order of battaile, they ſhewed moſt readie and earneſt diligence.



The onſet is giuen.

…imianus
…ceyuing the
…aduauntage
…uideth to
…ed to the
…e.

The Scottes diſordered.

On the other ſide, Maximianus with hys Captaines and officers of bandes were as buſie on their ſide to array their battailes moſt for their aduauntage, as they ſaw cauſe and occaſion, ſo that both the armies being readie to fight, the onſet was giuen, and that in moſte furious wyſe, the Romaines beeing at the firſt ſore annoyed with arrowes and dartes, which flew ſo thicke from eche ſyde, that theyr light was in manner taken from them, the Skie ſeeming as it had beene couered ouer with a Pentiſe. So that Maximianus perceyuing this diſaduauntage, he cauſed a freſhe Legion of his Souldiers to aduaunce forwarde to the ſuccour of their fellowes, by reaſon whereof, the battayle was forthwith moſt cruelly renued, the hyndermoſt wings of the Romaines ſore preaſſing vpon their enimies, ſo that in the ende paſſing quite through theyr battayles, they cauſed a great diſorder and feare amongeſt thoſe Scottes and other theyr confederates, whiche were placed in the hindermoſt rankes, but yet caſting themſelues in a ring, they made great and ſtout reſiſtance for a ſpace, and at length a great number euen of the moſt valiant perſonages of the whole hoſt cloſed themſelues togither, and with a maine force aſſayed to haue broken through the thickeſt preaſſe of theyr enimies, but being enuironed about on eche part, they were there ſlaine eche mothers ſonne. Whileſt the Romaines drew togither to reſiſt on that ſide, other of the Scottiſhe men, Pictes, Brytaynes and Welchmen, founde a way to gette forth through their enimies on the other ſyde, and ſo being gotten paſt them, made away as faſt as their feete might beare them: But a great number being notwithſtanding ouertaken, were ſlain and beaten downe right pitifully.

The two kings Ferguſe and Durſtus are ſlaine.

Ferguſe the Scottiſhe king, and Durſtus king of the Pictes were ſlaine in this mortall battaile togither, with the moſt part of all theyr nobilitie. Dionethus being ſore wounded eſcaped to the ſea ſide, and there getting a ſhippe, paſſed ouer into Wales.

Dionethus eſcapeth.

This ouerthrow ſore diſmayed both the Scottiſh and Pictiſhe nations, who loked for nothing more than preſent expulſion out of their Countreys, for Maximianus purſuing the victorie, burſt into Galloway, moſt cruelly waſting and ſpoyling the ſame. And whẽ he had made an end there, he entred into Annandal, and into the Pictiſh confines, deſtroying all before him with fire and ſworde. Camelon was beſieged, taken by force, and miſerably put to ſack and ſpoyle, with diuerſe other notable townes and places, as well belonging to the Pictes as Scottes. Neyther was there any ende of theſe cruel doings, till both the Scottes and Pictes for their refuge were generally conſtrayned to withdraw themſelues beyond the wall of Abircorne, which (as before is ſaid) a few yeares paſſed was begon by the Brytayns, and ſtretched from Abircorne aforeſaid, ouerthwart the lãd vnto Alcluth now Dũbreton.

Maximianus purſueth the victorie.

Camelon taken by force.

The Scots and Pictes withdraw beyonde the wall of Abircorne.

Maximianus hauing thus driuen his enimies beyond this wall, cauſed them to make aſſurance by theyr othe of couenant neuer to paſſe the ſame againe by way of hoſtilitie, eyther agaynſt the Brytaynes, or Romaines.

There were that counſelled Maximianus either vtterly to haue deſtroyed both the Scottes and Pictes, either elſe to haue dryuen them out of the whole Ile. But he being ſatiſfied with that whiche was alreadie done, thought good to returne vnto Yorke, and there to winter, that in the beginning of the next ſpring hee might go into Wales to chaſtiſe Dionethus and other of that Countrey for theyr rebellion, in ayding the enimies of the Empyre.

But when the time came that he ſhould haue ſet forward on that iourney, he heard ſuch newes from the parties of beyonde the Seas, into what ruinous decay the Empyre was fallen, without any likelyhoode of recouerie, that chaunging his purpoſe, he determined to vſurpe the crowne of Brytayne as abſolute king thereof himſelfe, and to haue the more fauour of the Brytiſhe Nation without any impeachment in the beginning of his raigne, he tooke to wife one of the daughters of Dionethus, being the elder of thoſe two, which he only had without iſſue male, by the ſiſter of king Ferguſe.

Maximia
taketh vp
him the a
lute gouer
of Brytay
with the i
perial ty
He marie
Othilia, t
daughter
Dionethu

She that was thus coupled in mariage with Maximianus hight Othilia, & the other daughter named Helen, was profeſſed a Nunne in an houſe of religion, to the intent that ŷ whole right which Dionethus pretended to the realme, might remaine to the wife of Maximianus. Then was Dionethus made ſecõd perſon of the realm, aſwel in degree of honor, as in publike gouernment.

Dionethus
puted for
cond perſo
the realme

Euge
nius.

AND whyleſt theſe thinges were thus a doing in Brytayne, the Scottiſh lords had created Eugenius the ſonne of Ferguſe, king of theyr realme, as due to him by rightfull ſucceſſion from his father, who had gouerned the ſame by the ſpace of .xvj. yeares ere he was ſlaine (as before is ſpecified) in the laſt mentioned battaile.

Eugenius
created ki
of Scots

This Eugenius began his raigne as we find in the yeare of our Lorde. 440. after the firſt beginning of the Scottiſh kingdome. 767. His fathers corps which at the firſt was ſecretely buried as occaſion ſuffered, whiles the Romaines were yet in the Countrey, hee cauſed to be taken vp, and conueyed ouer into the Ile of Iona, otherwiſe called Colmekil, where with al ſolemne pomp and ceremonies it was intumulate, according to the ordinance which he himſelfe had deuiſed in his life time, within the Abbey there.

430. H.
760. H.

The bodie
Ferguſe is
ried in the
Abbey of I
otherwyſe
Colmkill.

In like maner Maximianus to the intent to eſtabliſh himſelfe the more quietly in the eſtate of Brytayne, and to deliuer his ſubiects the Brytaynes, which bordered vpon the Scottiſh dominions, from all trouble of warres, was contented to make peace with the Scottes vpon light ſute made vnto him for the ſame.

Maximia
graunteth
peace to the
Scottiſh m

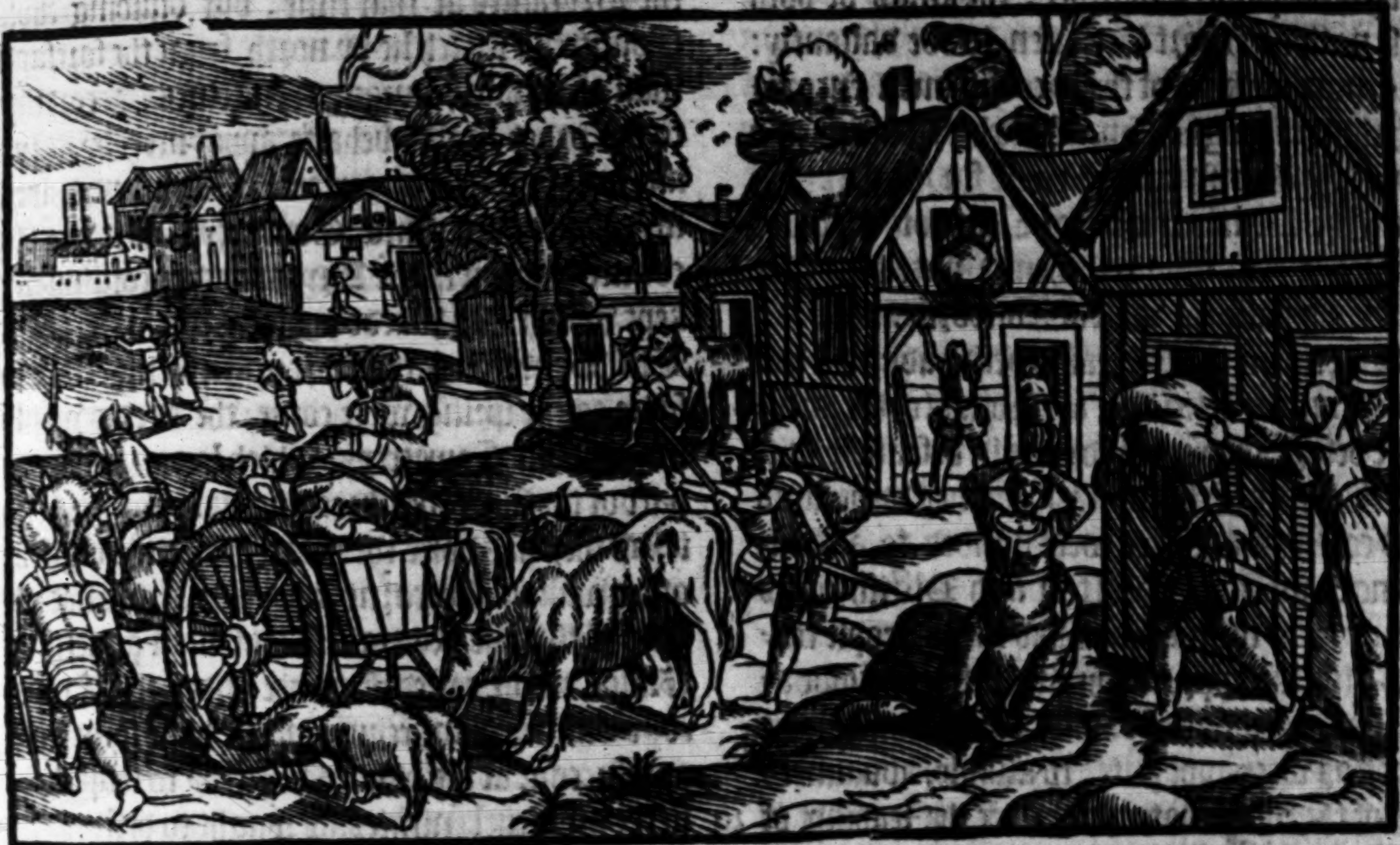
After this alſo, he being once fully eſtabliſhed in the eſtate of Britaine, coueted alſo to attaine to the tipe in gouernment of the whole Empyre, & therfore aſſembling al the forces of the Brytiſh youth, ſayled into Gallia, cauſing himſelfe to be proclaimed emperor, & ſo vſurped ŷ title as in the

English and Italian Hyſtorie, you maye finde more largely expreſſed. He left behinde him in Brytayne his father in lawe Dionethus as chief gouernor there, with one legion of Romain ſouldiours.

After this did Etius the Emperors Lieutenāt in France, ſend for ſuch Romains as Maximianus had left in Brytaine, who reuolting frō their othes of allegiāce giuē vnto the ſame Maximianus, obeyed Etius as one that ſupplyed the roomth of their rightfull Lorde and maiſter the Emperour Valentinian. So that in this wiſe was Brytaine diſpurueyed of all maner of able men meete for defence, whereof the Scottes and Pictes tooke good occaſion to inuade the Brytiſh borders, not ſparing to purſue with fire & ſworde all ſuch of the Brytaines as did yet continue in obeyſance to Maximianus.

The Scots and Pictes inuade the Brytaynes.

They firſt droue thoſe Brytaines out of all the Countreys, which had bene taken from them by the ſame Maximianus, & by other of the Romains and Brytains, as Pickland, Kyle, Carrik, and Cunningham, Galloway, the Marches and Northumberland. This done, they entered into Cūberland, Weſtmerland, & Kendal, not ceaſing til they had ſpoyled & defaced all thoſe countreys with the moſt part of all Yorkſhire, in ſuch cruell wiſe that they made al thoſe quarters barren both of corne & cattaile which way ſoeuer they paſſed.



e proſpe- ſucceſſe the Scot- tes.

The Brytains perceyuing into what daunger they were brought, if ſome good redreſſe were not found in time, ſent ouer with all ſpeed vnto Rome for ſuccor to be had at the Emperor Valentinians hands, for Maximianus was otherwiſe occupied. Valentinian deſirous to deliuer the Brytaynes from ſuche cruell enimies as the Scottes and Picts ſhewed themſelues to be, leaſt through their meanes al the whole Iſle ſhould reuolt from the obedience of the Romains, appointed one Gallio born in Rauenna, and as then ſoiourning about Paris in Fraunce, with a legion of ſouldiers, to paſſe ouer into Brytain, to driue back the Scots and Picts from further moleſting the ſubiects of the Empyre.

e Brytayns e ayde Valentinian Emperor.

e Rauen- Bry-

The Scots and Pictes vpon knowledge had of this Gallios arriual, drew back into their coūtreys, not minding to fight with the Romains, whoſe force they doubted and not without cauſe, hauing had in times paſt ſo many notable ouerthrowes & ſlaughters at their hands. But Gallio purſued thē euen vnto the water of Forth, where in ſundrie ſkirmiſhes he ſlue no ſmall number of them, and for that he knewe he ſhould be ſent for ſhortly to returne againe into France, to helpe to reſiſt ſuche barbarous nations as warred in the ſame, for the better defence of the Brytaynes againſt their enimies the Scots and Picts (whom he knew would not be any while in quiet after he was once gone,) he cauſed the wall to bee newly made vp betwixt Abircorne and the mouth of Clude water, thereby to defend the Romain prouince from all ſoden inuaſions of the enimies.

e Scots and es refuſe e battail e Ro- s.

Gallio purſueth the Scottes and Pictes.

Gallio cauſeth the wall of Abircorne to be repayred.

This wall was earſt made of turfe, but now repayred with ſtone, and ſtrēgthened with great poſtes or pyles of wood, driuen in betwixt in places moſt needfull. It was alſo .viij. foote in breadth, and .xij. foot in height, and in certain turrets, caſt forth vpon this wall, Gallio appoynted watche and warde to be kept, that vpon the enimies approche towardes the ſame, warning might be giuen by fire in the night, and by ſmoke in the daye, vnto ſuche of the Brytaynes as dwelled neare vppon thoſe borders (commaundement being giuen vppon paine of death for being found in the contrary) that euery man vpon ſuch knowledge had, ſhoulde reſort immediately to the place appointed, with ſuche armour and weapon, as for him was requiſite.

The maner of the buylding of that wall.

The ordinance of Gallio for watch to be kept on the wall.

Gallio returneth into Fraunce.

When Gallio had thus giuen order for the ſuretie of the Brytaynes, and deliuered them at that preſent from the cruell handes of theyr enimies, he returned into Fraunce with the armie that he brought with him, according to the commaundement which he had from Etius the Emperours Lieutenant there.

The Scots and Pictes determin to inuade the Brytaynes againe.

His departure out of Brytaine was no ſooner knowne of the Scottiſh men and Pictes, but that with all their maine force they determine to ſet vpon the Brytains againe. So that aſſembling their powers togither, the kings of both thoſe nations exhort their men to doe valiantly: Eugenius the king of the Scottiſh men encorageth them throughe hope of high rewardes and ſpoyle: the Pictiſh king likewiſe for his part promiſeth the Lieutenantſhip of Camelon (an office of moſt honour amongeſt them) vnto him that firſt ſhould paſſe the wall of Abircorne.

The Brytaines reſort to the Wall of Abircorne to defende it.

The Scots and Pictes approch the wall to aſſault it.

Graym aſſaulteth the wall.

The wall is ouerthrowne.

Wherevpon the Brytains being aduertiſed of their enimies intentions, according to the ordinance before appoynted, drewe in defenſible wiſe vnto that part of the wall, where they vnderſtood the Scottes and Pictes were minded to aſſault. At length when the Scottiſh and Pictiſh kings were come to the wall, and had theyr people readie to giue the approch, they themſelues ſtoode apart ſomewhat out of daunger of ſhot: and ſuche bandes as were appoynted to aſſayle, aduaunced forth of the maine battailes vnder the leading of that Grayme, the which as ye haue heard, was chiefe in repulſing the Brytaynes when they had firſt made the ſame wall by commaundement of Victorine the Romaine Lieutenant. Neyther ſhewed he leſſe proofe of his valiancie at this time than hee had done before. For though the Brytaynes made earneſt reſiſtaunce, ſo farre as their power woulde extende, yet at the length by fyne force the Wall was vndermined and throwne downe in ſundrie places, ſo that the whole numbers of the Scottes and Pictes entered by the ſame into Pictlande, beating downe the Brytaynes on eche ſyde that went about to make reſiſtaunce, for none eſcaped theyr handes, but ſuch as ſaued themſelues by flight.

The Brytaines leaue Pictland and get themſelues ouer the riuer of Tine.

There came alſo an other power of Scottes and Pictes by water out of Fyfe, and landing in Pictland, purſued the Brytayns with more crueltie than the kings did themſelues. Both houſes and people paſſed by fire and ſworde, inſomuche that all ſuch of the Brytaynes as coulde get awaye, withdrewe forth of the Countrey, not ſtaying tyll they came beyonde the Ryuer of Tyne: by reaſon whereof, all that Countrey which lyeth betwyxt Tweede and Tyne was deliuered by appoyntment of the Kings vnto the Souldiers, to ſpoyle and vſe at theyr pleaſure, whereuppon followed many notorious enſamples of crueltie, enuie, couetouſneſſe, wrath, and malice.

The Wall o
Adrian is re
payred by th
Brytaynes.

In the meane tyme, whileſt the Scottiſhe and Pictiſhe menne of warre applyed theyr Market, the Brytaines with all diligence repayred and newly fortified the other wall begon (as is ſayd) by the Emperour Adrian, ſhooting ouerthwart the countrey, from the riuer of Tine, vnto the riuer of Eſke.

The countr
lying north
from the wa
of Adrian de
uided amon
the Scottes a
Pictes.

The Brytai
require ſucc
and ayde at
handes of
Etius.

Etius refuſ
to ayde the
Brytains.

Howbeit the Scottes and Picts, bicauſe winter approched, made no further attempt agaynſt the Brytaines at that time, but diuiding thoſe Countreys which lie by north from the foreſayd wall of Adrian, among themſelues, according to the order in that behalfe appoynted by theyr kings, they fortifyed certaine Caſtels and holdes for defence of the ſame Countreys, as it were to countergariſon ſuche Brytaynes as continually kept watch and warde vpon the foreſayde wall. The Brytaynes therefore miſtruſting leaſt ſo ſoone as the ſpring were come, the Scots would inuade their Countreys, which lay on the ſouth part of the ſame wall, breaking in by force throgh it, as they had done the yeare before through the other wall of Abircorne, they ſent Ambaſſadors vnto Etius the Romain Lieutenant gouerning Gallia, nowe called Fraunce vnder the Emperour Valentinian, requyring to haue ſome ayde and ſuccour at his handes, whereby to reſiſt ſuche fierce and cruel enimies, as ſought to deſtroy and expulſe out of their landes and houſes, all ſuch of the Brytaynes as acknowledged themſelues in any maner of wiſe ſubiectes vnto the Empyre. But Etius, whether bicauſe he would not, or rather bycauſe he conueniently coulde not (for that he was otherwiſe occupied in defence of Gallia agaynſte the Frenche men) made a direct anſwere, that hee had no men of warre in ſtore to ſende ouer into Brytaine, and therefore willed thẽ to do what they could for their own defence, for ayde of him they might none haue.

The Bryta
forſaken of
Romaines,
termine ye
make reſi

The meſſengers returned home with this anſwere, and made report therof in a publike aſſemble of all the Brytiſh nobilitie, being as then gathered togither at London to conſult there for the eſtate and order of their countrey. Where after long deliberation (notwithſtãding that they perceyued they ſhoulde haue no more ayde from the Romaines) it was yet determined, that to reſiſt the enimies, the whole puiſſance of the Brytiſhe nation ſhoulde be muſtred, as well men as women being able to do any feate or ſeruice auailable in defence of their Countrey, and rather to trie the vttermoſt poynt of Fortunes chaunce, than to ſuffer themſelues to be ouerrunne without reſiſtance.

But Conanus Camber, a prince of great authoritie amongeſt them, as one that was diſcen-

ded

anus Ci-
counſelleth
Brytons to
ke for peace
the Scottiſh
handes.

ded of the blood of Octauius ſometime king of Brytain, went about with earneſt perſwaſions to remoue the reſidue of the nobilitie from this determination, aduiſing them to ſeeke for peace at the Scottiſh mens handes, rather than to trie the doubtfull chaunce of Mars his iudgement, conſidering the feebleneſſe of theyr whole force now, euer ſithence that the tyrant Maximianus had in manner emptied and diſpeopled the land of all ſuche able men as were apt for ſeruice in the warres.

aine diſ-
pled of
like mẽ by
ximianus.

nanus coun-
is not re-
ed.

But this aduiſe of Conanus was very euill taken, and moued the multitude that heard him, to be greatly offended with his wordes, not ſparing to ſay that hee ſpake like no true man nor louer of his countrey: ſo that the former ordinance, (that is to ſay, to ſeeke an end of the wars by dint of ſworde) was allowed for the beſt.

e Brytons
ke their ap-
h to go a-
inſt the
otes.

And hereupon there were muſters taken, armure and weapon prouided, and bothe place and day appointed, where they ſhould aſſemble togither to marche forth toward the enimie. Conanus ſore lamenting theyr doings, called almightie God to recorde, that that which he had ſayd, was ſpoken onely for the loue and zeale whiche he bare to his countrey, and ſithence his aduiſe might not be followed, he doubted greatly leaſt the ruine of the Bryttiſh eſtate by ſome fatall appointment drew faſt vpon them.

nanus is
e amongſt
e Brytains.

The people hearing him ſpeake ſuch wordes, ſome wilfull wicked perſons fell vpon him, and ſlew him there preſently amongſt them: wherwith other being ſore moued to indignation, ſet vpon the murtherers there to haue reuenged his death immediatly. Whereupon began taking of partes, & togither they went by the eares in ſuch furious wiſe, that ſundry amongſt them being ſlayne, the magiſtrates had much a do to apeace the fray.

e Scots raſe
wall of A-
corne.

ſdike.

In this meane time, whileſt the Brytons were thus buſied in ſending of theyr Ambaſſadours to the Romayns, and conſulting togither for defence of theyr countrey, the Scottes firſte razed downe the wall of Abircorne, not leauing one piece thereof whole, ſo that a fewe tokens excepted, nothing remayneth to be ſeene at this day of all that huge and wonderfull worke, it is called now in theſe dayes, Gramiſdike, bicauſe that Grayme was not onely (as ye haue heard) chiefe in repulſing the Brytains from the ſame, but alſo at this time in the raſing of it to the ground, he was the greateſt doer.

e Scottiſh

Which being accompliſhed, the Scottiſh and Pictiſh kings aſſembled theyr powers, and ouerthrew al ſuch fortreſſes as had not bene deſtroyed the yeare before, ſtanding on the North ſide of Adrians wall, the whiche wall the Brytons had newly fortified, but yet were not able to defend the ſame from the power of the enimie, who now ſet vpon the Brytons with a mayne force, in ſo much that vndermining the fundations of that walle in diuers places: at length ſundry partes thereof were reuerſed into the ditch, ſo that the ſouldiers breaking in by the ſame, cruelly beate downe the Brytons whiche ſtoode at defence.

Adrians walle
vndermined &
ouerthrowen.

The entrie being thus wonne, both the kings with their powers marched forth into the ſouth countreys, commaundement being giuen, that no man vpon payne of death ſhould kil any woman or childe, aged perſon or otherwiſe impotent and not able to beare armure. But this commaundement in ſome places was but ſlenderly obeyed. Suche deſire of reuenge was planted in the Scottiſhemens hartes by reaſon of the remembraunce of old iniuries, that vnneath made they any difference eyther of age or ſexe. To be ſhort, all thoſe countreys whiche lie betwixt the riuers of Tyne and Humber, were waſted and ſpoyled, the whole number of the inhabitãts (ſuch as could make ſhift to eſcape the enimies hands) got them ouer the foreſaid riuer of Humber, there to remayne as further out of daunger.

Crueltie of
Scottes.

The report of which miſchiefe being brought to London to the Lordes there (who as ye haue heard were not all of one accorde togither) they tooke new aduiſe, to redreſſe the preſent miſchief in this mãner. Firſt they thought it beſt to ſende forth .ij. ambaſſades, one to the Scots & Pictes to require a peace: And an other with letters vnto Etius the Romaine lieutenant in Fraunce, for freſhe ayde and ſuccour. The tenour of which letters as then ſent vnto Etius here enſueth.

The Lordes of
Brytaine take
new aduiſe.

See more here-
of in England.

The tenour of
the letters ſent
vnto Etius frõ
the Brytons, as
is written by
Hect. Boetius.

The lamentable complaints of the Brytons vnto Etius thrice Conſull. At what time our elders became ſubiectes vnto the Romains, they vnderſtood by worthie proues and notable enſamples, that the Senate was a moſte ſafe refuge and hauen, to be wiſhed of all ſuch as fledde to the ſame for ſupport. But we theyr poſteritie by the pernicious working of the legate Maximianus, tending wholy to our diſtruction, being ſpoyled both of force and ſubſtance, and therfore remayning in greate daunger of loſing bothe kingdome and liues, through the ſore and terrible inuaſion of our moſt cruel enimies the Scots and Pictes, making humble ſuyte for ſuccours vnto the Romaine Empyre, according to the loyall truſt & moſt aſſured confidence, the which euer like true and faithfull ſubiectes we haue repoſed in the ſame, are yet neglected, and nothing regarded, but deliuered as a pray vnto the Barbarous nations to be ſpoyled, deſtroyed & ſlaine in moſt piteous wiſe, which can not but be an euident ſigne, that eyther the Romains haue chaunged theyr moſt commendable maners into the worſt that may be deuiſed, either els theyr moſt large Empyre, through the wrath & highe diſpleaſure of almightie God, is now giuen for a pray vnto other forraine nations. But if it be ſo, that the fatall force of the time preſent, doth require that without all remedie, the lande of the Brytons being takẽ away from the Romains, muſt needes be brought vnder ſubiection of ſome barbarous nation. Wee neither abhorre nor refuſe the gouernment of any people or nation, the Scots & Pictes (the moſt cruell of all other) onely excepted, whoſe crueltie wee hauing long ſithence to muche taſted, are at this preſent brought vnto that point, by theyr late increaſed pryſſance, that we know not now after the loſſe of our goodes and cattell, which way to ſafegard our liues, for the Turfe walles being pulled downe, & the ditches filled vp with earth, whiche afore time did ſomewhat ſtay them, now breaking in vpon vs without letting paſſe any one kinde of crueltie, they haue diſtroyed our fieldes, brenned vp our houſes, townes and villages, and beaten downe and raſed to the grounde our caſtels & towers, with ſuch other places of defence, not ſparing to put to the ſworde as wel the poore innocent children, women, and impotent age, as ſuch other innumerable numbers of men, whiche they haue ſlayne ſtanding at defence with weapon in hande. And as for vs, whiche are the reſidue of our decayed nation, they haue driuen euen to the ſea ſide, and from thence (bycauſe wee can not paſſe ouer) wee are put backe vpon our enimies againe. And hereof procede two kindes of our deſtruction, for eyther are wee drowned in the ragyng flouddes, eyther els ſlayne moſte vnmercyfully by our cruell enimies. Therefore if the honour of the Romaine people, if our aſſured loyaltie & loue, whiche we beare to the Empyre of Rome, nowe continued for the ſpace of theſe. 500. yeares or there aboute, may moue you to rewe on our miſeries, wee humbly pray & beſeeche you, not to ſuffer vs longer to be trodde vnder foote of theſe our moſt beaſtly & cruell enimies, but ſende vnto vs ſome cõuenable ſuccors & that with all ſpeede, leaſt we ſeeme to be more cruelly betrayed of the Romains, thã brought to diſtruction by theſe barbarous people, & that wee be not ſet forth as a notable enſample for al other to be ware, how they put confidence hereafter either in the rule or friendſhip of the Romains.

But not ſo largely as here is expreſſed. The anſweare of Etius.

Paulus Diaconus, Beede, Geffray of Munmouth, Veremound, and other, make mention of theſe foreſayde letters. Wherevnto Etius aunſwearing, declared that thoſe calamities, infortunes & loſſes ſuſtayned by the Brytains were right diſpleaſant vnto him, & ſo muche the more for that through the ſundry inuaſions made, aſwell into Fraunce as alſo into Italy it ſelfe, and into other parties of the Romaine Empyre by people of ſundry nations, he coulde not as then ſpare any men of warre to ſend ouer vnto them, and therfore he willed the Brytons to make the beſt ſhifte they could, to defend themſelues for a time, till things were better quieted in other parties, & then ſhould they ſee ſuche redreſſe of their iniuries prouided, as they ſhould thinke themſelues to be very well reuenged.

Aboute the ſame time that the ambaſſadours returned with this anſwere vnto London from Etius, the other alſo came backe forth of the north without hope to ſpede of that aboute the which they had bene ſent: for the Scots & Pictes woulde encline to no reaſonable conditions of peace, onleſſe the Brytains would wholly ſubmit themſelues as ſubiectes vnto them.

The Scot Picts wou agree vpon reſonable ditions of peace.

The Brytons hereat, toke ſuch indignatiõ, that by a generall conſent they agreed to trie it out with the enimies by mayne force: and hereupon made theyr prouiſion with all diligence.

The Scot Pictes pre againſt the Brytons.

The Scottes and Picts hearing of the Brytons intents, gathered their people togither with more ſpede than was thought poſſible for them to haue done, and forthwith ruſhed into the borders of theyr enimies countreys in right puyſſaunt wiſe and moſt warrelike order.

The orde the Scots Pictes com into the la of the Bry

In the forewarde went ſuche as came forth of Galloway and Annandale with thoſe Pictes whiche inhabited about the coaſtes of Barwike. Then followed there a mightie battell of thoſe whiche came forth of Argyle, Athole, and other Pictes inhabiting neare vnto the parties of Kalendar and Camelone with them of Fyfe, and Angus. In the middes of this battell bothe the kings kept theyr place with their choyſeſt ſouldiers, and ſtandards borne afore them. Then came the cariage and truſſe of the armie, nexte wherevnto a great number of noble men of both the nations followed in fayre order of battell, with theyr ſeruaunts and men of warre the beſt they coulde chooſe forth. And laſt of all (as the maner of thoſe nations hath bene euen from the beginning) there came a great multitude of the commons cloſing vp the backe of the whole aforeſayd armie.

The Bry doubt to ioyne with mayne arm of the Scot and Pictes.

The Brytons alſo comming forth into the field with theyr whole puiſſaunce to encounter theyr enimies, when they vnderſtood by eſpials the order and mayne force of the Scottes and Pictes, they were halfe diſcouraged in theyr mindes, and thought good therefore once againe to aſſay if any peace might be purchaſed. But ſending forth theyr Ambaſſadours vnto the confederate kings to that end, theyr anſweare was, that except the Brytons would yeeld thẽſelues, their wiſes and children with all theyr goodes and ſubſtaunce into the handes of their enimies,

ſimplie

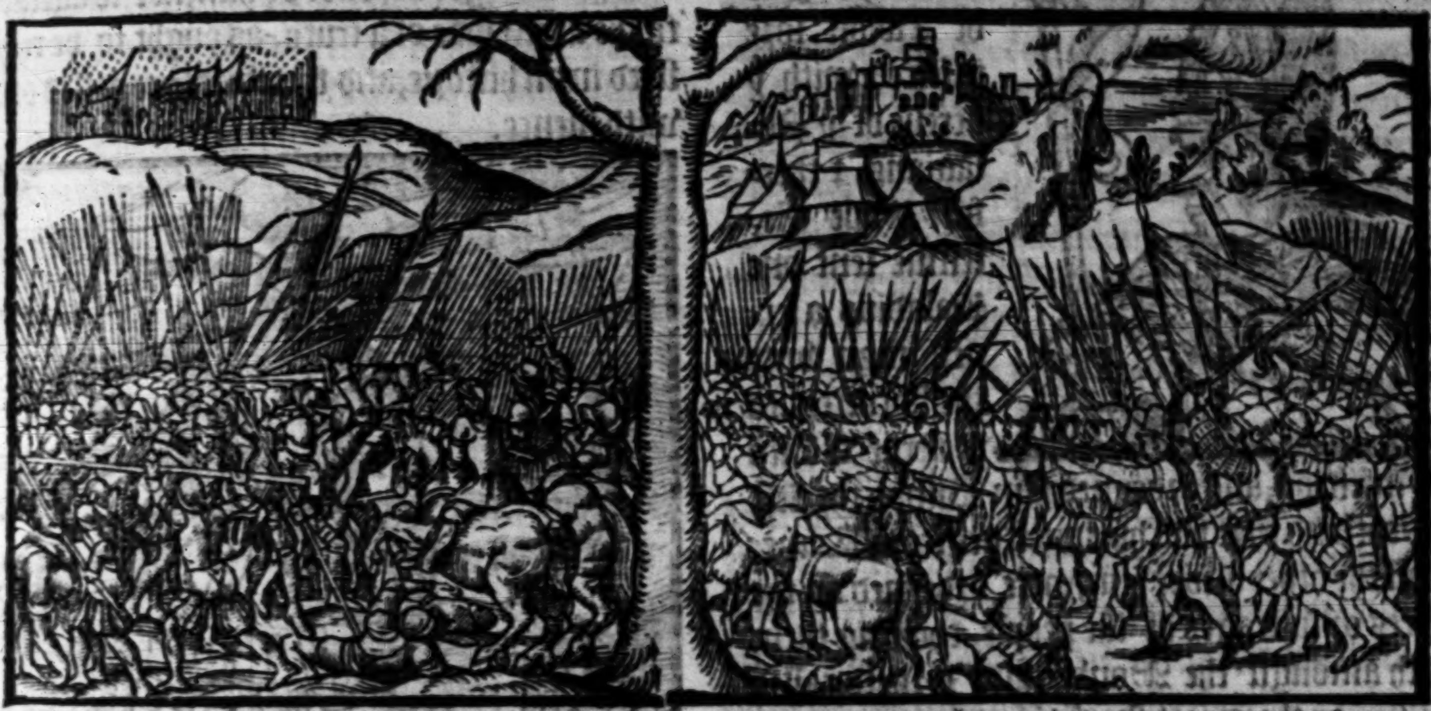
ſimply without all conditions, there would bee no peace graunted.

he Brytons
n the Scot-
iſhmens re-
fuſall to haue
ce, require
haue bat-

When this was knowen abrode in the hoſte of the Brytains, what through kindeled yre on the one parte, and diſpayre on the other, prouoking theyr mindes to diſpleaſure, they generally vpon chaunge of purpoſe required battell, euen all the whole number of them. Whereof enſued a moſt cruell and mortall fight: For the Brytains (as it were) reſolued to die in defence of theyr countrey, and to reuenge theyr owne deaths vpō the enimies, with more fierceneſſe thā is credible to be thought, gaue ẏ onſet, & ouerthrew a great number of their enimies, in ſomuch that thoſe of Galloway and the Pictes fighting in the foreward with them of Argyle, Athole & ſuch other as were in the battell with the kings, were in great daunger to bee put to the worſe: whiche Grayme perceyuing (by whom the moſt part of the army was ruled, and that by cōmaundement of both the Kings) called forth a number of the Iland men, who were appoynted to attend the cariage, and ſent them with all diligence vnto the fore ward to the ſuccors of thē of Galloway, being then at the point to haue ſought refuge by flight. But by the comming of theſe Iland men to their ſuccors, they tooke courage afreſh, ſo that the battell was againe moſte fiercely renewed, & ſo cōtinued a ſpace with great ſlaughter on both partes, till finally the Brytons being oppreſſed with the multitude of theyr enimies, & not able longer to endure, fell to running away, thinking to ſaue themſelues in certaine bogges, moſſes, & mariſſe grounds neare vnto the place of the battell: but ſuche coyſterels, and other as remayned with the Scottiſh cariage, ſeing the diſcomfiture of theyr aduerſaries, ranne forth and purſued them into thoſe mariſhes, killyng and taking no ſmall number of them.

The fierce onſet giuen by the Brytons.

Graymes authoritie in ordering of the battailes.



hoſe of the
eſterne Iles
ming to
e ſuccours
the fore-
d reſtored
e battaile.

he Brytons
e away.

e number
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ſlayne on
ſides.

There were ſlaine in this battell of the Brytons, aboue .xv. thouſand, and of the Scots and Pictes neare hande foure thouſande.

he Brytons
e humble-
e for peace

The Brytains hauing receyued this ouerthrowe, ſaw no helpe which way to recouer their loſſes, but onely to ſue for peace at the victorers handes. They ſent therefore an oratour vnto the Scottiſhe and Pictiſhe kings, beſeeching them humbly to graunt them a peace euen with what condicions it ſhoulde pleaſe them to preſcribe. The kings not moued onely with the preſent fortune of the Brytains, but alſo partely with theyr owne, hauing loſt no ſmall number of right worthie perſonages in the battell, were contented to graunt a peace vpon theſe conditions: That the Brytains ſhoulde in no wiſe receyue any lieutenant or armie hereafter from Rome, nor ſuffer any enimie of the Scottiſh and Pictiſh eſtates of what nation ſo euer hee were to paſſe through theyr countrey. They ſhould enter into no league with any citie or nation, nor be about to make any warres without conſent of the Scottiſh and Pictiſh kings, and further ſhoulde bee ready to ſerue them againſt all maner of enimies when ſo euer they ſhoulde be ſent for. Moreouer they ſhoulde remoue with theyr wiues, children, and whole families out of all thoſe countreys, lying betwixte Tyne and Humber, reſigning the poſſeſſion of the ſame vnto the Scottiſhmen and Pictes. Alſo they ſhoulde gyue threeſcore thouſande peeces of gold then currant to the Scottiſhe and Pictiſhe kings towardes the diſpatche of theyr ſouldiers wages, and further ſhoulde yeelde as a trybute twentie thouſande peeces of golde, to be payde yearely vnto the ſeuerall vſes of the victorers. They ſhoulde likewiſe deliuer one hundred hoſtages of ſuche as the two kings ſhoulde appoynt, betwixte the age of eightene and thirtie yeares.

Peace graunted by the Scottes with the conditions of the ſame.

60000. pounde ſayeth Balantine, after the rate of Scottiſh money.

20000. pound, ſayth the ſame Balantine, ſo that he eſteemeth thoſe peeces of gold to be of the valew of French crownes.

Theſe conditions of peace though they ſeemed very ſtreight and grieuous to the Brytiſhe nobilitie, yet for that they vnderſtoode not how to make a better bargayne, they perſwaded the multitude to accept them, and ſo a league therevpon

vpon was concluded amongſt thoſe people, and the publike ſtate of the lande brought to a more quiet rule than it had bene before. Thus were the Brytains made tributarie to the Scottiſhmen and Pictes, about. 500. yeares after Iulius Ceſar had brought them in ſubiection to the Romains, being in the yere after the birth of our Sauiour. 446. and of Eugenius his raygne ouer the Scottiſh men the. vij.

The Brytons tributary to the Scottes & Pictes.

436.H.B.

In this ſeaſon was this Iſle of Albion ſore infected with yͤ hereſie of yͤ Pelagians, & therfore Pope Celeſtine ſent one Paladius a lerned man vnto the Scottes, to preſerue thē frō that infection, and ordeyned him Biſhop the firſt in Scotland that had his inueſture from Rome, for all the other before him, were ordeyned by the voyces or ſuffrages of the people, chooſing them forth amongſt the Monkes and Prieſts called *Culdei*, as the Scottiſhe Chronicles do reporte. Paladius with right good & wholeſome exhortations purged the Scottes and Pictes of ſundrie ſuperſtitious rites of theyr olde Gentilliſh idolatrie, till thoſe dayes vſed amongſt them, wherupō he is named and reputed for the Scottiſhmens apoſtle. Hee lieth at Fordune, a towne in Mernes, where his relikes remained, and were long after had in great eſtimation.

The hereſie of the Pelagians.

Paladius ſente into Scotland.

Of this Paladius, looke more in Ireland.

Paladius accompted the apoſtle of Scotlande.

Moreouer he inſtituted one Seruan Biſhoppe of the Orkeneys, yͭ hee might inſtruct the inhabitāts there in the fayth of Chriſte, which as yet they had not receyued, and one Teruan, whō he himſelf had baptyſed, hee made Archbiſhop of Picte lande.

Seruan biſhop of Orkeney, & Teruan archebiſhop of pictland.

In theſe dayes alſo many ſtraunge ſightes were ſeene in ſundrie partes of Brytaine before the laſt mentioned ouerthrow: the Moone being in playne oppoſition to the Sunne when it ſhould be moſt round appeared in a quadrant figure.

Vnkyth ſights and ſtraunge wounders appeared.

At Yorke it rayned bloud: and trees in ſundrie places being blaſted, wythered and died. The market place or rather if ye will ſo terme it Cheapeſide in London opened, ſo that a great hole apeared & many houſes were ſwallowed vp.

About the ſame ſeaſon alſo (as is ſuppoſed) liued that huge perſonage Fyn makcoel, a Scottiſh man borne, of. vij. cubites in heyght. He was a great hunter, and ſore feared of all men by reaſon of his mightie ſtature, and large limmes: many fables goe abroade of him, not ſo agreable to the likelihoode of a truth, as ought to be regiſtred in an hiſtorie, and therefore here paſſed ouer with ſilence.

Fynmakco the great hū ter.

The Romaine Empyre being brought into irrecouerable ruyne by the Vandalles, Gothes, Hunnes, Frenchmen, and other barbarous nations, occupying ſundry partes and porcions thereof, put the Brytains out of all hope to haue any aſſiſtance from the Emperours, which cauſed them to remayne in quiet certaine yeares without attempting any exployte agaynſt the Scots or Picts, and ſo duely payde theyr couenāted tribute, though ſore againſt theyr willes, if they might otherwiſe haue remedied it.

At the laſt aboute. x. yeares after the concluſion of this laſt peace, it chaunced that one Conanus the ſonne of the aboue mencioned Conanus deſcended of the bloud of the Octauiſh ſometime kings of the Brytains, ſore maligned to ſee his countrey thus brought into thraldome of the Scottiſh nation, and deuiſing how to find ſome redreſſe, called togither the moſte parte of the Brytiſh nobilitie, by ſecrete meſſages ſent to a manour place whiche hee had within a thicke woode in the countrey of Kent, and there opening vnto them a great peece of his minde, perſwaded them with the weightieſt reaſons hee could imagine, to leuie warre againſt the Scots and Pictes, hauing at that preſent, meane to

Conanus a Bryton goe about to perſwade his co trey men, breake the peace, ded with the Scots & Pic maintaine it aſwell by reaſon of theyr increaſe now ſithence the laſt warres, bothe of able men, as alſo of ſubſtaunce to furniſh them with.

Brytons
ng re-
d to their
res and
men lying
hoſtage
not a-
to breake
peace.

Here the nobles were of ſundrie opinions: for ſome awearied with the note of bondage, would gladly haue had warres: other hauing regarde to theyr ſonnes lying in hoſtage with the enimies, would in no wiſe conſent thereto: by reaſon whereof this counſell brake vp without concluſion of any effect.

When eche man was returned to his home, there had bene ſome amongſt them, that gaue knowledge to the confederate kings what motion had bene made, and what was intended againſt them. Wherevpon they immediatly determined not onely to cauſe the hoſtages to be executed, but alſo to purſue the rebelles with fierce and cruell warres. Yet before they practiſed any violence, they ſent theyr ambaſſadours vnto the Brytains, to vnderſtande theyr full meaning, and to declare vnto them further certaine articles whiche the ſayde kings required to haue performed without all delayes, or els to looke for open warre out of hande.

kings of
Scots and
with the
Brytons,
ibe vnto
new ar-
to be
formed.

The chiefeſt pointes of which articles were theſe. Firſt that the Brytons ſhould not aſſemble togither in councell without licence of the Scottiſh and Pictiſh kings, notwithſtanding that their auncient lawes they might vſe at their pleaſure, but they ſhould receiue no ſtraunger into their countrey being a Romaine or a Frenchman, neither merchaunt nor other. Their olde hoſtages they ſhould receyue home againe, and deliuer in exchaunge of them twice ſo many in number of the like age and degree, as was couenaunted by the former league.

udent ſer-
intru-
vpon the
by the
& cru-
Scots, if it
true.

The commons of the lande, vnderſtanding what was demaunded by theſe ambaſſadours, were in a wonderful rage, and would haue made a great ſturre if they had not bene quieted by the Lordes, who for theyr paines taken herein, got them an euill report amongſt the inferiour ſorte of people, as though through theyr wante of ſtomake only, the common wealth was brought into ſuche a miſerable eſtate, that looke what pleaſed the enimie to charge the Bryttiſh nation with, no man durſt once ſpeake againſt it.

mons
with
gouer-

This grudge of the commons encreaſed ſo farre forth agaynſt their ſuperiours, that after the Scottiſh and Pictiſh ambaſſadours were returned home, with anſweare agreable to theyr demaundes, there aroſe incontinently a great cōmotion of the people, conſpiring togither to the vtter deſtruction of the whole nobilitie. But their furie was repreſſed, ſo that they were ouerthrowen in battell at two ſeuerall times with great ſlaughter and bloudſhed, whereupon they withdrewe into the mountaynes, and there kepte themſelues, making reyſes vpon the nobilitie, and fetching booties away from the heardes & flockes of cattell belonging to the Lordes and Gentlemen: but finally through famine which beganne to oppreſſe bothe parties, they perceyued what neede the one had of the others helpe, and ſo they agreed. This ciuill warre ſore decayed the force of the Brytons, for beſide the greate ſlaughter that was made betwixt them, by the auoyding of the commons out of their houſes, the ground lay vntilled, whereof enſued a marueylous great ſcarcetie & dearth of all things, by reaſon whereof an innumerable ſorte of people died. Yet ſhortly after followed ſuch plentie, that thoſe that were left aliue forgetting the paſſed miſeries, gaue themſelues to all kinde of vice, whiche tooke ſuch roote in the harts of the more parte of them, that for any man to vſe any maner of vertue amōgſt them, was a readie meane to procure great enuie and hatred.

commons
against
nobles.

One eſtate of men can not liue without helpe of another.

Superfluous wealth occaſiō of vice.

In the meane time liued the Scottiſh and Pictiſh kings in good quiet and reſte, applying their ſtudies onely howe to inſtruct theyr people now after the warres were once ended, in laudable exerciſes and neceſſarie occupations, conuenient for the time of peace, wherby their realmes might floriſh in wealth and proſperitie without dreade of any forraine power. For they ſaw ſuch tokens of ruyne in the Brytiſh eſtate, as ſmall likelyhood appeared, that the ſame ſhould at any time be able to recouer againe the former force and dignitie.

The Scots apply thēſelues to peace.

Finally the Scottiſh king Eugenius hauing aduaunced the eſtate of his countrey vnto more felicitie & wealth than any of his predeceſſours had euer done before him, after hee had raigned xxx. yeares, he ended his life about the .iiij. yeare of Leo, that vſurped the Empyre of Conſtantinople.

The death of Eugenius the Scottiſh king.

Dongard.

BUt for ſomuch as Eugenius lefte no iſſue behind him, his brother named Dongarde ſucceeded in the eſtate. Hee began his reigne in the yeare. 470. and his chiefeſt ſtudie was, according to his brothers enſample, to prouide for the maintenance of good orders and iuſtice, appointing in euery quarter men of good fame and reporte to haue the adminiſtration vnder him,

Dongard king of Scottes.
461.H.B.

The ſtudy of Dongard for preſeruatiō of iuſtice and good orders.

with cõmaundement that they ſhould diligently foreſee, that euery man might enioy his owne.

The repairing of caſtels by king Dõgard.

He himſelfe tooke vpon him alſo to ſee to the repayring of ſuch caſtels as were decayed, and to the building vp of newe in places where hee thought moſte expedient, ſpecially neare to the Brytiſh borders, for he well cõſidered that peace encreaſſed riches, riches pride and preſumption with other ſinnes, whiche could not long endure without the plague of warres. Therfore he douting the chaunges of ſcornefull fortune, thought good in time of peace to prouide for the daungers of warres, whẽ the ſame ſhould happẽ vnto him.

Theſe ciuill policies and princely prouiſions for defence of his coũtrey ⁊ ſubiects, increaſed the fame of Dõgard mightily, but that which he did towards the aduauncement of religion did moſt exceedingly ſet forth his commendation.

The boũteous liberalitie of Dongard towards churche men.

Firſt, all ſuche religious men as followed the trade of life taught by Paladius and other, whiche came with him from Rome, hee cauſed them to be highly reuerenced: and for the maintenaunce of their liuing, he aſſigned forth lands, houſes, and other kindes of reuenewes in diuers places of his realme, and graunted not only vnto them, but alſo vnto all other being within any orders of Clergie, ſundry priuiledges, appointing that the Churches and Abbeys with other holy places ſhould be enfraunchiſed and taken for Sanctuaries, that all ſuche as fled to the ſame for ſafegard of theyr liues, ſhould be ſuffred to reſt in peace, ſo long as they kept them within the ſame.

Sanctuaries.

The Brytons ſend into Brytaine Armorike for ayde.

Aboute the ſame time alſo and whileſt theſe things were thus a doing in Scotlãd, the Brytains being awearied of their ſeruile eſtate, thorow the ſetting on of Conanus conſpired togither, ⁊ tooke aduiſe by what meanes they might beſt ſeeke to deliuer themſelues frõ the thraldome of Scots ⁊ Pictes, and vpon aduice taken they concluded to ſend ouer into Brytaine Armorike ſome honorable Ambaſſade vnto Androenus the king of that countrey for ayde. Herewith was the Archbiſhop of London, appointed as chiefe Ambaſſadour to go on that meſſage, whiche Archbiſhop vſed ſuche diligence in the mater, that Cõſtantine the ſonne of the ſaid Androenus was appointed by his father with a competent power of men to go ouer into great Brytaine to the ayde of the Brytiſh inhabitants there. Hereupon when the men and ſhippes with all neceſſarie prouiſion were once readie, he embarqued at Saint Malo, where the aſſemble was made, and taking the ſea, ſayled forth with proſperous winde and weather, whiche brought him ſafely into greate Brytaine, where hee landed at Totnes in Deuonſhire, as you ſhall finde in the chronicles of England. He was receyued with no ſmall ioye, and forthwith proclaymed king of Brytaine, whereupon he promiſed to aſſay to the vttermoſte of his power to recouer agayne their whole landes and liberties, and to maintaine them in the ſame according to their wiſhed deſires.

Ayde ſent into Brytain frõ the Armorike Brytons.

Conſtanti proclayme king of Bry taine.

For the more ſpeedy accompliſhment hereof, commaundement was firſt giuen, that all able men ſhould be in a readineſſe, and come togither at a place appointed neare to the riuer of Humber within fortie dayes after. Whiche order being taken by the aduice of the Lordes and Nobles of the realme, the ſame was put in execution with ſuche diligence, that fewe or none being apt to beare armure withdrew themſelues, euery man in maner comming to the appointed place of the aſſemble, and offering to go againſt the enimies, ſo that it was a wonder to conſider the cõſent of the people now ioyned in one minde and will to recouer theyr former libertie.

The aſſem of the Bry army.

The great deſtre of Brytains recouer liberti.

When Conſtantine behelde ſuche notable numbers of men, hee ſuppoſed the ſame woulde haue ſuffiſed not onely to vanquiſh the Scottes and Pictes, but alſo vtterly to deſtroy and race them out of all the confines of Albion.

When the newes of all this preparation for warres whiche the Brytains made, was once ſignified to the Scottes and Pictes, they likewiſe made theyr appreſtes to meete with them in the field, and thereupon rayſing theyr powers, came forth with the ſame into Yorkeſhyre, and pitched theyr campes within .iiij. myles where Conſtantine with his people was lodged, and the next day after, vnderſtanding how neare vnto the enimie they were, they reyſed and marched forwardes till they came within ſight of him, as then encamped with his people alofte vpon certaine hilles, neare to the aforeſayde riuer ſide.

The Scot Pictes ma their app

The Scot Pictes ap neare to Brytains.

Here bothe the kings of Scottes and Pictes lodging with theyr armies for that night, made readie for battell againſt the nexte day, and in the morning Dongard the Scottiſhe king getting him to a little hill, called his men togither, and there exhorted them by ſundrie comfortable meanes of perſwaſion to put away all feare, and to fight valiantly, aſſuring them of victorie if they would keepe the order of battell by him appointed, and not raſhly breake forth of the ſame in following vpon the enimies when they fell to retyring backe.

Dongard hortteth h people to manfully.

He had vnneath made an end of his wordes, but that diuers of the ſtanding watche came in, and declared how the Brytains began to auale the hilles where they had lodged, and that the Pictes were got forth already in order of battell, and were marching forewardes to encounter them, Dongard ſhewing himſelfe to bee right ioyfull of theſe newes, commaunded incontinently, that the ſtanderds ſhould aduance forth, and euery man to attende the ſame according to his appoynted order. Alſo that no man ſhoulde preſume to take any pryſoner before the ende of the battell, nor to yeelde himſelfe ſo long as lyfe laſted. So that ioyning with his enimies there folowed a right fierce & cruell battaile. At length both the wings of the Brytains gaue backe frō the Scottiſh men and Pictes, the middle warde abiding the brunte very ſtoutly. Where Conſtantine himſelfe ſtoode like a valiant chieftaine doyng hys endeuour to the vttermoſte of his power, vpon whom Dongard earneſtly preaſſing and entring into the thickeſt throng of his enimies, was there beaten downe amongſt the Armorike Brytains, and being aboute to get vp againe by helpe of his weapon, was againe felled to the earth, and ſlayne with many a ſore wounde.

wings of
Brytiſh ar-
are put

gard is

Diuers of the Scottes diſcomfited with this great miſhap, fell to running away: other kindled with more wrath layde aboute them more egerly. The Picts alſo, for their part fought moſt conſtantly, ſo that the battell continuyng till noone dayes with doubtful ſucceſſe, at length the Brytains were conſtreyned ſomething to giue backe, and after taking themſelues to fearefull flight, declared that the victorie remayned with theyr enimies.

Brytains
put to

There died in this mortall battell neare to the point of .xvj. thouſande of the Brytains, and of the Scottes and Pictes aboue .xiiij. thouſand with Dongard the Scottiſh king.

Conſtantine the daye nexte after the battaile, withdrew ſouthwardes. The Scots carryed away with them the corps of their dead king, and conueying it into the Ile of Iona, nowe called Colmkill, there buried it in kingly wiſe. Dongarde was thus ſlayne, in the fyfth yeare of hys reigne after the byrth of our Sauior. 475. yeares and about the ſeconde yeare of Zeno the Emperour.

H.B.
Lan.H.B.

nſtā-
ne.

AFter him ſucceeded in gouernment of the Scottiſhe kingdome Conſtantine the brother of the aboue rehearſed Eugenius, a Prince vnlike in noble vertues vnto his brother the ſayd Eugenius. For though in him there appeared ſome good tokens of commendable towardelyneſſe, as hee ſeemed outwardly to ſhew, yet was he giuen more vnto wanton pleaſure and luſt, than to the regard of the good rule & gouernment of his ſubiectes, a deflourer of vyrgins, a rauiſher of honeſt Matrones, and aboue all, a fauourer of backbiters and ſlaunderers. Neuer ſhewing any ioyfull countenaunce amongſt his nobles, but amongſt ſcoffing ieſtours and other vile perſons, he was as pleaſant and merie as the iocundeſt man aliue.

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of that
is crea-
king of
ces.

Conſtantine the Scottiſhe king nothing like in noble conditiōs vnto Conſtantine king of the Brytains.

Thus though hee repreſented the Brytiſhe king Conſtantine in name, yet in manners hee farre differed from him: for the Brytiſh Conſtantine ſtudying to aduaunce the common wealth of his ſubiectes, trayned them in laudable exerciſes, and reduced them from theyr former euill vſages vnto ciuill order and good cuſtomes. Contrarywiſe, the Scottiſhe Conſtantine did nothing worthie prayſe at all after he was once inſtituted king, but followed ſtill his owne inordinate luſt and ſenſuall appetite.

Peace graunted vnto the Brytains, and diuers caſtels deliuered into their handes.

Hee graunted peace vnto the Brytains they vnneth requyring the ſame, releaſing not onely the tribute, but alſo deliuering vp into theyr handes by ſecrete meanes diuers caſtels ſtanding vpon the riuer of Humber.

Many other things hee was aboute to haue done to the great preiudice and hinderaunce of the Scottiſhe eſtate, had not the Nobles of the realme the ſooner withſtoode his raſhe and vnaduiſed attempts. Suche malice alſo was ingendred in the hartes of the moſte parte of the Nobilitie towardes him, that had it not bene through the wholeſome admonition and perſwaſion of Dongall of Galloway, a noble man of righte reuerende authoritie amongſt them, they had leuied ciuill warres againſt him, but the foreſayde Dongall declaring to them the daunger and greate inconuenience that mighte thereof enſue, reſtrayned their wrathfull mindes from enterpriſing any thing agaynſt him by force, ſo that for certayne yeares they ſuffered and bare with this his miſordered gouernment.

The good coūſel of Dongal.

In the meane whyle the Pictes noting the wante of all vertuous qualities thus in the king of Scottes, and agayne what tokens of valiaunt courage appeared in the king of the Brytains, doubted leaſt if hee ſhoulde ſeeke to reuenge olde iniuries againſt them, they ſhoulde be little able to matche him without ayde of the Scottes, (whereof they had ſmall truſte nowe, by reaſon of the inſufficiencie of the Scottiſhe king) they deuiſed a meane howe to ridde the Brytiſhe kyng out of the way, and ſo appoynting certain ſlie felowes to go into Britain for yͤ accōpliſhment of their deuiſed purpoſe, at length the ſame was brought to paſſe, as in the engliſh

The Picts ſtād in feare of the king of Brytains.

Chronicles yee ſhall finde more at large though in the ſame Chronicles there is mention made but of one Picte that ſhoulde worke this feate, where the Scottiſh wryters recorde of diuers, whiche neuer the leſſe were apprehended, and after bound both hande and foote, were caſt into a a mightie great fire, and therein brent to aſhes in moſt miſerable wiſe, as by the ſayde Scottiſhe wryters it appeareth.

Conſtantine the Scottiſhe king is ſlayne by one whoſe doughter he had rauiſhed. Anno. 481.

The death of this Conſtantine king of Brytons, happened in the .xv. yeare of Conſtantine king of Scottes, neyther liued he long after, for hauing rauiſhed a noble mans daughter, borne in the weſterne Iſles, he was ſlayne by hyr father in the night ſeaſon, after hee had reigned in great infamie for his reprochfull life, the ſpace of xvij. yeares.

Dongall.

Dongall the ſonne of Dongard is made king of Scotland.

THē was Dongall his nephew, as ſon to his brother Dongard, proclaymed king, a prince of diſpoſition indifferēt either to peace or warre, though in the beginning of his reigne, he ſhewed himſelf more deſirous of peace than of warres, by reaſon the ſtate of the common wealth ſo required, conſidering how things ſtoode not all in the beſt order, through his predeceſſours negligence.

The poletike rule of Dongall.

Dongall therefore deſirous of a reformation, appoynted men of great wiſedome & good fame to be iudges and officers vnder him, who in redreſſing miſorders, in puniſhing tranſgreſſions, and in deciding of al ſtrifes and contentions betwixt partie and partie, did ſo well their endeuour, that peace and concorde therevpon enſuing, the people recouered peaceable reſt and quietneſſe, to theyr no ſmall comfort and contentation.

Conſtantius a Mōke elected king of Brytaine.

In this meane while that things paſſed thus among the Scottes, by the procurement of one Vortigerne, Conſtantius the eldeſt ſonne of the late deceaſed Cōſtantine king of Brytons, was taken out of an Abbey, where he was ſhorne a Monke, and aduaunced to the kingdome: but being not meete of himſelf to gouerne, Vortigerne had the whole rule committed to his handes, wherevpon he firſt cauſed the league to be renewed betwixte the Brytons, the Scottes and Picts, and appointed a garde of the ſame Scots and Pictes to be attendant on the kings perſon: in the end alſo he procured ſome of them to murther the king, and after put all the ſayd Scottes and Pictes to death, as well the giltie as the vngiltie, and finally made himſelfe king, as in the hiſtorie of England you ſhall find more at large expreſſed.

Vortigernes treaſon. Conſtantius murdered.

The Scottes and Picts (for diſpleaſure that theyr countrey men whiche had bene appointed to garde the perſon of Conſtantius king of the Brytons, were maliciouſly circumuented, and the more parte of them wrongfully executed) made ſundry roades and forrayes into the Brytiſh borders, neyther ſparing fire nor ſworde where they came. So that the ſayde Vortigerne by a grieuous reporte informed hereof, cauſed an army with all ſpeede to be leuied, and appoynted Guytellus the prince of Wales to haue the leading thereof agaynſt the enimies. Whileſt he (doubting leaſt the people woulde not bee ruled by him, for that it was knowen how he would haue made away Conſtantines children kept him about London, and durſt not committe himſelf ſo much to the ſight of a multitude, as to go forth in that iourney in his owne perſon.

Guytellus ge... nerall of ... Brytiſh a... cauſeth ... hundreth ... the enimi... be hanged.

Guytellus, in reſpect of the loue which he barr to his countrey, purpoſing to ſerue truely in defence thereof, chaunced vpon his approche to the bordures to take the number of .v.C. of the enimies, being aduaunced from the reſidue to fetche a bootie. Theſe, Guytellus cauſed to be hanged, as condemned for robbers and pillers of the coūtrey afore any ouerture of warre was denounced. Wherevpon ſuch other as eſcaped by flight, and had ſeene theyr fellowes thus executed, declared vnto their gouernours, what had happened to theyr fellowes.

The Scot... and Pictiſ... kings ga... their peop... reſiſt the ... taines.

The confederate kings, being in a great chafe herewith, gather togither theyr people, and haſte forwarde with all ſpeede towarde the enimies, who at the firſt ſhewed manifeſt tokēs that they were ſore afrayed of the Scottiſh and Pictiſhe power: wherevpon Guitellus their generall with comfortable wordes willed them to be of good courage, and not to doubte of victory, hauing ſo iuſt a cauſe to fight with truce breakers, and ſuche as were giuen more vnto pillage and ſpoyle, than to any other commendable exerciſe or practiſe of warre. With whiche and ſundry other the like wordes the Brytains being embol-dened, as might well appeare by their chaunge of countenances, Guytellus therevpon remoued his campe more neare vnto his enimies, ſo that at the firſt and for certaine dayes togither, there chaunced onely diuers ſkirmiſhes betwixt the parties, as occaſion ſerued. But at length, the one being ſore moued againſt the other, they ioyne in a pight field. The beginning of whiche battell was right fierce and doubtfull, for on that ſide where Dongall the Scottiſhe king fought, the Brytains ſhortly began to preuaile, through the faynt fighting of his people: which daunger Galanus the Pictiſhe king quickly perceyuing, forthwith prouided remedie, for taking with him

Guytellus ... couraget... appalled ... of his m... warre w... comfortab... wordes.

The Bryt... ioyne in a... pight fiel... with the S... and Picts.

The Scot... put back...

Galane ki... of Picts ... coureth ... Scottes.

certaine bandes out of his owne battell, willing the reſidue to ſtande to it manfully, and in no wiſe to giue grounde to the enimie, he himſelfe with the ſayde bandes fetched a compaſſe about, and ſet vpon the backes of them that ſo had ouermatched the Scottes.

This ſoden chaunce ſore diſordered the Brytains, and immediatly the Scottes encouraged a freſh, aſſayled theyr enimies with more egre mindes than they had done at the firſte, ſo that mayntenantly bothe the winges of the Brytiſhe armie were vtterly diſcomfited. And herewith a certaine number of the Pictes were commaunded by their king to make haſte to winne the campe of the Brytains, that ſuche as ſought to eſcape by flight, ſhoulde finde no refuge in the ſame.

e wings of
Britons
to flight.

camp of
Britons

Thus the Brytains being chaſed & ſlayne on euery ſide, they knew not whither to flee: ſo that in the end a great number of them throwyng away their weapons, yeelded themſelues, moſte humbly crauing mercie at their enimies hands.

Britons
d knowe
whither
lee.

There were ſlayne in this battell aboue .xx. thouſande of the Brytains togither with theyr generall Gutellus, and a great number of other of the nobilitie. There died alſo of the Scottes and Pictes neare hande foure thouſand. The priſoners with the ſpoyle of the fielde was deuided by appointment of the kings amongſt the ſouldiers. Whiche done, they marched forth into the countrey to conquere caſtels and townes, ſuche as ſtood in their way.

ell with
e thou-
Britons

e thou-
e Scottes
Picts ſlaine.

In the meane time the Brytains being ſore diſcōforted with the ouerthrow, aſſemble a coūcell at London, there to deuiſe by what meanes they might beſt defend their countrey frō the imminent daunger in the which it now ſtood.

ncel hol-
at Londō

Vortigerne as one giltie in conſcience, doubted leaſt through wante of good willes in his commons, he ſhould not be able to withſtande the mightie inuaſion of his enimies, wherevpon he was minded to haue auoyded the realme, but there were of his councell that aduiſed him to the contrarie, holding that better it was for him to trie the vttermoſt pointe of fortunes happe, than with diſhonour ſo to yeelde at the firſt blow of hyr frowarde hande, conſidering the abundance of treaſure whiche he had in ſtore, wherewith hee might wage ſouldiers and menne of warre out of Germanie and other places, in number ſufficient to matche with his enimies.

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s of his
e, would
t out
realme.

This counſell as the beſte, was followed, and meſſengers with commiſſion and ſufficient inſtructions ſente with all ſpeede into Germanie, to retayne a number of Saxons, and to bring them ouer into Brytaine, to ſerue againſt the Scottes and Pictes in wages with Vortigerne.

rne is
ed to
rayde
Germany.

At the ſame time there were amongſt thoſe Saxons, two bretherne diſcended by rightfull lignage of the Princes of that nation, who being reputed for valiant Captaines, appointed with the Brytiſhe commiſſaries for a certaine ſumme of money to take vp theyr preſcribed number of men, and to receyue charge of them as Coronels, aſwell for theyr conuoy ouer into Brytaine, as alſo for their ſeruice there, after theyr arriuall. The one of theſe two bretherne hight Hengiſt or Engiſt, and the other Horſus. Who hauing their appointed numbers once filled, conteyning aboute ten thouſand ſouldiers in the whole, they beſtowed them abowrde in .xxx. hulkes, hoyes, and playtes, and in the ſame tranſported them ouer into Brytaine, in the. 449. yeare after Chriſte, as our hiſtories do affirme. Where they were receyued with greate ioye and gladneſſe of Vortigerne, who truſted by theyr ayde to ouercome his fierce and dreadfull enimies.

Hengiſt and Horſus, retayned in ſeruice with Vortigerne.

Therefore when they had refreſſhed themſelues ſomewhat after theyr trauayle by ſea, they were ſent forth with an other army which Vortigerne had aſſembled of his owne ſubiectes the Brytains, to the frounters of the enemies countrey, where at theyr firſte comming they paſſed ouer the riuer of Humber, before the Scottes or Pictes had knowledge, that any ſuch people were come in ſupport of the Brytōs to bidde them battell. They beyng therefore amazed with the ſtrangeneſſe of the thing, ſome of them fledde into the inner partes of theyr countrey, and other that made but ſory ſhifte, fell into the handes of the Saxons, who to beginne theyr enterpriſe with bloude, ſlewe all ſuche as they coulde lay hands vpon, without any reſpect of perſon.

The Saxons togither with a power of Brytains, are ſent to the borders of the enimies countreys.

The Saxons in hope of good ſucceſſe, begin the warres againſt the Scottes with bloud.

Great was the ſlaughter by them committed in all thoſe parties where they paſſed, namely aboute the riuer of Tyne. And when they had made an ende there, they entred into Northumberlande, and ſo into the Dales aboue Barwike, next adioyning vnto Pighfland, diſtroying all before them with fire and ſworde.

The Pictiſhe king in the meane time had ſent vnto Congall the king of Scottes to come with all ſpeede to ſupporte him againſt the dreadfull inuaſion of the enimies, whoſe force being nowe increaſed with a power of Saxons, would worke muche miſchiefe if the ſame were not the more ſpeedily in the beginning repreſſed: but hearing that the Saxons and Brytains dayly approched, he thought not good to tarie for the comming of the Scottes, but haſted forth with his owne power to encounter his aduerſaries, & raſhly giuing battel, he was ouercome, and thereby loſt no ſmall number of his people.

The king of Picts, ſendeth for ayde vnto the Scottiſh king.

The king of the Picts vanquiſhed.

The Saxons wonne prayſe, and the Brytõs noted of cowardize.

In this conflict the Saxons wanne them a greate name for theyr highe valiauncie, where contrarily the Brytaines gotte them no ſmall note of guiltie cowardize, fighting ſo fayntly, that theyr Captaines had muche a doo to cauſe them to keepe theyr grounde, being ready ſtill to haue runne away, whiche their fayntneſſe of ſtomacke being noted of Hengiſt, euen then put him in no ſmall confidence that it ſhoulde bee an eaſie mater for him to conquere them at his pleaſure, when tyme and occaſion might ſerue thereto.

The Pictiſhe nation hauing receyued this grieuous ouerthrow at the handes of theyr cruell enimies, ſent agayne an other Ambaſſade vnto the Scottiſh king Congall, to ſignifie to him by way of lamentation, what loſſe had happened to them by that moſte cruell people the Saxons voyde of all religion and mercie, and what miſchiefe by the ſame people was intended, aſwell againſt Scottes as Pictes, to the great daunger of the vtter ruine of bothe the nations, if the enimies in time were not reſiſted. They ẏ were ſent declared all this mater vnto king Cõgall, & as they had in cõmiſſion, beſought him of ſpeedie ſuccors. Congall not only moued for the harmes and loſſes of the Pictes his frendes and alies, but alſo muche more for the lykelyhoode of the imminent daunger and perill towardes him ſelfe and his owne people, determined ſpeedily to goe with all his power, and to ioyne with the Picts, as fully reſolued to preuent that miſchiefe which was lyke to follow, if the violent rage of the enimies were not the ſooner reſiſted.

The Picts eftſoones ſolicite the Scottes for ayde.

Congall promiſed to ayde the Pictes.

Hee ſente worde therefore to the Pictiſhe king, that if hee might keepe off the enimies by lighte ſkyrmiſhes and incurſions for a ſmall tyme, hee woulde come to his ayde ſhortly, with all the whole puyſſance of his realme.

Prouiſiõ made by Scottes, to ayde the Picts.

And herewith hee commaunded by open proclamation, that all thoſe within his dominions whiche were able to beare armure, ſhoulde by the twentith day after, aſſemble togither at the South ſide of Calidone woode, all and euery of them bryngyng then and there with them vitayles ſufficient to ſerue them for two monethes. Accordyng to the whiche proclamation, there came togither at the day and place aſſigned, aboute the number of. xl. M. able men, fitte and meete for the warres.

On the morrowe after, when Congall had taken the muſters and vewe of his whole numbers, hee ſette forwarde towardes the place where hee vnderſtoode that the king of the Pictes as then lodged, who had lykewiſe aſſembled his people, and in campe taried for the comming of this Scottiſhe armie.

The fifth day after, bothe the kings met togither, and ſhewed greate tokens of entire loue and frendſhippe the one towardes the other. After this they go to heare diuine ſeruice, where they make theyr deuoute prayers vnto almightie God for theyr good ſpeede and luckie ſucceſſe in that iourney: which beyng done, they marche forth towardes the enimies, as then lying in campe not paſte tenne myles from them.

The Scotti
and picti
kings, aſſe
ble togithe
with theyr
Powers.

Here at the firſte ſight of the enimies, diuers of the Scottes and Pictes beyng ſtryken with feare to beholde ſo greate a multitude, as the lyke had not bene ſeene in thoſe parties many a day before, they ſtale away and ſecretely hidde themſelues in the nexte woodes: but the kings to giue enſample to other, cauſed them that were thus ſtolne away to be ſought out, and brought agayne into the campe, where they were hanged in the open ſight of all the armie.

The Scots
pictes come
withio fig
the enimie

The Saxons and Brytains alſo vppon the approche of theyr enimies gathered their companies togyther, and mayntenantly herewith the Saxons encouraged with ſuche comfortable ſpeache as Hengiſt vttered amongſt them, required to haue battayle without delay: whoſe enſample the Brytains following, ſhewed thẽſelues alſo right willing therevnto.

The Saxo
through co
fort of He
exhortatio
deſire ba

Congall the Scottiſhe king perceyuing the enimies to make readie for batayle, went likewiſe amongſt his folkes, and exhorted them in the beſt wiſe he coulde, to play the men. The like did Galanus the Pictiſhe king amongſt his people, omitting nothing that might encourage them to fight manfully.

The Scot
and Picti
kings ex
their peo
fight vali

After this, the batayles on bothe ſides comming forewarde to ioyne, the arrowes and dartes flewe freſhly betwixte them, but neyther parte minding to giue place for all the ſhotte: at length they ioyned at hande blowes, firſte the Brytains in the right wing, with the Scottes in the left wing: but the Brytaines not able long to endure agaynſt the force of the Scottes, gaue backe and fledde. In the meane while came a great ſhower of rayne, mixte with ſuche a tempeſt of hayle, that the hardieſt there wiſhed himſelfe thence, the ſtorme beating ſo faſt vpon them, that one might vnneath ſee an other, ſo that the Scottiſh menne and Pictes wiſte not whether were better to purſue the Brytains that fledde, or to keepe their places.

The batt
is begun

The Bry
flee.

A great ſh

On the other parte the Saxons according to theyr maner in time of any preſent daunger, cloſed themſelues togither and drewe neare vnto theyr chiefetayns ſtanderd. Finally the tempeſt no ſooner beganne to ceaſſe, but the Scottes and Pictes leauyng their order of battayle, fell to followe the chaſe of the Brytaines, ſuppoſing the victorie had bin wholly theirs. Which ẏ Saxõs (now after that the element began to cleare vp)

The Saxo
cloſe the
ſelues tog
ther.

The Scot
Pictes pu
the Brytai

plainly

e Saxons
yle the
& Pictes
dered in
te of the
tains.

playnely perceyuing, by commaundement of theyr generall Hengiſt, aſſayled the Scottes and Pictes here and there diſperſed aboute the ſpoyle and ſlaughter of the Brytains, and made ſuche murder of them on euery ſide where they found them, that pytie it was to beholde. Thoſe that eſcaped by flight, neuer ſtayed till they were gotten into places farre ynough out of daunger.

This was a blacke day with the Scots and Pictes. Neyther was it very ioyfull to the Brytains, of whom no ſmal number died in the place by the enimies ſworde.

gift pur-
at the
to make a
queſt of
Brytains.

Hengiſt hauing thus gotten the victorie, withdrew to Yorke, leauing thoſe countreys betwixt Tyne and Twede in the enimies handes, of purpoſe ceaſſing from further endomaging them, that the Brytains might haue neighbours whome to feare: For that as he thought ſhould make much for his purpoſe, alreadie hauing determined to make a conqueſt of this Iſle.

gift retur-
to Londõ

gift offe-
to ſende
more ayde
Germany

When Sommer then was well neare paſſed, he placed his ſouldiers in herbrough to lodge for the winter ſeaſon, and went himſelf to London, where he counſelled Vortigerne to ſende of his owne people to the borders of his enimies, to keepe the ſame from theyr inuaſions till the next ſpryng, agaynſt whiche time hee promiſed to cauſe ſuche notable numbers of his countreymen to come to his ayde, as ſhoulde ſuffice not onely to vanquiſhe the Scottiſh men and Picts, but alſo vtterly to deſtroy bothe the nations, or at leaſtwiſe to driue them forth of the whole countrey.

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ine.

This offer vnto ſome of the nobilitie was not greatly lyked, as euer ſuſpecting that which followed, leaſt in tyme to come Hengiſt ſhould ſeeke the dominion of the realme in placing his owne people, and expulſing the former inhabitants. But Vortigerne did not onely giue him moſte hartie thankes for thoſe his offers, but alſo ſhewed by the maner of the intertaynement whiche hee vſed towardes him, that he thought he coulde not do vnto him too muche honour for ſuche notable ſeruice, as he had done already, and truſted hee ſhoulde do hereafter.

onour
vnto
by
gerne.

According to Hengiſtes aduiſe alſo, there was a crewe of men of warre of Brytains ſent vnto the bordures to the number of fiue thouſande, who ſhortely after theyr comming thither were quickly diſpatched and made away in ſundry ſkyrmiſhes and encounters with the Scottes and Pictes, that aſſayled thoſe places whiche they were appointed to defend.

s ſente
nd the
are
ed.

Shortly after was ſente thyther alſo an other companie, double in number to the firſte, to reuenge the deathes of theyr fellowes: but they finding fortune as frowarde vnto them as the former had done before, ſpedde muchewhat alike, for in ſundry conflictes diuers of them being ſlayne, and diuers other by treaſon of the bordurers themſelues deliuered captyue into the aduerſaries handes, the reſidue that were left, perceyuing in what daunger they ſtoode, ſithence they mighte not truſte their owne countreymen, returned backe into the inner partes of the lande, and ſo left the bordures altogither vnfurniſhed.

A newe power of Saxons cõmeth ouer into Brytaine.

In this meane while a newe ſupplie of fiue thouſande Saxons, with theyr wiues and children, came ouer into this lande, in eyghtene hoyes, and amongſt other came Hengiſts wyfe and his doughter the Ladie Roxena. Shortly after, alſo king Vortigerne gaue vnto Hengiſt and his Saxons a greate parte of the countrey called Lyndſey, with a caſtell of greate ſtrength called Twhancaſtre. Some haue written that Hengiſt requyred of Vortigerne ſo muche grounde, as hee mighte compaſſe with an Oxe hide, and hauing that graunted, he tooke a mightie Oxe hyde, and cut it into ſmall thonges, and ſo cõpaſſing about a right ſtrong plot of ground with thoſe thonges line wiſe, beganne there the fundation of a Caſtell, whiche tooke name of thoſe thonges, wherewith the plotte thereof was firſte meaſured, and ſo was it called Twhang caſtell.

Twhang caſtel, or Thong caſtel.

But vpon what conſideration ſo euer it tooke that name, certaine it is by record of al the Scottiſhe hiſtories, that there the Saxons firſt inhabited after their entring into Brytaine.

The Saxons firſt inhabited in Lyndſey.

When Hengiſt had ſette things in order for the placing of his people there in dwellings, (appoynted them by Vortigerne) according as ſeemed beſte vnto his poletike head and craftie forecaſt, hee tooke forth the ſouldiers and menne of warre, ordered vnder certayne Captaynes and officers of bands, and led them forward by ſlow iourneys as it were ſtaying for the comming of the Brytains.

Vortymer generall of the Brytons.

Vortigerne had gathered as then an huge hoſte of his ſubiectes, and appointed his generall Lieutenant ouer them his ſonne Vortymere, a yong man of greate force and valiauncie, but ſo that he ſhould be ordered in all things by the aduice and diſcretion of Hengiſt, whoſe authoritie for the warres he commaunded to bee chiefly followed.

The Saxons & Brytains, againſt the Scots & Picts.

When bothe the armies of Saxons and Brytaines were mette togither, Hengiſt ledde them ouer the riuers of Humber & Tyne, marching directly towardes the place, where hee thought the enimies lay. The Scottiſhe and Pictiſh kings, hauing knowledge of ſuch preparation made by the Brytons, they gathered their powers togither, to the number of. lx. M. men, lx.M. of Scots & Picts, come to meete their enimies.

furniſhed with prouiſion of vitayles for a long time. But before theyr comming to the riuer of Tyne, vpon knowledge had that the Saxons and Brytains were paſſed the ſame, they made ſtreight towardes them, in purpoſe to haue giuen bataile without longer protracting of time, howbeit comming to the place where they were lodged, they founde them ſo ſtrongly encamped, that no aduauntage coulde be perceyued whiche way they might be conſtrayned to rayſe & come forth of theyr ſtrength to receyue battayle vpon ſome euen grounde, whiche Hengiſt of purpoſe for a time ſeemed to deferre.

Hengiſt prolongeth time to giue battel.

Betwixt thē alſo and the armies of the two kings there was a valley, in the botome full of myres and mariſhe grounde, whiche the Scottiſh men and Pictes muſte needes paſſe, ere they coulde finde meanes to do any notable diſpleaſure to the enimies. Wherefore at length they determined with turfe and fagottes to make paſſage ouer thoſe myres. Which being accompliſhed in the night following, the nexte morning they paſſed ouer and got them vnto certaine hilles lying right ouer agaynſt the Saxon and Brytiſhe campes, ſome of them taking their lodgings vpon the browe or fronte of an hill ſo neare to the lodgings of theyr enimies, that they might throwe a darte into theyr campe: and hereof they tooke no ſmall occaſion to worke a feate againſt their aduerſaries, to their great annoyance and vexation.

A policie of the Scottes.

There was growing in that place where they were thus encamped very muche of that kinde of Heath or lynge, whiche the Scottiſhmen call hadder. Of whiche Heathe, or hadder they gathered a great quantitie togither, and binding it in bundels lyke vnto faggots, in the night ſeaſon they ſet the ſame on fire, tumbling it downe the hill, on that ſide where the Saxons lay. The wind in that inſtant being ſomewhat aloft, cauſed theſe bundels of lynge to blaſe and brenne vehemently, and hereto ſtanding that wayes forth, droue the flambe ſo ſtreynably amongſt the tentes and cabanes of the Saxons, that the fire catching in the ſtrawe and twigges whiche they had couched togither vnder them in ſteede of beddes, encreaſed the feare amongſt the ſouldiers wonderfully, by reaſon that the blaſing bundels of the lynge or hadder, ſtill comming downe the hill vpon them, ſeemed as though the ſame had fallen from aboue, and euen forth of the heauen it ſelfe.

The tumult & feare rayſed in the campe of the Saxons.

Great was the tumulte and noyſe throughout the whole cāpe, with ſuch roring of beaſts, and running vp and downe bothe of them and of the horſes whiche were there in the campe, that if heauen and earth had gone togither there coulde not haue bene a more terrible noyſe nor clamour. At length when the Souldiers had done what they coulde to quenche the fire, and to appeaſe the trouble, not without ſome vprore and diſorder rayſed on eache ſide, they got them with their armour and weapons forth into the next fielde, whiche Hengiſt himſelfe perceyuing (hauing firſt done what he coulde to ſtay them) enuironed with a companie of his choyſeſt men of warre, he got him vp vnto a little hill next adioyning, and there gaue knowledge by the ſound of a trūpet that all his people ſhould drawe thither vnto him. After this, when they were come togither, he diſpoſed them in order of battel with all diligence, abiding for the ſpring of the day, to vnderſtand more certainely the meaning of his enimies.

Hengiſt cal leth his pe ple togith

The Scottes and Pictes ſuppoſing the enimies to be farre diſordred by reaſon of the fire diſcended downe from the hilles, fully determined to aſſayle them in their campes: but vpon their approche to the ſame, perceyuing howe the Saxons were gotten forth, and ſtoode ready in good order of batayle, minding to defende theyr grounde, bothe the kings thought it beſte to tarie the morning ere they made any exployte, for doubt of perils that might befall thereof.

Congalle hortation the Scott

In the breake of the day Congall came amongſt his people, exhorting them to remember theyr worthie elders, and by their example to chooſe rather to die in defence of theyr countrey and auncient liberties, than by cowardize to ſaue a diſhoneſted lyfe, whiche (if theyr chaunce was to be vanquiſhed) they ſhould paſſe in great thraldome and miſerie. The Pictiſhe king alſo, with lyke wordes encouraged his menne to do valiantly. Neyther was Hengiſt ſlowe in perſwading his Saxons to play the men, that obtayning the victorie they might deliuer themſelues from terrour of all enimies from thenceforth in Brytaine.

Hengiſt teth the S to fight fully.

The Scott Pictes gi the charge

The Saxo in daunge haue the uerthrow.

An ambu three tho ſand men.

Whileſt he was thus exhorting his people, the Scottes and Pictes with greate force and violence beganne to giue the charge vpon him, whiche whyleſt the Saxons and Brytains went about to defende, they were beaten downe by heapes ſo fiercely on eache ſide, that the diſcomfiture had light vppon them forthwith, had not Hengiſt by ſounde of trumpet called forth aboute three thouſand freſhe menne to their ſuccours, whiche hee had placed in an ambuſhe a little before the ſpring of the day within a thicke groue of wood, faſte by his campe, appoynting them to remayne there in a readineſſe, to come at his call vpon what daunger ſo euer happened. Theſe moſte fiercely ſetting vpon the backes of the Scottes, brought them ſtreyght out of all order, for they beyng occupied with the other Saxons before, & now aſſayled of theſe behinde, they had vnneath tourned to any aduantage to turne theyr weapons. In the meane time the Pictes being matched with the Brytains, did put them to flight, & chaſed them out of the field, not ceaſſing to purſue thē in the chaſe, till they came to a riuer in the whiche a great number of them were drowned, as they ieoperded to paſſe ouer the ſame, & to ſaue thēſelues by ſwimming. On the other ſide the Scottes being ſore handled by the Saxons, both before and behind, were at the length conſtreined to giue ground & breake forth by flight, ſo to eſcape the cruell handes of the enimies. Many were ſlayne in the chaſe and ſome taken pryſoners. The reſidue getting away, fledde ſtreyght to the Pictes, but Congall himſelfe through helpe of his houſeholde ſeruaunts eſcaped to the toppe of an highe hill, and ſaued himſelfe all wounded as he was.

he Brytains
to flight
the Picts.

e Scottes
d to flee.

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The Pictes returning from the chaſe, and vnderſtanding howe the Saxons had giuen the Scottes the ouerthrow, and that they were now marching forwarde to encounter alſo with thē, determined not to abide theyr comming at that time. And ſo night approching ere the Saxons had got ſight of them, order was giuen by commaundement of theyr king, that all their cariage and a greate quantitie of logges and fagottes, ſhould be placed and pyled togither before them, and in the darke of the night to be ſet on fire, whiche beyng executed according to the appointment, when the fire was once kindeled, the Pictes with the Scottes whiche were gotte vnto them, departed as ſecretely as they might, & ſtayed not to make away, till they were farre enough out of the daunger of the Saxons.

e policie of
e Pictes, to
ape out of
nger.

Hengiſt thus hauing got the victory, and perceyuing no enimie abrode to bid him battayle, muſtered his men, and found that he had loſt in this iourney as good as .iiij. M. of one and other. After this, he withdraweth to Yorke, and leauing his army there, went himſelf vnto Londō, where he was receyued with ioy inough by king Vortigerne. And ſhortly after, vpon knowledge that Aurelius Ambroſe and Vter the ſonnes of king Conſtantine prepared to come ouer with a mightie army of Armorike Brytons and other French men, to clayme the crowne of Brytaine as lawfully diſcēded to them frō theyr father, the Saxons were ſent for out of the north partes, & had dwellings appointed vnto them in Kent, to be at hand if neede were to reſiſt any ſuch attēpted inuaſion. But ſhortly after, for a policie Hengiſt cauſed it to be bruited abrode, that the Scots & Pictes meant eftſoones to inuade the Brittiſh confines, & therfore was there an other power of Saxōs called into the land, & placed in the north parts, to defend the ſame againſt the Scots and Picts. Occa the ſonne of Hengiſt had ẏ leading of theſe Saxons, who brought them ouer (being x. M. mē of warre, in .l. playtes & .l. hoyes. They brought with them alſo theyr wiues & children, & ſetled thēſelues in the north partes betwixt the riuer of Humber, & the borders of the Pictiſh dominiōs. And euen thē it began to take the name of Northumberland, which is as you would ſay the land by north the riuer of Hūber, & ſo it doth continue. Shortly after, Vortigerne forſaking his lawfull wife, married the ladie Roxena or Rowen, Hengiſts doughter, to the high offence of God, & great diſpleaſure of his ſubiects. And in the meane time Occa not attempting any exployt againſt the Scots & Pictes, rather ſought to get into his handes all the fortreſſes betwixt Tyne & Humber, euen from the eaſt ſea to the weſt: whiche his purpoſed intent he greatly aduaunced, winning caſtels and fortreſſes there in thoſe parties, ſome by force, & ſome by ſurrēder: & amongſt other places of importance, he firſt got poſſeſſion of Yorke, and fayning accuſations againſt many of the nobles & gentlemē, ſurmiſing that they woulde betray the countrey vnto the Scots & Pictes, he put diuers of them to death, ſome ſecretly & others opēly, as cōuict of ſuch offēces as were forged & layd againſt thē. Hereupō the Brytons for the ſtay of ſuch miſchief as they ſaw at hand, depoſed Vortigerne frō his kingly ſeat, & placed his ſonne Vortimer in his rowme, whiche being done, ambaſſadors were ſent bothe vnto the Scottes and Pictes, to require their aide and ſupporte againſt the cruell oppreſſion of the Saxōs, who ſought not only by craftie meanes & fraudulent waies to attaine the dominiō of the whole Iſle, but alſo to extinguiſh & vtterly ſubuert the faith of Chriſte, & the vſe of his religion throughout the ſame. Therfore they erneſtly deſired the Scottiſh & Pictiſh kings, to aſſiſt them againſt ſuch cōmon enimies as had bene called into the realme not by publike conſent of the nobles, but only by the priuate cōmaundement and ordinance of Vortigerne, to help aſwell towards the ſubduyng of the Scots and Picts, as alſo to repreſſe all commotions of the Brytains, which they might happely rayſe agaynſt him for his wicked tyrannie vſed amongſt them, as his giltie conſcience mighte put hym ſtyll in feare of.

lius Am-
ſe, & Vter
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e Saxons
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newe power
Saxōs came
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ir capitaine
cca.

Northumberland when it firſt began to be ſo called.

Vortigerne marieth Hengiſts doughter.

Yorke in poſſeſsion of Hengiſt.

Vortigerne depoſed by his ſubiects. Vortimer choſen to gouerne the Brytons. The Brytons require ayde of the Scottes and Pictes againſt the Saxons.

The Scottiſhe king Congall (vnto whome firſt the ambaſſadours were ſente) for anſweare declared, that hee was ſorie to vnderſtande into what dāger the miſerable Chriſtians of Brytaine were thus fallen, and therefore if nothing els might moue him to ioyne with the Brytains againſt the Saxons, yet that were ſufficient cauſe to enforce him to do the beſte hee coulde to helpe to deliuer the whole Iſle from ſuche an Ethnike generation, as not onely vſed

The anſwere of Congall king of Scots vnto the Brytiſh meſſengers.

the rites and ceremonies of their falſe religion, and that openly among the Chriſtians, with doing ſacrifice in the honour and worſhip of theyr helliſh goddes, to the great horror and terrible offence of the beholders cõſciences, but alſo ſought by all meanes they could deuiſe, how to deſtroy and quenche vtterly the faith of oure Sauioure Chriſte in all places where they myght get the vpper hande. He promiſed therefore to employe his whole puiſſance to recouer out of the enimies handes all ſuche countreys as lay betwixt the fronters of his dominion, and the ryuer of Humber, and further to ayde the Brytains to dryue them quite out of the Iſle, if the Brytains would aſſure him, frõ thence forth neuer to make clayme, title nor intereſt, to any the countreys aforeſayde, lying betwixt the ſaide riuer of Humber, and the confines of his realme, but to leaue the ſame in the handes of the Scottiſhmen and Pictes, to haue holde and enioy for euermore in quiet, which to performe, the Ambaſſadours had (amongſt other things) alreadie promiſed in name of all the Brytiſhe nation, as a recompence or meede to haue the ſupporte and ſuccours of the Scottes. The like aunſwere the ſame Ambaſſadours receyued of the Pictiſh king, and returning therewith vnto Vortymere declared afore him and his counſell howe they had ſpedde.

Vpon what conditions Congall coucnaunted to ſupport the Brytons.

Shortly after for the more and better aſſuraunce of all promiſes, couenaunts and articles paſſed betwixte the Scottiſhmen, Pictes and Brytaines, there was an amitie and bonde of peace nowe renewed ratified and eſtabliſhed according to the tenour of the auncient league whiche had bene concluded in times paſte betwixte them, with ſome newe conditions of agreement included in the ſame: all olde iniuries being ended and quieted clearely betwixt them, ſo that no cauſe of grudge or diſpleaſure, might be thought to remayne in remembrance.

A league co cluded betwi Scots, Picts, Brytons.

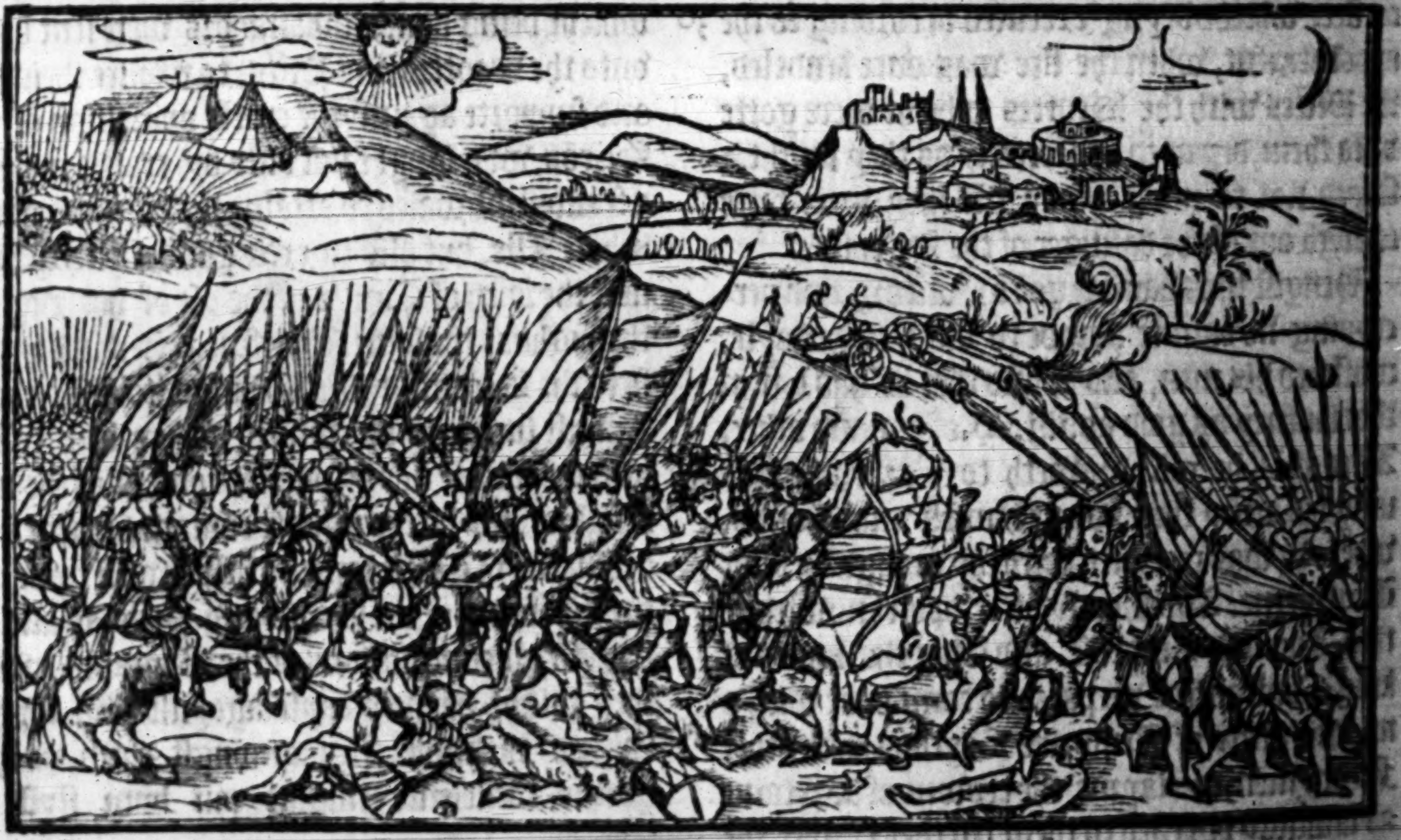
The firſte enterpryſe put in execution after the concluding of this league, was made by the Scottes againſt Occa and his Saxons, whiche (as partly ye haue heard) had neſtled themſelues betwixt the ryuers of Tyne and Humber.

The Scotte inuade the bordures of Northumbe land.

Againſt thoſe Scottes as they were very earneſtly occupied in ouerthrowing Caſtels and Towers, with ſlaughter of ſuche Saxons as ſtoode at defence, Occa commeth into the fielde with an army ready to encounter with them, but perceyuing the multitude of his enimies to be ſuche as he doubted leaſt hee ſhoulde not be well able to matche with them, he ſtayed a while from giuing the onſet: but in the end perceyuing he could not retyre backe but to his great diſaduantage, hee boldly gaue ſigne to his people to ſet vpon theyr enimies: whiche they fiercely executing, it was harde to tell for a whyle to whether parte the victorie woulde encline. But at length the Saxons not able to ſuſtayne the force of the Scottes ouerpreſſing them with multitude, began to giue backe, whiche Occa perceyuing did what hee coulde to hemme them in from running away, but yet notwithſtanding alll that he coulde do, feare at length ouercomming regarde to theyr Captaines commaundement, ſhame of rebuke was quite ſet aparte, and ſo they tooke them to their feete, and fled away ſo faſt as they might, the Scottes purſuyng after them a mayne.

The Saxo encoūter w the Scottes.

The Saxons vanquiſhed by the Scottes.



Occa yet eſcaped with diuers of his nobles, and comming to the mouth of Humber, got a ſhip, & ſayled forth in the ſame with great daunger, till at length he arriued within the Thames.

Occa fleeth b ſea into Ke

The ſlaughter of the Saxons vpon the diſcomfiture was greate, ſpecially in the chaſe, for the Scottiſhmen calling to remembraunce that they had to do with infidels, and with the enimies of the chriſtian fayth, were ſo eger vpon them, that they ſaued fewe or none that fell into theyr handes.

About the ſame time was Vortymere entred into Kent againſt Hengiſt & his Saxons there, and encountring with them in battel ſlew tenne thouſand of them, and chaſed the reſidue forth of that countrey.

he Saxons
nquiſhed by
ytons, and
pelled out
Kent.

Thus Kent returned vnto the Brytains, and the countreys beyond Humber northwards vnto the Scottes and Pictes, according to the tenour of the league before mencioned.

Hengiſt and his ſonne Occa (who a little before this battaile in Kent was come vnto his father with the reſidue of them that eſcaped, haſted with all ſpeede towardes Northumberlande, in purpoſe to remaine in that countrey till they had recouered theyr ſtrength by ſome power to be ſent ouer vnto them out of their owne countrey, but being repulſed with no ſmall ſlaughter from thence by the Scots and Pictes, they withdrew vnto the mouth of Humber, where getting certaine veſſels they paſſed ouer into Saxonie, leauing a great ſorte of theyr nation behind them, diſperſed abroade here and there in this Iſle, as fortune then beſt ſerued.

he Saxons
e out of Bry
ne.

Vortymere hauing got the victory as before is mencioned, vſed not the ſame very cruelly, for taking onely from the Saxons whiche were taken pryſoners theyr armure and weapon, hee ſuffred them to depart into theyr countrey: other of the ſame nation being but huſbandmen, and as it were poore labourers of the grounde he permitted to tarie in the countrey with theyr wiues and children as ſeruauntes vnto the Brytons.

ortymer v-
h the victo-
modeſtly.

After this Vortymere gaue order for the repayring of Churches and reſtoring of the chriſtian religion into the ſtate of the former puritie thereof, as then ſore decayed, partly through the euill example taken by dayly conuerſation amongſt the Saxons, and partly alſo by the infectiue hereſie of the Pelagians, as then mightily ſpred ouer the moſt parte of Brytaine. At length the ſayde Vortymer through treaſon of his ſtepmother Rowena was poyſoned and died. Then was Vortigerne agayne reſtored to the rule of the kingdome, firſt forced by othe to promiſe neuer to ayd the Saxons, nor to receiue by way of ayde any forrein people into the realme.

hereſie of
Pelagians

Vortigerne then reſtored thus vnto the crowne, ſhewed ſuche diligence in cauſing due adminiſtration of iuſtice without rigour to be executed, and prouiſion made for the reſiſting of all inuaſions that might be attempted by any forraine power, that his prayſe was greate amongſt all his ſubiectes, who to ſhewe theyr good willes likewiſe towardes him as to theyr naturall prince, were not ſlacke in honoring him aſwell by giftes and preſentes, as by all other maner of wayes.

He founde meanes alſo to renew the league with the Scottes and Pictes with like conditions and articles, as it was concluded laſtly betwixt them and his ſonne Vortimere.

The league renewed betwixt Brytons Scots & Picts.

But notwithſtanding his politike proceding thus to auoyde all incõuenience that might happen: ſhortely after Hengiſt returned, & what by force and ſubtill ſhiftes, at length got poſſeſſion of the more parte of Brytaine, ſo that the Brytons were conſtreyned to flee into Wales, whither alſo Vortigerne fledde and remayned there a certaine time, til at length Aurelius Ambroſius and Uter the ſonnes of king Conſtantine came ouer out of little Brytaine, and beſieging Vortigerne in a caſtell, brente him with the houſe and all, when they could not otherwiſe come by him, according to that which Merlyne the Brytiſh ſothſayer had prophecied before. It is fooliſhly ſuppoſed that this Merlyne was got by a ſprite of that kinde whiche are called Incubi, that is to vnderſtand, ſuch as cõueying mans ſeede from him, and therewith by illuſion (taking vpon them the ſhape and figure of man) do lie with women, and vſe them after the manner of carnal copulation. In this place Hector Boetius by the way reciteth a like tale or two, of ſuche illuſions of ſprites wrought not long before his time in Scotland, whiche ſomewhat abridging the ſame we haue here inferred.

Hengiſt returneth.

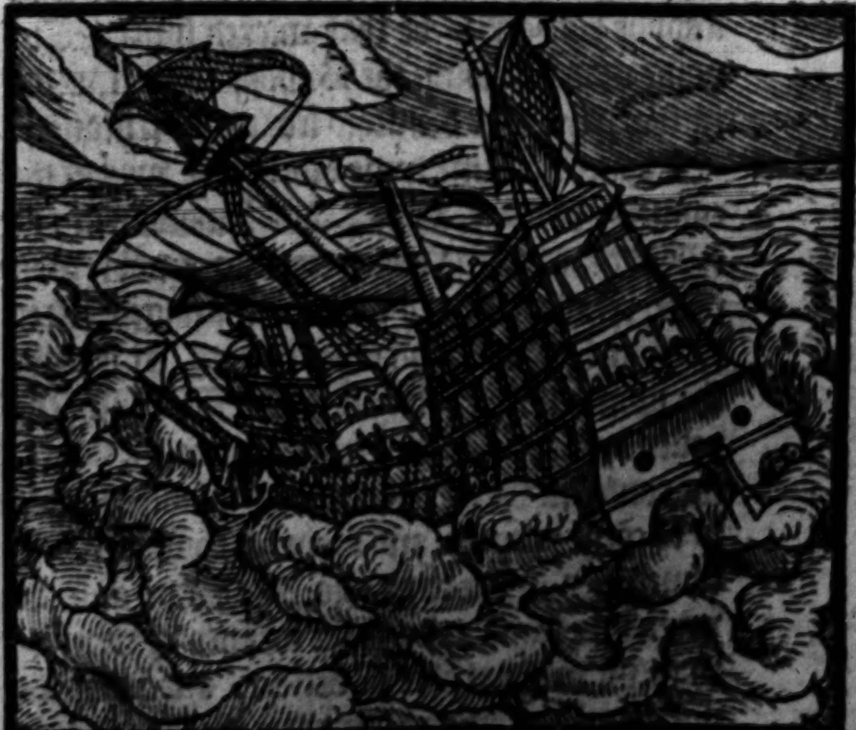
Vortigerne brent.

In the yeare. 1480. ſayth he, it chaunced as a Scottiſh ſhippe departed out of the Forth towardes Flaunders, there roſe a wonderful great tempeſt of winde & weather, ſo outragious, that the Maſter of the ſhip with other the Mariners wondered not a litle what the mater ment, to ſee ſuche weather that tyme of the yeare, for it was aboute the middeſt of Sommer. At length when the furious pyrrie & rage of windes ſtill encreaſed, in ſuche wiſe that all thoſe within the ſhippe

Illuſions of ſpirites.

A tale of a woman abuſed with a ſprite.

About S. Barnabees day.

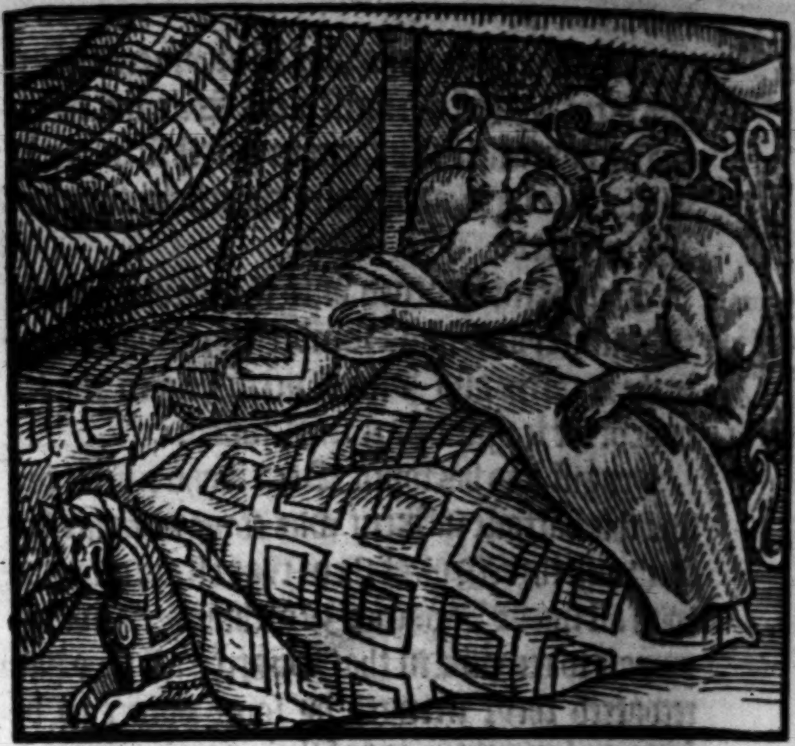


loked for preſent death, there was a woman vnderneath the hatches, called vnto them aboue, and willed them to throwe hyr into the ſea, that all the reſidue by goddes grace might yet be ſaued: and thereupon tolde them, howe ſhee had bene haunted a long tyme with a ſprite, dayely comming vnto hir, in mans lykenes, and that euen as then, hee was with hir vſing his filthye pleaſure after the maner of carnall copulation. In the ſhippe there chaunced alſo to bee a prieſt, who by the maiſters appointment going downe to this woman, & fynding hir lyke a moſt wretched and deſperate perſon, lamenting hir greate miſfortune and myſerable eſtate, vſed ſuche holſome admonitions and comfortable aduertiſements, willing hir to repent and hope for mercy at the handes of almightie God, that at lengthe ſhe ſeeming right penitent for hir greuous offences committed, and fetching ſundry ſighes euen from the bottome of hir heart, being witneſſe (as ſhould appeare) of the ſame, there iſſued forthe of the pumpe of the ſhippe, a foule and euill fauored black cloude, with a mightie terrible noiſe, flame, ſmoake and ſtinke, which preſently fel into the ſea. And ſodeinly thereupon the tempeſte ceaſſed, and the ſhip paſſyng in quiet the reſidue of hir iourney, arriued in ſafetie at the place whether ſhe was bounde.

A yong man haunted with a ſprite.

Not long before the hap hereof, there was in lyke maner a yong man dwelling in Gareoth, within a village there, not paſſing. xiiij. myles from Aberdyne, right faire and comely of ſhape, who declared by way of complaint vnto the Biſhop of that dioceſſe, howe there was a ſprite which haunted him in ſhape of a woman, ſo fair and beautifull a thing, that he neuer ſaw ẏ lyke, the which would come into his chāber a nights, & with pleaſant enticementes allure him to haue to doe with hir, and that by no maner of means he could be rid of hir. The biſhop like a wiſe mā aduiſed him to remoue into ſome other countrey and to giue himſelfe to faſtyng and prayer, ſo to auoyde his handes of that wicked ſprite. The yong man folowing the Biſhops counſel, within few days was deliuered frō further tentation.

Aboute the ſame tyme alſo, there was in the countrey of Mar, a yong Gentlewoman of excellent beautie, and daughter vnto a noble man there, refuſing ſundry wealthy mariages offred to hir by hir father, and other frendes. At lengthe ſhe proued with chyld, and being rigorouſly cōpelled by hir parentes to tel who was the father, ſhe confeſſed that a certain yong mā vſed nightly to come vnto hir, and keepe hir companie, and ſometimes in the daye alſo, but howe or from whence he came, or by what meanes he went away, ſhe was not able to declare. Hir parentes not greatly crediting hir wordes, layde diligent watche to vnderſtand what he was that had defyled their houſe: And within. iij. days after, vpon ſignification giuen by one of the maydens,



that the fornicatour was at that verie inſtante with their daughter, incontinently thereuppon, making faſte the dores, they enter the chamber with a great meignie of torches & lights, where they find in their daughters armes, a foule monſtrous thing, right horrible to beholde. Heere a number comming haſtily in, to beholde this euil fauoured ſight, amongſt other, there was a prieſt of right honeſt lyfe, not ignorant (as was thought) in knowledge of holie ſcripture. This prieſt (all other being afrayde) and ſome of them running their wayes, began to recite the beginning of Saint Johns Goſpell, and comming to theſe words, Verbum caro factum eſt, ſodeynely the wicked ſprite makyng a right ſore and terrible roaring noyſe, flew his wayes, taking the roofe of the chamber away with him, the hangings & couerings of the bed being alſo brent therewith. The Gentlewoman was yet preſerued, & within. iij. or. iiij. dayes after, was deliuered of ſuche a miſhapen thing, as the lyke before had not ben ſeene, whiche the midwiues and women ſuche as were preſent at hir labour, to auoyd the diſhonour of hir houſe, immediatly brente in a greate fyre, made in the chamber for the ſame intent.

Thus muche out of Hector Boetius, which, with more, he hath written to proue that all is not fayned whiche is written of the illuſions of deuils and euill ſpirites, the credite whereof I leaue with the Auctor.

Now to returne where I lefte touching Aurelius Ambroſe: ye ſhall vnderſtande, that he hauing once ſubdewed and diſpatched hys aduerſarie Vortigerne, he determyned to make warres againſt Engiſt and his Saxons, to proue if his chance myght be to recouer the realm out of their handes, and ſo to reſtore again the chriſtiā religion. But firſt ere he attempted any exployt againſt ẏ enimies, he ſent ambaſſadors both vnto

Aurelius A
brefe purp
ſeth to ma
warres ag
the Sax

Congall

mbaſſadors ſent vnto the Scottes and Pictes to require their ayde agaynſt the Saxons.

The Scots and Picts promiſe to ayde the Brytaynes agaynſt the Saxons.

The league renued betwixt Britains, Picts and Scots.

Congall the Scottiſh king, and alſo vnto one Loth a towardly yong gentleman, and of right comely perſonage, as then raigning among the Pictes, requiring them both to ayde him in ſo neceſſarie an enterpriſe as he had in hande agaynſt the enimies of Chriſt and his religion. Whereupon both theſe kings weying with themſelues the duetie of all Chriſtian Princes, in reſpect of the aduauncement of the cauſe of fayth, and ſuppreſſing of ethnike Idolatrie, promiſed their help to the vttermoſte of their powers agaynſte the Saxons, who had in ſuch tyranlyke ſort ſubuerted and aboliſhed the Chriſtian profeſſion within the Britiſhe confines. And therefore the olde league according to the articles and couenantes afore time concluded betwixte the three Nations, was once againe renued, and an army prepared by euery of them, to meet at a place and day appoynted, for the better expedition of thys their attempted voyage.

Aurelius Ambroſe maketh an oration.

Aurelius Ambroſe proclaymed king of Brytayne.

Firſt Aurelius Ambroſe, with ſuch power as he brought with him forth of Fraunce, and ioyning thereunto a great multitude of thoſe Brytaynes which had eſcaped the Saxons handes, eyther by withdrawing themſelues into Wales, or elſe by conueying themſelues into the Countreys of the Scottes and Pictes, ſetteth forward towarde the Scottiſhe armie. But firſt calling togither thoſe Brytaines that he had about him, and going vp to a little hill, where he might bee hearde of them all, he made a long Oration by way of complaynt, of the great iniuries and cruell practiſes vſed by Hengiſt, agaynſt the lynage of king Conſtantine, and the whole eſtate of the Brytiſh comon wealth. Alſo of the horrible perſecution made by him and his people the Saxons againſt the profeſſors of the Chriſtian religion. All which matter he handled in wordes ſo pithily, his talke yet ſauouring of the Romaine eloquence, that the mindes of the Souldiers beeing kindled therwith, required nothing but battayle, as men not doubting but by his wiſe and politike conduyt to atchieue ſome glorious victorie. And to the ende all things might be done in better order, according to his appoyntment, immediately they proclaymed him king. Which was by accompt of the Scottiſhe Chronicles, in the yeare. 498. after that Vortigerne with his ſonne Vortimer had raigned ſeuentene yeares in the whole.

Conranus generall of the Scottes.

Aurelius in this wiſe being eſtabliſhed King of Brytayne paſſeth forth with his people, and within ſixe dayes after, met with the armies of the Scottes and Pictes. Generall of the Scots at that time, was one Conranus brother to king Congall, who was troubled with the Goute, ſo that he could not come himſelfe in perſon.

Loth king of the Pictes.

Loth the Pictiſhe king was there himſelfe amongſt his people, verie deſirous to ſhew ſome proufe of his manly prowes and manhod. Aurelius Ambroſe ſhewed al the honour that might be deuiſed, as wel to yͤ one as to the other of thoſe two Nations, promiſing to requite them wyth as much friendſhippe when time and occaſion ſhould craue the like aſſiſtance.

Mahesbel.

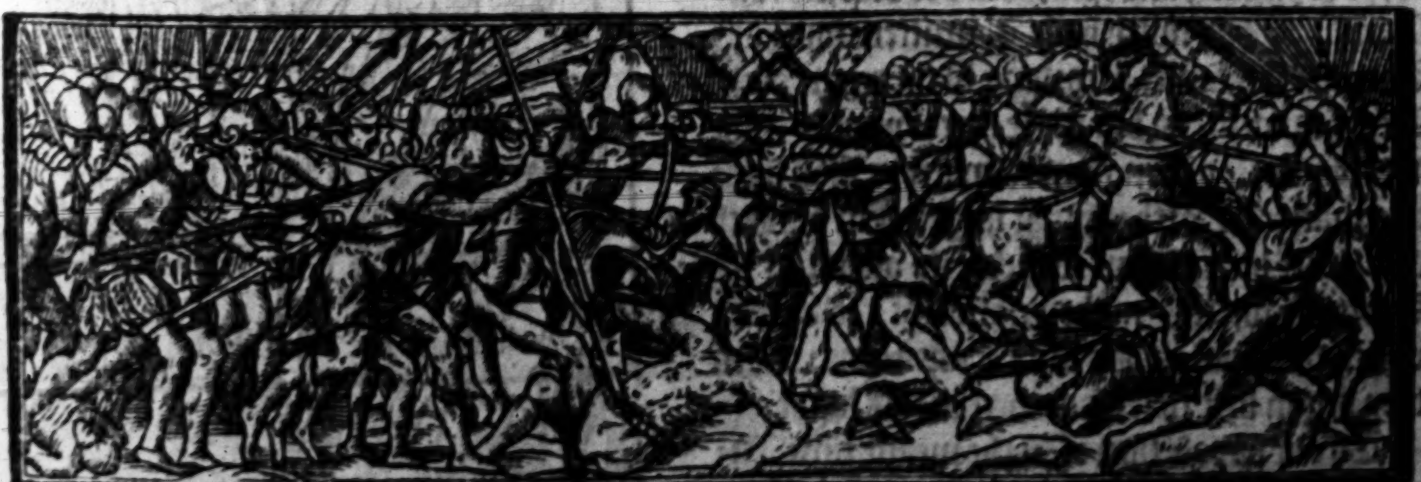
The Albions and Saxons encounter in battaile.

Theſe three mightie armies therefore beeing thus aſſembled, marched forth towardes a place called Maheſbell, where they vnderſtode that Hengiſt with his power as then did ſoiourne. Where when both the campes were pitched, and one lying not farre from the other: at the firſt certaine light ſkirmiſhes were procured by both partes betwixt the light horſemen, wherewith at length being the more prouoked to diſpleaſure, they come into the fielde with their whole maine battailes, right fiercely encountering eche other, ſo that as it appeared, their force was not ſo great but their mortall hate was euen as much, or rather more, if the hyſtories ſay right.

The Armorike Brytaynes.

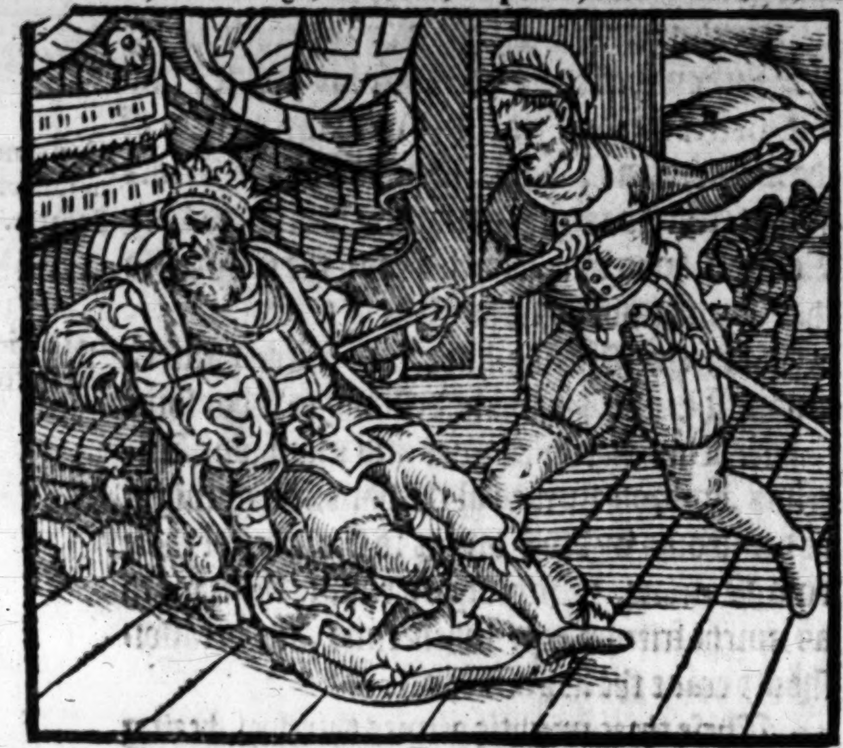
The Saxons diſcomfited.

The Armorike Brytaynes with a new kinde of order in their fight, ſore troubled the Saxons, in piercing their battailes, with their men arrayed in certaine wardes, brode behinde, and narrowe before wedgewiſe. The Scots alſo and Pictes bare downe both the wings of the Saxons, in ſuch maner, that the ſtandardes of all the three Nations, Scottes, Pictes, and Brytaynes, were at poynt almoſt to meete, hauing made way therevnto through the middeſt of their enimies. Wherewith the Saxons (beeing ſore diſcouraged) began to giue backe, and finally, notwithſtanding all that Hengiſt could ſay or do,



See more here of in England.

to haue ſtayed them, they fell to running away, and fled amaine, which when he throughly ſaw, and perceyued that there was no recouerie, hee himſelfe (in maner the laſt man that abode) fled likewiſe his wayes out of the field, with an ambuſhmẽt of horſmen about him, but being purſued by Aurelius right fiercely, he was run through the bodie by him with a ſpeare, and ſo was there ſlain out of hande, in the 488. of Chriſt, and 40 after his comming into the Iſle. Howbeit the other of the Saxons cõueyed his ſonne Occa (being alſo ſore wounded) away with them vp into the next mountaynes, whither they fled for their refuge, leauing the dead bodie of his father Hengiſt in the fielde, to their high reproch, there to be ſpoyled and abuſed of his enimies.



Hengiſt is ſlain by Aurelius as the Scottiſhe Chronicles ſay

Aurelius haſteth forth to London.

Aurelius Ambroſe hauing thus got the vpper hande of his enimies, haſteth forth with all ſpeede vnto London, where hauing both the Citie and tower deliuered into his handes, hee recouered the whole Ilande from the poſſeſſion of the Saxons: and ſuch of them as were apt men, able to beare armor, and to ſerue in the warres, he cõmaunded to depart forth of the land. The other that were minded to tarie behinde their fellowes that were thus forced to depart, became ſubiectes to the Britains, and couenanted to become chriſtians. Thus much haue I written touching Aurelius Ambroſe, according to the report of the Scottiſh wryters, but more hereof ye may reade in the hyſtorie of Englande, where ye ſhall finde this matter ſet forth more at large. For ẏ which wee write here, is but to ſhewe in what ſort the Scottiſhe writers make relation of the warres which their nation had with the Saxons, when they began firſt to ſet foote here in this lande.

To our pupoſe then: In the meane time Aurelius hauing thus recouered the lande out of the Saxons hands, and now remaining at London, did all the honor he coulde ymagine, both vnto Loth the Pictiſh king, and alſo vnto Conranus generall of the Scottiſhe men, acknowledging howe that by theyr ayde chiefly hee had got the vpper hande of his enimyes, and ſo hee willed to haue it notified amongſt his ſubiectes.

By ſupport of Scottes and Pictes Aurel us confeſſeth he got the vic torie of the Saxons.

Hereto hee cauſed the league to be renued betwixt the Scottes, Pictes, and Brytaynes, the auncient ordinaunce for the Countreyes beyond Humber, beeing appointed to remayne vnto the Scottiſhe men and Pictes: alſo that the Saxons ſhoulde bee reputed common enimyes to all the three Nations, and that vpon inuaſion made by any forraine power, the Scottes, Pictes, and Brytanes, ſhould ayde one another as occaſion ſerued.

The league be twixt Scottes Pictes, and Br tains is renue

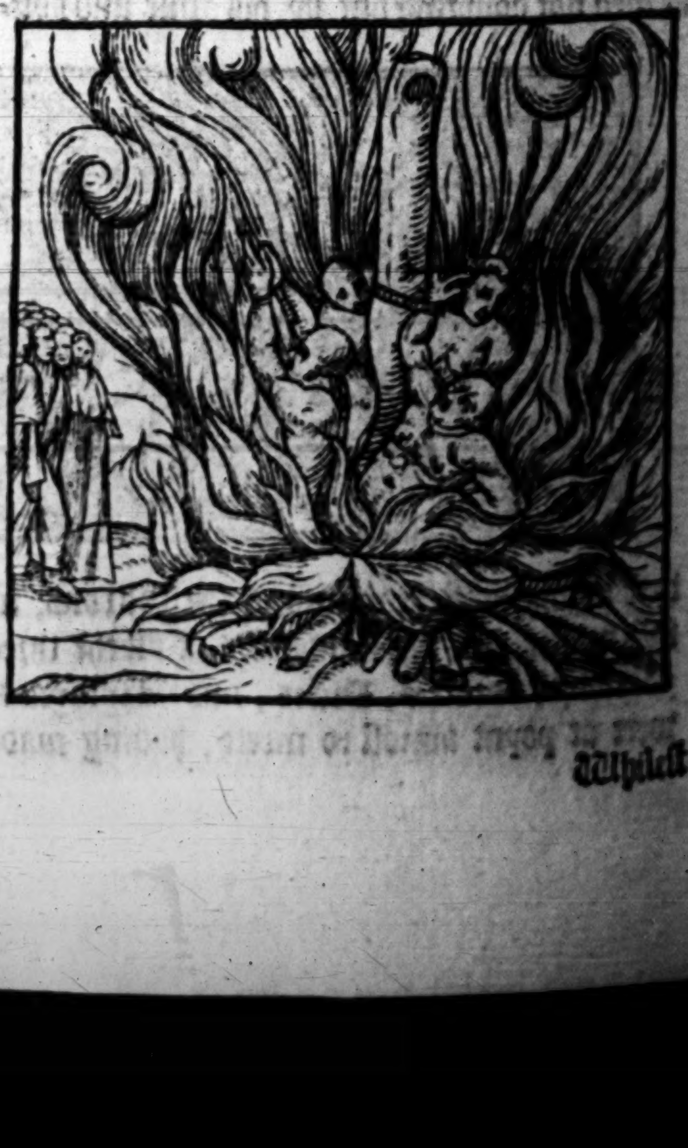
This league beeing concluded with theſe articles of coucnauntes was the more ſtrongly confyrmed, by reaſon of ſuch affinitie and allyaunce as then alſo enſued. For whereas Aurelius had two ſiſters, the one named Anne, and the other Ada, virgins both. Anne beeing the elder, was gyuen in maryage vnto King Loth, by whome certaine yeares after hee had iſſue two ſonnes, Mordred, and Walwan, or Galwan, with a daughter named Thametes: Ada beeing the yonger ſyſter, was maryed vnto Conranus, generall (as is ſayde) of the Scottiſhe armye. Howbeit ſhe lyued not paſt two yeares after, but dyed in trauayle of childe, which alſo dyed wyth the mother. And ſo ended the alyance of Aurelius and Conranus.

Anne the daughter of Aurelius gi in mariage v to Loth king of Pictes.

Ada maried vnto Cõran

The Brytaynes beeing delyuered through the victorie and meanes afore rehearſed from the cruell handes of the Saxons, enioyed ioyfull peace certaine yeares after, but in the meane time dyuerſe of thoſe Saxons which were lycenced to remayne in Brytayne, counterfeyting to become Chriſtians, vſed neuertheleſſe to make ſacryfice vnto Idolles, according to the manner of the Gentyles, whereof theyr Prieſtes beeing accuſed and condemned, ſuffered death by fyre for that offence, accordingly as the lawe dyd then appoynt them.

Diuers Sa Idolaters are burned.



The death of Congall.

Whileſt theſe things were thus in hande, Congall king of the Scottes being worne with long ſickneſſe, departed this life, and was buried in the Ile of Iona, otherwiſe called Colmekill, with all kingly pompe and accuſtomed ceremonies. He raigned ouer the Scottiſhmen about xx. yeares in great fame and glorie.

Conra-nus.

Conranus crea-ted king of Scotlande.

501.H.B.

After hys deceaſe, his brother Conranus, wyth great reioyſing of al the Scottiſhe Nation, was admitted King, in the yeare after the byrth of oure Sauiour, 512. and the. xxij. of the raigne of the Emperor Anaſtaſius.

This Conranus (otherwiſe alſo called by ſome Gozanus being eſtabliſhed king, firſt tooke order that the ſonnes of his brother Congall being within age, ſhoulde be brought vp in the Ile of Man, vnder the gouernance of certaine wyſe inſtructors and ſcholemaiſters, to be trayned in learning and vertuous diſcipline, according to an auncient ordenance thereof made and enacted.

The earneſt iligence of Conranus for aintenance good or-ers amongſt s ſubiects.

Alſo doubting leaſt peace and quietneſſe nowe after long warres, ſhould miniſter matter to his people of rayſing ſome commotion, to the diſturbance of all ciuill order and politike gouernment within his realme, hee rode as it had bene in circuite rounde about the ſame, making inquirie of all maner offenders, on whom he cauſed due puniſhment to be executed, without reſpect eyther of kyth or kinne,

goodly or-nance deui-by Con-s for re-e of his mmons.

And amongſt other enormities, which he vnderſtoode to be vſed in maner through al his countreys, this (as hee thought) was moſt greeuous, that the huſbandmen, and other commons of the Countrey, being euil intreated and miſuſed at the gentlemens handes, durſt not complaine, nor procure any redreſſe: by reaſon whereof, when they were oppreſſed or ſuffered any manner of wrong or iniurie, they were without remedie to haue the ſame reformed, he ordeyned therefore, that the names of al ſuch offenders, with the maner of their offences ſhoulde bee ſecretly regiſtred in a booke euerie yeare, by certaine Inquiſitours thereto choſen and appoynted, and if it chaunced that thoſe which were thus accuſed, might afterwardes be founde guiltie before the kings Iuſtices by matter plainly proued agaynſt them, they ſhoulde then be ſure to bee puniſhed according to the meaſure of their offences.

This cuſtome of accuſations, commonlye called inditements, continueth euen vnto theſe our dayes.

The king preſent at Aſsiſes.

Conranus himſelf (as is reported) vſed much to be preſent at Aſſyſes and Seſſions, to ſee the lawes duly miniſtred, either elſe to paſſe the time in hunting within ſome Forreſt or chaſe, nere to the place where his Iuſtices ſate.

Aurelius Ambroſe fell ſicke of a conſumption.

Nowe whileſt Conranus king of Scottes thus ſtudieth for the good gouernment of his people, Aurelius Ambroſe the king of Brytaine fell ſicke of a conſumption, whiche brought him to ſuch weakneſſe, that all recouerie of health in him was diſpayred, whereof Occa and Paſcentius ſonnes to Hengiſt beeing aduertiſed, returned with a mightie power of Saxons into Brytain, which (as Hector Boetius ſayth) they named at that preſent Engeſts land.

Occa and Paſcentius return into Britaine.

Vter the brother of Aurelius, lay alſo the ſame time ſore ſicke of a flixe in the parties of Wales, ſo that to auoyde diſſention that was rayſed among the Brytaynes about the appoynting of a generall to go agaynſt the enimies, Aurelius euē ſicke as he was, cauſed himſelf to be caryed forth in a litter, with whoſe preſence his people were ſo encouraged, that encountering with the Saxons, they wanne the victorie, although with ſuch loſſe on their ſide, that Aurelius was glad to take truce for the ſpace of foure monethes, and therewith breaking vp his campe, went vnto Wynchester, and ſent Ambaſſadors vnto the Scottiſh and Pictiſh kings for ayde agaynſt the time when the truce ſhould expyre, which was graūted, and ſo hee prouided for all things readie for the warres agaynſt the appoynted time of theyr aſſemble. Occa alſo ſent his brother Paſcentius into Germanie for more ayd, but as ſome write, hee was driuen by contrarie windes into Irelande, and getting a greate power of men togyther there, he came backe to his brother with the ſame. But whether he had thoſe men out of Ireland, or Germanie, ſure it is that the power of the Saxons was greatly encreaſed therewith. In the meane time died Aurelius Ambroſe, who was poyſoned by a miſchieuous Monke a Saxon borne, named Eopa, or Copa (as ſome bookes haue) that tooke vpon him to be ſkilfull in phiſick, and a Monke by profeſſion, his death was ſore lamented of the Brytaynes: but contrarywiſe, the Saxons reioyced greatly thereof, ſo that immediatly after, Occa with his power inuadeth the Brytons, vſing greate crueltie in all places wereſoeuer he came.

Aurelius Ambroſe departeth this life.

In the meane time the Scottiſh and Pictiſh armies were come forwarde towardes Aurelius, according to promiſe made vnto his Ambaſſadors: but whē his death was certainly knowne amongeſt them, the Captaynes and leaders of both thoſe armyes, reſolued to returne home againe,

The Scottiſh armie returne home againe.

gaine, and ſo they did, for that they doubted in what ſtate and order things ſhoulde ſtande amongſt the Brytaynes now after the deceaſſe of their late king.

After the death of Aurelius Ambroſe, hys brother Uter was made king of Brytaine, and falling in loue with the wife of Gothlois Duke of Cornwall, hee did not onely force hir to lye with him, but alſo to the ende hee might enioye hir the more freely, he ceaſſed not to purſue hir huſbande to ridde him out of the way, whome at length he toke within a Caſtle into the which he was fledde, and forthwyth cauſed him to bee executed, ſurmyſing matter agaynſt him for that he had forſaken one of his Captaines cleped Nathaliod, in battaile agaynſt the Saxons. By the wife of this Gothlois, Uter had iſſue the greate Arthure, and becauſe he had no legitimate ſonne, he appoynted that Arthure ſhoulde ſuccede him in gouernment of the realme.

Vter begat Arthure.

Herewith Loth the Pictiſh king was not a little moued, diſdeyning that Arthure beeing a baſtarde, and begot of another mans wife in adulterie, ſhoulde be preferred before his ſonnes the rightfull heyres of the Brytiſhe kingdome: and therefore by Ambaſſadours he did what he could to diſſwade Uter from making any ſuch ordinance. But when he ſawe that he coulde not remoue him from his opinion, he thought beſt to content himſelfe with ſilence, till the time ſerued better for his purpoſe.

At length when the warres were agayne renued betwixt Uter and Occa the Saxon king, Loth in reuenge of the iniurie done to him and his children, ioyned himſelf with the Saxons, and was with them at the battaile, in which the Brytaynes got the victorie by the preſence of Saint Germaine that holy Biſhop of Auxer as the Scottiſh writers make mention. Whiche battail as the ſame is ſet forth by Hector Boetius, bycauſe it toucheth the ſtate of the Pictes, we haue thought good here to expreſſe.

It was therefore about the feaſt of Eaſter, when the armies came into the fielde, the Saxons with the Picts on the one ſide, and the Brytaynes on the other, of whome no ſmall number (being eyther grown to be Idolaters through conuerſation with the Saxons, either elſe infected with the Herſie of the Pelagians) euen there in campe, by hearing ſuch godly Sermons as Saint Germain preached amongſt them, were conuerted to the true beliefe, receyuing at the ſame tyme the Sacrament of the Lordes bodie, togyther in companie with other of the faythfull Chriſtians.

S. Germain preacheth vnto the campe.

S. Germaine leadeth the forewarde.

Finally when both parties were readie to giue battaile, Saint Germain toke vpon him to haue the leading of the forewarde, wherein he had all the Prieſtes and eccleſiaſticall Miniſters, giuing commaundement, that when he ſhould crie Alleluya, they ſhould all anſwere him with one entier voyce.

Their crie was Alleluya.

Saint Germain beareth the kings ſtãdard.

Thus procede they forth towardes the battaile, Saint Germain bearing the kings Standarde in the forefront, and vpon the approche to the enimies, he with the Prieſtes crying with a lowde voyce thrice togither Alleluya, was anſwered by all the whole hoſt, vttering and crying the ſame crie ſo wholly togither, that the verie ſounde thereof cauſed ſuch an eccho on eche ſyde, by reaſon of the hollow mountaynes and clines hard by them, that the Saxons amazed at thys doubled noyſe, and doubting not onely another power of their enimies, to be hiddē priuily among the hilles, which they ſawe on eche ſide of them, but alſo leaſt the verie rockes and mountaynes would haue fallen downe vpon theyr heades togither with the frame of the Element, readie (as it ſeemed to them) to breake in ſunder, they toke them to their feete, in ſuche dreadfull haſte, that their breath was not able to ſuffice halfe the deſire they had to continue theyr courſe. Many of them made ſuch haſte, that running to the next ryuer in hope to paſſe the ſame, were drowned therein. To conclude, all of them generally threw awaye both weapon and armure, the more lightly to make away.

The Saxons miraculouſly diſcomfited.

Thus through the pollicie of that bleſſed man Saint Germaine, the victorie remayned wyth King Uter and his Brytaynes, wythout any bloudſhed.

Saint Bede making mention of this battayle, aſſigneth the tyme to be at the firſt comming of Saint Germain into this lande, where Hector Boetius, following Ueremond, ſuppoſeth it to be at the ſeconde time of his comming hither, which was in the dayes of king Uter.

Bede diſſen- teth from He tor Boetius his author Veremond.

But at what time ſoeuer this victorie thus chaunced, certaine it is, the Brytaynes waxing prowde thereof, nothing regarded the power of the Saxons, nor toke any heede for prouiſion of further defence: but after that thoſe holy Biſhops Germain and Seuerus were returned into theyr Countrey, they fell to all kyndes of gluttonie and exceſſe, in following onely their ſenſual luſts and fleſhly concupiſcence: which abuſes, the Biſhops and other godly men lamenting, ceaſſed not moſt earneſtly to reproue, menacing deſtruction vnto the whole Countrey, if the people leauing their wicked liuing and moſt heynous offences towards God, did not amende and repent in due time and ſpace.

The Bryt giue them ues vnto all kindes of vi and abhominations.

The threatning of vengeance to ſu ceede vicio liuing.

Neither were they deceyued herein: for within fewe yeares after, Occa eftſoones beganne to make warres vpon the Brytaynes agayne, and gaue them a notable ouerthrow, ſleaing of them to the number of .xv. thouſande, with theyr generall Nathaliod, but yet this victorie was not greatly pleaſant vnto the Saxons, for in the chaſe they loſt their king the foreſayde Occa, being aduaunced a good way of from the reſidue of his armie with fiue hundred horſemen, and a few footmen, in purſute of his enimyes, whiche was the only cauſe, that as then the Saxons attempted no further exployte agaynſt the Brytaynes.

The Brytaines receiue a great uerthrow.

King Occa ine.

And yet for that they woulde not be without a gouernour, they created an other Occa to their king, the nephew of the former Occa by his brother Oiſcus. And then turned all their force to make warres agaynſt the Pictes, for that Loth king of the Picts, contrarie to his othe of credence had ayded the Brytaynes in the laſt battaile, as by certaine priſoners taken in the ſame, they had perfite vnderſtanding.

The yonger Occa nephew to the former Occa by his rother Oiſcus.

oth contrary his othe of redence ayded he Brytaynes gaynſt the axons.

Occa therefore being fierce of nature, to the ende to endomage his enimies the more, ſent into Germany for one Colgerne, or Colgern, a man of great eſtimation and byrth amongſt the Saxons, to come ouer with a power vnto him into England, promiſing for recompence of his trauayle and ayde agaynſt the Pictes, to deliuer vnto him all ſuch landes as lay beyonde the water of Humber, which might be recouered out of the handes of the Pictes, to enioy vnto him and his for euer.

Colgerne, or Colgerme a Saxon, is ſent for by Occa.

Colgerne accepting the offer, landed ſhortly after in Northumberlande, putting the whole Countrey vnto fire and ſworde. Which cruell dealing, cauſed a great number of Scottes and Pictes, which held diuerſe Caſtels in that quarter, to come forth into the fielde to defende the countrey, and ioyning battail with their enimies

Colgerne landeth in Northumberland.

were diſcomfited, their ſlaughter being muche encreaſed by the comming of Occa at vnwares vpon them. For he firſt taking truce with Vter king of the Brytaynes, haſteth with all ſpeede to ioyne his power with Colgerne, after he heard once that he was come a lande.

These newes being brought by ſuch as fled away into Galloway and Pictland, cauſed both the kings, Loth and Conranus, in moſt ſpeedie wiſe to aſſemble their forces, and with the ſame to march forthwith towardes the Saxons: but being come within ſight of them, readie to gyue battaile, great was the feare and terror in both their hoſtes to ioyne in fight with ſuch a number of fierce people, as they ſawe there before theyr faces. Which feare roſe firſt through the Brytaynes, of whom no ſmall number was there, in ayde of the Scottes and Picts, agaynſt the Saxons, declaring many things of the great valure, ſtrength of bodie, and huge forme of lymmes of the ſame Saxons, being ſo fierce and cruell in fight, as they alledged, that they were able to put their enimies to flight, euen with their grymme lookes and terrible countenances. Whereof ſuch feare and terror was ſpredde through both the whole armies, that if ſhame had not partlye wrought amongſt the men of warre, many of them woulde haue fledde their wayes before any battail had bene attempted at all.

e kings of ottes and ctes rayſe eir powers reſiſt the axons.

e Scottes and ctes are put feare of the xons valiancie.

The kings perceyuing ſuche diſcomfiture amongſt their men, cauſed them to aſſemble togither, and appoynted one ſuch as was thought meete for the purpoſe, to declare vnto them on theyr behalfes, how they could not but maruel to vnderſtand ſuch feare and lack of courage, as appeared generally through both the armies, conſidering there was no cauſe thereof, they beeing ſuche a number of able warriours preſectly appoynted, and therewith led by ſuch gouernours and Captaines, as there was no reaſon why to be doubtful of victorie, before they had ſeene ſome tryall and iuſt occaſion of diſaduauntage. For as touching the Saxons, they were no ſuch men but that they might be ouercome well ynough, as it might ſufficiently appeare, both by prouſe of ſuch victories as Vortimere the Brytiſhe king had obteyned agaynſt them, and alſo Aurelius Ambroſe, who had vanquiſhed them in ſuch ſort,

The kings cauſe one to make an oration vnto their people to remoue all feare out of theyr heartes.

that when they durſt not eftſones encoũter with him in battaile, they founde meanes by trayterous practiſe to make him away through poyſon. Then ſith the Brytaynes (whom the Scottiſh men and Pictes ſo often had ſubdued) had at ſundrie tymes vanquiſhed the Saxons, why ſhould they feare in ſuch wiſe to fight with them in common defence of theyr Countrey, and reuenge of ſuch iniuries as they had lately receyued at theyr handes, ſith the righteous God (as all good men ought to truſt) is euer readie to aduance a righteous quarell. And where it was bruted amongeſt them, that the Saxons were ſo huge of ſtature, and mightie of lymmes, that no force was able to withſtande them, it was certainly knowne, that the Scottes and Pictes were indewed with no leſſe mightineſſe & ſtrẽgth of bodie than the Saxons: ſo that if they were not of lyke ſtomackes, that reſted in their owne ſlouthfull cowardiſe, and not in natures worke, hauing done hir part in beſtowing hir gyftes vpon them touching bodily force, in ſuch plenteous maner, as no other nation did lightly any wayes ſurmount them.

Many other arguments were alledged & layd forth to remoue feare out of their hartes, and to incorage them to fight, inſomuch that in the end it appeared the ſame wrought the wiſhed effect, in ſuch wiſe, that they generally requyred battaile, offering to liue and die at theyr Captaynes feete, and to follow them whither ſoeuer it ſhould pleaſe theyr kings & liege lords to appoynt them.

The Scottes' through comfortable words of an oration recouer newe courages.

Herewith the kings being ſatiſfied, forth they march towardes their enimies, whome they found readie to receyue them, and that with ſuch rigorous violence, that in the ende after greate ſlaughter made on both partes, the Scottes and Pictes were put to flight, the Saxons purſuing in the chaſe till the darke night cauſed them to withdraw and returne into their campe.

The Scots and Pictes are put to flight.

The day next following, the Scottiſh king with the reſidue of his army, haſted away with al ſpeede towardes Galloway, and the Pictiſh king withdrewe into Pictlande.

The Saxons vſing the victorie moſt cruelly, ſlue all ſuch of the Pictiſh and Scottiſh nations, as they met with, in all places betwixt Tine and Tweede.

Then did Occa create the forenamed Colgerne duke of Northumberland, who repayring all ſuch Caſtels and ſtrong houſes, as he thought expedient to haue kept, placed in the ſame garriſons of ſouldiers, to defend the countrey agaynſt all maner of enimies.

Colgern created Duke of Northumberlande.

After this, Occa turned his power agaynſt the Brytaynes, whiche in the laſt battayle had ayded the Scottes and Pictes, as before is partly touched. The Brytaynes receyuing a great ouerthrowe in battaile, Vter the Brytiſhe king was glad with ſuche as mighte eſcape the enimies hands, to withdraw into Wales, leauing the reſidue of his Countreys vnto the Saxons, who therevpon recouered not onely the Citie of London, yeelding it ſelfe vnto them for doubt of ſome long ſiege, but alſo all thoſe countreys and prouinces, whiche Hengiſt the firſt of the Saxons that raigned as king within the boundes of Albion at any time, had holden or enioyed, & ceaſſed not after recouerie of the ſame, to vexe and diſquiet the Scottes, Brytaynes and Pictes, with continuall incurſions, hoping by ſuch meanes to keepe them ſtill occupied.

The Brytayn ouerthrowne in battaile by the Saxons.

Vter withdraweth into Wales.

London recouered by Saxons.

In the middes of this trouble Vter king of the Brytaynes departed this worlde, poyſoned (as ſome haue written) by drinking water taken out of a foũtain, which the Saxons had enuenomed. He died in the yeare after the byrth of our ſauiour 521. and in the xviij. of his owne raigne.

The death of Vter poiſoned by drinking water of a wel

521.

After his deceaſſe, Loth king of the Pictes ſent his Ambaſſadours vnto the Lordes, and other the eſtates of the Brytiſh dominions, requyring thẽ according to the accuſtomed lawes, and auncient ordenances of the Realme, to receyue him as king, ſith he had maryed the ſiſter and heyre of the two brethren Aurelius Ambroſe, and Vter, their two laſt kings, being as then both deceaſed without leauing behinde them any lawfull iſſue, by reaſon whereof, their eſtate was fallen vnto him, to enioy the ſame during his life, hauing maryed (as is ſayde) theyr owne naturall and lawfull borne ſiſter, and after the deceaſſe of him and his wife the ſayde ſiſter, then it ought by courſe of the lawes of all Realmes and Countreys to diſcende vnto ſuch iſſue as hee had begot of hir, whiche was two ſonnes, the one named Mordred, and the other Waluane, or Gawane, as ſome doe call him.

Loth requyreth the kingdome of Brytayne.

Mordred and Gawane.

The Brytaynes diſdainfully vſing the Pictiſh Ambaſſadours that came with this meſſage, refuſed not onelye to come vnder ſubiection of Loth, but alſo denyed that his ſonnes begot of his lawfull wife, the ſiſter of Aurelius and Vter, ſhoulde haue any rule or gouernment amongeſt them, as thoſe that were no Brytaynes borne, but ſtraungers vnto them, being both borne and vpbred in a forraine countrey.

The Bryta refuſe to receyue either Loth or any of his ſonnes to raigne o them.

Thoſe Ambaſſadours then hauing theyr anſwere, and beeing ſent home with reproche, the Brytaynes contrarie to the lawes of all nations, proclaymed Arthure, beeing a baſtarde borne, king of their Realme, and forthwith aſſembling theyr powers vnder his leading, marched on agaynſt the Saxons, in purpoſe to abate ſome part of their ſtrength, before the Pictes (whiche was doubted woulde ſhortly come to paſſe) ſhoulde ioyne with them.

Arthure proclaymed king of Brytayne.

Arthure goe forth againſt the Saxons.

Therefore

e Armorik
ytaines in
d of Arthur.

he Saxons
nquiſhed,
e conſtray-
d to pay tri-
te to the
ytaynes.

Therefore hauing procured ayde of the Armoryke Brytaynes forth of Fraunce, they fought with theyr enimies within ten myles of London at the firſt, where the Saxons beeing at two ſeuerall tymes vanquiſhed, were conſtrayned not onely to pay trybute, but alſo to receyue magiſtrates to gouerne them by the ſaid Arthures appoyntment, with other grieuous articles of agreement, to the great reioyſing of the Brytains, for theſe ſo luckie beginnings in the firſt exploits of their late elected king.

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Afterwardes was London eaſily wonne by the Brytains, wherein Arthure remayning for a ſeaſon, toke aduiſe with his nobles howe to proceede in his warres againſt the reſt of the Saxons. Finally hauing prepared a mightie army, he determineth to go agaynſt thoſe which inhabited beyond Humber northwards, with whom (as he had certaine knowledge) the Picts were ioyned: for Loth cōming to agreement with Colgerne, concluded a league with him, wherby they were bound to ayd one another agaynſt the Brytains, as cōmon enimies and aduerſaries to them both.

owel leader
the Armo-
ke Brytains.

e Picts put
flight.

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fled, made
ir race to-
ards Yorke.

The Brytaynes at theyr comming into Yorkſhire pitched their campe not farre off from theyr enimes, who were alreadie ioyned togither and encamped abrode in the field. The next day after, knowledge beeing had that they ſhoulde haue battail, Arthure appoynted Howel leader of the Armoryke Brytains to encounter with the battaile of the Pictes, and he himſelfe to matche with the Saxons. Thus they mette togither on both partes very fiercely, and a ſore battaile was fought ther betwixt them, ſo that for a good ſpace it was doubtful whether part ſhould haue the aduauntage of the day, but at length the Pictes were put to flight, which aduaunced the Brytaynes to the gayne of the whole fielde. For the Saxons after they perceyued howe the Pictes were diſcomfited, dreading to abyde the whole brunte by themſelues, betoke them alſo to theyr heeles, and made theyr raſe towardes Yorke, as faſte as theyr feete myght beare them.

rk beſieged

Occa returneth of out Germanie with a new power.

Arthure purſuing them thither, beſieged the Citie almoſt three Monethes togyther, but the Saxons defended the Walles ſo ſtoutly making often iſſues forth vpon the Brytaynes, that till hunger began to conſtrayne them, they cared little for the ſiege. In the end when they were determined to haue yeelded vp the Citie, they had knowledge, howe there was an huge armie of Pictes and Saxons newly aſſembled, and readie to come forwarde to their ſuccors, alſo that king Occa (eſcaping from the battayle wherein he had receiued the ouerthrow at Arthurs hands, and fleing afterwarde into Germanie) was now returned with a newe power, and arryued within the mouth of Humber. Which newes cauſed them to deferre all communication, in hope that if they might abyde the ſiege but for a ſmall tyme, the Brytaynes ſhoulde ſhortly bee compaſſed in on eche ſyde, and oppreſſed on the ſodaine.

Arthure rayſeth his ſiege.

Arthure returneth to Lōdon

Arthur heard of the comming of theyr ſuccours in like maner, and iudging it no wiſedom to tarie the comming of his ſo puiſſant enimies, conſidering what a number of diſeaſed and ſicke perſons he had alreadie in his hoſt, by reaſon of their long lying abrode in the fielde) rayſed hys ſiege, and withdrewe himſelfe ſo ſpeedily as was poſſible with his whole army into Wales, where he appoynted the Armorike Brytaynes to ſoiourne for that Winter, with other of the meaner ſort of his own ſouldiers. Whileſt he toke the reſidue of his choſen bands, and went to London, there to prouide that no rebellion ſhoulde be rayſed amongſt the Saxons of Kent, or other of the countreys neare about.

Arthure diſcomfiteth the Saxons twiſe in battaile, & then againe lieth ſiege to Yorke and winneth it.

Arthure vſeth the victorie with gentleneſſe.

In the beginning of the next ſpring, he gathered his hoſt togither again, and with the ſame went forth agaynſt Colgerne and Occa, who being iſſued forth of Northumberland, were entred into the Brytiſh confines, ſpoyling and waſting the countrey with their accuſtomed cruelty. Wherevpon encountering them twice in battail, he obteined the victorie, and then beſieging York, at length he entred into that Citie, by meanes of a Brytayn, who dwelling amongſt the Saxons there, in the night ſeaſon cōueyed a ſort of Brytains into the citie, the which breaking open the gates in yͤ dead of yͤ night, did let in al the whole hoſt. Where Arthur would not ſuffer his men to make any great murther of the enimies, whiche were content to yeeld themſelues, but vſed them very gently, therby to win more praiſe amongſt all thoſe that heard of his worthie victories.

The Brytaines ſoiourning for the winter time within Yorke, giue themſelues vnto banketting and voluptuouſneſſe.

The Brytaines hauing thus conquered the Citie of Yorke, many feates of armes were dayly practized betwixt them and the Saxons, which held poſſeſſion ſtill of the countrey there aboutes. But the Britaines lying in that citie al the ſommer and winter following, at length beganne to take their eaſe, namely in the depth of the winter, and therewith gaue themſelues to banketting, drinking, play, and other kindes of voluptuous pleſures, ſo yͭ it ſeemed they truſted more to their paſſed victories than to their preſent force, not fearing ſuche danger as was like to follow.

It is thought of ſome, that aboute the ſame tyme, Arthur firſte inſtituted, that the feaſte of Chriſtmaſſe ſhoulde be kept with ſuch exceſſe of meates and drinkes, in all kyndes of inordinate banquetting and reuell for the ſpace of thirtene dayes togyther, according to the cuſtome vſed ſtill throughe both the Realmes

of

Chriſtmas bankets reſembling the feaſtes Bacchanalia.

of England and Scotlande euen vnto this day, reſembling the feaſtes which the Gentiles vſed to keepe in the honour of their dronken God Bacchus, called in latine Bacchanalia: wherein all kindes of beaſtly luſt and ſenſuall voluptuouſneſſe was put in vre. But whence ſoeuer, or by whom ſoeuer this inſatiable gourmandiſe came vp amongſt vs, ſurely a great abuſe it is, to ſee the people at ſuche a ſolemne feaſt (where they ought to bee occupied in thankes giuing to almightie God, for the ſending downe of his onely begotten ſonne amongſt vs) to giue themſelues in maner wholy to gluttonie and exceſſiue filling of their bellies, with ſuch maner of lewd and wanton paſtimes, as though they ſhoulde rather celebrate the ſame feaſtes of Bacchanalia, and thoſe other which the Gentiles alſo kept, called Floralia, and Priapalia, than the remembrance of Chriſtes natiuitie, who abhorreth all maner of ſuch exceſſe.

The Brytaines through reſt and eaſe became vnapt to ſuſteyne the paynes of warres.

A league concluded betwixt Arthure king of Brytaynes, and Loth king of Pictes.

Mordred marieth the daughter of one Gawolane a Brytayne.

Gawan or Gawen in ſeruice with king Arthure.

But nowe to my purpoſe. When the next Sommer was once come, Arthure led forth hys Brytaynes agaynſt their enimies, but by reaſon of ſuch eaſe and pleaſure, as they had taken whyleſt they ſoiourned in Yorke, being nowe come into the field, they were able to abide no paynes, ſo that no good was done of certaine yeares after, till finally Arthure ioyned in league wyth Loth king of the Picts. The conditions of which league were theſe. That Arthure during his naturall life ſhould raigne as king of the Brytains, and after his deceaſſe, the kingdome to remaine vnto Mordred and his iſſue, if he chaunced to haue any. That the Pictes ſhould ayde the Britaynes agaynſt the Saxons, and haue all ſuche landes as might bee recouered of them beyonde Humber. Alſo the league whiche was betwixt them and the Scottes, they ſhould duely obſerue. Mordred ſhould marrie the daughter of Gawolan a noble man amongſt the Brytaynes, and of higheſt authoritie next vnto Arthure himſelfe: the children of this maryage to bee brought vp with their grandfather in Brytain, till they came to yeares of diſcretion. Gawan the brother of the foreſayde Mordred, ſhoulde ſerue king Arthure, and receyue at his handes large entertainment, and great poſſeſſions to mainteyne therewith his eſtate.

Arthure ſendeth Ambaſſadours vnto the kings of Scots and Pictes.

Other articles there were compryſed in this league, according as was thought requiſite for the maintenance of ſtable friendſhip betwixt theſe kings and their nations. So that Arthur hauing concluded this league, and ſtill being deſirous to purge the whole Iſle of all miſcreantes and enimies of the Chriſtian fayth, hee ſente vnto the Scottiſh and Pictiſh kings, requiring them on the behalfe of that dutie which they ought vnto the aduauncement of Chriſtes religion, to aſſemble their powers, and to meete him at Tynmouth, whither he woulde repayre to ioyne with them, at ſuch day as they would appoynt, from thence to march forth agaynſt the Saxons.

Scottes, Pi
and Brytaine
ioyne togithe
agaynſt the
Saxons.

Loth king of the Pictes, and Conranus king of the Scottiſhmen, fayled not in this ſo neceſſarie an enterpriſe, but agreeable to Arthures requeſt, within fewe dayes after they came forwarde, and ioyning with the Brytaynes, forth they went agaynſt the Saxons, whom they vnderſtoode to be alreadie in campe, vnder the conduite of their king Occa, in purpoſe to ſtop their paſſage.

Colgerme re
proueth Lo

When both the armies were approched neare togither, they prepared to the battaile, and fyrſt Colgerme Duke of Northumberlande mounted vpon a light gelding, rode almoſte euen harde to the faces of the Pictes, where they ſtoode in theyr order of battaile right ſtoutly, and there vttering many reprochfull wordes vnto Loth and other of his nobles, for breach of their promiſed friendſhip to him and his Saxons, declared that he truſted ſhortly to ſee iuſt puniſhment light vppon them for this falſhood and vntruthes ſake, in thus ioyning with theyr former enimies againſt their moſt truſtie friendes and ſtedfaſt allies.

The Pictiſhe king not greatly moued herewith, commaunded his Standards to aduaunce forwarde, and the Saxons likewiſe haſted apace towardes them, ſo that the one being come within daunger of ſhot of the other, the Pictes let flie their Arrowes right freſhly. Arthur in the meane time hauing ſet his people in aray, exhorted thē to fight manfully: and ſo ſoone as he perceyued that the fray was begon by the Picts, he in ſemblable wiſe commaundeth the Brytaines to giue the onſet, ſo that immediately there enſued a ſore conflict: the Scottes beeing in the right wing, ſleaing Cheldricke one of the chiefeſt Captaines amongeſt the Saxons, quickly diſcomfited that Wing with the which they were firſt matched.

Colgerme with his Saxons encountring as is ſayde with the Pictes, placed in the left wing, ruſhed in amongſt his enimies (vpon an earneſt deſire to be reuenged of his aduerſarie king Loth) with ſuch violence, that at their firſt encounter he ouerthrew the ſame Loth: but immediately thervppon two Pictiſhe horſemen running at Colgerme ſidling wiſe, bare him quite through. In the meane time, Loth by meane of his ſtrong haberioyne eſcaping without hurt, was relieued by ſuch as ſtood about him, and reſtored againe to his companie: but Colgerme being deade before he could be recouered from amongeſt the throng of his enimies, his mē were ſo diſcomforted therewith, that ſtreight wayes thereupon they fell to running away. The maine battaile of the Saxons being thus left bare on both ſides, began to

Colgerme is
runne throug
by his aduer
ſaryes.

The Saxons are put to flight.

giue backe, which Arthure perceyuing, the more earneſtly preſſed forth vpõ them, ſo that in the end Occa being conſtrayned to flee, and receyuing a ſore wound, had much ado to be conueyed away by ſome of his horſmen, the Brytains purſued ſo fiercely vpon him. At length being brought vnto the ſea ſide, he got veſſels, and eſcaped ouer into Germanie. This victorie being thus atchieued, conſtrayned the Saxons to yeeld vnto king Arthur, ſimply cõmitting themſelues vnto his mercie, who of his clemencie was contented to pardon them of life and goodes, vpon condition they woulde become chriſtians, and from thenceforth neuer after to make any warres vpõ their neighbors the Brytains, Scots, or Pictes. But if they woulde not agree hereunto, then leauing their goods, armor, and weapon behinde them, they ſhould auoyd the land, and that within .xiij. days next enſuing.

Many of the Saxons that could get paſſage, ſayled ouer into Germanie. Other feigning themſelues to become Chriſtians, remayned in the lande, loking one day for better happe and fortune. Diuerſe that were not able by meanes of pouertie to get away within the tyme appoynted, and yet refuſing to be chriſtened, were put to death, according to the Proclamation ſet forth for the ſame purpoſe, ſo that in compariſon verie few amongſt them receyued the Chriſtian fayth ſincerely, and with a true meaning minde.

Things beeing thus quieted in Northumberland, Arthure tooke order for the repayring of Churches abrode in the cõtrey, which the Saxons had ouerthrowne or defaced, namely in the Citie of Yorke he beſtowed great coſt, where the cruell infidels had done muche hurt vpon Churches, and other religious houſes.

In the yeare following, Arthure had newes how the Saxons which helde the Ile of Wight, ioyning with the Kentiſh Saxons, had don great diſpleaſures vnto the Brytaynes, on that ſyde of the Thames, kylling and ſleaing an huge number of them with great crueltie, wherewyth being ſore moued, hee drewe towardes London with his armie, purpoſing vtterly to deſtroy all the Eaſt and South Saxons, ſith otherwyſe hee could not prouide for the ſurtie of his ſubiects, being ſtil in daunger to be murthered and robbed, ſo long as anye of that wicked generation of the Saxons remained here amongſt them.

By meanes alſo of the league, he had wyth him in this iourney ten thouſand Pictes, and as many Scottes: Eugenius nephew to king Conran by his brother Congall being generall ouer the Scottes; and Mordred the ſonne of King Loth by his wife Anne, gouerned the Pictes, a luſty yong gentleman, very wittie and towardly in al his doings. Furthermore Arthur vnderſtanding what hurt reſt and eaſe had done amongeſt his men of warre, cauſed them to keepe the fielde in al this iourney, and paſſing by London, lodged them a little beſide the riuer of Thames. But he himſelfe with ſome of his nobles, entred into the citie, cauſing ſupplications to be made vnto almightie God three days togither, for good ſucceſſe to folow againſt the Saxons. On the fourth day hearing diuine ſeruice celebrated by the Biſhop of London, and cauſing a ſermon to be made in the Market place, he committed himſelfe & his whole armie vnto the tuition of Chriſt, and his mother the virgin, whoſe Image in ſteede of a badge, he bare in his ſhield continually from that day forward, as diuerſe heretofore haue written.

Arthurs badge

Arthures exhortation to his people.

After this, iſſuing forth of the citie, he willed al his men to be of good comfort, as they that fought in a iuſt quarell agaynſt Pagans, and enimies of the fayth. Mordred and his father in law Gawolane paſſed on before the battayles with fiue thouſande horſmen, and being come within fiue myles of the Saxons, who likewiſe were aſſembled in campe, there came from them vnto Arthur Ambaſſadors, requiring him to ſtay his iorney, for they were readie if they might haue libertie ſo to do, to depart out of the lande, with theyr goods and ſubſtance, without further moleſting the Brytains, either by one meanes or other.

An offer made by the Saxons vnto king Arthure.

Arthur would neither conſent hereunto, nor yet graunt a truce for three dayes, for the which they made earneſt ſute, but bad them depart for that time, only aſſuring thẽ that he woulde not come paſſing two miles forward for that day, ſo that if they thought good, they might returne to him in the morning, and haue anſwere what the chiefeſt gouernors of his hoſt thought touching their requeſt, by whom he woulde haue the matter more throughly debated. In the meane time whyleſt the Brytaines were buſied with hearing of theſe Ambaſſadors, & taking aduiſe what was beſt to do touching their demaund, the Saxons marched forth with all ſpeed, and comming vpon Mordred and Gawolan at vnwares, they gaue the onſet freſhly vpon them, & that very muche to the diſaduauntage of the Brytains & Pictes, who notwithſtanding through the earneſt exhortation of their captains, receyued their enimies right fiercely, in doing that which was poſſible for ſo ſmall a nũber to do, howbeit in the ende oppreſſed with multitude, they were forced to flie and ſo did, not reſting till they came in ſight of the whole armie. In which flight, Mordred and Gawolan by help of their ſoldiers, being mounted vpon their horſes, eſcaped without hurt, though they loſt no ſmall number of their cõpanie, as well in the fight as in the chaſe. The Saxons Ambaſſadors being not yet departed out of the Brytiſh campe, were herevpon ſtayed till the next morning, and then had

The Saxons comming vpon Mordred and Gawolan, put them with their people to the worſe.

What anſwer the Saxons Embaſſadors had at Arthurs hands.

anſwere giuen them, that from thenceforth the Brytaynes were not mynded to heare any meſſengers of the Saxons comming to intreate of peace, ſith it was manifeſt inough, they ment nothing but falſhoode, as well appeared in that they had againſt the law of armes whileſt their Ambaſſadors were in comunicatiõ, diſtreſſed part of the Britiſh army, and therfore they ſhould aſſure thẽſelues, to haue at Arthures hands nothing but cruel war to the vttermoſt of his power in reuẽge of ſuch their great vntruthes & cloked dealings.

The excuſe of the Saxons.

They had vneth receyued their anſwere, but that there came from the Saxons. xl. other Ambaſſadors, being mẽ of great authoritie amongſt them, to excuſe that whiche had happened ouer night; in laying the fault vpon a ſort of vndiſcrete perſons, nothing priuie vnto that which the gouerners of the armie had done, touching the ſending of their Ambaſſadours, and therevpon had without their aduiſe made that ſkirmiſh.

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inuaſion m
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tains vpon
Saxons.

The great
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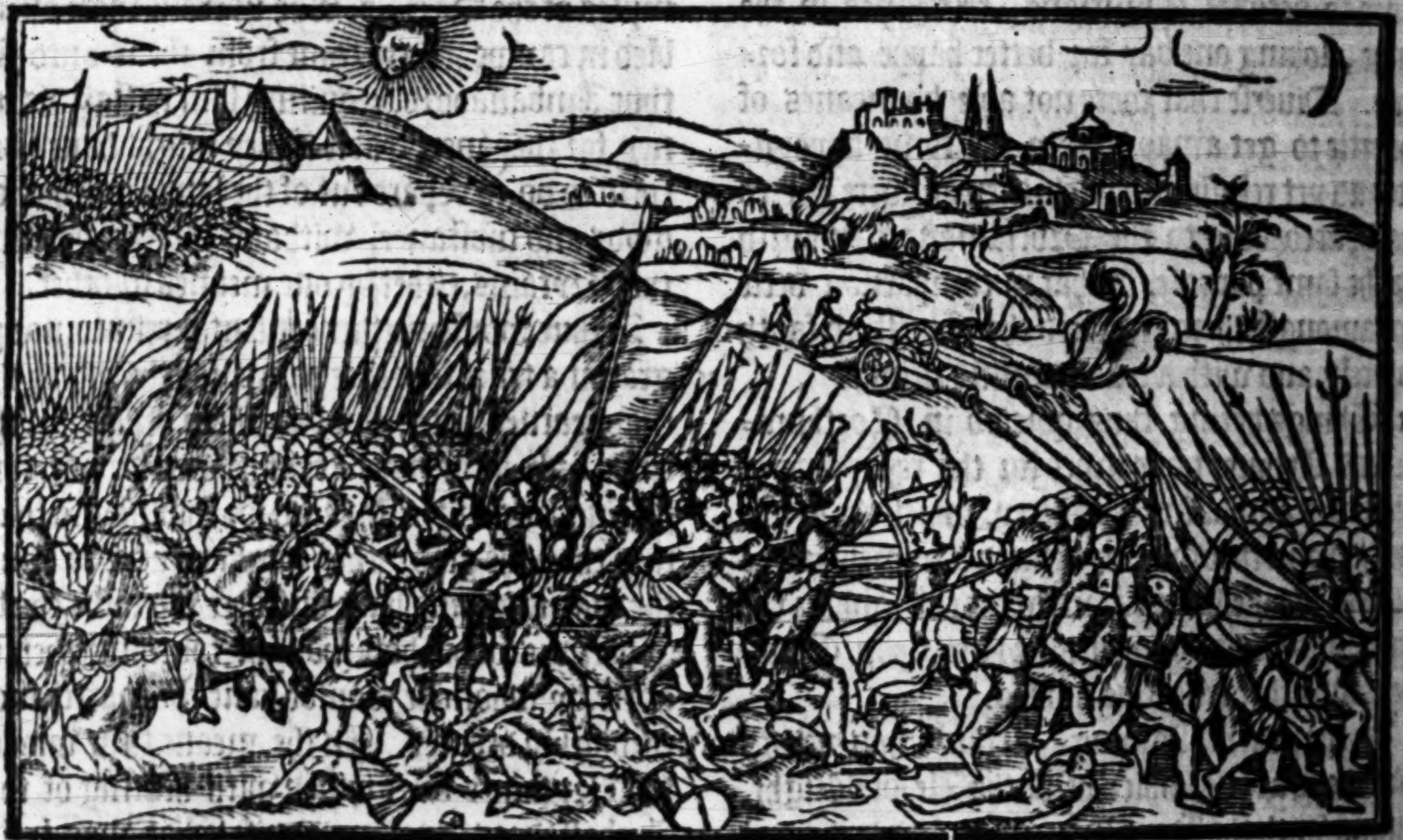
Saxons ca

Mordred &
ſirous to be
reuenged.

The Saxons are put to the flight.

The crueltie of the Brytains in ſleaing the Saxons.

But Arthure iudging that there was ſome newe ſubtill practiſe in hande vnder pretence of this newe Ambaſſage, commaunded as wel theſe that came laſt, as the other which came firſt, to be kept in the Marſhalles tent, that in no wiſe they ſhoulde eſcape, whileſt he himſelfe in the ſeconde watch of the night departed out of his camp, with all his puiſſance, which he deuided into three battailes, & hauing marched three miles forwarde, he was vpon his enimies ere they vnderſtoode any thing of his cõming, inſomuch that the Britains had ſlain and chaſed the watche of the Saxons campe, before it was certainly knowne what the matter ment. Hereof alſo enſued ſuch a tumult & noyſe amongſt the Saxons, running vp & down, calling & crying one to another, as it happeneth in ſuch caſes of extreeme feare, that the beſt aduiſed amongſt thẽ, wiſt not wel what to do. Wherevpon Mordred deſirous to reuenge his laſt ouerthrow, brake in alſo vpõ his enimies right fiercely. But ſome of them hauing gotten them into their armor, ſtood at their defence awhile amõgſt their cartes and cariages, and ſo reſiſted the Brytains on that ſide for a ſeaſon: other of the Saxons hauing no leyſure to arme themſelues, nor to draw into any order of battaile, by reaſon of the ſodaine impreſſion of the Brytaynes, brake forth of the campe on the contrary ſide, and fled ſo faſt as theyr feete myght beare them. But being purſued by the Brytiſhe Horſemen, and beaten downe, a great number of them ranne into the next Ryuer, and there were drowned, chooſing rather that kinde of death, than ſo cruellye to be murthered by the aduerſaryes handes: verily the Brytaines ſhewed no mercie that day, for ſo manye as came within theyr daunger, dyed without redemption. And this bloudie battaile made an ende of ſuch an huge number of Saxons, that it was thought they ſhoulde neuer haue recouered againe any puiſſaunce able to haue endomaged the Brytaynes in any maner of wiſe.



Arthure hauing thus vanquiſhed his enimies, gaue licenſe vnto thoſe nobles which hee had deteyned (as is ſayde) in his campe, being ſent vnto him as Ambaſſadors, to depart ouer into Germanie, appointing the reſidue of ſuch Saxõs as were men of no defence, to remain ſtil in the land, yeelding a yearly tribute vnto the Brytains, and alſo with cõdition that they ſhuld become chriſtians.

Arthures
nificence.

The Scottiſhmen and Picts which had ayded the Brytaynes in this iourney, ſoiourned awhile after at London, where Arthure feaſted and banketted them in moſt royall wiſe, ſhewing them al the honor that might be deuiſed, and afterwardes ſent them home right princely rewarded with many great giftes and rich preſents.

Whileſt ſuch buſineſſe as ye haue heard was thus in hand betwixt the Saxons & Britains, the eſtate of the Scottiſh common wealth, was gouerned by great wiſedome and policie, without any notable trouble or diſorder.

But finally when king Conrane beganne to waxe aged, and that ſuch as had the chief doings vnder him, ſought not the execution of iuſtice, but their owne commodities, to the hinderance of a multitude, the people began to repine thereat, and to practiſe a conſpiracie with diuerſe of the Nobles againſt Conrane, and thoſe which ruled by his appoyntment.

conſpiracie actiſed a- ynſt Cōran.

It chaunced that there was one Toncet, a mā of baſe byrth, aſſigned by the kings commiſſion to be chiefe iuſtice, or as it were Chauncelor for the adminiſtration of the lawes in Murrey land, a perſō paſſing full of rygorous crueltie, eſpecially in iudgements of life & death, and in gathering vp of all maner of forfeytures of penall lawes which he did onely to purchaſe fauor of the king, by the enriching of his coffers, in reſpect whereof he had ſmal regard either of right or wrong, ſo that there were hope of ſomwhat to be gotten.

s euill ficer.

Amongſt other the violent doings of this Toncet, he cauſed diuerſe marchant men of the towne of Fores in Murreyland (as thē the chiefeſt town of all that countrey) to be accuſed of treaſon by a light information, and in the end executed without any apparant matter, onely vpon a couetous deſire to haue their goods and riches, bycauſe they were men of great wealth and ſubſtance. Diuerſe noble men of the countrey there aboutes, & namely of the towne of Fores, being partly of kin vnto thoſe marchants, were ſore offended with this act, and herevpon they firſt came vnto Toncet, & reuiled him with many high reprochful wordes, & afterwards fell vpō him in the place of opē iudgement where he ſat as then in his iudgement ſeat, and there murthered him, getting them forthwith vp into the moūtains to auoyd the danger, which they knewe vnpoſſible for them to eſcape, if they ſhould happen to be taken whileſt Conran ſhould be liuing. After this, they deuiſed how they might encreaſe their heynous deed and bolde enterpriſe with an other far more horrible & notable, which was to ſlea the king himſelf, as the original cauſe of all ſuch miſchief that then raigned in ẏ realme through the vnworthie gouernment of his vniuſt miniſters & couetous magiſtrates, hoping withall to obtain the fauor of ſome of the noble men, whom they knew to maligne the king & his coūſell moſt extreemly, & thereby in ſhort time to be aſſured of their pardon. Shortly after it chaunced that one Donald alſo gouernor of Athol, a mā in great fauour and truſt with the king, had vnderſtanding what theſe outlawes intended, & therevpon practiſed with them by priuie meſſengers, that they ſhould come in ſecret maner vnto Enuerlochter, where the king ſoiourned, promiſing them by moſt aſſured meanes of othes & vowes, that they ſhuld haue al ẏ furtherance he could deuiſe towards the atchieuing of their enterpriſe.

preſump- uous act.

e determi- on of the rtherers to patch the g alſo.

nald go- rnour of A- l conſpi- th with the utlawes to urther the ing.

Hereupon theſe outlawes according to their inſtructions, came in ſecret wiſe vnto Enuerlochtre and were cloſely conueyd into Conrans bed chāber by Donalds meanes, who as though he had knowne nothing of the matter, got himſelf quickly out of the way when he ſawe them once entred within the dore of the chamber. Conran the king perceiuing how he was betrayed, and that his enimies were got into his chamber ready to murther him, ſtept forth of his bed, & falling down vpō his knees beſought them to take pitie of his age, & not to defile their handes in the bloud of their naturall lord and king, conſidering the fault was not his, if they had beene any wayes wronged. Howbeit they doubting nothing but leaſt he ſhould eſcape their hands, ſtreightwayes diſpatched him out of life, and withal made haſt away. This was the ende of king Conranus, in the. xx. yeare of his raigne, being the. xvj. of Arthurs dominion ouer the Brytains, the fifth of the Emperor Iuſtinianus, and in the yeare after the byrth of our Sauior 531. But his corps was buried in ẏ Abbey of Iona, otherwiſe called Colmkil, wt ſuch funerall pompe & exequies, as in thoſe dayes were vſed.

The outlawes enter into the kings bed chamber.

Conran is murthered within his bed chamber by trayterous meanes.

35. H.B.

20. H.B.

535. H.B.

Eugenius.

After him ſucceeded his nephewe Eugenius, the ſon of his brother Congall, the which Eugenius as aboue is ſayde, was with Arthure in the laſte mentioned iourney agaynſte the Saxons.

Eugenius is inueſted king of Scotland.

There were that counſayled him in the begynning of his raigne (which he beganne in Argile being placed there vpon the chaire of marble) that he ſhoulde ſee in any wiſe the auctours of his Vncles death duely puniſhed, to giue enſample to other, that they ſhoulde not attempt the lyke hereafter agaynſte theyr liege Lorde and crowned King: but he contrarywiſe did not onlye forgiue the offence, but alſo receyued the forenamed Donalde wyth other the murtherers into his ſeruice, and made them of his priuie Counſell, which cauſed many men to ſuſpect, leaſt he himſelfe had beene of counſell with them in committing that murther. The talke whereof, was ſo common in all mens mouthes, namely amongſt the common people, that the Queene Dowager late wife to king Conran, doubting not only the ſuretie of hir owne life, but alſo of hir two ſonnes (which ſhe had by the ſaid Cōran, the one named Reginan, and the other Aidan) fled with them ouer into Irelande, where within fewe yeares

Regicides or kingquellers ought chiefly aboue al other to be puniſhed

Eugenius is ſuſpected of his predeceſſours death.

The Queene Dowager fled with his two ſoones into Irelande.

after, ſhe dyed with the one of hir ſonnes, that is to wit Reginan: the other Aidane was honourably brought vp by the king of that Countrey, according to his byrth and degree.

The humanity and fauorable friendſhip of king Eugenius towardes his people.

Eugenius in the beginning of his raigne, to win thereby the peoples fauor, demeaned himſelf moſt gently in al his proceedings, doing nothing that taſted in any part of crueltie. He woulde oftentimes ſit amongſt the Iudges himſelfe, and if he ſuſpected leaſt any man had wrong, he wold licence them to pleade their caſe of new. And ſuch as he perceyued were not of abilitie to folow their ſuite in any cauſe of right, he would helpe them with money of the common treaſurie. He ordayned alſo, that no orphane ſhould be compelled to anſwere any action, or otherwiſe bee vexed by ſuite of law. Moreouer, that no widow ſhould be conſtrayned to come paſt a mile forth of hir own dores for any matter in controuerſie betwixt hir and any other perſon, to be heard afore any Iudges or publike officers. Robbers, theues, and their receptors he cauſed to be duly puniſhed, to refrain other from attempting the like offences. And alſo he had a ſpeciall regarde for the obſeruing of the league betwixt his ſubiects and the Pictes, with the Brytaynes, according to the tenour of the ſame.

Commẽdable ordinances.

The victorious conqueſts aſcribed to Arthure.

About this ſeaſon ſhould it be alſo that Arthur did atchieue all thoſe worthie victories which are aſcribed vnto him agaynſt the Scots, Iriſh men, Danes, Norwegians, & other northren people. Moreouer it is written by ſome authors, that he ſhoulde ſubdue the moſt part of Germanie with the low coũtreys, Brytain, Normandie, France, and the Romaines, with the people of the Eaſt, but the credit hereof reſteth with yͤ ſame authors. Only it is certain (as Hector Boetius affirmeth) that Arthur liued in the dayes of Iuſtinianus the Emperour, aboute whiche time the Gothes, Vandales, Burgonions, and Frenchmen did inuade ſundrie partes of the Romaine Empyre, pitifully waſting and ſpoyling the ſame, where yet ſuche wryters as haue ſet forth thoſe warres make no mention of Arthur at all. Therfore letting all doubtfull things paſſe, I will proceede with my author, and declare what he hath found written in ſuch Scottiſh Chronicles as he followeth touching the Britiſh Arthur, which for that it partly varieth from the other our cõmon chronicles, namely Geffray of Monmouth, I think it worthy to be noted here, to the ende that euery man may iudge therof as to him ſeemeth beſt.

This cauſeth no ſmal doubt to ariſe of the great victories aſcribed vnto Arthure.

Geffray of Monmouth.

The Brytaines repent themſelues of the league concluded with the Pictes.

To the purpoſe then: after the Brytains were deliuered from the terror of the Saxons, and that with quietneſſe they began to waxe welthie, they repented them of the league, which they had concluded afore with Loth king of the Pictes, ſpecially for that they could not in any wiſe be cõtented to haue any ſtranger to raign amongſt them, and herevpon comming vnto Arthur, required of him, ſith he himſelf had no iſſue to ſucceed him, yͭ it might pleaſe him yet, to name one of his owne nation to gouerne them after his deceaſe.

The requeſ the Brytay to haue on their own tion appoy ted to ſucc king Arth

Arthure not gainſaying their requeſt, willed them (ſithe their pleaſure was ſuch, in no wiſe to haue a ſtranger to raigne ouer them) to name one themſelues, being diſcẽded of the bloud royal, and ſuch a one as in whom they had perceyued ſome towardly proufe of wiſedome & valiancie: and he for his part promiſed to ratifie their election.

The Nobles with great reioycing of the people drawing togither to conſult for the choyſe of ſuche a one, as might bee acceptable to all the Brytiſh nation, at length agreed vpon Conſtantinus, the ſonne of Cadore Duke of Cornewall, a goodly yong Gentleman, both for his perſon and other his worthy qualities muche to be commended. Who being brought by the peeres of the Realme into the counſell chamber, and there preſented vnto king Arthure, as one moſt meeteſt to ſucceede him. Arthure accepted their election right gladly, and cauſed the ſame Conſtantine forthwith to bee proclaymed heyre apparant vnto the crowne, by the name of Prince of Brytayne, which notifyed him to be ſucceſſor to the king in gouernment of the realme.

Conſtantin proclaymed heyre appa and prince Brytaine.

Conſtantine being in ſuch wiſe preferred, behaued himſelfe ſo honourably, and with ſuche a ſhew of gentle demeanor, that he wan him much prayſe, with an opinion of high worthineſſe amongſt all the Brytiſh nation.

Lothian ta keth the na of Loth the Pictiſh ki

In this meane time was Loth the king of the Pictes deceaſſed, leauing his name as a perpetual memorie vnto his Countrey of Pictlande, the which euer ſithence, as a remembraunce of his worthineſſe, hath beene called Lothian, or Lawthian. But his ſonne Mordred ſucceeding him in gouernment of the Pictiſhe kingdome, and hearing that Conſtantine was proclaimed heyre apparant of Brytayne, was ſore moued therewith, and immediately ſending his Ambaſſadors vnto king Arthure, complayned, for that contrarie to the honour of his kingly eſtate, he had broken the league concluded betwixt him and hys father late of famous memorie king Loth, wherein it was agreed amongeſt other things, that there ſhoulde none ſucceede in the kingdome of Brytayne, after Arthures deceaſſe, but the children begotte betwixt King Loth and his wife Queene Anne, or ſuche as diſcended of them: where contrariwyſe it was notifyed vnto the Pictiſhe people, that Conſtantine the ſonne of Cadore was elected Prince, and thereby enabled as heyre apparaunt to the crowne.

Mordred ſuc ceedeth Lo in the king dome of Pi lande.

Mordred c playneth king Arth for that Co ſtantine w created by heyre appa

They required him therfore to cal himſelfe to remembrance, & not ſo lightly to agree vnto the flattering perſwaſions of the Brytains, aduiſing him vnto that thing which was meerely repugnaunt to reaſon, and agaynſt both Gods lawes and mans, admoniſhing him withall to obſerue the league, according to the othe, which he had ſolemnly taken vpon him, and to moue his ſubiects to do the like, leaſt for the contrarie, they ſhoulde prouoke the wrath of almightie God againſt thē, who is the iuſt reuenger of all ſuch as go aboute to breake leagues and couenanted pactions.

nſwere
e to the
ſh Am-
dours.

Hereunto anſwere was made, by conſent of the nobles of Brytayne, that the league whiche was concluded betwixt Arthur and Loth, endured but for the life times of them two onely, and to ceaſſe by eyther of their deathes: therefore Arthur had done nothing contrarie to any pact or promiſe made, but according to the duetie of a Prince that tendred the weale of his ſubiects, had prouided them one to ſucceede him of their owne nation, for doubt leaſt the realme after his deceaſe ſhould fall into the handes of ſtraungers, whiche in no wiſe ought of right to be ſuffered. Therefore if the Pictes loued the ſuretie of their owne eſtate, it ſhoulde be good for them to holde themſelues contented with their owne boundes, leaſt if they ſought for other mens liuings, they might happely within ſhort time perceyue, what doth enſue oftentimes vppon ſuch raſh and vnaduiſed attemptes.

The Pictes purpoſe to be reuenged on the Brytaines by open war.

The Pictiſh Imbaſſadours returning home with this anſwere, cauſed the whole Nation to take ſuch diſdaine therewith, that immediately they reſolued to reuenge their wrongs, by open warres: but firſt they thought good to trie if they might procure the Scottiſh mē to take part with thē in reuenge of ſuch iniuries as they had in like maner lately receiued at yͤ Britains hāds. Moreouer, repenting themſelues, that they had in times paſt ayded the Brytaynes againſt the Saxons, they purpoſe to trie if they might now moue the ſame Saxons eftſoones to make warres vpon the Brytains, thereby to be the better able to maintaine their owne quarell againſt them.

The Picts ſolicite both Scottes and Saxons to make warre vpon the Brytaynes.

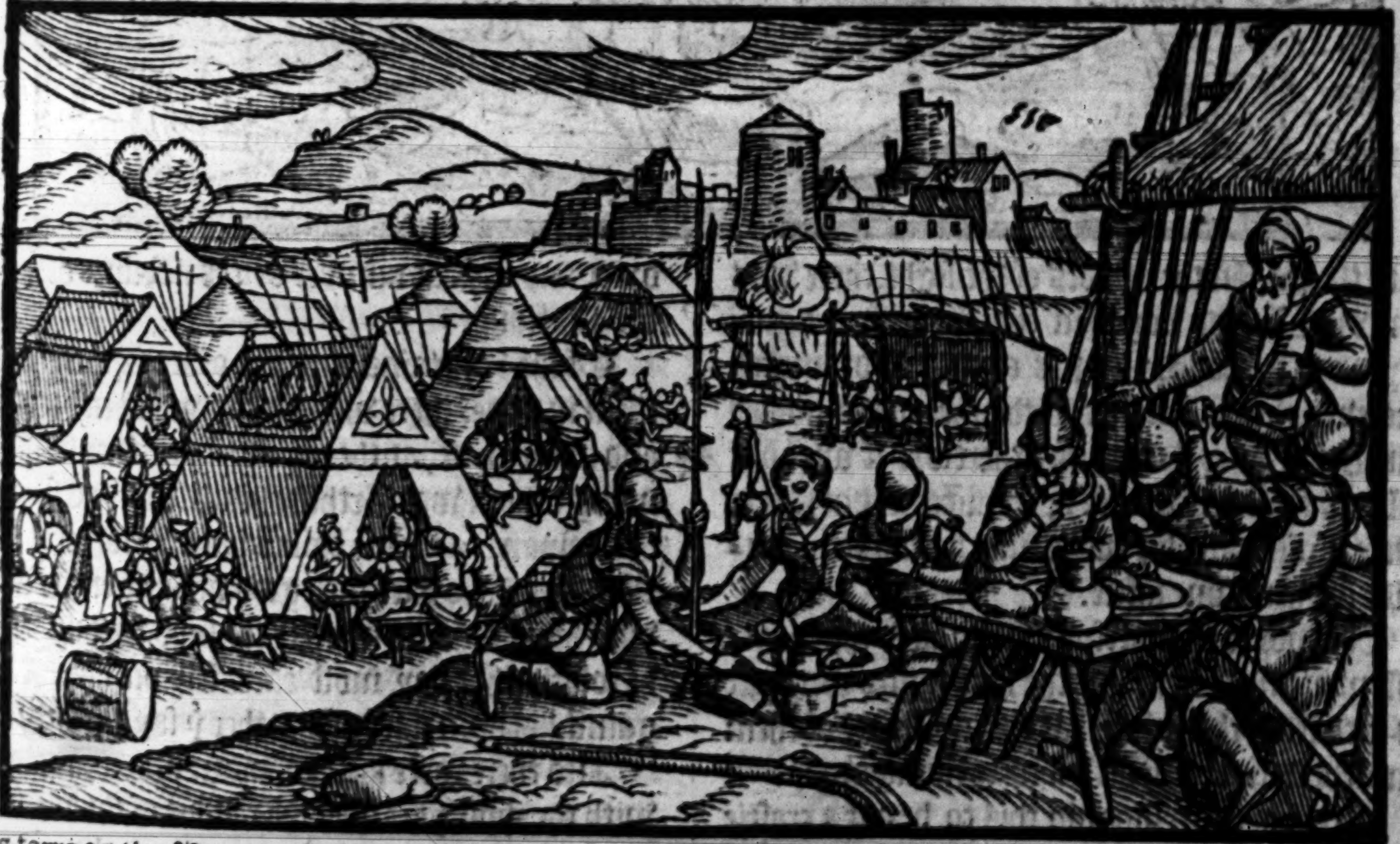
Eugenius the Scottiſh king agreeable to the requeſt of the Pictes.

Firſt ſuche Imbaſſadors as were ſent from Mordred vnto Eugenius king of the Scottes, found him very agreeable vnto their requeſts, and the ſooner, for that ſuch Scottiſh rebels as fledde vnto Arthure, were not onely receyued by him, but alſo mainteyned to make rodes and incurſions into the Scottiſh borders.

Arthure ſetteth forwarde towarde the Scottes and Pictes.

mber a fa-
place for
Brytaynes
e vanqui-
ed in.

Arthur hauing knowledge of the deuiſes of his enimies (the warres being firſt proclaymed) hee furniſhed all the ſea coaſts with notable numbers of men, to withſtand the landing of the Saxons, if they ſhould fortune to attempt any inuaſion. That done, he paſſed forth with the reſidue of his people towarde the Scottes and Pictes, who were alreadie aſſembled in campe, and were come as farre as the Ryuer of Humber, neare to the bankes whereof they had pitched their tents, as in a place fatall for the Brytaynes to be vanquiſhed in.



hops trauel
twixt the
ngs to
ng them to
mification
a peace.

Both the armies being brought here into order of battaile, the one in ſight of the other, there were certain Biſhops of thoſe three nations, that tooke great paynes to ride to and fro betwixt thē, to exhort the kings vnto peace and concord, conſidering what miſchiefe & great bloudſhed ſhould enſue, if vpon wilfulneſſe they would ſeeke to trie that by dint of ſworde, which they might make an ende of, by meanes of amiable treatie & friendly agreement. Again, they could not do the thing that might more content the Saxons, common enimies to the chriſtian religion, than if by theyr encoūtring togither in battail, they ſhould ſo enfeeble their whole powers, whereby the Saxons might haue readie meanes and occaſion offred to execute their greedy deſires to cōquer yͤ whole iſle.

Mordred and Eugenius were perſwaded vnto peace.

Mordred and Eugenius were perſwaded by this earneſt trauayle of the Biſhoppes, to putte theyr matter in compromiſe, and to lay awaye theyr armour and weapon, if they might haue aſſurance that the league made with king Loth ſhould in euery poynt be obſerued.

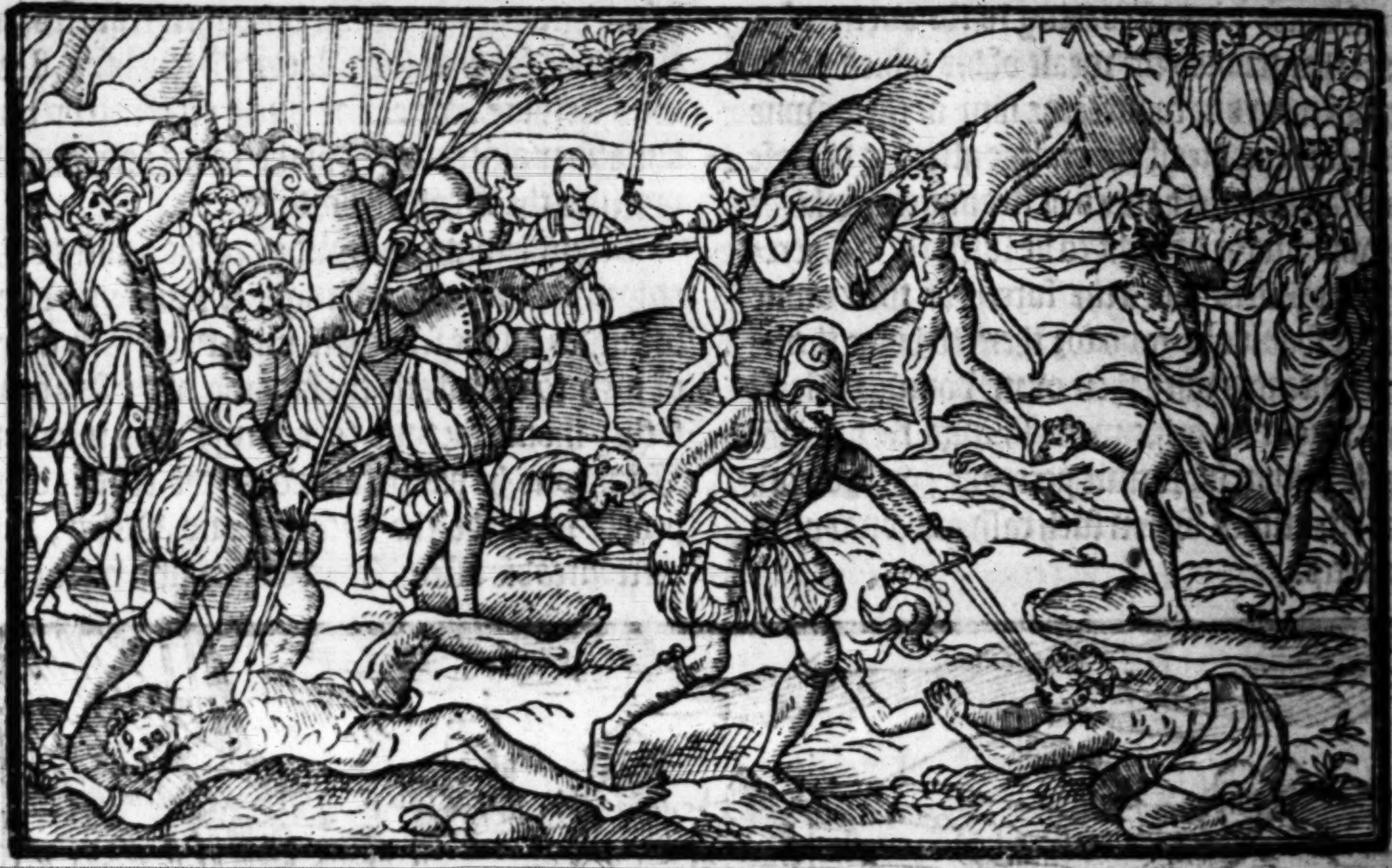
The Brytaines woulde not cõſent to haue any peace talked vpon.

Arthure likewiſe at the ſute of the ſame Byſhoppes, would haue bene contented for his part to haue agreed herevnto, but other of the Brytayns, namely thoſe that were of kinne and alliance vnto Conſtantine theyr Prince, coulde in no wiſe be perſwaded therevnto, but rather with many reprochfull wordes rebuked the Biſhops for theyr vntimely ſute, ſeeing the enimies readie raunged in battaile at poynt to giue the onſet, ſo that (as they alledged) it might be doubted what they ment by their motion, onleſſe they went about to betray the army, vnder pretence of a cloked treatie for an vnprofitable agreement.

The battai is begonne.

These or ſuch like wordes were vneth ended, when ſodainly the noyſe being rayſed on bothe ſides, the battailes ruſhed togither right fiercely. The Brytaines had the diſaduauntage of the place, being ſo encumbred in myres, bogges, and Moſſes, that they coulde not well ayde themſelues, nor handle their weapons to any purpoſe. Yet did the battaile continue a long time to the deſtruction of ſuch numbers of men, that the riuer of Humber (neare vnto the whiche this field was fought) was ſo mingled with blond, that the water thereof being all ouer coloured red, caried no ſmall multitude of dead bodies downe

A cruell b taile.



into the ſea. In the middes of the fight, there was one with lowde voyce in the Brytiſh tongue, cryed out to the Brytaynes of purpoſe prompted therevnto) that Arthure with other of the nobles on his ſide were ſlaine, and therefore it were but folly to truſt any longer vpon victorie, but rather were it wiſdome for euerie man by flight, to prouide for his owne ſaftie.

A craftie policie. This was one of the Pickes,

This voyce wonderfully encoraged the Scottiſh men and Pictes, but the Brytaines were put in ſuch feare therwith, that the moſt part of them immediately herevpon fell to running away.

The Brytaines put to flight.

Other of them iudging this to be but a craftie and ſome ſubtile practiſe of the enimies deuiſed of purpoſe, as it was in deede, to diſcomfort them with, abode by it ſtill, manfully continning in fight, till they were beaten downe and ſlaine in maner euery mothers ſonne.

Twentie thouſand of Scots and Pictes ſlaine.

This victorie beeing thus hardly got, coſt more mens liues than any other had done of many yeares before: for of the Scottes and Pictes being vanquiſhers, there dyed in that mortal battail aboue .xx. thouſand men togither with Mordred, and a great number of the nobilitie of both the Nations.

Mordred i ſlaine.

Of the Brytains and ſuch other as were with them in ayde, there were ſlaine what in battaile and in the chaſe, at the poynt of .xxx. thouſand, among whom was Arthure himſelf, with Gawan or Galuan, (as ſome bookes haue) brother vnto Mordred, who bare ſuch good wil and entier loue vnto his Lord and maiſter the ſayd Arthur, that he fought that day moſt earneſtly on his ſide againſt his own natural brother yͤ ſayd Mordred.

Arthure w xxx. thou Brytains ſl Gawan is ſ

Alſo there were killed Cayme and Gawolane with the moſt part of al the reſidue of the Britiſh nobilitie, and many priſoners taken, by reaſon that Humber kept them in from fleing any way forth on the one ſide, whiche priſoners alſo were afterwards ſlaine, the gentlemen onely excepted.

Cayme and Gawolan a ſlaine.

The day next after the battaile, the campe of the Brytains was rifled, and amongſt other rich ſpoyles, there was foũd Queene Guaynore Arthures wife, with a great number of other Ladies and gentlewomen. The whole ſpoile of the camp and field being equally deuided by lottes betwixt them,

Queene G nore taken.

The ſpoyl the Brytain camp deuid

them, the Scottes had for their partes certaine fayre Chariots, laden with rich ſtuffe and iewels, alſo horſes and armors, beſide ſundry noble men, which they had to theyr priſoners.

Vnto the Pictes fell for their portion Queene Guaynore, with the Ladies and gentlewomen, and diuerſe other of the Noble men, beſides a greate quantitie of other riche pray and booties. Theſe priſoners which the Pictes had, were conueyed vnto a Caſtel in Angus, called Dunbarre, a place of great ſtrength in thoſe dayes, thoughe at this preſent there remayneth nothing but the name with the ruynes thereof. In whiche Caſtell they were deteyned vnder ſure warde, during the reſidue of theyr naturall lyues. In witneſſe whereof there be remayning vnto this day, the graues and monuments where manye of thoſe captyue Brytaynes were buryed in the fieldes of a towne in that Countrey called Megill, not paſt ten myles from Dundee. But amongeſt the reſidue, that of Guaynore is moſte famous.

barre in
gus, not
in Lou-
n.

There goeth a plaine tale ouer all that countrey, tolde for an aſſured truth, that if any women chaunce to treade vpon that graue, they ſhall remaine barren withoute bringing forth any iſſue more than the ſayd Guaynore did. But whether this be true or not, certaine it is, as Boetius writeth, that there dare no women come neare that graue: not only eſchuing it themſelues, but alſo commaunding their daughters to beware therof.

e fable of
een Guay-
er graue
ried in
gus.

This bloudie battaile weakened ſo much the forces both of the Scots, Pictes and Brytaynes, that many a day after they were not able to recouer againe their former eſtates or dignities.

The yeare alſo that theſe three nations encountred thus cruelly togither, was after the byrth of our Sauiour 542. the .xxvj. of Arthurs raigne ouer the Brytaynes, and the .xj. of Eugenius his gouernment ouer the Scottiſh men.

542.
H.B.

The ſame yeare before the battaile, were ſene many ſtraunge ſightes in Albion. Graſſe and hearbes in Yorkeſhyre appeared to bee ſteyned with bloud. Neare vnto Camelon, a Cowe brought forth a Calfe with two heades. Alſo an Ewe brought forth a lambe, that was both male and female. The ſunne appeared aboute nyne dayes al wholy of a bloudie colour. The element appeared full of bright Starres to euery mans ſight continually for the ſpace of two dayes togither. In Wales there was a battaile betwixt Crowes & Pies on the one ſide, and Rauens on the other, with ſuch a ſlaughter of them, as before that time had not bene heard of.

ange and
rth won-
n.

But to proceed, Eugenius king of the Scots at his returne from the battail, gaue to thoſe that had eſcaped with life, and abid by him in the chief daunger of the fight, many bounteous and large rewardes. The ſonnes and neareſt kinſfolke of ſuch as were ſlaine, he alſo aduaunced vnto ſundrie preferments of landes and liuings, that they enioying the ſame, might bee a witneſſe in tyme to come of the good ſeruice of their aunceſters ſhewed, in defence of their king and countrey, and alſo of his princely liberalitie, in rewarding the ſame vpon their iſſue and progenie. By whiche noble beneuolence, hee wanne him ſuche loue amongeſt his people, that afterwardes it ſeemed howe hee gouerned the eſtate of his kingdome more by clemencie, than by any rigour of lawes.

gnius re-
ardeth his
ldiers.

Eugenius gouerneth his
people with
clemencie.

The Brytaynes immediately vpon knowledge had that Arthur was ſlaine, crowned Conſtantine his ſucceſſor in the Brytiſhe kingdome, and for that there ſhould remaine none amongſt them aliue to make any claime to the ſame kingdome, other than he with his iſſue, or ſuch as he ſhoulde appoynt to ſucceede him, they cruelly murthered Mordreds children, in moſte pitifull wiſe running vnto their mothers lap, beſeching hir to ſaue their lyues, according to hir motherly dutie. They were brought vp in Gawolane their grandfathers houſe, and being thus made away, the family & lynage of their father the foreſayd Mordred was vtterly therby extinguiſhed.

Conſtantine
crowned king
of Brytayne.

The cruelty of
the Brytains in
murthering
the innocent
children of
Mordred.

The linage of
Mordred clearly extinct.

The Saxons at the ſame tyme hauing aduertiſement what loſſe the Brytaynes had ſuſtayned not onely by the death of their moſt valiant king and chieftaine Arthur, but alſo for the ſlaughter of ſuch a multitude of their nation, as died in the battail, they prepare a mightie nauie of ſhippes, and paſſe ouer with the ſame into England, where being landed, they eaſily beat downe the Brytaynes, and driue them with theyr king Conſtantine into Wales, ſo recouering all that part of the land which Hengiſt ſometymes held, & after his name was afterwardes called Englād.

The Saxons
returne into
England, and
driue the Brytaynes into
Wales.

Some haue written, how that after king Conſtantine had raigned certaine yeares in Wales, his wife and children died, whervpon wexing weary of this world, he forſoke his earthly kingdome, in hope of that other aboue, and ſecretly departed into Irland, where applying himſelf for a time in miniſtring to the poore, at length beeing knowne, by the perſwaſion of a Monk he became one of his cote and profeſſion. Afterwardes being ſent by the Biſhop of the Dioces ouer into Scotland to inſtruct the people of that countrey in the true faith and articles of the chriſtian religion, he there ſuffred martirdome by the hands of moſt wicked & godleſſe perſons, and was at lēgth (but many yeares after his death) canonized a Saint, and ſundrie churches (as are to be ſeene euen vnto this day) built & dedicated vnto him in Scotland by authoritie of the Biſhops there.

Conſtantine
forſaketh his
earthly kingdome in hope
of the heauenly
kingdome.

Conſtantine
entreth into
religion.

Conſtantine
ſent forth of
Irelande into
Scotlande is
there murthered.

The ſame time that the ſayd Cōſtantine was

Irmenrike, or Iurmirike king of the Engliſhe men.

dryuen into Wales, there raygned amongeſt the Engliſhe men one Iurmyrike the fifth (as Bede hath) from Hengiſt. The ſame Iurmyryke thoughe hee were not Chriſtened hymſelfe, yet hee permytted the Chriſtian faythe to bee preached amongeſt hys people, and concluding a league with the Scottiſh men and Picts, kept the ſame inuiolate, during his life time moſt ſincerely.

Iurmirike concludeth a peace with the Scottiſh men and Pictes.

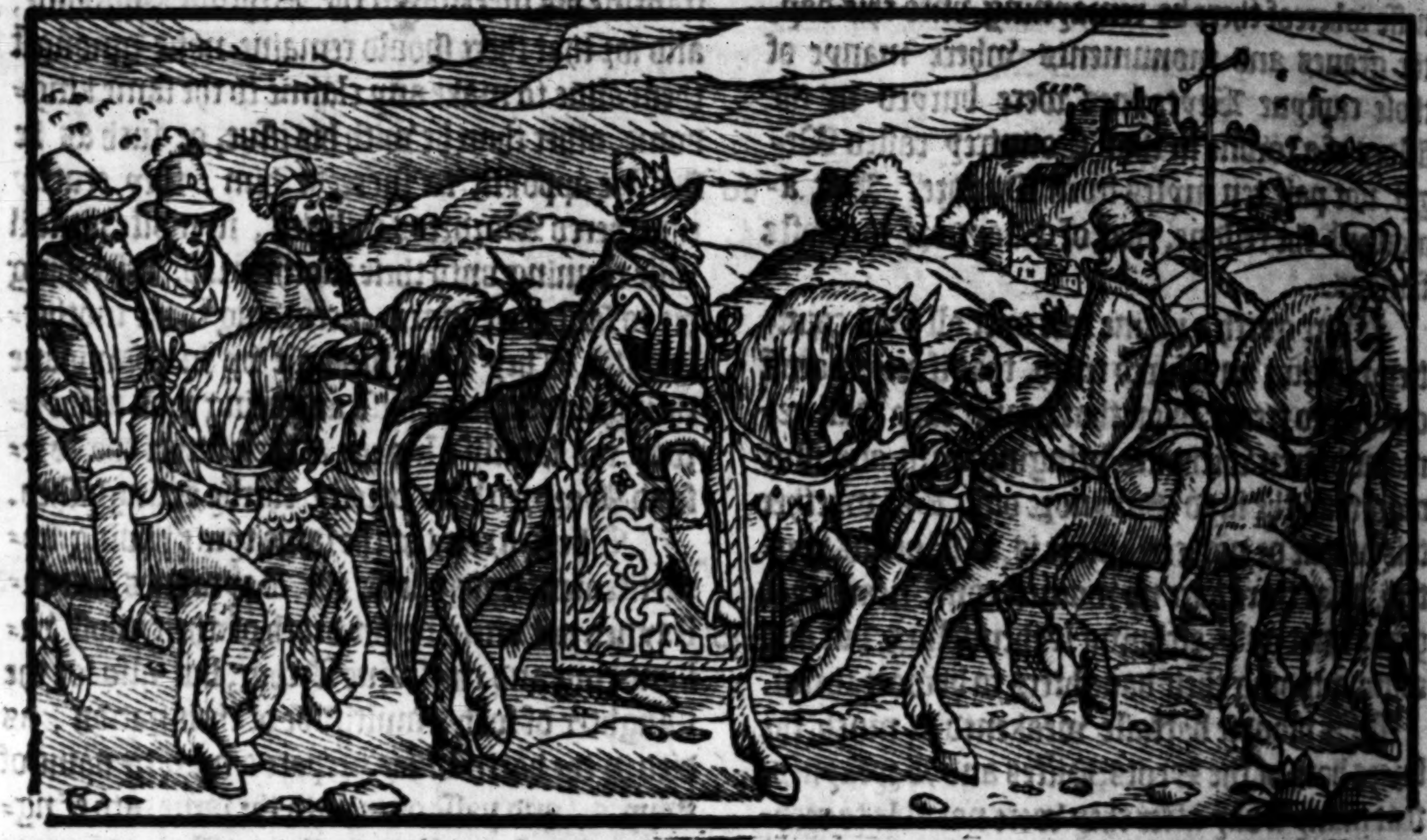
The Scottiſh king Eugenius alſo lyued in peace the reſidue of hys lyfe, wythout any trouble, eyther by forrayne enimies, or inteſtine ſedition, and at length dyed in the 38. yeare of hys raigne, and after the byrth of our Sauiour. 569.

Eugenius the Scottiſh king dyeth.

568.H.B.

After his funerall obſequies, finiſhed in Colmekill, where he lyeth buried amongeſt his aunceſters, his brother Conuall was choſen to ſucceed him in adminiſtration of the kingdome, a Prince of ſuche inclinatiō to vertue and godlineſſe, as all men may iuſtly wonder thereat. He bare ſuch zealous deuotion towardes the worſhipping of the croſſe (a thing to put men in remembrance of Chriſtes paſſion as he tooke it) that which way ſoeuer hee rode, as it is reported he had ẏ ſame borne before him, and at his getting vp and lighting downe from his horſe, he with all the multitude of people ſtanding about him, woulde worſhippe it in kneeling downe, and reuerently kiſſe it.

Conual ele ted king o Scotlande.



Conuals deuction to the Croſſe.

This Croſſe was of ſiluer with a Crucifix thereon, and letters grauen in a plate faſtened to the ſtaffe, conteyning theſe two wordes: Chriſtianorum gloria.

He commaunded alſo that the ſigne of the Croſſe ſhould be ſet vpon the toppes of Steeples, and on the higheſt towers of the gates of Caſtels and townes. Moreouer he forbad the Croſſe to bee grauen or paynted vpon any pauement, leaſt any man ſhould irreuerently treade vpon it. Furthermore he had prieſtes and other religious men in ſuch honor, as nothing could be more, appointing them to haue the tenthes of all thoſe fruites which the earth yeelded.

Croſſes ſet vppon the tops of ſteeples.

Conuals deuotion towardes Kirkmen.

Sundrie ordinances hee made alſo, for the grieuous puniſhment of all ſuch as in any wyſe miſuſed a Prieſt, or other religious perſon: as he that gaue any of them a blowe, ſhould loſe hys hande for it: and he that ſlue one of them, ſhoulde forfeyte his goodes, and be brent quicke. Againe, he beſtowed many riche iewels, and gaue diuerſe great giftes vnto Churches, prouiding the miniſters of ſufficient liuings, and appoynted that they ſhoulde haue theyr houſes neare vnto theyr Churches, to bee readie to execute that which aperteyned to theyr offices, when anye neede requyred.

Conuals li ralitie tow Churches.

The king beeing thus vertuouſly diſpoſed, cauſed the whole number of his ſubiectes by his enſample to be the better affectioned towardes the aduauncement of religion. The report and fame whereof, moued that holy man Saint Colme, or Colombe, to come ouer forth of Irelande (where hee had the gouernaunce of ſundrie houſes of Monks) with twelue other vertuous perſons into Albion, and there gathering togither a great number of Monkes, being here and there diſperſed abrode in the Countrey, hee placed them orderly in ſuch houſes, as king Conuall had buylded and founded for that purpoſe, appoynting amongſt them rulers and miniſters, ſuche as hee thought moſt conuenient.

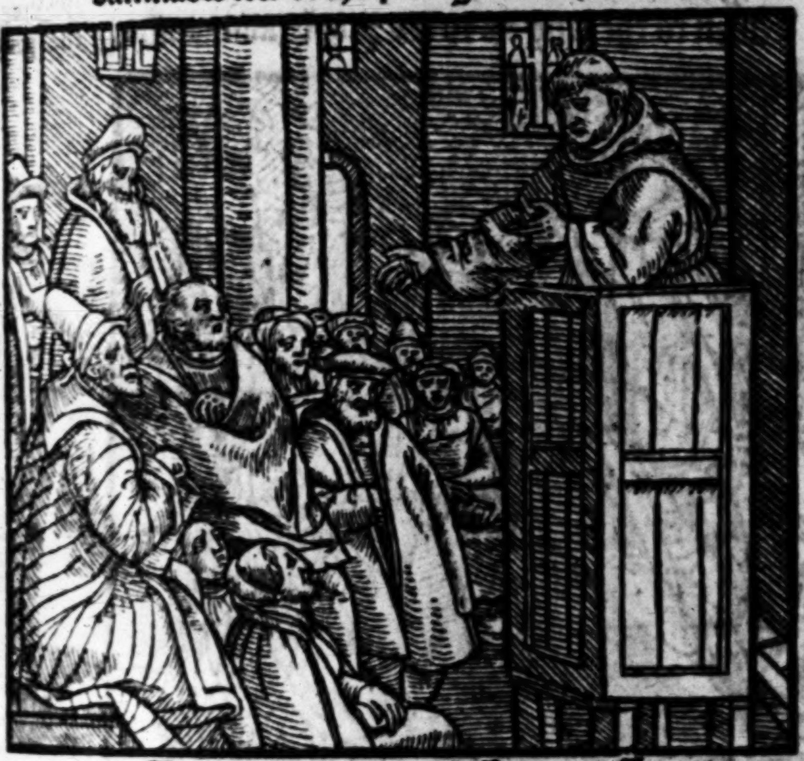
Saint Col commeth o uer forth o Ireland in Scotlande.

But Saint Colme himſelfe, and the other

twelue, whiche he brought ouer with him from Ireland, placing themſelues to inhabite in the Iſle of Iona, now called Colmekill, tooke great paynes to inſtruct the Scottes and Pictes in the true articles of the faith.

he hereſie of
elagius, in
gland.

Amongſt the Pictes the ſame time the hereſie of Pelagius had infected the mindes of many, by meane that diuers of that nation hauing dwelled long time in Brytaine, returning into theyr countrey, brought that peſtilent doctrine home with them, and taught it vnto other. Saint Colme therefore informed hereof, paſſed into Louthian vnto Brudeus as then king of the Pictes, earneſtly traueling to inſtruct bothe him and his people in the right beliefe, and to extirpe out of theyr heartes al erronious opinions of that damnable sect of the Pelagians lore.



ntigerne
ſhoppe of
aſkew, o-
rwiſe called
ngo, bi-
p of Vaſco.

The ſame time that bleſſed man Kentigern, otherwiſe called Mungo, gouerned the Church of Glaſkew, as biſhop of the ſame, who reſorting into the companie of this S. Colme, had much conference with him to bothe theyr comfortes, concerning the true articles of our faith.

ew of
metes ra-
ed by Eu-
king of
ande, of
ch rauiſh-
ſhe bare
foreſayde
gerne.

This Kentigerne was diſcended of the bloud royall of the Pictiſhe kings, as ſonne vnto that vertuous woman Thametes or Thanew, daughter vnto Loth king of the Pictes, whome a yong luſtie Gentleman (or as ſome haue written the laſt mencioned Eugenius the Scottiſh king) rauiſhed by force, and begot of hir the ſayde Kentigerne.

Hee was greatly in fauour of the foreſayde Brudeus the Pictiſh king, as one that was nere of his bloud. For the ſame Brudeus was Nephew vnto the foreſayde Loth, by his brother cleped Melethon, and therefore ſucceeded in the kingdome of the Pictes, after that Mordred was ſlaine as before is expreſſed.

e caſtell of
ldoe nowe
nkeld.

Kentigerne went with Saint Colme vnto the caſtle of Caledone, otherwiſe called Dounkeld, where they remained ſixe monethes in a monaſterie there, buylded by king Conuall, teaching and preaching vnto the people of Athole, Calidone, and Angus, that in great numbers came vnto them, to heare their godly inſtructiōs.

There is in the ſame place, where the ſayde caſtle ſometimes ſtoode, a Churche dedicated vnto Saint Colme, builte of fayre ſquare ſtone, being at this day a Biſhops ſee, commonly called Dounkeld, endued with many fayre reuenewes and great poſſeſſions, for the mayntenaunce of the Biſhop and his Canons.

The biſhops ſee of Dounkeld.

At the ſixte monethes ende, thoſe two vertuous perſons taking their leaue eche of other, not without ſheding of teares, departed in ſunder, Kentigerne returning vnto Glaſkew, & S. Colme into Irelande, where reporting many things, touching the great vertue and holineſſe of king Conuall, and with what deuotion he had bene receyued both of him and his people, he moued many to wounder greatly thereat, to heare that a king in the middeſt of all his allurements to pleaſure, ſhoulde yet be ſo mindfull of diuine meditations and godly exerciſes.

Saint Colme returneth into Ireland.

The yeare following S. Colme prepared to returne into Scotland, taking Aydan ouer with him thither, by commaundement of king Conuall, whiche Aydan as ye haue heard to auoyde the traynes of Eugenius, fledde ouer into Ireland with his mother, for doubte to bee made away by the ſame Eugenius.

Saint Colme commeth againe into Scotlād, bringing with him Aydan ſonne to king Conrannie.

S. Colme taking the ſea with this Aydan, and comming a lande on the coaſtes of Scotlande, was no ſooner there arriued, but that preſently hee had knowledge howe the king was dead, being the yeare of his reygne the .x. & after the birth of our Sauiour. 579.

The death of Conuall.

578. H. B.

Saint Colme then being throughly certified of his death, and that the corps was foreward on the way towardes Colmekill there to be buried, he thought it a peece of his duetie to go thither to be at the funerals, and ſo doing was as one of the chiefeſt there in the executing of the obſequies. Whiche being ended, and hearing that Kynnatyll the brother of Conuall was inthronized king in Argyle, by the free election of all the eſtates, he neuertheleſſe kepte on his former purpoſed iourney, and came vnto Kynnatyll, bringyng Aydan with him, (appointed by Conuall to haue receyued the gouernement of the kingdome if he had liued) they were bothe receyued with all beneuolence of the ſayde Kynnatyll contrary to moſt mens expectation: in ſo much that embracing Aydan, he badde him be of good cheere, for it ſhould ſhortly come to paſſe, that he ſhould attayne to the poſſeſſion of his graundfathers dominion, and haue iſſue that ſhould ſucceede him to the greate reliefe of the Scottiſhe common wealth.

Saint Colme preſent at the buriall of king Conuall.

Kynnatyll elected king of Scotland.

Saint Colme and Aydan receiued by Kinnatyll.

The prohpecie of Kynnatyll.

By what ſpryte of prophecie he vttered theſe

The death of Kynnatyll. Kynnatyll lying vpon his death bed, ſurrendreth his kingdome into Aydans handes.

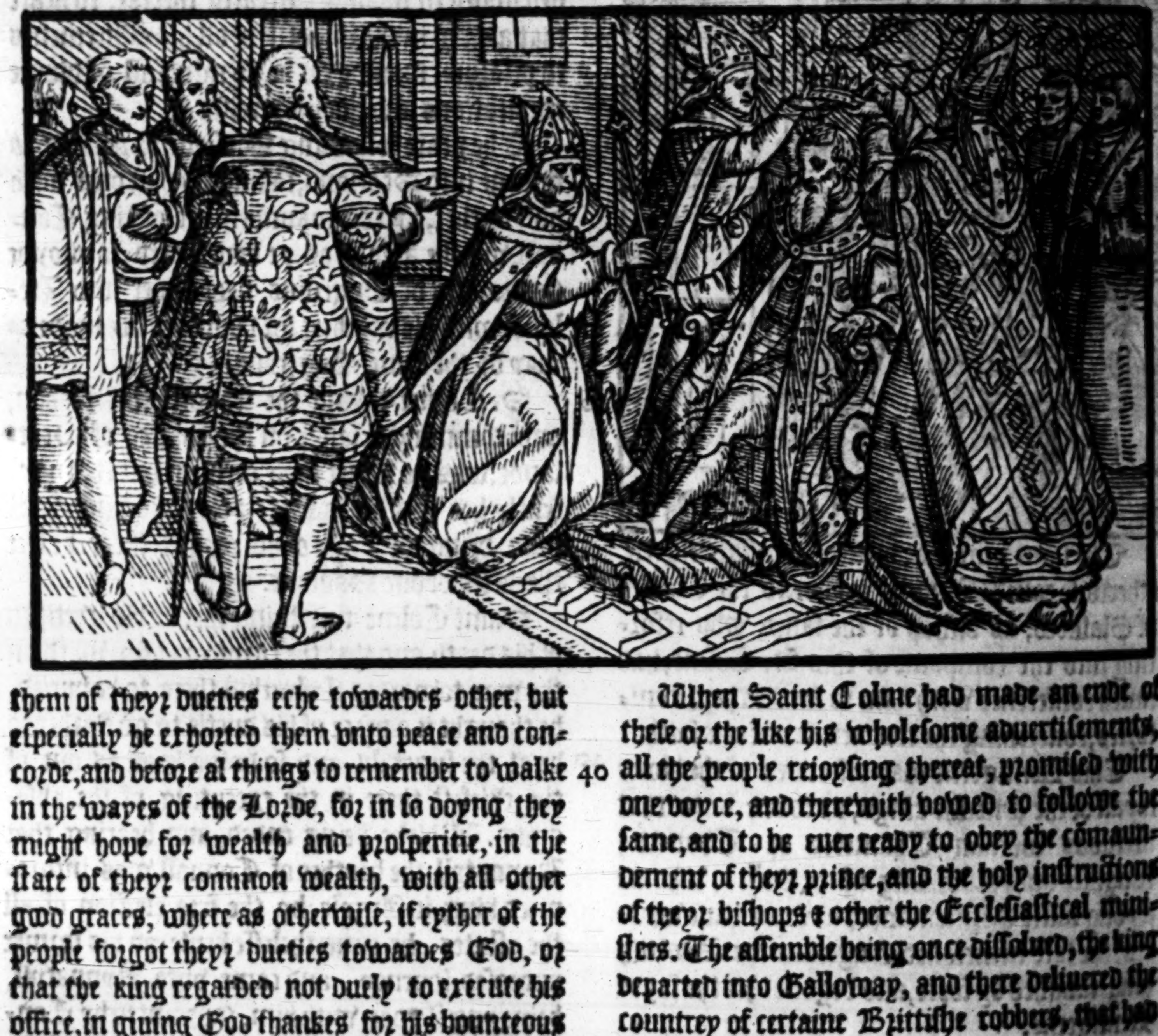
wordes, it is vncertaine, but ſure it is that his purpoſe was to haue giuen ouer the gouernment of the kingdome (as he confeſſed himſelfe lying vpon his death bedde) and to haue reſtored it vnto Aydan who had a right therevnto. Howbeit being preuented by death, he could not haue time to accompliſhe his deſire, for within .xx. dayes after his coronation, being ſurpriſed with a grieuous diſeaſe of a catarrike rewme and the ſquinancie, he was cōſtreined to keepe his chāber, cōmitting the publike adminiſtration of the realme vnto Aydan. Herevpon followed a feuer through encreaſing of a flegmatike humor bred by long reſte, that after .xiiij. monethes ſpace vnbodied his ghoſt, whiche by the inſtruction of Saint Colme, being preſent with him at the houre of his death, he rendred in moſt deuoute wiſe into the handes of his redeemer. Appointing his kingdome as it were by deliuerie of ſeyſin, then there vpon his death bedde vnto the foreſayd Aydan.

Aydan.

Aydan recey-
ueth his in
ſture of the
kingdome a
the handes o
S.Colme.

After that the bodie of this Kynnatyll was enterred, according to the maner, in Colmekyll, Aydan receyued the crowne ſitting vpon the marble ſtone, after the cuſtome in thoſe dayes vſed, by the handes of that holy father Saint Colme. Who willing that ſilence mighte be kept, layde his right hande vpon the kings head, and in his lefte hand holding his croſier ſtaffe, made a briefe exhortation, aſwell to the king as to his people, admoniſhing

S. Colmes e
hortation to
the king a
the people.



them of theyr dueties eche towardes other, but eſpecially he exhorted them vnto peace and concorde, and before al things to remember to walke in the wayes of the Lorde, for in ſo doyng they might hope for wealth and proſperitie, in the ſtate of theyr common wealth, with all other good graces, where as otherwiſe, if eyther of the people forgot theyr dueties towardes God, or that the king regarded not duely to execute his office, in giuing God thankes for his bounteous liberalitie and high benefites beſtowed vpō him, it ſhoulde come to paſſe, that inteſtine ſedition, conſpiracies, and other miſchiefes ſhoulde riſe amongſt them, to the irrecouerable loſſe of the realme, by bringyng the ſame into daunger to be ouerrunne by ſome forrayne power, if they did not repent in time, and call to God for his fauour that it might pleaſe him to reduce them agayne into the right pathe of his lawes and ordinaunces, when ſo euer they ſhould ſo fall from the ſame.

The promi
of the pe

When Saint Colme had made an ende of theſe or the like his wholeſome aduertiſements, all the people reioyſing thereat, promiſed with one voyce, and therewith vowed to followe the ſame, and to be euer ready to obey the cōmaundement of theyr prince, and the holy inſtructions of theyr biſhops & other the Eccleſiaſtical miniſters. The aſſemble being once diſſolued, the king departed into Galloway, and there deliuered the countrey of certaine Brittiſhe robbers, that had inuaded it.

The kings
journey
Galloway.

After this, ſtudying to maintaine good orders and quiet rule through his dominions, he appointed an aſſemble of the chiefeſt peares of his realme to be holden yearely in three ſeuerall parties therof, as in Galloway, Louchquhaber, and Cathneſſe, there to heare & determine all ſuytes & quarels of his ſubiectes, & to giue order for the adminiſtratiō of the lawes & al publike affayres, as they ſhould ſee cauſe, & occaſion. He required alſo S. Colme to be preſent euer with thē, ẏ maters

Aydan app
teth ſeſſio
to be kept
yerely in t
partes of h
realme.

touching religion might be the better prouided for, and that the people might take all things done in thoſe publike ſeſſions in right good parte, bycauſe ſuch an holy and vertuous father of the Churche was amongſt them, and hauing the chiefeſt authoritie.

int Colme
ent at aſ-
s and Seſ-
ns.

Thus continued the realme in quiet ſtate for certaine yeares togither, till it chaunced that diuers of the nobles being togither on hunting, fell at variance, and therevpon making a fray, ſundry of them were ſlayne. The beginners & ſuche as were moſte culpable were ſought for, by the kings officers, to haue bene had to warde, but they in diſobeying the arreſt, ſtroke and beate the officers very ſore, and immediatly therewith fled vnto Brudeus king of the Pictes, ſo by wilfull exile to ſafegard theyr liues.

ay amõgſt
nobles be-
hunting.

King Aydan, according to the maner in ſuch caſes accuſtomed, requyred to haue thoſe outlawes deliuered vnto him, that he might do iuſtice vpon thē accordingly as they had deſerued.

Kyng Aydan requireth to haue certaine Scottiſh outlawes deliuered at the handes of Brudeus king of Pictes.

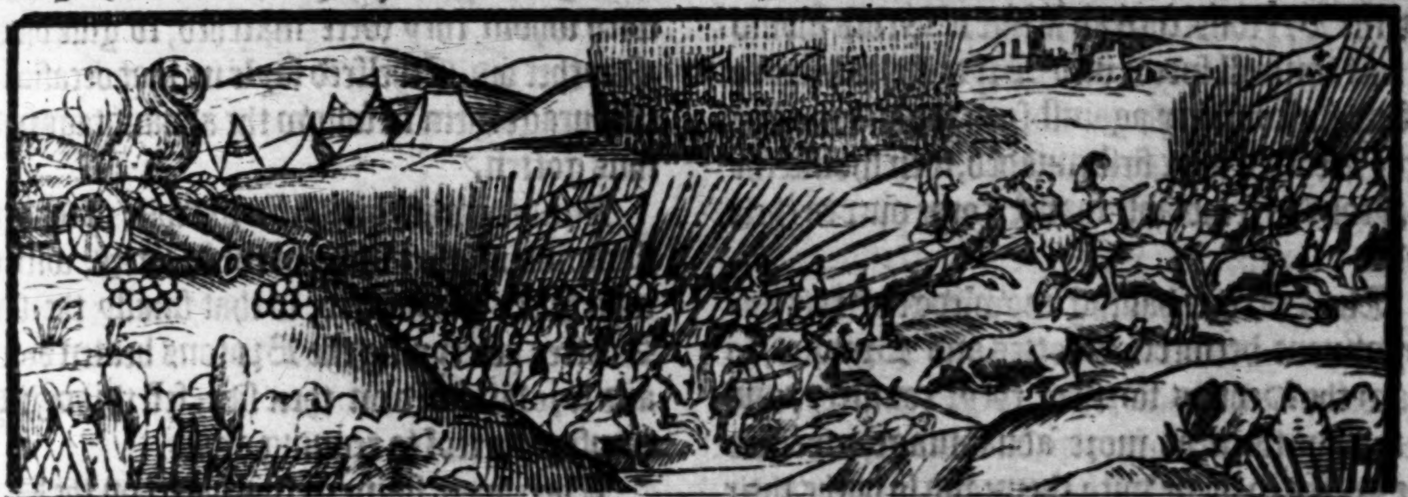
Brudeus taking pitie of the yong gentlemen, alledged many things in their excuſe, ſtill deferring to deliuer them, till at length hee procured warre to himſelfe and his countrey: For Aydan the Scottiſhe king offended in that he might not haue thoſe rebelles and publike offendors reſtored vnto him, he cauſed a number of his people, firſt to fetche a great bootie of cattell and pryſoners out of Angus.

Brudeus by denying to deliuer the Scottiſh outlawes, procureth warres to him ſelfe and his countrey.

Wherewith the Pictes being kindled, made a like rode into Galloway. Finally the matter grewe vnto a fielde, whiche was foughten in Menteith, not farre from Caledon caſtell otherwiſe called Dounkeld, with great ſlaughter on both ſides, though in the ende the victorie yet remayned with the Scottes, but loſing Arthurnus the ſonne of Aydan their king, they reioyced not greatly at the gaine.

The breach of peace betwixt the Scots and Pictes.

A field fought betwixt Scots and Pictes.



That holy mā S. Colme troubled with ſuch newes, came vnto Aydan, and declaring vnto him howe grieuouſly he had offended almightie God in procuring ſuche miſchiefe as had enſued of this warre, & reciting in particuler the brāches thereof, he moued the king vnto ſuch repentance for his treſpaſſe, that he wholly ſubmitted himſelfe vnto Saint Colmes chaſtiſement, who being about to departe in ſemblance ſore offended, the king got him by the ſleeue, and would in no wiſe ſuffer him to go from him, till he had declared vnto him ſome comfortable meane howe to redreſſe the matter, for the quieting of his conſcience. At length Saint Colme lamenting the kings caſe, ſuffred himſelfe to be entreated, and therevpon repayred vnto Brudeus the Pictiſhe king, mouing him by way of diuers godly aduertiſements to incline his affection vnto peace. At length he did ſo much by trauayling ſundry times to and fro betwixt the two kings, that he brought thē vnto agreement for al maters depending in controuerſie betwixt thē & their ſubiects.

int Colme
prouethking
dan.

he repentãce
king Aydan

Colme
eth vnto the
g of the
es.

agreemēt
twixte the
tiſhe and
ish kings,
he ſute of
Colme.

Thus S. Colme hauing accompliſhed that which he came for, returned againe into the weſterne Iſles vnto his wonted home, where he did by wholeſome documents and vertuous enſamples, inſtruc̄ the ſeruaunts of God in the way of his lawes and commaundements.

Colme re-
rned vnto
weſterne
es.

In this meane time the Saxons hauing driuen and put backe the Brytons into Wales, and occupying all the reſidue of their landes and countreys, they deuided the ſame into ſeuen partes, ordeyning ſeuen ſeuerall kings, to gouerne the ſame as kingdomes.

England deuided into ſeuen ſeuerall kingdomes.

Ouer that of Northumberland adioyning next vnto the Pictes, one Edelfrede reygned, a man of exceeding deſire to enlarge his dominion. He went about by all meanes he could deuiſe to perſwade Brudeus the Pictiſhe king to renew the warres with the Scottes, promiſing him all the ayde he could make againſt them, not onely for that he knewe the Scottes to haue bene euer enimies vnto the Saxons, but alſo for that hee himſelf was diſcended of the nation called Agathirſes, of the whiche the Pictes as was thought were alſo come. But the cauſe why he wiſhed that there might be warres rayſed betwixte the Scottes and Pictes, was not for any good will he bare to the Pictes, but onely to the ende that theyr power being weakened through the ſame, he might haue a more eaſie pray of theyr countrey, the whiche he purpoſed vpon occaſion to inuade and ioyne vnto his owne kingdome of Northumberlande.

Edelfred king of Northumberland.

Edelfreds purpoſe.

Brudeus at the firſte gaue no eare vnto his earneſt motions and large offers, but at length through the councell and procurement of ſome of his nobles, corrupted by brybes receyued at Ethelfredes handes, and ſtill putting into the kings head ſundry forged informations of the Scottiſh mens dayly attempts againſt the Pictiſhe nation, hee determined to ioyne with the Saxons againſt them, and cauſed therevppon warre to be proclaymed againſt the Scottes, as thoſe that had ſpoyled and robbed his ſubiectes, contrarie to the league & all bandes of old frendſhip and former amitie betwixt them.

A league concluded betwixt the Scots & Brytons, with the articles of the ſame.

The Scottiſhe king Aydan perceyuing the practiſe of the Saxons, and togither therewith the vntruth of the Pictes, the better to be able to reſiſt theyr malice, ioyneth in league with the Brytons: This article beyng chiefeſt in the whole couenant: that if the enimies firſt inuaded the Brytons, then an armie of Scots ſhould be ſent with all ſpeede into Brytaine, to helpe to defend the countrey againſt ſuch inuaſions: but if the Scottes were firſt inuaded, then ſhould the Brytons in ſemblable maner come ouer to their ayde.

The Pictes and Saxons enter into the lands of the Brytõs.

The Saxons hauing knowledge of this appoyntment betwixte Scottes and Brytons, to draw the Scottes forth of theyr countrey, and ſo to haue them at more aduauntage, procured the Pictes to ioyne with them: and ſo bothe their powers being vnited togither, entred into the Brittiſh confines.

Ceuline or Ceolyn.

Aydan according to the couenaunt, came ſtraight vnto the ayde of the Brytons. Ethelfred and Brudeus refuſed to fight for certaine dayes, as it were of purpoſe, thereby to weary the Scottes with watch and trauayle, being as then farre from home. Alſo they looked dayly to haue Ceuline king of the weſt Saxons to come vnto theyr ayde: but the Scottes and Brytons hauing knowledge thereof, firſt thought it beſte to encounter with him, before he ſhould ioyne with the other, and thus vnderſtanding that their only refuge remayned in theyr armure and weapons, gaue ỹ onſet ſo fiercely vpõ thoſe Saxons, that at the firſte, ſlaying Cutha Ceulines ſonne, with a great number of other, they eaſily diſtreſſed and put the reſidue to flight.

The Scots and Brytons put the Saxons to flight, & ſlewe Cutha the ſon of Ceuline king of the weſt Saxons.

The triũphant ioy made by the Scots and Brytons, vpon their newe victorie.

Aydan would not ſuffer his men to purſue to farre in the chaſe, but called them backe by the ſoundꝫ of a trumpet, who being aſſembled herewith about theyr ſtanderds, made ſuche ioye and triumphe, as greater coulde not bee deuiſed, what with dauncing, ſinging, and playing on pipes and other inſtrumentes, according to the manner in thoſe dayes.

The Saxons and Pictes.

But as they were thus in the middes of their chiefeſt myrth, ſodenly appeared the Saxons & Pictes, whiche were with Ethelfred & Brudeus, approching towardes them in good order of battell, with whom were alſo the reſidue of the weſt Saxons, that had eſcaped frõ the late bickering. Wherevpon the Scottes and Brytons amazed with the ſight hereof, were ſodenly ſtriken out of countenaunce, in ſomuche that Aydan went amongſt them, and with a bolde countenaunce exhorted them to remember, how valiantly they had alreadie put to flight the other of theyr enimies, ſo that there was great hope for aſſured victorie of theſe likewiſe, if they would now ſhewe the like mãly courage againſt them, as they had ſhewed before in aſſayling the other. Many other wordes hee vſed in admoniſhing them to fight manfully, till the onſet giuen by the enimies, cauſed him to make an end.

The ſoden feare of the Scots & Pic after all thei great ioy a triumphing.

Aydan exho ted his men manfulneſſe.

The Saxons fight ſtoutly.

The Saxons layde about them ſo ſtoutly in the beginning, that they forced their aduerſaries, with whom they were matched, to giue backe. Neyther did Ethelfred fayle in that occaſion to encourage them to follow the aduauntage nowe thus gotten.

Ethelfred.

Brudeus kin of the Pic maketh ſla ter of the Scots.

Brudeus with his Picts likewiſe made great ſlaughter in that wing of the Scottes, with the whiche hee encountred, ſo that finally the ſame Scottes perceyuing the Brytons beaten downe and ſore diſtreſſed on their ſide, fell through diſcomfort thereof to renning away.

The Scott runne aw

There were ſlaine in this battel on the Scottiſhmens ſide Brennius lieutenant, or as they termed him the Thane of the Iſle of Man, with Dungarre the kings thirde ſonne, and no ſmall number of other Gentlemen beſide. The king himſelfe eſcaped by helpe of his ſonne, who ſtaying to get his father out of the preaſe, was ſlaine (as is ſayde) amongſt the reſidue.

On the Saxons ſide, there was ſlaine Theobald Edelfredes brother, and Cutha the king of Weſt Saxon his ſonne, as before ye haue heard, with a great number of other. Ethelfred himſelf loſt one of his eyes. Brudeus the Pictiſhe king was hurt in the thigh, and beſides this, he loſte a great multitude of his people.

Ethelfred lo one of his eyes. Brudeus hu in the thig

Deglaſton t place where thus battell was fought

Galloway in uaded by E delfred.

Thus Edelfred hauing got ſuche a notable victorie at Deglaſtone in Brytaine, hee coulde not be ſo contented, but eftſoones aſſembling his people, and ioyning againe with Brudeus and his Pictes, the next ſommer after inuaded Galloway, and beganne to robbe and ſpoyle that countrey, to the end he might eyther compell the inhabitauntes, with other the countreys nere thereunto adioyning, to yeelde vnto him, eyther els to bring them into extreeme pouertie by waſting all afore him.

But Aydan being aduertiſed hereof, ſente to the Brytons for theyr couenaunted ayde, and comming forewarde with his owne people, whiche hee had aſſembled togither, encountred certayne companyes of his enemyes, as he found them diſperſed abroade in ſeeking for prayes, then paſſing by their mayne armie, he commeth into Annandale, where he ioineth with the Brytons, beyng come ſo farre forward on their way to meete him.

taine com-
es of
e ouer-
wen.

The Saxons and Pictes hauing knowledge of their enemies doings, wanne ſuche a place of aduantage as they thoughte it an eaſye matter for them in keeping the ſame, to diſtreſſe both the Scottes and Brytaynes through ſtopping vp the paſſages, by the whiche they muſt of force paſſe, if they mynded to come forth of that dale. Theſe paſſages lay through certayne quickeſands, and by a ryuer which had but few fordes paſſable.

ges, tho-
Solleway
s.

The Scots and Brytaynes perceyuing how they were thus encloſed, with all ſpeede trenched their camp about, reyſing certayne bulwarkes and turrets in places where they thought expedient, as though they had meante ſtill there to haue continued.

Aydan him ſelfe tooke ſuche paynes in ſeeyng euery thing done in due order, that his people moued more through his enſample than by any exhortation, were moſt diligent in their dueties, deſirous of nothing ſo much as to haue occaſion miniſtred, to ſhewe ſome proofe of their worthy valiauncies.

diligence
ing Aydan
prouiding
fit his e-
ces.

At length, when the enemies were moſt at quiet, and as was ſuppoſed, nothing in doubt of any attempt to be made by the Scots and Brytons in the night ſeaſon, leauing a great number of fyres in their campe, they ſodenly diſlodged, and paſſing the water by ſecret fourdes, they entred into Cumberland, and ſo after paſſing into Northumberland, they waſted and deſtroyed with fyre and ſworde all that came within theyr reach: The report of which their doings brought Edelfred and Brudeus backe into that countrey to reſiſt theyr inuaſion, neither reſting day nor night, till they had got ſight of their enimies.

Scots and
ons diſ-
g.

Scots and
ns enter
Northū-
nd.

The next day, the ſouldiers on bothe ſides requiring battell, togither they go with great noiſe and dinne bothe of men and inſtrumentes. To much hardineſſe in the Saxons cauſed no ſmall number of them to be ſlayne, rather chooſing to die with reputation of manhoode, than to giue backe neuer ſo little ground to the enimie. Thus the battell continued for a ſpace, right doubtfull whiche way the victory would incline.

fight be
Scots &
ns on the
ſide, and
& Picts
e other.

On the Brytons and Scottiſh mens ſide, there were foure chiefe rulers amongſt them, beſide Aydan himſelfe, as Conſtantius and Alencrinus Brytons, Callan and Mordock Scottiſh men. Eche of theſe taking a ſeuerall charge vpon him, did earneſtly apply their vttermoſt endeuors therein, encouraging their bandes to put away all cowardly feare, and manfully to ſticke to their tackle, ſithe by victory there was hope of eternall fame, beſide ſuertie of life, and aduauncement to the common wealth of their countrey, where otherwiſe they might looke for nothing, but the contrary miſhaps, as ſhame, rebuke and importable ſeruitude, ſo that the Scottiſh men and Brytons incouraged herewith, preaſſed vpō the enimies ſo fiercely, that at length aſwell the Saxons as Picts were compelled to breake their array, & fall to plaine running away: the Scots following ſo egrely in the chaſe, that more of their enimies were thought to die in the flight, than before there had done in yͤ battel. S. Colme as yet being aliue, and within his monaſterie in the Iſle of Iona, had knowledge by diuine inſpiration (as the Scottiſh chronicles make mention of all theſe matters how they went, and at the very time that the battels were in fight togither, he had aſſembled a companie of right vertuous and godly diſpoſed perſons, making interceſſion for the proſperous ſpeede of their king the foreſayde Aydan, and at the very inſtant, as it was knowen after, that the Saxons began to flee (as they which had the ouerthrow) that holy old father ſhewed greate token of ioy and gladneſſe, declaring vnto his brethrene by the ſpryte of ſecrete knowledge or prophecie, how Aydan had the better, and that his enimies were diſcōfited, willing them therevpon to giue vnto God thankes for the ſame.

The Saxons & Pictes diſcōfited & chaſed.

S. Colme endewed with the ſprite of ſecrete knowledge.

There was an huge multitude ſlaine in this conflict, but namely the death of Ceulyne king of the Weſtſaxons, with other two worthie Captaynes of that nation, made the ſlaughter more ſorowfull on that ſide, the one of them hight Cialyne, and the other Quhitellyne.

Ceuline king of Weſtſaxons ſlaine.

Quhitelline or Whiteline.

The day next after the bataple, the ſpoyle of the field being gathered togither, all that whiche was knowen to haue bene taken out of Galloway and other countreys of the Scottes, was reſtored by the kings authoritie vnto the owners againe. The reſidue which remayned was deuided amongſt the ſouldiers, the tenth parte onely excepted, whiche was diſtributed vnto Prieſtes and Curates, to beſtowe the ſame vpon ornaments for theyr Churches. The Banners and Standerds of the Saxons and Picts, with many other riche offerings, king Aydan ſent into the Abbey of Colmekill, there to remaine as perpetuall monuments and tokens of ſo notable a victorie.

The deuiſion of the ſpoyle.

The yeare next following, that holy father S. Colme nowe almoſte waſted through age, and hereto alſo ſore troubled with a reumaticke humor, fell ſicke and died. Some ſay hee ended his life in his houſe amongſt his brethrene within the Iſle of Iona, otherwiſe called Colmekill, but

S. Colme departed out of this life.

but Saint Bede wriketh howe hee died in an Iland called Heu, where againe the Iriſhe wryters affirme, that he departed in a towne in Ireland called Dune, and that his tombe is there in great veneration of the people: vpō the which are theſe Latine verſes engrauen.

Hi tres in Duno, tumulo tumulantur in vno,
Brigida, Patricius atque Columba pius.

Which verſes Balantine tranſlateth thus:

Saint Colme, Saint Patricke and Brigitta pure,
Thir three in Dune lies in ane ſepulture.

Aydan king of the Scottiſhe mē, departeth this worlde.

Neither did Aydan the Scottiſhe king liue long time after, for hearing (as is ſayde) that Saint Colme was dead, ſhortly thervpō more through griefe, than by force of ſickeneſſe, he departed this worlde, after he had reygned .xxxvij. yeares in gouernaunce ouer the Scottiſh men, he died about the yeare of our Lorde. 606.

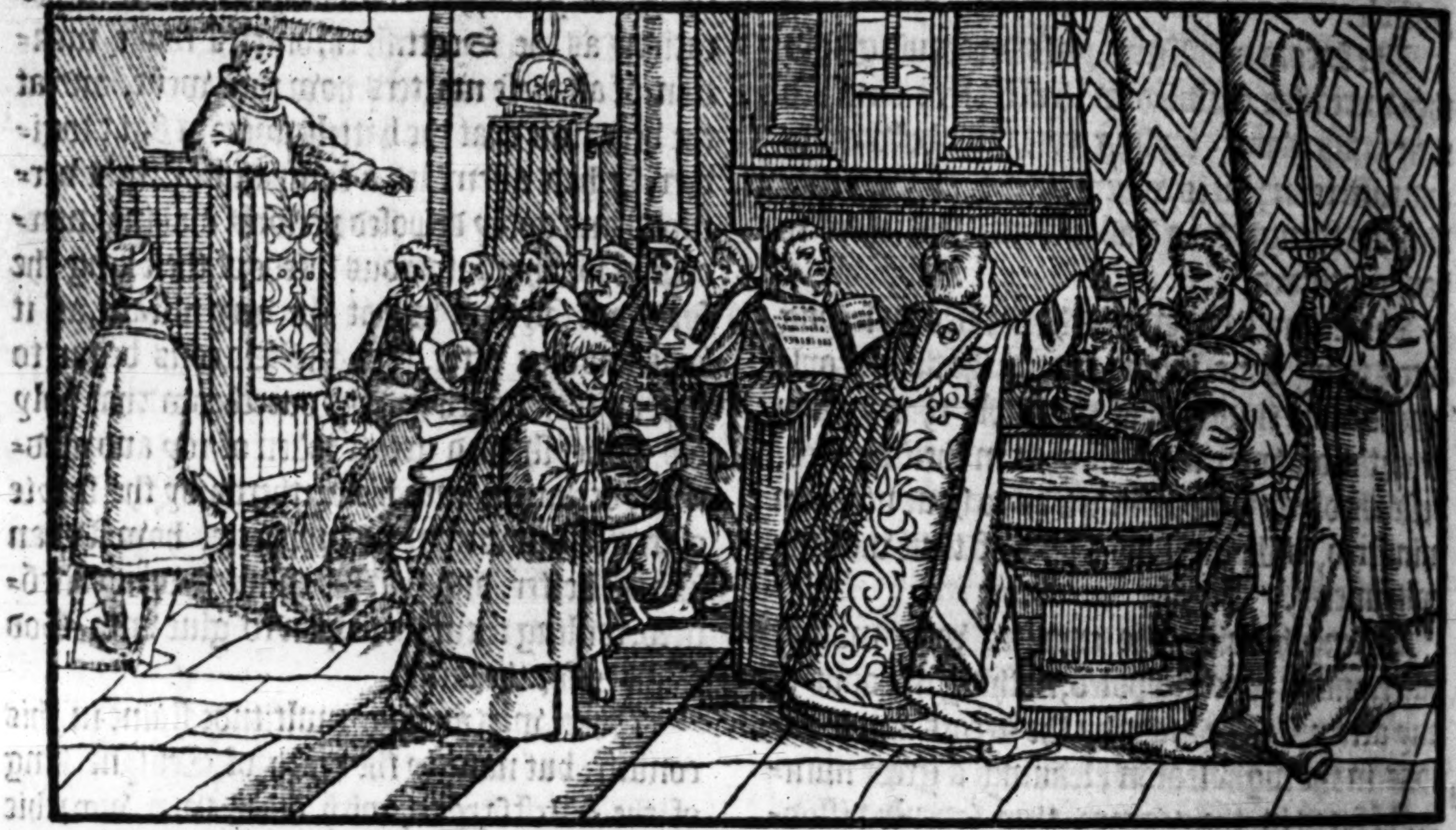
606.

In the dayes of this Aydan there was ſente into Albion from Gregory the Pope of Rome, diuers learned men (amongſt whom were Augustinus and Mellitus) to inſtruct the Engliſh people in the faith of Chriſt, whiche as yet they had not receyued. By the earneſt trauell and exhortation of theſe inſtructors, Ethelbert king of the Kentiſhe Saxons was baptiſed with all his people. The Brittiſhe prieſts nor their doctrine the Saxons could in nowiſe abide; bicauſe (as is ſuppoſed) the one nation through a naturall hatred, ſtill ſought the deſtruction of the other.

Auguſtin… Mellitus… into Albi…

Ethelbert… baptiſed.

The Saxo… hatred tow… the Britt… Prieſtes.



Suſſex and Eſſex receyue the Chriſtian faith.

The South and eaſt Saxons moued with the enſample of the Kentiſh Saxons, ſhortly after alſo renounced theyr olde ſuperſtitious idolatrie, and likewiſe receyued the Chriſtian faith.

Edelfred his diſpleaſure.

Edelfred king of Northumberlande moued vnto diſpleaſure herewith, ſente word vnto theſe Saxons of the ſouth partes (as then all of them generally knowen by the name of Engliſhmen) that ſithe they had forſaken the olde inſtitutions and auncient religion of theyr forefathers, hee woulde ſurely from thence forth be no leſſe enemie vnto them than vnto the Scottes and Brytons.

Valdred otherwiſe called Baldred, the doctor of the Pictes.

There liued in theſe dayes that holy man Waldred a Scottiſhe man borne, but dwelling amongſt the Pictes, whom he inſtructed in the right faith, and therefore was named the doctor of the Pictes. He departed out of this life within the Iland called the Baſſe, lying about .ij. miles off from the maine land within the ſea where the Forth hath the entry betwixt the ſame Iſle, and an other called the May. There were three pariſhes fell at contention for the buriall of his bodie, as Aldham, Tynningam, & Preſton, ſo farre forth, that they were at point to haue fought about it, but that by councell of ſome diſcrete perſons amongſt them, it was ordeyned that they ſhould continue in prayer for that night, & in the next morning ſtande to the order of the Biſhop of the dioceſe, who was come thyther the ſame time to be preſent at the buriall. The next day in the morning there was found .iij. beeres with .iij. bodies decetly couered with clothes, ſo like in all reſemblance that no man might perceyue any difference. Then by cōmaundemēt of the biſhop and with great ioy of all the people, the ſayde ſeuerall bodies were caried ſeuerally vnto the ſayd three ſeuerall Churches, and in the ſame buried in moſte ſolemne wiſe, where they remayne vnto this day, in muche honour with the cōmon people of the countreys neare adioyning.

A myracle, be true.

Kene thus Keyr

Kenethus… crowned… of Scotte…

After that the corps of king Aydan was buried in Colmekill, the nobles of the realme aſſembled togither in Argyle, aboute the election of a newe king. Where by the generall voyces of thē al, Kenethus Keyr the ſonne of Conualle (ſometime king of the Scottiſh men as before is mencioned) was nowe proclaymed king and crowned according to the maner: but hee liued not paſſing .iiij. monethes after, but died of a catharrike rewme falling downe into the artery called *Trachea*, and ſo ſtopped his lungs. He deliuered as it were the poſſeſſion of his kingdome, by way of ſurrendring the ſame into the handes of Eugenius ſonne to king Aydan, by conſent of all the nobles, a litle before he died, for that it was knowen he had a right thereunto after the deceaſe of Kenethus.

This Eugenius was the fourth of that name, whiche had ruled ouer the Scottiſh men. As it is ſayde S. Colme prophecied that hee ſhould be king long before his fathers death: for when all the ſonnes of king Aydan were brought before him, and that Aydan demaunded of him whiche of them ſhoulde reygne after him, hee ouerpaſſing the reſidue (whiche he vnderſtoode by ſecrete knowledge ſhould die in the warres) appoynted forth this Eugenius, called by ſome alſo Brudus, declaring that it ſhould be onely he.

This Eugenius then beyng placed in the kingly ſeat, forgot not ſuch wholſome leſſons & vertuous precepts, as the foreſayd Saint Colme had taught him in his youth, ſo that ſtudying how to defende rather that which was his owne in peace and quietneſſe, than to ſeeke any wayes or meanes howe to enlarge it, by wrongfull encroching vpon other mens poſſeſſions, he grewe into ſuch fauour with all good menne, as greater could not be deuiſed. Vnto offendors he was a ſharpe Iuſticier, not ſparing any tranſgreſſour of his lawes, neyther in reſpect of nobilitie or otherwiſe, but rather thoſe gentlemen which miſuſed thẽſelues in breache of good orders, he chiefly gaue order to ſee them puniſhed: where if they behaued themſelues worthily, and according to theyr calling, there was no prince more gladde than he to aduaunce them vnto honour.

By theſe and the like his princely doings, he was both beloued of his people and alſo dred. He neither fauoured the Picts nor Saxons of Northumberland, for that the one nation being Ethnikes perſiſted in their infidelitie, and the other ceaſſed not by all maner of meanes to ſupporte them, but yet taking a truce with them bothe, he firmely cauſed the ſame to be obſerued.

In the .x. yeare of his reygne Cinigell king of Weſtſaxons and Edelfred king of Northumberlande with ayde of the Pictes, vanquiſhed Cadwallo king of Brytons, and chaſed him into Scotlãd, where he remained not long, ſayling from thence into Brytain in Fraunce, & purchaſing ayde of the king there named Cadoal, returned into Wales, where vanquiſhing his enimies the Saxons, & ſleaing many thouſands of them, he was reſtored againe vnto his kingdome.

Cadwalle is reſtored vnto his kingdome

About the ſame time was Edelfred king of Northumberland ſlaine in battell, at a place called Wintringham, not far from the riuer of Hũber, by Redwald & Ethelbreth, the one being king of the eaſt Angles, & the other of the middle Engles, in reuenge of ſuche iniuries as the ſame Edelfred had done vnto the Saxons of the cõtrey called Mertia, conteyning as in the Engliſh hiſtorie more plainly may appeare al thoſe ſhyres from the riuer of Thames vnto the riuer of Merſee in Lancaſhyre. Then was one Edwine a right Chriſtian prince, appoynted to reygne in his place, by the aſſignement of the two foreſayd kings Redwald and Ethelbreth.

See more hereof in England.

King Edelfred ſlaine.

Edwyne.

Whileſt theſe things were a doing, there were ſeuen ſonnes of the foreſayde Edelfred, that deteſting the vntrue dealing of the Pictes, whiche refuſed to ayde their father in his neceſſitie, and doubting to fall into the handes of Edwyn, got them vnto Eugenius the Scottiſhe king for more ſuretie of theyr liues. Theyr names were Eufreid, Oſwald, Oſlawes, Oſwyne, Offas, Oſmõd, & Oſyk. Ebba the only daughter of Edelfred beyng taken amongſt other priſoners, and eſcaping from hir taker, miraculouſly got a boate in the riuer of Humber, and with the ſame taking the ſea alone, without all humane helpe, (as hath bene reported) ſhe ſayled forth, and at length ſafely arriued at the poynt of lande which ſtretcheth forth into the ſea, in the mouth of the Forth, called euẽ vnto this day after hyr name, Saint Ebbes head, where being receyued by the Biſhop of that dioceſſe, ſhee was profeſſed a Nonne, and after continuyng in greate perfectneſſe of obſeruing that profeſſion, ſhe was inſtituted Abbeſſe of hyr houſe, ſhewing ſtill in trade of lyfe an orderly enſample for hyr flocke to followe.

S. Ebbas head.

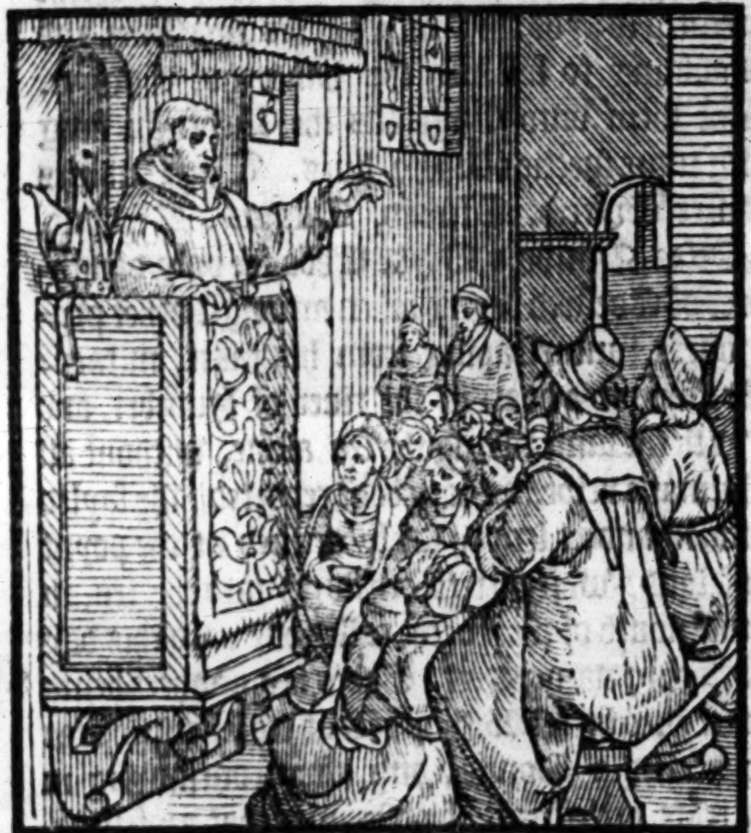
Eugenius the Scottiſh king did louingly receyue the ſonnes of Edelfred, though their father had euer bene a cruell enimie againſt the Scottiſh nation: and within a while after theyr comming into Scotlãd, hearing oftẽtimes the godly ſermons and preachings of the Biſhoppes and Monkes (who in thoſe dayes continually gaue themſelues vnto that exerciſe) they finally abhorred theyr ſuperſticious idolatrie, and receyued baptiſme, that ſalutiferous ſigne and ſacramẽt of our chriſtian religiõ. Thoſe churches alſo which the Saxõs in time of yͤ warres had ouerthrowẽ & deſtroyed in Galoway & other cõtreys thereabouts, Eugenius cauſed to be repaired: moreouer alſo he reedified ſundry caſtels in thoſe marches, and placed in them gariſons of ſouldiers, to defend them againſt all inuaſions that might happen.

620.

Thus continuyng his reigne the ſpace of .xv. yeares or there aboutes in honorable peace, to the great aduauncement of the common wealth of his ſubiects, he laſtly died in the yeare. 620. and was buried amongſt his elders in the Iſle of Iona, within the monaſterie of Colmekill.

Bonifacius a godly preacher

About this time that reuerend father and Biſhop Bonifatius Quirinus, came forth of Italy into Scotlande, to inſtruct the people in the faith of Chriſt there. Whether he were Pope & reſigning vp the papalitie came thus into Scotland (as ſome haue ſuppoſed) or whether he was ſent from the Pope called Bonifacius that ſucceeded Sauinianus, it is not certainly knowen: but certaine it is, as the Scottiſhe writers affirme, that vpon his firſt comming into Scotland he arriued in the water of Taye, comming a lande at the mouth of a little riuer, whiche diuideth the countrey of Gowrie from Angus.



His name is yet famous amongſt the Scottes euen vnto this day: for that he trauailed through the moſt parte of the lande, in preaching and inſtructing the people to theyr confirmation in the faith, and erecting diuers Churches in the honor of almightie God, whiche hee dedicated to the name of S. Peter. And amongſt other he buylt one at the place where he came a lande, an other at a village called Tullyne, not paſſing three myles from Dundee, & the third at Reſtennoth, where afterwardes an houſe of Chanons of S. Auguſtines order was buylded. At length hee came into Roſſe, continuyng there the reſidue of his life, and is buried at Roſſemarken.

Molock a preacher.

There was alſo the ſame time amongſt the Scottes an auncient godly man named Molock, who following ſuche rules and doctrine as in his youth he had learned of Brandon that reuerend Abbotte, he ceaſſed not to exhort the people of Mar and Argyle (in whiche countreys he was moſt reſident) to flee and forſake their vicious liuing, and to endeuour themſelues to imbrace vertue to the comfort and health of theyr ſoules.

Monkes w
preachers i
those day

This Molock kept continual companie with the forenamed Bonifacius after his comming into Scotland: and finally died alſo in Roſſe, being about .94. yeares of age, and was buried in the church where Bonifacius lieth, though they of Argyle ſay that his relikes reſte amongſt thē in the Churche of Lyſmore, whiche is dedicated to his name.

Ferquhard.

After the deceaſſe of Eugenius, his ſon Ferquhard ſucceeded in his place, for Eugenius had three ſonnes, Ferquhard, Fiacre, and Donnewald. Theſe being appointed by theyr father to be brought vp with Connane Biſhop of Sodore (that is the Biſhop of Man) in vertuous diſcipline, did not altogither follow his godly precepts and leſſons.

Ferquhard king of Scot
land.

Ferquhard and Donald gladly gaue eare to him, but they thought his inſtructions did not much appertayne vnto theyr birth and degree, but Fiacre printing his diuine documēts deepely in his harte, determined to forſake all worldly pompe and dignitie, and to get him ſome whither farre from home, where he might ſerue God more freely without lette or interruption of his frendes or kinſfolke.

Fiacre gi
himſelfe fo
liue a ſo
life in F

Thus being diſpoſed, he got vpon him ſimple apparell, and went ouer into Fraunce, where ſeeking a ſolitarie place, Pharo the biſhoppe of Meaux gaue vnto him a peece of ground, in the whiche at this day he is worſhipped with great deuotion.

There hath gone a tale in that countrey, that no woman might enter into the Chapell where he lieth buried: for if any do, ſhe hath ſome miſhap that falleth vnto hyr, as eyther the loſſe of ſight, priuation of wittes, or ſome ſuch like.

As touching the ſtate of the Scottiſh cōmon wealth vnder the gouernment of Ferquhard, the ſame was quiet inough without trouble of outward ennimies, but his ſubiectes among themſelues fell at ſuch diuiſion, that euery parte of the realme was full of murder, brenning, and other deſtructions of men and houſes, with ſuch ſpoyling, robbing, reuing, and al kindes of other miſchiefes, that no where was any ſuertie eyther of life or goodes: All the which miſorders ſprong, were nouriſhed and maynteyned through the

kings

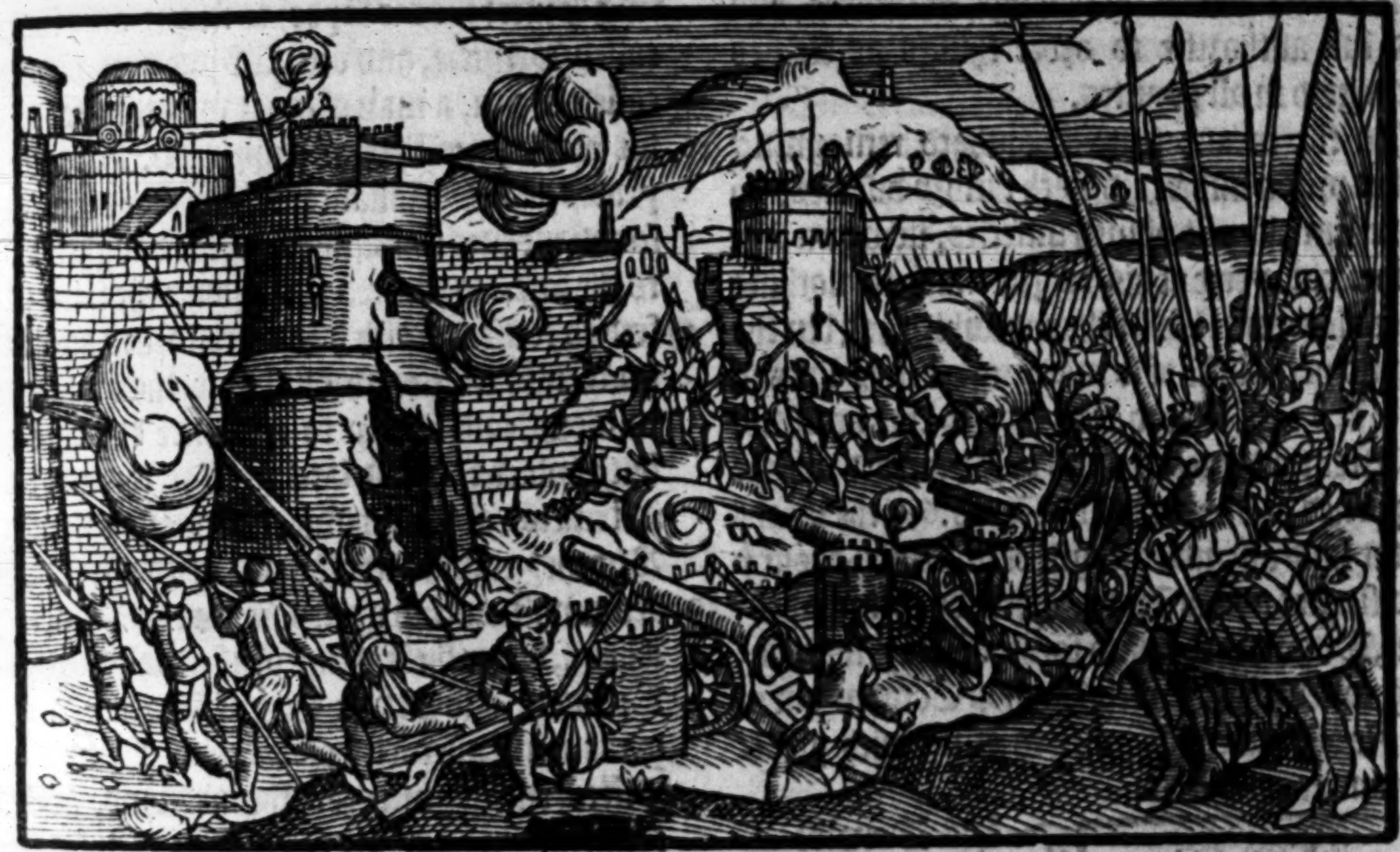
quhard
ained ci
ſcorde.

kings owne negligence, for he miſtaking his office and duetie, was of this opinion, that ſo long as the nobles and eſtates of his realme were thus ready one to kil an other, there was no likelyhood they ſhoulde haue tyme to practiſe any rebellion againſte him, and herevpon he rather holpe to further ſuch diſcorde amongſt them, than tooke order for to appeaſe it. But it came to paſſe by this means, yͭ he was nothing regarded within a whyle amongſt them, ſo that by meanes of other arbitratours whiche they choſe by common agreement, all matters in controuerſies were taken vp and ended betwixte them, the kyng not once made priuie thervnto.

Fei-
rd infected
the Pela-
n error.

The ſame tyme it was noyſed abrode in the realme, that Ferquhard, beſide other his wicked behauiours, was alſo infected with the erroneous opinions of the Pelagian hereſie. Which ſuſpition was the more encreaſed, for that he vſed to haue ſundry Britiſhe prieſtes in his companie: the whiche nation had bene euer noted with the ſpot of that damnable infection. The nobilitie of the realme moued herewith, ſūmoned him by an heralde to come to a councel which they had appointed to hold of al yͤ eſtates, yͭ they might there vnderſtande, if it were true or not whiche was commonly reported of him. But hee refuſing to come at ſuche ſummonance, they aſſemble togither, & beſiege him in the caſtell wherein he had encloſed himſelf, and winning the place, got him into their handes, & immediatly thervppon they committed him vnto ſafe keping.

The king is ſummoned by an herauld. He is taken priſoner.

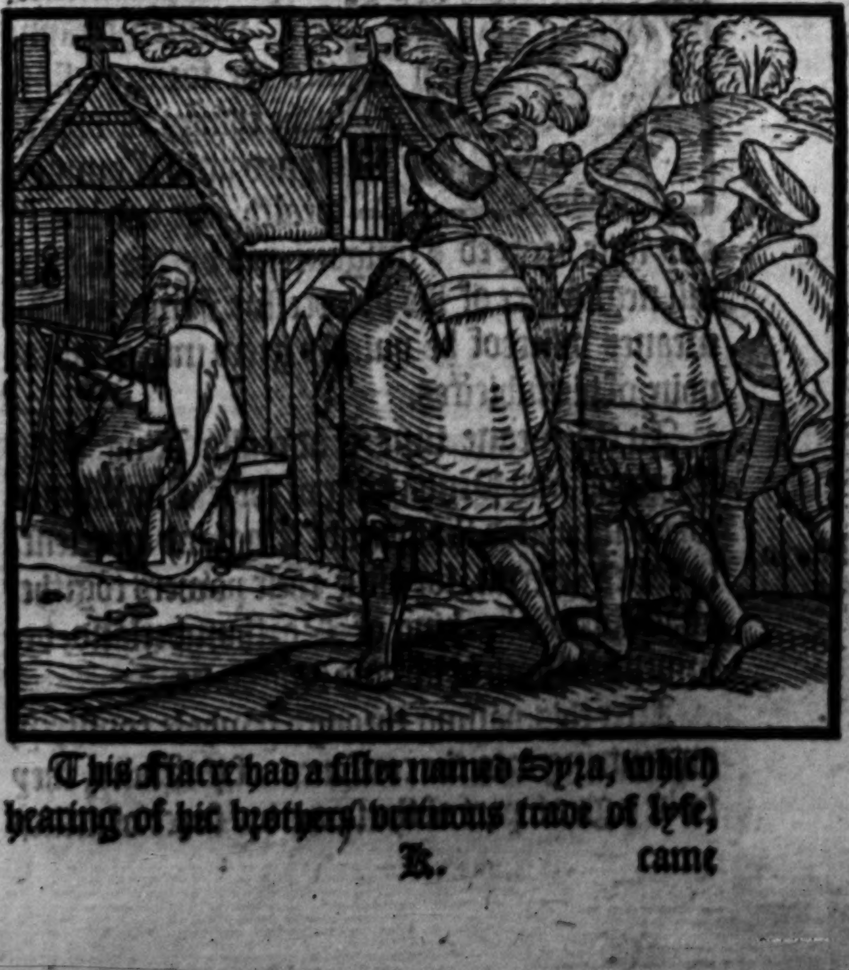


baſſadours
into Frāuc
o Fiacre.

This done, they conſulte together for the adminiſtration of the realme, whether they ſhould quite depoſe Ferquhard, or reſtore him again to his place. In yͤ end they reſt vpon this agreemēt to ſende an honourable ambaſſade into Fraunce vnto Fiacre, to require him to returne home into his countrey, and there to receyue the gouernement of the realme.

re his
er.

Fiacre (as the report goth) hearing that there were diuers of the Scottiſh nobilitie coming towardes him vppon this meſſage, in his prayers deſired feruently of almightie God, that it might pleaſe him ſo to worke for him, that hee mighte continue in his contemplatiue lyfe ſtill, and not be occaſioned to reſort vnto the troubles of the world, which all contemplatiue godly mē ought to abhorre. And euen as he had wiſhed it came to paſſe. For when thoſe that wer ſent vnto him came vnto the hermitage wherin he had his lodging, they found him (as appeared vnto them) ſo diſfigured with the leprie, that vpon his earneſt refuſal to forſake his ſolitarie lyfe, (which he had profeſſed to leads as an Ankre) for any worldely preferment of kingly gouernement, they were content to returne with that anſwer, ſith his infirmitie (as they ſuppoſed) was ſuch, as was not conuenient for him that ſhuld haue any publike gouernement.



This Fiacre had a ſiſter named Syra, which hearing of his brothers vertuous trade of lyfe, came vnto him with a company of godly virgines, & being of him confyrmed in hir purpoſed intẽt of chaſtitie, ſhe repayred into Champaigne in Fraunce, where ſhe with hir fellowes remayned in greate holyneſſe of life, leauing in thoſe parties a worthy memorie not forgottẽ amõgſt them there, till this day.

The foreſayde Ambaſſadours returning forth of Fraunce, declared in what plight of deformitie they had ſeene Fiacre, and howe earneſtly he had refuſed the offer which they had made vnto him in name of all the ſtates of Scotlande.

The Scottiſh nobilitie hereupon aſſembling togither, choſe forth .iiij. of yͤ aunciënteſt peeres amõgſt them to haue the rule and gouernement of the kingdome, till it were otherwiſe prouided. Theſe were named by that age, Wardens, and had full authoritie to order things as ſeemed them good in all poyntes.

The deſperate ende of king Ferquhard.

In the meane time Ferquhard remayning ſtill in priſon and vexed with ſundry diſeaſes, to ridde himſelfe out of ſuch miſeries, ſlew him ſelfe in the .xiij. yeere of his raigne: and ſo nothing ſpared his owne life in the end, which had bin the occaſiõ of the loſſe of ſo many other mẽs liues in time of yͤ ciuil diſcord, that hee had euer nouriſhed.

632.

After this wretched end of Ferquhard whiche happened in the yeere of our Lord .632. the Lords of the land aſſembled togither in Argile, about yͤ chooſing of a new King, where by common cõſent, Donwald the third ſonne of Eugenius, beyng called thither with Byſhop Connan out of the yle of Man, was inueſted King with greate ioy and triumph.

Donald

Donewald king of Scotlaud.

This Donalde hauyng taken vpon hym the royall adminiſtration, transfourming himſelfe into hys fathers manners, reſtored agayne into the former eſtate ſuche things as appertayned vnto Common wealth, and had bin in any wiſe decayed & miſgouerned by the ſlouthfull negligence of his predeceſſor Ferquhard, by meanes whereof he quickly grew into great fauour of his ſubiectes.

King Edwyn is ſlayne.

In the meane time Cadwallo King of the Brytons, and Penda king of thoſe Engliſhmen which inhabited that part of England auncientl y called Mertia, ioyning their powers togither againſt Edwine king of Northumberland, depriued him both of life and kingdome.

After this, paſſing through yͤ whole countrey, and entring into the confynes of Pictland, they tooke a great part of the ſame by force of armes from Brudeus king of the Pictes, who in vaine had ſued for ayde vnto Donwald king of Scotland, for that his vntroth had bin notifyed more than ynough in times paſt. But Donwald being certifyed of Edwines death, made meanes vnto Cadwallo king of the Brytaynes by hys Ambaſſadors, that Eufred yͤ ſonne of Edelfred might be reſtored vnto his fathers kingdõe, whiche Edwin had wrongfully vſurped. This being graunted, Eufred leauing his brethren ſtill in Scotland, came into Northumberland, wher by authoritie of Cadwallo and Penda he was inueſted king of Beruitia, that is, of the countrey, which is nowe called the Marches. For at the ſame tyme they hadde deuided the kingdome of Northumberland into .ij. kingdomes, appoynting Eufrede (as is ſayde) to reigne ouer the one called Beruitia, and one Oſryke ouer the other called Deira, a man of great wickedneſſe, as by his workes moſt playnly appeared. For certayn yeares after his aduancement to that dignitie, he found meanes to marie one of his daughters vnto the foreſaid Eufred, perſuading the ſame Eufred to conſente with him in reſtoring again the heatheniſh religion throughoute their whole dominions, and vtterly to renounce the chriſtian faith, which they had lately before receiued by yͤ inſtructiõs of the .ij. biſhops Conane & Pauline. But they enioyed not lõg in felicity after ſo wicked & moſt diueliſh a purpoſe: for the Princes of Albion, vnder the leading of Caduallo king of yͤ Britons, and Penda king of Mertia, with a great armie aſſembled of Saxons, Britons, and Pictes, entring into Northumberland, and encountring in battaile with Oſrike & Eufred, diſcomfited their power, & toke thẽ priſoners, who being put into a cõmon priſon, ſlewe eche other to auoyd ſharper tortures, which by due executiõ they dayly looked for. Then was the kingdom of Northumberland giuen vnto Oſwalde brother to Eufred, both in reſpect of the right whiche he had therto, and alſo of the zeale whiche he bare to the aduancement of Chriſtes religion, ſhewing him ſelf in conſideration therof, an earneſt enimy to his brother Eufred, and al his partakers, in ſo much that in the day of the battaile, he was one of the forwardeſt captaines againſt them: vnto this Oſwalde was ſente a Scottiſhman called Corman, to inſtruct the Northumberland men in the faith, & after him Aydan, as in the engliſhe hiſtorie ye may reade more at large: Finally he was ſlain by Pẽda king of Mertia, as in yͤ ſame hiſtorie appereth. His death chanced in yͤ third yere of Donnewald the Scottiſh king, who ſore lamented the ſame, as of that prince who he loued right entierly. Neither lyued king Donnewalde anye long tyme after the deathe of hys deare freende. For that in the fifteenth yeare of his

Eufred.

Oſrycke an infidell.

12. H.B.

of his reigne, being got into a boate to fiſh in the water called Lochtay for his recreatiō, his chāce was to be drowned, by reſon the boate ſonk vnder him. Certain days after, his body being foūd and takē vp, was buried amongſt his auncetors in Colmekil, in the yeare of our Lorde. 647.

Donwald the Scottiſh king drowned.
645 H.B.

About the ſame time ther liued in France. iij. brethren of greate holineſſe of life, being ſonnes vnto Philtan king of Ireland, the which he begot of his wyfe Galghetes, deſcended of the lynage of the kings in Scotlande. The names of which. iij. brethren were as followeth, Furſeus, Foillanus, and Ultanus. Furſeus profeſſing him ſelf a monke of S. Benets order, paſſed ouer into Fraunce, there to ſet forth & enlarge that profeſſion & being receyued of king Clowys began the fundation of a monaſterie there called Latinie, in the which he placed Monkes of that order and began to ſowe in thoſe parties the ſeedes of the Goſpel, but not without the darnell of mens traditions, as Jo. Bale ſayth in the. xiiij. centurie of the Brittiſh writers. His two brethren Foillan & Ultan folowed him ouer into France, and both by worde and example inſtructed the Frenchmē to imbrace the faith of Chriſt, & to renounce yͤ religion of the Gentils: ſo yͭ it ſeemeth as yet, ſuch as profeſſed themſelues to be monks, & men of religiō (as they were called) had not left of to labor in the Lords vineyard, ſpending their tyme in reading the ſcriptures, to inſtruct & teach others, and to exerciſe Prayer and thankeſgiuing: So as no ſmall number by their wholſome doctrine and good example, were conuerted to the chriſtian faith. Foillan at length was martired in a monaſterie whiche he hadde founded in France called Foſſe.

Foillanus.
Anno. 854.
Sigebertus.
Foſſenſe monaſterium.

About the ſame tyme there was alſo a contētion amongſt them in Albion for keeping of the Eaſter day, the Scottiſhe byſhops & ſome of the Brytons varying in their account from all other prelates of the Weſt: but at length through perſwaſion of the Pope they confeſſed their error (if it ought ſo to be taken) and cōſented to celebrate that feaſt according to the accompt of other nations. These things chaunced in the days of king Donwald.

Strife aboute the celebrating of the feaſt of Eaſter.

Fer-quhard.

After the deceſſe of Donwalde, his nephewe Ferquhard the ſonne of his brother, the other Ferquhard, ſucceeded in gouernemente of the Realme, a man of quicke & liuely ſpirit, but enclined neuertheleſſe rather vnto euill than vnto good, ſpecially after he had atteyned the crowne, in ſomuch as it was commonly ſpoken of him, that from a liberal and moſt gentle humane perſon, he was ſodenly changed into an inſatiable & moſt cruell monſter. Before he came to yͤ crown he was liberall beyonde meaſure. There was no gentleman yͭ wanted money, eyther to redeeme his lands engaged, or to beſtow in dower for the mariage of his daughter, but if he had wherwith to helpe him, hee might accompte him ſelfe ſure thereof.

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litie.

Prieſts and other deuoute perſons, ſpecially ſuch as were pore and in any neceſſitie, he oftentimes moſt bountifully releeued to their greate eaſe and comfort. To be briefe, ſuche a readineſſe was in him to help al mē, that (as was thought) he could better be contented to want himſelf, thā to ſee other men haue neede of any thing yͭ was in his poſſeſſion, ſo that al men iudged him moſt worthy of all princely authoritie. But after he was once placed in the kingly ſeate, he ſo altered his conditions, that men coulde not but wonder muche therat. Where, before he was knowne to be liberal, wel diſpoſed, righteous, ſober, and a reformer of offēces, he was now forthwith become couetous, wicked towards god, a tormentor of the iuſt & righteous people, and inſatiable in all vnlauful affections. That which before time he had giuen vnto any of yͤ nobilitie, he now without al ſhame moſt vncurteouſly demaunded to be to him reſtored, alledging that he did but lend it for the time. And ſuch as went about to delay reſtitution pretēding any excuſe, he cauſed their goodes to be confiſcate, and alſo their bodies to be cōmitted to priſon: Now and then he found meanes without cauſe or matter to put ſome of them to cruel death. Suche of the Prelates as he vnderſtode to be wealthy, he reſted not till he had piked one mater or other vnto them, wherby they were ſure to forfaite all their treaſure vnto his coffers, that neuer myght be filled.

Giftes are required as a loan.

Loe, what a pretence couetouſnes hath.

For their goodes ſake prelates are troubled.

The biſhops of the realme, namely thoſe two reuerend fathers, Colman & Fynnan, perceyuing ſuch wickednes in the prince, blamed him ſharply ſundry times for the ſame: & at length bicauſe they ſaw howe he regarded not their admoniſhments, he was by them excōmunicate: whereof he ſo little paſſed, that when other wente vnto the church to heare diuine ſeruice, he woulde get him to the woodes & forreſts to hunt the harte, or ſome other game. Neither were ſuche wanting as were willing to keepe him companie: ſo redy is the nature of man at all tymes to follow licētious libertie. He vſed alſo, contrary to the cuſtome of his countrey, to eate. iij. meales a day, hauing ſuch number of diſhes and abundance of delicate fare, as the like had not bene vſed at any tyme before thoſe dayes in that realme: and all to ſerue his greedy appetit, together with theyrs that followed his companie.

The kyng is excommunicated.

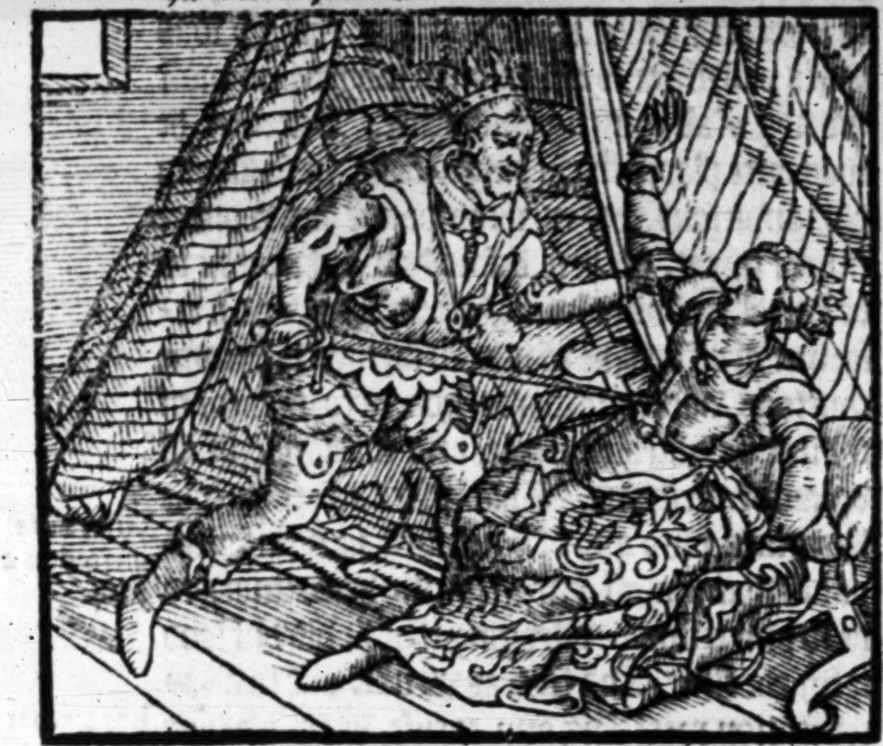
The king is hunting.

He was a glutton.

Of wines and other ſtrong drinkes he would participate abundantly at all times and places without regard of health or honor, being exceedingly giuen vnto moſte beaſtly drunkenneſſe. He cuſtomaryly vſed to ſit at ſupper till it were

A drunckard he was alſo.

very late in the night, hauing his banketting diſhes and cuppes to come in one after an other, till he were ſo miſtempered, that being layde to ſleepe he would ſtreyght vomite out ſuch heauy gorges as he had in ſuche moſt gluttenous wiſe receiued. Herevnto he was ſo drowned in the filthie luſt of the fleſhe, that hee defiled his owne doughters: and for that his wife was aboute to diſwade him from ſuch vilanie, he ſlew hyr with his owne handes.



A prophecie.

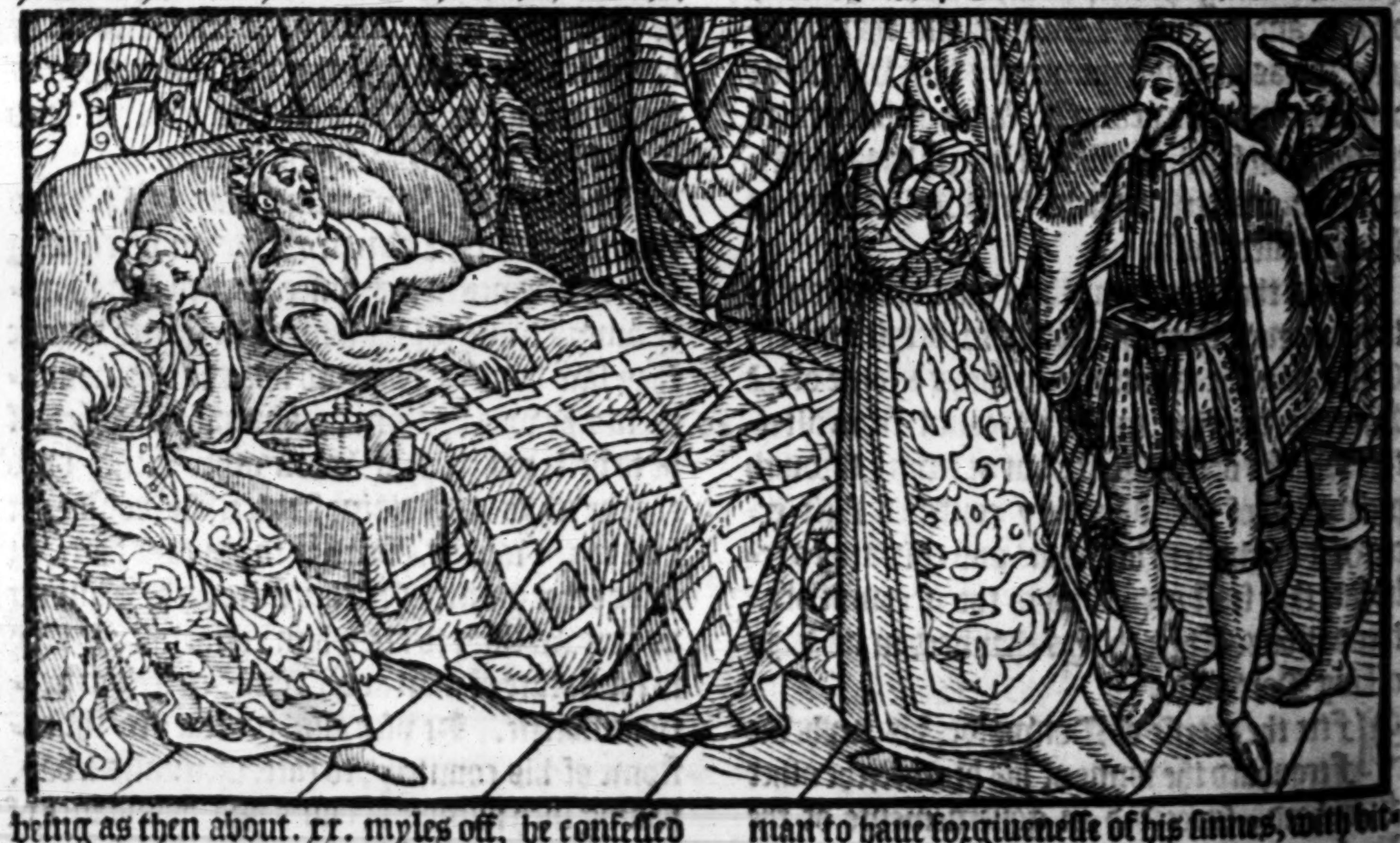
Thus continuing in his wickedneſſe certain yeares, at length the nobles began to conſpire againſt him, ſo that they wold haue deuiſed mean howe to haue rid him out of the waye, if biſhop Colman had not forbidden them that practyſe, propheſying as it wer by diuine inſpiration, that Ferquhard ſore deteſting his owne wicked doings, ſhould ſhortely be puniſhed by the handes of Almightie God, according to his deſeruings.

The king is ſicke

And ſure his wordes proued true: for within a moneth after, as the ſame Ferquhard followed in chaſe of a wolfe, the beaſte beeing enraged by purſuite of the houndes, flewe backe vppon the king, and ſnatching at him, did wounde & byte him righte ſore in one of his ſides, immediatly wherevpon, whether thorough anguiſhe of his hurt, or by ſome other occaſion, he fel into a moſt filthie diſeaſe: for a venemous humoure with a ſoft conſuming heate, did ſo eate and waſte hys membres and limmes, that a lotheſome ſighte it was to beholde the ſame: for out of his legges, feete and priuie partes, there iſſued filthie corruption and matter, with ſo vile a ſauour, that vnneth myght any creature abide it. His belly was ſwollen as though hee had ben infected with the dropſy, & therto was it verie hard withal. Finally lyce bred ſo abundantly in his ſecrete partes that he might in no wiſe be rid or cleinſed of them.

He ſent for hi confeſſor.

At length when he had ben vexed in this ſort for the ſpace of two yeares togither, or thereabouts, he began to call himſelf to remembrãce, and to conſider how this puniſhment was worthyly fallen vpon him for his ſins, and therupon cauſing biſhop Colman to be fetched vnto him, being as then about .xx. myles off, he confeſſed vnto him the whole ſumme of his offences, declaring himſelfe right penitent for the ſame.



The king being excõmunicated, is releaſed.

Colman reioycing herat, did not only releaſe him of yͤ ſentence of excõmunication, pronoũced againſt him, but alſo willed him to be of good cõfort, & to put his confidẽce in yͤ mercy of almightie god, who was ready to receiue al ſuch ſinners as turned vnto him with repentãt harts: ſo that being put in hope by theſe & yͤ like words of Colman to haue forgiueneſſe of his ſinnes, with bitter teares, he beſought God to haue mercie vpon him: & humbly receiuing the ſacrament, got him into ſimple clothing of heare & ſackclothe. Then cauſing himſelf to be born into yͤ next fieldes, he there yelded vp the ghoſt in yͤ preſence of Colmã who according to the dutie of a good ghoſtly father, was ſtil about him, in exhorting him to cõmit himſelf wholy to the mercy of God, & not to doubt but he ſhoulde be ſure to attayne the ſame.

Ferquhard yeldeth vp the ghoſt.

Thus Ferquhard ended his life in the. xviij. yeare, after he began his reigne ouer the Scottiſh men, and in the yeare of grace. 664.

664.

In this Ferquhardes daies Biſhop Aydan departed this worlde, & then was Fynnan ſente for, forth of Scotland to take vppon him the gouernmēt of the Churche of Lyndefern, where the Biſhops of Northumberland as then had theyr ſee. This Fynnan was well learned, and no leſſe renowmed for his vertuous lyfe than his predeceſſour Aydan. He died anone after the deceaſſe of Ferquhard, & then was Colman remoued vnto that ſee of Lyndefern, who with his vertuous inſtructions and enſamples of holy life conuerted a great multitude of Saxons vnto the true worſhipping of the liuing God. And amongſt other was Penda ſonne to the former Penda, king of Mertia.

na biſhop.

y Iland.

ſhop Col-
man conuer-
the Saxōs.

d a king of
ertia.

There be that wryte how Penda the father alſo was baptiſed by this Colman: and that the ſame Colman trauayled through the moſt parte of all the Engliſhe prouinces ſetting forth the worde of life amōgſt the people, purchaſing him greate fame for his worthie merites. He came to the church of Lyndefern in ỹ daies of Maldwyn that ſucceded the laſt mencioned Ferquharde.

Mald-
yne.

This Maldwyne was the ſonne of king Donewalde: and after that Ferquharde was dead and buried in Colmekill, he was inueſted king: which function he right ſufficiētly diſcharged, ſtudying to mayntayne peace with his neighbors the Picts, Saxons, and Brytayns: giuing thereby a good enſample to be followed of his ſubiectes. Hereto he had a ſpeciall care for the adminiſtration of the lawes in due forme and order cauſing offendors to be puniſhed, that other harmeleſſe perſons mighte liue in quiet, ſo that by this meanes all things in the beginning of his reigne had proſperous ſucceſſe.

aldwyne in-
ed king of
tes.

Afterwardes there fell no ſmall diſcorde betwixt them of Lennox & Argile: for firſt through braulyng amongſt the heardes men, theyr maſters made a fray, whereof roſe ſuche deadly enimitie betwixt the parties, by reaſon that the inhabitantes of the Weſterne Iſles ayded them of Argyle, and the people of Galoway the other of Lennox: that if the king had not come into thoſe parties to apeaſe the buſineſſe, and to haue puniſhed the offendors, there had enſued muche manſlaughter, to the greate daunger of the vtter ruyne of thoſe countreys.

The weſterne Iſles take part with Argyle. Galoway with Lennox.

The king at his arriuall amongſt them, minded not to purſue the people that followed theyr Captaines, but rather the Captaines and Authours of this tumulte themſelues. Whereof they hauing knowledge, made an attonement togither, being enforced thereto of neceſſitie, ſo to auoyde the prepared puniſhment diuiſed by the king againſt them. And forthwith they fled ouer into the Iſles, but the inhabitants doubting the kings diſpleaſure, would not conſent to ſuccour them, but contrarywiſe tooke them and deliuered them to the kings officers, whervpon they were ſafely conueyed to the places where they were borne, and there ſuffered their deſerued execution. Thus that commotion vnaduiſedly begonne, was ſpeedily appeaſed, and the name of Maldwyn by reaſon hereof ſo feared amongſt his ſubiectes, that during his reigne no ſuche trouble chaunced in any parte of all his dominions.

Maldwyne wēt about for to puniſhe the author of this commotion.

The Captaines became frends togither, and fled into the Iſles.

The Ilandmen apprehend the Captaines of the rebelles.

After this he went ouer into Iona or Colmekill, where perceyuing the Abbey Church, wherin his aunceſtors had theyr ſepultures to be in decay, he cauſed it to be pulled quite downe, and workemen forthwith ſet in hande to buylde it vp agayne, at his owne proper coſtes and charges. Suche ſpeede alſo was vſed aboute this worke, that before he departed out of this life, the ſame was finiſhed and dedicated vnto our Sauiour Chriſt, and Saint Colme.

He buyldeth the churche of the abbay of Colmekill,

louer of
ce and
ice.

Aboute the ſame time there reigned throughout the moſt part of the world a ſore & grieuous peſtilence conſuming a greater number of men, (before it ceaſſed) then were left aliue: for it continued the whole ſpace of three yeares togither. At length through cōmon prayer, faſtings, giuing of almes, and other vertuous workes, the wrath of almightie God was pacified, so that ſuche great mortalitie by his mercyfull appointment did ſtay and giue ouer.

A great peſtilence & death vpon earth.

The Scottiſh men were free from that infection aſwel at that time, as alſo for many yeares after. Neither were they in maner troubled with any ſharpe feuers, or agues, till time that omitting the auncient and wholeſome ſpareneſſe of diet, which theyr fathers in times paſt had vſed, they fell vnto riotous banquetting and exceſſiue feeding, whereby they became ſubiect vnto all kindes of diſeaſes, through malicious humors growing thereupon.

Scotland was free of the peſtilence and plague.

Riotouſneſſe the mother of ſickneſſes.

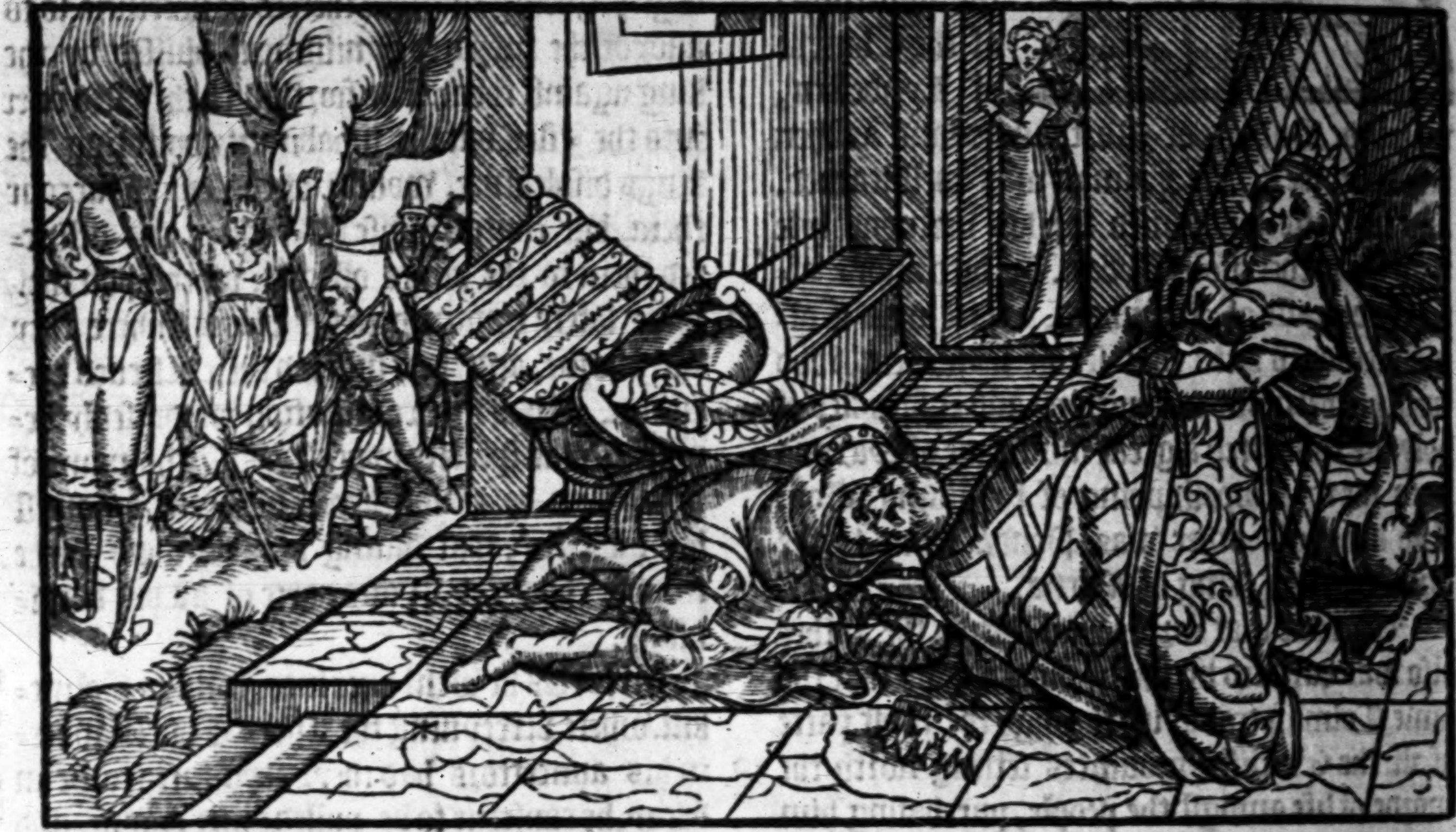
nnox and
yle are at
ance.

Colman biſhop of Lyndefer ſeing wounder-ful numbers of Engliſhmen, periſh dayly of that contagious ſickneſſe, by licence of the king, to auoyde the preſent daunger of death, which by tarying there he ſaw no meanes how to eſcape, he returned into Scotland with his diſciples, and after getting him ouer into one of the Weſterne Iſles, he erected a monaſterie there, wherin he remayned during the reſidue of his life.

Colman erected a monaſterie.

After the departure of Colman foꝛth of Noꝛthumberland, the people of that coũtrey ioyning with the Pictes, made ſundꝛy roades into the Scottiſh boꝛdures: whiche iniurie when Maldwyne reuenged with moꝛe diſpleaſure done to them of Noꝛthũberland, than the Scottiſhmẽ had receiued, it cauſed the Picts & Noꝛthumbers to pꝛepare themſelues with all ſpeede to haue made ſharpe warres againſt the Scottes: but in the meane time Maldwyne died, being ſtrãgled in his bedde one night by his owne wife, vpon ſuſpition of gelowſie, foꝛ his vnlawful company keping with an other woman. The next day after ſhe was appꝛehended with thoſe that were pꝛiuy to the deede, and bꝛent opẽly vpon an hill, according as ſhe had moſt iuſtly deſerued.

Maldwyn th Scottiſh ki ſtrangled i his bed.



Maldwyne was thus murthered in the yeare after the birthe of our Sauiour. 684. and in the xx. yeare of his owne reigne.

Eugenius.

Eugenius the fifth.

After him ſucceeded Eugenius the fifth of that name, Nephew to Maldwine, as ſonne to his bꝛother Dongard. Aboute the ſame time Eugenius king of Scots ſẽt with al diligence his ambaſſadours vnto Egfred king of Noꝛthumberland, to moue him vnto peace. Egfred hauing heard the ambaſſadours which were thus ſente, fayned as though hee had bene willing to haue had peace, where he minded nothing moꝛe than to haue warres with the Scottes, ſo ſone as his pꝛouiſion ſhoulde be once readie, and herevpon graunted to them a truce foꝛ the ſpace of .xj. moneths, in which meane time he might make his pꝛeparation.

Egfred king of Northumberland.

A truce graũted.

Eugenius hauing ſome ſecrete knowledge of Egfredes purpoſe, pꝛouided likewiſe foꝛ the warres on his parte: but foꝛ that hee would not ſeeme to gyue the occaſion, hee ſtraytely commaunded that none of his ſubiectes ſhould be ſo hardie as to attempt any thing ſounding to the bꝛeache of the truce.

Eugenius his cõmandemẽt.

In the tenth moneth Egfred hauing all his pꝛeparation readie, ſente a companie of his men of warre into the Scottiſhe boꝛdures to fetche ſome bootie, whereby the peace might be bꝛoken. Thoſe that were thus ſent fetched not only from thence a great number of cattell, but alſo ſlewe diuers of the boꝛdurers that wẽt about to reſcue theyꝛ beaſtes and cattell.

The truce broken.

Immediatly herevpon were there ſente ambaſſadours from Eugenius to demaund reſtitution: but they not without muche ado, after certaine dayes attendaunce, got audience, and boldly declaring vnto Egfred theyꝛ meſſage, receyued foꝛ anſweare a playne publication of warre. Foꝛ he alledging how the Scottes, ſithence the truce was graunted, had ſundꝛie tymes fetched booties out of the confines of his dominions, and therefoꝛe had well deſerued farre moꝛe domage than as yet they had receyued, wherevppon hee minded not to continue frendſhippe with them that knewe not how to keepe theyꝛ handes from robbing and ſtealyng from theyꝛ neighbours: So that he commaunded them to declare vnto theyꝛ king, that within eight dayes after, hee

Ambaſſado ſent by Eu nius vnto E fred for reſtitution.

ſhould

gfreds aun- were.

ſhould looke for open warre at the handes of him and other his alies.

Eugenius receyuing this anſwere from Egfred, beſought of God, ſith the other onely ſought to violate the peace, that the vengeance mighte light vpon his owne head, that had thus giuen the occaſion.

genius ga- hereth an ar- e.

Herewith gathering his power togither, hee repayred into Galloway, into the whiche he had knowledge that his enimies would firſte enter. But before hee could get thyther, a great armie of Engliſhe men, were come already into that countrey, and had aſſieged a ſtrong caſtell called Downſke, the chiefeſt fortreſſe in thoſe dayes of all Galloway. And ere Egfred might winne the ſame, hee was conſtrayned to rayſe his ſiege, and to marche forth to encounter with Eugenius who haſted faſt towards him. They mette neare to the bankes of the water of Lewyſe, as then beyng very deepe, by reaſon it was rayſed with abundaunce of rayne whiche lately before had fallen, where they fought a right ſore and bloudie battayle: for the Scottes had vowed neuer to gyue grounde to the enimies, ſo long as any life remayned in theyr breſtes.

he caſtell of owſke be- ged.

At the firſte there was no greate aduauntage perceyued on eyther ſide, the kings, according to the dueties of valiant Captaines, exhorting their people to ſticke to it manfully: but in the meane time certaine bandes of Egfredes parte getting themſelues to the ſide of an hill, gaue the looking on without comming downe at all to ayde theyr frendes: whiche maner the reſidue of his people perceyuing, doubted of ſome treaſon deuiſed agaynſt them, and thereupon began to ſhrinke backe.

Egfred aduiſed thereof, came amongſt the foremoſt rankes of his batayle, deſiring the Engliſhmen in no wiſe to giue place to theyr enimies: and for that dayes ſeruice hee promiſed them highe rewardes, and all the pleaſure that afterwarde hee might be any wayes forth able to ſhew them.

But whileſt he was thus buſilie occupied in comforting & exhorting his men to fight ſtoutly, he himſelf chaunced to be wounded in the face with an arrow, ſo ſore, that immediatly he fell downe and died in the place.

g Egfred ye. more ſoi in En- nd.

The Engliſh mẽ diſcouraged with this miſchance, were quickly thervpõ put to flight & chaſed, a great nũber of thẽ tooke ỹ riuer ſo to eſcape the enimies hands, of whom the more part being preſſed downe by weight of theyr armure, were drowned in the raging waues of the floude, the reſidue by caſting from them theyr armures and clothes, eſcaped by ſwimming ouer to the other ſide, but thoſe that made theyr courſe by lande, being cumbred in myres and moſſes, alſo amongſt ſtraytes, rockes, mountains and cliefes, were ouertaken by the Scottes and ſlayne. Few of that number eſcaped away in ſafetie, ſo that there died in the fight and chaſe at the poynt of twentie thouſand Saxons with theyr king the foreſayd Egfred: of the Scottes were ſlaine, beſide thoſe that were hurt and woũded, not many aboue. vj. M. By this ouerthrowe the force of thoſe Saxons or Engliſh men of Northumberland was not onely ſore diminiſhed, but alſo of ſuch other Saxons, the which in no ſmall numbers were come vnto Egfred to ayde him againſt the Scottes in that iourney.

Twẽtie thouſande Saxons ſlaine.

Brudeus the Pictiſhe king hauing knowledge of this ſlaughter, whiche had chaunced betwixt the Engliſh men and Scottes, was nothing ſorie, as one that was frende to neither parte, and now perceyuing that the Northumberland men were ſo weakened, that they were not able to reſiſt an inuaſion, he entred with his whole power, which he had rayſed, into Northumberland, ſore afflicting the inhabitants, in ſo much that he had vndoubtedly either ſubdued that countrey wholly vnto his dominion, eyther els vtterly deſtroyed it, had not the deuout prayers of Saint Cutbert (who as then held the ſee of Lyndeſar) preſerued the people from that preſent deſolation. For at length after the Pictes had raged a while through the countrey, they chaunced to fal at variance amongſt themſelues for parting of the ſpoyle, and buckling togither by the eares, there was an huge ſlaughter made amongſt them. And this was the cauſe, that contenting themſelues with thoſe countreys about Barwike, aunciently called Deera, out of the whiche they expelled the Saxons, they abſteyned from all the reſidue, as not willing to deale withall. Neither were the Saxõs of Northũberland being thus ſcourged, able to recouer theyr former forces again of many yeares after.

Brudeus king of the Pictes.

Inuaſion into Northumberland.

Cutberte biſhop.

A ſlaughter amongſt the Picts.

Here is to be noted that where as ỹ Scottiſh writers aſcribe the victorie of that battel, wherein Egfred was ſlaine, vnto their king Eugenius, Beda which then liued, declareth that the Picts were thoſe that fought with him and ſlew him. Finally, Eugenius departed this life in the. iiij. yere of his reigne, and after the incarnation. 688.

Egfred ſlaine by Picts and not by Scots.

Eugenius the fifth died. 688.

After Eugenius the. v. ſucceeded Eugenius the. vj. who was the ſonne of Ferquhard, and by perſwaſion of Biſhop Adamnan (with whom he was brought vp) and of S. Cutbert, hee entred into league with the Northumberland mẽ: but he would at no hande ioyne in amitie with the Pictes, notwithſtanding hee was contented to take truce with them. But when hee ſawe the ſame oftentimes by them violated and broken, to the great perill, domage & hinderãce of his ſubiectes, he cauſed the warre to be proclaymed,

Eugenius the ſixt, ſucceedeth Eugenius the fifth.

A league betweene the Scots & Northumberland men.

Truce taken with the Picts

and ſent them his defiaunce by an Herald. Howbeit through the earneſt prayers (as is ſuppoſed) of the two biſhops Cutbert and Adaman (who had laboured earneſtly to haue brought thoſe people to a quietneſſe) this warre continued without any notable encoũter, ſaue only by light incurſions (wherein no great bloudſhed chaunced) euen vnto the death of Eugenius, whiche fell in the yeare of our Lord. 697. and in the .x. yeare of his owne reigne.

Warre without any notable encoũter. The death of Eugenius the ſixte.

697.

He was buried togither with the other Eugenius, that laſtly reygned afore him, in the Iſle of Colmekill, amongſt theyr predeceſſours.

Wonderfull viſions ſeene.

Many wonderfull viſions were ſeene that yeare in Albion, as the Scottiſhe chronicles make mention. In the riuer of Humber there appeared in the ſight of a great multitude of mẽ, a number of ſhippes vnder ſayle, as though they had bene furniſhed forth for the warres.

In the Churche at Camelon there was heard a noyſe, as it had bene the clattering of armure.

Milke was turned into bloud in diuers places in Pictland, and cheeſe conuerted into a bloudie maſſe or cake. Corne, as it was gathered in the harueſt time appeared bloudie. In the furthermoſt partes of Scotland, it rayned bloud.

Theſe ſightes being ſeene of ſome & declared to other, cauſed a wonderfull feare in the peoples harts, imagining ſome great alteration to enſue.

Ambirkeleth.

Ambirkeleth ſucceedeth Eugenius the ſixte.

AMbirkeleth the Nephew, or as ſome ſay, the ſon of Eugenius yͤ fifth, ſucceeded Eugenius yͤ ſixt in the gouernment of the realme: who after his attaynyng to the crowne, ſhortly chaunged therwith his maners & good diſpoſitiõ: for where before he ſhewed himſelfe to be an earneſt defendor of the poore & ſimple, that al men iudged that he would haue proued a patrone of all vertue, he cõtrary to yͤ expectatiõ, became ſodenly a patrone of al vices & couetouſneſſe, deliting in nothing but in following his ſenſuall luſtes, as in taking exceſſe of meates and drinkes, and wallowing in fleſhly concupiſcence of lecherous luſte. To bee briefe, when hee toke nothing in hande worthie of his eſtate and degree, it was thought that of neceſſitie the forme of the publike gouernement muſte needes through his negligent ſlouthfulneſſe fall into decay and ruine: whervpon Garnard king of the Pictes ſuppoſing hee had a conuenient time to reuenge all former iniuries receyued at the Scottiſhe mennes handes, gathered a great hoſte of menne, and with the ſame entring into the Scottiſh confines, made right pitiful ſlaughter of the inhabitants. At length Ambirkeleth (being ſore blamed of his Nobles for his negligence in ſuffering his ſubiectes thus to be deſtroyed) gathered an armie togither, and with no ſmall feare to ſhewe his head amongſt his people, (as thoſe Princes whiche through theyr owne defaulte haue theyr people in miſtruſt, do euer ſtand in doubt of their owne ſafeties, and namely when any preſent daunger beginneth to appeare) forth yet he goeth without any great good order (God wote) for what might be loked for at his handes, whiche was ſo ouerwhelmed with all kind of exceſſiue gluttonie, immoderate ſurfeting, inſatiable lecherie, and deliting altogither in ſlouthfull eaſe, and ſluggiſhe idleneſſe, the rote from whence al ſuche filthie vices take their beginnings, are nouriſhed and mainteyned? To conclude, he liued as one that toke no maner of regard to that whiche chiefly apperteyned to his calling: whereby nowe when he ſhoulde come into the fielde, he was neither able through lacke of practiſe, to take paynes to ſee things done as was behouefull of himſelfe, neyther yet to giue order to others, how the ſame ought to be done. Neuertheles marching forward with his army, he came to the water of Tay, & neare to the bãks therof, he pight downe his tentes, where after he had ſupped, he was occaſioned to go forth of his lodging to do the neceſſities of nature, and being only accompanied with two of his ſeruants that were gromes of his chãber, he was ſodenly ſhot thorow the head with an arrowe, but frõ whence it came or who ſhotte it, there was neuer any knowen that could tel. Howbeit the king immediatly died of the hurt, after he had reygned not fully .ij. yeares. He was buried in Colmekill amongſt his noble aunceſtours.

The king
ned from
tue voto a
licētiouſn

Garnard
of the Pict
inuadeth
land.

Ambirkel
gathered
armie ag
the Pictes.

Idelneſſe
breeder a
nouriſher
ſenſuall lu

The death
Ambirkel

Eugenius.

THe Lordes & peeres of the land not greatly lamenting the death of ſuche a monſtrous perſon bicauſe the army for want of a gouernour ſhould not fall into any dãger, they elected

Eugenius

genius the
enth is e-
ed king of
tes.

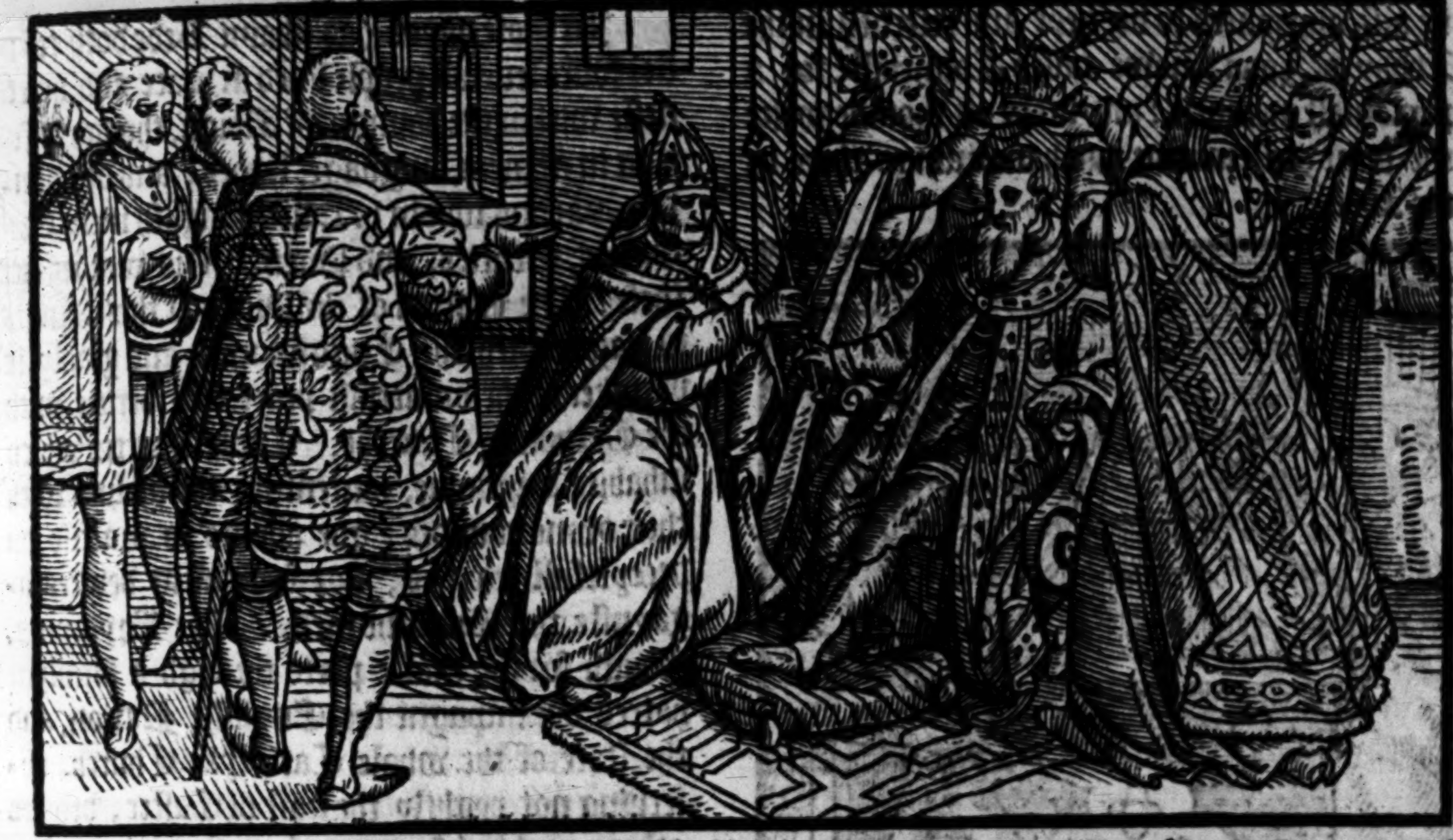
Eugenius the ſeuenth, being the brother of the late foreſayde Ambirkeleth, to ſucceede as King in the gouernment of the Realme, a Prince of right comely port and perſonage, neyther deſtitute of honourable qualityes and good diſpoſition of mynde.

eace con-
ded.

Being once proclaymed king, he cauſed general muſters to be takē of the whole armie, and perceyuing by ſuruey thereof, that he was not able to match with his enimyes, he founde meanes to conclude a peace with the Pictiſhe king, pledges being deliuered on eyther ſide, for redreſſe to be had of al wrongs and iniuries that had bene committed betwixt them.

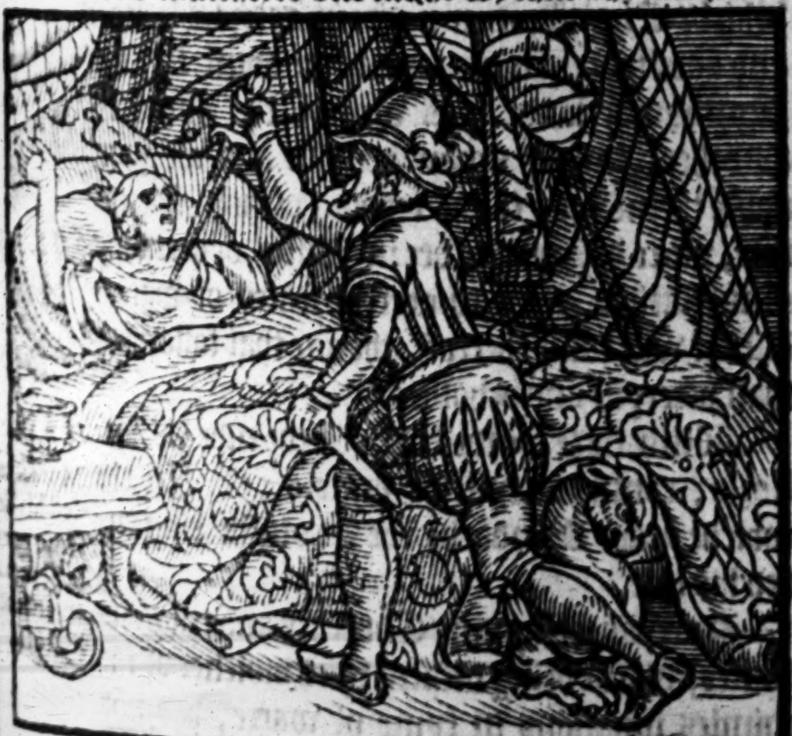
The Pictes returning home, and the Scottiſhe armie diſſolued, Eugenius with the moſte parte of the Nobilitie went into Argyle, where hee receyued hys inueſture of the Kingdome, ſitting vppon the ſtone of Marble, according to the maner.

The king is crowned.



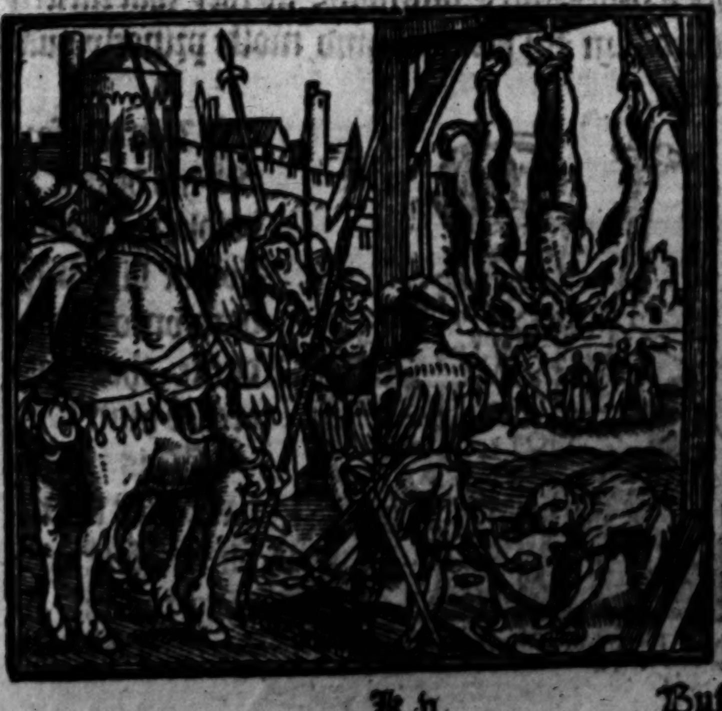
e Queene
ne in ſtead
ir husbād.

The bond of peace begonne betwixt the kings was the more ſtrōgly confyrmed by meanes of aliaunce, Spontana the daughter of King Garnard being coupled in mariage with Eugenius: ſhe in the yeere following being great with child, was murthered one night wythin the kings bed chāber in ſteade of the king himſelfe, by two brethrē of the coūtrey of Athole, who moued to diſpleaſure for their fathers death, had conſpired to murther ẏ king, & had ſlaine him in deede, had he not through his good hap layne forth of his owne chāber the ſame night. Eugenius being ſuſpected of ẏ murther, & euil ſpoken off for ẏ ſame amōgſt his ſubiects, was at length in great dāger of life & honour, enforced to make anſwere by way of arrainmēt for clearing of himſelf before ẏ nobles of his Realme, appoynted as competent Judges in that cace: So greatly beloued was Spontana amongſt all the degrees of the Scottiſh nation. But in the ende being found giltleſſe of the crime (for at the time that iudgement ſhould haue paſſed, the offenders were apprehended and brought in) he was acquit, to the great reioyſing of all honeſt men. Thoſe that had done the deede, were condemned and hanged vp naked on gybbets by the heeles, togither with certaine cruell maſtiue dogs the whiche might ſo deuour them.



The king is ſuſpected of the murther.

The murtherers are hanged.

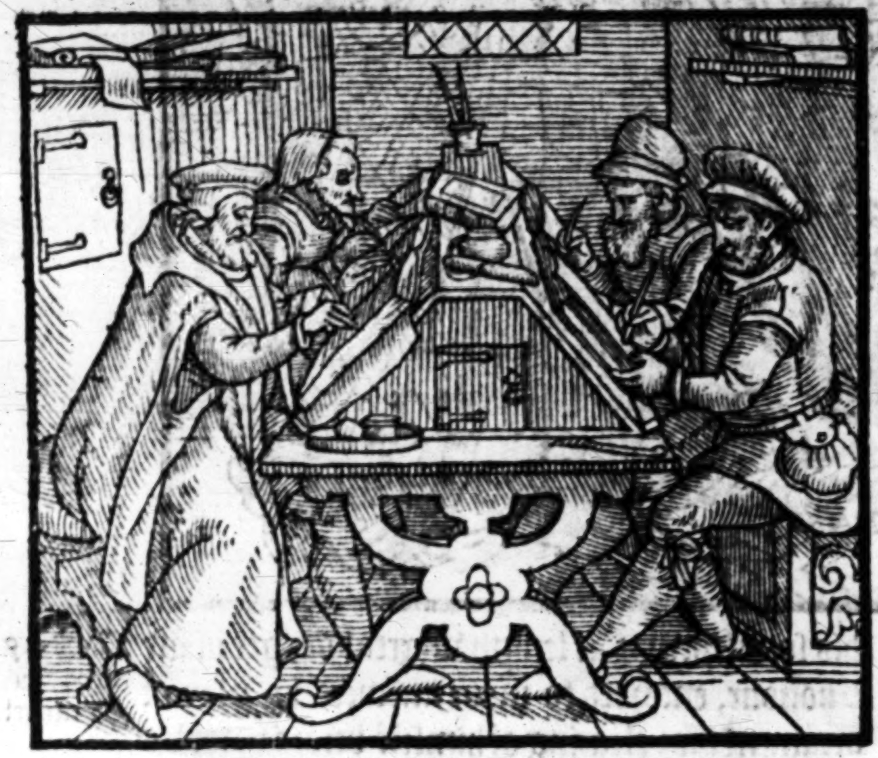


An example of a good prince.

But Eugenius being thus cleared of all former ſuſpition, minded to haue bene reuenged on thoſe yͭ had falſly accuſed him. Howbeit through the godly admoniſhments of that reuerend father Adannan, he qualified his diſpleaſure.

The king cauſeth his auncestours hyſtories to be written.

After this, giuing his minde to the aduauncement of Religion and polytike gouernment of his ſubiectes, he ordeyned that the Hyſtories of hys aunceſtours ſhoulde be written in bookes and volumes, that poſteritie might haue to reade the ſame for enſample ſake. Theſe monumentes he alſo appoynted to bee kept and reſerued in the Abbay of Iona, nowe called Colmkill, for a perpetuall memorie: and ſuche as ſhoulde write the ſame, to remaine and haue liuings there in the Abbey.



Moreouer ſuche ſpirituall promotions as he perceyued to bee too meane and ſlender for the maintenance of the miniſter that ſhould ſerue the cure, he cauſed to be augmented in ſuche wiſe as was thought ſufficient. Hee concluded a league with the Saxons and Pictes, and obſerued the ſame during his lyfe, whiche hee ended at Abernethy, when he had raigned about. xvij. yeares, whereof the laſt fell in the yeare after the incarnation of our Sauiour. 717. indictione. 15.

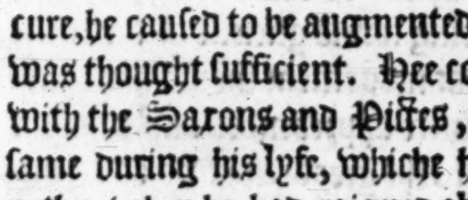
Eugenius the ſeuenth departeth out of this life.

716. H.B.

Hys death was greatly lamented, both of his Lordes and Commons, as they that intierly loued him for his noble and moſte princely qualities.

Mordacke.

Mordack ſucceedeth Eugenius the.vii.



A Little before his death, he betoke the poſſeſſion of his kingdom vnto Mordacke that ſucceeded him.

This Mordack was the nephew of Eugenius the vij. by his brother Ambirkelteh: and euen as he was knowne to be of a gentle, meke, and liberal nature before his aduauncement to the crowne, ſo hee ſhewed himſelfe to be the verie ſame man during the whole courſe of all his naturall lyfe, after hee had atteyned to the ſame.

A louer of peace.

Aboue all things he wiſhed a generall peace to continue amongeſt all the Princes of Albion, and therevpon for his part eſtabliſhing a peace with the Pictes, Brytaynes, and all the Engliſh Kings, hee firmely kept euerie article therein conteyned.

Peace thr
out al the
of Albion

The teſti
nie of Be

In thoſe dayes (as Saint Bede doth teſtifie) foure ſeuerall people liued in peace and quietneſſe within the boundes of Albion, though differing in maners, language, lawes, and ordinances: Saxons whom he called Engliſh men, Brytaynes, Scottes, and Pictes. His wordes are theſe: The Nation of the Pictes at this tyme is in league with the Engliſhe men, and gladly is partaker of the vniuerſall peace and veritie with the Catholike Churche. Thoſe Scottes which inhabite Brytayne, contenting themſelues with their owne boundes, goe aboute to practiſe no deceytefull traynes, nor fraudulent deuices agaynſte the Engliſhe men. The Brytaynes, though for the moſte parte through a familyar hatred doe impugne the Engliſhe Nation, and the ſtate of the whole Catholyke Church, obſeruing not ryghtly the feaſt of Eaſter, beſydes other naughtie vſages, yet both the diuine power and humane force vtterly reſyſting them, they are not able in neyther behalfe to attayne to theyr purpoſed intentions. As they which though partlye free, yet in ſome behalfe are thrall and mancipate to the ſubiection of the Engliſh men: whiche Engliſhe men nowe in acceptable peace and quietneſſe of tyme, many amongſt them of Northumberlande: as well of the Nobilitie as other, laying away armour and weapon, apply themſelues to the reading of holy Scripture, more deſirous to bee in houſes of vertuous conuerſation, than to exerciſe feates of warre. What will come thereof, the age that followeth ſhall perceyue and beholde.

734.
Mordack
ded his li
ſame yere
S.Bede ma
an ende o
hyſtorie.

With theſe wordes doth Bede ende his hyſtorie, continued tyll the yeare 734. In the whiche yeare Mordacke the Scottiſhe king ended his lyfe.

He repayred ſundrie Churches and religious houſes, whiche being defaced with violence of the enimies inuaſions in tyme of warre, had not beene reedified by hys aunceſters. But amongſt other, hee beſtowed muche coſte vppon the Churche where the bodie of Saint Ninian lyeth in the Towne auncientlv called Candida Caſa, and now Whitterne or Quitterne. Saint Bede calleth that place Pictiminia, and the Byſhoppe whiche at the ſame tyme helde the Church

Candida C
nowe calle
Whiterne

Church there, hee nameth Aſſa, auouching how he was the firſt that was Biſhop thereof after the dayes of Saint Ninian. Whiche if it bee true, it muſte needes bee that afterwardes ſome vacation happened in that Sea for a time, ſith it is notified in the Scottiſh hiſtories that the weſteſterne Iles, Galloway and other regions neare adioyning, were ſubiect vnto the Biſhop of Sodor) whoſe Sea is in the Iſle of Man) vnto the dayes of Malcolme the thirde, who reſtored rather than ordeyned the Biſhops Sea in Candida Caſa againe, after ſuche vacation as before is ſpecified.

Ethſine

hſine ſuc-
ech Mor-
ke.

BUt now to returne touching the gouernmēt of the Scottiſhe kingdome, I finde that after the deceaſſe of Mordack laſt remēbred, his nephewe named Ethfine, the ſonne of the ſeuenth Eugenius, ſucceeded in the eſtate: a man naturally inclined vnto peace and maintenance of iuſtice.

peaceable
ce.

The league which his predeceſſours Eugenius and Mordacke had kept with theyr neighbours the Brytaynes, Engliſhmen and Pictes, he duely lykewiſe obſerued.

His chiefe ſtudie was to purge his realme of all ſuch as were knowne to be open baretters and offenders in any wiſe, agaynſt the peace and cōmon quiet of his ſubiects: ſo that cauſing ſundrie notable enſamples of iuſtice to bee executed vpon ſuch euill doers, he was had in ſuch reuerende dreade amongſt his ſubiects, that none of them durſt once whiſper any euill of him. Neyther had they verily any cauſe ſo to doe, whileſt he looked to the adminiſtration himſelfe.

ere gouer-
vnder
king.

But after he was once fallen into age, he appoynted foure Peeres of his realme to haue the chiefe gouernaunce vnder him: as Dowalde the Treaſurer of Argyle, Collane of Athole, & Mordacke of Galloway his Lieutenants, and Conrath the Thane of Murrey lande. Theſe hauing the procuration of all things touching the gouernment of the Realme, vſed not themſelues ſo vprightly in many poynts as they ought to haue done: but winked nowe and then at faultes and treſpaſſes committed by their kinſfolkes and alyes, permitting the nobilitie to liue according to theyr olde accuſtomed maner of licencious libertie, to the ſmall eaſe or commoditie of the other inferiour eſtates.

ſh go-
ment.

Donalde of the Weſterne Iles, a man of goodly perſonage, but of diſpoſition inclyned to all naughtineſſe, mainteyned a great number of Robbers and ſpoylers of the countrey, liuing onely vpon rauine. For look what they wanted, they woulde not fayle to catche it, if it were in anye place abrode where they might lay handes on it: ſo that al the huſbandmen and commons of Galloway, in which Countrey they moſt haunted, were brought into wonderfull thraldome and miſerie. Neyther did Mordacke the kings Lieutenant there, goe about to chaſtice ſuch inſolent miſdemeaners, eyther for that hee was of Donaldes alyance, eyther elſe priuie to his doings, and partaker of the ſpoyle. The people hereby vexed with continuall iniuries, brought manye pitifull complayntes afore Mordacke, who nothing regarded their lamentable ſuites and ſupplications, but the more they complayned, the worſe were they handled. Neyther was there any hope of redreſſe or amendment, till Eugenius the. viij. was admitted to the kingly adminiſtration after the death of king Ethfine, who in the latter ende of his dayes continually beeing ſicke and diſeaſed, could not attende to take order for the publike gouernment, by reaſon whereof ſuch wilfull miſorders enſued. Hee dyed in the yeare of our Lorde. 764. after he had continued his raigne ouer the Scottiſhmen the ſpace of. xxx yeares, his bodie being buried in Colmekill with all funerall obſequies.

Donalde of the Iles mainteyneth robbers.

The oppreſſion of the commons of Galloway.

Mordacke the kings Lieutenant beareth with offenders.

The deceaſe of Ethfine.
762. H.B.

Eugenius.

Eugenius the viii. inueſted king of Scots.

HIs ſucceſſour, the foreſayde Eugenius the viij. that was the ſonne of King Mordack, was inueſted King in Argyle with ſuch pomp and ceremonies as in that caſe apperteyned, and immediately therevpō he haſted forth to catch Donalde of the Iles, not reſting till at length hee had caught him, though that came not to paſſe without ſome loſſe of his people.

Donald of the Iles apprehended.

After he had taken both him and his chiefeſt complices, he put them openly to death: neither ſo ſatiſfied, he cauſed Mordacke to be arreyned, who confeſſing himſelfe partly guiltie of ſuche things as were layde to his charge for mainteyning of the foreſayd Donalde, he likewiſe ſuffered death, and his goodes beeing valued and deuided into partes, were beſtowed amongſt the commons of Galloway, in recompence of ſuche loſſes, as through his contriued falſhood they had ſuſteyned.

Donald and his complices put to death.

Mordack lieutenant of Galloway is put to death.
The cōmons recompenced.

Alſo he put Dowalde, Collan, and Conrath vnto their fines, for that they did ſuffer Donalde ſo to rob and ſpoyle without chaſticement.

A righteous king.

Through which cauſing of iuſtice thus to be executed, in reliefe of his commons, he wan him wonderfull loue, not onely in Galloway, but alſo throughout all his Realme: and therewith were offenders put in ſuch feare, that they durſt in no place commit any ſuch like miſorders againſt the ſimple and meaner people. And for the more increaſe of his ſubiectes wealth, he alſo continued the league with the Picts, Brytaynes, and Engliſhe men, accordingly as his late predeceſſour had done.

Offenders put in feare.

But yet as the nature of man through licencious libertie is euer readie to offende in one poynt or other, ſo came it to paſſe by thys worthie Prince Eugenius, who in ſuch wiſe as is before expreſſed, raigning in peace & quietneſſe amongſt his louing ſubiectes, yet fell into moſt vile luſt to accompliſh his vnſaciable fleſhly concupiſcence, ſeeking al meanes he could deuiſe to defloure yõg virgins and honeſt matrones, and that as well thoſe of the nobilitie as other. And ſuch companions as could beſt further his purpoſes in that behalfe, and deuiſe new meanes and wayes of fleſhly company, thoſe he ſet by, and greatly made of, deliting altogither to haue them in his company. Thus being drowned in leacherous luſt, and filthie cõcupiſcence, he fell dayly into more grieuous vyces, as into exceſſiue couetouſneſſe and beaſtly crueltie, conſenting to make away his wealthie ſubiectes, to the end he might enioy their goodes.

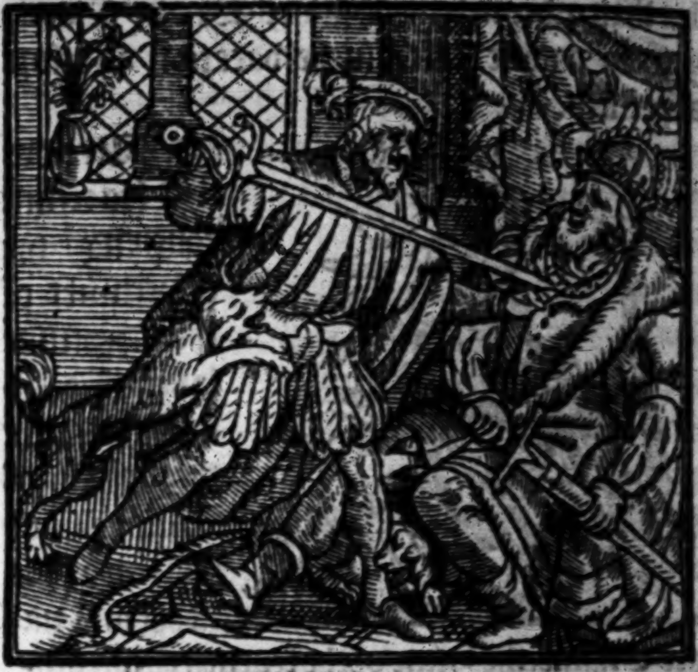
Eugenius is peruerted with ſenſual luſt & concupiſcence.

A filthie delite

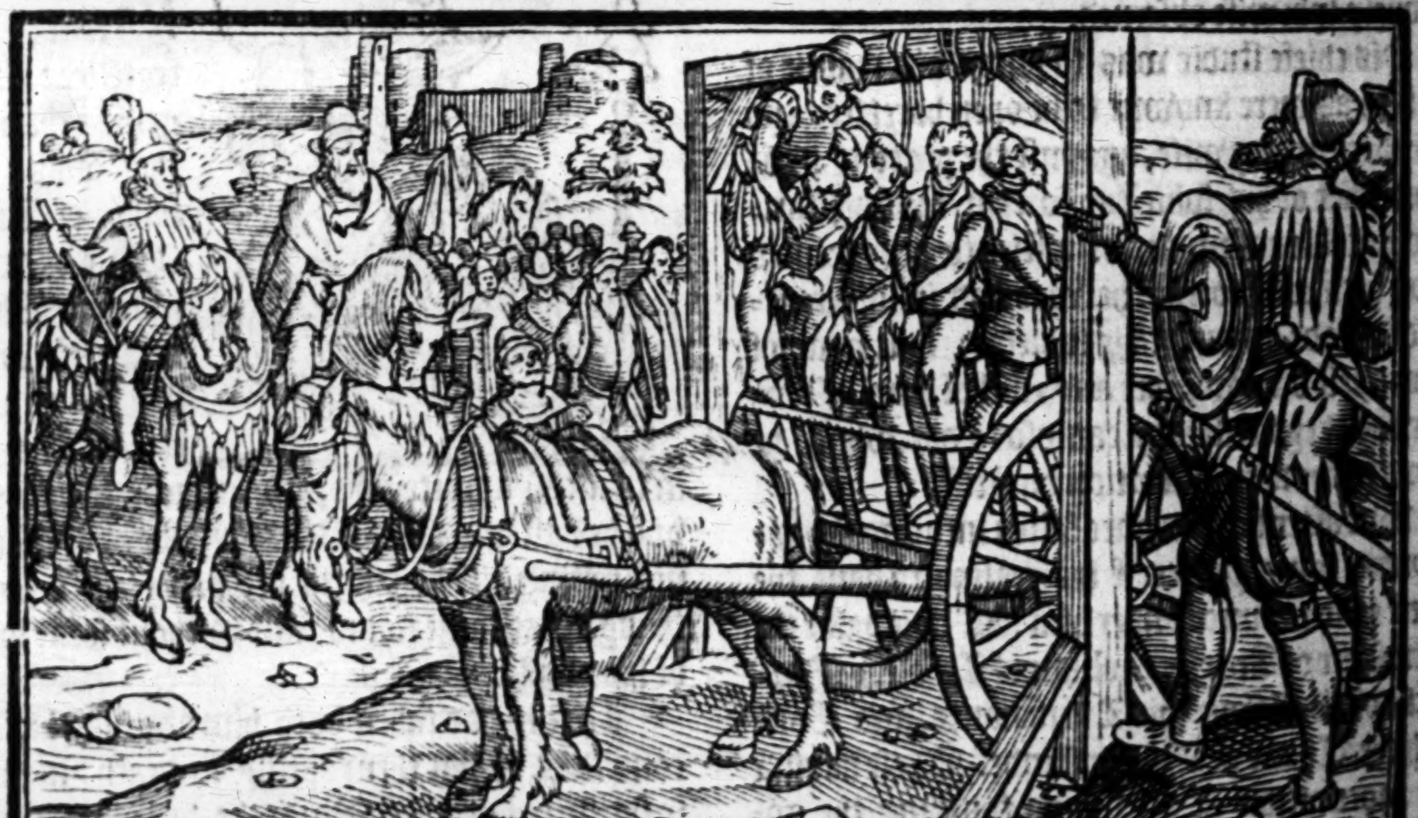
Couetouſneſſe linked with. crueltie.

This wickedneſſe remained not long vnpuniſhed, for the Lordes and peeres of his realme, perceyuing how he proceeded dayly in his abhominable and tyranlike doings, not once giuing eare to the wholeſome aduertiſements eyther of God or man, they ſlue him one day amongſt them as he ſate in iudgement aboute to haue condemned a great riche man, though not guiltie in the crime whereof he was accuſed.

Eugenius i murthered.



They cauſed alſo immediately a great cõpany of thoſe mates to be apprehended, which had bene of his counſell, & prouokers vnto all his wicked & vile doings. Which to the great contentation of the people were hanged as they had wel deſerued.



And ſuch was the ende of Eugenius after he had gouerned the kingdome about three yeares, his bodie was buried in Colmekill amongeſt his aunceſters, thoughe the people thought it little worthie of that honor, which had miſuſed it ſelfe ſo inordinately in this preſent life.

The ende of Eugenius the viii.

Ferguſe 767.

After him came the adminiſtration of the Realme vnto Ferguſe the thirde, the ſonne of king Ethfine, in the yeare 767. who being eſtabliſhed in the ſame, beganne freely to practiſe all kindes of vices, which moſt abundantly raigned in him, howbeit till that day wonderfully diſſembled and kept couert.

Ferguſe the thirde crea king.

He ſeemed to ſtriue howe to paſſe his predeceſſour in all poyntes of wickedneſſe. Hee toke no regarde at all to the gouernment of his Realme, but gaue himſelfe to exceſſiue gluttonie in deuouring of delicate meates and drinks, and therwith

A wicked Prince.

with kept ſuche a number of vile ſtrumpettes in houſe with him, whom hee vſed as concubines, that his wife was no better eſteemed than as an handmayde, or rather a kitchin mayde. Who being a woman of great modeſtie: and ſober aduiſedneſſe, coulde not yet but take ſore griefe and indignation hereat: and therefore ſundrie tymes aſſayed by waye of wholeſome perſwaſions to turne his minde from ſuch ſinfull vſages and filthie trade of liuing. Finally when ſhe ſaw there was no hope to conuert his deprauate minde, nor by any meanes to refourme him, but that the more ſhee laboured to doe good vppon him, the worſe he was, through verie diſpleaſure of ſuche iniuries as ſhee daylye ſuſteyned at the handes of his concubines, ſhee founde meanes to ſtrangle him ſecretely one night as hee lay in his bed, chooſing rather to be without a huſband, than to haue one that ſhoulde deceyue hir of the right and dutie of mariage, and that in ſuch ſort, as ſhe muſt be faine to ſuffer the reproch dayly afore hir face, being miſvſed of them whom he kept as paramours in moſt diſpiteful maner.

Ferguſe
ſtrang
by his

The day after ſhe wrought this feate; the bodie being founde deade, was apparayled in funerall wiſe, & brought forth into the place of iudgement, where inquiſition was ſtraightly made what they were that had done ſo heynous a deed. For though there were but few that lamented his death, yet ſome of his friends were verie earneſt to haue the matter tryed forth, that ſuch as had cõmitted the murther, might ſuffer due puniſhment.

icious
are
d.

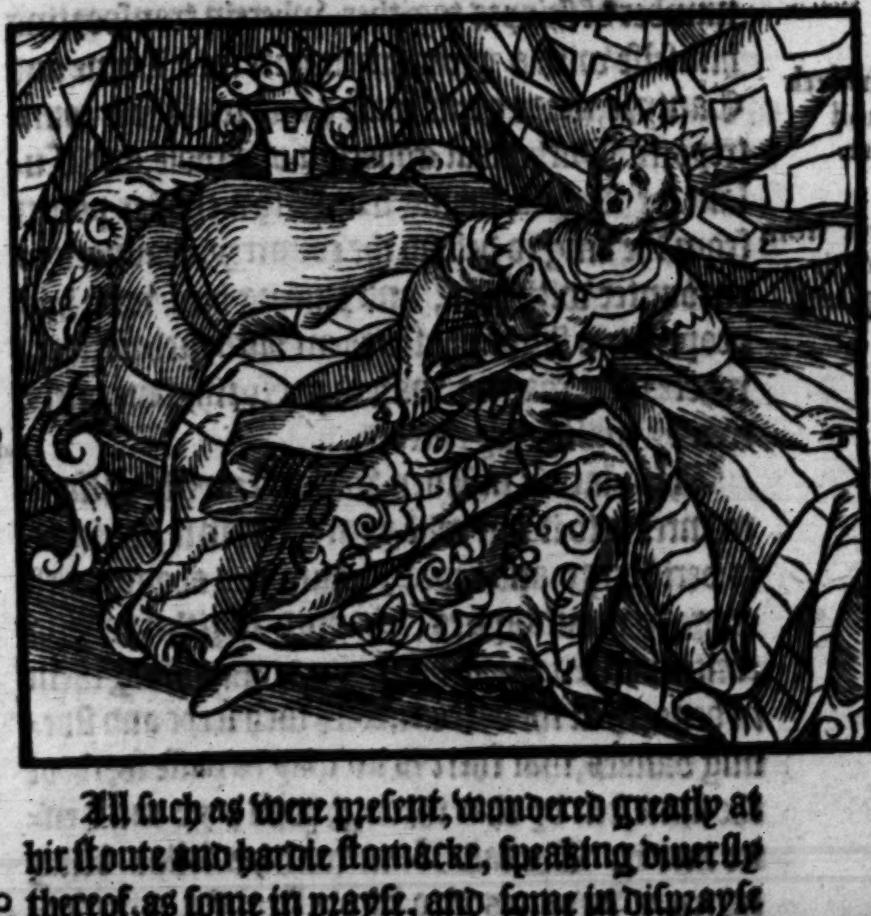
Many were apprehended and had to the rack, but yet could none be founde that would confeſſe it. The Queene was voyde of all ſuſpition, as ſhe that had bene taken for a woman at all times of great temperancie. But yet when ſhee hearde that a number of innocent perſons were tormented without deſart, ſore lamenting (as ſhoulde appeare) theyr miſerable caſe, ſhe came haſtily into the Iudgement hall, and getting hir aloft vpõ the bench, there in the preſence of al the company, ſhe had theſe or the like wordes vnto the whole aſſembly. I knowe not good people, I knowe not what God moueth me, or what diuine reuengement vexeth me with ſundry thoughts and cogitations, that of all this daye and morning preceding, I haue had neither reſt in bodie nor minde. And verely when I hearde that certaine guiltleſſe perſons were cruelly tormented here in your preſence, had not wrath giuen place, partly vnto modeſtie, whereof I muſt confeſſe there is left but a ſmall portiõ in me, I had forthwith rid my ſelf out of the way. The kings death was mine act. Conſcience conſtrayneth me (ſetting apart mine owne ſafegarde) to confeſſe the truth, leaſt the guiltleſſe ſhoulde wrongfully periſhe: Therefore vnderſtande yee for truth, that none of them whome ye haue examined are priuie to the offence. I verily am ſhe, that with theſe wicked handes haue ſtrangled this night laſt paſt Ferguſe, about whoſe death I ſee you in trouble, moued ſo to do with two as ſharpe pricks as may reſt in a woman, to wit, Impacient forbearing of carnall luſt, and yrefull wrath. Ferguſe by his continuall vſing of concubines, kept from me the due debt that the huſbande oweth to the wife: whereupon when there was no hope to reconcile him with often aduertiſementes, vehement force of anger ryſing in my heart, droue mee to doe ſo wicked a deed. I thought lieffer therefore to diſpatch the Adulterer, then (being deſtitute of my huſbande, and defrauded of all Queenely honor) to liue ſtill ſubiect vnto the perpetuall iniuries of ſuch lewde women as hee kept and vſed in my ſteade. Looſe ye therefore thoſe that be accuſed of the kings death, and as for me ye ſhall not neede to proceede agaynſt me as guiltie of the crime by order of law, for I that was ſo bolde to commit ſo heynous an act, will accordingly do execution vpon my ſelfe euen here incontinently in preſence of you all: what honour is due to the deade, looke you to that.

Queene
the
er.

She giueth hir owne ſentence

Hauing thus made an ende of hir tale, ſhee plucked forth a knife which ſhe had hid vnder hir gowne, and ſtroke hirſelfe to the heart with the ſame falling deade vpon it downe to the grounde.

The Queene taketh execu of hir ſelfe.



All ſuch as were preſent, wondered greatly at hir ſtoute and hardie ſtomacke, ſpeaking diuerſly thereof, as ſome in prayſe, and ſome in diſprayſe of theſe hir monſtrous doings.

The bodie of Ferguſe was caryed forth to the Ile of Colmekill, and there buryed in the thirde yeare after his entring into the gouernment, and in the yeare of our Lorde 769. The Queenes corps was not buried in ſacred grounde, for that ſhe ſlue hirſelfe.

767. H.B.

Soluathius.

Soluathius admitted king of Scotland.

SOluathius yͤ ſonne of Eugenius yͤ viij. was admitted to yͤ rule of the Scottyſhe aſtate next after the death of Fergus: a prince ſurely borne to the accompliſhement of high enterpriſes, if through hap of froward deſtinie he had not bin hindred. For in the third yere of his raign he began to bee vexed extremely with the goute, which ingendred by cold in lying abrode in hunting, and ſo continuing with him during his life, ſtayed him from many worthy exerciſes, as well in peace at home, as abrode in time of warres.

Soluathius an impotent mā.

Thus he being in maner impotent and lame of his lymmes, there were ſome commotions & miſorders the more boldly attempted: & firſt amongſt thē of yͤ out Iles. For Bane Makedonald goueruernor by the kings appointment, of the Ilande called Tyre, got all the caſtels and fortreſſes of the Iles into his owne handes, and ſtrengthned with a route of vnruly and miſchieuous youthful perſons, toke poſſeſſion of al the ſaid Iles, cauſing himſelfe to be proclaimed king of the ſame.

A rebellion.

Makedonalde proclaymed king of the Iles.

And yet not contented herewith, he gathered a number of ſhippes togither, wherein tranſporting himſelfe with a great armie ouer into Lorne and Cantyre, made great waſt & ſpoyle of thoſe countreys, til Duthquhal gouernor of Athole, and Culane of Argyle, beeing ſent with a choſen power from the king to defend the countrey, chaunced to encounter with him, and putting him with hys people vnto flight, chaſed them vnto ſuch a ſtrait, where there was no way to get forth, ſaue onely that by which they entered.

He inuadeth Lorn and Cantyre.

A power from the king is ſent againſt him.

This place is in Lorn, with a ſtrayght paſſage to enter into it: but whē ye are within it, the ſame is verie large and brode, enuironed aboute with craggie mountaynes, chayned togither with a continuall ridge, a deepe riuer compaſſing them in beneath in the bottom, with ſuch ſtepe and ſideling bankes, that there is no way to paſſe forth of the ſame, but by that through which ye muſt enter into it. The ſaid Bane with his folkes being entred at vnwares into ſuch a ſtraight, & perceyuing there was no way to iſſue forth, but by the ſame where he entred, he returned backe thither, & finding the paſſage cloſed frō him by his enimies, he was in a wonderfull maze, not knowing what ſhift to make to eſcape. Finally falling to councel with the chiefeſt of his armie vpō the danger preſent, and ſo continuing for the ſpace of two dayes without any concluſion auailable, on the third day driuen of neceſſitie through hunger, they required of their enimies to be receiued as yeelded men vpon what conditions they would preſcribe, onely hauing their liues aſſured. But when this would not be graunted, in the euening tide they ruſhed forth vpon their enimies, to trie if by force they might haue paſſed through them. But ſuch was their hap, that there they died euery mothers ſon: for ſo had Duthquhall and Culane cōmaunded, to the ende that other rebels might take enſample by ſuch their wilfull and rebellious outrage.

The kings Captaines after this paſſing ouer into the Iles, brought all things there into the former ſtate of quietneſſe. Yet after the appeaſing of this tumult, there chaunced a new buſineſſe in Galloway: for Gyllequhalm, ſonne to that Donalde (which as ye haue heard, was executed by commaundement of Eugenius the viij.) gathered togither a great number of vngracious ſcapethriftes, and did muche hurt in the Countrey. But ſhortlye after beeing vanquiſhed by the ſame Captaynes that had ſuppreſſed the other Rebelles of the Iles, the Countrey was rydde of that trouble, and the ring leaders puniſhed by death for their offences.

The ki
powr p
ouer in
Iles.

Gillequh
the ſon
Donalde

In this meane while, the Engliſh men and Welch Brytaynes through multitude of kings and rulers warring eche agaynſt other, had no leyſure to attempt any enterpriſe againſt ſtraungers. Neither were the Pictes free of ſome ſecrete diſpleaſures, which one part of them had cōceiued againſt another, ſo that the Scottiſh men were not troubled at all by any forraine enimies.

And ſo Soluathius hauing continued his raigne the ſpace of .xx. yeares, aboute the ende of that tearme departed this life, in the yeare of our ſaluation 788.

Soluath
parteth
lyfe.

78

Ach

Achaius
ted king
Scotlan

THen after Soluathius was once buried in Colmkill amōgſt his aunceſters, Achaius the ſon of king Ethfin (a man highly renowmed for his erneſt zeale to iuſtice and vpright dealing, was aduanced to the gouernance of the realme: who for that by his former conuerſation amōgſt the nobilitie, he perfectly vnderſtood what grudge and ſecrete hatred remayned in their heartes, one wiſhing anothers deſtruction. He forſaw what daunger the common wealth ſtoode in, if the ſame were not by ſome good meanes qualified: and therevpon calling them togither, hee handled the matter wyth ſuche wiſdome and dexteritie, that before theyr departure

He mak
nobiliti
agree.

departure from him, all the rootes of former diſpleaſures beeing vtterly extirped and auoyded, they were made friendes on eche ſide, and promiſed in his preſence ſo to continue.

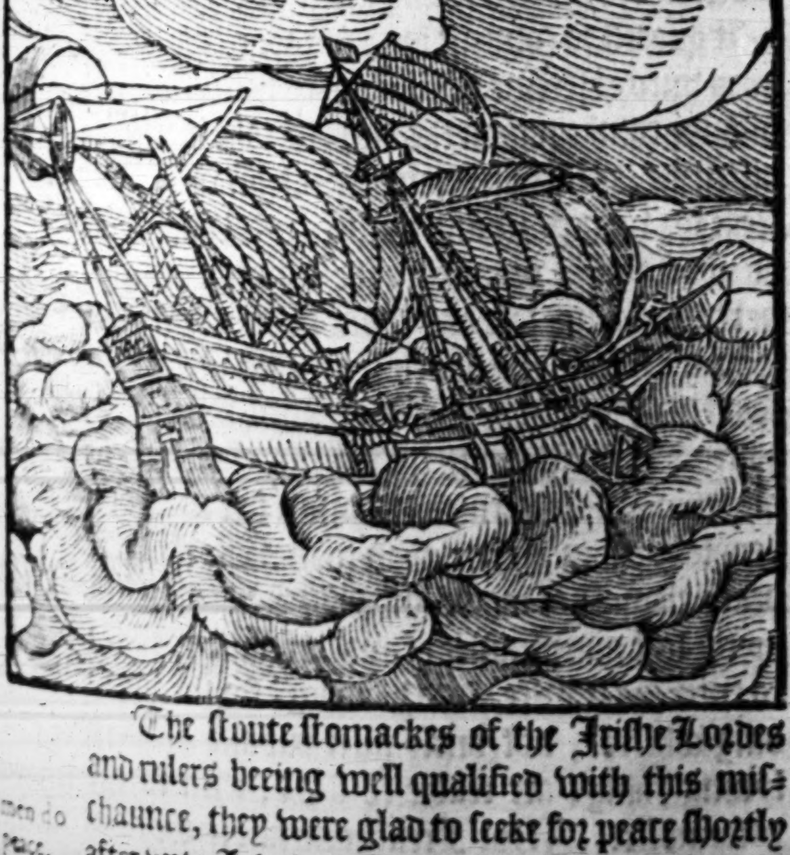
Thus hauing layde the foundation of a quiet ſtate amongeſt his ſubiectes, nowe in the beginning of his raigne, he was at poynt to haue had no ſmall warres with the Iriſhe men, for a number of them being aryued in Cantyre were there ſlaine by them of the Weſterne Iles, which vpon requeſt of the Inhabitants of that countrey were come to ayde them againſt thoſe Iriſhmen.

This loſſe the rulers of the Iriſh nation purpoſed in all haſt to reuenge vpō them of the Iles. But Achaius hearing thereof, ſent ouer an Imbaſſade vnto thē to haue the matter taken vp before any further force wer vſed: aledging how ther was no cauſe wherfore wars ſhould be moued for ſuch a matter, where the occaſion had bene giuen but by a ſort of Rouers on eyther ſyde, without commaundement or warrant obteyned from any of their ſuperiours.

e Iriſh men
ll reuenge.

Howbeit the Nobles of Irelande (for there was no king amongeſt them at that tyme as it chaunced) moued altogither with indignation for the ſlaughter of theyr Countrymen, made a direct anſwere, that they woulde ſurely be reuenged of the reproche which they had receyued, before they woulde commune of any peace. And therefore whyleſt the Scottiſh Ambaſſadors returned out of Ireland with this anſwere, a great number of them in ſhippes and crayers paſſed ouer into Ila, where getting togither a great pray, and fraughting theyr veſſelles therewith, as they were returning homewardes, they were ſuncke by force of tempeſt, so that neyther ſhip nor man returned to bring tydings home howe they had ſped in Scotlande.

hmen take
pray in Ila.



sh men do
ke peace.

The ſtoute ſtomackes of the Iriſhe Lordes and rulers beeing well qualified with this miſchaunce, they were glad to ſeeke for peace ſhortly after vnto Achaius. Thoſe alſo that were ſent ouer to treat of the ſame, found him at Enuerlochthee. Where hauing declared their meſſage, and confeſſed howe iuſtly they had beene puniſhed by the righteous iudgement of almightie God for their wrongful attempting of the warres againſt them that had not deſerued it, Achaius anſwered how the Iriſh nation was ſo ſtubborne, that they knew not to vſe reaſō, except they were throughly ſcourged: and therefore had the righteous God taken iuſt reuenge vpon them, to the enſample of other, for their contumacie in mouing warres agaynſt thē that had ſo earneſtly ſought for peace. Neuertheleſſe ſetting a part all iniuries paſt, as well new as olde, to ſhewe himſelfe to be the follower of Chriſt, who in ſo many paſſages had prayſed, commended and ſet forth vnto vs peace and tranquilitie, he was cōtented to graunt them peace which now they ſued for.

Thus was the peace renued betwixt the Scottiſh and Iriſh nations, to the no leſſe comfort of the Scottes themſelues, than of the Iriſhmen, as thoſe that had learned nowe by experience & tryall (hauing enioyed peace a good ſeaſon) howe much the ſame was to be preferred before cruel warres.

Carolus Magnus in league with the Scots

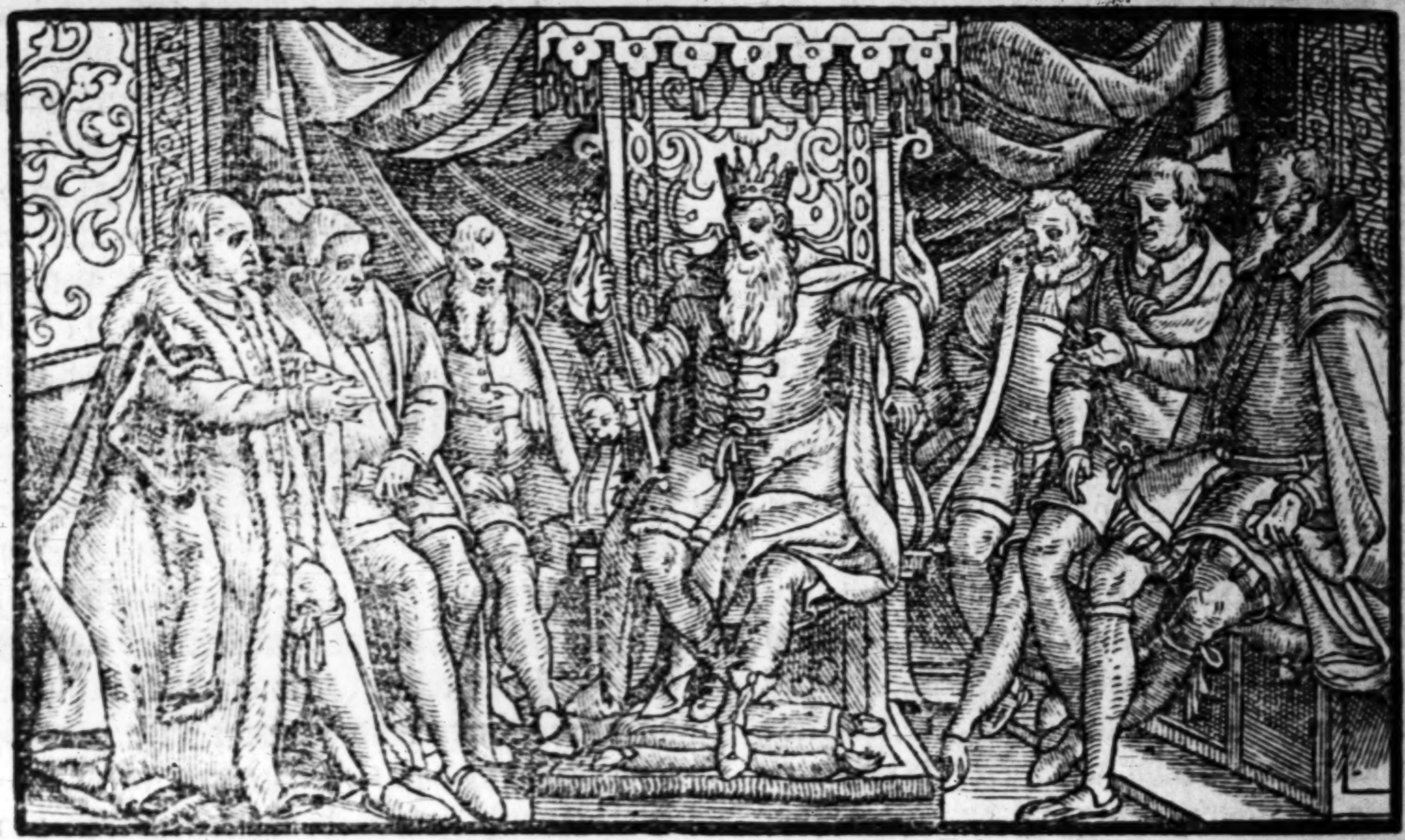
In this meane time, Charles, ſurnamed the great, as then raigning in France, and vnderſtāding how the Engliſh men did not only by dayly rouing diſquiet the ſeas, to the great danger of all ſuch marchants & other as trauayled alongſt the coaſtes of Fraunce and Germany, but alſo nowe and then cōming a lande vpon the French dominions, did many notable diſpleaſures to his ſubiects, he thought good by the aduice of his peeres to conclude a league if it were poſſible with yͤ Scots and Picts, with this article amongeſt the reſidue, That ſo oft as the Engliſh men ſhoulde attempt any enterpriſe or inuaſion into France, the Scots and Picts ſhould be readie ſtreight wayes to inuade thē here at home: and when they ſhuld make any warres againſt the Scots or Picts, then the French men ſhould take vpon them to inuade the weſt partes of Englande.

Ambaſſadors ſent into Scotlande.

There were ſent therefore from Charles vnto Achaius certain Ambaſſadors to bring this matter to paſſe, who arriuing in Scotland, & cōming to the kings preſence, declared effectually the ſum of their meſſage, ſhewing that yͤ cōcluſion of ſuch a league, ſhoulde bee no leſſe to the wealth of the Frenchmen, than of the Scots (conſidering the Engliſhmen to be a people moſt deſirous of all other to get into their hands other mens goods and poſſeſſions) for thereby they might be ſomewhat reſtrayned from ſuch bold and iniurious enterpriſes as they dayly tooke in hande agaynſt theyr Chriſtian neighbors: but it ſhould make moſt of all (ſay they) for the aduancement of the whole chriſtiā cōmon wealth, wheras otherwiſe throgh their inſolent doings, ſuch force as was alreadie prepared againſt the Saraſins the common enimyes of the Chriſtians) ſhoulde be called backe, therewith to keepe off the ſayd Engliſhe men, to the great daunger of thoſe partes of Chriſtendome, vpon which the Saraſins then bordered as neighbours.

The Ambaſſadors are honorably enterteined.

This meſſage being heard with good deliberation by ſuch as were preſent, the Ambaſſadours themſelues beeing honorable perſonages & graue of countenance, were receyued moſt louingly of the king, and lodged in his owne pallaice, hauing all the chear & honorable intertainmẽt that might be deuiſed: but touching their meſſage, there were ſundrie diſputatiõs amongſt the nobles, whether the concluding of ſuch a league as they requyred, were expedient for the Scottiſh common wealth or not. And for that yͤ matter ſeemed to be doubtfull, the king thought it neceſſarie to haue the aduice of his Counſell: and therupon calling them togither and appoynting diuerſe of them to goe with the Ambaſſadors on hunting to ſhew them ſome ſport, whileſt he conſulted with the reſidue, (bycauſe he wold not haue them preſent) he commanded one Colman, gouernor of Mar (a man of great authoritie amongſt the Scottiſh men for his approued wiſedome) to ſay firſt his mind touching the requeſt of thoſe French Ambaſſadours who therupon ſtanding forth, began as foloweth.



Due conſiderations.

An enemy at hand. Friendes farre off.

Good cou of Colman.

No man ought to maruaile, I perceyue, king Achaius, if many of this our Nation be deſirous to haue this league concluded with the French men, as they that are perſwaded howe nothing can be better, nothing more profitable, more honourable, or more pleaſant to almightie god, than to ioyne in league and friendſhip with a Nation of greateſt power and wealth in theſe dayes, of all other within the boundes of Europe: for by that meane ſhoulde the Scottiſh name be highly renowmed & ſpoken of through the whole world. But truly theſe conſiderations contenting ſo wel at the firſt, are not ſo much to be regarded as the euils which hereafter may grow thereupon: For ſurely a naughtie and pernicious ende of this determination ſhall manifeſtly teach vs (though to late) howe farre we haue gone beſide the way of reaſon in eſtabliſhing this league, if we once conſent to conclude the ſame. Is it any other thing (I beſeech you) to make a league, and to ioyne in ſocietie with the French men agaynſt our neighbours the Engliſhmen (whoſe friendſhip might be moſt expedient for vs) then euen to haue from henceforth a nere and in maner a domeſtical enimie at hand, wheras our ſuppoſed friends ſhall be farre of from vs, and ſeparate from our countrey by a great and large ſea, at whoſe pleaſure alſo we muſt make warres agaynſt our neighbours, and fight for other mens ſafegardes, putting our bodies in hazard of death and wounding for their cauſe, which dwell nothing neare vs: yea and in their quarell to commit our kingdome, goods and liues vnto extreeme perill of vtter deſtruction. I woulde thinke it good therefore to take better aduiſement and deliberation herein, leaſt whileſt we ſeeke for vainglorie and counterfeyte honour, we do not through prouoking the Engliſh men our next neighbors, loſe our owne liberties got with ſo much trauaile by our elders, for the which they ſo often fought with the Brytaynes, Romaines, Picts, and finally with the Saxõs. Can there be any thing more pernicious vnto a free natiõ and people borne in libertie, than to meaſure lawes of peace, chances of warre, and in fine, libertie it ſelf, by the luſt and pleaſure of another nation, and ſo to enter (as it were) into bondage? for the auoyding whereof, not onely men but alſo all other lyuing things are readie to fight, euen to the vttermoſte. If the Frenche menne in the chiefeſt heate and moſte earneſt brunt of the warre (which we ſhall take in hande for theyr ſake, according to the articles of the league) ſhall chance to forſake vs, and conclude ſome maner of peace or league with oure enimies, leauing vs in all the whole daunger, ſhal we haue any iudge afore whome wee maye bring them to anſwere for theyr default, and by whoſe authoritie they may bee conſtrayned to ſee vs ſatiſfyed for ſuch loſſe and iniuryes as wee ſhall happely ſuſtayne at the Engliſhe mennes handes? Are we of that force and power to reuenge our wronges vppon them, after wee are vanquiſhed and in manner brought to vtter cõfuſion by thoſe warres which wee ſhall enter into for theyr cauſe? If euer wee bee brought vnto that poynte (as God forbyd we ſhoulde) that through want of ſubſtance and decay of force, the Frenche men ſhall alſo vtterly forſake vs, and that thereby we ſhall not be able to reſiſt the Engliſhe puiſſance: afore whome (I beſeech you) ſhall we accuſe them for breaking of this league? We ſhall dayly haue to doe wyth our enimies after the concluſion of the league (if it bee concluded at all) and but ſeldome tymes wyth our friendes. In the middeſt of our enimies we ſhall be ſtill occaſioned to practiſe for our defence, where we haue a long way both by ſea and land to paſſe ouer to our friends, in caſe any neede ſhall inforce vs therunto: cõmodities are brought to vs out of Spaine, Fraunce and Germanie, not ſuch as we deſire, but onely ſuch as the Engliſhe men doe permit. Againe when our Marchants ſhall paſſe into Fraunce, what hauens ſhall wee leaue them to reſort vnto in time of daungerous tempeſts, which often chaunce to all ſuche as vſe ſayling? Either muſt they periſh and bee caſt awaye through rage of ſeas, eyther elſe fall into the handes of our enimies togither, with all theyr goodes and fraught. What diſcommodities hereof ſhal riſe, your grace (moſt prudent Prince) and you right circumſpect Counſaylers doe well ynough perceyue. I therefore would thinke it expedient that we ſhould continue in ẏ former peace concluded with the Brytaines, Saxons & Picts, according to the cuſtome of our late predeceſſors, who ſawe well ynough what was moſt beneficiall for the wealth of the Scottiſh nation, and not to couet a newe amitie with an vnknowne people, hauing deſerued little or nothing as yet at our handes (whoſe intent I cannot but haue in ſuſpition, ſithe they ſeeke for amitie ſo farre of) except wee ſhall manifeſtly reſolue wyth our ſelues to employe and ieoparde both life and libertie for the ſafegarde of the French men, without regarde of our owne.

Colmans coū-
l miſliked.

Many in that aſſemblie ſhewed themſelues ſore offended with Colmans wordes, ſuppoſing the league with the French men to be both honorable and neceſſarie.

Then one Albian, a man of great nobilitie, (whome the king had lately before inſtituted hys lieutenant in the Iles) ſpake in this maner:

Albian his Oration.

If it were poſſible that there might be one ſure and inuiolable conſent amongeſt thoſe foure people, whiche at this daye haue theyr habitations within the boundes of Albion, or that the Engliſh men knewe what it were to ſtande and abide by fayth and promiſes made & giuen, we woulde not denie but that thoſe conſiderations and aduiſes which Colman hath here vttered, ought to be followed, bycauſe that then there ſhould be no occaſion at all, why we ſhould conclude any league with any forraine nation. But forſomuche as there was neuer man that founde more vntruth and breache of promiſe in any Nation, than hath beene founde in theſe Saxons (the which hauing got the rule in Albion, are nowe called Engliſhe men) as the Scottes, Pictes, and Brytaynes haue by tryall ſufficiently proued, I ſuppoſe it is euidently knowne vnto you, that either we muſt of neceſſitie fight and ſtand at defence againſt the Engliſh men, readie to aſſayle vs both with open force and ſecret crafte, eyther elſe linke our ſelues with ſuche allyes and confederates, as by theyr ſupport we may be the better able to withſtande the malice of ſuch vnfaythfull people. Call ye this fayth or treaſon, I pray you? The Saxons in tymes paſt beeing requeſted of the Brytaynes to ayde them agaynſt their enimies, were moſt louingly receyued, and highlye rewarded for theyr ſeruice: but they contrarily in recompence of ſuch kindneſſe, ſhewed themſelues in ſteade of ayders, enimies: in ſteade of defenders, deſtroyers: turning their weapon poynts againſt the Brytains, by whom they had beene ſo ſent for to theyr ayde. And now haue not onely deſtroyed a great number of them by fire and ſworde, but alſo they haue ſpoyled them of their kingdome & libertie. What league or truce haue they at any time kept (you your ſelues are not ignoraunt of this whiche I ſpeake) where eyther they ſawe occaſion to vexe theyr neighbours, or hoped to gaine any thing by falſifying theyr faythes, as they that haue neuer beene aſhamed ſo to do, where hope to haue commoditie (if I maye ſo call it) hath at any hande beene offered. Into what ſundrie and moſt miſerable calamities hath the treacherie of the Saxons brought the ſillie Brytaynes? How oftentimes haue they broken the peace eſtabliſhed with vs, and alſo with the Picts? Euen when we leaſt thought vpon any ſuch thing. Yea and that more is, amongſt themſelues at this ſeaſon the Engliſh men warre one agaynſt another, more with craftie traines than with open force, in ſuch wiſe that in Northumberland ſo many kings, & ſo many noble mẽ haue bin traterouſly murthered & made away, that vneth maye there be any founde that

The Engliſh Saxons breakers of promiſe.

To induce others to his purpoſe he taketh the aduauntage of caſual happes charging the whole nation with the faults of a few perticular perſons.

will take vpon him the ſupreme gouernment of that countrey. It is not many yeares agone ſince Oſwin king of that countrey was ryd out of the waye through treaſon of Oſwey that ſucceeded him in the kingdom, and was after depriued both of life and kingdome by Oſrike, whome Egbert deſirous to raigne in his place, founde meanes by trayterous practiſe to diſpatche. Egbert was ſlaine by Mollo, and Mollo by Alfred, which Alfred was after ſlaine by the guilefull craft of Ethelbert. Neyther had Ethelbert any better ſucceſſe in the ende, for nowe of late betrayed by his owne ſubiects, he was by them ſhamefully ſlaine and murthered. Neyther wyth leſſe trayterous ſhiftes and deuyſes doe the Engliſhe men maintaine theyr warres in all places where they are inhabiting within Albion. The reuerende Fathers of the ſpiritualtie, and other godly men addict to vertue, vnto whome the ſetting forth of Gods worde hath beene committed, aweeryed and abhorring this woode madneſſe, rage and wicked miſdemeanour of that Nation, haue left theyr Byſhoprykes, Abbeys, Monaſteryes, and Celles, and from thence haue remoued into forrayne Regions. Therfore where the Engliſh mē do abſtaine at this preſent frō making vs warres, it is not to be imputed to any reuerence they haue to faith, equitie, or reſpect of the league, which they haue made with vs, but only vnto ſuch ciuil ſedition & diſcord, as now doth raigne amongſt them. Neither ought any of vs of right to doubt, but that when the ſame once ceaſſeth, they wil immediatly take weapon in hand againſt vs, notwithſtanding all leagues or couenants of peace cōfirmed to the contrarie. To repreſſe therefore and abate their ſubtile practiſes, I can finde no redier meane than to enter into friendſhip, and conclude a league with that people, whiche beeing ioyned with vs, maye chaſtice ſuche outragious furie of this wicked nation, as cauſe and oportunitie ſhall require, Fortune hath offred vnto vs a conuenient meane and occaſion herevnto. For here be at this preſent yͤ French kings ambaſſadors, offring that vnto vs (which being ſo great a benifit) we might vneth wiſh for. That is, they require to haue vs to ioyne in league againſt the Engliſhmen, with their king, whom Fraunce, Spaine, and no ſmal part of Germanie do acknowledge for theyr ſoueraine. Ought this to bee deſpiſed of men that haue their perfect ſenſes? Ought the ſocietie of the French nation to be refuſed of vs, inhabiting here in the vttermoſt partes of the earth, the ſame being freely offered by them, vnto whom for their ſincere fayth both towardes God and man, the large Empyre of the worlde is graunted. So that if wee ſhall thankefully receyue thys moſte notable benefite, the ſame ſhall purchaſe vnto vs the friendſhip of the Spaniardes, French men, Germanes, and all thoſe nations which acknowledge king Charles for their head and ſoueraine Lord. Hereupon alſo free paſſage for marchantes ſhall be open, to paſſe to and fro vnto vs, with all kind of marchandiſe & wares of traffike. I truſt therefore that euery one of you (ſo that he wey the thing with himſelfe throughly) will eaſily iudge that the friendſhip and ſocietie of the French men (right puiſſant both by ſea and land) and therto of approued fayth and ſtedfaſtneſſe in promiſe, ought more to be eſteemed, and is more beneficial to the Scottiſh common wealth, than the vnſtedfaſt promiſes and great diſloyaltie of the Saxōs. To which of you is it vnknowne, that the Engliſh nation ſtudieth no leſſe to bring vs vnder the yoke of ſeruitude, than they doe the Welchmen, if their force mighte anſwere directlye to theyr willes? Therefore if we deſire to auoyde the violent power of moſt cruell enimies, if wee meane to auoyde theyr craftie practiſes, if we regard the Chriſtian Religion, for the whiche the Frenche men are continually in armure, if we ſet more by vertue and conſtancie than by vnfaythfulneſſe & breach of couenants and promiſes, if wee labour for the glory and honor of our nation, if we court to aduaunce our Countrey, our owne reſt, and quietneſſe: and to be briefe, if we paſſe vpon life and libertie, the moſte deareſt things that maye happen to man, let vs with ioyfull heartes eſtabliſh this league with the French men, and firmely continue in the ſame, vppon aſſured truſt and confidence that it ſhall bring perpetuall commoditie and renowne vnto vs, both for the ſafegarde of our realme, and reſtraynt of the Engliſh mens vnlawfull attemptes & wrongfull iniuries, which hereafter they either ſhall or may at any time enterpriſe agaynſt vs.

The Frenche men in thoſe days poſſeſſed not onely that part of Gallia which we now cal France, but alſo the moſt part of the coūtreys now inhabited by the Teutſhmen or Germaines, namely on this ſide the ryuer of Rheine.

By this Oration Albian drew the multitude eaſily vnto his purpoſe.

Then Achaius vnderſtāding how the minds of all his ſubiects were in maner wholy inclyned to the league, cōmaunded al the cōpany to be ther in the ſame place againe the next day. And ſo breaking vp their aſſembly for yͤ time, the king made the French Ambaſſadors yͭ night a coſtly ſupper with a banket, and after hauing cōference wͭ his nobles & lords of the counſel, it was agreed by general cōſent amongſt thē, that for the ſolemne ratifying of this league with king Charles, according as he had requyred, there ſhould go with his Ambaſſadors at their returne the Lord William the brother of king Achaius with foure other honorable & learned perſonages, being men of perfite knowledge & ſkil, and ſuch as were eſteemed moſt meete for ſuch a purpoſe. Alſo yͭ they ſhould take iiij. M. men ouer with thē to ſerue againſt the infidels & enimies of the chriſtian religion, where & in ſuch ſort as king Charles ſhould appoint thē.

The leagu with the French me agreed vp

…ague is …led.

Herevpon the next day going firſt to Church, and there making their common ſupplications vnto almightie God, according to the rytes and auncient cuſtomes, they after reſorted vnto the councell chamber, where Achaius opened and declared vnto the French Ambaſſadors al that was concluded by him, and other the eſtates of hys realme, touching the meſſage whiche they had brought from king Charles. Who reioyſing (as ſhould appeare) greatly hereat, gaue moſt hartie thankes vnto him, and to all the reſidue for theyr beneuolent willes herein ſhewed towardes king Charles their maiſter, & all the French Nation.

…king …ictes.

After this remayning certaine dayes with Achaius, who made them all the cheare that might be imagined, they departed towardes Hungus king of the Picts, vnto whom at their comming to his preſence they made yͤ like requeſt on their maſters behalfe, whiche they had made before vnto Achaius.

…es refu- …cõclude …ague …the …amen.

It is ſayd that Hungus gaue the French men moſt hartie thankes for their good willes, but yet he would not graunt to cõclude any league with thẽ at that time, for that (as he alledged) the matter being weightie and of great importaunce required no ſmall time to deliberate and take aduice for a full reſolution therein.

French …ſſadors …e home.

The Ambaſſadors hereupon returned vnto Achaius without ſpeed of their purpoſe with Hungus, and the ſecond moneth after, all things being readie for their returne, and the paſſage of thoſe that ſhould go with them, the Lord William the kings brother, togither with the ſame Ambaſſadors and ſuch foure perſons as the king had choſen forth amongſt all the learned Cleargie of his realme (whoſe names were Clement, John, Raban, and Alcuine) and alſo hauing with him thoſe foure M. men of warre which were at the firſt appoynted to goe with him, paſſed forth towardes France, where he with all the whole cõpanie landed within few dayes after in ſaftie, according to their owne wiſhed deſires. At their comming into Fraunce, Charles the Emperor receiued them in moſt gladſome wiſe, doing them all the honor that might be deuiſed, & the ſouldiers which were come to ſerue him vnder the leading of the foreſayd William, he retayned in wages, vſing them after the ſame ſort and rate as he did his own naturall people the French men.

Scottiſh …are hono- …receyued …the …king.

…ague is …lied by …

Shortly after alſo at the requeſt of the Scottiſh orators, according to yͤ charter ſigned by Achaius and confirmed by conſent of king Charles the league betwixt the French men and Scottes was ſolemnely publiſhed by Heraldes at armes, according to the maner in thoſe dayes vſed, the ſame to endure betwixt thoſe two nations and their poſterities for euer.

The chiefeſt articles compriſed in this league writ as followeth.

The articles of the league.

The amitie and confederation betwixte the French men and Scottes to be perpetuall & firme, to endure betwixt them & the poſterities of both the nations for euer.

The iniuries and warres which the Engliſh men ſhould attempt againſt either nation, ſhould be accounted as common to them both.

The French men being aſſayled by warres of the Engliſh men, the Scottes ſhould ſende theyr ayde of ſouldiers, hauing their charges borne by the French men, as well for furniture, as wages, and all other things neceſſarie.

The French men ſhoulde contrariwiſe ayde the Scots in time of warres againſt the Engliſh men at their owne proper coſtes and charges.

Whatſoeuer he were, priuate perſon or publike of theſe two confederate nations, that againſt eyther of them ſhould ayde the Engliſh men wyth armor, counſell, vitailes, or in any other maner of wiſe, the ſame ſhould be reputed for a trayter vnto both their Princes and countreys.

Neither might either of them conclude a peace, or take any truce, without conſent of the other.

Theſe were the principall Articles of the league, as then confirmed betwixte the Scottes and Frenchmen, indited in Latine, and fayre ingroſſed in parchment, & reſerued as a monument in both realmes, for a witneſſe vnto ſuch as ſhuld come after, of this friendſhip thus begunne, as the Scottes Chronicles affyrme.

The armes of Scotlande.

And for a further memorie of the thing, Achaius did augment his armes, being a red Lion in a field of golde, with a double trace ſeamed wyth floure de Lyces, ſignifying thereby, that the Lion from thenceforth ſhoulde bee defended by the ayde of the Frenche men: and that the Scottiſhe Kings ſhoulde valiauntlye fight in defence of theyr Countrey, libertie, Religion and innocencie, whiche are repreſented by the Lylies, or Floure de lyces, as Heraudes doe interprete it.

The Lord William, the ſayd Clement, and John, remayned ſtil with king Charles, but Raban and Alcuine returned into their countrey.

The valiantnes of William.

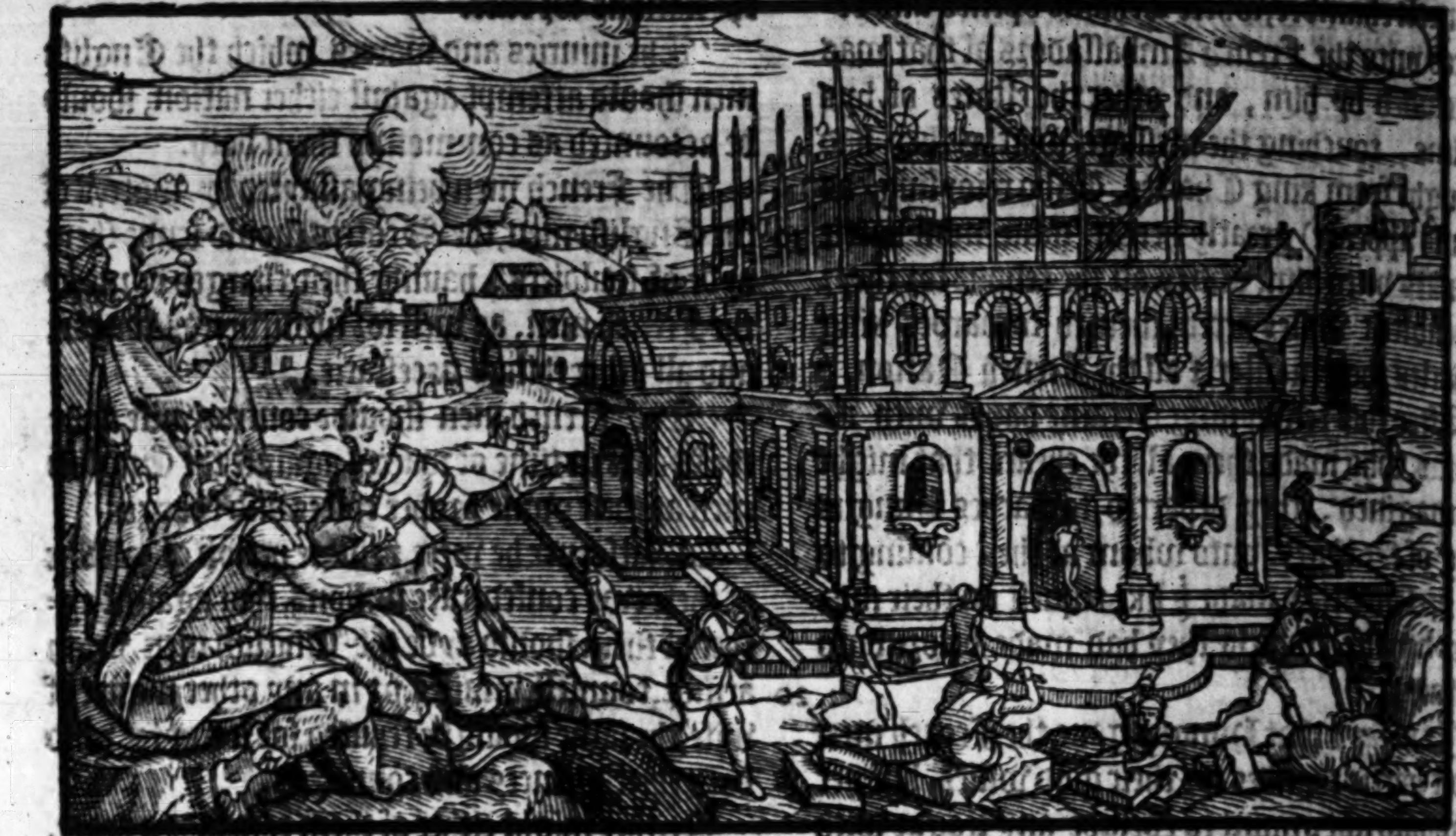
In all ſuch warres and iourneyes as Charles afterwardes made agaynſte any of his enimies, the ſayde Lorde William was a chiefe doer in the ſame, ſo that his fame and authoritie dayly grew in all places where he came.

Florence is reedified.

His ſeruice ſtode King Charles in notable ſtead in his expeditions agaynſt the Saxons, Hungarians, & other, but namely his eſtimation in Italy was moſt highly aduãced, at what time the ſayde Charles reedified the Citie of Florence, appoynting this William to be his Lieutenant in Tuſcane, and to haue the chiefe charge for the reſtoring of the ſayde Citie, which he wyth ſuche

Willian Lieutenant of Tuſcane.

diligence applyed, that wythin ſhort tyme the ſame was not onely fortified wyth newe walles, repayred and repleniſhed with great numbers of houſes, Churches, and other beautifull buildings, but alſo peopled and furniſhed with Citizens, a great companie of Nobles and gentlemen being called thither out of euerie Citie and towne there abouts for that purpoſe.



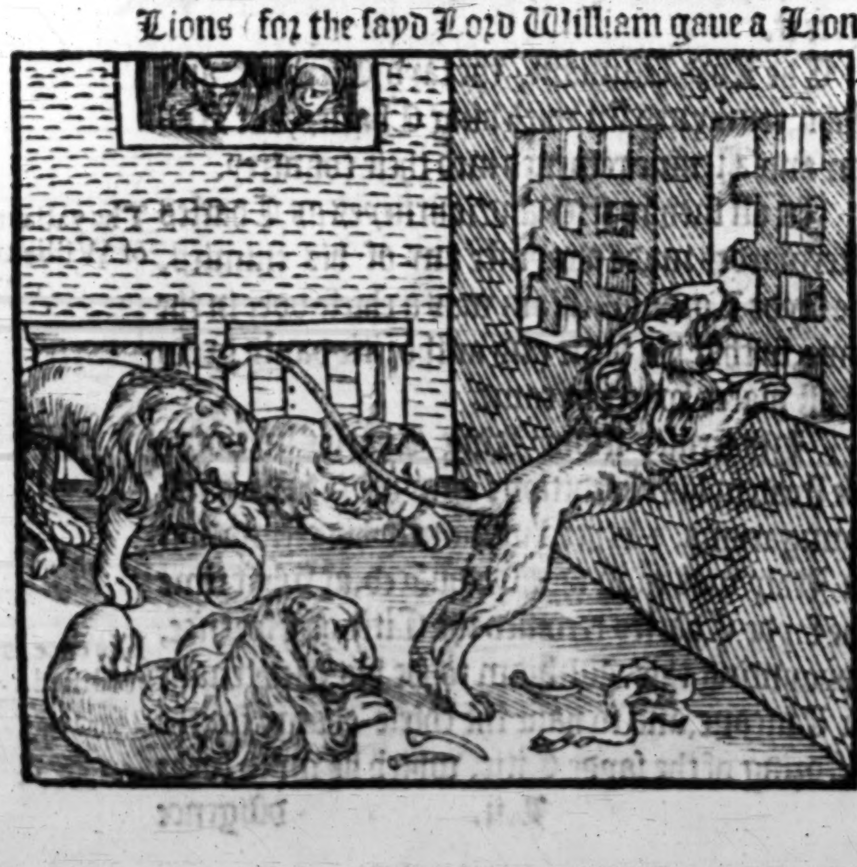
The armes of Florence.

The Citie being thus reſtored vnto hir former ſtate and dignitie, through the bounteous benefite of king Charles, and the diligent adminiſtration of his Lieutenant the foreſayde William, the Citizens to ſhew themſelues thankefull, deuiſed for a perpetuall memorie to beare in their armes a redde Lillie, reſembling one of thoſe which the kings of Fraunce giue; ſaue that it differeth in colour, to teſtifie thereby, that their Citie (after the deſtruction thereof by the Gothes) was redified and reſtored to the former dignitie, by the benefite of the french men.

A Lion crowned.

Lions h… Florenc…

And to acknowledge the diligence herein of the Lieutenant, they did inſtitute publike plaies to be vſed and celebrate euery yere, wherin with many pompous ceremonies they crowne a Lion. And further that there ſhould be kept vpon the charges of the common treaſurie within the Citie certain Lions (for the ſayd Lord William gaue a Lion for his cogniſance) and thervpon as the Scottiſh Chronicles affyrme, thoſe beaſtes grew to be had in ſuch honor amongſt the Florentines.



Scottes… more.

Thus this valiant Captain, the forſayd Lord William, paſſing his time in noble exerciſes, and worthie feates of chiualrie vnder king Charles, is accounted in the number of thoſe. xij. martiall warriours, whiche are called commonly by the Scottiſh men, Scotteſgylmore.

Willia… maried… keth C… his hey… Mona… Scottiſ… Germa…

And for that he was continually occupied in warres, he was neuer maried, wherevpō growing in age and purpoſing to make Chriſt his heyre, he buylded diuerſe Abbayes and monaſteries both in Italy & Germanie, richly indowing ẏ ſame with landes and rents, ſufficient for the finding of ſuch number of Monkes, as he appoynted to be in the ſayd Abbayes, wherein none might be admitted, according to the auncient ordinance by him deuiſed, except he were a Scottiſh man borne.

In witneſſe of which ordinance, there are ſundrie of theſe houſes remayning in Almaigne euen vnto this daye, nothing chaunged from the firſt order or inſtitution.

The V… ſitie of… and Pa…

Before the accompliſhment of theſe things, by the aforeſayde Lorde William, brother as is ſaid vnto the Scottiſh king Achaius, I finde that the Vniuerſities of Paris and Pauia were inſtituted by king Charles, chiefly by the helpe and meanes of thoſe two forerem̄bred learned Scottiſh men, John and Clement, inſomuch that Clemēt was appoynted chiefe preſident of all the ſtudentes at Paris, and John of the other at Pauia.

Adel… reth hi… Deira.

But now to returne to the other doings of Achaius, ye ſhall vnderſtande, that about the ſame time or not muche differing from the ſame, Adelſtane the ſonne of Ethelwolfe king of weſt Saxons, taking vpō him the dominion of Kent, Eaſt Saxon, Mertia, and Northumberlande, whome Egbert his grandfather had receyued into his gouernment) deſirous nowe to enlarge his kingdome, entred into that part of the Pictiſh dominion, whiche auncienctly hight Deira, and conteined the Marches about Barwike, alledging howe the ſame apperteyned to his kingdome of Northumberlande, and had bene fraudulently taken from his aunceſters by the Picts: but forſomuch as there was a commotion reyſed the ſame time in Mertia, he was called backe to appeaſe it, and herevpon putting all to the fire and ſworde in Deira, ſauing ſuche priſoners as hee brought away with him, he returned.

Deira, waſted by fire and ſworde.

Hungus the Pictiſh king ſore ſtomaking this iniurious enterpriſe of the Engliſhmen, determined to reuenge the ſame in all poſſible haſt, & therfore made inſtant ſute vnto Achaius (who had maried his ſiſter) to haue his ayde againſt them.

ngus ayded th Scottiſh en inuadeth orthumber- nde

Achaius of his owne accorde minding to doe the Engliſh men a diſpleaſure, ſent forthwith vnto Hungus to the number of ten thouſand men. With which, and with his owne power King Hungus inuaded the borders of Northumberland, fetching from thence a great bootie of goods & priſoners: but yet he forbare ſlaughter of men, and burning of houſes, for a reuerence whiche hee had, as is ſuppoſed, towardes the Chriſtian religion.

Athelſtane being certified hereof, omitting his iourney into Mertia, turned al his power againſt the Picts: & hearing that they were withdrawne into theyr Countrey, he followed them ſo neare at the heeles, that very earely in one morning he was vpon their backes where they lodged by a brooke ſide, not paſſing two miles from Haddington, before they had any knowledge of hys approche.

Athelſtane vpon a fierce courage, hauing thus founde his enimies according to his wiſhed deſire, and herewith comming vpon them in ſuche order of battaile as they had no way forth to eſcape without fight, hee commaunded a proclamation to be made by one of his Heralds, that all the whole number of the Pictes ſhoulde paſſe by the edge of the ſworde.

The Pictes thus ſeeing theyr enimyes at hande, and hearing of thys cruell commaundement, were wonderfully amazed wyth the ſtraungeneſſe of the thing, and oppreſſed ſo wyth feare, that they wyſt not what might bee beſt for them to do.

The Pictes are amazed.

At length, by commaundement of Hungus theyr King they fell vnto fortifying of theyr campe: but yet they quickly perceyued howe that it woulde not long preuayle them, conſidering that theyr enimyes had gotten into theyr handes not onelye all the ſpoyle whiche they had brought wyth them oute of Northumberlande, but alſo all other theyr prouiſion, truſſe, and baggage, which they had left in a field there adioining vnto the ſide of their campe. Herevpon manye reaſons were put forth amongeſt them, which way they might eſcape out of that preſent daunger.

The Picts entrench their campe.

In whiche meane tyme Athelſtane hauing brought his people into good order of battaile, prouoked the Pictes to come forth of theyr ſtrength into the playne fielde, there to trie their forces. But for that daye no notable thing was done: the Pictes keeping themſelues ſtill within theyr campe.

Athelſtane doth chalenge his enimie.

In the night following, after ſundrie conſultatiōs had amongſt thē, it was agreed by general conſent, that the next day they ſhould giue battail to the Engliſh men. And ſo herevpon preparing themſelues

The Pictes prepare themſelues vnto battaile.

themſelues for the purpoſe, euen vpon the breake of the day forwarde they make towardes their enimies wich fierce willes, ſpecially encouraged thereto by the comfortable wordes of Hungus.

The Engliſh men are put to flight.

The Engliſhmen halfe amazed at the hardie approch and onſet of the Pictes, were not long able to ſuſteyne their ſore impreſſion: ſo that, beginning ſomewhat to ſway, at length they were forced to flie vnto the place, where ye heard howe they tooke the baggage and ſpoyle of the Pictiſhe campe: were they were beaten downe in greater numbers than before, inſomuch that ſuch priſoners as they had before taken of them that kept the ſayde ſpoyle, greatly now to aduance the victorie of their fellowes, ſhewing more crueltie towardes the Engliſhe men than any of the reſt, now that they ſawe once howe the victorie was inclined to the Pictiſh ſide.

Adelſtane is ſlaine.

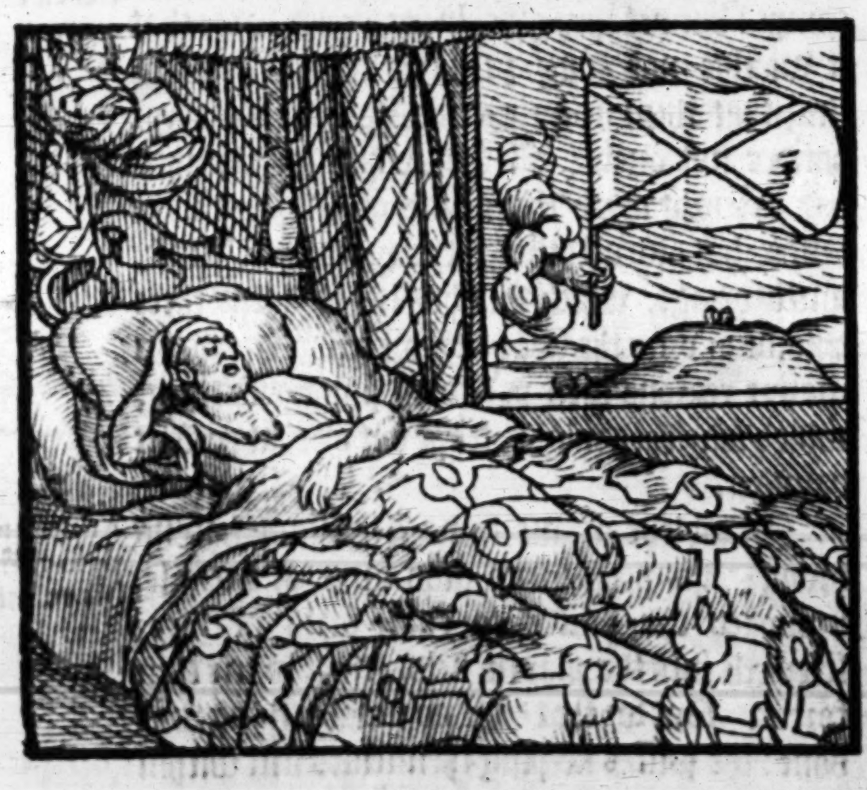
Aylſtone foord

In fine, ſuch ſlaughter was made, that of the whole Engliſhe hoſte whiche was there aſſembled, there vneth eſcaped fiue hundred. Athelſtane himſelfe at the firſt encounter was runne through the bodie with a Speare, and ſo dyed, gyuing name to the place of the battaile, whiche continueth euen vnto this day, being called Athelſtanes forde,

A dreame.

The Croſſe of S. Andrew.

This victorie fell to the Pictes by myracle, for in the night ſeaſon as Hungus was layde downe to ſleepe (after it was agreed that they ſhoulde giue battaile) there appeared vnto him the Apoſtle Saint Andrewe (as the tale goeth) promiſing him and his people victorie agaynſte theyr enimies on the day next following, and for an aſſured token thereof, he tolde him that there ſhoulde appeare ouer the Pictiſhe hoſte in the element ſuch a faſhioned Croſſe, as hee ſometyme ſuffered vppon. Hungus awakened, and beholding the Skie, ſawe the Croſſe as the Apoſtle had tolde him: Wherevpon calling his people togyther, hee not onely ſhewed them the ſame ſight, but alſo declared vnto them what viſion had appeared vnto him in hys ſleepe, wylling them therefore to bee of good comfort, ſithe there was cauſe of ſuch aſſured hope to haue aſſyſtaunce from aboue agaynſte theyr cruell enimies.



Saint Andr the Scottiſ mens patr

The ſigne of the foreſayde Croſſe was not onely ſeene of the Pictes and Scottes beeyng there wyth them in ayde, to both theyr greate comfortes and gladneſſe, but alſo of the Engliſhe men to their no leſſe diſcouragement, as they that vnderſtoode Saint Andrewe to bee Patrone and Aduowryer of the Scottiſhe and Pictiſhe Nations. For it did put ſuche a feare into theyr heartes, that when they came to the poynte of ioyning, theyr ſtomackes ſo fayled them, that wyth ſmall reſyſtaunce they were eaſily vanquiſhed (as is ſayde) and put to flyght.

Saint Re

For this ſo manifeſt a myracle, after the battaile was once ended, and the victorie obteyned, Hungus repayred with his people following him, vnto the Church of that bleſſed man Saint Regulus, nowe called Saint Andrewes, where they made theyr offrings wyth humble deuotion vnto the Relykes of the Apoſtle, rendring thankes vnto him for theyr victorie with deuoute prayer after the accuſtomed maner then.

Why Sco men vſe S Andros c in warfare

They vowed there alſo at the ſame tyme (as the fame goeth) that from thenceforth as well they as theyr poſteritie in tyme of warre ſhoulde weare a Croſſe of Saint Andrewe for theyr badge and cogniſance. Which ordenance continually after remayned with the Pictes, and after their deſtruction & exterminion, with the Scots euen vnto our time.

Athelſtan buriall.

The bodie of Athelſtane was buried in the next Church vnto the place where the fielde was fought, howbeit, ſome haue left in wryting that his head was cut off from the bodie and brought to Inchgaruie, where beeing ſet vppon a ſtake, it was ſhewed to the people in reproche of his iniurious enterpriſe.

Hungus in reth S. An Church.

Images of golde and ſiluer.

Tenthes giuen Clergie.

Hungus the Pictiſhe king to ſhewe himſelfe yet more mindefull of the due honoring of the holy Apoſtle, by whoſe ayde he acknowledged himſelfe to haue got the victorie aforeſayde, not only augmented his Church with new buildings and neceſſarie reparations, but encreaſed the number of prieſts in the ſame for the celebrating of diuine ſeruice: he alſo gaue many riche and coſtly ornaments vnto the ſame, as Chalices, Cruets, Baſons & ſuch like. Moreouer he cauſed to be made the Images of chriſt and his .xij. Apoſtles of fine gold and ſiluer, which hee beſtowed there, with a caſe alſo of beaten golde, therein to incloſe the relykes of S. Andrew. And beſides this, he ordeyned that the Spiritualtie ſhould haue the tenthes of all increaſe of goods: as of corne, cattailes, herbage,

bage, and ſuch like through his realme and further that ſpirituall perſons ſhould not be cõpelled to anſwere before any temporall iudge.

...ch ta- ...om the ...e their ...ledges.

But theſe beneficiall priuiledges the Pictiſhe clergie did not lõg enioy. For Feredeth that was the fourth, which raigned amongſt the Pictes after Hungus tooke from them all ſuche giftes as this Hungus, had giuen them, and further ordeyned to the derogation of their Priuiledges, that they ſhoulde anſwere for ſecular crymes afore ſecular Magiſtrates: And that lyuing vppon theyr former reuenewes, Souldiers and menne of warre ſhoulde enioye the other whiche Hungus had ſo freely beſtowed vpon them.

...hy not: ...es to be ...more ...r iudges.

The Nobles of the land mainteyned Feredeth in his doings, reckening all that ſpirituall perſons had to be but caſt away, which was the cauſe (as ſome thought) that theyr Kingdome came into ſuche ruine, as ſhortly after followed.

There bee ſome Chronicles that wryte how theſe things whiche are mencioned of Hungus, and Athelſtane, chaunced not altogyther aboute this ſeaſon, but Hector Boetius followeth Veremond in moſte of his accounte, as the authour whome he taketh to be moſt certaine, as well for the accounte of the tyme as in the courſe of the whole Hyſtorie. And for that we meane not to preſume wholy to derogate the ſame Boetius his credite wee haue not muche diſſented from hym, but rather followed him in moſt places, leauing ſuche doubtes as may bee worthily put forth of that which he wryteth, vnto the conſideration of the diligent Reader, ſithe it is not our purpoſe to impugne, but rather to report what wee finde written by other, except nowe and then by the way to admoniſhe the reader of ſome vnlikelyhoodes, (as the ſame doth ſeeme to vs and other,) and happely not without iuſt occaſion.

But nowe to our purpoſe: Aſwell Hungus King of Pictes, as Achaius King of Scottes, after the ouerthrowe and death of Athelſtane, lyued with theyr people in good quiet & reſt, for the Engliſhe men attempted nothing agaynſt the Scottes or Pictes afterwardes, during the time of their raignes. At length Achaius after hee had raigned. xxxij. yeares, departed thys lyfe, in the yeare of our Lorde. 819. whiche was about the firſt yeare of Hungus his dominion ouer the Pictes.

...ius depar- ...out of ...life. 819

His bodie was buryed in Colmekill, according to the maner of Kings amongeſt hys predeceſſours.

In the days of thys Achaius (beſide Clement and others, of whome before ye haue heard) lyued Byſhop Geruadius a notable Preacher in Murreylande. Alſo Biſhoppe Macian with Modan and Medan two brethren, all Doctors and men of ſingular knowledge, in reſpect whereof they were had in great credite and eſtimation with the people.

Conual.

After the deceaſe of Achaius, Conuall that was his Uncles ſon by Dongal, the brother of king Ethfine, ſucceded in gouernment of ẏ Scottiſh kingdome.

Conuall ſucceedeth Achaius.

Betwixt this Conual and Hungus the Pictiſh king, there was wonderfull loue and amitie ſhewed, both of them ſtudying by all wayes and meanes how to mainteyne the auncient league & aliance betwixt their people, whereupon enſued greate wealth and quietneſſe to both their kingdomes.

Loue and amitie.

Finally Hungus waſted with a continual conſumption deceaſed, delyuering vp his kingdome into the handes of hys ſonne Dorſtologus, and that in the preſence of King Conuall, who likewyſe lyued not long after hym, for in the fifth yeare of his raigne hee lykewyſe departed oute of thys Worlde, by force of naturall ſickneſſe.

Hungus falleth in consumption.

Conuall deceaſſeth alſo

802. Io.Ma.

Dongal

Dongall the ſonne of king Soluathius was receyued to ſucceede by the common conſent of the eſtates of all the Realme, a man of ſingular wiſdome and great knowledge. But for that hee was ſomewhat ſeuere in puniſhing the myſordred behauiours of the Nobilitie and miſgouerned youth of hys Realme, dyuerſe of the Nobles conſpyred agaynſte hym, forcing one Alpyne the ſonne of Achaius to make clayme to the Crowne, who perceyuing there was no remedie, but eyther to follow their mindes, or elſe to be murthered amongeſt them, conſented to goe with them into Argyle, where they purpoſed to crowne him king ſitting vpon the Chayre of Marble, according to the maner.

Dongall ſucceedeth after Conuall.

A ſeuere puniſher of malefactors.

Alpine conſtrained by the nobles, taketh vpon him to be crowned king.

Alpine vnwilling to receiue the crowne, fled.

Howbeit at his comming into that countrey, he found meanes to conuey himſelf from amõgſt them, leaſt through his meanes the quiet ſtate of his countrey ſhould be brought into trouble: and forthwith being eſcaped out of their handes with a few other that were priuy to his intention, hee maketh all the haſt he coulde, till he came to the preſence of Dongall, who receyued him in moſt ioyful wiſe, promiſing that if it ſhould be thought neceſſarie by the eſtates of the realme, he woulde gladly reſigne vnto him his whole crowne and dignitie, deſirous of nothing more than to ſee the aduauncement of the houſe of Achaius. Suche ſayth he, were the merites of that famous prince towardes the preſeruation of the Scottiſh common wealth, that it were too much wickedneſſe to goe about to defraude his iſſue of the inheritance of the realme.

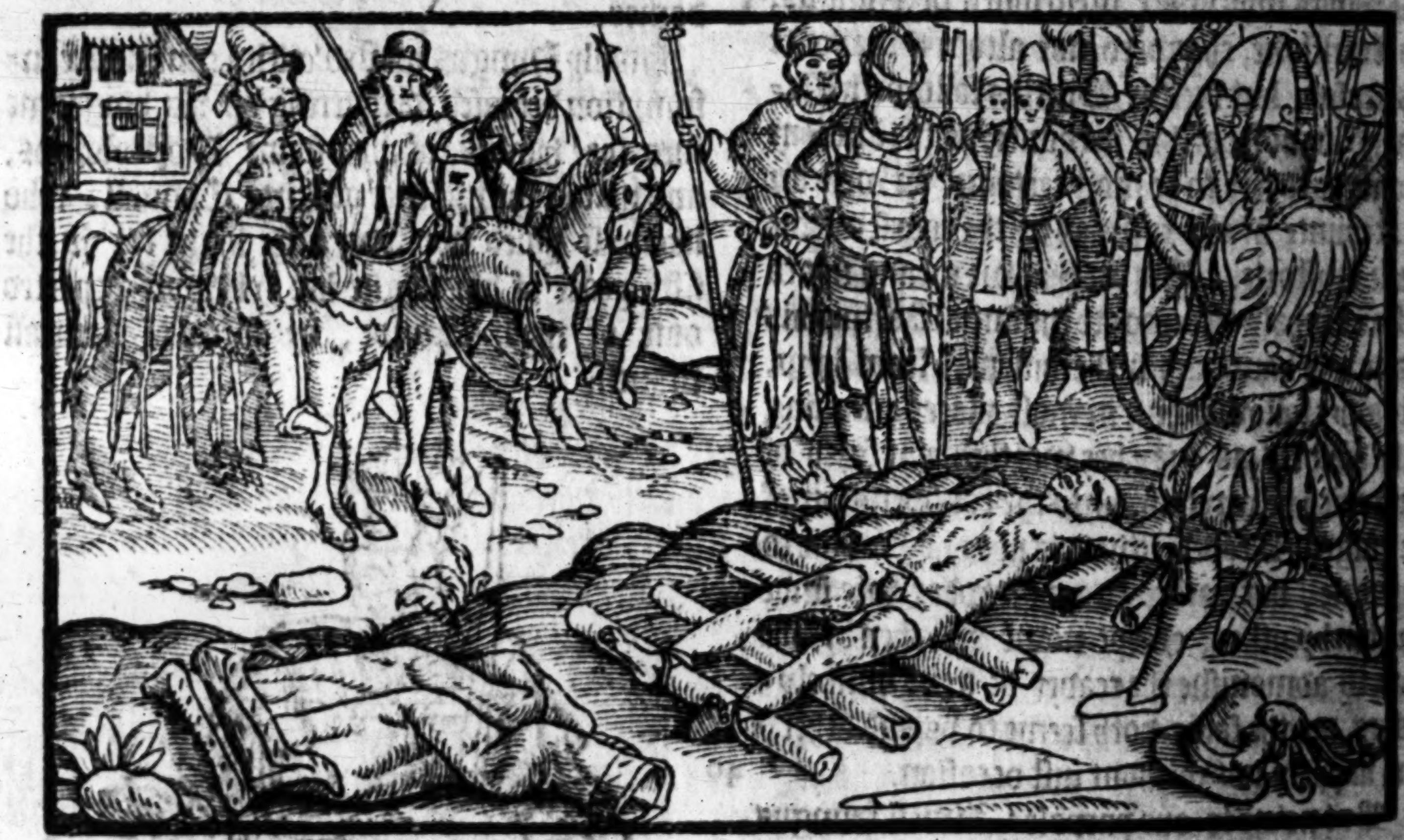
Alpine was ioyfully receyued of Dongall.

Alpine his excuſe vnto Dongall.

Alpine giuing the king moſt hartie thankes, beſought him to continue in the adminiſtration, drawing God and the worlde to witneſſe, that he minded nothing leſſe than to be about to clayme the gouernment of the kingdome ſo long as hee liued. For as touching his offence, in that he had gathered an armie and ledde the ſame into Argyle, it was not his fault, but the conſpiratours which had forced him thereto, being determined to haue ſlaine him, if he had not conſented vnto theyr deſires.

Dongall
keth an
againſt th
rebelles.

Within three dayes after, there came meſſengers from the rebelles to excuſe themſelues alſo, and to put all the fault in Alpine: but king Dongall giuing ſmall credite to their forged wordes, gathereth his power, and maketh ſuch ſpeede towardes the place where he vnderſtood the ſayd rebels were aſſembled togither; that he was vpon them ere they had any knowledge of his ſetting forwarde. So that before they coulde make any ſhift to eſcape out of daunger, which they went about to do, they were apprehended, and immediately condemned and put to death. Which execution put other preſumptuous perſons in feare, ſo that the ſtate of the Realme remayned afterwards a great deale the more in quiet.



Eganus murthereth his brother.

Eganus
in feare.

Eganus
ſtrangl
his Quee

Whileſt things paſſed thus in Scotlande, Eganus the ſeconde ſonne of king Hungus the Pictiſh king, found meanes to murther his brother Dorſtologus, to the ende he might raigne in his place: and through ſupport of ſome of the nobilitie he atteyned to his purpoſe. And for that he woulde aſſure himſelfe the more firmely in the eſtate, he frankly beſtowed his fathers treaſure amongſt his Lordes and chiefeſt peeres of hys realme, and tooke to wife alſo Brenna the king of Mertia his daughter, which his brother the forenamed Dorſtologus had maried, that thereby he might aſſwage the ſayde king of Mertia his diſpleaſure, which otherwiſe he ſhould happely haue conceyued for the death of his other ſonne in law the ſame Dorſtologus.

His feare was great on eche ſide, and therefore had ſmall affiance in any perſon, doubting leaſt one or other ſhould ſeeke to reuenge his brothers death. He durſt neuer go any wayes forth abrode without a garde of men of warre about him, whome he had wonne and made his faſt friends by his paſſing great larges and bountiful liberalitie. At length yet, his wife in reuenge of hir former huſbandes death, founde meanes to ſtrangle him as he lay one night faſt a ſleepe, hauing drunke a little too muche in the euening before, and in this ſort he came to his ende after he had raigned much what about the ſpace of two yeares.

Thus both Eganus and Dorſtologus being made away without leauing any iſſue behind them, forſomuch as now there remayned none of the poſteritie of Hungus to ſucceede in gouernment

baſſadour
vnto the

ment of the Pictiſhe kingdome, Alpine nephewe to the ſame Hungus, by his ſiſter Ferguſiana, with the aduiſe of king Dongall, made clayme therunto, and therupon ſent his meſſengers vnto the lordes and peeres of the Pictiſh dominion, to require them on his behalfe, that he myght be receyued to the gouernemente of the kingdome due vnto him by lawfull inheritance, as they wel vnderſtode: and that if they throughly conſidered of the thing, they might perceiue it was the prouiſion of Almightie God, that for want of lawfull ſucceſſion lineally deſcended from Hungus now to ſuccede in the eſtate of the Pictiſh kingdom, by this meanes both the nations Scottes and Pictes ſhould be ioyned in one, to the aboliſhing of all ſuch mortall warres, as by diſcorde and contention might aryſe betwixte thoſe two people, in lyke ſorte as before tyme there hadde done, to the great perill and danger of both their vtter ruines.

The Pictes choſe Feredeth to be king.

The Pictiſh nobilitie hauing knowledge that theſe meſſengers with ſuche kynde of meſſage ſhould ſhortly come from Alpine, with generall conſent and whole agreemente, choſe one Feredeth to be their king, a man of greate authoritie amongeſt them, ſuppoſing this to be a meane to defeate Alpines title, and that therby he ſhoulde ſeeme to be excluded from any further claym.

The ambaſſadours come into the courte.

Within fewe dayes after, came vnto Camelon the Scottiſhe ambaſſadors, where Feredeth with his nobles at that preſente were aſſembled: they being admitted therfore to declare their meſſage, when they began to enter into their matter of the right which Alpine had to the kingdom of the Pictes, the people woulde not ſuffer them to procede any further therein, but began to make ſuche an vprore, that to appeaſe the noyſe, Feredeth himſelfe toke vpon him to make aunſwere vnto the Ambaſſadors, and therupon commanding ſilence, declared vnto them that the Pictes neyther might nor ought to admitte any ſtranger to reigne ouer them: for there was an auncient lawe amongſt them, of moſte high authoritie, that in caſe of neceſſitie they might tranſpoſe the crowne from houſe to houſe: And further, that by the ſame law ther was an ordinance decreed, that if any man were once made & created king, he might not be depoſed during his natural lyfe. And therfore though it were ſo, that Alpine were the nephewe of Hungus by his ſiſter Ferguſiana, yet bicauſe he was a ſtraunger borne, and cōſidering withal, that the people by their ful authoritie had tranſlated the regall adminiſtration vnto an other houſe, of the whiche one was alreadie proclaimed and inueſted kyng, there was no reaſon nowe, why Alpine ſhoulde make any further claym or demaunde vnto the kingdom.

King Feredeth his anſweare vnto the Scotiſhe ambaſſadours.

Dongall hys diſpleazure with the Pictes aunſweare.

Vpon the meſſengers return home with this anſwer, Dongal ſhewed himſelf to be in no ſmal chafe, that the Pictes ſhoulde thus goe aboute by ſuche ſubtill argumentes and contriued inuentions to defraude Alpine of his righte. And therupon the ſecond tyme he ſente his ambaſſadors vnto them, requiring them eyther to doe him reaſon without any further ſurmiſed cauillations, eyther elſe within .iij. moneths ſpace after, to loke for open warres at the Scottiſhe mens handes.

Ambaſſadours are ſent again.

These Ambaſſadours paſſing forth on theyr iourney, at their approching vnto Camelon, certaine ſergeants at armes met them, and did forbid them to enter the citie: alſo they further cōmaunded them in name of Feredeth their king to auoyde out of the confines of his dominion within foure dayes ſpace, vpon pain of death.

Ambaſſadours are not receyued.

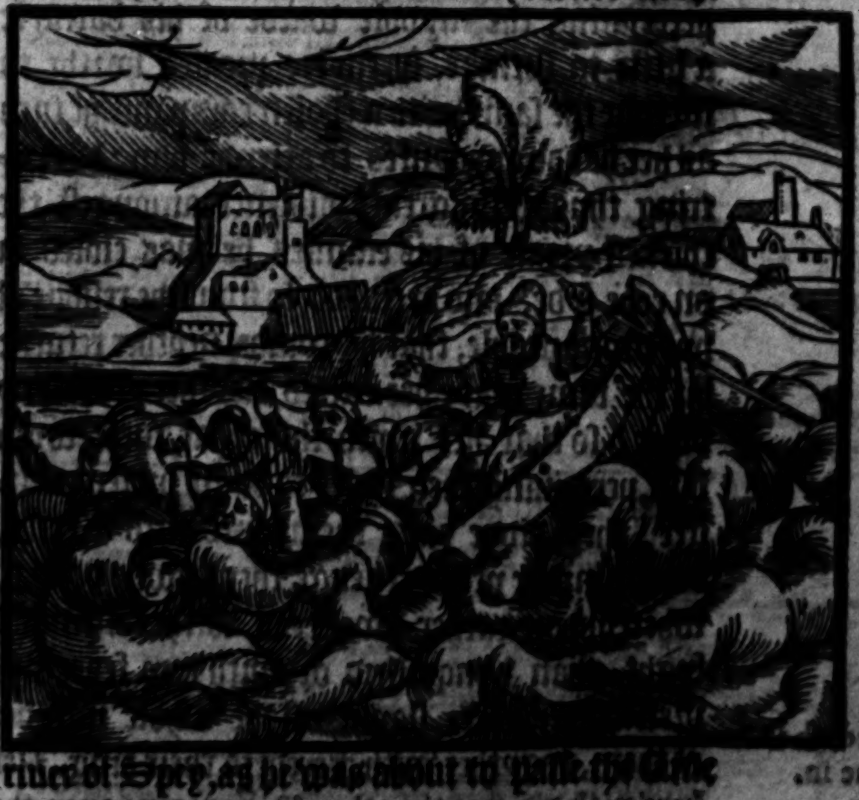
The Ambaſſadors being terrified with ſuche maner of inhibitions, they went no further: but yet according as they had in commiſſion, they pronoūced the warre in the name of Alpine and Dongal, requiring thoſe that thus came to meet them, to giue ſignification therof vnto their maiſter Feredeth, and to the whole Pictiſhe nation: and ſo returned home the ſame way they came.

Warre is pronounced vnto the Pictes.

Then did the Scottiſhe Lordes repaire vnto Dongall, who the ſame tyme laye in Carlyke caſtell, and there taking counſell for the mayntenance of theſe warres, not one was founde amongeſt them which offered not to ſpende both lyfe, landes, and goodes in Alpines ryghtuous quarell.

The Scottes willingly giue them ſelues vnto the war.

By this means was great preparation made on both ſydes for the warre, the Scottes mynding to ſet Alpine in his right, and the Picts determining not to receyue any prince of a ſtrange nation to reigne ouer them. But whileſt Dongall goeth about to prouide all things readye for his enterpriſe, he chaunced to be drowned in the riuer of Spey, as he was about to paſſe the ſame in a boate.



This miſhap happened him in the .vj. yeare of

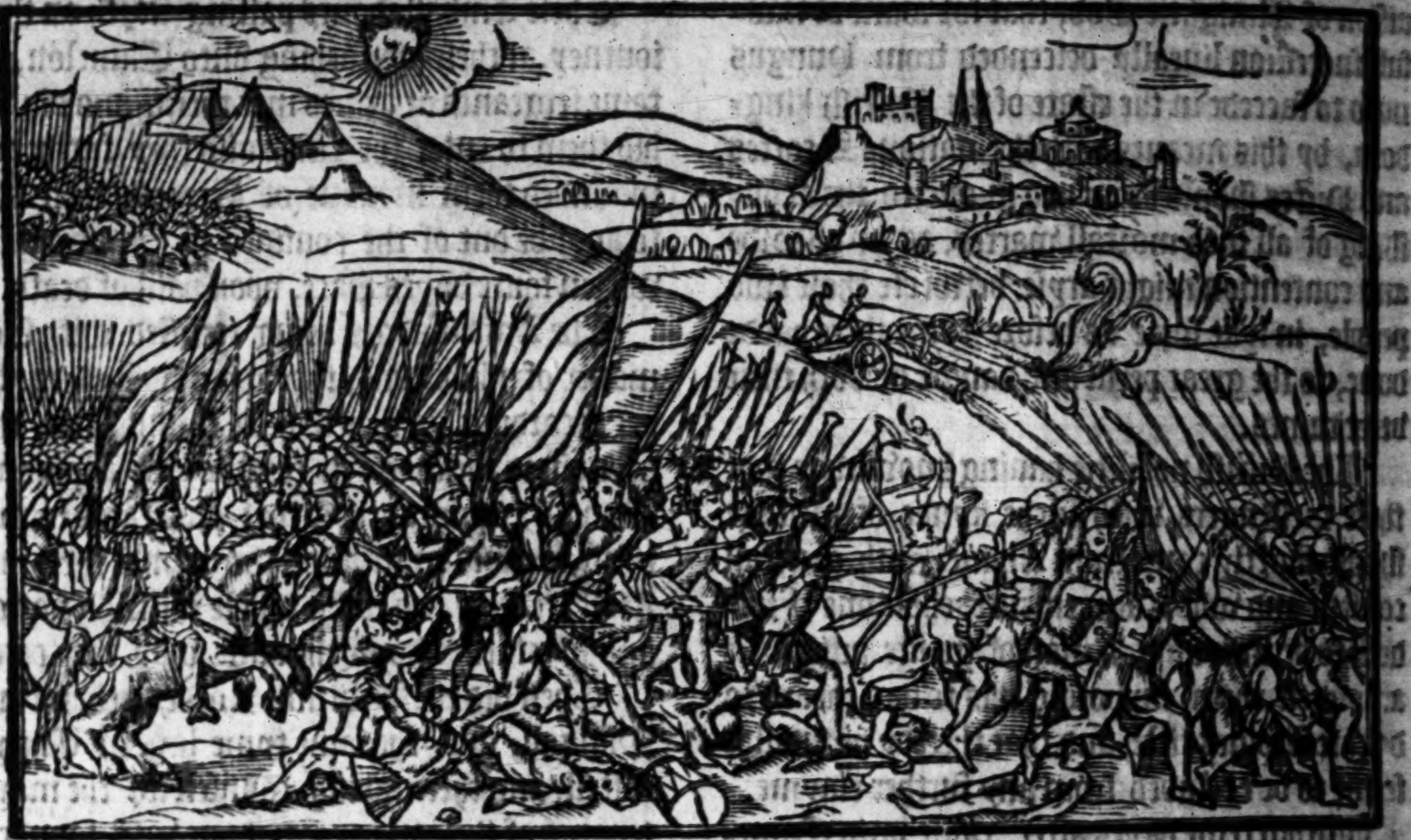
930.

his reigne, and after the birthe of our Sauiour, 830, his bodie was buryed in Colmekill, with all funerall obſequies.

Alpine crowned king of Scotland.

AFter Dongall was Alpyne receyued to the crowne and gouernement of the realme by the generall voyces of all the people, whoſe chiefeſt ſtudie was vpon his firſt entring into the eſtate to followe his ſuite touching his title to the Pictiſh kingdom: and herevpon with all diligẽce preparing a mightie hoſte and all other thinges (which were thought requiſite for the furthering of his enterpriſe) he paſſed forth towardes Angus, not ſtaying till he came to the caſtel of Forfair, whiche he beſieged, but the thirde daye after his comming thither, Feredeth the Pictiſhe king with a great armie of his ſubiectes arraunged in good order of battayle, came and preſented himſelfe in ſighte of the Scottes, wherevpon immediatly neere to the towne of Reſtennoth they mette, and ioynyng there in battayle, foughte righte fiercely: At the firſte encounter the righte wyng of the Scottiſhe armie was neere hand ouerthrowne, but Fenedocht lieutenaunte of Atholl came ſpeedyly to the ſuccours with. 400. of his countreymen, and reſtored the batayle on the Scottiſh ſide: wherby enſued a ryght cruell bickeryng with great ſlaughter, and no ſigne of ſhrinkyng on eyther parte, by meanes whereof it ſemed doubtful for a lõg ſpace to whether ſide the victorie woulde enclyne. At length Feredeth perceyuing the myddle warde of his battayle a little to ſhrinke, ſpeedylye preaſed forthe to ſuccour the ſame with a choſen companie of ſuch as hee hadde appoynted to attende him: but entring thus with greate violence amongeſt the thickeſt preaſe of his enimies, he was cloſed in on eche ſyde, and excluded ſo from the reſidue of hys owne people, that he coulde neyther returne by the ſame waye hee entred, neyther yet by any other, ſo that hee wyth thoſe that were wyth him, perceiuing their lyues to be in preſent danger, they didde caſte themſelues into a ryng, determinyng yet to reuenge theyr owne deaths, wherevppon rather awearyed with continuall fyght, than vanquiſhed or with any feare oppreſſed, they were ſlayne all the whole number of them, togyther with Feredeth their king. Yet herewith did not the other Pictes giue ouer the battayle, ſo long as any daylyghte was on the ſkye. So that the nyght in the ende parted them in ſunder, bothe the armyes withdrawyng to their campes with ſmall ioye or triumphe, by reaſon of the greate ſlaughter, whiche had bene made on both ſides.

Alpine wit army inuad pictlande.



Fenedocht the Thane of Athole.

Feredeth is ſlaine in.

The nigh ted the

The Captaines of the Pictes wayeing with thẽſelues the loſſe of their king & great multitude of their mẽ, thought it not beſt to abide any longer in the field: wherfore leauing their wounded people behind them, with all their baggage in the cãpe, they fled incõtinently the ſame night, ſome into one place, & ſome into an other, where they thought beſt for their owne welth and ſafetie.

The pictes fled by nigh

The Scots had fled immediatly likewiſe, but that word was brought them, as they were about to depart how the Picts were gone alredy, and had left their campe voyde of men of warre to defende the ſame. Wherevpon the Scottes taryed til it was day not far from the place of the battail. In the morning there wer certain horſemen apoynted to ride abrode, & to viewe ẏ fielde, therby to vnderſtand whether ẏ Picts ment any deceite by their departure, as by laying of ſome embuſhmẽts, or otherwiſe, but vpon ẏ returne of thoſe horſmẽ: whẽ it was once knowen how there was no ſuch mater, but ẏ they wer fled in dede, ẏ Scots reioycing therat, fel to a gathering ẏ ſpoile of the fielde, deuiding the ſame amongſt themſelues according to their accuſtomed order.

The Scots de uide the ſp

Alpine himſelfe commaunded the bodie of his enimie Feredeth to be layde in chriſtian buriall, not farre from Forfair. After this cauſing the muſters of his people to be taken, he found that he had loſt yͤ third part of his armie in that mortall and cruell battaile, and therevpon brake vp his campe for that tyme; licencyng thoſe that were left aliue to returne vnto their homes.

eth is
ned.

This battaile being fought in the firſte yeare of the reignes of the two foreſayd kings, weakned the forces of both the natiōs, ſo farforth that the Scottes doubting to bring the realme into daunger of vtter ruine (if they ſhoulde committe their whole puiſſance eftſoones to the hazarde of an other foughten field) determined to purſue the warre by making of incurſions and inrodes onely vpon their enimies, ſo to vexe the Pictes, and to bring them vnto reaſon, if it were poſſible: and ſo much verily the Scottiſhmē did by ſuch their cōtinual rodes and incurſions which they made into Angus, that the countrie was left voyd and deſolate of all the inhabitants.

e Scottes
ermine to
only with
ons.

Neyther did Brudus the ſonne of Feredeth, (whome the Pictes had choſen to ſuccede after his father in the kingdome) fynde any ſpeedy redreſſe to withſtande thoſe dayly inuaſions thus made by the Scots vpon his countreis and ſubiectes, for he was but a ſlouthfull perſon, & very negligent in his office, wherevpon he was had in deriſion of his own people, who in the end ſlew him amongſt themſelues before he had reigned fully the terme of one whole yeare.

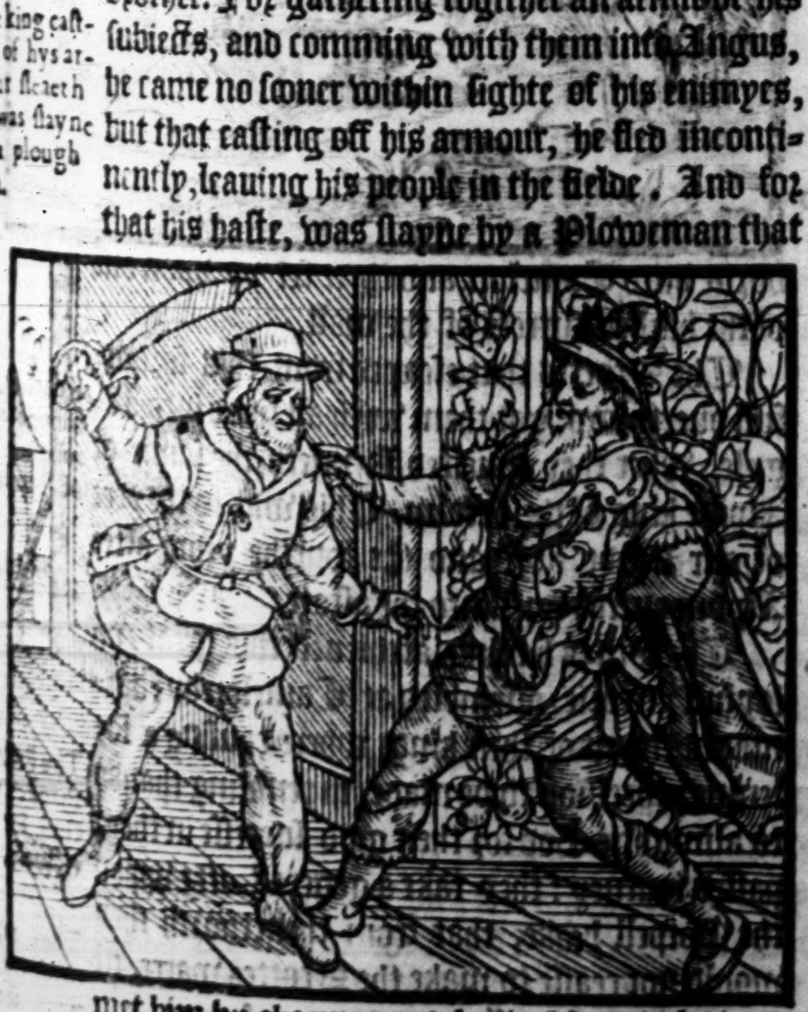
dus ſucce-
eth his father
eneth.

e Pictes.
ew thir ſloth-
ll king.

Then ſucceeded Keneth, the ſecond ſonne of Feredeth, with no better happe or ende than his brother. For gathering togither an armie of his ſubiectes, and comming with them into Angus, he came no ſooner within ſighte of his enimyes, but that caſting off his armour, he fled incontinently, leauing his people in the fielde. And for that his haſte, was ſlayne by a Plowman that met him by chaunce, and knew him not, but perceyued yet howe he had fled from his company, and therefore deſerued not to haue any other fauour.

neth king of
e pictes.

e king caſt-
g of hys ar-
out fleeth
e was ſlayne
a plough



His people ſeeing themſelues deſtitute of their head capitayn and gouernour, retired from their enimies, keeping themſelues in order of batayle without any further attempt.

After this infortunate end of Keneth, the Pictes choſe to their king one Brudus a man of a ſtoute and manlyke ſtomack, who immediately vpon his entring into the aſtate, comming into Angus (which regiō the Scots had made waſt) catched there certaine Scottiſh robbers, & forthwith hanged them vp vpon gibets.

Brudus kyng of the pictes.

After this, he ſent forth his ambaſſadors vnto king Alpine for reformation of all iniuries and wrongs betwixte the two nations, and to haue the auncient league renewed betwixte them.

Bludus ſent vnto Alpyne for renuing their league.

Alpine & the Scotiſh lordes hauing quickely aduiſed what to anſwer, declared vnto the Pictiſh ambaſſadors playnly, that they would not heare any treatie for peace, till the Picts had deliuered the kingdome vnto the right heire.

Alpyn refuſeth any treatie of peace.

Brudus vnderſtanding by this anſwere, that the Scots would ſtill follow the warres againſt the Picts, to be the better able to withſtand their malice, he purpoſed to procure the friendſhip of the Engliſhmen, to haue their ayde agaynſt the Scottes. He ſent therfore his ambaſſadors with a great ſumme of money vnto Edwyn king of Northumberlande, requiring him of his fauour, and to haue ſome number of his people for his wages to ſerue him againſt the Scots.

Brudus ſedeth an ambaſſador vnto Edwyn king of England for ayde with a ſumme of money.

Edwyne receyuing the moneye promiſed to come himſelfe with a myghtie armie, at what tyme and place Brudus ſhould appoint, to goe againſt the Scottes in defence of him and his ſubiectes the Pictes.

The money is receyued & aide promiſed.

Many of the Pictes reioyced greatly, that they ſhould haue ayde thus of the Engliſhmen, hoping therby to haue aſſured victorie of theyr aduerſaries. Other myſtruſted not a little the Engliſhmens offers, by reaſon of the olde enimitie betwixt the Pictes and them.

The picts ſom doe reioyce, and ſome myſtruſt of the engliſhe mens aſsiſtaunce.

In this meane ſeaſon the Scots take a ſeaze vpon all the countrey of Angus, euen from the mountain of Granzebene vnto the riuer of Tay, wherof Brudus being certified, ſendeth a poſte with all ſpeede vnto king Edwin king of Northumberland, requiring him to ſend to his ayde, a power of Engliſhmen, to helpe to reſiſte the Scottes, whiche at that preſente inuaded his countrey.

The Scotes take Angus.

Brudus ſendeth vnto Edwin for ayde.

Vnto which demaund, Edwyn made this anſwere, that he was not only troubled with ciuile warre made againſt him by other Engliſhmen, but alſo had bin requeſted by Lewes ſurnamed Pius, as then French king in no wyſe to endommage the Scottes his confederates, ſo that for that

Edwyn deferreth his ayde.

that yeare preſent he might not cōueniently ſend to him any ſuccoures, but if he wold deferre the warres till the nexte yeare, he ſhoulde haue the beſte helpe that he were able to ſhewe hym.

Brudus being deceiued of the engliſhmen called his own ſubiectes to the warre, aſſembling them at the foot of Calydon wood.

Brudus perceyuing himſelfe thus mocked & deluded by the engliſhmē, cōmāded by ſolemne ſummonance that all ſuche of his ſubiectes, as were able to beare armor, ſhould aſſemble in nether Calydone within eighte dayes after, wyth conuenable prouiſion of victuals, there to knowe his pleaſure.

Brudus entereth into Angus with an army.

His commaundement was obeyed: ſo that a mightie armie of men at the daye and place appoynted came togither, whiche beeing muſtred, they ſtreight ways remoue vnto Calydon caſtel, now called Dunkeld, where they paſſe the riuer of Tay, and ſo enter into Angus, not without ſome difficultie, but being once gotten ouer, they marche forthwith towardes the place wher they vnderſtood their enimies did lye.

A woonderfull polycie vſed by Brudus.

Brudus the night before the day in the which he thought they ſhould haue battaile, by the aduice of certaine expert warriours, whiche he had with him, appoynted all the horſes that were in the campe, ſeruing for burden, to bee beſtowed amongſt the women, lackeys and coyſtrels, part of them being clad in armure, and part in white lynnen, with long polles in their handes lyke to ſpeares and iauelins. Among them alſo hee ordeyned an hundred horſmen to be placed, whom he made priuie to his entention, as thē by whoſe leadyng that feate which ſhould be wroughte in this behalfe, was to be atchieued. Theſe he cauſed to lye couertly within a wood neere vnto the place where the battaile ſhould be fought, giuing them in cōmaundment not to ſhewe themſelues till the battayle were begon.

The encamping of Alpyn his armie.

King Alpine this whyle helde himſelfe in a caſtell, whiche ſtode vpon an hill, a little from Dundee, beyng nowe decayed, ſo that little therof remaineth to be ſeene at this daye. Upon the north ſide of the hille, there lyeth a greate large playne, compaſſed on eche ſide with mountains as then full of woodes and laundes, but now for the moſt part bare & without any trees or buſhes In this playne were the Scottes encamped.

Alpine beholding forth of the caſtell, how the Pictes approched to giue battayle, got him into the campe, & exhorting his people to ſhew themſelues valiant, diſpoſed them in array.

Raſhly the pictes begyn the battayle.

The Pictes no leſſe deſyrous to fight thā their gouernours woulde haue wiſhed them, beganne the battaile before they had commaundemente with ſuch violence, that the righte wing of the Scottes was ſore diſordered.

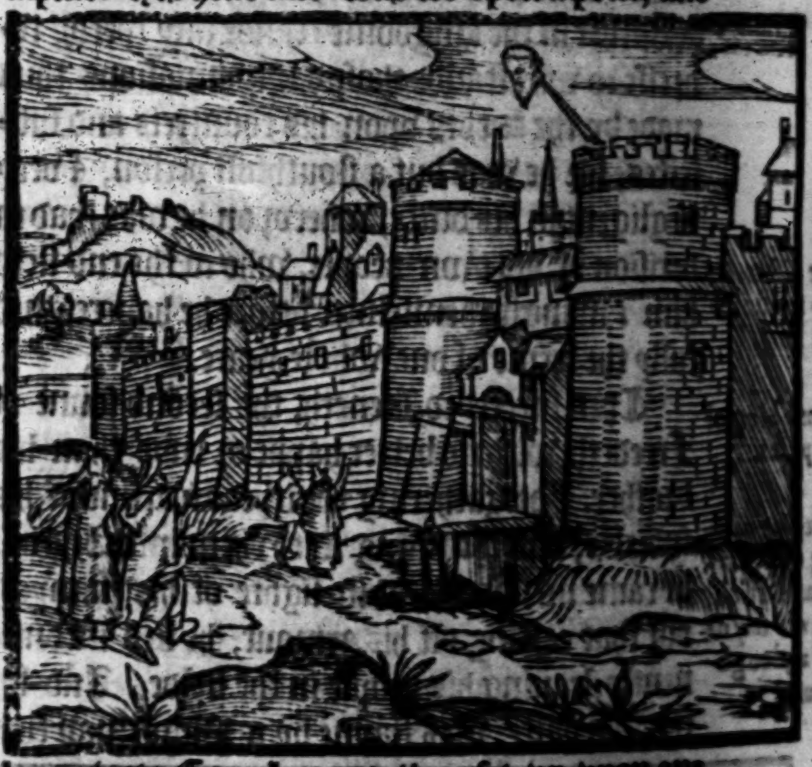
But Alpine perceiuing that, came ſpeedyly to their ſuccours, greatly reprouing them for their fayntneſſe of courage. To be ſhort, he didde ſo muche to embolden them that by his meanes the fighte was renued in moſte cruell wyſe. In ſo muche that thoſe whiche before were put backe, began to winne grounde agayne, and to beate downe their enimies right fiercely.

The Scottes being deceiu with a coun- terfait trow of horſmen fled.

But herewith did the counterfaite troupe of horſemen, whiche was hid in the wood ſodainly come forth, and ſhewed themſelues vpon the back half of yͤ Scottiſhmen, appering in ſight to be an huge number, and far more than they were in deede: with whiche ſight the Scottes beeing brought into a ſodain feare leaſt they ſhoulde be compaſſed aboute with multitude of enimies, they brake their aray, threwe off their armoure, and toke them to their feete, ſo to eſcape & ſaue themſelues by flight. Thus fewe were ſlayne in the battayle, but a great number died in yͤ chaſe, and were beaten downe on eche ſide as they wer ouertaken by the Pictes.

King Alpyn taken by hy enemies & a ter beheade

Alpine himſelfe was taken, and hauyng his handes bounde behynde him, was led to the next towne, and there beheaded. The place beareth yͤ name of him vnto this day, being called Paſalpine. His head alſo was ſet vpon a polle, and borne vnto Camelon, and there ſet vp vpon one of the higheſt turrets of the wall.



Kenne th the ſonne of alp inueſted ki of Scotlan

834.

The Scottes that eſcaped from this ſorowfull ouerthrow, got them with all ſpeed into Argyle, wher they inueſted Kenneth the ſonne of Alpine king of their realm. This was in the yere of our Lorde. 834. and the fourthe yeare after Alpyne entred fyrſt into the aſtate.

The Picts gi thankes vnt God, for th victorie.

They make vowe to con tinew the w

The Pictes hauing atchieued this great and ioyfull victorie, aſſembled at Camelon by commaundement of their king, where cauſing a ſolemne proceſſion to be made, in rendring thankes to almightie God for their good ſucceſſe in their paſſed iourney: they take a generall othe vpon the Goſpell booke, that from thenceforth they would not ceaſſe to make the Scottes warre, til they had vtterly deſtroyed the race of them: and herewith ordeyned a law, that if any man maye mencion of any peace or league to be had wyth the Scottes, he ſhould loſe his head for it.

The good counſel of graue men is deſpiſed.

There were in deede ſome auncient perſonages amongſt them, that ſpake againſt this inſolent outrage of the people, alledging that in time of proſperous ſucceſſe men ought to vſe a modeſtie: but certain youthfull perſons offended with ſuch graue aduiſe, thruſte the authors thereof out of the Churche, within the whiche they were as then aſſembled.

The Scots are animated.

The Scottes being certified herof, were nothing therewith diſcouraged, but rather put in good hope of better ſucceſſe, ſith the enimies abuſed themſelues thus in tyme of felicitie.

The Pictes fall at variaunce within them ſelues.

The next ſommer after, the Pictes aſſembled their power together, and ſetting forewarde towardes the Scottes, through a light occaſion they fel at variãce amongſt themſelues, & fought with ſuche hatred together, that the king was not able to apeaſe the fray til nyght parted them in ſunder.

Then calling the lordes afore him, he aſſayde al wayes to haue agreed the parties, but whẽ he ſaw it would not be, in the morning he gaue thẽ licence to departe euery man to his owne home, breaking off his iourney for that tyme.

Brudus dyed.

Brudus liued not paſt .iij. monethes after, for through griefe that things wente not forewarde as he wiſhed, he fell into a grieuous diſeaſe, and finally therof dyed.

Druskene king ouer the Pictes.

After whoſe deceaſſe the Pictes choſe his brother named Druſken, to ſucceede in gouernemente of the kingdome, who applied his whole endeuour vpon his firſt entring into the aſtate, to appeaſe the ciuile diſcord amongeſt his ſubiectes.

The heade of king Alpine is ſtolne, and ſolemnly buried with the body.

But whileſt he was thus buſily occupied about the ſame, there were certain Scottes, which ſore diſdained to vnderſtand yͭ the head of theyr late king ſhuld remain vnburied in ſuche reprochful ſort amongſt their enimies, wherevpon hauyng perfecte knowledge of the Pictiſhe toung, they fayned themſelues to be merchaunt men of that countrey, and comming vnto Camelon, watched their tyme till they founde meanes in the night ſeaſon, to ſteale to the walles, and ſecretly taking awaye the heade, eſcaped with the ſame home into their owne countreye. This acte of theirs was not a little commended: and ſo now the head of king Alpin being recouered, was cloſed in a leaden coffin, and Kenneth himſelfe, hauing in his companie a great number of his nobles, went with it ouer into Colmkill, where he buryed it in the abbey, amongſt the ſepultures of his elders, together with the reſidue of the bodye in ryght ſolemne wyſe, as apperteyned. And further thoſe perſons that had put their lyues in aduenture to fetche the ſame head from the walles of Camelon, wer by Keneth rewarded with rich gifts and lands in perpetuitie to remayn to them and to their heires for euer.

Keneth fortified the realem.

After this Kenneth deuiſing for the ſuretie of his ſubiectes, furniſhed all the holdes and caſtels on the frontiers of his enimies with men & munition, according as he thought expedient. And moreouer tooke order, that all the youth of the realme ſhould be in a readineſſe vpon an houres warning, to goe forth againſt the Pictes, if they attempted any new inuaſions.

But the Scottiſh lordes had no great luſt to take any enterpriſe in hand eftſoones againſt the Pictes, remembring how infortunatly they had ſped the laſt time: ſo that for the ſpace of .iij. yeares there was no great exployte atchieued, ſaue certaine roades and incurſions, whiche both the nations cõtinually vſed to make one vpon an other, as tyme and occaſion ſerued.

Keneth called his nobles to reuenge his fathers death.

At length king Kenneth beeing very deſirous to be reuenged of the Pictes, for the death of his father king Alpine, and other iniuries by them done and attempted againſt the Scottiſh natiõ, in the fourth yeare of his reigne, he aſſembled the peeres and chiefeſt nobles of his realme, truſting to perſuade them to ayd him in al ſuch enterpriſes as he mente to take in hand againſt the Pictes, whom he purpoſed to purſue with opẽ warres, till he had them at his pleaſure.

But calling his lordes and peeres thus aſſembled one day before him, and going earneſtly about to moue them to the warres, he could ſtir them no more to his purpoſe, than if he had ben in hand to haue cõſelled them vnto that which in no wyſe had appertained vnto their dueties: which their lacke of ſtomacks, Kenneth perceyuing, he began to deuiſe a pretie ſhift, wherby to induce them to his accorde.

A pretie ſhifte deuiſed by the king to perſwade the nobilitie.

Firſt therfore, breaking vp the aſſemblie for the ſame day, he cõmaunded yͭ they ſhould come togither agayne on the next morow, to conſult further for the ſtate of the realme, as they ſhould ſee cauſe. The ſame euening alſo hee had them all to ſupper, whiche being prolonged tyll farre in the night, it was late before they went to bed, ſo that being ouerwatched, when they were once gotten to reſte, they were ſone broughte into a ſound ſleepe. Now had the king appointed for euery one of their chambers one man apparelled in garmentes pretily deuiſed and made of fyſhe ſkinnes vnſkaled, bearing in one of their hands a ſtaffe of ſuche rotten woode, as ſhyneth in the night, and in their other hand a great oxe horn, to the ende that vttering their wordes through the ſame, the ſound of their voyces ſhould ſeeme farre differing from the vſuall ſpeeche of man.

Thus appointed in the dead of the night, they enter the chambers to eche of them aſſigned, where (as is ſayd) the lordes laye faſt aſleepe,

whi

who being at the firſt as it were half awakened, were wonderfully amazed at the ſtrangeneſſe of the ſight (doubting whether it wer but a dreame or ſome true and vnfayned viſion.) Herewith alſo were heard certaine ſeueral voyces, farre greater than thoſe of men, declaring that they were meſſengers ſente from almightie God vnto the Scottiſh nobilitie, to commaunde them to obey their king, for his requeſt was iuſt: The Pictiſh kingdome due vnto him by righteful heritage, ought to be recouered from that people, which for their great offẽces and ſinnes towards almightie god ſhould ſhortly come to vtter deſtruction: ſuch was the determinate pleaſure of his diuine maieſtie, againſt the whiche might neyther coũſell nor puiſſance of man be able to reſiſt.

Of ſuch ſighttes there were many in thoſe dayes: and oftentimes no dout eſtemed to be heauenly viſions in deede.

When the counterfaited meſſengers had thus made an ende of their wordes, they ſlighly hid their ſtaues vnder their innermoſt garmentes, & therwith quikly cõueyd their vppermoſt veſtures made of fiſh ſkales (as I haue ſaid) into their boſoms in ſuche ſlight and nimble wyſe, that it ſemed theſe viſions had ſodeynly baniſhed away.

Thoſe lordes that had ſeene theſe ſightes, lay ſtill for that night, greatly muſing on the mater. In the morning being got vp, and aſſembled in the counſell chamber, they declared to eche other what they had ſeene and heard in the nyght paſſed, and for that all their viſions which they had ſeene by eche others reporte, were in euery behalfe lyke, and nothing differing one from an other, they beleeued verily, that it was ſome celeſtiall oracle and meſſage ſent from God. Therefore preſently they goe vnto the king, declaring vnto him how they had been admoniſhed from aboue, to continue the warres with all their forces againſt the Pictes.

The lords declare their viſion vnto the king.

The king tolde them he had ſeene the like viſion, but they ought to kepe it cloſe, leaſt by gloriyng too much in the fauour ſhewed by almightie God towardes them, they myghte haply diſpleaſe his diuine Maieſtie, which otherwiſe they might perceyue was readie in their ayde. Then finally might the viſion be publiſhed, when thorough his fauourable aſſiſtance, the warres were brought to a luckie ende.

The anſwer of king Kenneth

This aduiſe of the kyng was well lyked of them all, and commaundement giuen, that all maner of prouiſion ſhoulde be prepared with all ſpeede for an armie to be ſet forth into Pictland. The lordes going buſily about to prouide themſelues of all things neceſſarie, muſtred their men in all partes, so that there was leuied a greater hoſte than had bin ſeene in thoſe parties of long tyme before.

When the whole power was come togyther, Kenneth marched forth with the same, entring by greate violence into the Pictiſhe bordures about Sterling.

Kenneth entred into Starlingſhire.

Druſkene the king of Pictes aduertiſed hereof, and hauing his armie in a readineſſe both of Pictes and ſuch Engliſhmen as he had reteined to ſerue him for his wages, fetcheth a compaſſe about, and paſſing by the Scottiſhe armie in the night, encampeth betwixt them and home, inſomuche that the daye did no ſooner appeare, but the one parte deſirous to be in hande with the other, without token of trumpet or commandement of capitayne, they ruſhed togither moſte fiercely. The haſtie ſpeede of the Pictes to ioyn, put them to no ſmall diſaduantage, but the departure of the Engliſhmen, withdrawing themſelues aſyde to the next mountayne, moſte of all diſcouraged them: for the Scottes therwith giuing a ſhoute, declared themſelues to bee highly recomforted with that ſight.

Druskene haſtily inuaded his enimies.

The Engliſhmen fled.

Druſkene in all haſt ſent vnto thoſe Engliſhmen a meſſenger, willing them with large promiſes of rewarde to returne to his ayde: but the Engliſhmen aunſwered, that their vſe was not to fyght without order and cõmaundemente of their generall, and that the Pictes lyke vnſkilful men had caſt away themſelues to bee ſlayne by the enemies hande: where it appertained vnto warlyke knowledge to auoyde the battaill, when no hope of victorie appeared.

Druskene ſendeth to the Engliſhmen.

The middle warde of the Pictes ſeing themſelues left naked on the one ſyde, and aſſayled on the backes where the Engliſhmen ſhoulde haue kept their grounde and defended them, they began to ſhrinke: which the Scottes perceyuing, ſtroke on the more freſhly, til at length the Picts not able to withſtand their force, fell to running away. They made their courſe towards the water of Forth, whiche was not farre from the place of the battaile, where beeing ouertaken, they were beaten downe and ſlayne in greate numbers: for Kenneth gaue cõmandement that they ſhuld ſpare none of the Picts nation, neither gentleman nor other, yͭ fel into their handes.

The Pictes are vanquiſhed.

The Engliſhemen whyleſt the Scottes and Pictes were thus occupyed in the fyghte and chaſe, withdrewe homewardes with all ſpeede, and by reaſon of the mountaynes whiche they had to paſſe, that tooke awaye the ſight of them from the Scottes, they eſcaped into their countrey without any purſuite.

The Engliſhmen eſcape.

Druſkene himſelfe ſo ſoone as hee perceyued howe the field went againſt him, got him to his horſe, which he hadde appoynted to bee readie for him at hande vpon all occaſions, and ſo eſcaped out of daunger with a fewe other in his companye.

Druskene eſcaped by flight.

The Scottes returning from the chaſe, remayned in the place of the battayle all nyghte, keeping ſtrong watche aboute their campe, for doubt leaſt the Engliſhemen had bene lodged in ſome ſecrete place nere by to haue ſet vpon thẽ at vnwares, if they might haue ſeene any aduauntage: but in the morning when it was knowne howe they were quite gone their wayes, and returned into theyr countreye (as before yee haue hearde) then was the ſpoile of the fielde and Pictiſhe Campe gathered and beſtowed amongeſt the ſouldiers, after the auncient cuſtome of that natiõ. And then were they al licenced to departe euery man to his home, with thankes for their ſeruice and paines in this iourney ſo manfully employed.

e Pictes ſue
peace.

Within fewe dayes after, the Pictiſhe king Druſkene ſent his ambaſſadors vnto king Kẽneth to ſue for peace. Kenneth was contented to heare them, and promiſed to graunt a peace, ſo they would ſurrender into his handes the gouernement of their kingdom due vnto him by right of inheritance. But this condition being vtterly refuſed of the Picts, was yͤ cauſe that the war was eftſoones renewed with more crueltie than before. The yeare nexte enſuing this battayle, Kenneth got Mernes, Angus, and Fyfe into his handes, furniſhing all the caſtels and holds with men, munition, and victuals. But whyleſt hee went about to ſubdue the countreis about Sterlyng, worde was brought him that ſuche as he left thus in gariſon in thoſe countreys, were betrayed by the inhabitauntes, and ſlayne euerye mothers ſonne.

enneth get-
th Mernes,
gus, and
yfe.

yfe is put to
e fyre and
orde.

Kenneth wonderfully kindled in wrathe for the newes, left off his treatie which thẽ he had in hande with the people of Menteth and Sterlingſhire for their ſubmiſſion, and returned in greate haſt towardes Fyfe, where being arriued, he put all to the fire and ſword, not leauing one alyue of the Pictiſhe nation within all thoſe quarters.

rns & An-
s is cruelly
niſhed.

The lyke crueltie was ſhewed thorough the whole countreys of Mernes and Angus, for an enſample to other to beware howe they falſifyed their fayths once giuen by way of allegiance.

uskene cõ-
h to reſ-
e his peo-

In the meane tyme that Kenneth with hys Scottes raged in ſuche wyſe throughe thoſe countreys, Druſkene aſſembling all the power of his countreyes, came forthe into the fielde, to meete the Scottes, meaning eyther to put them backe out of the confines of his dominion, eyther elſe to dye with honoure in the attempte therof.

Thus paſſing through yͤ coũtrey, at length he came vnto Scone, where afterwards ſtood a famous Abbey of Chanons of Saint Auguſtines order, and here he found Kenneth with his army already encãped. The next day when both parties were ready to haue giuen battell, Druſkene wiſhing rather to aſke peace whileſt his power was yet in ſafetie, then after he were once vanquiſhed (if ſuch were his miſaduẽture) to intreate for the ſame in vaine, ſent an heraulde at armes vnto Kenneth, willing that he might talke with him before they ioyned, for that he had to ſay certaine things whiche being followed might turne to the great benefite and commoditie of both the Scottiſh and Pictiſh nations.

Kenneth for that he would not ſeeme to refuſe any indifferent offers, was cõtented to come to a cõmunication, & ſo therupon both the kings in preſence of both their armies arraunged in the field ready to fight, came togither in a place appointed, either of them being accompanied with a like number of their nobles, as by the herauldes it was accorded.

The perſuaſion of peace by Druskene.

Here Druſkene with many reaſons going about to perſwade peace, ſhewed howe neceſſary the ſame was betwixt the two nations. And againe how doubtfull fortune was to them that truſted to much in hir vnſtedfaſt fauour, at lẽgth he grew to this end, that if Kenneth could be cõtẽted to graunt a peace, the Picts ſhould releaſe al ſuch right, title and intereſt as they had in the countreys of Mernes, Angus, & Fyfe, vnto him and his ſucceſſors the Scottiſh kings for euer, ſo that he ſhould make no further clayme to any other of thoſe countreys whiche the Pictes as yet poſſeſſed.

Merns, Angus and Fyfe is required of the Pictes to releaſe.

Kenneth his anſwere.

Herevnto Kenneth anſweared, that he well vnderſtoode how vnſtable fortunes lawes were, but ſithence the Pictes fought in an vniuſt quarell, as to defraude the poſteritie of theyr lawfull king Hungus, who lately reigned amongſt thẽ of the rightfull inheritaunce of theyr kingdome, they themſelues had iuſt cauſe to doubt fortunes chaunce, where the Scots hauing put vpõ lawful armure, and ſeeking to attaine that by warre, whiche by other meanes they could not attayne at the handes of the vniuſt poſſeſſors, they had leſſe cauſe to miſtruſt hyr fauour, and therefore if the Pictes were deſirous of peace, they ought to cauſe a ſurrender to be made of theyr kingdome into his handes, accordingly as they well knewe it was reaſon they ſhoulde: and what commoditie might thereof enſue to both nations being by ſuche meanes once ioyned & vnited into one entier kingdome, hee doubted not but they vnderſtoode it ſufficiently enough. And as for other conditions of peace than this, he told them plainely there would be none accepted.

Thus did the kings depart in ſunder, without any agreement concluded: and being returned to theyr armies, they make ready to trie the matter by dinte of ſworde.

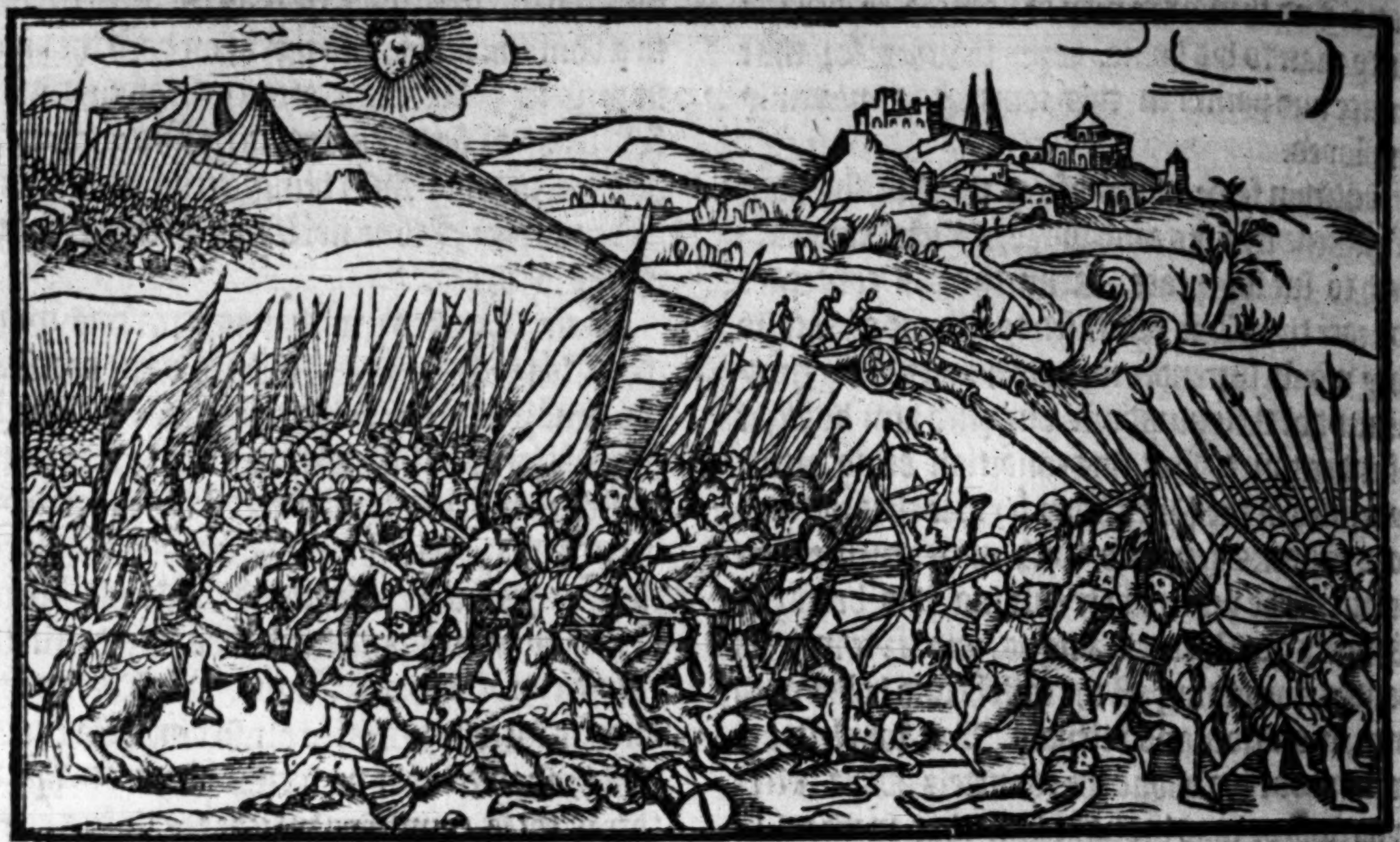
Kenneth exhorted his people that day to ſhew themſelues menne, ſithe the ſame ſhoulde iudge whether the Scottes ſhoulde rule and gouerne, the Pictes, or the Pictes the Scottes.

The order of the battaile.

Wyth theſe and many other effectual wordes when he hadde encouraged his folkes to the battayle, hee deuided them into three wardes, as two wings and a mayne battayle. In euery of them he ſet fyrſt archers & arkbaleſters, and next vnto them pykes or ſpeares, then bill men and other with ſuche ſhorte weapons, laſt of all, an other multitude with all kynde of weapons as was thought moſte expedient.

The forewarde was committed to the leading of one Bar, a man right ſkilfull in al warlyke knowledge. The ſeconde one Dongal gouerned, and the thirde was ledde by Donald the kings brother. The king himſelfe with a troupe of horſemen followed them to ſuccour in all places where he ſaw neede.

Then commanded he his trumpets to ſound



to the battail, which the Scots began with ſuch a chearefull ſhoute, that the Pictes euen vpon the firſt onſet were ſo amazed, that if Druſken had not with comfortable wordes relieued their faintyng ſtomakes, the moſt part of them had fledde without any ſtroke ſtricken. But beeing encouraged throughe the preſence of their kyng, ſhewing himſelfe with chearefull countenanuce amongſt them, and therewith exhorting them to ſtande by him at that preſent, there was fought a ryghte ſore and cruell battaile betweene them.

King Drusken enboldeneth his people the pictes.

The women that were amongeſt the Pictes, of whome there was no ſmall number, ſpecially in the right wing, made ſuche a woefull noyſe when they behelde the men one kill an other, that they were a more encumber to the Picts, thã ayd when it came to the poynt of ſeruice: by reaſon wherof, that wing was ſhortly beaten downe, and put to flight.

The women were ca umber to the pictes.

Whiche when Kenneth behelde, hee ſette in with his horſemen on the backes of the Pictes, now left bare by the running thus away of thoſe in the foreſayd wing: and ſo entring in amongſt them, diſordred their aray in ſuche wiſe, that by no meanes they were able to ayde themſelues, or come into any order agayne, ſo that in the ende they were fayne to throw down their weapons, and take them to their feete, thereby to eſcape the daunger.

Kenreth with the horſmen diſordred the pictes aray.

The right wing of the pictes is put to flighte.

Suche heapes of ſlayne men, armure & weapons lay here ſtrewed in the place of the battail, that the Scottes were inforced in followyng the chaſe to breake their araye, ſo to paſſe the more ſpeedily: by meanes wherof, fallyng amongeſt wholle bandes of the Pictes, manye of them were ſlayne.

This miſchiefe Kenneth perceyuing, cõmandeth to ſound the retreat, & ſo gathering his people about their ſtanderdes, he appointed certaine cõpanies in warlyke order to purſue in chaſe of the enemies, whileſt he himſelfe with the reſidue aboade ſtill in the place (where the fielde was fought) al that day & the night nexte folowing.

Kenoeth c ſeth the treate to b ſounded.

The Scottiſhe captaines that were ſente to followe the chaſe, earneſtly in executyng theyr kinges commaundement, made greate ſlaughter of the Pictes in all places where they might ouertake them.

Druſkene the Pictiſhe king himſelfe beeyng purſued to the riuer of Tay, for that he could not paſſe the ſame, was there ſlaine with the whole retinue which he had about him.

The king the picts

It is ſayde, that the Scottiſhemen encountred with the Picts that day ſeuen ſundry times, and in ſeuen ſundry places, and ſtill the victorie aboade with the Scottes.

The day after the battaile ſuche as had followed in the chaſe returned to the camp, where they preſented vnto Kenneth their king, the armure and other ſpoyle of Druſkene the Pictiſh king, which they brought with thẽ, beſides great aboundaunce of other pillage and riches, whiche they had got of the enimies that were ſlayne. Druſkenes armure and other things belonging to his owne bodie, was offered vp to S. Colme, in the Churche dedicated to his name within the Iſle of Colmekill, there to remaine as a monumẽt of this victory to ſuch as ſhould come after.

After this the whole pray and ſpoyle was gathered and deuided amongſt the ſouldiers, Kenneth was counſelled to haue diſcharged his armie and to haue departed home, but he purpoſing now to make an ende of the whole warres, ſithe he was in ſuche a forwardneſſe, called togither the multitude, and in this wiſe began to vtter vnto them his minde and purpoſe.

An oration of king Keneth.

It is the duetie of a good Captayne, when he hath the victory in his handes, and as yet the warres not ended, if he minde the preſeruation of himſelfe and his countrey, and to vſe the victorie as hee ought, not to ceaſſe from purſuing the enimies once vanquiſhed, till hee haue eyther made them his frendes, or elſe vtterly deſtroyed and ridde them out of the way: for if any man ſhall thinke it beſte to ſuffer the enimie to remayne in quiet after he be once weakened and brought to a lowe ebbe, till time peraduenture he ſhall haue recouered his forces agayne, he ſhall procure to himſelfe (as I geſſe) more daunger than happely hee is well ware of. And that we may ſpeake ſomewhat of this daunger now preſent, the ſtate of the Pictiſhe kingdome (as yee know) is ſore enfeebled, theyr power being diminiſhed by force of warre, is brought to that poynt, that it reſteth in our handes vtterly to deſtroy and exterminate the whole nation. Whiche act ought to be abhorred if it were poſſible for vs by any meanes to drawe them (our honour ſaued) vnto our frendſhippe. But the Picts are of ſuch a ſtubborne nature, and ſo deſirous of reuenge, that ſo long as there remayneth any one of them aliue, they will beare in theyr hartes a deſire to reuenge all ſuche loſſes as they haue in any wyſe ſuſtayned by this warre. Whereupon I do verily beleeue that there is none of the Pictiſhe nation from hence forth, will beare any faythfull frendſhip towardes the Scottes. Therefore ſithe wee can not make the Pictes, thus lately ſkourged by vs, our frendes, I thinke it beſte (excepte wee will neglect our owne ſafeties) vtterly to deſtroy the whole nation, by putting to the ſworde not onely bothe men and women, but alſo all theyr youth and yong chyldren: leaſt they, beyng diſcended of that lynage, hereafter in time to come, arme thẽſelues to the reuenge of theyr parentes deaths, and that not without perill of the vtter loſſe of our countrey and kingdome.

The commons allowe the kings ſaying.

This ſentence of the king, though it ſeemed ouer cruell to many, yet whether for that they ſawe the ſame to ſtande with the kings pleaſure, or that they thought it moſte expedient for the ſuretie of the Scottiſhe common wealth, it was allowed and ratified by them all.

A cruel acte committed by the Scots vpon the Pictes.

Such crueltie herevpõ was forthwith ſhewed through out all the Pictiſh regions, that there was not one liuing creature of humaine ſhape left aliue, ſauing ſuch as ſaued themſelues within the walles of Camelon, or in certaine other holdes and fortreſſes, and alſo aboute two thouſande of thoſe that fledde into Englande: for all the reſidue were moſte vnmercyfully murthered and ſlayne without reſpect eyther to age, ſexe, profeſſion, or eſtate.

Pictland parted vnto diuers men.

Thus Kenneth hauing diſpatched the inhabitants, ſeaſed the coũtrey into his owne hands, making particion of the ſame as he ſawe cauſe, and deuiding it amongſt his nobles, according to the merites of euery of them duely wayed and conſidered, he added newe names alſo vnto euery quarter and region (eyther after the name of the gouernour, or els of ſome promontorie, riuer or other notable water or place, according as was the auncient cuſtome of the nation) that the memory of the Pictiſhe names might ende togither with the inhabitants.

Newe names are giuen vnto euery region.

The countrey aunciently called *Horeſtia*, was giuen vnto two bretherne, Inguſian and Mernan, by reaſon whereof the one parte of the ſame countrey was called Angus, and the other the Mernes. The linage of thoſe two noble men remayne vnto this day.

Angus.
Merne.

The region whiche till then was named *Otholinia*, was turned afterwardes to the name of Fyfe, after the name of one Fyfe Duffe: whoſe valiancie was throughly tried in theſe laſte warres with the Pictes.

Fyfe.

There remayne vnto this day tokens and old ruines of a Caſtell ſituate betwixt the riuer of Leuine and Saint Kenneths churche, which (as yet appeareth) was fenſed about with ſeuen rampers and as many diches, wherein the poſteritie of this worthy man after his deceaſſe had theyr habitacion by the ſpace of many hundred yeares.

Louthian.

Louthian reteyned ſtill the former name, ſo honorable was the remembraunce of that famous Prince king Loth amongſt all men.

A rewarde giuen vnto Bar, which was the fortreſſe of Dunbar.

The ſtrongeſt caſtle of the whole countrey Kenneth beſtowed vpon that valiant Captaine named Bar, whoſe councell and forewarde ſeruice ſtood the Scottes in no ſmall ſteede in thoſe warres, in whiche the Pictes were thus ſubdued. That fortreſſe euer ſithence (after his name hath bene called Dunbar, that is to ſay, the Caſtell of Bar.

The famelie of Dunbar.

There deſcended of hym a noble houſe or family bearyng the name of this Caſtell, continuing in greate fame and honour, euen vnto our tyme, of the whiche the Earles of Marche had theyr beginning, and continued long in that dignitie from one to an other, with diuers branches of right famous memorie.

The changyng of the names of the Dales.

The names of diuers dales were alſo chaunged, and ſome kepte the olde names ſtill.

Annandale.

Ordolucia ſhortely after beganne to take the name of Annandale, of the ryuer of Annan, that renneth through the ſame.

Tweedale.

And ſo lykewiſe Tweedale toke name of the water of Tweede.

Cludeſdale.

And Cludeſdale of the ryuer of Clud.

In lyke maner many other Countreys, Townes and Caſtels had theyr names chaunged at the ſame tyme, after they came into the poſſeſſion of the Scottiſhmenne, vpon ſundrie conſiderations, for a witneſſe of theyr victorious actes, atchieued agaynſt the Pictes.

The Gentlewomen are preſerued in Camelon.

Furthermore into the citie of Camelon were withdrawen the moſte parte of all the noble mens wiues of the Picts with their chyldren vpõ truſte to be ſafe in the ſame, aſwell by reaſon of the ſtrength of the place, as alſo of the ſtrong garyſon whiche was appoynted to defende it.

Kenneth ſendeth vnto Camelon, commaunding thẽ for to yeelde.

Kenneth therefore hauyng taken his pleaſure abroade in the countrey, came thyther with a mighty armie to beſiege the Citie, and firſte ſendyng vnto them within, to knowe if they woulde yeelde, he was aunſwered howe ſithe it plainely appeared that the Scottes coulde be ſatiſfied with nothing but with the ſlaughter of all ſuche as fell into theyr handes, aſwell of women and chyldren, with impotent age, as of other, they were minded neuer to ſurrender theyr holde with lyfe. Wherevpon the ſiege continued by the ſpace of many dayes.

They of Camelon require truce for three dayes.

Whyleſt the Scottes in the meane tyme gotte togither greate number of faggottes, and other ſuche bruſheand ſtuffe to fill the ditches withall whiche were very deepe and broade, at length when they within beganne to want vitayles, they requyred a truce for three dayes, in the whiche meane time they might take aduiſe for the ſurrender of the Citie.

Kenneth miſtruſting no deceyt, graunted theyr requeſt, and therevpon commaunded his people to ceaſſe from all maner of annoyance of the enimies, for that terme.

The Pictes iſſue vpon the Scottes with great fortune.

But in the meane tyme the Pictes prepared themſelues of all things neceſſary to make an iſſue vpon the Scottes. There was alſo an olde gate forlet and ſtopped vp with earth and ſtones vpon the one ſide of the Citie, ſo that of a long tyme before there had bene no way forth by the ſame, wherefore in the darke of the night the Pictes ridding away the earth and rammell wherewith it was cloſed vp, aboute the thyrd watche, they paſſe forth at that gate in good order of battayle, ſetting firſte vpon ſuche Scottes as kepte the ſtandyng watche, who were in doubte of nothing leſſe than of any iſſue to be made on that ſide, by meanes whereof they were eaſily oppreſſed, and likewiſe the other that kepte the inner watche, in ſo muche that the ſlaughter went on almoſte, euen to the kings tent with greate noyſe and clamour, as is commonly ſeene in ſuche ſodayne tumultes, eſpecially chancyng in the night ſeaſon. When the day began once to appeare, the Pictes withdrawyng towardes the Citie by the ſame way they came, were purſued by the Scottes, and no ſmall number of them ſlayne at the entring. The Citie alſo had bene taken at the ſame time, but that the Pictes out of the turrettes and loupes of the walles, diſcharged a wonderfull number of quarrelles, dartes, arrowes, ſtones and other things vppon the Scottes, as they approched neare to the gate, where theyr fellowes (that made the iſſue) haſted to enter againe into the towne.

An extreem vowe made b king Kenn

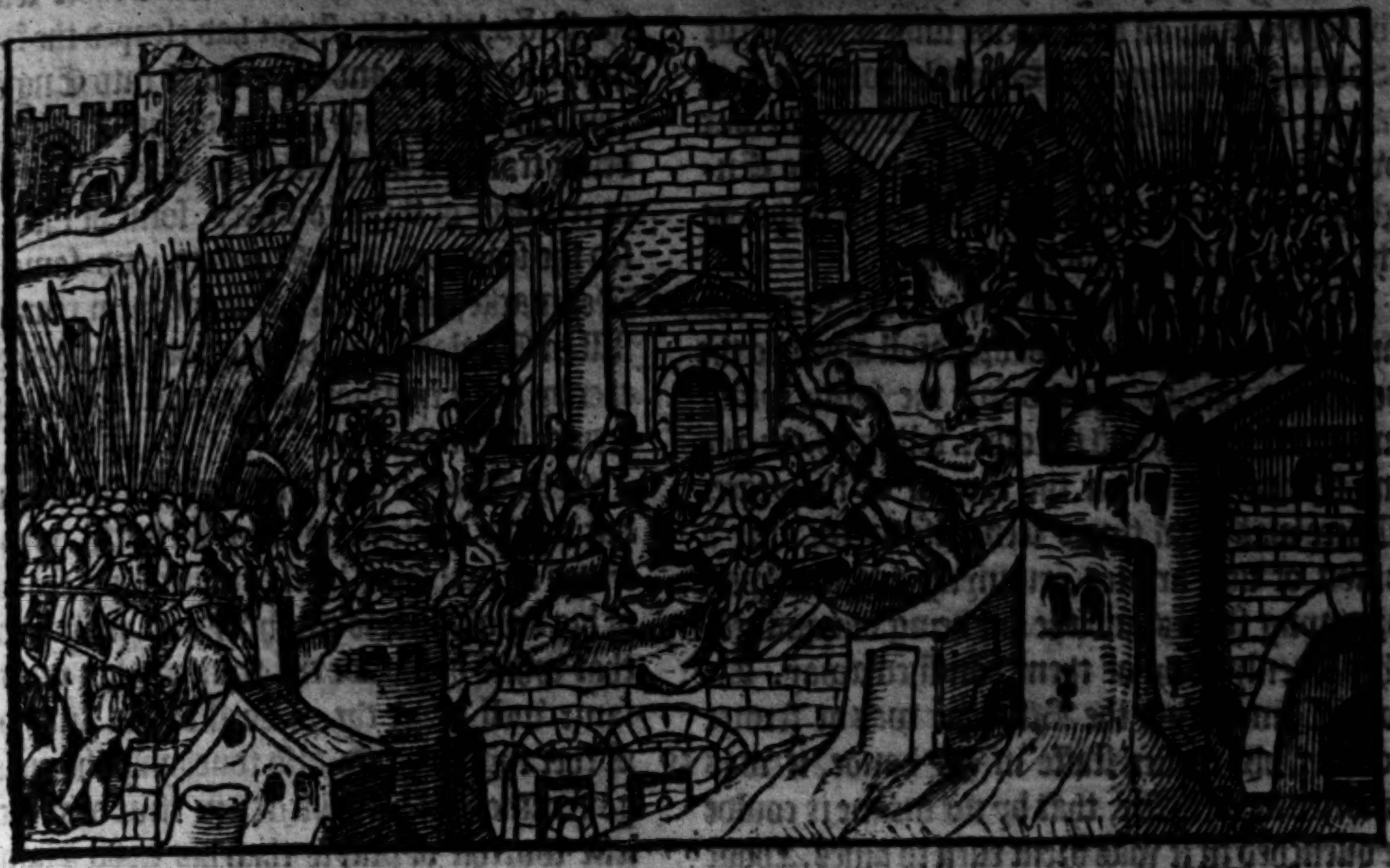
There were ſlayne of the Scottes at this bickeryng aboue ſixe hundred, wherewith Kenneth was ſo kindeled with wrath, that deteſting the falſehood of the Pictes, hee vowed by open othe that he woulde not departe from the ſiege, till he had put the citie and them within to the fire and ſworde, without ſparing of any, eyther one or other.

The conſt of the Pictes whẽ they w beſieged.

Sundrie times he attempted to haue wonne the citie by force of aſſaulte, but the Pictes ſtill defended theyr walles ſo ſtoutly, that he coulde not atchieue his purpoſe. Wherevpon the ſiege continued the ſpace of foure monethes togither. So that ſuche ſcarcetie of all kindes of vitayles ſtill roſe amongſt them, that the wretched Citezins abſtayned from nothing that might in any wiſe be eaten, though it were neuer ſo much to be abhorred. And yet although they were brought vnto ſuche miſerable ſtay, that there was no hope longer to defende themſelues, if any man notwithſtanding all ſuche extremitie were hearde to make mencion of ſurrendring, he was forthwith ſlayne by his fellowes, as an enimie to his nation and friend vnto the Scottes. It was thought that Kenneths othe made them ſo obſtinate in theyr wilfull contumacie, bycauſe they ſawe nothing but death whiche way ſo euer they inclined.

A prety craf vſed by Ke neth.

At length when the citie was thus brought into all extreeme miſery, & the diches filled with faggottes and other ſuche ſtuffe, Kenneth one night appoynted ſixe hundreth of his choſen Souldiers to lie in ambuſhe within a caue, adioynyng neare to one ſide of the Citie, ſo that in the morning when he ſhoulde gyue the aſſaulte on the contrary ſide, they might ſodenly come forth and ſkale the walles on that other.



Theſe ſouldiers according to that whiche they had in commaundement, ſhortely after the breake of day, hearing that Kenneth had begon the aſſault on his parte, quickely came forth of the wood, and hauing theyr ladders ready, came to the walles, reared them vp, and ſwiftely getting into the citie, opened one of the gates where one parte of the army entred, the cytezins ſtanding in no doubt at all of any attempt on that ſide, ſo as beyng gotten togither to defende the walles on that parte where Kenneth gaue the approche, and now hearing how the enimies were got into the citie, and comming on theyr backes they were wonderfully amazed, but yet ſo long as they were able to make any reſiſtãce, they did what lay in theyr vttermoſte power to beate backe the Scots, & to dryue them out of the citie againe. The ſlaughter therefore was great whiche the Scottes made of the Pictes in euery corner of the ſtreetes, in ſo muche that the Scottiſhe Lordes and other Captaynes in reuenge of the late receyued loſſe of theyr men through the falſe practiſed policie of the Pictes, commaunded in a greate furie to ſette fire on the houſes, and to kill and ſlea all ſuche of the Pictiſhe nation as came in theyr way.

The Scottes enter the citie.

The Pictes are miſerably ſlaine, without regard of perſon.

Thus the murder proceeded vpon al eſtates, aſwell religious as other, and lykewiſe vppon women and chyldren without any difference.

A number of Ladyes and Gentlewomen, gettyng them into the preſence of kyng Kenneth, beſought him in moſte lamentable wiſe, to haue pytie vpon theyr wofull eſtate, and to ſaue theyr lyues from the handes of his moſte cruell ſouldiers. But ſuche was the rage kindled in the Scottiſhmens hartes, that there was no more fauour ſhewed towardes them than towardes the other, and ſo immediatly were they alſo ſlayne without all compaſſion.

Ladies and Gentlewomen deſire the king to bee pardoned of their liues.

So farre forth was the murder executed on all handes, that there was not one left aliue of the Pictiſh nation, neither man, woman nor childe to bewayle that miſerable deſtruction of theyr countrey and kinſfolkes. Then were the walles throwen downe and made euen with the plaine grounde. The houſes and buyldings aſwell priuate as publike with the churches & chapels were ſet on fire, and that which might not be conſumed with the rage of fire was ruynate and deſtroyed with hande, ſo that there remayned of all that famous citie, nothing but the aſhes with heapes of the broken and brenned ſtones, and likewiſe of the pauement and foundacion of ſome parte of the walles.

All the Pictes natiõ deſtroyed.

The citie of Camelon is throwē down.

The ſame time the caſtell of Maydens now called commonly Edenburgh caſtell was ſtill kept with a mightie garyſon of Pictes, but they hearing of the miſerable deſtructiõ of Camelon, and doubting to fall into the like miſchaunce, left the caſtel voyde, and fled into Northumberland. Thus ended the kingdome of the Pictes in Albion in the yeare after they firſte began to reigne therein. 1173. and in the yeare after the byrth of our ſauiour. 839. from the firſt cõming of Fergus. 1166. and after the creation of the worlde. 4806. if the Scottiſh chronicles be true.

The caſtell of Maydens is left of the Pictes.

839.

1421. H.B.

6038. H.B.

But where as the truthe concernyng the tyme of the firſte comming into this Iſle, aſwell of the Scottes as Pictes reſteth doubtfull, and that aſwell by authoritie of approued wryters, as by reaſonable coniectures, wee haue in the hiſtorie of Englande more largely written thereof. Wee referre thoſe that bee deſirous to ſee further of that mater, vnto the ſame, following here in this hiſtorie of Scotlande the report moſt an ende, as we finde it in Hector Boetius, and other the Scottiſhe wryters, not taking vpon vs ſo frankely to ſet downe our owne opinion in this Scottiſhe, as in the Engliſhe hiſtorie through want of ſuche helpes in the one as we haue got in the other.

Prodigious tokens ſeene in the ayre.

There was ſeene the ſame yeare two cometes, or blaſing ſtarres of dreadfull aſpect to the beholders, the one went before the ſunne ryſing in harueſt ſeaſon, and the other followed the going downe thereof in the ſpryng of the yeare. There was often times ſeene alſo in the ayre a viſion of fierie armies, runnyng togither with brennyng ſtaues, and the one being vanquiſhed, they ſodenly bothe of them vaniſhed away. Alſo at Camelon as the Biſhoppe was at ſeruice holding his croſier ſtaffe in his hande, it was kindeled ſo with fire, that by no meane it coulde be quenched til it was brent euen to aſhes. About none dayes, the ayre being fayre and cleare, as well in the countreys of the Scottes as of the Pictes, there was heard ſuch a noyſe & clattering of weapons and armure with braying of horſes, as though two armies ſhoulde haue bene togither in fight, whereby many of eyther nation which heard it, were put in great feare.

The interpretation of theſe tokens.

Theſe vnkouth wonders were interpreted by deuinors diuerſly: ſome affirming the ſame to betoken ioy and happie proſperitie, and other alledgyng, how they ſignified rather miſhap and vtter calamitie.

But to returne to our purpoſe, King Keneth hauing thus deſtroyed the Pictiſh kingdome togither almoſt with the whole nation, cauſed the marble ſtone (whiche Symon Breke ſometime brought out of Spaine into Ireland, & the firſte Ferguſe out of Ireland into Albion, as before is recited) to be brought now forth of Argile where till that time it had bene diligently kepte) into Gowry, whiche region before appertayned to the Pictes, there to remaine from thenceforth as a ſacred token for the ſtabliſhment of the Scottiſhe kingdome in that coūtrey: he placed it at Scone vpō a reyſed plot of ground there, bicauſe that the laſt bataple whiche he had with the Pictes was fought neare vnto the ſame place, the victory as before is ſpecified chaūcing to the Scots. Upon this ſtone, as before is rehearſed, the Scottiſhe kings were vſed to ſit, when they receyued the inueſture of the kingdome.

The marble ſtone is remoued frō Argile into Goury, in the place called Scone.

Some wryters haue recorded that by commaundement of Kenneth at the ſame time, whē this ſtone was thus by him remoued, thoſe latine verſes were engrauen vpon it, whereof mencion is made before, where we ſpake of the aforeſayd Ferguſe the firſt his cōming ouer forth of Ireland into Albion, there to reygne.

Now in the meane time when thoſe fewe of the Picts, which by flight had eſcaped the Scottiſhmens hands, and were gottē into England, could by no meanes perſwade the Engliſhmen being troubled with inteſtine warre, to ayde them in recouery of theyr countrey, ſome of them paſſed the ſeas ouer into Norway, and ſome into Denmarke, and diuers other of them remayned ſtill in England, where they got theyr liuing eyther by ſome manuall occupation, eyther els by ſeruice in the warres.

The reſidue the Picts we diſperſed.

The Scots from thence forth liued in quiet, during the life time of king Kenneth, who deſerued eternal fame, by the enlarging of the boūds of his kingdome, ſo mightily and in ſuche wiſe, that where he founde the fronters, hee made the ſame well neare the middeſt of his kingdome. Other things he did alſo touchyng the politike gouernment of his ſubiectes in time of peace, no leſſe worthie of prayſe than his noble & famous conqueſtes: but ſpecially he ordeyned certayne lawes for the wealth of his people, whereby his iudges and other officers ſhould proceede in the adminiſtration of iuſtice, of the whiche I haue thought requiſite to rehearſe parte as yet beyng vſed, that aſwell the Author, as the time of their firſt eſtabliſhment, may the better appeare, to ſuche as ſhall peruſe this hiſtorie.

The Scottes liue in quiet

Kenneth maketh lawes a ordinances.

The Chapters of thoſe lawes whiche yet remayne to be obſerued, are theſe.

Let euery ſhyre haue certayne men ſkilled in the lawes appoynted to bee reſident in the ſame, accordyng as in the beginning it was inſtituted. Let theyr ſonnes alſo in theyr youth bee brought vp in knowledge of the ſame lawes.

Lawyers neceſſarie.

Let them only keepe in their cuſtodies the tables of the lawes, with the regiſter bookes of the kings and peeres of the realme.

The tables of the law to be kept.

If any of them be conuicted of extorte brybing or other the like vniuſt dealing, let him die vpon the gallowes, and his bodie remayne vnburied.

Brybers to hanged.

Such as are condemned for theft, let them be hanged, and thoſe that are proued giltie of murder, let them loſe theyr heades.

Puniſhmēt theft and m ther.

A woman which is condemned to die, eyther let hyr be drowned in ſome riuer, eyther els let hyr be buried quicke.

A woman demned to drowne, buried q

Hee that blaſphemeth the name of God, of the Saintes, of his Prince, or of the Captayne of his trybe, lette him haue his tounge cut out.

Blaſpheme haue their cut out.

He

The puniſhmēt for a lier.

He that is conuicted of a lie to his neighbors hinderance, let him haue his ſworde taken from him, & be baniſhed out of all mens companie.

A man accuſed to be cōdemned by an od queſt of men.

Suche as be accuſed of any crimes that deſerue death, let them paſſe by the ſentence of. vij. honeſt men, eyther els of.ix. xj. xiij. xv. or moe, ſo that the number be odde.

Robbers to be put to the ſworde.

Robbers by the highe wayes, deſtroyers of corne growyng in the fieldes as is vſed by enimies in time of warre, let them die by the ſworde.

Vagaboundes to be whipped and burnt in the cheeke.

Fugetiues, vagaboundes, and ſuch other idle perſons, let them be whipped and brenned in the cheeke.

The wife ſhall not ſuffer for the husbandes offence.

Let not the wife ſuffer for the huſbandes offences, but the huſbād ſhal anſwere for the wifes miſdeedes if he be priuie therevnto.

The cōcubine and hyr mate, to haue a lyke puniſhment.

Any mans lemman or concubine, ſhall ſuffer the ſame paynes that he dothe whiche offendeth with hyr.

Rauiſhers of maydes ſhall die.

Hee that rauiſheth a mayde ſhall die for it, onleſſe ſhe requyre for ſauegarde of his life, to haue him to hyr huſband.

Aduoutrers ſhall die.

If any man be taken with an other mans wife in adultrie, ſhe conſenting vnto him therein, they ſhall bothe ſuffer death for it. But if ſhee conſent not but be forced agaynſt hyr will, then he ſhall die onely for the ſame, and the woman ſhall be releaſſed.

A childe hurting his father ſhall die.

If the childe hurt the father either with tung, hande, or foote, let him firſt be depryued of that member, and then hanged, his body to remayne without buriall.

Who are not to enherite.

A murderer a dumbe perſon, or he that is vnthankefull to his parentes, ſhall not inherite his fathers patrimonie.

Jugglers and Wiſertes &c.

Jugglers, Wyſertes, Nicromancers and ſuch as call vp ſprytes, and vſe to ſeeke vpō them for helpe, let them be brent to death.

Sowyng of grayne.

Let no man ſow in the earth any grayne before it be purged of all the weedes.

Euill husbandry.

Hee that through negligent ſlouth, ſuffereth his errable grounde to bee choked vp and ouergrowen with weedes, for the firſte faulte lette him forfeyt an oxe, for the ſecond ten oxen, and for the third let him forgoe the ſame grounde.

Buriall of friends.

Thy companion in the warres, or thy friend beyng ſlayne, ſee him buried, but let the enimie lie vnburied.

Wayfes and ſtreyfes.

Any ſtrayſe catayle that commeth into thy groundes, eyther reſtore them to the owner, eyther els deliuer thē to the ſearcher out of theeues, commonly called *Tynoderach*, or to the perſon or vycar of the towne: for if thou retayne them in thy handes by the ſpace of three dayes, thou ſhalt be accompted giltie of thefte.

Things found.

He that findeth any thing that belongeth to an other man, lette him cauſe it to be cried in the market, or els hee ſhalbe iudged for a fellon.

Aduerſaries in ſuyte of law.

He that ſtriketh him with whome he goeth to the lawe, aboute any mater in controuerſie, ſhall be iudged giltie of the action, and the other ſet free.

Oxen or kyne, hurting eche other.

If oxen or kyen chaunce by runnyng togither to kill one an other, the truthe beyng not knowen whiche it was that did the hurte, that which is founde without hornes ſhall be iudged the occaſion of the ſkathe, and he that is owner of the ſame, ſhall haue the dead beaſt, & ſatiſfie him for the loſſe to whom it belonged.

A Sowe.

If a ſow eate hir pigges, let hyr be ſtoned to death, and buried, ſo that noman eate of hyr fleſhe.

Swyne.

A ſwyne that is founde eating of corne that groweth in the field, or wrooting vpon the tilled groundes, let it be lawfull for any man to kill the ſame without daunger.

Beaſts domage feſant.

Other kindes of beaſtes, wherein other men haue any propertie, if they breake into thy paſtures or eate vp thy corne, impounde them, till time the owner haue ſatiſfied thee for the quantitie of the domage.

Articles touching religiō.

Theſe were cyuill ordinaunces belongyng to the good gouernment of the people, other there were whiche appertayne to religion: as theſe.

Thou ſhalt deuoutly reuerence the Aulters, Tēples, Images, Oratories, Chapels, Prieſts, and all men of religion.

Keeping of holy dayes.

Thou ſhalte obſerue with dewe reuerence feſtiuall and ſolemne holy dayes, faſting dayes, vygiles, and all maner of ceremonies inſtituted by the godly ordinaunce of man, in the honour of our Sauiour Chriſte and his Saintes.

Prieſts.

To hurt a Prieſte let it be accompted an offence worthie of death.

Ground to be left vntilled.

That grounde wherein any that is ſlayne lieth buried, leaue it vntilled for ſeuen yeares ſpace.

Graues.

Repute euery graue holy, and adorne it with the ſigne of the croſſe, ſo as thou ſhalt be well aduiſed that in no wiſe with thy feete thou treade vpon it.

Buriall.

Burie the dead according to the quantitie of his ſubſtaunce.

Buriall of noble men.

The body of a noble man & of him that hath well deſerued of the common wealth, ſhal be buried in ſolemne and pompouſe wiſe, but yet in mourning ſorte and dolorous manner.

Let there be two knights or ſquiers to attend his bodie to the graue, the one being mounted vpō a whyte horſe ſhal beare the coate armure of the dead, & the other in mourning apparell with his face couered ſhal ride vpō a blacke horſe, who after the corps is brought to churche, turnyng his horſe from the Aulter, ſhall crie out how his maiſter is dead: & therewith the people making an outcrie againſt him, he ſhall ſtraight wayes departe and get him with all ſpeede to the place frõ whence he came, the other going ſtraight to the aulter ſhall there offer vp to yͤ prieſt his coate armure with his horſe, as a token to ſignifie therby that his maſter doth enioy euerlaſting lyfe, in the land of permanent light and ioyes eternall. But this cuſtome of buriall as that whiche was ſuppoſed not appertayning to the order of the Chriſtian religion, the age that followed dyd vtterly aboliſhe, appoynting to the Prieſtes in ſteede of the horſe and armure. v. pound ſterlyng in money for the offering.

With theſe and diuers other ordinaunces, whiche tyme and other ſtatutes by other kings diuiſed haue abrogated, Kenneth gouerned his people in great felicitie during his lyfe time.

S. Reule his Church, nowe called Saint Andrewes.

The Biſhops ſea, whiche before had bene at Abirnethy, hee tranſlated vnto the Churche of that holy man Saint Reule. Euer ſithe whiche time the towne hath bene called Saint Andrewes, and thoſe whiche gouerned the ſame Churche long time after, were called the greate Biſhoppes of Scotlande: for the realme was not deuided into Dioceſes till the daies of Malcolme the thyrde, who by deuine inſpiration (as is ſayde) ordeyned the ſea of Murthlake, now called Abirden: but ſuche as were reputed of vertuous behauiour and knowledge meete for the office, vſed the authoritie and rowmeth of Biſhoppes in what place ſo euer they were reſident. Yet ſuche was the continuaunce of thoſe which gouerned the church of Saint Andrewes, that there haue bene aboue the number of fortie Biſhoppes, reſident there ſithe the firſte inſtitution of that ſea: many of them for the opinion conceyued of theyr holineſſe beyng numbred accordyng to the maner in times paſte in the regiſter of Saints.

The boundes of the Scottiſh kingdome.

But nowe to returne vnto Kenneth, who hauing (as is ſayde) enlarged the boundes of his kingdome, ſo as the ſame ſtretched forth vnto the confynes of Northumberlande on the one ſide, and to the Iſles of Orknay, on the other, the ſea compaſſing in the reſidue, at the length after hee hadde reygned aboute twentie yeares in greate renowme and glory, hee departed out of this lyfe, through to muche abundance of rewmatike mater, at Fortiuoite, in the yeare of our Lorde. 856. His bodie was conueyed into the Iſle of Colmekill, and there honorably buried amongſt his aunceſtours.

King Kenneth departeth out of this life.
855. H.B.

Donald

Donald the fourth of that name ſucceedeth his brother Kenneth.

AFter his deceaſſe ſucceeded in gouernment of the realme his brother Donald, farre differing in qualities from his noble brother the foreſayde Kenneth, but yet before he came to the rule of the realme, he diſcloſed not his vicious nature, for doubte of offending the king his brother. Neuertheleſſe he had continued vnneth two yeares in the aſtate, but that he had ſubuerted all good orders in his realme, by his naughtie enſamples of diſſolute liuing: for his minde was ſet on nothing but on wanton pleaſures: as in the vnlawfull vſe of concubines, riotous banquetting, keepyng of Hawkes, Houndes, and Horſes for pleaſure, and not for the vſe of warres, whereof hee had no regarde at all: for ſuche charges as hee ſhoulde haue bene at for mayntenance of men of warre to keepe the frounters of his realme, was imployed vpon a ſorte of raſcals, that ſerued him in the furtherance of his wanton delites and voluptuous deſires, as Huntſmẽ, Fauconers, Cookes, Bawdes, Ruffians, and ſuche lyke.

The king is of diſſolute behauiour.

Whervpon diuers of the Nobles remembring what appertayned to theyr duties, ſpared not but freely admoniſhed the king what daunger woulde enſue of his miſordered behauiour, if hee reformed not his manners, nor reſtrayned the licencious doyngs of his ſeruaunts and familie. But when they perceyued that theyr wordes were not regarded, but for the ſame they themſelues ranne into diſpleaſure, they ſorrowed not a litle to ſee ſo ſmall hope of amendment of ſuche enormities, as euery where reygned through the region: for all youthfull perſons gyuen to ſenſuall luſte followed the ſame without any feare or care of correction, ſo that there was no meaſure of offending and haunting of euill rule in all parties, in ſo muche that ſhortely through wante of all good gouernaunce, wrong was placed in ſteede of righte, and contempt of Goddes honour embraced euery where in place of vertue.

The king is admoniſhed of his Nobles.

In this meane whyle, the reſidue of the Pictes remayning amongſt the Engliſhmen, ceaſſed not to ſolicite the gouernours of the countrey to ayde them towardes the recouerie of theyr dominion out of the Scottiſhmens handes, promyſing to be ſubiectes vnto the Engliſh nation, if by their helpe they might be reſtored to their auncient ſeates.

The exiled Pictes requy ayde of the Engliſhmen.

At length Oſbert and Ella kings of Northumberlande were perſwaded through inſtant ſuyte to take that enterpryce in hande, the rather vpon truſt of good ſucceſſe, for that they vnderſtood what lacke of politike gouernment was then remayning amongſt the Scottes, by reaſon of the kinges naughtie demeanour and moſt inordinate trade of lyfe.

Oſbert & El kings of Nor thumberland.

But firſt there was a league concluded with newe articles of agreement betwixte the Engliſhmen and Brytons, as yet inhabiting alongſt the coaſtes of Cumberlande, by meanes

The Englis men & Bryt ioyned theyr powers with the Pictes.

of whiche league bothe Brytons and Engliſhmen ioyned theyr powers togither, and in moſte ſpeedy and forcible wiſe paſſed the water of Tweede, firſt pitching theyr campe in the countrey of Mers. From whence immediatly kyng Oſbert (beyng appoynted as generall in that iourney) ſente an Herault vnto Donalde the Scottiſhe king, commaunding him eyther to ſurrender vp vnto the Pictes all ſuche regions as the Scottes had taken from them, eyther els to looke to haue the Engliſhmen and Brytons no leſſe theyr enimies than the Pictes, whoſe cauſe they had taken vpon them to mayntaine and defende.

Herault is vnto Donald.

Donald being at the firſte ſore troubled with theſe newes, yet at length by the aduiſe of his nobles hee tooke a good harte vnto him, and in defence of his realme, cauſed muſters to be taken throughout all his dominions, and foorthwith came into the fielde to encounter his enimies, whom hee founde at Iedworth ready to giue battell, where after ſore fight, in the ende Oſbert with his people was chaſed to the nexte mountaines.

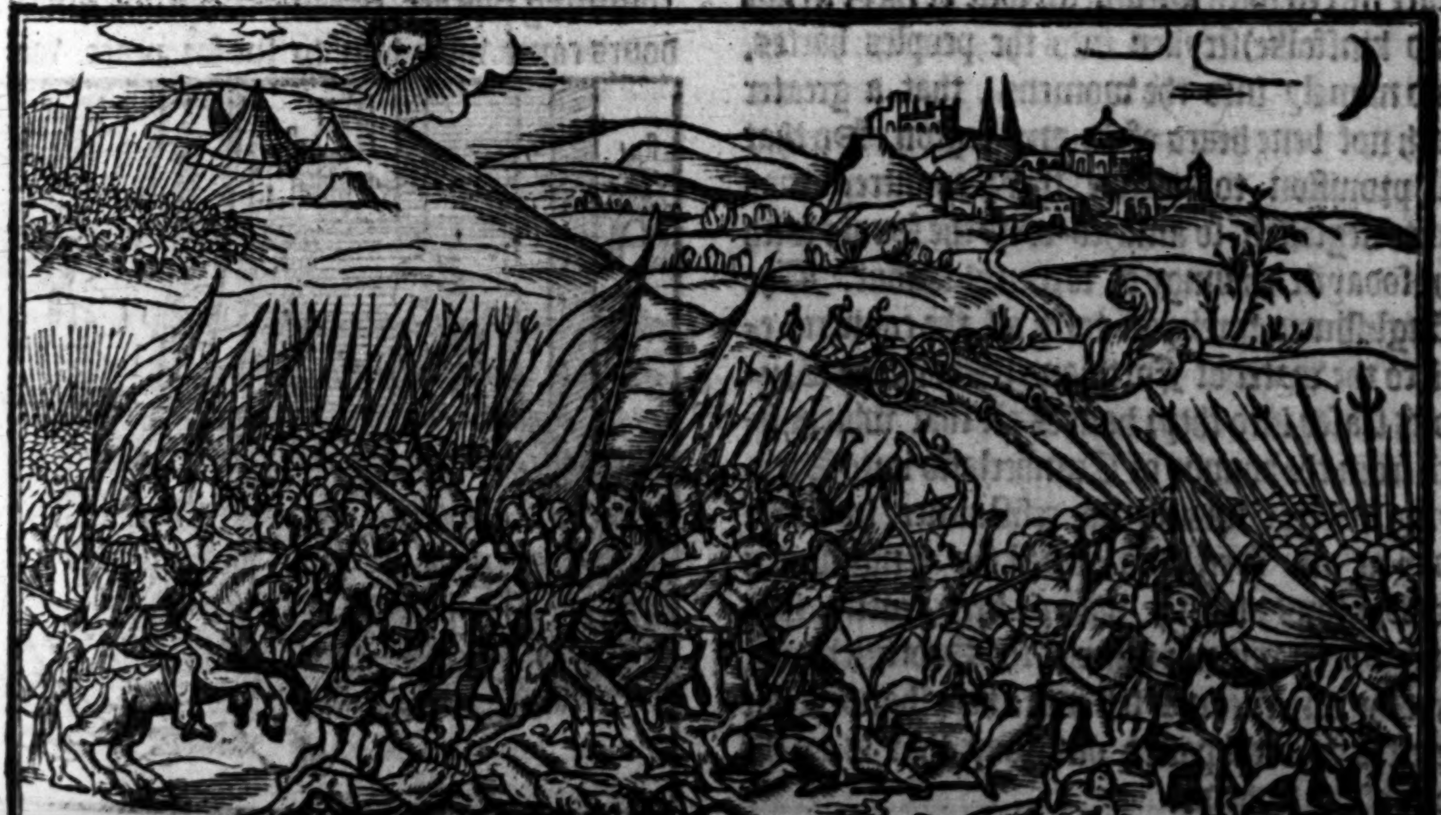
Osbert is put to the flight, at Iedworth, or Iedburgh.

Donald hauing thus obtayned the victory in this conflict, ſuppoſed all had bene his owne, and therevpon remoued ouer Tweede with all poſſible haſte, marchyng foorth till hee came to the mouthe of that ryuer, where there lay at anker certayne Engliſhe veſſels, laden with prouiſion of vitayles and all other things neceſſarie for the furniture of an armie. Donald ſetting vppon theſe ſhippes, with ſmall reſiſtaunce tooke them, ſpoyled them of all ſuche things as were founde aboarde, and after ſet fire on them. The ſpoyle was deuided amongeſt the Souldiers and menne of warre, whiche ſerued them to ſmall vſe or commoditie, for all the youth of the armie through enſample of theyr Prince was ſo corrupted in vicious cuſtomes, that the campe was repleniſhed with Hoores and Bawdes, Stewes and dicyng tables, in ſuche wiſe that all ſuche prouiſion as ſhoulde haue ſerued for ſtore and ſtaple of vitayles, was ſpente in riotous banqueting without any order or meaſure: and oftentymes (as it chaunceth where politike gouernment lacketh) there happened amongeſt them in the armie, diſcorde and variaunce with ſundry murders and ſlaughters.

Osbert his prouiſion by water is taken by the Scottiſhmen.

A great diſorder in the Scottiſh campe.

When the enimies were aduertiſed howe farre out of order all things ſtoode in the Scottiſhe campe for wante of good and diſcrete chieftaines, Oſbert with all ſpeede gotte a mightie hoſte togither againe, and before his approche was looked for of the Scottes, he commeth vpon them one mornyng in the breake of the day, and aſſayleth them in theyr lodgyngs, wherein hee founde them ſo vnprouided of al helpes to make reſiſtaunce, that it was a wounder to ſee the diſorder that appeared amongeſt them: ſome of them rennyng vpon theyr enimies naked without all diſcretion, other breakyng foorth of the campe to ſaue themſelues by flight, not ſparyng hill nor dale where they ſawe any way to eſcape the enimies handes, though it were with preſent daunger of breakyng theyr neckes downe the ſidelyng bankes and craggie rockes, beyng forced therto by the fierce purſute of the Engliſhmen and Brytons, who moſt egrely preaſſed vpon them in all places to reuenge the late receyued ouerthrowe and ſlaughter of theyr friendes and kinſfolke.



Scottes sudden- inuaded.

There died of the Scots in this mortal bickering aboue .xx. thouſand perſons.

xx. thouſand Scottiſhmen ſlayne.

King Donald is taken with the nobilitie.

King Donald being faſt a ſleepe at the firſte aſſault of the enimies, as he that had drunken ouer night more than enough, was taken before he coulde make any ſhifte for himſelfe with all the reſidue of the nobilitie, that eſcaped with life.

The campe is ryfled.

The Scottiſh campe, the day next after this ouerthrow, was ryfled, the ſpoyle being deuided amongſt the Engliſhmen and Brytons.

The whole realme of Scotland diſcomfyted.

But when the fame of this infortunate battaile was noyſed once through the realme of Scotland how the king was taken pryſoner, his campe wonne, the armie diſcomfited, and almoſt all the ſouldiers and men of warre ſlayne, thoſe fewe of the nobles whiche were left aliue remayning as pryſoners in the enimies handes, there was ſuche dole and lamentation made ouer all, as though the realme had already bene loſte without recouerie. Some there were that blamed fortune, ſome curſed the wicked trade of lyfe in the king: other bewayling the great calamitie of this miſchaũce put the fault in diuers other things, as in ſuch caſes cõmõly it falleth out: for in ſundry heades are euer ſundry opinions. Many ranne vp and downe the ſtreets and high wayes, to enquyre the certaintie of all things, & whether there were any hope at all left to reſiſt the enemies, alſo which way the enimies helde, wherabout they went, & what they purpoſed to do.

The Engliſhmen inuade Lothian, the Brytons Galloway.

Anone after, when it was certainely knowen that the Engliſhmen were entred by Lothian, and the Brytons by Galloway, there was ſuch feare mixed with ſorrow (for loſſe of theyr frends and kinſfolke) ſtryken into the peoples hartes, and namely into the womens, that a greater hath not bene heard of in any region.

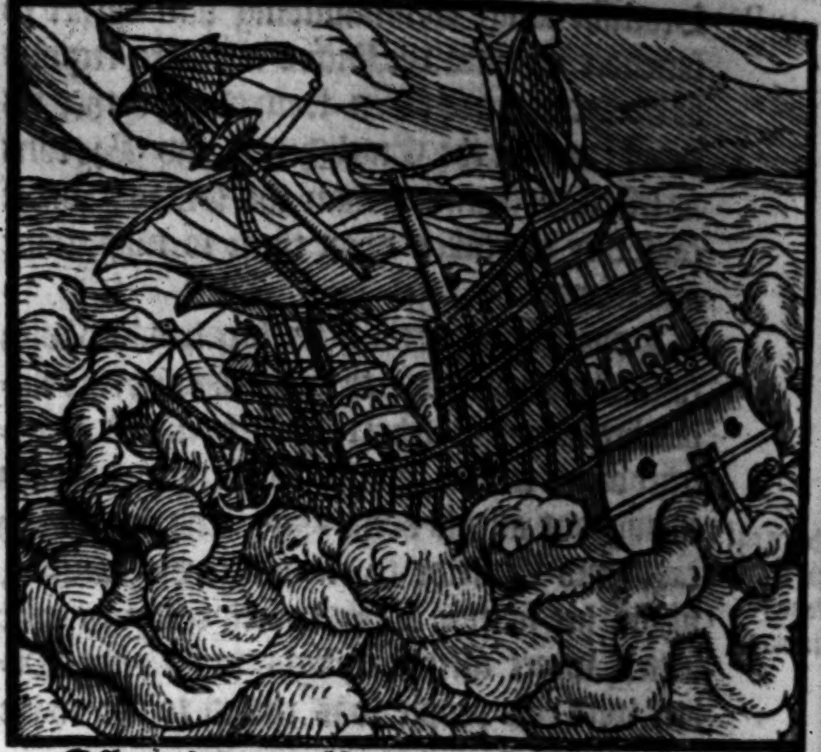
The Scots left comfortleſſe.

So that all prouiſion to defende theyr countrey was quite neglected, ſo amazed were the Scots with the ſodayne chaunge of fortunes fauour. The Engliſhmen herevpon toke all the countrey euẽ to the water of Forth, and likewiſe the Brytons ſeaſed into theyr handes all that whiche lieth from the bounds of Cumberland vnto Sterlyng bridge, finding no reſiſtaunce in theyr way at all. Herevnto aſwell the Engliſhmen as Brytons vſed the victorie very cruelly, ſparing neither one nor other of the Scottiſh bloud, that by any meanes fell into theyr handes, but prieſtes and all paſſed one way, that is by the edge of the ſworde.

The victorie vſed cruelly.

A great many of Engliſhm drowned.

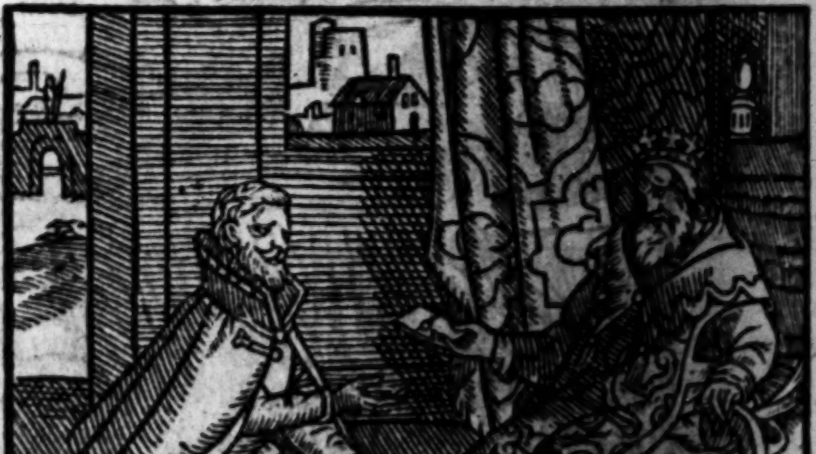
King Oſbert purpoſed to haue paſſed the water of Forth, that wayes to haue entered into Fyfe, and ſo ouer Tay into Angus: but hearing that the Scottes had gathered a power to impeache his paſſage, he ſtayed certayne dayes. At length vnderſtanding that the enimies were nothing of that puiſſaunce nor number, as at the firſt they were reported to bee, he determined to ſet ouer in certaine boates ten thouſand of his men, but through a ſodaine tempeſt of winde and weather, that roſe in that inſtant, there were fiue thouſande of them drowned, the reſidue being conſtrayned to lande agayne on the ſame ſide from the whiche they lewſed, hauing loſte through violence of the weather all theyr takle and whole furniture of theyr veſſels.



Ambaſſado ſew for peac

Fortune is brytle.

Oſbert beyng alſo admoniſhed with this miſfortune, thought good to attempt no more the furious rage of the water, but determined by lande to goe vnto Sterlyng, where he vnderſtode he ſhould finde the Brytons, with whome hee might ioyne his power, and paſſe ouer the brydge there, and ſo inuade other of the Scottiſhe regions whiche lay there aboute: but at his comming thyther, certaine Scottiſhe Ambaſſadours came vnto him to ſue for peace, whiche they humbly requyred at his handes in name of the whole realme, beſeechyng him to conſider well the ſtate of the caſe as it ſtode, and not to truſt to muche on bryttle fortune, the whiche ſheweth hyr ſelfe neuer ſtable, but commonly vſeth to call backe againe hyr graunt of proſperous ſucceſſe, where the receyuour hath not ſkill to vſe it moderately, and the vanquiſhed ſeemeth to haue bene ſufficiently corrected:



As for the Scottes, though it might appeare that their force was greatly abated, and that reſiſtance ſhould little auaile them, yet were they mynded to die in defence of their liberties, rather than to ſubmit themſelues vnto any conditions of vile ſeruitude. The wordes of theſe Ambaſſadors being throughly weyed (though ſome tooke them in greate diſdaine) yet in the ende it was ſuppoſed that after victorie thus had agaynſt the enimies, honourable conditions of peace ought to be preferred before doubtfull warre.

Wherevpon anſwere was made to the Ambaſſadors, that both the Engliſhe and Brytiſhe people with their kings were contented to haue peace with the Scottes, (though it lay in theyr handes, now to deſtroy the whole nation) if ſo be the Scottes woulde agree freely to reſigne aſwell to the Engliſh men as Brytaynes all ſuch lands and Countreys as they had nowe gotten into theyr poſſeſſions, without any clayme or tytle to be made to the ſame from thenceforth, eyther by them or any of their poſteritie, ſo that the water of Forth on the Eaſt halfe, ſhoulde deuide the Scottiſhe dominions from the confines of the Engliſh men and Brytaynes, and be called from that tyme euer after, the Scottiſhe ſea. On the weſt the water of Clyde ſhould deuide the Scottiſh landes from the Brytaynes, the Caſtel of Alcluth, ſtanding at the mouth of the ſame riuer, to remaine in the handes of the Brytaynes, from thenceforth to beare the name of Dunbreton, that is to ſay, the caſtell of the Brytaynes. And furthermore that if any of the Scottes ſhoulde attempt to paſſe the ſayd boundes into any of the Brytiſh or Engliſhe borders, hee ſhoulde die for that offence, and if by force of tempeſt it chaunced any of them to be driuen a lande on the South ſhore, within any of thoſe parties, they ſhoulde take nothing away with them but water or vytailes, and depart within three dayes, except ſome reaſonable cauſe of ſtay conſtrayned them to the contrarie. Moreouer, they ſhould not fortifie any townes or Caſtels on the frontires neare to the Engliſhe or Brytiſhe confines: And further, they ſhoulde couenaunt to pay vnto the Engliſh men and Brytaynes within the ſpace of twentie yeares, the ſumme of one thouſand pounde of ſiluer.. For performance of all which articles of agreement, the Scottes ſhoulde deliuer three ſcore hoſtages, beeing the ſonnes and heyres apparant of the chiefeſt noble men of all theyr Realme and Countrey. And if it ſo were that they miſlyked and refuſed any of theſe articles, hee commaunded that there ſhould no other Ambaſſador come to him for any other treatie of accorde.

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ſtages are
quired.

The Ambaſſadours returning home, and declaring how they had ſped, many of the Scottes thought the Articles nothing reaſonable for free people to accept: Other iudged that eyther they muſt come to ſome agreement with the Engliſh men and Brytaynes, or elſe put the lande in extreeme perill, and thus had the people bin deuided into two contrarie opinions and factions, had not one Calene a noble man, borne of high parentage, & gouernor of Angus, with ſober reaſons & ſtrong arguments appeaſed this contention, perſwading them to haue reſpecte to the tyme, and ſithe the force of the Realme was ſo infeebled, abated, and brought vnder foote through aduerſe fortune, better it was to yeelde vnto neceſſitie in ſauing part at that preſent, in hope after when occaſion ſerued to recouer the reſidue, than through obſtinate wilfulneſſe to loſe the whole. For conſidering the preſent daunger, it could be reputed no diſhonour to receyue conditions of peace at the enimies handes, ſithe there wanted not the lyke enſample of the Romaines, who gladly accepted ſuche artycles of peace, as that noble Prince king Gald appoynted them: and yet it is not to be iudged that there wanted men of great knowledge and wiſedome amongſt them, and ſuch as regarded theyr honour, ſo farre forth as reaſon in any wiſe dyd reache.

e Scottes
ike the ar-
les of peace.

Calene his
graue counſell
taketh place.

The multitude mooued with theſe wordes of Calen, whoſe graue authoritie by reaſon of hys age and rowmth was of no ſmall reputation amongſt them, hauing loſt nine of his own ſonnes in the laſt battaile, they finally determined to followe his opinion in receyuing the ſame conditions of agreement which Oſbert had preſcribed: and therevpon ſent agayne theyr Ambaſſadors with the hoſtages appoynted for the eſtabliſhing of the peace in maner as before is reherſed. Which beeing throughly accompliſhed in ſuche ſolemne wiſe as in thoſe dayes, and in the like caſes was accuſtomed, Oſbert ſet Donald with his nobles at libertie, ſending them home togither with the Ambaſſadors, being earneſtly required ſo to doe, both by the Engliſh Lordes, and alſo by the Brytaynes.

The multitude conſented
vnto Calene
his ſayings.

The Scots receiue the peace

King Donalde
with the noble
men are ſent
home againe.

The agreement being thus made, the landes were deuided betwixt the Engliſh men and Brytaynes, in ſuche ſort as the Brytaynes had for theyr parte all that which lyeth from Sterling vnto the Weſt ſea, betwixt the Ryuers of Forth and Clyde, vnto Cumberlande, and the Engliſh men poſſeſſed the other parcels, lying from Sterling vnto the Eaſt ſea, betwixt the Scottiſh ſea and Northumberlande: ſo that by this meanes Clyde water, Forth, and the Scottiſh ſea (where Forth runneth into the maine ſea) deuided the Scottes from the Engliſh men and Brytaynes. And thus was the towne of Sterling common marche vnto thoſe three people, the ſame towne with the Caſtell remayning vnto Oſbert, as it was couenãted amõgſt other articles of this peace

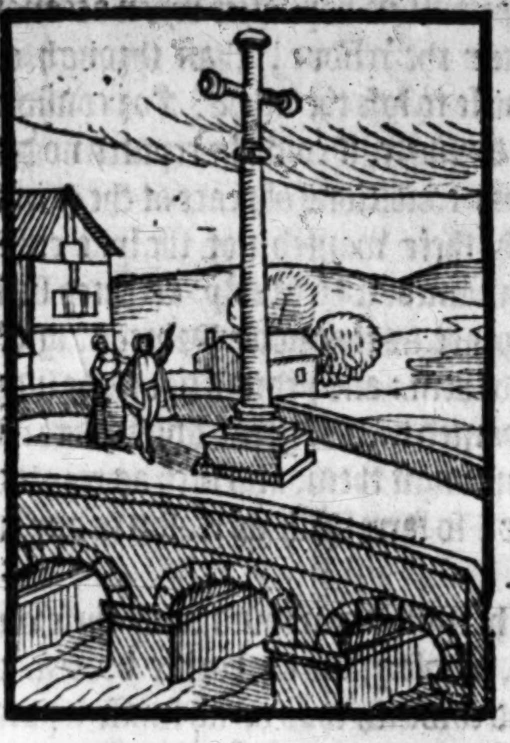
Landes deuided betwixt
the Britains &
Engliſh men.

The Brytaines
as yet kept
poſſeſsion of
Cumberlande,
& thoſe other
countreys lying
by the
coaſt of thoſe
weſt ſeas.

Here as the Scottes wryters haue, he ordeyned his mynt, and his coyners of money to inhabite, whereupon came vp the name of Sterling money: but therein they are deceyued, for as in the hyſtorie of England ſhall appeare, that name came not in vſe till many yeares after.

A bridge of ſtone made at Sterling.

Oſbert alſo in this place cauſed a ſtone bridge to be made ouer the water of Forth, in ſtead of the wodden bridge which the Picts had made there, and was now pulled downe, and in the midſt of this new ſtone bridge, he ſet vp a croſſe, whereon were grauen theſe verſes.



Anglos à Scotis ſeparat crux iſta remotis,
Arma hic ſtãt Bruti, ſtant Scoti hac ſub cruce tuti.

In Scottiſh thus.

Balantine.

I am free march as paſſengers may ken,
To Scots, to Brytons, and to Engliſh men.

The picts hope is deceiued.

The Pictes which had bene with the Engliſh men in this iourney, euer hoping to be reſtored to their landes and former poſſeſſions by Oſbert, when they ſawe how he reteyned the ſame in his owne handes, appoynting his ſubiectes to inhabite therein, they doubted that which afterwards came to paſſe in deede, leaſt the Engliſhe men of friendes woulde nowe become enimies, ſeeking the deſtruction of the whole Pictiſhe generation, thereby to aſſure themſelues in the poſſeſſion of thoſe landes and liuings, whereunto the Picts as they thought would euer make ſome clayme and tytle, whileſt any of them remayned aliue.

The picts went into Norwaye and Denmark.

Upon this miſtruſt therfore did thoſe Pictes which were amongſt the Engliſh men, make the beſt ſhift they coulde for themſelues, ſo that many of them got ſhippes, and ſayled into Norway & Denmark, vnto their coũtrey men there: the other that could not make ſhift to get away, were ſlain anon after by the Engliſh men, that one of them was not to bee founde aliue within any of the Engliſh Dominions. And ſuch was the ende of the Pictes that fledde vnto the Engliſh men for ſuccour.

In this meane tyme the Scottiſh king Donald being reſtored againe to his Countrey, was receyued with more ioy and honour than hee had deſerued, in hope yet by this ſcourge of aduerſe fortune, that he woulde haue reformed his former abuſes. Neuertheleſſe, he had not bin at home any long time, but that he fell to his old vicious trade of life againe, remouing from his companie ſuche honorable perſonages as wiſhed the ſuretie of his eſtate, with the aduãcement of the cõmon welth, to the reliefe and eaſe of his poore miſerable ſubiectes. At length the nobles of the realm perceiuing the daunger that their countrey ſtoode in, by reaſon of Donaldes inſolent miſorder, vndiſcrete rule and gouernment, they found meanes to apprehend and commit him vnto ſafe keeping, but the monſtrous creature within a fewe dayes after he was thus put in ward, in great deſperation ſlue himſelfe, in the ſixt yeare after he began his infortunate raigne, & in the yeare of our ſauiour 860.

King Don
falleth to
old vices ag

King Don
is laid in p

He ſlaieth h
ſelfe in pri
860.

The ſame yeare that the realme of Scotlande was brought vnto ſuch miſerable ſtate by the puiſſant force of the Engliſh men and Brytains, as aboue is rehearſed, there were ſundrie wonders heard of in the countrey: as in Lothian a childe of one Moneth olde and a halfe, admoniſhed the mother to flie out of that countrey, for it woulde come to paſſe, that the enimies ſhoulde come and take that region out of the Scottiſh mens hands. Beaſts alſo as they were paſturing abrode in the fieldes there, roaring after a ſtraunge ſort, ſodenly dyed. Fiſhes likewiſe in ſhape reſembling the figure of man, were founde deade in the ſandes of the Scottiſh ſea. In Galloway there fell ſuch abundance of Adders and Snakes out of the ſkie, that the ayre being corrupted with the ſauour of them lying on the grounde, both men and beaſtes dyed of certain diſeaſes, which they tooke through infection thereof.

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vnto hys m
ther.

Beaſtes ro
ryng dyed

Fiſhes lyke
ſhape to m

Adders & ſ
kes fell do
out of the

Such as were accounted to be ſkilfull in diuination, affyrmed that theſe things did ſignifie an infortunate raigne with an euill ende vnto king Donalde, as afterwardes it happened, who hauing made away himſelfe in priſon (as before is expreſſed) Conſtantine the ſonne of king Kenneth was crowned king at Scone, in the Chayre of Marble there, according to the maner as then vſed.

The interp
tation of th
prodigious
things.

King Cõſt
tine Crown

After his firſt entring into the eſtate, he would gladly haue gone in hãd with the warres againſt yͤ Engliſh mẽ, to haue recouered out of their poſſeſſions, thoſe countreys which they had lately taken from the Scottes in his predeceſſors time: but his counſell aduiſed him otherwiſe, declaring that the eſtate of the common wealth was ſo decayed by the miſgouernance of his ſayde predeceſſour, that till the ſame were refourmed, and ſuche inteſtine diſcorde, as through licencious libertie raigned

He ſain w
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loſſes.

He was adu
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raigned amongſt his ſubiectes might be appeaſed and quieted, there was no hope to atchieue anye worthie enterpriſe abrode agaynſt forraine enimies. Hereupon by theyr aduertiſements and good aduice, hee deuiſed a reformation of all ſuch miſorders as were growen vp in al partes of his realme: and firſt for the ſpiritualtie, he ordayned that Prieſtes ſhould attende their cures, and not to intermeddle with any ſecular buſineſſe, but to be free from going forth to the warres: neyther ſhould they keepe horſes, hawkes, or hounds. And if any of them wer found negligent in doing his duetie apperteyning to his vocation, he ſhould for the firſt fault forfeyt a peece of money, but for the ſecond he ſhould loſe his beneſice.

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r vocation.

naltie for
doing their
es.

For the youth of his realme he tooke order (to brydle them the better from wanton delites and ſenſuall luſtes) that none of them ſhoulde haue paſt one meale a day, and that of no fine or daintie delicates, and to abſtaine from all ſuch drinke as might diſtemper their brayne, ſo that if anye yong perſon, either man or woman were knowen to be dronken, they ſhould die for it.

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iſhed with
h.

He commaunded further, that all the youth of his realme, ſhoulde exerciſe running, wraſtling, ſhooting, throwing of the dart and bowle, ſo to auoyde ſlouthfulneſſe, that their bodies myghte with ſuch exerciſes be made the more able to endure paynes and trauaile: and for the ſame purpoſe he tooke order, that they ſhoulde lye vpon the bare bourdes, with one mantell onely throwne vnder them, ſo that they ſhould taſt nothing neither by day nor night, that might noozell them in any wanton delytes or effeminate pleaſures.

th to be
ed vp in
ocile.

It was alſo ordeyned, that all ſuch as kept vitayling houſes for banketting cheare, ſhould be baniſhed the realme, with thoſe that kept brothell houſes.

en of bá-
ng houſes
e baniſhed.

Thus were the Scottes by obſeruing of theſe ordinances, made within ſhort time of gluttons & exceſſiue feeders, ſober and temperate men: of delicate and raſefull perſons, hard, tough, and able to abide any trauail or labour, were the ſame neuer ſo painfull: and hereof the ſtate of the common wealth began to grow to good perfection, ſo that Conſtantines adminiſtration was lyked of the moſt part of all his ſubiectes.

s were
e ſober &
to abyde
ices.

The firſt that went about to diſquiet the proſperous raigne of that worthie Prince, was one Euan, a man of an auncient houſe, & borne in the Weſterne Iles. Such hath bene the vnquiet nature of the Scottiſh men, euen from the beginning, neuer to liue contented any long tyme eyther with peace or warre; for being once awearied with the charges of the warres, they ſtraight wayes wiſhe for peace, and hauing in time of peace heaped togither ſome wealth, then can they not ſuffer the gouernment of their ſuperiours, but either are readie to fall out with ſome forraine enimie, or elſe to raiſe ſome commotion amongſt themſelues.

n diſquie-
the king
realme.

e vnquiet
re of Scot
en.

This Euan therefore being the kings Lieutenant of his Caſtell of Dunſtafage in Louchquhaber, practiſed a conſpiracie agaynſt the king, with a number of other light perſons being gentlemen borne, miſlyking the adminiſtration of things, onely for that they ſawe how their inordinate libertie to oppreſſe inferiour perſons, and to vſe ſuch wilde and inſolent miſdemeanor, as they had done afore time, was nowe reſtrayned by lawfull iuſtice and execution of due puniſhment for the ſame. But as theſe conſpiratours went about to haue moued the people of Louchquhaber, Murrey land, Roſſe, and Cathneſſe, to haue ioyned with them in their trayterous enterpriſe: ſome of them in whom Euan put moſt truſt, ſecretely aduertiſed the king of all the whole matter, who gathering a competent number of men togither, made ſuche ſpeedie haſte towardes Dunſtafage, where the chiefe Captaine of the Rebelles as then lay, that he came before the ſame ere any ynkling were knowne to them within of his approch. By meane whereof comming vppon them ſo at vnwares, hee had the Caſtell ſoone at his pleaſure. And immediately herevpon cauſed Euan to bee truſſed vp on a high payre of Gallows, for a ſpectakle to all his complices.

Euan Lieuteuant of Dunſtafage conſpireth agaynſt the king.

The king is aduertiſed of Euan his treaſon.

The king cómeth to Dunſtafage with an armie.

Euan is executed.

And furthermore, leaſt the other conſpiratours might prouide them of ſome other Chieftaine, he apprehended diuerſe of the nobilitie that were accuſed to be of Euans confederacie, the whiche he put in ſtrayte pryſon, there to bee ſafely kept, tyll the Peeres of the Realme had determined wyth good deliberation, what ſhoulde become of them. This buſineſſe being in this wiſe appeaſed, when all men looked for quietneſſe, there ſodenly followed a greater and more pernicious trouble: for ſuch is the courſe of the worlde, that when men leaſt thinke of miſchiefe, they fall oftentimes into moſt daunger.

Many kept in priſon.

One trouble followeth another.

Cadane king of Denmarke, pretending a title to all ſuche landes as ſometimes belonged to the Pictes, for that the reſidue of that Nation which had eſcaped the handes of the Scottes and Engliſhe men, had reſigned vnto him all theyr ryght and intereſt of the ſame landes, hee determined in that quarell (and in reuenge of the iniuries which the Pictes alledged they had ſuſteyned) to make warres both vpon the Scottes and Engliſh men. He cauſed therefore an huge number of ſhippes to be prepared, and a mightie army of men to be put in a readineſſe, to paſſe in the ſame ouer into Albion, vnder the leading of hys two brethren, the one named Hungar, and the other Hubba.

Gadane king of Denmarke.

The cauſe that moued the Danes to make warre againſt England and Scotlande.

Theſe two Chieftaines hauing their ſhippes

and

A great nauye ſent into Scotland.

and men with all prouiſion apperteyning once readie, tooke the ſea, and ſayled forth til they came to the coaſtes of Scotlande, where they tooke land within the Countrey of Fife, before any tidings were heard of theyr comming thither. The Danes being ſet a lande, ſpared no kinde of crueltie that might be ſhewed agaynſt the inhabitantes, and namely for that they had not as yet receyued the fayth of Chriſt, they raged without all meaſure agaynſt Prieſtes and religious perſons, ouerthrowing and burning vp Churches & Chapels, whereſoeuer they found any in theyr waye.

The Danes vſe great cruelty.

Whereupon the Engliſhe men that inhabited in Louthian, and the Scots which dwelled in Fife, lefte theyr houſes and poſſeſſions, flying into other parties where they thought they might beſt eſcape the handes of their newcome aduerſaries.

The inhabitātes fled the countrie.

A great companie alſo of ſuch vertuous and godly perſons as aboute the ſame time laboured buſily in ſetting forth the worde of life vnto the people in thoſe parties, fled with one Adrian as then Biſhop of the Scottiſh men, into the Ilande called May, whiche lyeth in maner in the midway of the paſſage ouer the Forth betwixt Fyfe and Louthian, where as thē there was a famous Monaſterie of Monks: but neither the reuerence of the place, neyther the innocencie of thoſe harmleſſe creatures could reſtrain the Danes from polluting their wicked hands in murthering that deuout companie, as they were then eſteemed. And this is that reuerend band of Martyrs, which the Scottiſh people haue had in ſuch reuerence in the foreſayde Ilande of May. A fewe names of ſome of that multitude as yet remaine in memorie amongſt wryters, as the foreſayde Biſhop Adrian, Glodian, Gaius, or (as other write) Monanus Archedeacon of Saint Andrewes, and Byſhop Stolbrande: the names of the reſidue are forgotten. Some there be that affyrme how this company were Hungarians, the whiche fleeing out of their countreys from the perſecution which was there exerciſed by men of miſbeliefe agaynſt the Chriſtians, they arryued heere in Scotlande, and applyed themſelues in the inſtructing of the Scottiſhe men in the way of ſaluation. Other write that they were Scottes and Engliſh men thus aſſembled there togither, but of whence ſoeuer they were, certaine it is that by cuſtome they were become Scottiſh men, & inſtructed Scots as before is ſayde in the way of ſaluation.

They that fled into May Ilād were ſlaine.

The incerteintie of wryters in this matter of theſe Martyrs.

After this cruell ſlaughter thus by the Danes committed, they continued in their wode rage as they paſſed through Fife and the other countries neare bordering vpon the ſame, till all the inhabitants were auoyded out of their houſes, either by flight or ſlaughter.

Conſtantine the Scottiſhe king being kindled in the meane time with paſſing great diſpleaſure, for theſe ſo notable iniuries receyued at the handes of the Danes, thought good with all ſpeed to go agaynſt them, and to attempt the chaunce of battaile before they had waſted any further within his dominions, ſo greatly to the diminiſhing of his royal power and eſtimation amongſt his ſubiects. Hereupon leuying his people, and aſſembling a mightie hoſt togither, he paſſed forth with the ſame towardes his enimies, the whiche were lodged in two ſeuerall campes, the one being diſtant from the other aboute a quarter of a myle, ſeuered in ſunder with the courſe of a little ryuer called Leuyn, the which (vpon the approch of the Scottes vnto that parte of the campe that lay on the further ſyde next vnto them) chaunced to be rayſed on ſuch height through abundance of raine, that in two dayes after vneth it might bee paſſed ouer at the fourdes.

Conſtan
aſſemble
mightie

After this ſore and tempeſtuous weather, the ayre cleared vp and waxed verie fayre and calme, giuing occaſion to the Scottes to worke theyr feate agaynſt one part of theyr enimies, whyleſt the other coulde not come ouer vnto theyr ayde and ſuccours. In this campe which lay on that ſide the ryuer next to the Scottes, Hubba was lodged, who did what he coulde to haue ſtayde his men from iſſuing forth of the campe to giue battaile when the Scots drew neare to the ſame, & aſſaied all wayes by prouoking the Danes with ſkirmiſhes to come forth and fight with them in plaine field, but notwithſtanding al that he could do, forth they ruſhed in ſuch wiſe by plumpes, and with ſo great noyſe and claymour, that the Captaines were conſtrayned of neceſſitie to ſet them in order of battaile, ſithe they would needes giue the onſet vpon their preſent enimies.

The Sco
Danes io
their ba

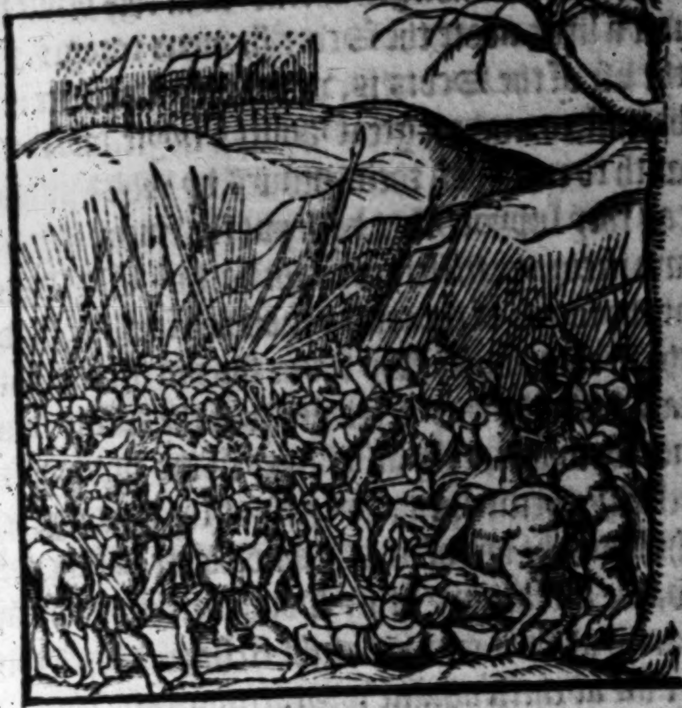
The Danes did weare aloft vppon their armour certaine lynnen garments, wrought with red ſilke, ſhewing fayre and white both at hande and a farre off. Their weapons were of ſuch ſort as ſerued for the puſh rather than for downe right blowes, the poynts being of ſuche a hardneſſe

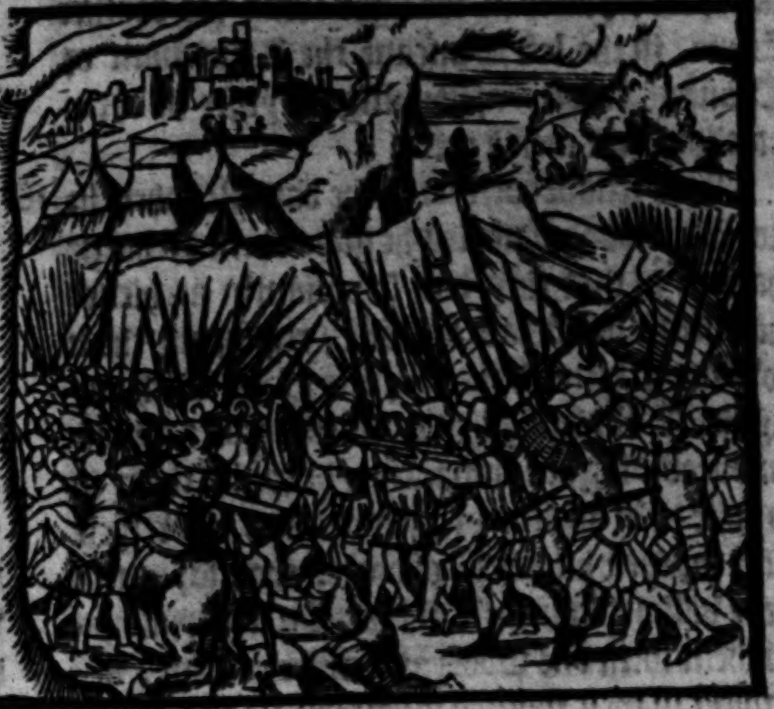
The Dan
parell.

Their we

ſtrong faſhion, that no armor might lightly hold forth agaynſt them. Theſe kinde of weapons togither with the muſter of their huge bodies was dreadfull at the firſt for the Scottiſhe men to beholde, as they marched towardes them in aray of battell. But anon comming neare togither readie to ioyne, the Scots manfully taking to them newe courages, ſet vpon the Danes with great violence, who likewiſe beganne the battaile very ſtoutly, ſo that the ſame cōtinued right fierce and

A battayle.





cruell a good ſpace. At length the Danes beeing aſſayled on eche ſide, both a front before, and on their backes behinde, oppreſſed as it were wyth multitude, they threwe downe theyr weapons and fled amain. Many of them making towards their campe were ouertaken and ſlaine, diuerſe of them falling into the ditches were oppreſſed with throng, aſwel of their owne companie, as of their enimies, as they paſſed ouer them in following the chaſe, and ſtryuing to enter the campe vpon ſuch as ſtoode to defende them from entring. Other ther were that leaping into the water in hope to get ouer, were drowned in the whorling waues of the ſtreame, though ſome (through helpe of their fellowes whiche ſtoode on the other ſyde readie to haue paſſed the water if they might ſo haue done without manifeſt daunger of drowning) eſcaped and got ouer, amongſt whom Hubba was one, to the great reioyſing of his brother Hungar, to ſee him thus deliuered twiſe from perill of death, as firſt from amongeſt his enimies, and ſecondly out of the roaring ſtreame of that deepe and ſwift raging ryuer. The Scottes hauing thus put one part of their enimies to the worſe, with that happie ſucceſſe toke ſuch comfort and immoderate ioy, as though they had bin nowe ſure of victorie ouer all the reſidue, ſo that for two dayes togither, there was ſuch dauncing, ſinging, and pyping amongſt them, as the lyke hath not beene heard of. Yea ſo farre proceeded their inſolent outrage, that they began to contend amongſt themſelues for the priſoners and ſpoyle, which they accopted now theyr owne, as though already they had the ſame wholy in their poſſeſſion: and further reaſoned not without altercation, whether the Daniſh Captaines after they had them once in theyr handes ſhould bee put to death, or elſe be kept aliue to be ſhewed to the people in triumph or no. Great a do and many vaine wordes were ſpent hereabout in ſuch earneſt ſort that they were at poynte to haue fallen out amongſt themſelues: but there was no mention at all made touching the ordring of their battailes and other the neceſſarie proceedings agaynſt the enimies.

At length when the ryuer was fallen & come to his olde courſe againe, ſo that it might eaſily be paſſed, Conſtantine in order of battaile got ouer with his people, to the other ſyde where the Danes were lodged, who hauing more minde to ſet themſelues in ſuch order wherby they might gain the victory, than to deuiſe for the deuiding of the ſpoile, perceyuing occaſion now offred to giue yͤ onſet, forthwith arayed their people in this ſort. Hubba with ſixe thouſande Danes, was placed in the right wing. The left was led by one Buerne an Engliſhe man borne, who was fled out of his countrey, for that he coulde not beare ſuche iniuries as Oſbert offred him in forcing his wife, to the great reproch and diſhonor of his houſe and name. He had with him in this left wing certaine bandes of Engliſh men with thoſe Pictes that had eſcaped ouer into Denmarke, as before is mencioned. Hungar with all the reſidue of the armie, kept the battaile or myddle warde, exhorting his men to ſhew their force & manhode that day, ſith the ſame ſhould eyther put thē in poſſeſſion of the whole land of Albion, with all the ſubſtance & riches conteyned therein, either elſe bring thē perpetuall ſeruitude with ignominie amongſt their moſt cruell & fierce aduerſaries. He therefore himſelf openly in preſence of them al, vowed with ſolemne othe, either to returne with victorie to his campe, eyther elſe to die in the place, willing them all

Conſtantine proceeded agaynſt his enimies.

The order and placing of the Danes armie. Hubba had the right wing. Buerne had the left wing.

Hungar kept the battaile.

Hungar made a vowe.

The ſouldiers did make the like vowe.

King Conſtantine placed his men in like maner.

all to make the like couenant. Whereupon the vniuerſall multitude allowed him ſo muche for this his motion, that there was not one amongſt the whole number, which agreed not to ſweare the like othe. Conſtantine keeping in maner the like order, placed in the right wing his brother Ethus, in the left Duncane the Lieutenant or Thane of Athole, appoynting to eyther of them ten thouſande men a peece.

An incouragement giuen to his ſouldiers.

The Dan
proch to
the Scot

The Dan
ſhot qua
and thre
dartes.

The Sco
arrowes
darts as
as haile.

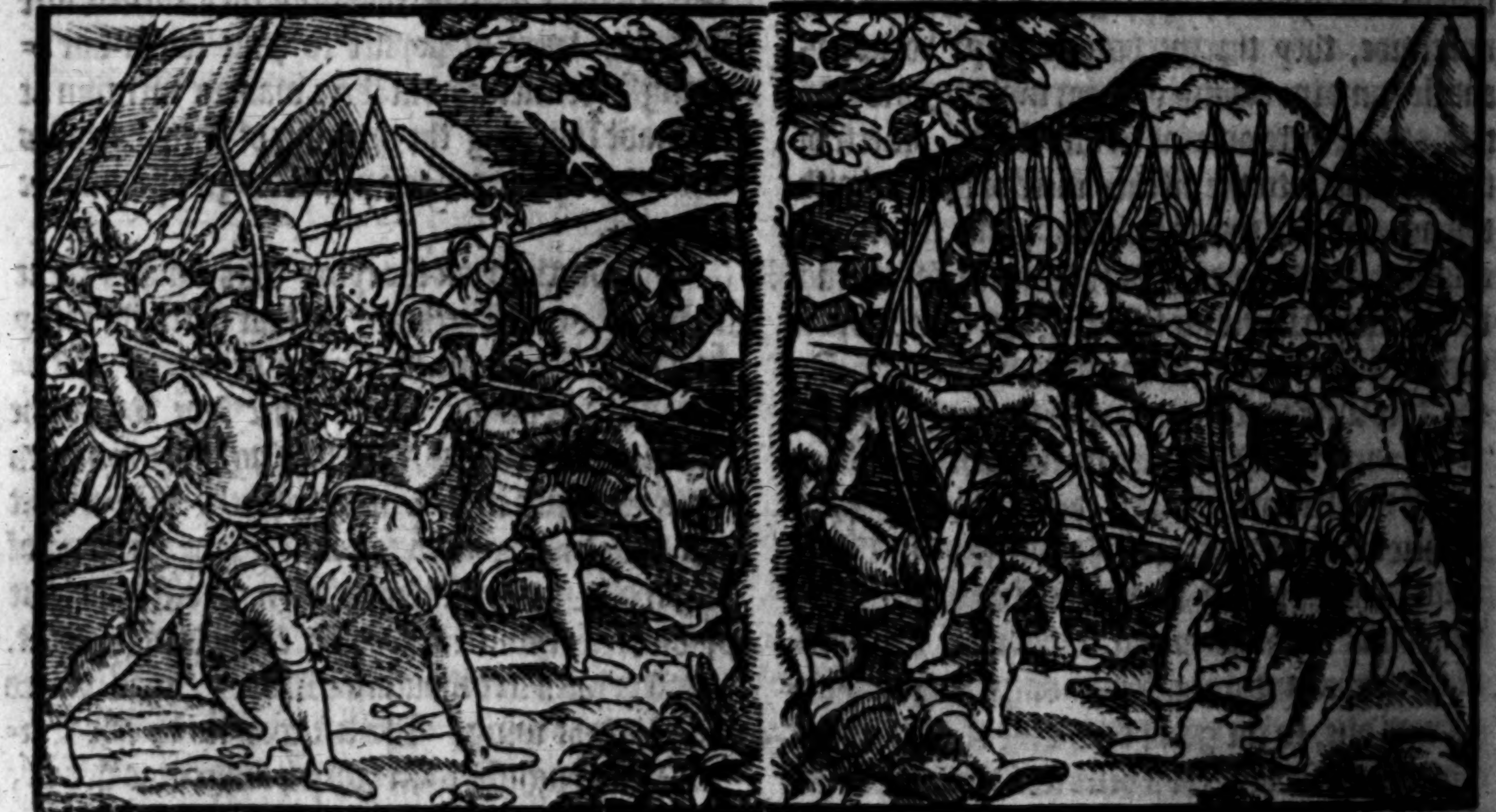
The Scottes are put to flight.

Conſtantine is taken and murthered.

The blacke den or coue.

Ethus brother vnto Conſtantine was ſaued by flight.

All the reſidue were ſet in the battaile where he himſelfe ſtoode. And firſt he gaue them all heartie thankes in that they had ſo valiantly atchieued the victorie in the laſt battaile, requyring them now not to blemiſh their former glorie with any fayntneſſe of courage, recreant cowardice, or diſhonourable flight: and further he willed them in no wiſe to be afearde of their enimies, in reſpect more for their hugeneſſe of bodie, than for any of theyr valiant ſtoutneſſe of heart: for if they aſſayled them with one whole and entire conſent, according to their wonted forwardneſſe and manlike prowes, they ſhoulde quickely put them to flight, and obtaine a ioyfull victorie. Herewith he alſo warned them not to runne raſhly vpon the enimies, but to ſuffer thē firſt to giue the charge, for by that meanes he thought the Danes would with their earneſt violence diſorder themſelues, and ſo ſhoulde it bee more eaſie for the Scottes to breake in amongeſt them. But this deuiſe did not a little abate the Scottiſh mens corages. For the vſe of the Scots is, when they ſhal enter into battail, to make a great ſhoute & noyſe, and therewith to run vpon their enimies, by which meanes (as they ſuppoſe) they both put the enimy in feare, and incorage thēſelues to the battail. The Danes at the ſound of the trūpet marched forth towards the Scots, where they ſtoode thus in order of battail, but whē they perceiued that the Scots came not forwarde, they alſo ſtayed in the midway to refreſhe themſelues, bycauſe at the ioyning they ſhuld not be out of breath. Vpon after, paſſing forwarde an eaſie pace they ſhot quarrels, and threw dartes at their enimies right freſhly, & the Scots let flie at them againe with arrowes and darts as thicke as it had beene a ſtorme of haile. After this they ruſhed togither with great violence on both ſides: but within a while, the Danes had put both the wings of their enimies to flight, and after compaſſing the maine battaile rounde about, they conſtraine the ſame in the ende with greate bloudſhed and ſlaughter to giue back and flee out of the field. Ten thouſande Scottes dyed that day in this infortunate battaile with Conſtantine himſelfe, who being firſt taken was had into a Caue by the Sea ſyde amongſt the Rockes, and there cruelly murthered by the enimies. The place was called certaine yeares after the blacke Denne: but nowe they name it the Diuils den, in memorie of that heynous murther there committed. The Scottiſhe Nation alſo had beene vtterly as then deſtroyed, had not Ethus the brother of Conſtantine, perceyuing howe the fielde was loſt, eſcaped away with two companies of his beſt men of warre, ſo reſeruing himſelfe to the time of more luckie fortune.



Eth

87

The people lykewyſe doubting for want of a gouernor to be yͤ ſoner ouercom by their enimies, ledde the ſayd Ethus vnto Scone wher they crowned him king, in the yeare after the byrth of our Sauiour 874. and the .xiij. after Conſtantine began to rule the eſtate of the realme. The ſame yeare were many wonders and vnkethly ſightes ſeene within s like vo- nes in e.

ſinates.

within the Scottiſh dominions. In the mouth of the Forth, otherwiſe called the Scottiſhe ſea, there appeared fiſhes in great number, like vnto men in ſhape, ſwimming vp and downe in the ſtreame with halfe their bodies aboue the water, and hauing a blacke ſkinne, which couered theyr heades and neckes, from the ſhoulders vpwardes like an hoode. Theſe are called Baſſinates, and vſe to goe in great companies togither, as though they were ſkulles of Herrings, ſignifying when they are ſeene, ſome great miſfortune vnto the Countrey, as the common people haue long had an opinion. Alſo the Loches, Riuers, and al maner of other waters were frozen from the beginning of Nouember, till the latter ende of Aprill, and when the froſt brake, and the ſnowes melted, there was ſuch a flood flowing ouer al the plaines euen to the rootes of the Mountaynes, as the like had not bene ſeene. Furthermore when the ſame ſhrunke and went away, in the mud and ſlime there was ſuche a number of Frogges left, that when they were dead, & began to putrifie, the ayre was ſo infected, yͤ many deadly diſeaſes enſued, wherof great nũbers of the inhabitants did periſh.

ng winter.

gges in the d and ſlime

Comet.

Moreouer there was a mightie ſtarre or Comet ſeene with firie rayes iſſuing forth of the ſame whiche both night and day followed the Moone during the moneth of Aprill, to the great horror of all that behelde it.

e Danes t into uthian.

g Osbert Ella ſlaine.

is crueltie ended Nor e alſo.

g Alured eſſed thoſe nes.

But to proceede. The Danes as is ſayd, hauing vanquiſhed the Scots, and waſted the coũtrey of Fife, paſſed ouer into Louthian, where robbing and ſpoyling all before them, they purſued the inhabitants into Northumberlande, whither they fled for refuge. There the Danes being ayded with certain Engliſh mẽ in fauor of Bruern, ſlue in battaile both Oſbert & Ella, kings of that coũtry. The crueltie of the Danes was ſuch after they had atchieued yͤ victorie, that few eſcaped with life, but ſuch as ſaued thẽſelues by flight. But chiefely their rage appeared moſte agaynſte prieſtes and ſuch as profeſſed themſelues men of religion. For the Danes being Ethnikes, perſecuted moſt egerly thoſe that in any wiſe profeſſed Chriſt. The like outragious murthering of the Chriſtians was practiſed throughout the Countrey, and at length came vnto that bleſſed king S. Edmond, raigning as thẽ ouer the people of the Eaſt angles, as in the Engliſh hiſtorie more plainly may appeare. Howbeit other of the Engliſh kings mainteined the warres with theſe Danes certaine yeares after this, with variable fortune, the moſt part of thoſe people which inhabited on that coaſt towarde the Germaine ſeas, eyther being ſlain or brought into miſerable bondage and thraldome. But Alured which ſucceded his brother king Ethelred, not in the kingdome of Northfolke and Suffolke (as Hector Boetius affirmeth) but in the kingdome of the weſt Saxons, redreſſed a great part of this miſerie into the which the countrey was thus brought by the Danes, by ſubduing them in ſundrie conflictes, and ſlaying their two Captaines the foreſayd Hunger and Hubba, as in the ſame Engliſh hyſtories is further expreſſed.

Hector Boetius miſtaketh diuerſe matters touching the report of our hyſtories.

Ethus ſurnamed lightfoot

Ethus neglected the oportunitie.

A conſpiracie made agaynſt king Ethus.

King Ethus is areſted, with his fauorers.

Gregorie is choſen king.

But now to returne vnto Ethus, I find that he was of ſuch ſwiftneſſe of foote, that he woulde matche and make way in running with Hartes and Houndes, and therupon was ſurnamed lightfoote: but of what nymble lightneſſe of bodie ſoeuer he was, truth it is that he was of diſpoſition in minde vnfitte to haue the order of any publike regiment. For where as he might haue recouered Fife and Louthian with other regions, whyleſt the Engliſh men and Danes were togither by the eares, he paſſed ouer that occaſion, deliting more in following the pleaſures of the bodie and ſenſuall luſtes, than to beſtow his time in feates of chiualry and other warlike exerciſes. The Nobles of the Realme perceyuing him thus to abuſe the worthie gyftes of his perſon, miſtruſting leaſt his inſolẽt doings ſhould endomage the publike ſtate of the cõmon wealth, they tooke counſail togither how they might apprehend him, and to ſende him ſome whither out of yͤ way wher to be ſafely kept, and then to place ſome other in the gouernment of the Realme, that might rule the ſame with more diſcretion & better aduiſe. And leaſt their reſolution ſhould be diſcloſed before it tooke effect, they ſlacked no time, but went ſpedily about their buſineſſe. And comming to the king whom they found a hunting in Calidone wood, they ſodenly areſted him, and therwith committed him to ſafe keeping: and thoſe whom they knewe to bee fauourers of his euill rule and miſgouernance, they put them alſo faſt in priſons, til they had anſwered to ſuch articles as ſhould be layd to their charge. This done they proceded to the election of a new king, and in the end by the perſuaſion of one Dõgall gouernour or Thane of Argyle, they choſe Gregorie the ſonne of that Dongall which faigned before Alpyne, who was not paſt two Monethes olde when his father dyed.

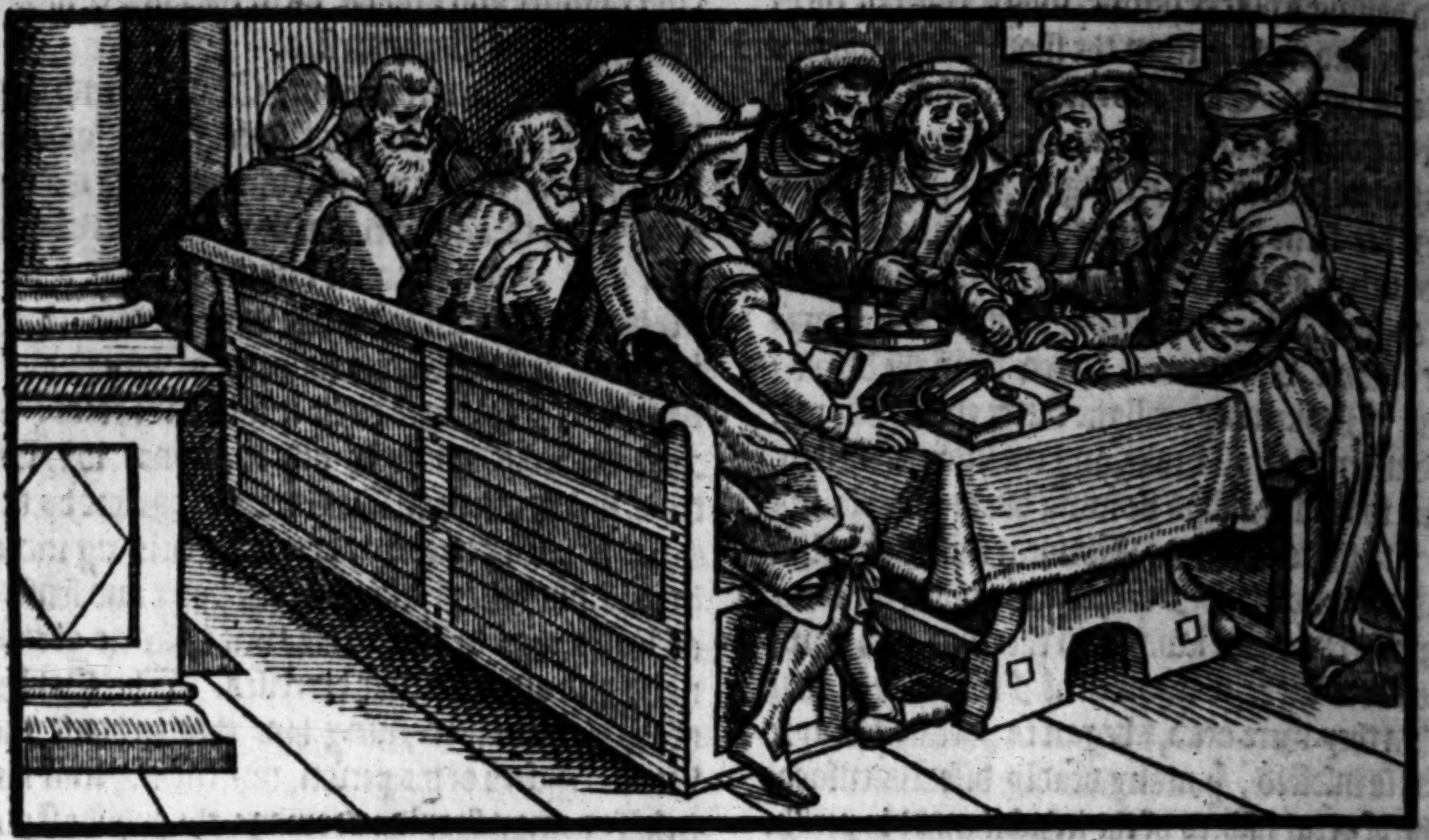
Gregorie.

This Gregory being knowne to be a mã worthy of the rowmeth, though he himſelfe only was againſt it, at length by perſuaſiõ receyued the inueſture of yͤ kingdome at Scone, with all due ſolemnitie. Ethus hearing therof, through anguiſh of mind died within three dayes after, in yͤ ſecond yere of his raign, and 876. after the birth of our ſauiour.

876. H.B.

875. Io.Ma.

There be that wryte howe he was ſtrangled in priſon by Dongall his procurement, leaſt by aduenture he might haue bene reſtored vnto libertie, and with all haue made clayme to the crowne againe.



A conuoc
of the cl

Prieſts are free of all tribute.

They ſhoulde not be called to ſerue in the warres.

Authoritie giuen vnto Biſhops to order things.

Gregorie being thus eſtabliſhed in the eſtate, conſidering that the ſuretie of all Realmes reſted in the handes of the diuine Maieſtie, to begin his gouernment with ſome luckie enterpriſe, cauſed a conuocation to be holden at Forfair, for the aduancement of Chriſtes religion: where amongſt other things, it was ordeyned, that Prieſts from thenceforth (to the ende they might more freely attende to their vocation) ſhould be exempt from paying of trybute and all maner of exactions. Alſo that they ſhould not be conſtrayned to go vnto the warres, neyther to come before any temporal iudges, but only afore their Ordinaries and Biſhops, by whom they ſhoulde be iudged in al cauſes. The ſame Ordinaries and Biſhops ſhould alſo haue authoritie to order all men, both publike and priuate, aſwell for the keeping of fayth giuen, as to conſtraine them to confirme the ſame, and to puniſh ſuch as ſhould be founde in the contrarie. Likewiſe in cauſes of controuerſie touching matrimonie, tythes, teſtamentes, legacies, and ſuch like. Moreouer the correcting of thoſe that blaſpheme eyther God or his Saincts. Heretikes and Nicromancers, with other the like offenders agaynſt the lawes and articles of the Chriſtian religiō, was aſſigned vnto the Biſhops and their ſubſtitutes, ſo that all thoſe which were founde diſobedient vnto them, and refuſed to bee at their commaundement, they ſhould haue authoritie to excommunicate them out of the Church, and from companying with any of the congregation, ſo that they that were thus excommunicated, ſhould be depriued of all abilitie to enioy any inheritance or right to landes or poſſeſſions whatſoeuer they were. Neither ſhoulde they be accepted as a witneſſe in any maner of cauſe, neyther beare any office or rule in the common wealth. This Gregorie alſo (as is ſayde) was the fyrſt auctour of that ordinance, by the which the Scottiſh kings at their coronation vſe of auncient cuſtome to vowe by ſolemne othe, that during their lyues, they ſhal mainteyn and defend the Church with his miniſters, in al ancient liberties and priuiledges, and not to ſuffer any man to hurt or infringe the ſame.

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King G
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King G
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He was

There was ſurely in this Gregorie a certaine naturall inclination to vertue, with ſuche aduiſedneſſe in all his wordes, that he vttered few or none but that the ſame ſeemed to be ſpoken with right great conſideration. He was neuer maried, but continued in chaſtitie all his lyfe time. Of meate and drinke he was verie ſpare, deliting in all kinde of ſobrietie, more watchefull than giuen to ſleepe. But his fame encreaſed moſte for hys mainteyning of iuſtice and ciuill adminiſtration concerning the ſtate of the common wealth, not omitting the practiſe of warre, where neceſſitie requyred.

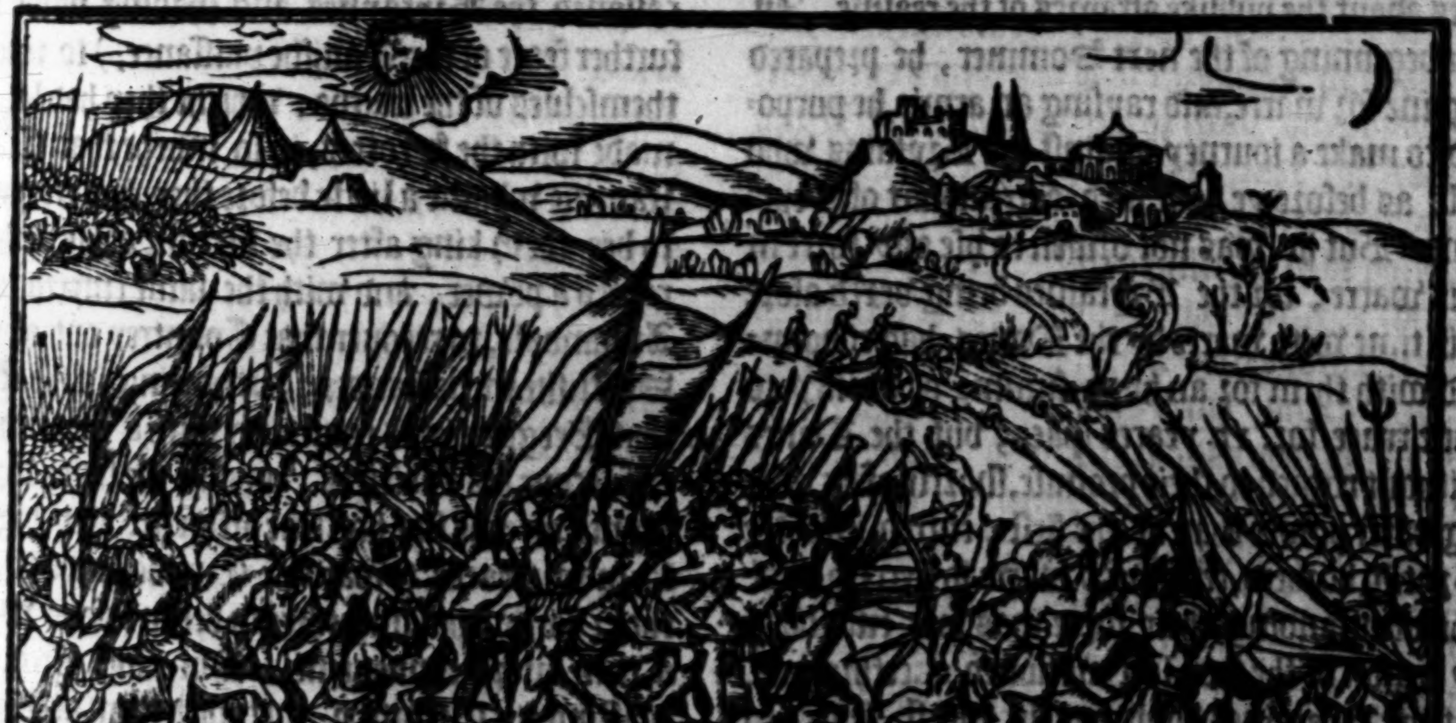
He made a
expediti
to Fife.

The Pi
into Lo

The ki
inhabit
in Fife.

He ſub
Louthi

The firſt expedition which he toke in hande, he made into Fyfe, to recouer that countrey to the crowne of Scotlande. At whoſe entrance into the ſame, the Pictes whom the Danes had left in thoſe parties at their departure thence, being ſtrike with feare to fall into the handes of the Scottes their auncient enimies, fled forthwith into Louthian, leauing Fife in maner voyde, and without any that woulde offer to defende it agaynſt the Scottes: whereupon Gregorie ſo finding it deſolate of inhabitants, he ſent for people out of other partes of his Realme, appoynting them dwellings in that Countrey as hee thought moſt expedient. This done he paſſed into Louthian, where taking the fortreſſes and places of defence, ſome by force, and ſome by ſurrender, he eaſily reduced that Countrey into his ſubiection, ſo that within a fewe dayes, hauing there all at his pleaſure, he came vnto Barwike, where there were a great number of Danes ioyned togither with the Pictes, as men not mynding to flee any further, but to fight with the Scottes euen there, if they ſhould come forward vpon them. But when they ſaw what number the Scottes were of, and herewith doubting the Engliſh men to come on their backs if the matter went not well with thẽ, they thought it beſt ẏ ſuch Danes as were of any great reputation of Nobilitie ſhoulde withdraw into Barwike before the enimies were at hande, and the reſidue to paſſe ouer Tweede into Northumberlande, there to ioyne with other Danes that in thoſe parties were lately arriued. But the Engliſhmen within Barwik abhorring nothing more than to be vnder ſubiection of the Danes, in the euening after the receiuing of the Daniſh nobles into theyr towne, deliuered it togither with their gueſtes vnto the Scottiſhmen, who ſuffring the Engliſh mẽ at their pleaſure either to go their wayes with all their goodes, or to remaine ſtill in their houſes, ſlue the Danes without ſparing eyther man, woman, or childe. Then leauing a ſtrong garriſon of Scottiſhmen within Barwik, Gregorie marched forth with the reſidue of hys people into Northumberlande, to vnite that cõtrey to other of his dominions that bordered vpon the ſame. In thoſe parties at that ſelfe time there were two armies lodged in the fieldes, the one of Danes not farre from Yorke, vnder the leading of one Herdunt, who had lately taken and ſacked that Citie, and the other of Engliſh men that lay xx. miles off from the ſayd Danes. Herdunt hearing of the ſlaughter which the Scots had made of his countrey men at Barwike, threatned ſore that he would not leaue a man aliue of the Scottiſh race within any part of all the confines of Albion. Which vowe many of the companie following their Captaines example, likewiſe made. Shortly after hearing of their enimies approche, the whole hoſt by commaundement of Herdunt iſſued forth of their campe to giue battaile. Here the Scottiſh king ſtanding with his people in order of battaile, had thought to haue vſed ſome cõfortable ſpeach vnto them, thereby to encourage them to fight, but ſuche haſt was made by the Scots to preaſe vpon their enimies, that he ſaw it more needfull to take heed to the ordering of them in perfect array, than to ſtand about to exhort thẽ, whome he ſaw readie ynough of theyr owne accord to fight. Therfore he ſaid no more vnto thẽ, as he went amongſt the ranckes, but only willed them to remember howe cruelly Conſtantine their king was ſometime murthered after he had yeelded himſelfe priſoner to theſe enimies, with whom they ſhould now ioyne. The Scots hereupon running to the battaile with no leſſe ſtoutneſſe of minde than violent force, gaue their enimies vneth ſpace to charge their weapõs, but bare them downe with long ſpeares and iauelins, and withall the Bilmen following them made great ſlaughter on eche ſide, ſo that there needed neither exhortation of captaines, nor diligence of wiſlers to kepe them in aray. For the wrathfull ſtomackes of the ſouldiers only wrought the feat in ſuch ſort that the Danes were quickly put to flight & chaſed: thoſe that could not eſcape to the campe, got thẽ vnto the next mountaines, who chanced vpon better lucke than thoſe that eſcaped to the campe, for the egreneſſe of the Scots was ſuch in chaſing the enimies, that neither ditch nor rampire coulde ſtay them from entring the campe vpon ẏ Danes, where they made greater ſlaughter than they had done in the field. The next day Herdunt goeth about to aſſemble his men togither againe, being



Danes & tes ioyne ſelues to-

ſled into umber-

Daniſh ſled Barwike.

The Danes are in Bar-

The Danes flee to their campe.

Herdunt threatned the Scottes.

The Danes prepare to the battaile.

The Scottes egrely inuade their enimies.

King Gregory his ſaying to the ſouldiers.

Herdunt aſſembled his men togither.

Herdunt weat toward Raſin, chiet generall of the Danes in England.

diſperſed here and there, but when he vnderſtoode how he had loſt the more halfe of his whole hoſt, he curſed that vnhappy day, and determined to retire vnto Raſin, who as then was captain generall of all the Danes that were in Englande: but Herdunt by reaſon of his wounded men, whom he was faine to carie with him, could not make forward with any great ſpeede, ſo that he was vneth xl. miles got forth on his way when word came to him, that Raſine fighting with the Engliſhe men vnwarely, at a place called Helcades, chaunced to be ſlaine with a great multitude of his people: and thereunto his head was caried abrode vp and downe the countrey from towne to towne to be ſeene. By ſuch miſhaps the proſperitie of the Danes ſo much flouriſhing of late, began nowe manifeſtly to decay.

Herdunt remayned in campe.

Herdunt although he was not a little diſcoraged herewith, yet he choſe forth a plot of ground moſt meet for his purpoſe, where he determined to remaine in campe till he might vnderſtand what the Danes in other places were minded to do.

King Gregory ſuffred the inhabitants of Northumberland to inioy their landes

But Gregorie K. of Scots hauing thus expulſed the Danes forth of Northumberland, brought that countrey vnder his ſubiection: neuertheleſſe he permitted the inhabitants to enioy all their poſſeſſions ſtill, only receyuing of the in name of ſoueraintie a yearely tribute.

King Gregory wintered at Barwike.

So that within a few dayes after, he brake vp his armie, & went himſelf vnto Barwike, where he remayned all the winter ſeaſon in conſultation with his nobles about the publike affayres of the realme.

King Gregory prepared an armie againſt the Brytaines.

In the beginning of the next Sommer, he prepared againe for warre, and rayſing an armie, he purpoſed to make a iourney againſt the Brytains, who held (as before ye haue herd) a great part of Scotland. But he was not driuen to vſe any force in this warre, for the Brytaines being vexed afore this time with warre by the Danes, had cõpounded with them for an huge ſumme of money to haue truce for. xx. yeares ſpace, but the Danes without regard to their promiſe, ſhortly after with a greater power than at the firſt, entred into the Brytiſh borders, renuing yͤ warre ſo fiercely, that notwithſtanding their force was ſore enfeebled, by reaſon of the two laſt mẽtioned ouerthrowes,

The Brytaines ſend to king Gregorie.

yet the Brytaines doubting the worſt, feared to encounter with them, and therfore after conſultation had, they thought it beſt to aſſay if they might happely allure the Scottes of their enimies to become their friends. And hereupon ſending vnto the Scottiſh King an Heraulde, they requyre to ioyne with them in armes agaynſte the Danes, common enimies to both theyr Countreys, promiſing that if they woulde ſo doe, they woulde willingly ſurrender into his handes all ſuch poſſeſſions which they helde at any time belonging vnto the Scottiſh kingdome.

King Greg his conſide tion.

Gregorie weying with himſelfe how neceſſarie this friendſhip ſhould be, not onely to the publike weale of all the whole lande of Albion, but alſo of the good ſuretie and aduauncement of Chriſtes religion, whereof the Danes were grieuous aduerſaries (for this hee thought, that if Scottes, Engliſh men, and Brytaines did ioyne in one, and knit themſelues togither in ayding ech other, there was no nation in the world that they needed to feare)

A peace co cluded, and landes ſurrendred to the Scott

he conſented vnto the requeſt of the Brytaines, and ſo accepting their offer, he had all thoſe regions which apperteyned ſometime to the Scottes, and were nowe in poſſeſſion of the Brytaynes, ſurrendered into his handes, and ſo by this meanes were the Scottiſhe confines enlarged and extended vnto their auncient limittes and former boundes. This diſſention and variance being ceaſſed after this maner, greatly reioyced the mindes of all the inhabitantes of thys Ile, but contrariwiſe, the Danes looked for nothing more than preſent deſtruction to enſue vnto them, if this amitie ſhould continue any while amõgſt their enimies, wherfore they practiſed ſũdrie meanes to breake the amitie thus remayning betwixt their aduerſaries, Scottes, Engliſh men, and Brytaynes, wherein they needed not greatly to trauayle,

The Bryt rep the league made wi Scottes.

for within a ſhort tyme after the concluſion of the ſame league, the proſperous ſucceſſe of the Engliſh men, whiche for a ſeaſon had folowed them vnder the conduct and gouernment of their king Alured againſt the Danes, occaſioned the Brytaynes alſo (hauing nowe no further feare of the Daniſhe puiſſance,) to repent themſelues of the league, whiche they had lately made with the Scottes, in ſo muche that Conſtantine whome a little before they had receyued to bee theyr king after the deceaſſe of his father, reyſed a power, and with the ſame entered into Annandale, to recouer that Countrey out of the Scottiſhe mens handes: but hearing in the ende that Gregorie was comming with a great army to ſuccour his ſubiectes, whome the ſayde Brytaynes on eche ſide had ſore afflicted, they began to drawe backe towardes Cumberlande wyth theyr bootie, thinking there to bee in ſafetie vntill a time more conuenient.

The Scott ouerthrow Brytaynes.

But king Gregorie coaſting the Countrey, met with them at Lochmaben, and there gaue them battaile, wherein when Conſtantine perceyued how his people began to ſhrinke backe, as a man hauing more regarde to his honour than to the ſuretie of his life, he ruſhed forth into the formoſt preaſe, there to ſuccour and relieue his Standardes,

Conſtantin ſlaine.

but being compaſſed about amongeſt a great companie of his enimies, his chaunce was there to bee ſlaine with a number of the chiefeſt Lordes of all the Brytiſh nation. The other multitude ſeeing the day to goe thus agaynſt them, fled to ſaue theyr liues, leauing the victorie ſo to the Scottes.

This ouerthrowe did put the Brytaynes in daunger to haue bene vtterly ouerrunne, what by the Scottes on the one ſide, and the Danes on the other: for as for any ayde to be looked for of the Engliſh men, they had plain anſwere they ſhould haue none, ſith they had ſo vniuſtly broken the league cõcluded with their cõfederates the Scots, to the great hinderance of the proſperous proceedings of al the inhabiters of this Iſle, againſt their common enimies the Danes. Yet the better to eſtabliſh the eſtate of their countrey, and in hope of ſome recouerie of their former dammages, they crowned to their king one Herbert (or as ſome copies haue Hebert) the brother of the laſt Conſtantine, and herewith ſent Ambaſſadours vnto Gregorie king of the Scottiſh men to excuſe themſelues, in that they had ſo wrongfully attempted the warres againſt him and his people, laying all the fault in Conſtantine, who againſt the willes and contrarie to the minds of his ſubiects did take vpon him that diſhonourable and moſt infortunate enterpriſe. Gregorie hauing heard the meſſage of theſe Ambaſſadors, for anſwer declared vnto thẽ, that he vnderſtood wel ynough that the Brytains now ſued for peace vpon no reuerend conſideration they had vnto their othes of couenãt, but only for that they ſaw howe if they ſhoulde purſue the warre ſtill, they were ſure that in the ende they ſhould be like to haue the foyle: & therefore he was fully thus reſolued, not to conclude any peace or truce with ſuch diſloyall people, till they had reſigned ouer into his hands the whole poſſeſſion of the Countreys of Cumberland & Weſtmerland, with aſſurance neuer to pretende any clayme or title vnto thoſe dominions from thenceforth: and herewith for performance of couenants, to render into his hands not only yͤ keyes of al the townes, caſtels, and fortreſſes in the ſame countreys, and to auoyde quite their wayes into Wales to other their countrey men there, but alſo to deliuer. lx. noble mens ſonnes and heyres apparant as pledges to remain with the Scots. The Ambaſſadors returning home with this meſſage, and reporting it accordingly vnto their king, when all men had ſaid their aduice, in the ende they condiſcended to conclude the peace with the rehearſed conditions preſcribed by the Scottiſh king, ſith they ſawe no better meane to preſerue their nation from preſent deſtruction. And thus deliuering the appoynted number of pledges, they left the countryes of Cũberland and Weſtmerland voyd, ſurrendring into the Scottiſh mens hands the poſſeſſions of all the townes, caſtels & fortreſſes, & therewith departed into Northwales, where they placed thẽſelues in the countrey betwixt Conway and the riuer of Dee, out of the which they expulſed the Engliſhe men (that were then in poſſeſſion therof) and therwith they erected a kingdom ther, which they named Stradcluyd, mainteyning warres againſt yͤ Engliſhmen many yeres after. K. Gregorie hauing thus enlarged his kingdome, aſſembled his nobles at Carleil, wher he reſolued with their aduice to follow ſuch good fortune as by Gods prouidence dayly chaunced vnto them. Whervpon it was agreed, that they ſhould go firſt vnto Yorke to conquer that citie, whileſt the Engliſh men in Kent were occupied with the Danes that were come thither, ſo as neither the one nation nor the other could attend to make any attempt to hinder the Scottiſh mens enterpriſe. But in the meane time came Ambaſſadors vnto Gregorie frõ king Alured to congratulate his proſperous ſucceſſe againſt his enimies yͤ Danes & other. Theſe Ambaſſadors alſo willed to haue the auncient league betwixt Engliſhmen & Scottes renued, by which meanes both their powers might ioine togither againſt their common enimies, when they ſhould attempt any wrongfull inuaſion. This requeſt was granted, ſo that ſhortly thervpon peace was eſtabliſhed betwixt thoſe princes & their people, to confirmation of the olde league, wherevnto were added theſe articles: that yͤ Scots ſhould enioy the poſſeſſion of Northũberland without any claime to be made to the ſame by the Engliſh men: if the Danes chaunced to inuade either of their dominions, the warre ſhould be accounted as common to them both. Neither ſhould the Scots graunt paſſage to any enimy of the Engliſhmen through Scotlãd, neither the Engliſh men ſuffer yͤ Scottiſh mens enimies to paſſe through England. If any Engliſh men did rob or ſteale any thing out of Scotlande that ſhoulde not breake the league, but the offenders with the recepters ſhould be deliuered to the Scottiſh magiſtrats to be puniſhed according to the qualitie of the offence, & the lyke ſhould be obſerued by the Scottes towardes the Engliſhmẽ. Thus things being quieted with the Engliſhmen, as Gregory was about to lay armor aſide, word came to him of new trouble forth of Galloway, by reaſon of an inuaſion made by the Iriſhmen into that coũtrey. For the Iriſhmẽ hauing knowledge that the inhabitants of Galloway had ſpoyled two ſhips of Dublin arryuing on their coaſt, ſent ouer a great power of men, the which landing in Galloway, made great ſlaughter of the people on ech ſide. K. Gregory being aduertiſed hereof, ſtreyght wayes made towardes them, but they hauing knowledge of his cõming, drewe to their ſhippes with a great pray of goodes and cattels, and returned therewith immediately back into their own countrey. Herevpon Gregory without delay got togither his ſhips and folowed the enimies with all his army, & landing in Ireland, put the nobles of that realme in great feare, who as then were in contention togither whiche of them ſhoulde haue the gouernment, by reaſon

Hebert king of Britain ſent Ambaſſadors.

King Gregory his anſwere.

Gregorie required a reſignation of Cũberlande and Weſtmerland.

Peace was concluded.

Humfrey Lluid. 870

The pollicy of the Scottes to haue taken Yorke.

K. Alured ſent Ambaſſadours vnto king Gregorie.

Peace confirmed.

New conditions of peace.

No paſſage to be graunted vnto the enimie.

Puniſhment of robbers

Galloway inuaded by the Iriſh men.

A truce was taken betwixt the two parties

The two Iriſh men gather their powers.

Two armies one neare the other.

The Iriſh mẽs practiſe.

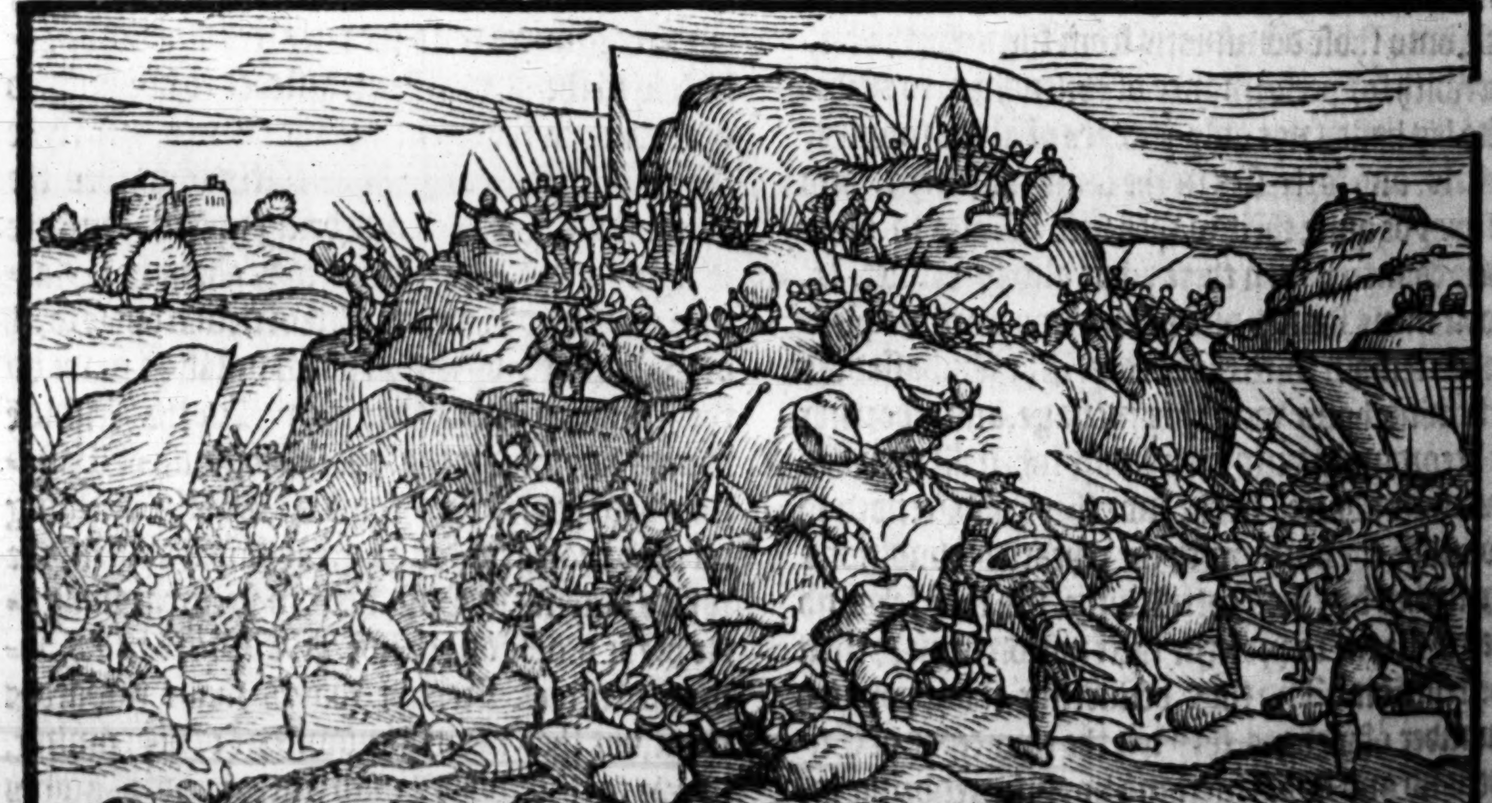
The Scottes had made prouiſion of vytayles afore hande.

The king uiſe.

Kenneth C lan.

King Gre aſſayled th Iriſhmen.

theyr king was lately deade, and had left a ſonne behinde him being but a childe in yeares, to ſucceede him in his throne. Some therefore of the wiſer ſort, and ſuch as tendred the wealth of their countrey, went earneſtly about to agree the parties, but when they ſaw that woulde not be, they did ſo much yet, that a truce was taken betwixt them for a while, leaſt fighting ſtill amongeſt themſelues, they ſhoulde put theyr Countrey in daunger to be ouerrunne of the Scottes: agaynſt whom when they had agreed vpon the foreſayde truce, eyther of the factions rayſed a power, one Bren being generall of the one, and Cornelius of the other: for theſe two princes were heades of the parties betwixt whom the controuerſie for the gouernment of the Realme reſted, and therevpon by conſent of the reſidue had the leading of all them that were of their faction. Theſe two Captaynes with their armies encamped themſelues vpon the banke of the Ryuer Bane, vnder the Mountaine called Fute: theyr campes beeing ſeuered by a ſmall diſtance the one from the other, in ſuch a ſtrong place, that it was not poſſible for the enimies to approche them withoute manifeſt daunger to caſt away themſelues. Their chiefe purpoſe was to prolong the tyme here in thys place, till they had famiſhed the Scottiſh armie, and then to deale with them at theyr pleaſure. But the induſtrious prouiſion of Gregorie paſſed the polityke deuiſe of the Iriſhe men: for hee had commaunded that euerie one of thoſe Scottiſh men which paſſed the Seas with him, ſhould puruey hymſelfe of vytayles, according to the cuſtome of the Countrey, for fiftie dayes ſpace, as of breade, cheeſe, butter, larde, and powdred biefe: as for drinke they knewe they ſhoulde not neede to care, ſithe they were ſure to finde water ynough in euery place where they chaunced to come: for as yet filthie & ſeruile glutonie had not ſoftened nor inured with wanton delicacie the warlike natures of the Scottiſh people. In the ende Gregorie hauing for certaine dayes reſted himſelf and his men, & deuiſing in the meane time which way he might beſt endomage the enimies. At length concluded to ſende in the night ſeaſon two thouſande of his ſouldiers vp to the ridge of the forenamed mountaine called Fute, throughe the thicke buſhes and woods wherewith the ſame was couered, to the ende that getting to the top of that hill, right ouer where the Iriſh campes lay, they might in the morning (at what time Gregorie with the reſt of the armie went about to aſſayle hys enimyes) tumble downe ſtones from the browes of the Hill vpon them, thereby eyther to deſtroy great numbers of them, either elſe to conſtraine them to come forth of their ſtrength into the plaine fields, and ſo to fight with them in a place indifferent. Kenneth Cullan the Thane of Carrick tooke vppon him to haue the conduct of them that ſhoulde goe aboute this enterpriſe, who conueying hys bande ouer the water of Bane, and ſo vp on the backe ſide of the Mountayne, in the morning when their fellowes fell in hande to aſſayle the Iriſhe campe where Bren lodged, they tumbled ſuche plentie of mightie ſtones downe vpon the Iriſhe men, that aboue a thouſande of them beeing ſlaine, all the reſidue were forced to forſake their grounde, and to flee in maner withoute anye ſtroke ſtryken. The Scottes that were ſent to purſue them, tooke a great number of them priſoners, and ſlue but a fewe, hauing before hande ſuche commaundement from their Prince.



The Iriſh are purſued.

Whileſt this miſchiefe fell vpon Bren and his people, Cornelius with his folkes curſing that infortunate day, left their lodgings, and marched their wayes in good order of battaile til they were farre ynough out of daunger.

The bodie of Bren alſo was founde amongſt other in the ryfling of the campe, with the heade bruyſed in peeces, and the braynes paſhed oute with ſome ſtone throwne downe by the Scottiſh men from the hyll ſide. Which Gregorie at the requeſt of ſome of the priſoners cauſed to bee buryed in Chriſtian Sepulture. He cauſed alſo women and children to be ſent away harmleſſe, onely retayning the men of able age priſoners. Furthermore he commaunded that they ſhoulde vſe neyther fire nor ſworde, but agaynſt ſuch onely as with weapon in hande made any reſiſtance. and cõmaunded them alſo that they ſhoulde prouide themſelues of vittayles to ſerue them whyleſt they ſhoulde lie abrode and remaine there in that countrey. And hereupon many of the Iriſh people thus taſting the mercifull clemencie of the Scottiſh king, yeelded themſelues vnto him with ſundrie Fortreſſes, ſo that Gregorie finding ſufficient prouiſion of vyttayles to ſerue his hoſt for a long ſeaſon, he went vnto the ſtrong Citie of Doungarge, or Doungarde, which he enuironed aboute with a ſtrong ſiege, and continuing the ſame certaine dayes, at length they within wearyed wyth continuall trauayle and lacke of vittayles, opened the gate, and ſuffered him to enter. He woulde not permit his men to meddle wyth anye of the ſpoyle, but appoynted the Townes men to redeeme the ſame (theyr armour except) of hys Souldiers for a peece of money.

en was ſlain.

Women and children are kept harmles.

Vnarmed men were ſpared.

Vittailes were commaunded to be prouided.

Doungarge or Doungard beſieged.

The town was yeelded.

A gentle ranſome.

Afterwarde tarying in this Citie by the ſpace of three dayes, hee departed and came afore another Citie called Pontus, whiche he receyued by ſurrender, and therefore preſerued the Citizens from all hurt and annoyance. From thence hee purpoſed to haue gone vnto Dubline, about .xiiij. myles diſtant from Pontus, but as he marched thitherwardes, he was aduertiſed that Cornelius was comming towardes him with ſuch an huge armie, as the like had not beene ſeene within the memorie of man in that Ile. Whereupon Gregorie chaunging his purpoſe of goyng to Dublin, vpon report of theſe newes, he got him vp into the next mountaine. The next daye came the Iriſh men raunged in three battayles. In the firſt, there was a great multitude of Kernes with Dartes and Bowes: In the ſecond were a great number of mightie tall men, armed in coates of male, with Bucklers and great long Swordes, which they caryed vpon their right ſhoulders. In the thirde battaile, wherein ſtoode their generall Cornelius with all the chiefeſt Nobles of the Countrey, were an infinite companie of all ſortes of Souldiers, choſen forth of all the whole numbers. The Scottes (according to their cuſtome) deuided themſelues into two wings, and a middle warde, in euerie of the which were three ſortes of Souldiers: as fyrſt Archers, and thoſe with long Speares, then Bylmen, and laſt of all, ſuche as bare long Swordes and leaden Malles.

Pontus was ſurrendred alſo.

Cornelius came with an huge armie.

The Iriſhmen came in three battayles.

Kernes.

Theſe might be name Gallowglaſſes, if they had bene furniſhed with Axes.

The Scottes came in two wings.

Thus the battailes beeing ordered on both partes, forwarde they make one towardes another to begin the fight, the Scots (after ẏ the ſhot and throwing of darts was ſpent, and that they came to ioyne) kept off theyr enimies with long Speares or Iauelins, in ſuch ſort, that they were not able to come neare them: which diſaduantage Cornelius perceyuing, commaunded on highe that they ſhoulde with their ſwordes cutte thoſe Iauelynes in ſunder, and as he lyfted vp the viſor of his helmet, the better to exhort his people to the execution hereof, he was ſo wounded in the face with a Speare, that he was fain to withdraw apart out of the fielde. The Iriſh men ſuppoſing he had fledde, incontinently to ſaue themſelues, threw off theyr armor and fell to running away. Thus did the victorie encline to the Scottiſhe ſtandardes. There died but a fewe to ſpeake of in the battaile, howbeit in the chaſe there was a wonderfull number ſlaine: for the Scottes purſued them euen vnto Dublin Gates Which Citie the next day Gregorie beſet on eche ſide wyth a mightie ſiege. There was gotte into this Citie at the ſame tyme a wonderfull multitude of people, what of ſuche as were receyued into it fleeing from the battaile, as alſo of other, whiche were there aſſembled before, in hope of aſſured victorie and ſafegarde of their goodes. By reaſon whereof beeing thus beſieged, they beganne quickely to want vytayles, ſo that eyther muſt they of neceſſitie yeelde, eyther elſe by ſome iſſue auoyde that daunger wherein they were preſently bewrapped.

Two battailes ioine.

Cornelius was ſore wounded.

The Iriſh ran away.

Dublin beſieged.

But for as much as they ſaw no great likelyhoode of good ſucceſſe in that exployte, in the ende it was concluded amongſt them, that (ſithe there was no meane for thoſe Noble men which were incloſed within that Citie to eſcape the enimies handes, and that there were none other of any reputation abrode able to defende the Countrey frõ the Scottiſhmens puiſſance) they ſhould fall to ſome treatie with the Scottiſh king for a peace to be had, with ſo reaſonable conditions as might be obteyned: for other remedie in that preſent miſchief they could deuiſe none, and therfore this was iudged the beſt way of the whole nũber, & namely of Cormach biſhop of Dublin, a man for his ſingular vertue & reputatiõ of vpright life, of no ſmal authority amongſt them. He took vpõ him alſo to go vnto Gregorie to breake ẏ matter, & ſo cõming afore his preſẽce, beſought him moſt hũbly to haue cõpaſſion vpon the poore miſerable citie, and in ſuch ſort to temper his wrath, if he had conceyued any peece of diſpleaſure agaynſt

They conſult vpon a treatie of peace to be made.

Cormach B. of Dublin went vnto king Gregorie.

Douncane.

A wittie ſaying.

King Gregory his wiſe and godly anſwer.

the Citizens, that it might pleaſe him yet vppon their humble ſubmiſſion to receyue them vnto his mercie, and further to accept into his protection his couſin yong Duncane, vnto whom the kingdome of Irelande was due of right, as all the worlde well vnderſtoode. He beſought him alſo to remember, that it apperteyned more to the honour of a king to preſerue the lawfull right of other kings and princes with the quiet ſtate of Cities and Countreyes, than by violent hande to ſeeke their deſtruction. Wherevnto the king anſwered, that he was not come into Irelande for any couetous deſire he had to the Realme, or to the entent to ſpoyle his kinneſman of the gouernment thereof, but onely to reuenge ſuche iniuries as the Iriſhmen had done to his ſubiectes: not the Scottes but the Iriſhe men themſelues were they that had gyuen the occaſion of the warre, whiche they had dearely bought wyth no ſmall portion of theyr bloud (whiche had beene ſhedde) as puniſhed for that cryme worthily by the iuſte iudgement of almightie God.

But as touching an ende to bee had of hys quarell, and for the reſeruing of the Kingdome vnto yong Duncanes behoofe, when hee had the Citie at hys pleaſure, hee woulde then take ſuche order as hee ſhoulde thinke moſt conuenient.

Dublin is ſ rendred vn king Grego

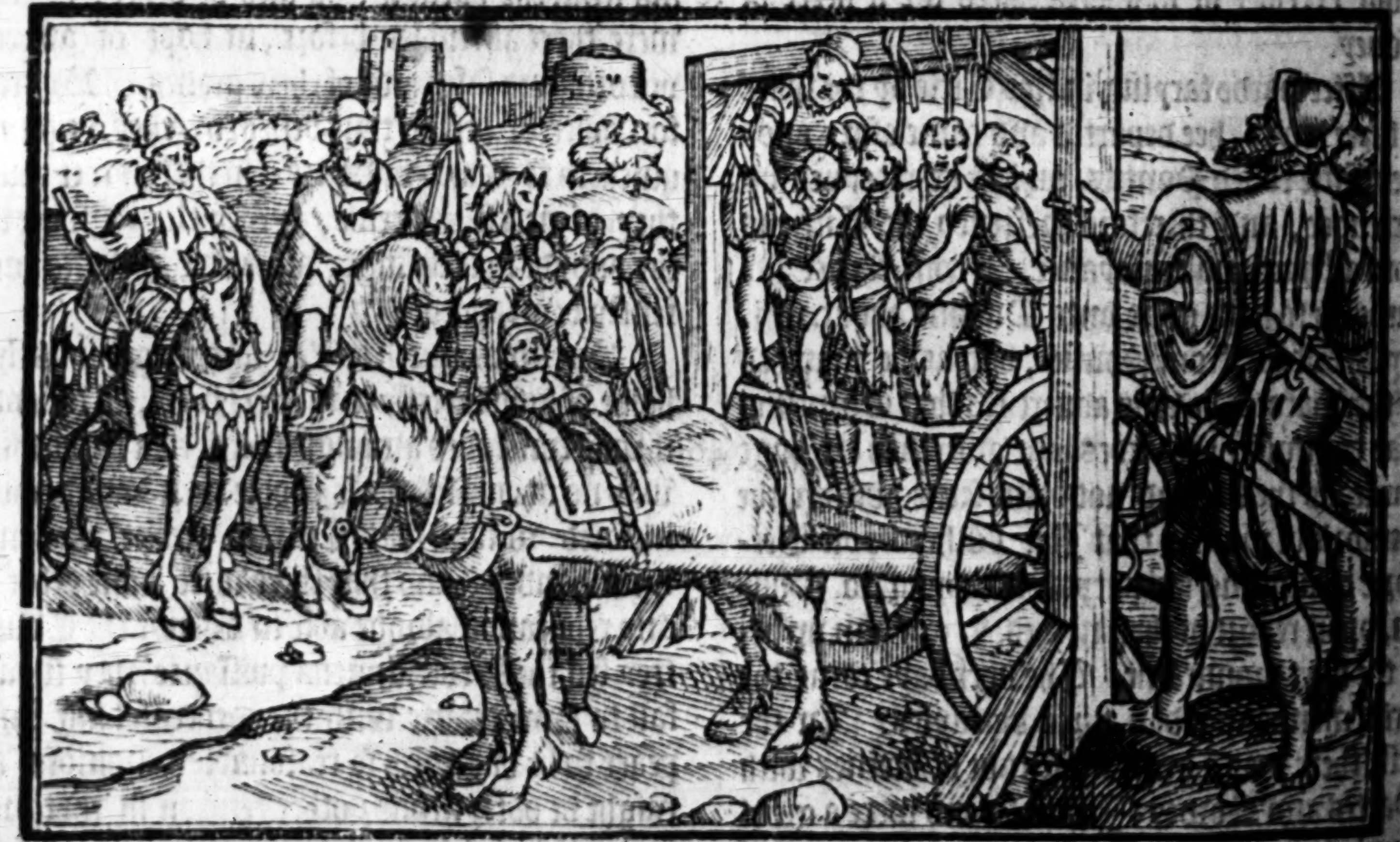
Gregorie w receyued w Proceſſion.

Cormach B of Dublin commeth a croſſe beare

He kiſſeth Crucifix.

He entred Caſtell.

This anſwere of the Scottiſhe king being reported vnto them within the Citie, they determined forthwith to ſet open their gates to receyue him: who, when he had cauſed ſearch to be made whither all things were truely ment according to the outwarde ſhewe or not, he marched forth towardes the Citie to enter the ſame in order of battaile, with all hys whole armie, into the which he was receiued with Proceſſion of al the eſtates: for firſt there mette him all the Prieſtes and men of Religion, with the Byſhop, the foreſayd Cormach, who hauing vpon him his Pontificall apparell, bare in his handes the Crucifixe: then followed the Nobles with the other multitude. Which order when Gregorie behelde, he commaunded his battaile to ſtay a little, and therewith he himſelfe aduaunced forth on foote till hee came to the Biſhop, and falling downe vpon his knees, he reuerently kiſſed the Crucifix, whereupon receyuing humble thankes with high commendation of the Biſhop for ſuche his clemencie, he entred the Citie, not ſtaying till he came into the Market place, where commaunding one part of his armie to keepe their ſtanding, he went with the reſidue vnto the Church of our Ladie, and after to that of Saint Patrike, where hearing the celebration of diuine ſeruice when the ſame was ended, hee entred the Caſtell, where his lodging was prepared. In the morning he cauſed execution to be done of certaine vnruly perſons of his armie, whiche in the night paſſed had broken vp the houſes of ſome of the Citizens, and rauiſhed diuerſe women. And for this acte Gregorie being had in highe reuerence of the Iriſhe people, lodged part of hys armie wᵗin the Citie, and part he commaunded to lodge wythout in the campe.



A peace concluded with Irelande.

At length hauing remayned a ſeaſon in thys eſtate at Dublin, hee cauſed the Iriſhe Lordes to aſſemble in Counſaile, where in the ende the peace was concluded betwixte him and them, with theſe articles and couenants.

Articles of uenant.

Their yong king to be brought vp.

King Greg to haue the uernment the realme.

Firſt it was agreed that the yong king Duncane ſhould be brought vp vnder the gouernment of wiſe and diſcrete perſons, to be inſtructed in all Princely knowledge within a ſtrong Caſtell, (wherein he had hitherto remayned euer ſithe hys fathers deceaſſe) till he came to yeares of diſcretion. And that in the meane tyme Gregorie ſhoulde haue the gouernaunce of the Realme, receyuing all the fortreſſes into his poſſeſſion.

He

e ſhould alſo ppoynt the giſtrates.

o man to ffike in Irelande without pport.

ng Gregory turned into Scotlande.

he ſhould alſo haue the appoyntment of the magyſtrates, who ſhould ſee iuſtice miniſtred accordyng to the olde ſtatutes and ordinaunces of the Iriſhe kingdome, that the Iriſh men ſhould receyue neyther Engliſhe man, Brytaine, nor Dane, into theyr Countrey, no not ſo much as for trade of marchandiſe, without ſafeconduite to be graunted by him: ſo that things beeing thus brought vnto a quietnes in Ireland, he receyued an othe of the chiefeſt of them for performance of couenants, and herewith taking with him three ſcore hoſtages, hee returned with his victorious army backe into Scotlande.

e king died

893

berdine is ade a Citie.

ing Gregory is buried in Colmkill.

After this, there chaunced no notable trouble to the Scottes, neyther forraine nor ciuill by all the time of king Gregories raigne, ſo that paſſing the reſidue of his life in quietneſſe, he ſtudied chiefly for the politike gouernment of his people in good order and rule. to the aduauncement of the common wealth: and finally died an happy olde man, in a Caſtell called Downdore within the Countrey of Garioth, in the .xviij. yeare after hys entring into his eſtate, and after the byrth of our ſauiour. 892. He was neuer maryed, but lyued in continuall chaſtitie: for his famous victories and other his princely doings deſeruing of the Scottes to be numbred amongſt their moſt high renowmed princes. Amongſt other his princely actes which he ſet forwarde in his life time, to the adornement of his countrey and common welth, Aberdine of a village was aduaunced by him to the ſtate and dignitie of a citie, and the Churche there indowed with fayre reuenewes, and ſundry priuiledges. His bodie was conueyed vnto the Abbey of Colmkill, and there buryed with all ſolemne pompe and exequies. Ouer the which hys nexte ſucceſſour Donalde the fift of that name cauſed a fayre tumbe to be erected.

Iohn Scot. Some holde that he was an Engliſh man. Bale.

Dionyſ. Areopagita was anſlated by Iohn Scot.

He taught K. Alured in England.

He taught in Malmesbury.

He was killed of his ſcholers.

In the dayes of this Gregorie alſo, there liued that famous Clerke Iohn Scot, a Scottiſh man in deede borne, but brought vp in ſtudie of good literature at Athens, where hauing learned the Greeke tongue, he was ſent for into Fraunce, to come vnto the Emperour Lewes, with whome he remayned in ſeruice for a time: and by whoſe commaundement he tranſlated the booke of S. Dioniſe, intituled *Hierarchia*, into Latine. Afterwardes beeing ſent Ambaſſadour from the ſame Lewes vnto Alured or Alfred king of Englande, he continued with him & taught his children, hauing a place thereto appoynted him within the Abbay of Malmeſburie, where he had ſuch reſort of hearers and ſcholers, that it was a wonder to behold. Notwithſtãding, at length when he ceaſſed not to blame and ſharply to reproue the corrupt maners of ſuch his ſchollers as were giuen more to libertie than learning, he was by them murthered with daggers, as he was reading vnto them, and was afterwardes regiſtred amongeſt the number of Martyrs.

Donald

But to our purpoſe. After Gregory ſucceeded Donald the fifth in gouernment of the kingdome. He was the Sonne of Conſtantine the ſeconde. And finding the ſtate of the Realme in good quiet and flouriſhing in welth he applied his whole ſtudie to mainteyne the ſame in the ſemblable plight and condition. And before all things he cauſed iuſtice to bee duely miniſtred, ſo that no iniurie, ſpecially if it were done to any poore perſon, eſcaped vnpuniſhed. Chriſt the Lord of al vertue had giuen him ſuch a godly diſpoſed minde, whoſe religion (to the aduauncement of his glorie) he had euer in high veneration. Amongſt other his godly ordinances, he made this ſtatute to bee obſerued as a law, that ſuch as by ſwearing vnaduiſedly blaſphemed the name of almightie God, or in curſing and banning called vpon the name of the wicked fiend, and betooke any Chriſtian creature vnto his helliſhe power and domination (a vice naturally following the people of that Nation) ſhould haue his tongue thruſt through with a burning yron. But wo worth the negligence of ſuch as haue ſucceeded him, in ſuffring ſo neceſſarie an ordinance to be aboliſhed and worne out of vſe, conſidering the horrible othes and blaſphemie, with the bitter & dreadfull curſings ſo much frequented of al eſtates in this our time, aſwel in Scotlande as elſewhere, as without great horror of the hearers cannot bee halfe expreſſed. But to our purpoſe touching the gouernmẽt of Donald: it chaunced afterwardes, that he had knowledge how Gormond a Dane was landed with a puiſſant armie vpon the coaſtes of Northumberland, and had pitched his campe neare vnto the ſhore, without doing any domage to the Countrey: ſo that it was vncertain what he intended: whether to begin a conqueſt there, or to paſſe ouer Humber to make warres on the Engliſhmen. To preuent therefore all daungers, Donalde haſted towardes Northumberlande, howbeit he was not farre forwarde on his iourney, but that worde came to him how Gormond was alreadie paſſed ouer Humber, and entred into the Engliſhe borders. But yet did not Donald ſtay his iourney, til he heard certainly, that Gormond keeping vpon his way was aduaunced forwarde at the leaſt .xl. miles of from the ryuer of Humber, doubting leaſt happely he had ment ſome deceyt, as ſodenly to haue returned vpon the Scots in Northumberlande, when the king had beene once gone backe.

Donalde the fifth.

He was a good iuſticier.

He was religious.

A puniſher of blaſphemers.

Good ordinances are ſoone neglected.

Gormond arriued with a nauie in Northumberland.

King Donalde goeth to reſiſt him.

Gormond wẽt beyond Humber.

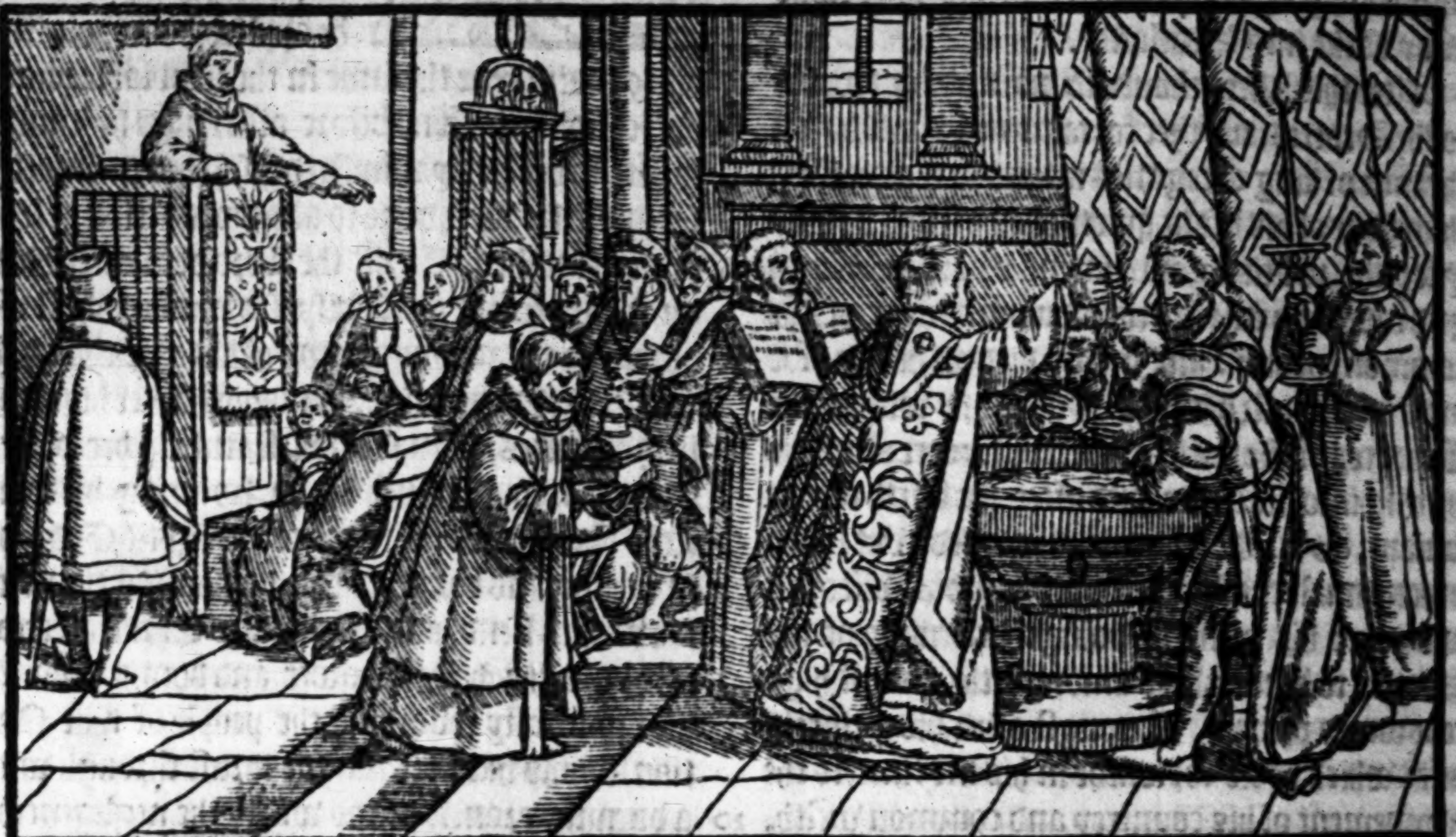
Donalde ſent 5000. men to the ayde of the Engliſh men.

But nowe when it was knowne that hys purpoſe was onely to aſſayle the Engliſh Countreys, according to the league newly confirmed, Donalde ſent fiue thouſande Scottiſh men vnto the ayde of the Engliſh men. And alſo appoynted two thouſand horſemen to remaine with him in Northumberlande (where he ſtayed for a tyme) diſcharging the reſidue, and licenſing them to returne vnto their homes.

Gormond is ouerthrowne by k. Alured.

A peace co cluded.

The Danes be baptiſed, to remaine England.



Gormonde is baptiſed with many mo.

They of Roſſe inuade Murrey lande.

Two thouſand men ſlaine.

The king wẽt with an armie into Murrey lande.

The chiefe doers were put to death.

The king went into Northumberlande.

Donald di

Shortly after Gormond fought with Alured at Abingdon, where in the ende the victorie abode with the Engliſh men and Scottes, though the ſame was got with ſuch loſſe of men after long and doubtfull battaile, that they were not able to purſue the enimies in chaſe, but conſtrayned immediately after, to conclude a neceſſarie peace with them, on condition that the Danes ſhoulde enioy common ſeates with the Engliſh men in Albion, ſo that Gormond with his Danes ſhould be baptiſed, and profeſſe the Chriſtian Religion. Hereuppon alſo were pledges deliuered on both partes, and Gormonde comming to receiue baptiſme had his name chaunged, and was called Athelſtane, during whoſe life the peace continued betwixt the two Nations. Whileſt things paſſed thus in Englande, there roſe a peece of trouble betwixt the inhabitants of Murrey lande, and Roſſe, which diſquieted king Donald not a little. The occaſion grew by reaſon of certaine theeues, which comming forth of Roſſe in the night time, ſecretely entered into Murrey lande, to fetch booties from thence. At the firſt they of Murrey land made reſiſtaunce agaynſt them as well as they might, but after calling their neighbours to ayde them, they ſkirmiſhed in ſuch wiſe, that within two Monethes ſpace, there were ſlaine betwixt them two thouſand of the one ſyde & of the other. Donalde beeing not a little offended to haue hys peace broken with inteſtine diſcorde, gathered a great power, and with the ſame haſted into Murrey lande: where calling the chiefeſt doers and mainteyners of this buſineſſe to make anſwere to that which was layde to their charge, when they were not able to cleare themſelues of the cryme, he put them to open execution of death, to the enſample of other. This trouble beeing in this ſort quieted, he went into Northũberland, to be there in a readineſſe, if the Danes or Engliſhe men (whom he ſuſpected) ſhoulde attempt any thing agaynſt his ſubiectes in thoſe parties: where in the ende, after he had raigned almoſt .xj. yeares, he departed this worlde.

His bodie was buryed in Colmkill amongſt his aunceſters, with a Marble tombe ſet ouer his graue, as the maner in thoſe dayes was cuſtomarily vſed.

Conſta tine.

Conſtantin the thirde.

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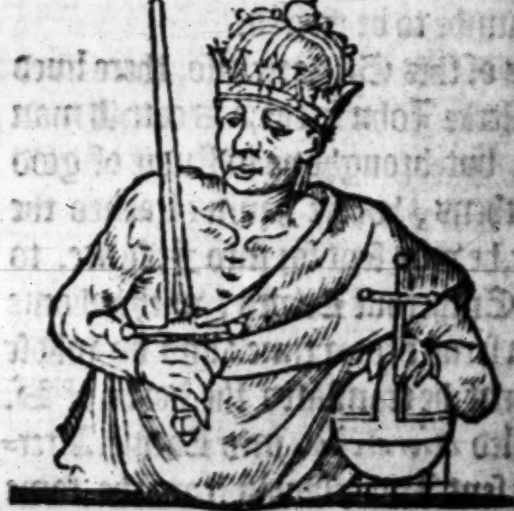

After Donalde the fifth, there ſucceeded in rule of the Realme Conſtantine yͤ thirde of that name, the ſon of Ethus the ſwift, begynning his raign in the yeare after the incarnation 903. He was more apt for ciuill gouernment, than for the ordering of warlike affayres. King Edwarde that lately ſucceeded Alured in rule ouer the Engliſh men being ware thereof, ſent vnto him an Heralde at armes, commaunding him to reſtore vnto his ſubiectes the Engliſh men, the cõtreys of Northumberland, Cumberlande, and Weſtmerlande (which the Scottiſh king Gregorie had in tymes paſt by occaſion of the troubleſome ſeaſon taken from the right owners by force) eyther els to looke for warres at his handes within .xl. dayes after this ſummonance. Conſtantine herevnto anſwered, that if king Edward were minded to make him warres for thoſe landes which he helde by rightfull title, he with his people woulde be ready to defend themſelues, hoping in the almightie God that hee woulde turne the puniſhment on them that vniuſtly had pyked the quarell. Herevpon enſued many rodes and forrayes betwixte the Engliſhmen and Scots made, as occaſion ſerued, into eche others countrey, with diuers ſkyrmiſhes & light bickerings for a twelue monethes ſpace togither, without any notable encounter of theyr mayne powers. In which meane tyme the Danes encreaſed in puyſſaunce, more than was thought requiſite for the ſuertie eyther of the Engliſhmen or Scottes, whiche moued king Edward by perſwaſion of his Nobles, to make meanes vnto Conſtantine to haue the peace renewed: wherevnto Conſtantine lightly agreed: ſo that the league was confirmed agayne with the former articles betwixt the Engliſhe and Scottiſh nations. Shortly after alſo the warre was renewed betwixt the Engliſhmẽ & Danes, and a peace againe confirmed by concluſion of a mariage betwixt Sithrik king of Northumberland and Beatrice the doughter of king Edwarde, till at length Sithrik was poyſoned by his wife the ſayde Beatrice: and then bicauſe Iualaſſus whome the Engliſhe wryters name Anlafe and Godfrey, the ſonnes of Sithrike, put the ſame Beatrice to death, hyr father king Edward moued warre againſt them, & in foughten fielde diſcomfited them, but was ſlaine in that battel himſelf (as Hector Boetius hath.) But for the further truth of this mater, ye may read more in the Hiſtorie of Englande.

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The Danes being certified, that king Edwarde was thus ſlayne, conceyued ſuch hope of good ſucceſſe after to come, that albeit they were at this time vanquiſhed, they immediatly made newe preparation for the warre, and firſte of all Iualaſſus the one of the two bretherne before mencioned, ſent vnto Conſtantine the Scottiſh king, to allure him to ioyne with them agaynſt the Engliſhmen, whiche with great giftes and large promiſes hee eaſily brought to paſſe, the league not withſtandyng whiche remayned betwixt the Engliſhe and Scottiſhe nations. Herevpon bothe the Scottes and Danes made the greateſt prouiſion that might be, thinking verily to ſubdue the Engliſhmen, and to bryng them to vtter deſtruction. Malcolme ſonne to king Donald was appointed by king Conſtantine to haue the leading of the Scottiſhe army, conteyning the number of twentie thouſande men. The ſame Malcolme alſo at the ſame time was created heyre apparant of the realme, hauing Cumberland aſſigned vnto him for the mayntenaunce of his aſtate. And euen then it was ordeyned, that he whiche ſhould ſucceede to the crowne after the kings deceaſſe ſhoulde euer enioy that prouince. Malcolme ioyning his power with Iualaſſus and Godfrey (who had aſſembled in like maner a mightie hoſte of Danes) they all togither brake into the Engliſh confines, ſparing no kinde of crueltie that might be deuiſed, murthering the people without any pitie or compaſſion in all places where they came, to the intent yͤ the Engliſhmẽ moued with the ſlaughter of theyr kinſfolkes and frendes, ſhould come forth into the field to giue batayle, ſuppoſing they ſhould not be able to withſtande the force of the Danes and Scottiſhmen nowe ioyned in one army togither. But the more vilanie they ſhewed in theyr doings, the ſooner were they puniſhed for the ſame. For Athelſtane the baſe ſonne of king Edward (whom the Engliſhmen had choſen to ſucceede in gouernment of their kingdome after his fathers deceaſſe) with al ſpeede ſought to be reuenged of ſuch iniurious doings. Wherevpon getting togither an army, he encountred with them at a place called Broningfield, or Brunenburgh in Iulie, Anno. 937. where the Engliſhmen at the firſte of purpoſe gaue ſome thing backe, as though they had fled: which maner when the Danes and Scottes behelde, ſuppoſing the Engliſhmen had fledde in deede, they began to purſue amayne, leauyng theyr order of batayle, eche of them ſtriuing who might be the formoſt. The Engliſhmen according to the order appoynted to them by theyr Captaines, ſodenly fell into array againe, and fiercely returning vpon theyr enimies, beat them downe in great numbers, and ſo atteined a moſt triumphant victorie. There died in this mortall batayle many thouſands of Danes & Scottiſhmẽ, but chiefly the Scottiſh nobilitie bought the bargaine moſt deare, who choſing rather to die in the fielde than to ſuffer rebuke by diſhonorable flight, it came ſo to paſſe that fewe of them eſcaped. There died on that ſide (as ſome wryte) 20000. men in this bataile, togither with Wilfert king of the Guentes, Hanwall king of Brytons, and .vij. Dukes that caime to help the Scottes and Danes. Athelſtane by good aduiſe following the victorie, entred into Northumberland, and finding the countrey diſpurueyed of menne of warre, he eaſily made a full conqueſt thereof, hauing all the holdes and fortreſſes deliuered into his handes. Then without further delay he paſſed into Weſtmerland, and after into Cumberland, where the inhabitants of bothe thoſe regions bare footed and bare headed, in token of moſte humble ſubmiſſion yelded themſelues

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rmie.

He is created alſo heyre apparant.

The Earle of Cumberland heyre apparant to the king of Scots.

The Scots and Danes ioyne theyr powers togither.

They began a cruell warre.

Adelſtane baſe ſonne vnto king Edward.

Adelſtane came againſt the Scottes.

937.

The Scots and Danes out of order.

The Scots and Danes ouerthrowen.

The nobilitie wẽt to wrack.

Adelſtane toke Northumberland.

Weſtmerland & Cumberlãd recouered.

Malcolme eſcaped his hurtes.

ſelues vnto him, promiſing from thenceforth to continew his faithfull ſubiectes. In the meane time Malcolme beyng ſore wounded in the batayle, eſcaped yet with great daunger, and in an horſe litter was conueyed home into his countrey, where he declared vnto king Conſtantine the whole circumſtance of the ouerthrow & loſſe of his countreys aforeſayde. Whereupon Conſtantine cauſed a councell to be called at Abirnethy, where he perceyued howe ſore his realme was enfeebled through lacke of ſuch of the nobilitie as were loſt in the laſte battayle, by reaſon the reſidue that were left ſeemed through want of yeares, neither able by councell nor force to defend the realme, ſo as he vtterly deſpaired eyther to be of power to beate backe the enimies, or to gouerne his realme in ſuch politike ſorte as he would haue wiſhed. And therefore to rid himſelf of all ſuch cares and troubles, and withall deſpiſing al ſuch worldly pompe as might withdraw him from deuine contemplation (whereunto he was partly bent) he gaue ouer his kingly aſtate, and became a Chanon within the Abbey of S. Andrewes amongſt the couent there. This was in the yeare of our Sauiour. 943. and in the .xl. yeare of his owne reygne: as Hector Boetius ſaith: but if he did thus forſake the worlde and entred into religion immediatly after the batayle fought at Broningfielde or Brunenburgh (for ſo we finde it named by ſome wryters) then muſte it needes be afore this ſuppoſed time alledged by the ſame Boetius, for that batayle was fought, Anno. 937. as the beſte approued amongeſt our Engliſhe wryters do report, ſo that it ſhoulde rather ſeeme that Conſtãtine refuſed in deede to deale with the gouernment of the realme, about the ſame yeare of our Lord. 937. or ſhortly after, and that Malcolme gouerned as Regent and not as king whileſt Conſtantine liued, who departed this life (after he had cõtinued in the Abbey of S. Andrewes a certayne time in the foreſayd yeare. 943. falling in the .xl. yeare after he firſt beganne to reygne. He was firſt buried in the church there amongſt the Biſhops, but afterwards he was taken vp & trãſlated vnto Colmekill, where he had a tumbe ſet ouer him, as was conuenient for the memory of his name.

A councel called by Conſtantine.

Conſtantine becommeth a Chanon.

943.

M. VVeſtm.

943.

Conſtantine died.

In the .xxxvj. yeare of his reygne there were two monſtruous creatures borne in Albion, the one amongſt the Danes being an *Hermophrodyte*, that is to witte, a childe with bothe ſexes, hauing the head lyke a ſwyne, the breſte ſtanding forth more in reſemblance than the common ſhape of man, a fatte belly, with feete lyke a gooſe, legges lyke a man, full of briſtels, and a very euill fauoured thing to beholde. The other was borne in Northumberlande, onely hauing a mannes ſexe, with one whole belly from the nauell downe, but aboue, the ſame deuided with two breſts creaſted or compaſſed ridge wiſe and not broade lyke to the ſhape of man: beſide this it had foure armes and two heades. And euen as from the nauell vpwardes it was thus deuided into two bodies, ſo did it appeare there was two contrary willes or deſires in the ſame, euer luſting contrarily, as when the one did ſleepe, the other woulde wake: when the one requyred to haue meate, the other paſſed for none at all. Oftentymes woulde they chyde & brawle togither, in ſo muche that at length they fell ſo farre at variaunce, that they did beate and rente eyther other right pytifully with theyr nayles. At length the one with long ſickneſſe wearyng away and finally deceaſſing, the other was not able to abide the greeuous ſmell of the dead carcaſe, but immediatly after died alſo.

A monſter.

An other mõſter.

Two co
willes in
Monſter.

One par
before the
ther.

Aboute the ſame tyme there iſſued forth a fountayne of bloude out of the ſide of a mountayne in Galloway, and flowed in greate abundaunce for the ſpace of ſeuen dayes togither, ſo that all the ryuers there aboute (whereof there is great ſtore in that countrey) had theyr waters mixed with bloude, and ſo rennyng into the ſea, cauſed the ſame to ſeeme bloudie certaine miles diſtant from the ſhore. Theſe prodigious ſightes put menne in greate feare, for that deuinours did interprete the ſame to ſignifie ſome great bloudſhedde to fall vpon the Scots ſhortly after. They were alſo the better beleeued, for that within a whyle after that greate ouerthrow happened at Bronyngfielde, as before is ſpecified.

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Malcolme.

After that Cõſtantine (as is ſayde) was entred into religion, the before named Malcolme the ſon of Donalde was admitted king, or rather regent: who although he perceiued right wel how the force of the realme was ſo enfeebled, that there was no hope to maintayne warres abroad, yet his chiefe ſtudie was by all meanes poſſible to defende the bordurers of the Scottiſhe dominion, and before all things to procure peace with the Engliſhmen. But as he was about to haue ſente Ambaſſadours vnto king Athelſtane, to haue treated for peace, he was credibly enformed, howe Athelſtane had gyuen Northumberlande vnto Aualaſſus, and made a league with him to haue his ayde againſt the Scottes.

Aualaſſus
giuen hi
Northu
land.

Whiche newes put Malcolme in wonderfull dread, for that he vnderſtood how his realme was vnpurueyed of ſkilfull Captaines to make reſiſtance.

ouncell lled.

Yet hee cauſed a councell to be called; wherein when ſuche as were aſſembled proponed many fond & childiſhe reaſons, it might appeare there was ſmall hope of any good concluſion: but euen as they were at a poynt to haue broke vp without any certaine reſolution, worde was brought howe through ſeditious diſcorde, whiche had chaunced betwixt the Danes and Engliſhmen being aſſembled togither in campe, they had fought a right bloudy battayle, the victorie in the ende remayning with the Engliſhmen, who ceaſſed not to purſue the Danes in chaſe, ſo long as any day light appeared in the ſkie.

he Engliſh-en and the anes fall out gether, and ght.

ualaſſus fled to Weſterland.

Aualaſſus with ſuche Danes as he might get togither after that ouerthrowe, fledde into Weſtmerland, and within three dayes after, in ſuche ſhippes as he found there vpon the coaſt, he ſayled ouer into the Iſle of Man, and ſpoyling the ſame, with all the pray he paſſed from thence ouer into Irelande.

iled the Iſle Man, & got him into Ireland.

In the meane time king Athelſtane hauyng loſt no ſmall number of his people in the foreſayde batayle, omitted his iourney into Scotlande, and lay ſtill in Northumberland, no man vnderſtanding what he entended to do. Which newes were ſo pleaſant to the Scottiſhmen, that there was common ſupplications and proceſſions made through the whole realme, in rendring thanks to almightie God for deliuering the people by this meanes frõ ſo great and preſent daunger.

They goe in proceſsion in Scotlãd for ioy

mbaſſadours ſent vnto Malcolme.

Shortly after came Ambaſſadours from Athelſtane vnto Malcolme to moue meanes for a peace to be concluded betwixt the Scottiſhe and Engliſh nations according to the articles of the old league. Whiche motion was ioyfully herde of Malcolme, though he ſet a countenaunce of the mater as though hee paſſed not whether hee had warre or peace: but in the ende for that as he ſayde, peace was moſte neceſſarie for all parties, he ſhewed himſelfe willing to haue the olde former league renewed betwixte the Engliſhmen and Scottes, with any reaſonable condicions whiche ſhould be thought to be requiſite.

The league was confirmed agayne.

After the returne of the Ambaſſadours, the league was newly confirmed betwixt the two kings & theyr people, with the ſemblable articles as were compryſed in the olde league, with this article onely added therevnto, that Northumberland being as now repleniſhed moſt with Daniſh inhabitãts, ſhould remaine to the Engliſhmen: and Cumberland with Weſtmerlande to the Scots: vpon this condition, that he whiche ſhould ſucceede as heyre vnto the crowne of Scotlande after the kings deceaſſe, being heyre apparant, ſhould hold thoſe regions, and do homage vnto the king of England as his vaſſall perpetually for the ſame.

Northumberland allotted vnto England.

Cumberlãd & Weſtmerland to do homage vnto England.

The peace being thus eſtabliſhed betwixt theſe nations, Indulphe the ſonne of Conſtantine the thyrde was proclaymed prince of Cumberland and inheritour to the crowne of Scotland. After this, Malcolme paſſed the reſidue of his life in good quiet, without any troubles of warre, as a man onely ſtudying to mainteyne the ſtate of his realme in good order, aſwell for the wealth of the temporaltie as ſpiritualtie, wherevnto hee was equally inclined.

King Malcolme was murthered.

At length as he rode about the prouinces of his realme to ſee the lawes duely miniſtred, at Vlrine a village in Murraylãd, where he cauſed iuſtice to be ſomewhat ſtreightly executed vpon offendors, he was murthered in the night ſeaſon by treaſon of a fewe conſpiratours, in the .xv. yeare of his reigne.

The conſpirators were put to execution.

But ſuche as did this wicked deede with theyr complices, by diligent examination were tried out, and on the next day being apprehended, ſuffered due execution, according as they had deſerued, being torne in peeces with wilde horſes: and thoſe peeces ſent vnto ſundry cities, where they were hanged vp on the gates and towers, vntill they rotted away.

The murtherers were torn with horſes.

The procurers of the murder were ſtaked.

They that were the deuiſers of the murder alſo, & procured the doers therevnto, were thruſt through vpon ſharpe ſtakes, and after hanged vpon high gybettes: and other of the conſpirators were put to other kindes of death, as the caſe ſeemed to requyre. The death of Malcolme chaunced in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour. 959.

959.

The miſtaking of the names and times of the Engliſh kings, in the Scottiſh wryters.

Here we haue thought good to put you in remembraunce, that either the Scottes are deceyued in their accompte of yeares, or els miſtake the names of the kings of Englande, for where they write that this Malcolme departed this life about the .xxij. yeare of Athelſtane king of England, that can not be if Malcolmes deceaſſe chaunced in the yeare. 959. for Athelſtane was dead long before that time, to witte in the yeare. 940. and reygned but .xvj. yeares. Moreouer where the Scottiſhe wryters make mencion of the warres whiche king Edmond that ſucceeded Athelſtan had againſt Anlafe and the Danes of Northumberland, in the dayes of king Indulfe that ſucceeded Malcolme, it can not ſtande by any meanes (if they miſtake not theyr accompt of yeares,) for the ſame Edmond was ſlayne in the yeare. 948. But verily this fault in the iuſte accompt of yeares is but to cõmon in the Scottiſhe hiſtorie, and therefore to him that ſhould take vpõ him to reforme the errours thereof in this behalfe, it were neceſſarie to alter in a maner the whole courſe of the ſame hiſtorie: and therefore we will not wiſhe any man to giue any credite vnto theyr accompt in yeares touching the reignes of the Engliſhe kings, further than they ſhall ſee them to agree with our wryters, whome in that behalfe wee may more ſafely followe, and by conferring the ſame with the Scottiſhe wryters in ſome places, happely perceyue the true time aſwell of the reygnes of theyr kings as of actes done, to fall out in yeares and ſeaſons, much differing from their accompt: whereof to admoniſh the Reader, aſwell here as in the Engliſh hiſtorie, wee haue thought it not impertinẽt. And albeit that ſome may aſke what reaſon we haue to moue vs to doubt of their accompte of yeares, more than we do of that in our owne writers, we wil referre the ſame vnto their iudgements that are learned, and haue trauayled indifferently alike, aſwell in peruſing the one as the other without affectiõ. But as the errours are ſooner founde than amended, ſo haue wee thought good to ſet downe in the margent of this booke, the yeares as we finde them noted in the Scottiſh wryters, ſpecially in places where wee differ any thing from them, bicauſe we will not ſeeme by way of controlment, to preiudice the authours further, than by due conſideration the well aduiſed Reader ſhall thinke it expedient.

Indulph

BUt to my purpoſe: after yͤ corps of Malcolme was once buried according to the cuſtome, amongſt his predeceſſours in the Abbey churche of Colmekill, Indulphe prince of Cumberland was placed in the marble cheare at Scone, there receyuing the crowne and other the inueſtures of the kingdome, In the adminiſtration whereof he continued for the ſpace of fiue yeares without any notable trouble, in the end of which terme, he was requyred by meſſengers ſent vnto him from Aualaſſus, to ioyne with him in league agaynſt the Engliſhmen, in reuenge of that ouerthrow, whiche aſwell the Danes as Scottes had receyued at Broningfield, alledgyng that oportunitie was now offered, ſith after the deceaſſe of Athelſtane the Engliſhmen had created Edmond to theyr king, a man of a dull witte, and not fitte for the adminiſtration of high affayres: neyther did the league concluded betwixt Athelſtane and Malcolme enforſe any impediment, but that he might enter the warre againſt the Engliſhmen, conſidering bothe thoſe Princes that were the Authours of that league were departed out of this lyfe, by whoſe deceaſſe the ſayde league was ended.

Indulphe is prouoked by Aualaſſus, to warre agaynſt England.

His perſuaſions.

Indulph his anſwere.

But Indulph for anſwere herevnto declared, that the league was concluded betwixt Malcolme and Athelſtane, by great deliberation of aduice, and by conſent of all the eſtates of bothe realmes, taking theyr ſolemne othes for the true obſeruing thereof, ſo that he coulde not, onleſſe he ſhoulde violate that othe, attempt any thing to the breache of peace with the Engliſhmen, procuring the iuſte indignation of almightie God againſt him and his people in that behalfe. Herevpon the Danes accompting Indulph but a ſlouthfull and negligent perſon for this kinde of anſweare, as he that regarded not the honour of his realme and people, in letting paſſe ſo great oportunitie to be reuenged of the Engliſhmen for the death of ſuche Scottes as died in the ouerthrow at Broningfield, determined not to be noted with the like ſpotte of reproche, but with all ſpeede ſending for ayde into Norway, prepared to paſſe ouer into England, vnder the conduct of Aualaſſus, who ioyning his power with the Norwaygians whiche came to his ayde vnder the leading of a right valiant Captayne called Raynold, tranſported with all ſpeede ouer into Northumberlande, vnto whom the gouernour there named Elgarine, acknowledging himſelfe to be deſcended of the Daniſhe blood, yeelded all the Caſtels, Townes and Fortes, promiſing to ayde Aualaſſus againſt king Edmond to the vttermoſt of his power.

The Danes pleaſed w ſuch an anſ procure wa againſt Eng

The Norw gians com the ayde of A ualaſſus. Raynolde valiant Ca tayne.

Elgarine y ded the f vnto the Danes.

These newes comming to the knowledge of Edmond, with al ſpeede he gathereth his power, and ſending into Scotlande for ſuche ayde as he ought to haue from thence by couenaunts of the league, there came vnto him ten thouſande Scottiſhmen with ready willes to ſerue him in theſe his warres agaynſt the Danes. Then ioyning his owne people with thoſe Scottiſhmen, he ſet forewarde towardes his enimies. There were an eyght thouſande Northumberland men with Aualaſſus, the whiche vpon the firſte encounter with the Engliſhmenne, fell ſtreight vnto running away, whiche made an open and readie breache vnto the Engliſhe part, to attayne the victorie: for the Danes beyng not able to reſiſte the violent force of theyr enimies, encouraged nowe with the flight of the Northumbers, were quickely conſtreyned to giue backe, and in the ende to flee awayne, the Engliſhmen and Scottes following in the chaſe with ſuche fierceneſſe, that all ſuche as they ouertooke died vpon the ſworde, though they ſubmitted themſelues neuer ſo humbly in requiring mercie.

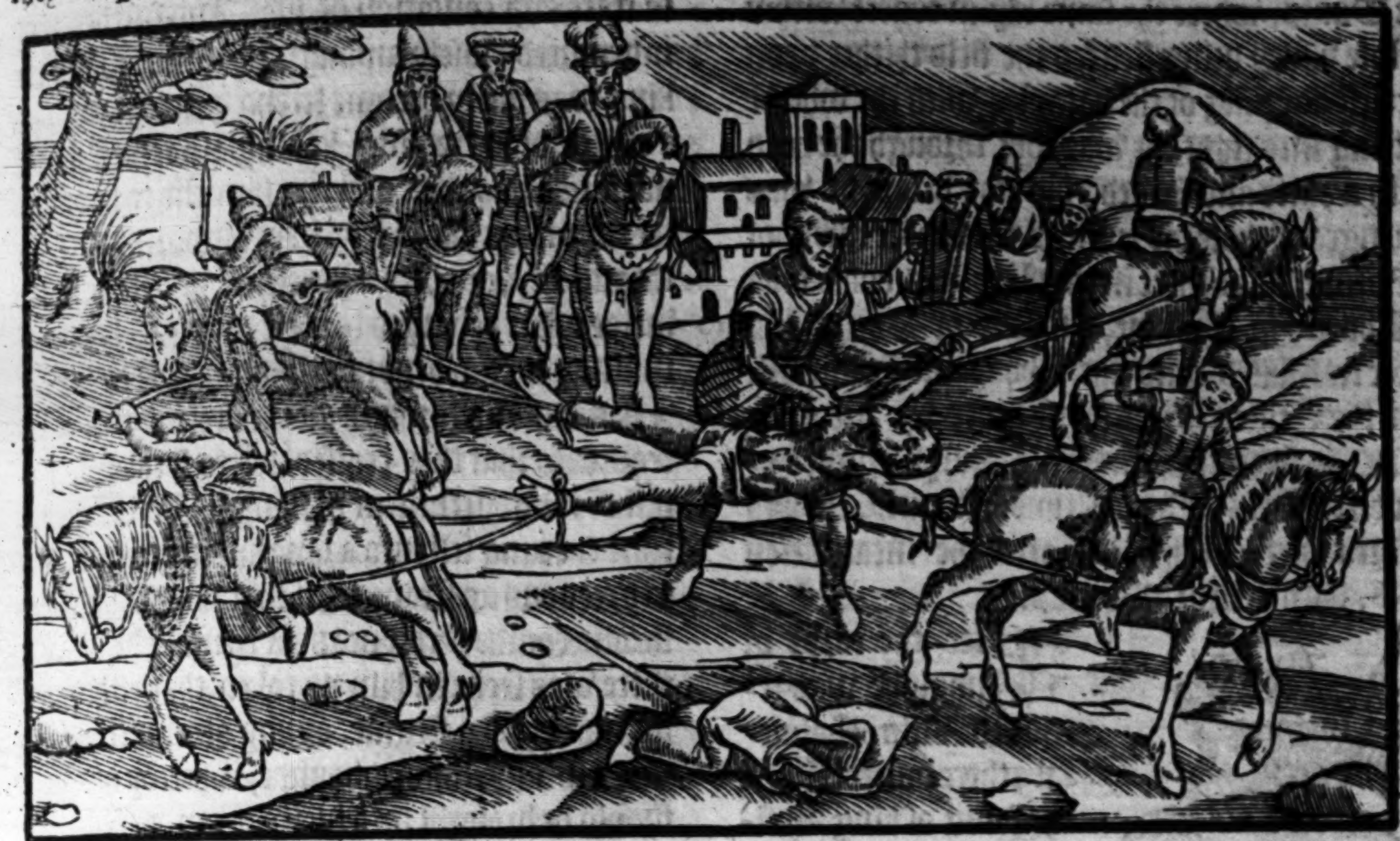
10000. Sc ours ſent king Edm

Elgarine yet chauncing to fall into his enimies handes was taken aliue: for ſo had Edmond commaunded, that if any man mighte take him, he ſhould in any caſe ſaue his life, that he might put him to death in moſte cruell wiſe, to the enſample of other. After this and for the ſpace of three dayes after the battayle, Edmond

Elgarine t ken pryſo

lay ſtill in the fieldes neare to the place where they fought, and then repayred vnto Yorke, where Elgarine for his treaſon was drawen in peeces with wilde horſes.

Elgarine is drawen in peeces.



There chaunced alſo no notable trouble in Albion during the ſpace of foure yeares after this ſayde ouerthrow of the Danes with theyr Captaine Iualaſſus, who is otherwiſe alſo named Inlafe, as is to be ſeene in the Engliſh hiſtories where the ſame make mention of the foreſayde king Edmond, whom likewiſe they affirme to be the brother of Athelſtane and not his ſonne, as before is partely touched. Indulph in this meane time did with greate diligence ſee to the good order of his realme, ſhewyng therein what belonged to the office of a worthy prince. But euen as all things ſeemed to reſt in peace and quietneſſe through the whole Iſle of Albion, Hagon king of Norway, and Helrike king of Denmarke, vpon purpoſe to reuenge the ſlaughter of theyr countrey men lately made in Northumberlande, came with a mightie nauie vnto the coaſtes of Scotland, aſſaying to lande with their whole armie, firſte in the Forth, then in the riuer of Tay, but yet through ſuch reſiſtaunce as the Scottes made, beyng aſſembled togither to keepe them off, they were fayne to withdrawe, & waſting alongſt the coaſtes of Angus, the Marnes, Mar, & Buthqhane, at length fayning as though they woulde haue taken their courſe homewardes, they launched forth into the high ſeas, but within foure dayes after returning againe to the ſhore, they lãded their people early in one morning vpon the coaſt of Boene, at a place called Cullane, a countrey ioyning vnto Buthqhane, putting ſuche of the countrey people to flight as preſented themſelues to impeach their landing and inuaſion.

ng Indulph diligent his office.

e kings of nmarke & rway, enter an army Scotland.

e enimies put off.

g lande in

ng Indulph eth neare wardes the mies.

But Indulph being aduertiſed hereof, forthwith aſſembling the whole power of his realme, drew towardes that parte with ſuch ſpeede, that hee was come into Boene before his enimies were certified that hee was ſet forewarde. So ſoone therefore as they heard he was come, ſuche as were abroade forraying the ſame countrey, were called backe to the campe. But Indulph without protracting of time came ſtil foreward, and vpon his approche to the enimies, he prepared to giue battayle, and with a ſhort oration began to encourage his people to fight manfully, but before he coulde make an ende, the Danes gaue the onſet with ſuche violence, that the batayle a long ſpace continued doubtfull on bothe ſides, the Danes on the one parte and the Scots on the other, doyng their vttermoſt endeuours to atchieue the victorie, till at length they of Louthian with theyr Captaines Dunbar & Graine began to appeare on the backe half of the Danes, with whiche ſight they were put in ſuche feare, that thoſe which fought in the fore ward, retyred backe vnto the middle warde, whome the Scots egrely purſuyng, beat downe euen till they came vnto the rereward, which coueting rather to die in the fight, than to giue backe, and ſo to be ſlaine in the chaſe (for thoſe in the rereward were heauie armed men) cõtinued the batayle more with a certaine ſtiffe ſtubborneſſe of minde than with any great force or forecaſt, being ſo ouermatched as they were, and forſaken of theyr fellowes: for other of the Danes, namely the Archers and Kernes fled theyr wayes, ſome towardes theyr ſhippes, and ſome here and there being ſcattered abroade in the fieldes, fell into the moſſes and mareſſe grounds and other ſtreytes, where they were ſlaine euery one by ſuch as followed in the chaſe.

King Indulph prepared to the batayle.

The Danes gaue the onſet.

A ſupply ſent vnto the Scots

The Danes fledde.

Indulph himſelf with certayne companies about him, departing from his mayne batayle to diſcouer

The king with few in his cõpanie, falleth into the enimies daunger through negligence.

King Indulph was ſlayne with a darte, & died.

diſcouer the fields as though al had bene quiet on eche ſide, fell by chaunce vpon a whole bande of the Danes, where the ſame lay in couert within a cloſe valley being fled frõ the field thither vpon the firſt ioyning of the batayles, with the whiche entring into fight, he was ſhot through the head with a darte and ſo died, but not before he was reuenged of thoſe his enimies, the whole nũber of thẽ being ſlaine there in the place. His bodie was firſt buried in Cullane, a towne of Boene, and after tranſlated vnto the Abbay of Colmekill, and there enterred amongſt other his predeceſſours the Scottiſhe kings. Indulph reigned about .ix. yeares and died thus valiantly, though infortunately, in the yeare after the incarnation 968. ſaith Hector Boetius.

961. hath Io. Ma.

968.

Duffe.

The king wẽt vnto the weſterne Iſles.

He purged the Iſles.

Barettors takẽ and put to death.

Vagaboundes compelled to learne an occupation.

The nobles were diſcontented with the kings doyngs.

After the corps of Indulphe was remoued vnto Colmekil & there buried, Duffe the ſonne of king Malcolme was crowned king at Scone with al due ſolemnitie. In the beginning of his reigne Culene the ſonne of king Indulphe was proclaymed prince of Cumberlande: immediatly wherevpon the king tranſported ouer into the weſterne Iſles to ſet an order there for certaine miſdemeanours vſed by diuers robbers and pillers of the common people. At his arriuall amongſt them he called the Thanes of the Iſles afore him, cõmaunding ſtraytly as they would auoyde his diſpleaſure to purge theyr countreys of ſuch malefactours, wherby the huſbandmen & other cõmons might liue in quiet without vexation of ſuche barettours & idle perſons as ſought to liue only vpõ other mẽs goodes. The Thanes vpon this charge giuen them by the king, tooke no ſmall number of the offenders, partly by publike authoritie, & partly by lying in awayte for thẽ where they ſuppoſed theyr haunt was to reſort, the which being put to execution according to that they had merited, cauſed yͤ reſidue of that kind of people eyther to get them ouer into Ireland, eyther els to learne ſome manuall occupation wherewith to get theyr liuing, yea though they were neuer ſo great gentlemen borne. Howbeit the nobles with this extreeme rigour ſhewed thus by the king againſt their linage, were much offended therewith, accompting it a great diſhonour for ſuche as were deſcended of noble parentage to be conſtrayned to get theyr liuing with the labour of theyr handes, which only appertayned to plowmen, & ſuch other of the baſe degree as were borne to trauayle for the mayntenance of the nobilitie, & to ſerue at their commaundement by order of their birth, and in no wiſe after ſuch ſorte to be made in maner equall with them in ſtate and condition of life. And further they murmured cloſely amongſt themſelues, how the king was onely become freend vnto the cõmons & clergie of his realme, hauing no reſpect to the nobilitie, but rather declared himſelfe to be an vtter enimie therof, ſo yͭ he was vnworthy to haue the rule of the nobles & gentlemẽ, onleſſe he knew better what belonged to their degree. This murmuring did ſpred not onely among them in the Iſles, but alſo through all the other partes of his realme, ſo that they ceaſſed not to ſpeake very euill of the gouernment of things. In the meane time the king fell into a languiſhing diſeaſe, not ſo greeuous as ſtrange, for that none of his Phiſitions coulde perceyue what to make of it. For there was ſeene in him no token, that either choler, melancolie, flegme, or any other vicious humor did any thing abounde, whereby his body ſhould be brought into ſuch a decay & cõſumptiõ (ſo as there remayned vnneth any thing vpon him ſaue ſkin & bone:) & ſithence it appeared manifeſtly by all outward ſignes & tokens, that natural moiſture did nothing faile in yͤ vital ſprits: his colour alſo was freſhe & fayre to behold, with ſuch liuelineſſe of lookes, that more was not to be wiſhed for: he had alſo a tẽperate deſire & appetite to his meate & drinke, but yet could he not ſleepe in the night time by any prouocatiõs that could be deuiſed, but ſtill fell into exceeding ſweates, which by no meanes might be reſtreyned. The Phyſitions perceyuing all theyr medicines to wante the effect, yet to put him in ſome comfort of help, declared vnto him that they would ſende for ſome cũning Phiſitions into foraine parties, who haply being inured with ſuch kind of diſeaſes, ſhould eaſily cure him, namely ſo ſoone as the ſpring of the yeare was once come, whiche of it ſelf ſhould help much therunto. Howbeit yͤ king though he had ſmall hope of recouerie, yet had he ſtill a diligent care to the due adminiſtration of his lawes and good orders of his realme, deuiſing oft with his councel about the ſame: but yet whẽ it was vnderſtood into what a perillous ſickneſſe he was fallen, there were no ſmall number that cõtemning the authoritie of the magiſtrates, began to practiſe a rebellion. And amõgſt the chiefeſt were thoſe of Murrayland, who ſleyng ſundry of the kings officers began to rage in moſt cruell wiſe againſt all ſuch as were not conſenting to their miſordered tumult. The kings phiſitions forbad in any wiſe, that the king ſhoulde be aduertiſed of ſuch buſineſſe, for doubte of encreaſing his ſickneſſe with trouble of minde about the ſame. But about that preſent time there was a murmuring amongſt the people, how the king was vexed with no naturall ſickneſſe, but

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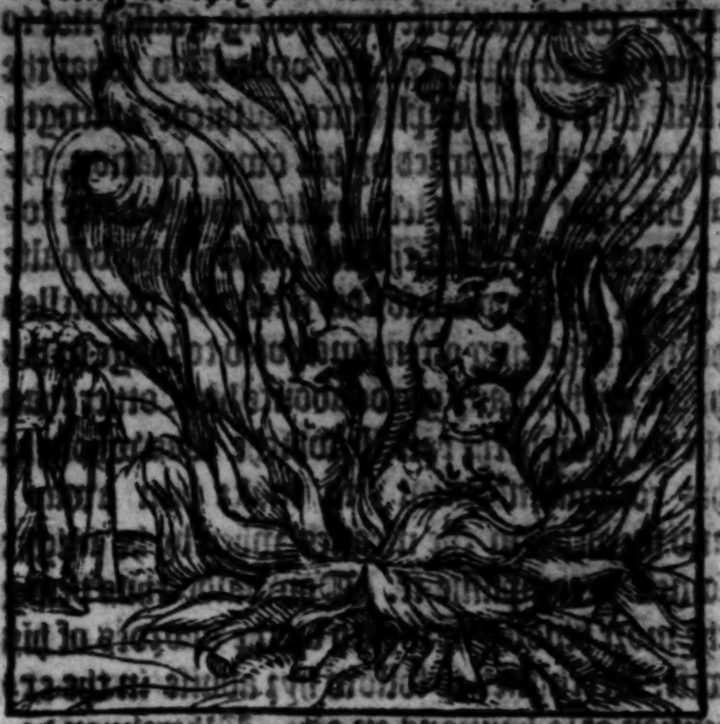
by ſorcery and Magicall art, practiſed by a ſort of Witches dwelling in a towne of Murrayland, called Fores. Whereupon albeit, the author of this ſecrete practiſe was not knowen, yet being brought to the kings eare, it cauſed him to ſende forthwith certaine wittie perſons thither to enquire of the truth. They that were thus ſent, diſſembling the cauſe of theyr iourney, were receyued in the darke of the night into the caſtell of Fores by the lieutenant of the ſame, called Donwald, who continuing faithful to the king, had kepte that caſtell agaynſt the rebelles to the kings vſe. Vnto him therfore theſe meſſengers declared the cauſe of theyr coming, requiring his ayde for the accompliſhment of the kings pleaſure. The ſouldiers whiche lay there in garriſon had an inkeling that there was ſome ſuch mater in hand as was talked of amongſt the people, by reaſon that one of them kept as cõcubine a yong womã which was doughter to one of yͤ witches as his paramour, who told him the whole maner vſed by hir mother & other hir cõpanions, with yͤ intent alſo, which was to make away the king. The ſouldier hauing learned this of his leman, told the ſame to his fellowes, who made reporte therof to Donewald, & he ſhewed it to the kings meſſengers, & therwith ſent for the yõg damoſell which the ſouldier kept, as then being within the caſtell, & cauſed hir vpon ſtreyt examination to cõfeſſe the whole mater as ſhe had ſeene & knew: wherupon learning by hir cõfeſſiõ in what houſe in the towne it was where they wrought theyr miſcheuous miſterie, he ſent forth ſouldiers, about the midſt of the night, who breaking into yͤ houſe, found one of the Witches roſting vpon a wodden broche an image of waxe at the fire, reſembling in ech feature the kings perſon, made & deuiſed as is to be thought, by craft & arte of the Deuill: an other of thẽ ſat reciting certain wordes of enchauntment, & ſtill baſted the image with a certaine licour very buſily. The ſouldiers finding thẽ occupied in this wiſe, toke thẽ togither with the image, & led thẽ into the caſtell, where being ſtreitly examined for what purpoſe they went about ſuch maner of enchantmẽt, they anſwered, to the end to make away yͤ king: for as yͤ image did waſt afore the fire, ſo did the bodie of the king breake forth in ſweate. And as for the wordes of enchauntment, they ſerued to keepe him ſtill waking frõ ſleepe, ſo that as the waxe euer melted, ſo did the kings fleſh: by which meanes it ſhould haue come to paſſe, that when yͤ waxe were once cleane cõſumed, the death of the king ſhould immediatly follow. So were they taught by euill ſpirits, & hyred to worke the feat by the nobles of Murrayland. The ſtanders by that herd ſuch an abhominable tale told by theſe Witches, ſtreightways brake the image, & cauſed yͤ Witches (according as they had well deſerued) to bee burnt to death. It was ſayd that the king, at the very ſame time that theſe things were a doing within the caſtell of Fores, was deliuered of his languor, and ſlepte that night without any ſweate breaking forth vpon him at all, and the next day being reſtored to his ſtrength, was able to do any maner of thing that lay in man to do, as though he had not bene ſicke before any thing at all. But howſoeuer it came to paſſe, truth it is that when he was reſtored to his perfect health, he gathered a power of men, and with the ſame went into Murrayland againſt the rebels there, and chaſing them from thence, he purſued them into Roſſe, & from Roſſe into Cathneſe, where apprehending them, he brought them backe vnto Fores, and there cauſed them to be hanged vpon gallowes and gybettes. Amongſt them there were alſo certaine yong Gentlemen right beautifull and goodly perſonages, being neare of kinne vnto Donewald captaine of the Caſtell, and had bene perſwaded to be partakers with the other rebelles more through the fraudulent counſell of diuers wicked perſons than of theyr owne accorde: Whereupon the foreſayd Donewald lamenting theyr caſe, made earneſt labour and ſuyte to the king to haue begged theyr pardon, but hauing a playne denyall, he conceyued ſuche an inwarde malice towardes the king, (though he ſhewed it not outwardly at the firſte) that the ſame continued ſtill boyling in his ſtomake, and ceaſed not, till through ſetting on of his wife and in reuenge of ſuche vnthankefulneſſe, he founde meanes to murder the king within the foreſayd Caſtell of Fores where he vſed to ſoiourne, for the king beyng in that countrey, was accuſtomed to lie moſt commonly within the ſame caſtell, hauing a ſpeciall truſt in Donewald, as a man whom he neuer ſuſpected. but Donewald not forgetting the reproche which his linage had ſuſteyned by the execution of thoſe his kinſmen, whome the king for a ſpectacle to the people had cauſed to be hanged, could not but ſhew manifeſt tokens



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The Witches were burnt.

The king is reſtored to health.

The king with an armie purſued the rebelles.

The rebels are executed.

Captaine Donwald craued pardon for thẽ but not graunted.

Donewald cõceyued hatred againſt the king.

tokens of great griefe at home amongſt his familie: which his wife perceyuing, ceaſſed not to trauayle with him, till ſhe vnderſtood what the cauſe was of his diſpleaſure. Whiche at length when ſhe had learned by his owne relation, ſhe as one that bare no leſſe malice in hyr harte towardes the king, for the like cauſe on hyr behalfe than hir huſband did for his freendes, counſelled him (ſith the king oftentimes vſed to lodge in his houſe without any garde aboute him, other than the garyſon of the caſtell, whiche was wholy at his commaundement) to make him away, and ſhewed him the meanes wherby he might ſooneſt accompliſhe it.

Donewaldes wife couſayled him to murder the king.

Donwalde thus being the more kindled in wrath by the wordes of his wife, determined to follow hyr aduiſe in the execution of ſo haynous an acte.

The womans euill counſell is folowed.

Whereupon deuiſing with himſelfe for a while, whiche way he might beſt accompliſhe his curſed intention, at length he gate opportunitie and ſped his purpoſe as followeth. It chaunced, that the king vpon the day before he purpoſed to departe forth of the Caſtell, was long in his oratorie at his prayers, and there continued till it was late in the night, at the laſt comming forth he called ſuche afore him, as had faithfully ſerued him in purſute and apprehention of the rebelles, and giuing them hartie thankes, he beſtowed ſundry honorable giftes amōgſt them, of the which number Donwald was one, as he that had bene euer accompted a moſte faithfull ſeruaunt to the king.

The king rewarded his freudes.

At length hauing talked with them a long time, he got him into his pryuie chamber, only with two of his chamberlaynes, who hauing brought him to bedde came forth againe, and then fell to banqueting with Donewald and his wife, who had prepared diuers delicate diſhes, and ſundry ſorts of drinke for theyr arere ſupper or collation, whereat they ſat vp ſo long, till they had charged theyr ſtomakes with ſuche full gorges, that theyr heades were no ſooner got to the pyllow, but a ſleepe they were ſo faſt, that a man might haue remoued the chāber ouer them, rather than to haue awaked thē out of theyr drunken ſleepe.

The king wēt to bedde.

His chamberlayns went to banqueting.

Then Donewalde, though he abhorred the act greatly in his harte, yet through inſtigation of his wife, he called foure of his ſeruants vnto him (whom he had made priuie to his wicked intent before, and framed to his purpoſe with large giftes) and now declaring vnto them, after what ſorte they ſhould worke the feate, they gladly obeyed his inſtructions, and ſpeedily going about the murder, they enter the chamber (in which the king lay) a litle before cockes crow, where they ſecretely cut his throte as he lay ſleeping, without any buſkling at all: and immediatly by a poſterne gate they caried forth the dead body into the fieldes, and throwing it vpon an horſe there prouided ready for that purpoſe, they conuey it vnto a place, diſtant aboute two myles from the caſtell, where they ſtayed, and got certayne labourers to helpe them to turne the courſe of a litle riuer running through the fieldes there, and digging a deepe hole in the chanell, they burie the body in the ſame, ramming it vp with ſtones and grauel ſo cloſely, that ſetting the water into the right courſe agayne, no man coulde perceyue that any thing had bene newly digged there.

The ſuborned ſeruauntes cut the kings throte.

The king
buriall.

This they did by order appointed them by Donewald as is reported, for that the bodie ſhoulde not be founde, and by bleeding (when Donewald ſhoulde be preſent) declare him to be giltie of the murder. For that ſuche an opinion men haue, that the dead corps of any man being ſlayne, will bleede abundantly if the murderer be preſent: but for what conſideration ſoeuer they buried him there, they had no ſooner finiſhed the worke, but that they ſlew them, whoſe help they vſed herein, and ſtreightwayes thereupon fledde into Orkney.

The poore
bourers ar
ſlaine.

Donewald aboute the time that the murder was a doing, got him amongſt them that kepte the watch, and ſo continued in companie with them al the reſidue of the night.

Donwald
himſelfe a
mongſt
watchmen

But in the morning when the noyſe was reyſed in the kings chamber how the king was ſlaine, his body conueyed away, and the bed all berayed with bloud, he with the watche ran thither as though he had knowen nothing of the mater, and breaking into the chamber, and finding cakes of bloud in the bed & on the floore about the ſides of it, he forthwith ſlewe the chamberlaynes, as giltie of that haynous murder, and then like a madde man running to and fro, hee ranſacked euery corner within the caſtell, as though it had bene to haue ſeene if he might haue founde either the body or any of yͤ murtherers hid in any pryuie place: but at lēgth cōming to the poſterne gate, & finding it open, he burdened the chāberlaines whom he had ſlaine with al the fault, they hauing the keyes of the gates cōmitted to their keeping al the night, and therefore it could not be otherwiſe (ſayde he) but that they were of counſel in the committing of that moſte deteſtable murder.

Donewilde
very di
ler.

Finally ſuche was his ouer earneſt diligence in the inquiſition and triall of the offendours herein, that ſome of the Lordes began to miſlike the mater, and to ſmell forth ſhrewed tokens, that he ſhoulde not be altogither cleare himſelfe: but for ſo much as they were in that countrey, where hee had the whole rule, what by reaſon of his freendes and authoritie togither, they doubted to vtter what they thought till time and place ſhoulde better ſerue thereunto, and hereupon got them away euery man to his home. For the ſpace of ſix moneths togither after this haynous murther thus

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committed, there appeared no ſunne by day, nor Moone by night in any parte of the realme, but ſtil was the ſkie couered with cõtinual clowdes, and ſometimes ſuche outragious windes aroſe with lightnings and tempeſtes, that the people were in great feare of preſent deſtruction.

lene.

In the meane time Culene prince of Cumberland, the ſonne as I haue ſayde of king Iudulph, accompanied with a great number of Lordes and Nobles of the realme, came vnto Scone, there to receyue the crowne according to the maner: but at his comming thither, he demaũded of the Biſhops what the cauſe ſhould be of ſuch vntemperate weather. Who made anſwere, that vndoubtedly almightie God ſhewed himſelfe thereby to be offended moſte highly for that wicked murther of king Duffe, and ſurely onleſſe the offendours were tried forth and puniſhed for that dede, the realme ſhoulde feele the iuſt indignation of the deuine iudgement for omitting ſuche puniſhment as was due for ſo greeuous an offence.

he king as-
d the cauſe of
e foule wea-
er.

he biſhops
were vnto
e king.

Culene herevpon requyred the biſhops to appoint publike proceſſiõs, faſtings and other godly exerciſes to be vſed of the prieſtes and people, through all parties of the realme, for the appeaſing of Gods wrath in this behalfe, and in ſuche ſorte and maner as in ſemblable caſes, the vſe and cuſtome in thoſe dayes was. Hee himſelfe made a ſolemne vowe, confirming it with a like othe before all the peeres and nobles there aſſembled, that he woulde not ceaſſe till he had reuenged the death of king Duffe vpon the falſe inhabitauntes of Murrayland to the enſample of all other.

he king re-
uired pu-
like prayers
be had.

The king
made an othe.

The multitude being preſent, getting them to armure followed their prince, taking his iourney without further delay towardes Murrayland, the inhabitauntes of whiche region hearing of his approch and the cauſe of his cõming, were ſtryken with exceeding feare, but namely Donewalde beyng giltie in conſcience, doubted leaſt if he were put to torture, he ſhould be enforced to confeſſe the truthe, wherevpon without making his wyfe priuie to his departure, or any other of his family, ſaue a fewe ſuche as he tooke with him, he ſecretely got him to the mouthe of the ryuer of Spey, where finding a ſhippe ready, he wente a borde the ſame, purpoſing to haue fledde his wayes by ſea into Norway: for this is the peculiar propertie of a giltie conſcience to be afrayde of all things, and eyther in geſture or countenaunce to bewray it ſelfe, accompting flight moſte ſure if occaſion may ſerue thereto. For this Donewalde, whome no man (though ſome partely ſuſpected him) might wel haue burdened with the crime of his Maſters death (by reaſon of his faithfull ſeruice ſhewed towardes him afore time) had he not thus ſought to haue auoyded the countrey, was now detected of maniſeſt treaſon, euery man deteſting his abhominable facte, and wiſhing him to be ouerwhelmed in the raging floudes, ſo to pay the due puniſhment, whiche of right hee ought, for his vile treaſon in murthering his naturall Lorde.

he king wẽt
h an armie
o Murray
ande.

A gilty con-
ſcience accu-
ſeth a man.

Donewalde getteth him ſecretly away.

The murther of the king is reueled.

Culene being hereof aduertiſed, paſſed ouer Spey water, and taking the caſtell of Fores, ſlew all that he founde therein, and put the houſe to ſacke and fire. Donewaldes wife with his three daughters were taken: for Culene commaunded, that who ſo euer coulde light vpon them, ſhoulde in any wiſe ſaue theyr liues, and bring them vnto him. Whiche beyng done, hee had them to the racke, where the mother vpon hyr examination confeſſed the whole mater, how by hyr procuremẽt chiefly hyr huſbãd was moued to cauſe the dede to be done, who they were that by his commaundement did it, and in what place they had buried the bodie. Here woulde the multitude haue runne vpon hyr and torne hyr in peeces, but that they were reſtrayned by commaundement of an officer at armes. The king with the reſidue for that night reſted themſelues, and in the morning tooke order for prouiſion of all things neceſſarie to take vp the bodie of king Duffe, and then to conuey it vnto Colmekill, there to be buried amongſt his predeceſſours. But as they were buſie here about, worde came that the traytour Donewalde was by ſhipwracke caſte vpon the ſhore within foure miles of the Caſtell, as though he were by Gods prouiſion brought backe into his owne countrey to ſuffer worthy puniſhment for his demerites. Wherevpon the inhabitaunts of the places next adioyning, tooke him and kepte him faſt bound till they knewe further of the kings pleaſure: who right gladde of the newes, ſente forth immediatly a bande of men to fetche him. They that were ſent did as they were commaunded: and beyng vnneth returned, there came in diuers Lordes of Roſſe, bringing with them Donewaldes foure ſeruaunts whiche (as before is ſayde) did execute the murder. Thus all the offendours beyng brought togither vnto the place where the murder was bothe contriued and ex-

The caſtell of Fores is taken and all the inhabitãts ſlain.

The murder is wholy confeſſed.

King Duffe his body to be taken vp.

Donewald is taken pryſoner.

Donewaldes foure ſeruants were taken alſo.

Donewalde with his confederates are executed.

Rewardes giuen vnto the takers of thoſe murderers.

ecuted, they were arrayned, condemned, and put to death in maner as followeth, to the great reioycing of the people that beheld the ſame. They were firſte ſcourged by the hangman, and then bowelled, their entrailes bring throwen into a fire and brente, the other partes of theyr bodies were cut into quarters, and ſent vnto the chiefeſt Cities of the realme, and there ſet vp alofte vpon the gates and higheſt towers, for enſample ſake to all ſuche as ſhould come after, how haynous a thing it is to pollute theyr handes in the ſacred bloud of theyr prince. This dreadfull end had Donewald with his wife before he ſaw any ſunne after the murder was committed, and that by the appointment of the moſt rightuous God, the creatour of that heauenly planet and all other things, who ſuffereth no crime to be vnreuenged. Thoſe that were the takers of the murderers were highly rewarded for their paynes & trauayle therein ſuſtayned, being exempt from charges of goyng forth into the warres: and alſo of all maner of payments belonging to publike duties, as tributes and ſuche like.

The body of king Duffe honorably buried.

Meruaylous things are ſeene.

Kyllflos.

Horſes eate their owne fleſhe.

A monſ

childe.

A ſparha

ſtrangled

an Owle.

972.

These things being thus ordered, the body of king Duffe was takẽ vp, and in moſt pompous maner conueyed vnto Colmekill, accompanied all the way by Culene, and a great multitude of Lordes both ſpirituall and temporal, with other of the meaner eſtates. There be yͭ haue written how his bodie (though it had layne .vj. moneths vnder the groũd) was nothing empayred eyther in colour or otherwiſe, when it was taken vp, but was founde as wholle and ſound as though it had bene yet aliue, the ſkarres of the woundes onely excepted. But to proceede, ſo ſoone as it was brought aboue the groũd, the ayre began to cleare vp, and the ſunne brake forth, ſhining more brighter than it had bene ſeene afore time to any of the beholders remembrance. And that which put men in moſt deepe cõſideration of al, was the ſight of manifold flowers, which ſprang forth ouer all the fieldes immediatly therevpon, cleane contrary to the time & ſeaſon of the yeare. Within a fewe yeares after, there was a bridge made ouer the water in the ſame place, where the bodie had bene buried, & a village builded at the one end of the bridge, whiche is called vnto this day, Killflos, that is to ſay, the church of flowers: taking that name of the wonder there happened at the remouing of the kings bodie, as the ſame authours woulde ſeeme to meane. But there is now or was of late a rich abbey, ſtanding with a right fayre church, cõſecrate in the honour of the virgine Marie. Monſtrous ſightes alſo that were ſeene within the Scottiſhe kingdome that yeare were theſe, horſes in Lothian being of ſinguler beautie and ſwiftneſſe, did eate their owne fleſh, & would in no wiſe taſte any other meate. In Angus there was a gentlewoman brought forth a childe without eyes, noſe, hande, or foote. There was a Sparhauke alſo ſtrangled by an Owle. Neither was it any leſſe wonder that the ſunne, as before is ſayd, was continually couered with clowdes, for .vj. moneths ſpace: But all mẽ vnderſtood that the abhominable murder of king Duffe was the cauſe hereof, whiche being reuenged by the death of the authours in maner as before is ſayde. Culene was crowned as lawfull ſucceſſour to the ſame Duffe at Scone, with all due honour and ſolemnitie in the yeare of our Lord .972. after that Duffe had ruled the Scottiſh kingdome about the ſpace of foure yeares.

King Cu

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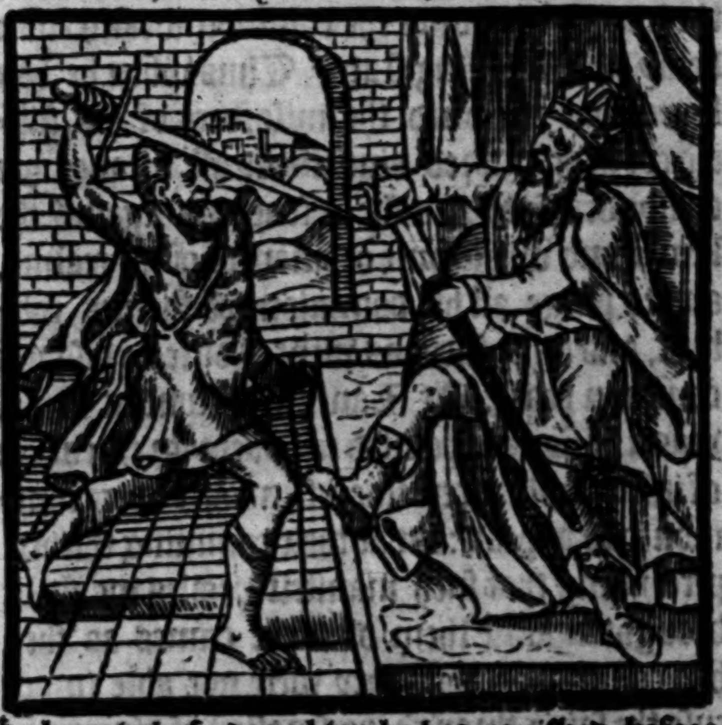
The beginning of Culenes reigne begonne with rightuous execution of iuſtice, promiſed a fyrme hope of an other maner of prince, than by the adminiſtration whiche followed he declared himſelf to be: for ſhortly after lewſing the reyne of laſciuious wãtonneſſe to the youth of his realme through giuing of lewde enſample by his owne diſordered doings, all ſuche as were enclined vnto licentious liuing followed theyr ſenſuall luſtes, and vnbrydeled libertie abandoning all feare of correction more than euer had bene ſeene or hearde of in any other age. For ſuche was the negligence of the king, or rather mayntenaunce of miſordered perſons, that what ſo euer any of the nobilitie did eyther againſt Merchauntes, Prieſtes, or any of the commons, though the ſame were neuer ſo greate an iniurie, there was no puniſhment vſed agaynſt them: ſo that all men looked for ſome commotion in the common wealth therevpon to enſue, if there were not other order prouided therefore in time. The auncient peeres of the realme alſo beyng greeued thereat, ſpared not to admoniſhe the king of his dutie, declaring vnto him into what daunger the realme was likely to fall through his negligent behauiour. Culene aunſwered them, that he wiſte well inough howe yonge menne were not at the firſte, borne graue and ſage perſonages lyke to them with hoary heades: wherefore theyr firſte youthfull yeares coulde not be ſo ſtable as they mighte be hereafter by olde age and continuaunce of time: but as for ſuche rigorous extremitie as diuers of his elders had vſed towards theyr ſubiectes, he minded not as he ſaid to folow, being taught by their enſample (as by the kings, Indulph, Duffe & ſuche other) into what daunger he might incurre by ſuch ſharpe ſeueritie ſhewed in the gouernment of the aſtate.

He would n

diſpleaſe.

Wherevpon he was determined ſo to rule as he might giue cauſe rather to be beloued than feared, which was the onely meane (as he thought) to retayne his ſubiectes in dewe and moſt faithfull obedience. This anſweare was ſuch, that although it ſeemed nothyng agreeable for the preſeruation of the publike ſtate in quiet reſte and ſafetie, yet was there no man by reaſon of his regall authoritie that durſt reproue the ſame, but diuers there were that prayſed him therein, as thoſe that hated all ſuche as loued the vpright adminiſtration of iuſtice. But ſuche auncient counſellours as had truely ſerued in rule of the cōmon wealth in the dayes of the former kings Indulph and Duffe, miſliking the ſtate of that preſent world (wherein the youth of the realme, namely al ſuch as were deſcēded of noble parentage, & vſed to be about the king, followed their wilfull and ſenſuall luſtes, growing euery day through want of correction to be worſe & worſe) departed from the court, and withdrew to theyr homes without medling any further with the publike adminiſtration. In whoſe place there crept in other, that with their flatterie corrupted the reſidue of ſuche ſparkes of good inclination as yet remained in the king, if any were at all, in ſo muche that in the ende he meaſured ſupreme felicitie by the plentifull enioying of voluptuous pleaſures and bodily luſtes. He fancied onely ſuche as coulde deuiſe prouocations therevnto, & in filling the belly with exceſſe of coſtly meates and drinkes, thoſe that coulde excell other were chiefly cheriſhed & moſt highly of him eſteemed. Herewithall he was giuen vnto leachery beyond all the termes of reaſon, ſparing neyther mayde, widowe, nor wife, profane nor religious, ſiſter nor daughter (for all was one with him) that to heare of ſuche vilanie and violent forcings as were practiſed by him and his familiers, it would lothe any honeſt harte to vnderſtande or remember. He was ſo farre paſte all ſhame in this behalfe, that when his lecherous luſte by to muche copulation was ſo tyred that he might no more exerciſe his former lewdeneſſe, he tooke ſpeciall pleaſure yet to behold other to do it in his preſence, that his decayed luſt might be the more ſtyred vp with ſight of ſuch filthineſſe. This abhominable trade of life he practiſed for the ſpace of .iij. yeares togither, giuing occaſion of muche ſpoile, rauine, manſlaughter, forcings, and rauiſhments of women with all ſuch kinde of wicked & diueliſh trāſgreſſiōs: no execution of lawes (inſtituted by authoritie of the former kings, for reſtraint of ſuch flagitious offences) being put in vre, through negligēce of this monſtruous creature. So farre forth alſo encreaſed the libertie of theeues, robbers and other offendours, mainteyned by ſuche of the nobilitie as conſented to theyr vnlawfull doings, & were partakers with them in the ſame, that if any man went aboute to withſtand them, or refuſed to accompliſh their requeſtes and demaundes, he ſhoulde be ſpoyled of all that hee had, and happely haue his houſe brente ouer his head, or otherwiſe be miſuſed in ſuch outragious & violent ſorte, that it would greeue all thoſe that had any zele to iuſtice, to heare of ſuche enormities as were dayly practiſed in that countrey. Howbeit at length yet the death of king Culene, brought an end to all ſuch wicked dealings: for falling into a filthy diſeaſe (through abuſe of exceſſiue drinking and leacherie,) called the waſting of nature, he conſumed away in ſuch wiſe by rotting of his fleſhe, that he appeared more like vnto a dead carcaſſe, than vnto a liuely creature, in ſo much that his owne ſeruaunts began to abhorre him. Wherevpon the Lordes and other Honorable perſonages of the realme vnderſtanding his caſe, cauſed a parliament to be ſummoned at Scone, where they determined to depoſe king Culene, and appoynt ſome other (whom they ſhould iudge moſt meeteſt) to reygne in his place. Culene alſo not knowing wherfore this councell was called, as he was going thitherwardes, at Meffen caſtell being almoſte in the midde way of his iourney, was murthered by one Cadhard the Thane of yͤ place, whoſe daughter he had rauiſhed before time amōgſt diuers other. This end had Culene togither with all his filthy ſenſualitie: but the reprochfull infamie thereof remaineth in memorie with his poſteritie, & is not like to be forgotten whileſt the world goeth about. He was thus diſpatched in the fifth yeare of his reigne, & after the birth of Sauiour. 976. the nobles & great peares of the realme reioycing at his death, though they allowed not of the maner thereof.



ncient coū- ſellours leaue court.

The youthfull follow- their ſen- ll luſtes.

wicked me of volup- uouſneſſe.

lecherous g.

orcing of men kinde eeded.

beaſtly be- uour.

ll honeſty ed.

Robberie, &c. were yed.

Death made an end of all.

Γονόῤῥοιος.

A parliament.

King Culene was murdered

976.

Kenneth.

After that the bodie of King Culene was once cōueyed vnto Colmekill, & there buried amongſt his elders, the nobles & great peeres aſſembled togither at Scone, where they proclaimed Kenneth the ſonne of Malcolme the firſte, & bro-

Ill life is reformed,

King Kenneth was of a vertuous liuing.

He loued ſtraungers.

He abhorred ſlouth.

He did puniſh offendours.

A ſeſsion kept at Laynrick, or Lanerk.

ther vnto Duffe, king of the realme. In the beginning of his reygne, he had inough to do to reduce the people from theyr wilde & ſauage kinde of life (into the whiche they were fallen through the negligent gouernment of his predeceſſour) vnto theyr former trade of ciuill demeanour. For the nature of the Scottiſhmen is, that firſte the nobles, and thẽ all the reſidue of the people transforme themſelues vnto the vſage of their prince: therefore did Kenneth in his owne trade of liuing ſhewe an enſample of chaſtitie, ſobrietie, liberalitie, and modeſtie, miſuſing himſelfe in no kinde of vice, but refrayning himſelfe from the ſame: hee baniſhed all ſuche kinde of perſons as might prouoke eyther him or other vnto any lewde or wanton pleaſures. He mainteyned amitie aſwell with ſtraungers as with his owne people, puniſhing moſt rigorouſly all ſuche as ſought to moue ſeditiõ by any maner of meane. He tooke buſie care in cauſing the people to auoyde ſlouth, and to applie themſelues in honeſt exerciſes, iudging as the truth is, that to be the way to aduaunce the common wealth from decay to a floriſhing ſtate. Thus when he had ſomewhat reformed the miſorders of his ſubiectes, he endeuored himſelfe by all meanes hee coulde deuiſe to puniſhe offendours againſt the lawes and wholeſome ordinances of the realme, and to purge all his dominions of theeues, robbers, and other ſuche as went aboute to diſquiet common peace. At Lanerk, a towne in Kyle, was a ſeſſions appointed to be kept for execution of iuſtice, where certaine offendours were ſummoned to appeare: but at their comming thither, perceyuing that ſuch manifeſt proofes would be brought againſt them of ſuche crimes as they had committed, that they were not able to excuſe the ſame, through perſwaſion of diuers noble men vnto whom they were a kinne, they fled ſecretely theyr wayes, ſome into the Weſterne Iſles, and ſome into other places, where they thought moſt expediẽt for ſafegard of their liues. The king perceyuing that through the diſloyall meanes of the lordes his purpoſe was ſo hindered that he might not miniſter iuſtice according to the inſtitution of his lawes, he diſſembled his wrath for a time, & licenced euery man to depart to theyr houſes, his trayne onely excepted. Then went he into Galloway to viſite Saint Ninian for performance of his vowe, which he had made ſo to do. Here he inuented (by conference which he had with ſome of his pryuie counſell) a deuiſe, whereby he might fetche againe the offendours vnto iudgement: but this was kepte cloſe till the yeare following, for doubte leaſt if thoſe lordes whiche bare them good will had come to any incklyng thereof, they woulde by vttring it haue diſapoynted his purpoſe. At length, after a yeare was paſſed, he appoynted all the Lordes & Nobles of his realme to aſſemble at Scone, as though it had bene to haue cõmuned about ſome weightie affayres touching the ſtate of the realme. The night then before they ſhould come togither into the counſell chamber, he cauſed by ſome of his faythfull miniſters, a ſorte of armed men to be layde cloſe in a ſecrete place, with cõmaundement giuen to their capitaine, that in no wiſe he ſhould ſtirre with his bande till the nexte day, that all the Lordes were aſſembled togither, and then without delay to execute that whiche ſhould be giuen him in cõmaundement. On the morow after the nobles cõming togither into the counſell chamber, they had no ſooner takẽ their places, euery one according to his degree about the king, but yͭ the armed men before mẽcioned came ruſhing into the houſe, placing thẽſelues round about them that were ſet according to the order preſcribed by former appointmẽt.

The gilti away.

The king ſimuled these doin

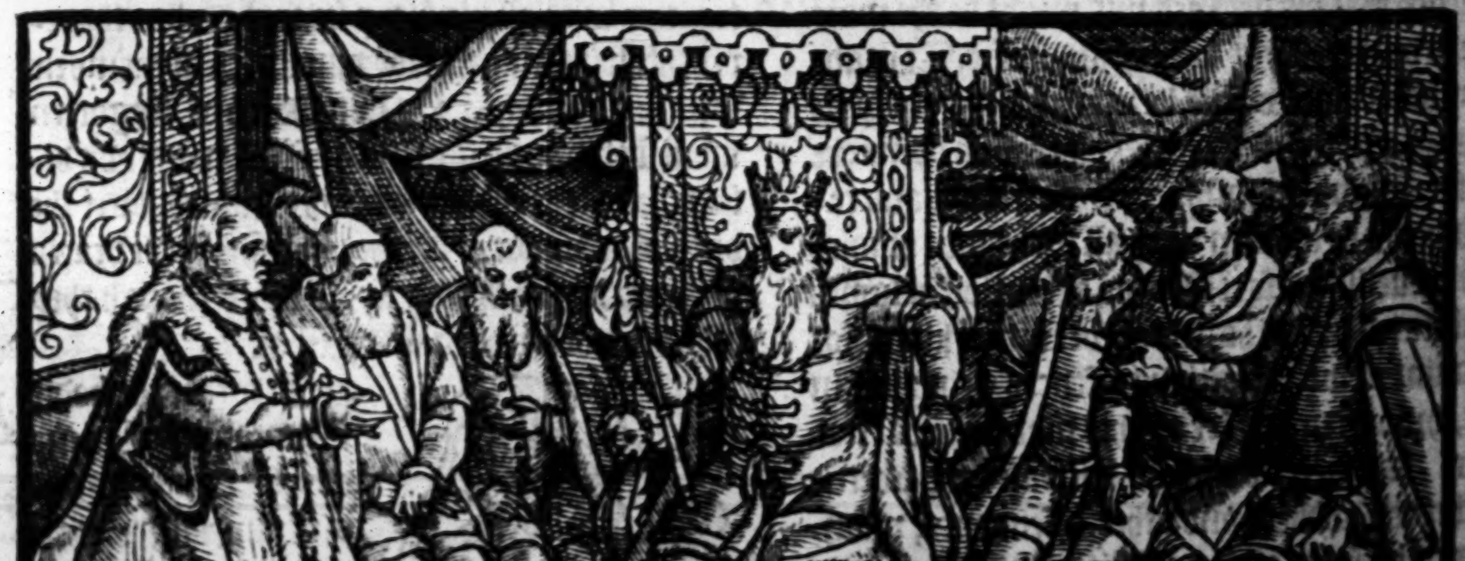
The king to viſite Ninian.

The king fulted ho call the tr greſſours iudgement.

An aſſem had at Sco

Armed me layd in wa

The king Lordes ſi the armed ſtept forth.



The Lordes with this preſent ſight being much amazed, beheld one an other, but durſt not ſpeake a worde. Then the king perceyuing their feare began to declare vnto thē the whole cauſe of his calling them to counſell at that time, & why he had appointed thoſe armed mē to be there attendant. The effect of his oration there made vnto thē was, that he had not cauſed thoſe armed mē to come into the chāber for any harme, ment towardes any of their perſons, but only for the publike preſeruation of the realme. For aſmuch as they knew, there was one kinde of people muche noyſome vnto the cōmon wealth, being cōfederate as it were togither by one conſent to exerciſe al ſortes of miſchief & oppreſſiō againſt the poore people, as to robbe, ſpoyle, & take from them all ẏ they had, to rauiſh their wiues, maides, & daughters, and ſome times to brenne theyr houſes: the which licencious libertie in ſuch wicked perſons, through want of due puniſhment in the dayes of king Culene, what daunger it had brought vnto the whole ſtate of the Scottiſhe cōmon wealth, there was none but might wel vnderſtād it. For ſith it was ſo that ẏ Lordes & other high eſtates liued by the trauaile of the commons, then if the ſame commons ſhoulde in any wiſe decay, the Lordes & ſuch other high eſtates could in nowiſe proſper: for if the labourer through iniurie of the robber were forced to giue ouer his labour, where ſhould the Lord or Gentleman haue wherevpon to liue? ſo that thoſe whiche robbed the husbandman, robbed alſo the Lorde and gentleman: and they that ſought to mainteyne ſuche loytering perſons as vſed to robbe the poore man, went about the deſtruction both of king, lord & gentleman, yea and finally of the vniuerſall ſtate of the whole cōmon wealth. Therfore he that loued the cōmon wealth would not ſeeke onely to defende the cōmons from ſuch iniuries as theeues & robbers dayly offred thē, but alſo would helpe to ſee iuſt execution done vpon the ſame theeues & robbers, according to ẏ laudable lawes & cuſtomes of the lande. The laſte yeare (ſayde he) you your ſelfes remember (I thinke) how I purpoſed by your helpe and counſell to haue proceeded by order of the lawes againſt all enimies and perturbers of the peace. At Laynrike was the day appointed for them to haue appeared, but there was not one of them that would come in, but contemptuouſly diſobeying our cōmaundemēt kept them away, by whoſe counſel I know not. But I haue bene enformed by ſome howe diuers of you fauouring thoſe rebelles, by reaſon they were of your lynage, were of counſell with them in withdrawing themſelues ſo from iudgement. The oftē ſending of meſſengers betwixt them & you, well neare perſwaded vs to thinke that this reporte was true. But yet notwithſtanding I haue put away all ſuche ſiniſter ſuſpicion out of my heade, wiſhing you (as I truſte you bee) voyde of all ſuche diſſimulation. And nowe I requyre you not as fautours of the rebelles, but as defendours of the common wealth, though happely ſomewhat ſlacke heretofore in diſcharge of your dueties, to ſhew your ſelues ſuch in helping to apprehende the offenders, as ẏ the world may perceyue you to haue made full ſatiſfaction for your fault & errour, if before in you there were any. In the end he was playne with them, & told them flatly that they ſhould aſſure thēſelues, to haue thoſe armed mē which they ſaw there preſent, to be continually attendant about thē, til he might haue all the rebelles at commaundement.

The Lordes hauing heard the kings ſpeach, & perceyuing what his meaning was, firſte partly excuſed themſelues ſo wel as they might of their cloked diſſimulation, and then fallyng downe vppon theyr knees afore him, beſought him to

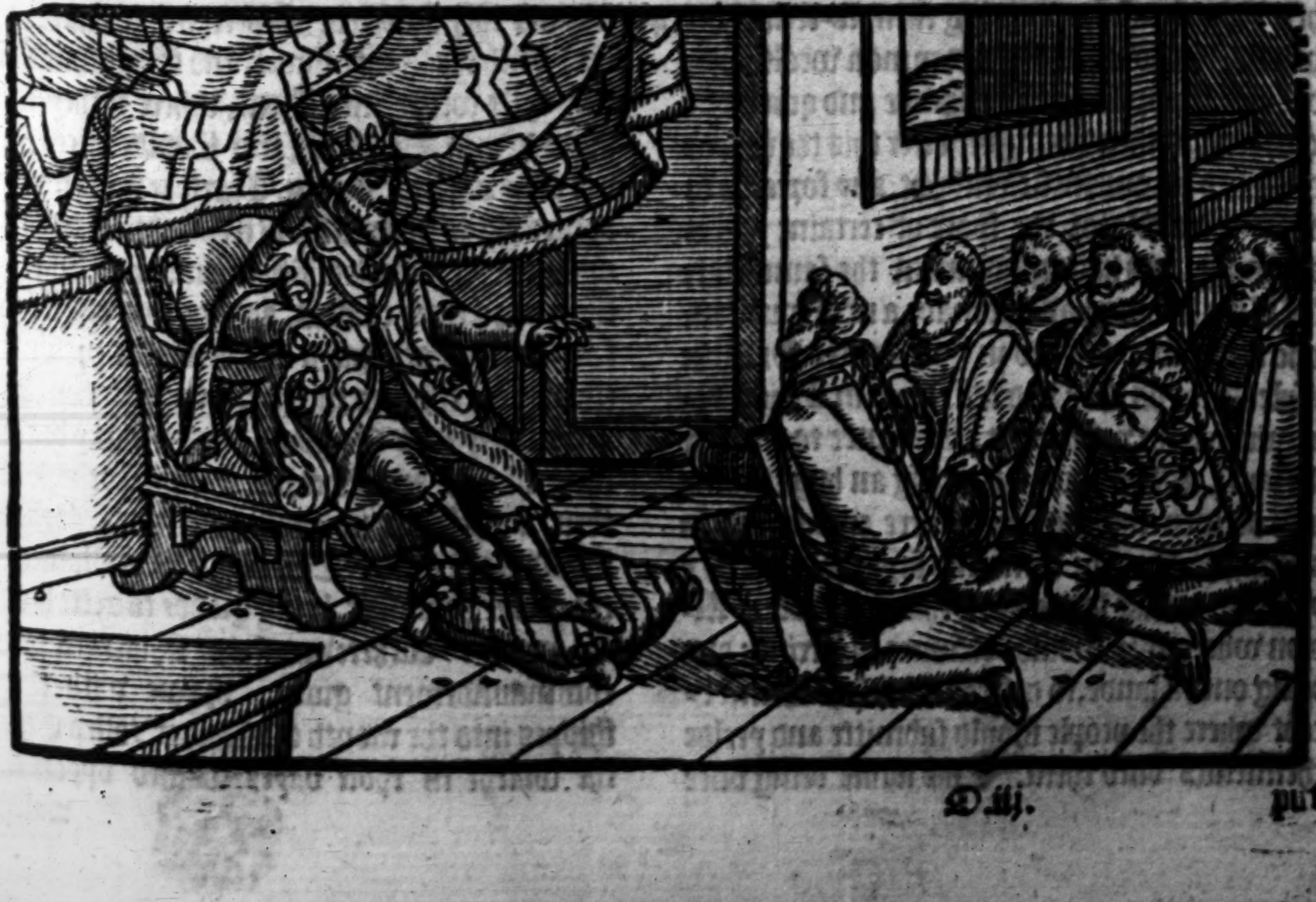
e king put- h the lords of doubt.

e oration ade by the ing.

reherſall of enormities.

Lainrike, or Lanerke.

The Lordes gētle ſubmiſſion, with a large promiſſe



put away all diſpleaſure out of his minde, and clearely to pardon them, if in any wiſe they had offended his maieſtie, promiſing that they would with all diligence & faithfulneſſe accompliſhe his deſire, in cauſing the offenders to be brought in vnto iudgement: and till the time that this were brought to paſſe, they were well contented to remaine in ſuch place where he ſhould appoint thẽ to abide.

The king wẽt to Bertha.

The councell then being broken vp, the king with thoſe Lordes paſſing ouer the riuer of Tay, wẽt vnto Bertha, which towne during the kings abode in ẏ ſame was ſtreightly kept with watche and warde, that no creature might enter or go forth without knowledge of the officers appointed by the king to take heede thereunto.

Roges puniſhed.

If any idle perſon were eſpied abroad in the ſtreetes, ſtraightwayes the ſergeants would haue him to warde. The nobles remayned in the kings houſe or in other lodgings to them aſſigned, procuring by their freendes & miniſters to haue ſuche offenders as vſed to robbe & ſpoyle the huſband man, apprehended & brought to the king vnto Bertha, there to receyue iudgement & punition according to theyr demerites: for ſo they perceyued they muſt needes worke, if they minded the ſafegard of their owne liues.

Iniurious men brought vnto Bertha.

A great nũber of vagabundes were iudged to die.

Hereof it followed alſo, that within ſhort ſpace there were brought vnto Bertha, to the number neare hande of. v. C. of ſuche idle loyterers as vſed to liue by ſpoyle & pillage, many of them being diſcẽded of famous houſes, all whiche companie being condemned for theyr offences to die, were hanged vpon gybets aboute the towne, and commaundement gyuen by the king, that theyr bodies ſhoulde not be taken downe, but there to hang ſtill, to giue enſample to other, what the ende was of all ſuche as by wrongfull meanes ſought to liue idelly, by other mens labours.

The Lordes haue licence to departe.

The rebelles being thus executed, king Kenneth licenſed the Lordes to departe to their owne houſes, exhorting them to remember their dueties towardes the common wealth, and to ſtudie for preſeruation of peace and quietneſſe according to their vocation.

The Danes ſeeke for to reuenge olde loſſes.

The Danes take the ſea to goe into Albion.

After this the realme continued in quietneſſe without any forraine or inwarde trouble for the ſpace of certaine yeares following, and had remayned in the ſame ſtate ſtill, if the Danes had not made a new inuaſion, who being ſore grieued in their hartes for ſuche diſpleaſures as they had ſuſteyned in Albion determined now with great aſſuraunce to reuenge the ſame. Wherevpon gathering an huge multitude of men togither, they were embarqued in veſſels prouided for them, and ſayling forth, they purpoſed to take lande vpon the next coaſt of Albion where they ſhoulde chaunce to arriue: and being once a lande, to deſtroy all before them, except where the people ſhould ſubmitte and yeelde themſelues vnto them.

The Danes a riue at the Red head, o red Brayes i Angus.

This nauie being once got abroade, within a ſhort time arriued at that point of lande in Angus, whiche is called the red Brayes, or Read head, not farre from the place where the Abbey of Abirbroth, or Abirbrothok was afterward founded.

The Danes conſult to g into Englan

Here the Daniſh fleete firſt caſting ancre, their captaines fel in cõſultatiõ what they were beſt to do. Some of thẽ were of this opinion, that it was not moſte expedient for them to land in that place, but rather to paſſe from thence into England: for at the Scottiſh mens hands being poore, & yet a fierce and hardy natiõ, there was ſmal good to be got, being therto accuſtomed to giue moe ouerthrowes, than they cõmonly receyued. Againe the ſoyle of the countrey was but barrayne, in maner ouergrowẽ wͭ woodes (as it was in deede in thoſe dayes) fewe townes & ſmall habitations, & thoſe ſo poore, that no man knowing the ſame, woulde vouchſafe to fight for any poſſeſſion of thẽ: wherein contrariwiſe England (that part namely which lieth towards the ſouth) was ſo fruitfull of corne & cattell, ſo riche of mines & repleniſhed with ſo many notable cities & townes inhabited with men of great wealth and ſubſtance, that few were to be foũd cõparable thereto.

They co for to ſayle to Kent.

So that the mater being well conſidered, they could not do better than to ſayle into Kent, where they might be ſure of riche ſpoyle without any great reſiſtance.

They onl ſought re

Other there were that held how this iourney was attempted by the counſell of their ſuperiours, only to reuẽge ſuch iniuries as the Daniſh nation had receyued at the hãds of the Scottiſhmen, & not to attaine riches or any dominion. The Scots alſo being a cruell people & ready to fight in defence of other mens poſſeſſiõs (as in the warres of Northumberland it well appeared) woulde ſurely be ready to come to the ayd of the Engliſhmẽ into Kent, euen ſo ſoone as it was knowen that the Danes were a lande in thoſe parties, ſo that by this meanes they ſhould be conſtreyned to haue to do both with the Scottiſhmen and Engliſhmen, if they firſte wente into Kent, where if they ſet a lande here in Scotland, they ſhoulde encounter but only with the Scots.

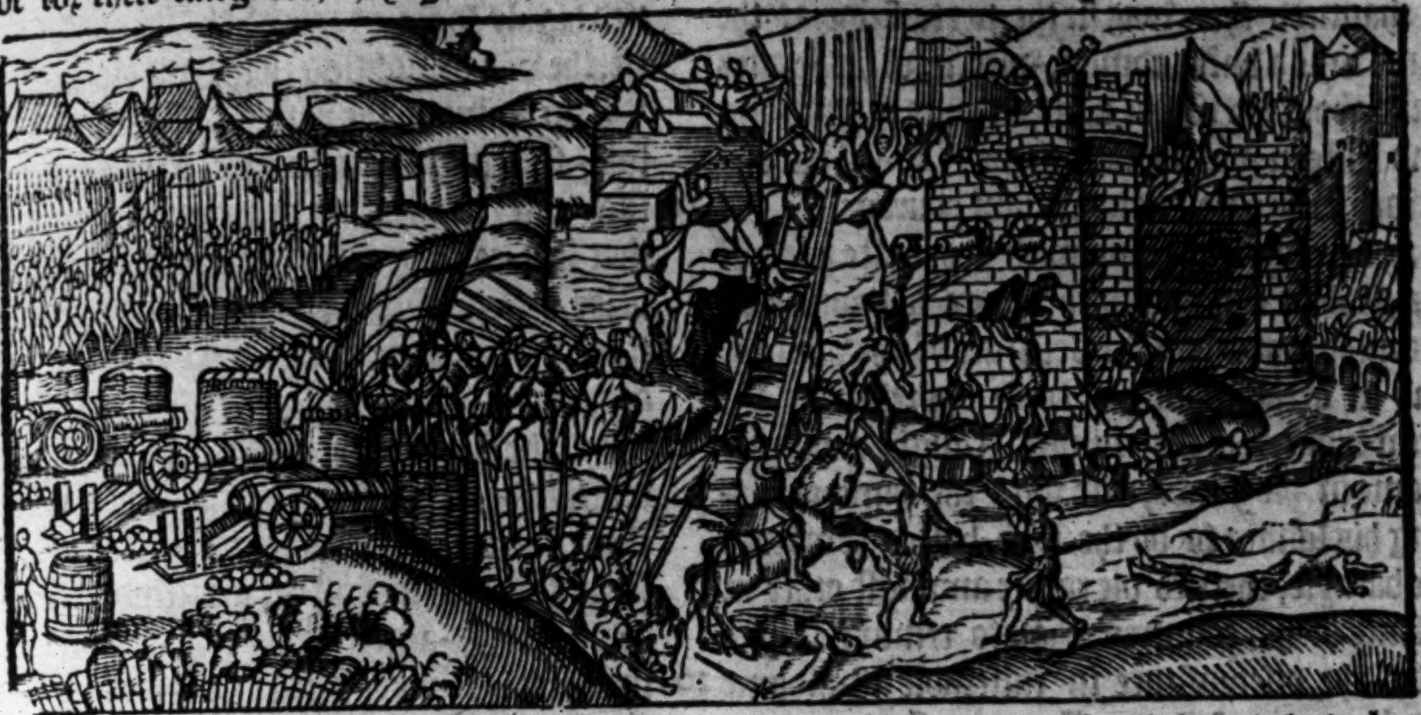
Some thou beſt to lan in Scotland.

Therfore the beſt were according to their firſte determination to lande amongſt the Scottes, ſith chaunce had brought them vnto thoſe coaſtes, adding that when they had ſomewhat abated the arrogant preſumptiõ of theyr enimies there, then might they paſſe more ſafely into England after a lucky beginning of fyre and ſwoorde, to proceede againſt their aduerſaries in thoſe parties as fortune ſhould leade them. This deuiſe was allowed of the greateſt number, being gladde to gette beſide the water. Wherevpon the Mariners vpon commaundement giuen, drawe with theyr ſhippes into the mouth of the riuer called Eſke, the whiche in thoſe dayes waſhed vppon the walles

e Danes do
nd at Mont-

walles of a towne in Angus called then Celurke, but now Mountros. Here the Danes taking land, put the inhabitaunts of the countrey there aboutes in greate feare, ſo that with all ſpeede for their ſafegarde, they gette them into Mountros, but the towne being quickely aſſailed of the Danes, was taken, put to the ſacke, ⁊ after raſed Caſtell and all to the bare ground, not one lyuing creature beyng lefte aliue of all ſuche as were founde within the ſame.

Montros takẽ, and all within was ſlayne.



e Danes
ame to the
uer of Tay.

From thence, the army of the Danes paſſed through Angus vnto the riuer of Tay, all the people of the countreys by the whiche they marched fleing afore them. King Kenneth at the ſame time lay at Sterlyng, where hearing of theſe grieuous newes, determined forthwith to reyſe his people, and to go againſt the enimies. The aſſemble of the Scottiſhe army was appointed to be at the place where the riuer of Erne falleth into the riuer of Tay. Here when they were come togither in great numbers at the day appointed, the day next following, worde was brought to the king, that the Danes hauing paſſed ouer Tay, were come before the towne of Bertha, and had layde ſiege to the ſame. Then without further delay, he rayſed with the whole armie, and marched ſtreight towardes his enimies, comming that night vnto Loncarte a village not farre diſtant from the riuer of Tay, famous euer after, by reaſon of the batayle fought then neare vnto the ſame. The Danes hearing that the Scottes were come, detracted no time, but forthwith prepared to giue battayle.

ing Kenneth
athered a
reat armie.

They lay ſiege
efore Bertha.

ing Kenneth
et his men in
ray.

Kenneth as ſoone as the ſunne was vp, beholding the Danes at hand, quickly brought his armie into order. Then requyring them earneſtly to ſhewe theyr manhood, he promiſeth to releaſſe them of all tributes and payments due to the kings cofers for the ſpace of fiue yeares next enſuyng: and beſides that he offered the ſumme of tenne pound, or els landes ſo muche worth in value to euery one of his armie, that ſhould bring him the head of a Dane. He willed them therefore to fight manfully, and to remember there was no place to attaine mercie: for eyther muſte they trie it out by dinte of ſworde, or els if they fledde, in the ende to looke for preſent death at the enimies handes, who would not ceaſſe till time they had founde them forth, into what place ſo euer they reſorted for refuge if they chanced to be vanquiſhed. The Scots being not a litle encouraged by the kings wordes, kepte their order of bataile according as they were appointed, ſtil loking when the onſet ſhould be giuen. Malcolme Duffe prince of Cumberland led the right wing of the Scots: ⁊ Duncane lieutenãt of Atholl the left: king Kenneth himſelfe gouerned the battell. The enimies on the other parte had taken theyr ground at the foote of a litle moũtaine right fore aneynſt the Scottiſh campe: ⁊ thus bothe the armies ſtoode ready araũged in the field, beholding either other a good ſpace, till at length the Scots deſirous of batayle, and doubting leſt the Danes would not come forth vnto any euen grounde, aduaunced forewarde with ſomewhat more haſte than the caſe requyred, beginning the batayle with ſhotte and throwing of dartes right freſhly. The Danes being backed with the mountaine, were conſtreyned to leaue the ſame, and with al ſpeede to come foreward vpon their enimies, that by ioyning they mighte auoyde the daunger of the Scottiſhmens arrowes and dartes: by this meanes therefore they came to hand ſtrokes, in maner before the ſigne was giuen on eyther parte to the batayle. The fighte was cruell on bothe ſides: and nothing hindered the Scottes ſo muche as going about to cut off the heades of the Danes euer as they mighte ouercome them: whiche maner being noted of the Danes, and perceyuing that there was no hope of lyfe but in victorie, they ruſhed forth with ſuche violence vppon theyr aduerſaries, that firſte the righte, and then after the lefte winge of the Scottes, was conſtrayned to retyre and flee backe, the middle warde ſtoutly yet keepyng theyr grounde: but the ſame

e king ex-
rted the
cottes vnto
aliantneſſe.

The order of the Scottiſhe batayle aray.

The Danes had the aduantage of a litle mountayne.

The Scottes begin the batayle.

The twoo wings of the Scottes fledde.

ſtood in ſuche daunger, being now left naked on the ſides that the victorie muſte needes haue remayned with the Danes, had not a renewer of the batayle come in time, by the appointment as is to be thought of almightie God. For as it chaunced there was in the nexte fielde at the ſame time a huſbandman, with.ij. of his ſonnes buſie about his worke named Hay, a man ſtrong and ſtiffe in making and ſhape of bodie, but endewed with a noble and valiant courage. This Hay beholdyng the king with the moſte parte of his Nobles fighting with greate valiauncie in the middle warde now deſtitute of the winges, and in greate daunger to be oppreſſed by the great violence of his enimies, caught a plough beame in his hande, and with the ſame exhorting his ſonnes to do the lyke, haſted towardes the batayle, there to die rather amongſt other in defence of his countrey, than to remayne alyue after the diſcomfiture in miſerable thraldome and bondage of the cruell and moſte vnmercyfull enimies. There was neare to the place of the batayle, a long lane fenſed on the ſides with ditches and walles made of turfe, through the whiche the Scottes whiche fledde were beaten downe by the enimies on heapes.

Hay with his two ſonnes.

Here Hay with his ſonnes ſuppoſing they might beſt ſtay the flight, placed themſelues ouerthwarte the lane, beate them backe whome they mette fleeyng, and ſpared neyther friende nor foe, but downe they went all ſuche as came within theyr reache wherwith diuers hardy perſonages cried to theyr fellowes to returne backe vnto the batayle, for there was a newe power of Scottiſhmen come to theyr ſuccours, by whoſe ayde the victorie might be eaſily obtayned of theyr moſte cruell aduerſaries the Danes: therfore might they chooſe whether they woulde be ſlayne of theyr owne fellowes comming to their ayde, or to returne againe to fight with the enimies. The Danes beyng here ſtayed in the lane by the greate valiauncie of the father and the ſonnes, thought verily there had bene ſome great ſuccours of Scottes come to the ayde of theyr kyng, and therevpon ceaſſing from further purſuyte fledde backe in greate diſorder vnto the other of theyr fellowes fighting with the middle warde of the Scottes. The Scottes alſo that before were chaſed, being encouraged herewith, purſued the Danes vnto the place of the batayle right fiercely. Wherevpon Kenneth perceyuing his people to be thus recomforted and his enimies partely abaſhed, called vpon his men to remember theyr dueties, and nowe ſithe their aduerſaries harts began (as they might perceiue) to faint, he willed them to followe vpon them manfully, which if they did he aſſured them that the victory vndoubtedly ſhould be theyrs. The Scots encouraged with the kings wordes, layd about thē ſo earneſtly, that in the end the Danes were conſtreyned to forſake the fielde, and the Scots egerly purſuyng in the chaſe, made great ſlaughter of them as they fled. This victory turned highly to the prayſe of the Scottiſhe nobilitie, the whiche fighting in the middle warde bare ſtill the brunt of the batayle, continuyng manfully therein euen to the ende. But Hay who in ſuch wiſe (as is before mencioned) ſtayed them that fled, cauſing them to returne againe to the fielde, deſerued immortall fame and commendation: for by his meanes chiefly was the victory atchieued. And therefore on the morow after whan the ſpoyle of the field & of the enimies cāpe whiche they had left voyde ſhould be deuided, the chiefeſt part was beſtowed on him and his two ſonnes, by cōſent of all the multitude, the reſidue being deuided amongſt the ſouldiers and men of warre, according to anciēt cuſtome vſed amōgſt this natiō. The king hauing thus vāquiſhed his enimies, as he ſhould enter into Bertha, cauſed coſtly robes to be offered vnto Hay & his ſonnes, that being richly clad, they might be yͤ more honored of the people: but Hay refuſing to chaunge his apparell, was cōtented to go with the king in his olde garments whither it pleaſed him to appoint. So entring with the king into Bertha, he was receiued with litle leſſe honor than the king himſelf, all the people rūning forth to behold him whom they heard to haue ſo valiātly reſtored the battell, whē the field was in maner loſt without hope of all recouerie. At his entring into yͤ towne he bare on his ſhoulder the plough beame, more honorable to him thā any ſworde or battell axe might haue bene to any yͤ moſt valiāt warriour. Thus Hay being honored of all eſtates, within certaine dayes after at a councel holdē at Scone it was ordeyned, that both he and his poſteritie ſhould be accepted amōgſt the nūber of yͤ chiefeſt nobles & peares of the realme, being rewarded beſides money & other great giftes with lands and reuenewes, ſuch as he ſhould chooſe ſufficient for the maintenaunce of their eſtates. It is ſayde, yͭ by counſell of his ſonnes, who knew the fruitfulneſſe of the ſoyle, he did aſke ſo much ground in thoſe parties where the riuer of Tay renneth by the towne of Arrole ouer agaynſt Fyfe, as a Faulcone ſhoulde flie ouer at one flight. Which requeſt beyng freely graunted of the king, the place was appoynted at Inſchire for the Faulcone to be caſte off: the whiche taking hir flight from thence, neuer lighted til ſhe came to a great ſtone neare to a village called Roſſe, not paſſing foure myles from Dunder. By whiche meanes all that countrey whiche lieth betwixt Inſchire aforeſayde, and the ſayd ſtone, (being almoſt .vj. myles in length, and foure in breadth) fell vnto

Hay

Hay ſtayed the Scottes from running away.

The Scottes were driuen to their battell againe.

The Danes fledde towards their fellowes in great diſorder.

King Kenneth called vpō his men, to remēber their dueties.

The Dane forſake th fieldes.

The ſpoyle diuided.

Hay refuſe coſtly garm

The king came to Be tha.

Hay is made one of the bilitie.

He had reue newes aſsig ned to him.

Hay his requeſt.

The Faulco meaſured H his landes

Hay and his ſonnes, the name of the ſtone alſo being called the Falcones ſtone to this day, doth cauſe the thing better to be beleeued, and welneare all the foreſayd ground ſtill continueth in the poſſeſſion of the Hayes, euen vnto this day. Beſides this to the further honoring of his name, the king gaue him armes three ſcutchēs gules in a field of ſiluer, a plough beame added therevnto which he vſed in ſtead of a battaile axe, when he fought ſo valiantly in defence of his Countrey. Thus had the Hayes their beginning of Nobilitie, whoſe houſe hath atteyned vnto great eſtimation of honor, and hath bene decorated with the office of the Conſtableſhip of Scotlande, by the bounteous beneuolence of Kings that ſucceeded. Theſe things happened in the firſt yeare of King Kenneth: In the reſidue of the time that he raigned, though there chaunced no great buſineſſe by forraine enimies, yet by ciuill ſedition the ſtate of the realme was wonderfully diſquieted. Firſt a companie of Kernes of the weſterne Iles inuading Roſſe, to the intent to haue fetched a bootie, were met withall by the way and ouerthrowne by the inhabitants of that Countrey. After this ſturre another followed, farre more daungerous to the whole eſtate of the common wealth, reyſed by one Cruthlint, one of the chiefeſt Lords of ẏ Mernes, who was ſonne vnto a certaine Lady named Fenella, the daughter of one Cruthneth, that was gouernour of that part of Angus which lyeth betwixt the two riuers, the one called ſouth Eſke, and the other north Eſke. So it chaunced, that on a time Cruthlint came vnto the Caſtell of Delbogin to ſee his Grandfather, the ſayde Cruneth as then lying in the ſame: where vpon light occaſion a fray was begon amongeſt the ſeruing men, in the which two of Cruthlints ſeruantes fortuned to be ſlaine: which iniury when Cruthlynt declared by waye of complaynt vnto hys Grandfather, he was ſo ſlenderly heard, and anſwered in ſuch reprochful wiſe, as though he himſelfe had beene the authour of the buſineſſe: that Crunethes ſeruants perceiuing how little he was regarded of their maiſter, fell vpon him and beate him, that not without daunger of life he brake forth of their handes, and hardly eſcaped away. In his returne homewardes, he came to his mother Fenella, where ſhe lay within the Caſtell of Fetthircarn, ẏ chiefeſt fortreſſe of all the Mernes. Where being incenſed through his mothers inſtigation, being a woman of a furious nature, he attempted forthwith to be reuenged of the iniurie receyued: ſo that aſſembling a number of his friendes and kinſfolke ſo ſecretly as he might togither, with a band of the inhabitāts of ẏ Mernes he entreth into Angus, and cōming vnto the caſtell of Delbogin in the night ſeaſon, was ſuffred to enter by the keepers of the gate nothing ſuſpecting any treaſon in the worlde, by reaſon whereof was Cruneth ſodainly oppreſſed, the houſe ſacked and raſed, not one that was founde within the ſame being left aliue. The ſpoyle alſo was deuided by Cruthlynt amongſt them which came with him. The next day likewiſe he forrayed the Countrey all there aboutes, returning home with a great bootie.

y had armes
en him.

ill warres
Scotlande.

other com-
tion in
rnes by
thlint.

thlint wēr
ke his grād
er.

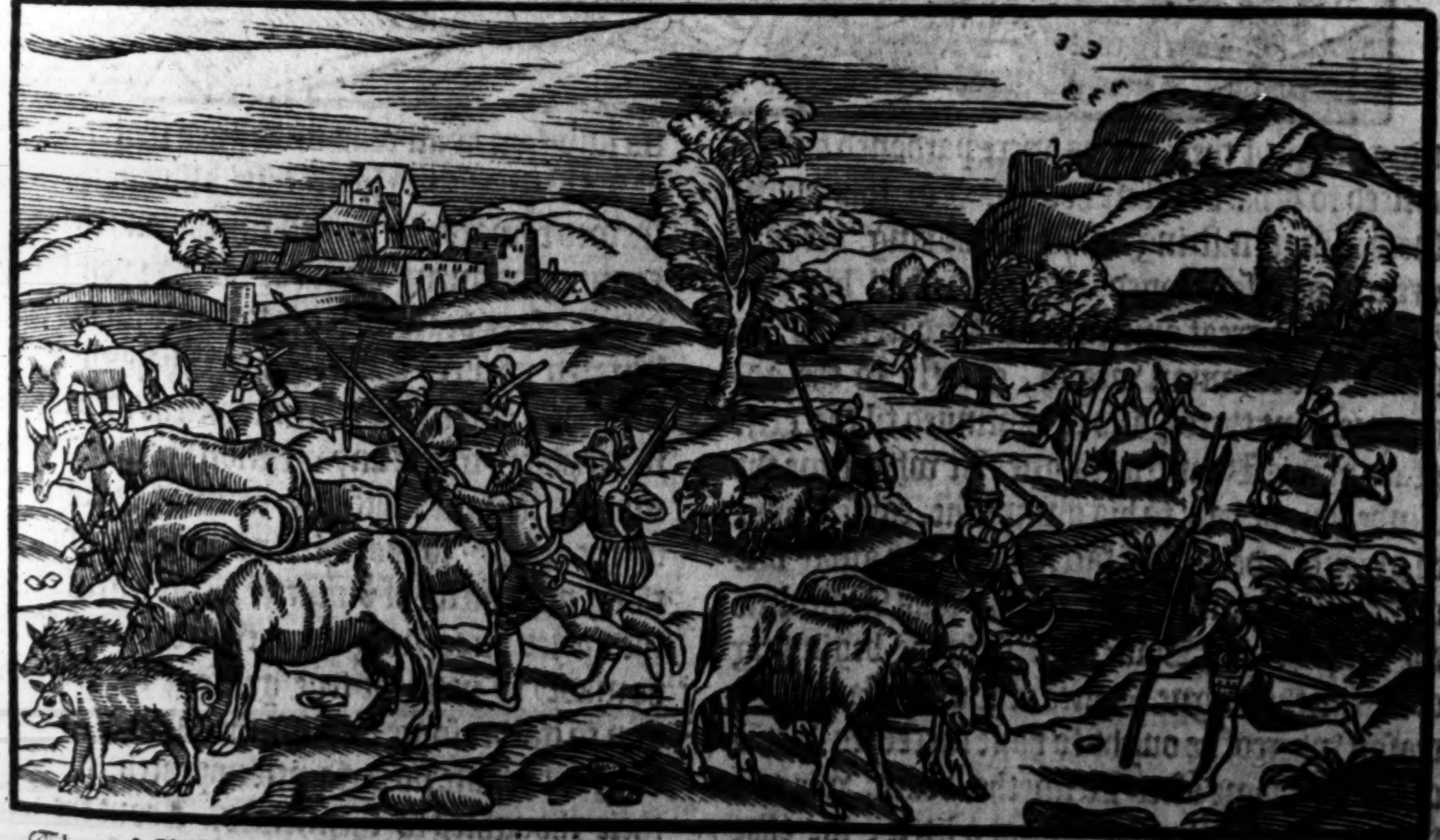
Two of his ſeruants were ſlaine.

They ſet vpon Cruthlint alſo

Cruthlint was inſtigated to reuenge.

He killed all them that were in the Caſtell.

The Countrey is forrayed.



They of Angus prouoked herewith, reſted not long but aſſembling themſelues togither inuaded the Countrey of Mernes, where making great ſlaughter on eche ſide, they left the Countrey voyde almoſt both of men and cattell. Thus did the people of thoſe two Countreys purſue the warre one agaynſt another a certaine time, with dayly incurſions and waſtings of eyther others countreys, in ſuch cruel wiſe, that it was thought the one of them muſt needes ſhortly come vnto vtter deſtruction, if ſpeedie remedie were not the ſooner prouided. The king being informed of this

of
ernes requir
ir iniuries.

The king made a proclamation by an Heralde.

miſchiefe and great trouble which was fallen out through ſedition amongſt thoſe his ſubiects, hee made proclamation by an Herauld, that thoſe of Angus and Mernes whom he vnderſtoode to be culpable, ſhoulde appeare within. xv. dayes after at Scone, there to make anſwere afore appoynted Iudges, to ſuch things as might be layde to their charge, vpon paine of death to euery one that made default.

The culpable ſhould appeare at Scone.

When the day of appearance came, there were but fewe that did appeare.

The faulty mē ran away.

The moſt part of them doubting to bee puniſhed for theyr offences with Cruthlint their Captaine, fled out of yͤ Mernes, taking with them their wiues, theyr children and all theyr goodes.

The king was ſore offended therewith.

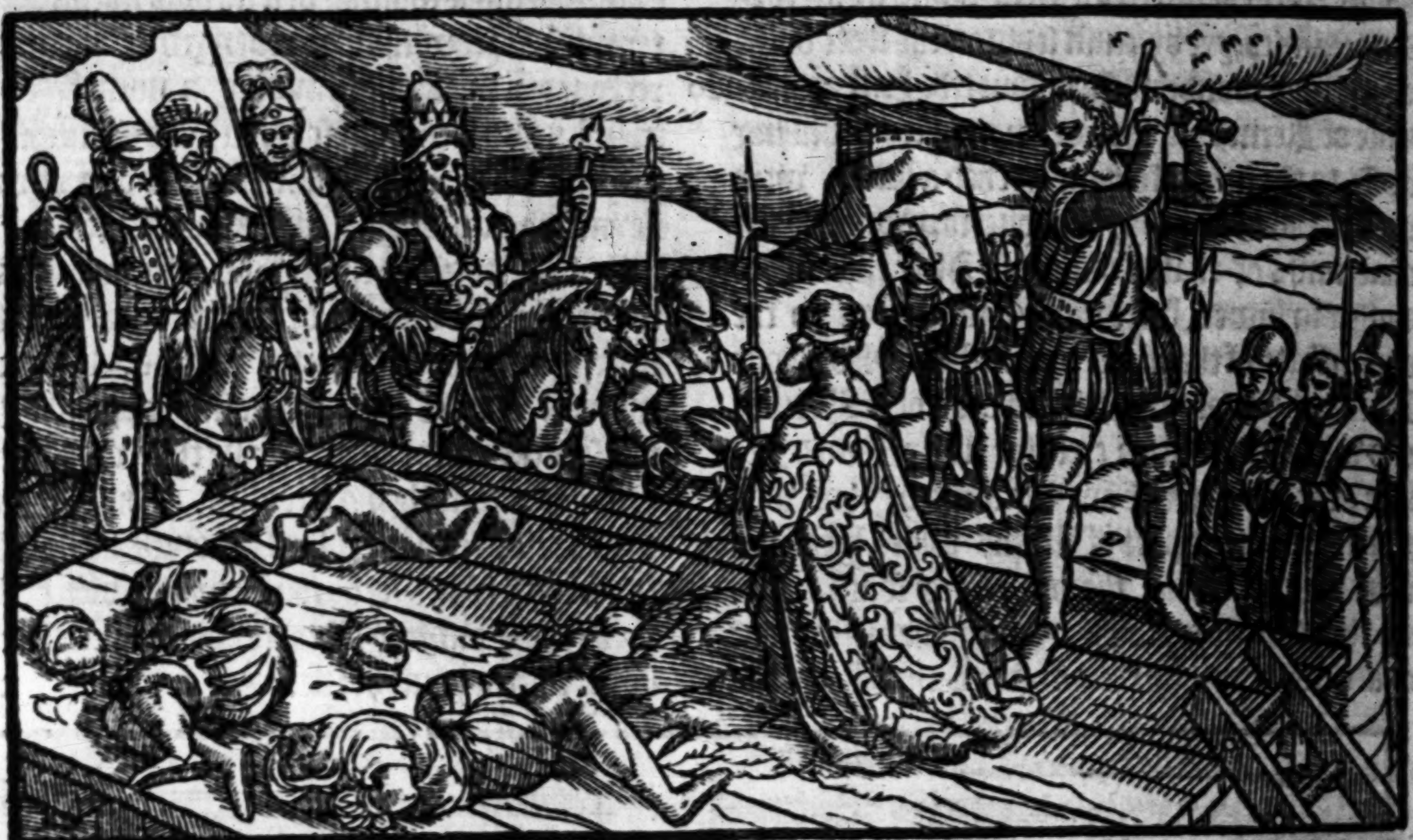
The king beeing ſore moued herewith, perceyued howe readie the Scottiſhe people was by nature vnto rebellion, when they were gently vſed: and againe howe they obeyed the Magiſtrates beſt when they were reſtreyned from their wilde outragious doings by due puniſhment and execution of iuſtice. He conſidered therefore that if hee did not cauſe thoſe ſeditious rebelles whiche had thus diſobeyed hys commaundements to bee puniſhed according to the order of the lawes, he ſhoulde haue the whole realme ſhortly diſquieted with ciuill warre & open rebellion.

The king
ded to pu
the diſobe
ent rebels.

Whereupon with all ſpeede hee cauſed earneſt purſuyt to be made after Cruthlint and the reſidue of the offenders, the whiche at length being taken in Lochquhabir, were brought vnto a Caſtel in Gowrie called Dounſinnā, where after iudgement pronounced agaynſt them, Cruthlint firſt, and then other the chiefeſt ſtyrrers on eyther ſyde were put to execution, the commons for that it was thought they followed their ſuperiors agaynſt their willes, were pardoned and licenced to depart to their houſes.

Cruthlint
ken with
ny more.

He is exec
with cer
others.



The king was worthily commended for his iuſtice.

For this equitie ſhewed in miniſtring iuſtice by the king, hee was greatly prayſed, loued, and dread of all his ſubiects, ſo that great quietneſſe folowed in the whole ſtate of the common wealth, greatly to the aduauncement therof, and ſo continued til the. xxij. yeare of this Kenneths raigne.

King Kenneth poyſoned his couſin Malcolme.

At what time the blinde loue he bare to his owne iſſue, cauſed hym to procure a deteſtable fact, in making away one of his neareſt kinneſmen. This was Malcolme the ſonne of king Duffe, created in the beginning of Kenneths raigne Prince of Cumberlande, by reaſon whereof he ought to haue ſucceeded in rule of the kingdome after Kenneths death, whereat the ſame Kenneth grieuing not a little, for that thereby his ſonnes ſhoulde be kept from enioying the crowne, found meanes to poyſon him.

The king was not ſuſpected of this fact.

But though the Phiſitions vnderſtanding by ſuch euidēt ſignes as appeared in his bodie, that he was poyſoned in deed, yet ſuch was the opinion which men had of the kings honor and integritie, that no ſuſpition at all was conceyued that it ſhoulde be his deed.

The poiſo
of Malco
is brough
to ſuſpi

The cloked loue alſo whiche he had ſhewed towards him at all times, and to ſodaine commaundement giuen by him vppon the firſt newes of his death, that his funerals ſhould be celebrated in euery Church and Chappell for his ſoule, and againe the teares which he ſhed for him in all places where any mention chaunced to bee made of the loſſe which the realme had ſuſteyned by the death of ſo worthie a prince, made men nothing miſtruſtful of yͤ matter, till at lēgth ſome of the nobles perceyuing the outward ſorow (which he made) to paſſe the true griefe of the heart, began to gather ſome ſuſpitiō, that al was not wel: but yet bycauſe no certaintie appeared, they kept their thoughtes to themſelues.

Ambaſſa
came frō
Edwarde.

About the ſame time came Imbaſſadors forth of Englande from king Edwarde the ſonne of Edgar (which after through treaſon of his ſtepmother Eſcuida, was made a Martyr) requyring that ſithe Malcolme the Prince of Cumberlande was deceaſſed, it might pleaſe the king with yͤ ſtates of the realme

required a
Prince to
lected.

to chooſe ſome other in his place, who doing hys homage vnto the king of England according as it was couenãted by the league, might be a meane to confyrme the ſame league betwixt the two nations for the auoyding of all occaſions of breach thereof that otherwiſe happely might enſue. Kenneth at the ſame time helde a councell at Scone, where hauing hearde the requeſt of theſe Ambaſſadours, in preſence of all his nobles, he anſwered that hee was glad to vnderſtande that king Edwarde was ſo carefull for maintenance of loue and amitie betwixt his ſubiectes and the Scottiſhmen, according to the articles of the auncient league in times paſt concluded betwixt them, the ratification whereof for his part, he likewiſe moſt erneſtly deſired, & therfore in rendring moſt hartie thankes vnto him for his gentle aduertiſement, he purpoſed by the aduiſe of his nobles and the other eſtates of his realme as then there aſſembled, to elect a new Prince of Cumberlande, without any further delay: and therupon required the Ambaſſadour to be preſent on the morrowe to heare what he was whom the Nobles ſhould name to be preferred vnto that dignitie. The Ambaſſadours hereupon departing forth of the Counſell chamber, were conueyed to their lodging by diuerſe of the nobilitie that were appoynted to keepe them companie. Then Kenneth with a long oration went about to perſwade the Peeres and other the eſtates of the realme there (as I ſayd) aſſembled, to alter the cuſtome and auncient order vſed by their elders in choosing of him that ſhould ſucceede in gouernance of the realme, after the deceaſſe of him that was in poſſeſſion. He vſed ſo many reaſons as was poſſible for him to deuiſe in that behalfe, therby to enduce them to his purpoſe, whiche was to haue an acte eſtabliſhed for the crowne to go by ſucceſſion, only to this ende that one of his ſonnes mighte enioy the ſame immediatly after his deceaſſe. He declared alſo what diſcõmodities, ſeditions, and great incõueniences had growne, in that the crown had gone in times paſt by election: for though it was ordeyned at the firſt that it ſhoulde ſo doe vpon a good intent and great conſideration, yet in proceſſe of time proufe and experience had ſhewed, that more hinderance happened vnto the common wealth therby (beſide the daunger euer enſuing incidently vnto ſuch iſſue as the king left behind him) than profite, if the ſundry murthers, occaſions of ciuill diſcorde and other wicked practiſes were throughly weyed and conſidered, the ſumme whereof he recited from poynt to point, and ſo in the ende with great inſtance beſought them that ſo pernicious a cuſtome might be aboliſhed and taken away, to the great benefite of the whole ſtate of the realme, ſpecially ſith in all realmes commonly the order was, that the ſonne ſhould without any contradiction ſucceede the father in the heritage of the crowne and kingly eſtate.

king herd
meſſage
purpoſe

The king requeſted that the crowne might come by inheritance

fit oration
his purpoſe

had roome
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it, to ga-
the proues
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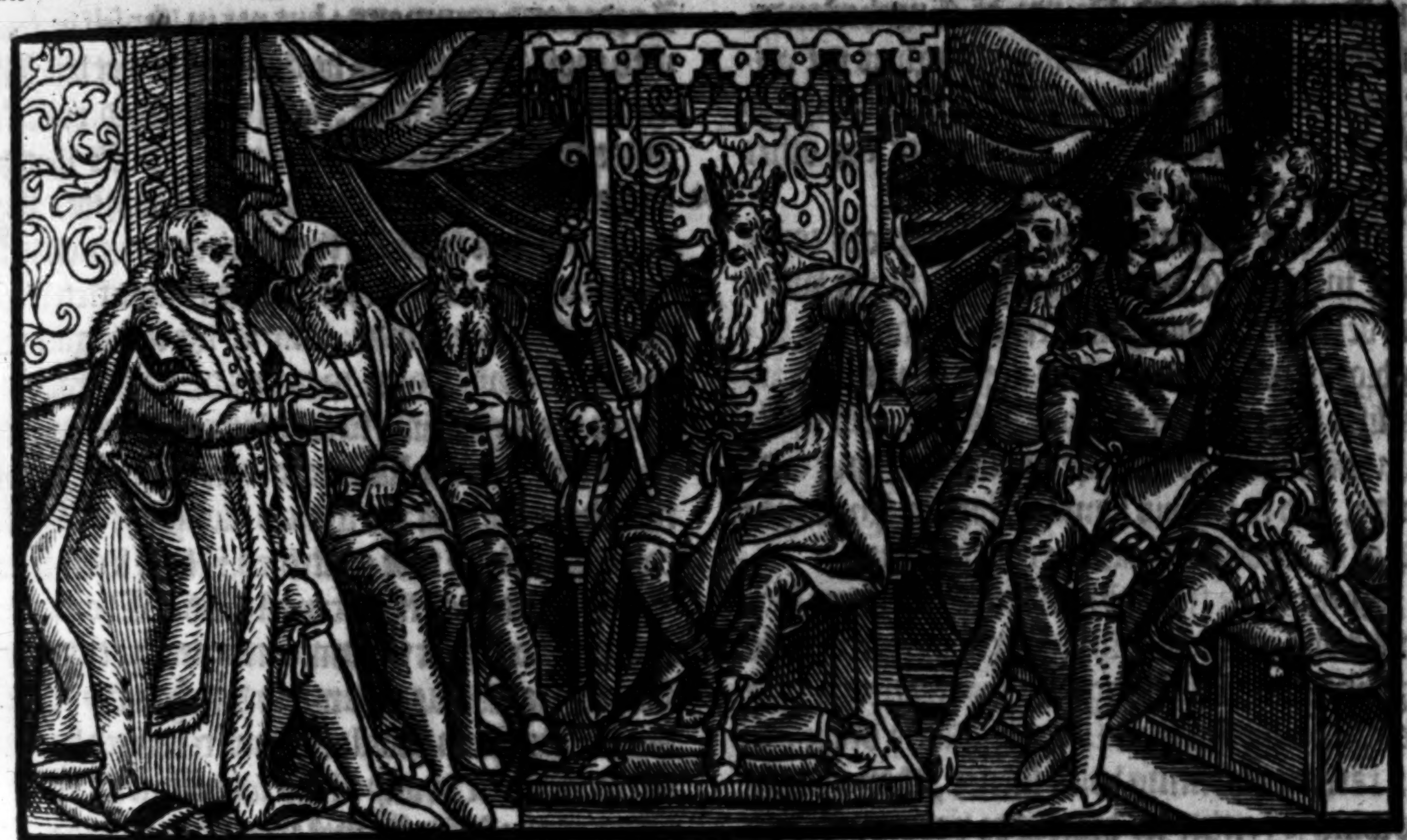


The king had no ſooner made an ende of his long oration, which he handled after the pithieſt ſort he coulde, but that diuerſe of the noble men which were there amongſt other, bring made priuie to the matter aforehande, mocioned meanes to haue Malcolme the ſonne of Kenneth created Prince of Cumberlande, that hee might ſo haue an entrance to the crowne after the deceaſſe of his father. This motion by and by was in many of their mouthes, whiche Kenneth perceyuing, requyred of the moſt auncient Peeres whom they would name to be Prince of Cumberlande, that there might be a meane to ratifie and cõfirme the league betwixt the Scottes and Engliſhe men. Cõſtantine the ſonne of king Cullen, and Grime the nephew of king Duffe by his brother Mogal, howbeit by the force of yͤ former law they might by good reaſon haue looked to haue had the preferment

The Peeres of the realme did willingly graunt to his requeſt.

ment themſelues, yet perceyuing it was in vaine to denie that which would be had by violence (although they ſhould neuer ſo much ſtand agaynſt it) being firſt demaunded of the Heralde what they thought, they anſwered (notwithſtanding agaynſte theyr myndes in deede,) that the king might order all things as ſhould ſtande with his pleaſure, appoynting whome he thought moſte meeteſt to be Prince of Cumberlande, and to abrogate the auncient lawe of creating the kings in deuiſing newe ordinances for the ſame, as ſhould ſeeme vnto him & thoſe of his counſel moſt requiſite and neceſſarie. The multitude then following their ſentence, cryed with lowde and vndiſcrete voyces, to haue Malcolme the ſonne of king Kenneth created Prince of Cumberlande. And thus the ſame Malcolme (though as yet vnder age) was by the voyces of the people ordeyned Prince of Cumberlande, in place of the other Malcolme ſonne to king Duffe.

The Heraulde required Conſtantine hys voice firſt.

Conſtantine his ſaying.

The multitude well pleaſed, crie Malcolm.

The day following the Ambaſſadors comming into the Counſell chamber, heard what was decreed touching their requeſt, and then being highly rewarded of the kings bounteous liberalitie, they returned into Englande, and Malcolm with them, to be acquainted with king Edwarde, and to doe his homage for the Principalitie of Cumberlande, as the cuſtome was.

At the ſame time alſo, there was a newe acte deuiſed and made, the olde being abrogated (by the appoyntment of the king) for the creation of the Scottiſh kings in time to come, many of the nobles rather conſenting with ſilence, than greatly allowing it, either in heartes or voyces, though ſome currifauours among them, ſet forwarde the matter to the beſt of their powers. The Articles of this ordinance were theſe:

A new act for the ſucceſsion of the crowne.

The eldeſt heire male of the deceaſſed king, whether the ſame were ſonne or nephew, of what age ſoeuer he ſhould be, yea though he ſhould be in the mothers womb at the time of yͤ fathers deceaſe ſhould from thenceforth ſucceed in the kingdome of Scotlande. The nephew by the ſonne ſhoulde be preferred before the nephew by the daughter, in atteyning to the heritage of the crowne. And likewiſe the brothers ſonne ſhould be admitted before the ſiſters ſonne. The ſame law ſhould be obſerued of all ſuch of the Scottiſh nation, as had any landes or inheritance comming to them by diſcent. Where the king by this meanes chaunced to be vnder age, and not able to rule, there ſhould be one of the chiefeſt peeres of the Realme choſen and elected to haue the gouernance of his perſon and Realme, till he came to .xiiij. yeares of age. The which fourtenth yeare of his age beeing accompliſhed, he ſhoulde haue the adminiſtration committed to his owne handes. The heyres of al other perſons of eche eſtate and degree, ſhould remaine vnder the wardſhip of their appoynted gouernours till they came to the age of .xxj. yeares, and not till then to meddle with any part of their landes and liuings.

Articles concluded in that Parliament.

Theſe lawes and ordinances being once publiſhed and confirmed, King Kenneth ſuppoſed the kingdome to bee fully aſſured vnto him and hys poſteritie, and therevpon endeuoured himſelfe to winne the heartes of the people with vpright adminiſtration of iuſtice: and the fauour of the nobles, he ſought to purchaſe with great gifts which he beſtowed amongſt them, aſwell in landes belonging to the crowne, as in other things, greatly to their contentation. Thus might he ſeeme happie vnto all men, hauing the loue both of his Lordes and commons: but yet in himſelf he ſeemed moſt vnhappie, as he that coulde not but ſtill liue in continuall feare, leaſt his wicked practiſe concerning the death of Malcolme Duffe ſhould come to light and knowledge of the worlde. For ſo commeth it to paſſe, that ſuch as are pricked in conſcience for any ſecrete offence committed, haue euer an vnquiet minde. And as the fame goeth, it chaunced that a voyce was hearde as he was in bed in the night time to take his reſt, vttering vnto him theſe or the like wordes in effecte: Thinke not Kenneth that the wicked ſlaughter of Malcolme Duffe by thee contriued, is kept ſecret from the knowledge of the eternall God: Thou art he that didſt conſpire the innocents death, enterpryſing by trayterous meanes to doe yͭ to thy neighbour which thou wouldeſt haue reuenged by cruell puniſhment in any of thy ſubiectes, if it had bene offred to thy ſelfe: It ſhal therefore come to paſſe, that both thou thyſelfe, and thy iſſue, through the iuſt vengeance of almightie God, ſhall ſuffer worthie puniſhment, to the infamie of thy houſe and family for euermore. For euen at this preſent are there in hande ſecrete practiſes to diſpatche both thee and thy iſſue out of the way, that other may enioy this kingdome which thou doſt endeuor to aſſure vnto thine iſſue.

King Ken
miniſtred
ſtice truly.

The good
of the nob
he bought
with giftes.

The king
a guiltie co
ſcience.

A voyce hea
by the king.

The king with this voyce being ſtryken into great dread and terror, paſſed that night without any ſleepe comming in his eyes. Wherefore in the morning he got him vnto Biſhop Mouean, a man of great holyneſſe of life, vnto whom he confeſſed his heynous and moſt wicked offence, beſeeching him of counſell, which way hee might obtaine pardon and forgiueneſſe at Gods handes by worthie penance. Mouean hearing how the king bemoaned his offence committed, he willed hym to bee of good comfort. For as the wrath of almightie God was prouoked by ſinne and wicked offences, ſo was the ſame pacified againe by repentance, if ſo be we continue penitent and willing to amend. King Kenneth being confirmed in hope of forgiueneſſe by theſe and ſundrie other

The king co
feſſeth his
ſinnes.

The king ta
keth great
penance.

the like comfortable wordes of the Biſhop, ſtudied vnfeynedly to doe worthie penaunce, leauing nothing vndone which hee thought might ſerue for a witneſſe of his penitent heart, thereby to auoyde the vengeance which he ſtoode in feare of to be prepared for him, by reaſon of his heynous and wicked cryme.

It chaunced hereupon, that within a ſhort time after hee had beene at Fordune a Towne in Mernes, to viſite the Relikes of Paladius which remaine there, he turned a little out of the way to lodge at the Caſtel of Fethircarne, where as then there was a Forreſt ful of al maner of wild beaſts that were to be had in any part of Albion. Here was hee receyued by Fenella Ladie of the houſe, whoſe ſonne as ye haue heard he cauſed to be put to death, for the commotion made betwixt them of Mernes and Angus. She was alſo a kyn vnto Malcolme Duffe whome the king had made away: and in like maner vnto Conſtantine and Gryme, defrauded of their right to the crowne, by the craftie deuiſe of the king, as before is partly mencioned. This woman therefore beeing of a ſtoute ſtomacke, long time before hauing conceyued an immortall grudge towardes the king, vpon the occaſions before rehearſed, (namely aſwell for the death of hir ſonne Cruthlynt, as hauing ſome ynckling alſo of the empoyſoning of Malcolme Duffe, though no full certaintie thereof was knowne) imagined night and day how to be reuenged. She vnderſtoode that the king delyted aboue meaſure in goodly buyldings, and therefore to the ende to cōpaſſe hir malicious intent, ſhe had cauſed a tower to be made ioyning vnto hir owne lodging within the foreſayd caſtell of Fethircarn. The which tower was couered ouer with copper finely engrauen with diuerſe flowers and Images. Hereto was it hung within with riche clothes of Arras wrought with golde and ſilke, very fayre and coſtly. Behinde the ſame were there Croſſebowes ſet readie bent with ſharpe quarrels in them. In the middeſt of the houſe there was a goodly braſen Image alſo, reſembling the figure of king Kenneth, holding in the one hande a faire golden Apple ſet full of precious ſtones, deuiſed with ſuch arte and cunning, that ſo ſoone as any man ſhould drawe the ſame vnto him or remoue it neuer ſo little any way forth, the Croſſebowes would immediately diſcharge theyr quarrels vpon him with great force and violence. Fenella therefore being thus prouided aforehande, at after meate, deſired the king to go with hir into that inner chamber: into the which being entred, he could not be ſatiſfied of long with the beholding of the goodly furniture, aſwell of the hangings as of diuerſe other things. At the laſt hauing viewed the Image which ſtoode (as is ſayde) in the middeſt of the chamber, he demaunded what the ſame did ſignifie. Fenella anſwered, how that Image did repreſent his perſon, and the golden Apple ſet ſo richly with Smaragds, Jacincts, Saphires, Topaſes, Rubies, Turkaſſes, and ſuch like precious ſtones, ſhee had prouided as a gyft for him, and therefore requyred him to take the ſame, beſeeching him to accept it in good part, though it were not in value worthie to bee offred vnto his Princely honor and high dignitie. And herewith ſhe hirſelfe withdrew aſide, as though ſhe woulde haue taken ſomething forth of a Cheſt or Coffer, thereby to auoyde the daunger. But the king delyted in beholding the gemmes and orient ſtones, at length remouing the Apple the better to aduiſe it, incontinently the Croſſebowes diſcharged their quarrels ſo directly vpon him, that ſtryking hym through in ſundrie places, hee fell downe ſtarke deade, and lay flat on the ground. Fenella as ſoone as ſhe behelde him fall to the ground readie to die, ſhe got forth by a backe doore into the next woods, where ſhe had appoynted horſes to tary for hir, by meane whereof ſhe eſcaped out of all daunger of thē that purſued hir, ere the death of the king were openly knowne vnto them. His ſeruāts ſtil wayting for his comming forth in the vtter chamber, at length when they ſawe he came not at all, firſt they knocked at the doore ſoftly, then they rapped hard thereat: laſtly doubting that which had happened, they break open doore after doore, til at lēgth they came into the chamber where the king laye colde deade vpon the floore. The clamor and crie herevpon was rayſed by his ſeruants, and Fenella curſed and ſought for in euery place that had committed ſo haynous and wicked a deede: but the vngracious woman was conueyed ſo ſecretly out of the way, that no where coulde ſhe be heard of. Some ſuppoſed that ſhe fled firſt vnto Conſtantine, by whoſe helpe ſhee got ouer into Irelande. The ambitious deſire which the ſame Cōſtantine ſhewed hee had to ſucceede in gouernment of the kingdome after Kennethes deceaſſe, encreaſed that ſuſpition greatly. For immediately after it was knowne that Kenneth was dead, he got his friendes togither, and went vnto diuerſe places requyring the Lordes to aſſiſt him in atteyning to the crowne, which by the old ordinance and law of the realme (inſtituted in the begynning, and obſerued till nowe of late, that Kenneth by his priuate authoritie had gone aboute to abrogate the ſame) ought to diſcende vnto hym, as all the worlde right well vnderſtoode.

e king wẽt
Fordune a
grimage.

Parke with
de beaſtes
e caſtel of
rcarne.

ella was a
e vnto
alcolme.

was deſi-
for to
nge.

lla hir ma
us intent.

ebowes
die bent,
den.

lla had
king into
ner
ber.

The king was ſlaine with the Croſſebowes.

Fenella eſcaped from them all.

His ſeruants looked for their king.

The doores broken open they finde him dead.

Fenella could not be found.

Fenella got hir ſelfe into Ireland by the helpe of Conſtantine.

Conſtantine aſpired vnto the crowne.

Conſtantine procured friendes.

Conſtantine.

Conſtantine procured friends ſo on eche ſide, that by their meanes being of high authoritie in the realme, hee was brought by them vnto Scone, and there crowned king, the .xij. day after Kennethes deceaſſe, in the .xxv. yere after that the ſame Kenneth had begonne his reigne ouer the

Scottiſh

994. Io. Ma.
1000. H. B.

Scottiſh men, and in the yeare of our ſaluation a thouſand iuſt, in the which yeare (as is ſayd) ſundrie vnketh ſightes were ſeene aſwell in Albion, as in other places. The ſea left vpon the ſandes on the coaſtes of Buthquane, an infinite multitude of fiſhes, the which lying there dead, cauſed ſuche a filthie ſauour, that the ayre being therewith infected, great death of people enſued. The Moone appeared of a bloudie colour, to the great terrour of them that behelde it. The Sommer next following corne fayled, and cattell dyed ſo generally, that if there had not beene more plentie of fiſhe got than was accuſtomed to be, the people had beene famiſhed in many a place. In Albion and alſo Fraunce, it rayned ſtones. But all theſe dreadfull wonders might not withdraw the Scottiſhe men from their wicked vices, whereunto in thoſe dayes they were wholye gyuen, though there wanted not dyuerſe vertuous men, as wel Biſhops as other, that in theyr Sermons exhorted the people to repent and amende theyr naughtie lyuings: for otherwyſe vndoubtedly ſuch gryſely ſightes and tokens as chaunced in thoſe dayes, menaced ſome great myſchiefe to fall vnto the whole Nation. And ſurely their wordes proued true: for the Scottes continuing in their wilfulneſſe, being ſtubborne hearted one agaynſt another, brought theyr Countrey into daunger of vtter deſtruction.

Maruellous happes chaunced.

The moone appeared bloudie.

Scarcitie of corne & cattel

It rayned ſtones.

Preaching was deſpiſed.

Malcolme the ſonne of Kenneth, created (as ye haue hearde in hys fathers lyfe tyme) Prince of Cumberlande, hearing that Conſtantine (agaynſt the ordnance lately made) had vſurped the Crowne, as ſone as his fathers bodie was buryed in Colmkil, with ſuch funeral pompe as apperteyned, he deſyred his fathers friendes to gyue him ſuch faythfull counſell as they thought moſt expedient, whiche way hee were beſt to worke for the appeaſing of the ſedition nowe begunne by reaſon of Conſtantines preſumptuous attempt.

Malcolm ſeeketh friendes againſt Conſtantine.

There were ſome amongeſt that companie that toke it to bee beſt, firſt to vnderſtande the myndes of all the peeres and nobles of the realme, before they went about any exployt agaynſt the tyrant, leaſt whyleſt Malcolme ſhoulde ſeeke to delyuer himſelfe from daunger, he might happely winde himſelfe further into trouble, than without extreeme perill of the common wealth he ſhoulde be able to get forth thereof againe. Other there were iudged it beſt ſodenly to goe agaynſt Conſtantine before he had made himſelfe ſtrong: For if they came vpon him ere hee were prouided for theyr comming, many of them that feigned them ſelues to bee his friendes, woulde forſake hym ſo ſone as they ſawe any power of his enimyes at hande. And then ſhoulde he eyther fall into their hands, or be dryuen to flee the realme for ſafegard of his life. The fierce yong man following this counſell as the beſt to his ſeeming, and truſting more to his owne wit than to the graue aduice of men of ſkill, aſſembled togither in all haſt poſſible about the number of ten thouſand men, with whom making towards Conſtantine with ſpeedie iourneys, at length hee came into Louthian. Conſtantine being enformed of all his aduerſaries doings, had got togither alſo an huge power, ſo that paſſing forth with the ſame to encounter them, the brute which ranne of his great number and puiſſance, cauſed Malcolme for verie feare that he ſhoulde not be able in any part to matche him, to breake vp his army and to flee backe into Cumberland: by reaſon whereof he had bene put to ſuch hinderance and diſhonour, as woulde not eaſily haue bene recouered, had not Kenneth the baſtard ſonne of his father the aboue mentioned Kenneth encamped with a mightie power aboute Sterling, and defended the paſſages of the Forth, that Conſtantine with his armie could not come ouer. Then roſe there great famine and penurie of vitayles in both hoſtes, ſo that Conſtantine with great indignation was conſtrained to breake vp his campe, and ſo to leaue his enterpriſe for that ſeaſon. Thus was the Realme deuided into two ſundry factions. Whereupon followed waſtings and incurſions made into eche others poſſeſſions, with ſuch crueltie, that the ſame might be a ſufficient inſtruction what miſchiefe happeneth through ciuill diſcorde. The poore commons and huſbandmẽ were brought to ſuch miſerie through the often ſpoylings and robberies vſed by the men of warre, that they were not able to til their groũdes. Finally there roſe one miſchiefe ſo faſt in the neck of another, that no kinde of crueltie was ſpared, robbing, reauing, and forcible extortion was exerciſed on all ſides without hope of any redreſſe or amendment. Whileſt the Scottiſhmen were thus at diuiſion amongſt themſelues, renting and pulling in peeces their own miſerable natiue coũtrey, Edwarde king of England being oppreſſed with inuaſion of Danes, was glad to buie peace at their handes, for himſelfe and his people, with right large ſummes of money: but perceiuing that his enimies ceaſſed not dayly to ſpoile and rob his ſubiects, he purpoſed to trie what he might doe by making them warre: And to make his part the ſtronger, he requyred Malcolme prince of Cumberlãd to ayde him againſt the Danes, according to the coucnant of the ancient league. Malcolme conſenting to king Edwards requeſt, came with a mightie armie of Cumberlande men to ſupport him: by reaſon wherof the Danes doubting to bee ouermatched, after certain light ſkirmiſhes without any great bloodſhed, cõdiſcended to haue peace, which was concluded with theſe conditions: that king Edwarde ſhould pay vnto the Danes a M. pounde of golde, for the which they ſhould cõtent themſelues

Good counſell was giuen him

Yet other coũſel was giuen him.

Malcolm... eth with ... armie to ... with Conſtantine.

King Con... tine went ... meete Malcolme.

Malcolm... thought h... ielf to we...

Lack of v... cauſed C... to breake ... his campe.

K. Edwa... father Ed... red, purch... peace of th... Danes.

Malcolm... readie to ... king Ed... agaynſt th... Danes.

King Ed... made peace with the Danes.

themſelues with thoſe landes which they had already in poſſeſſion, and to inuade no further vpon the Engliſhmen: but contrariwiſe to be readie to fight in their defence, if any forrain enimie ſought to make any warres vpon them. In the meane time whileſt Malcolm was thus in England occupied in ayde of king Edwarde againſt the Danes, king Conſtantine thought the time to ſerue very well for his purpoſe to reduce all thoſe regions of Scotlād (which tooke part with his aduerſarie the foreſaid Malcolme) vnder his ſubiection. He aſſembled therfore .xx. M. men, and comming into Louthian, heard how Kenneth the baſtard aforeſaid (being left by his brother Malcolm to reſiſt Conſtantines attempts) had got togither an huge armie of his brothers friends, and was come vnto Crawmond, where the riuer falleth into the Forth, a three miles from Edenbourgh, purpoſing there to abide his enimies, if they minded to aſſaile him. Conſtantine herevpon haſted thitherwards, and comming within ſight of his enimies ſtreightwayes ioined battail with them: immediatly wherwith there roſe ſuch an outragious tempeſt of winde, comming out of the Eaſt, driuing the ſande in the faces of Conſtantines men, that they were not able to ſee about them to make any defence agaynſt theyr enimyes that then preaſſed vpon them right egerly. By meanes whereof the diſcomfiture light vpō Conſtantines ſide, though neyther part had any great cauſe to reioyce: for in the hoteſt of the fight, Conſtantine and Kenneth chaunced to encounter togither, and ſo fighting man to man, either ſlue other. Thus Conſtantine ended his lyfe by dynt of the enimies ſworde, in the thirde yeare of his reigne, and in the yeare after the incarnation 1002. and his bodie was buryed in Colmekill amongſt his predeceſſours.

ng Conſtan- ne renued arre with alcolme.

onſtantine ned battail th Kenneth e baſtarde.

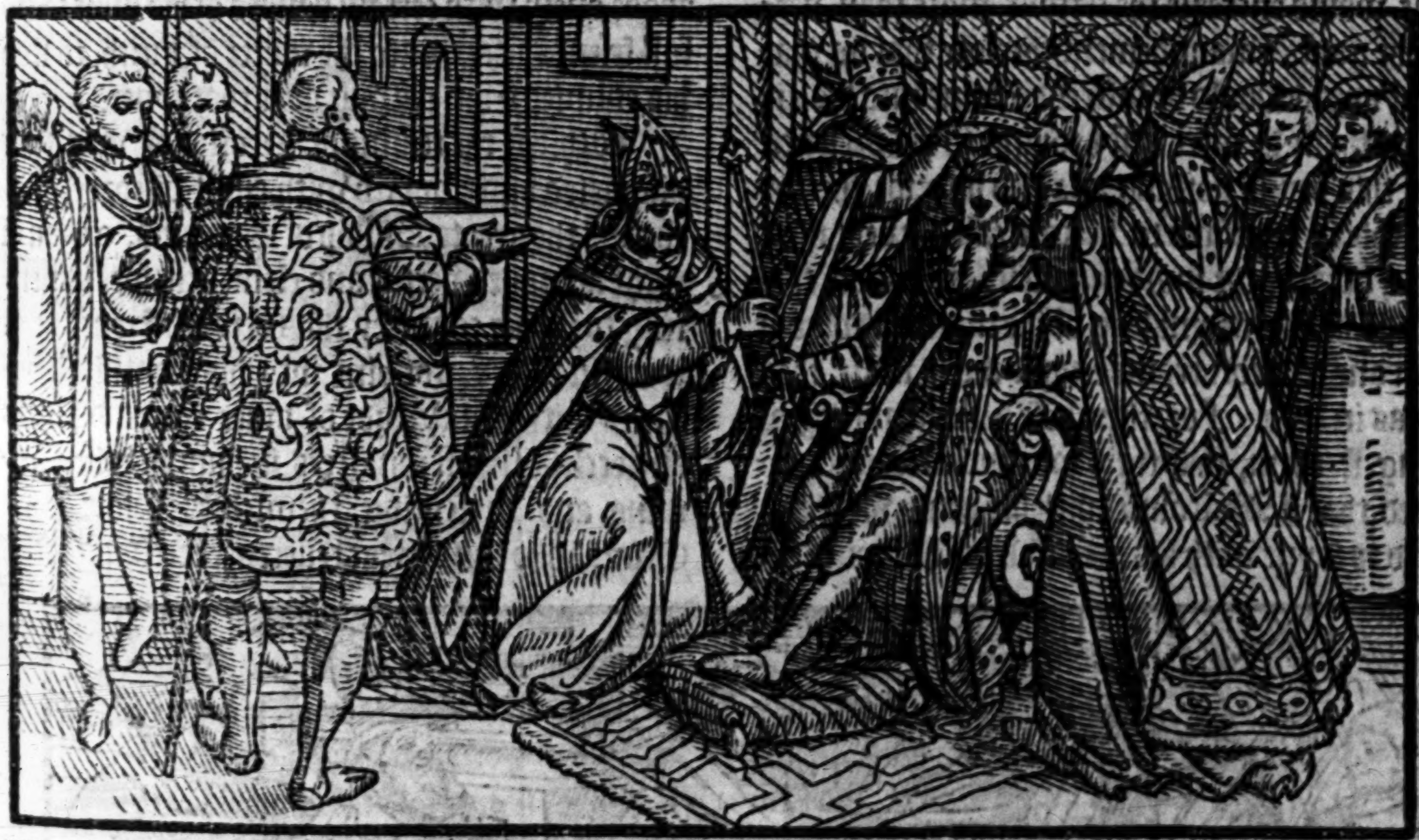
K. Conſtantine is ſlaine.

1002

Grime.

Then Grime nephew to king Duffe hearing of the ſlaughter thus made betwixt king Conſtantine and Kenneth, gathered togither the reſidue of Conſtantines armie, being ſcattered abrode after the ouerthrow, ſuppoſing that by the death of Kenneth, the partie of his brother Malcolme was ſore weakned, and therevpon he came vnto the Abbay of Scone, and there cauſed himſelfe to be crowned king, as lawfull ſucceſſor vnto Conſtantine, by force of the olde lawes and ordinance of the Realme. And to eſtabliſh himſelfe the more firmly in the eſtate, he ſhewed great gentleneſſe towardes all them that were friends vnto Conſtantine, and beſtowed vpō them many bounteous gyftes: neyther was his liberalitie ſhut vp from other that had fauoured Malcolme, for to the ende hee might allure them to beare him good will, he rewarded them highly both in landes and treaſure. But other of the ſame faction, whom he ſawe by no meanes coulde be wonne, he cauſed them to bee proclaymed traytours, and confiſcated their goodes as rebelles to his perſon, and enimies to the crowne.

e vſed li- litie and tleneſſe des Con- tines des.



Malcolme Prince of Cumberland ſore moued in his minde that Grime had thus taken vpon him the crowne, called his friends togither, requiring to haue their aduice, whiche way he were beſt to worke in this ſo great a matter.

Malcolme prince of Cūberland is ſore moued againſt Grime.

They counſailed him that in no wiſe he ſhould deſpiſe the force of his enimies, but rather to aſſay by all meanes to drawe thoſe Nobles vnto hys purpoſe, which were aſſiſtant vnto Grime.

A good coūſel

Wherevpon Malcolme following the counſaile of his friendes, ſent forth ſecrete meſſengers vnto thoſe Lordes that tooke part with Grime, requiring them to remember their promiſed fayth, giuen vnto his father king Kenneth, concerning the obſeruaunce of the lawe eſtabliſhed by their conſente for the ſucceſſion of theyr Kinges: whiche if they woulde doe in renouncyng their

Malcolm ſendeth priuily to the Lordes of Scotlande.

Malcolme his promiſe vnto the Scottes.

their obeyſance vnto the vſurper Gryme, he promiſed ſo to gouerne the Realme with equall iuſtice, that no eſtate ſhould in reaſon find cauſe to miſlike with his doings. Many of the nobles by meanes of this meſſage reuolted from the ſayde Grime, ſoliciting their friends by earneſt trauaile to do the like. But other and the greater number tooke thoſe that brought the meſſage, and ſent them as priſoners vnto Grime, who incontinently committed them to priſon.

Malcolme hys meſſengers are cōmitted to priſon.

Malcolme being offended therewith, gathered an armie.

Malcolme ſore offended therewith, by counſel of his friends, aſſembled an army to go agianſt them, that contrary to the law of all nations (as he ſeemed to take the matter) had empriſoned his purſeuants and meſſengers: but marching as he was forwarde on his purpoſed iourney, hee heard by the way, howe his aduerſarie king Grime had gathered a farre greater power than he had wyth him, not onely of all ſuch of the Scottiſh nation inhabiting beyonde the riuers of Forth & Clyde, but of them alſo of the weſtern Iles.

Grime is of greater force thā Malcolm.

Malcolm wold not haue his people to vnderſtande the truth thereof.

His aduice auayled not.

A brute ſpred in Malcolmes armie of treaſon.

Malcolme doubting leaſt if the certaintie hereof were once bruted amongeſt his people, the ſame would encreaſe the terrour more than needed: he gaue cōmaundement therfore that no maner of wight ſhould be ſuffred to come into his army without he were firſt brought to his preſence. But this deuiſe nothing auayled him: for thereby that which he deſired to be concealed & kept moſt ſecret, became the more manifeſt, by reaſon that ſuch as had ſome ynkling of the matter, tolde it from one to another, making it much more than it was in deed. For there roſe a murmuring amongeſt them, that there was ſuch treaſon contriued, that if Malcolme with his army went forward to ioyne with his aduerſaries, he ſhould not be in daunger onely of them, which he knewe to come againſt him in Grimes hoſt, but alſo of no ſmall nūber of thē which were in his own armie, who vpon the ioyning had determined to turne their ſpeare points againſt him in Grimes quarel.

Marchant me authours of the rumor.

This rumor paſſing from one to another, put the whole number in great feare. It was firſt raiſed by certain marchant men, of whom there was a great nūber in Malcolmes armie, hauing more ſkill in buying and ſelling, than in any warlyke feates or enterpryſes.

Theſe at the firſt ſuing for licence to depart home, and could haue no graunt, beganne to lament their miſeries, in ſuch dolefull wiſe, that all the campe was troubled with the noyſe, inſomuch that euen the olde men of warre, and diuerſe of the Captaines were not a little diſcomforted and amazed with ſuch wailefull clamors.

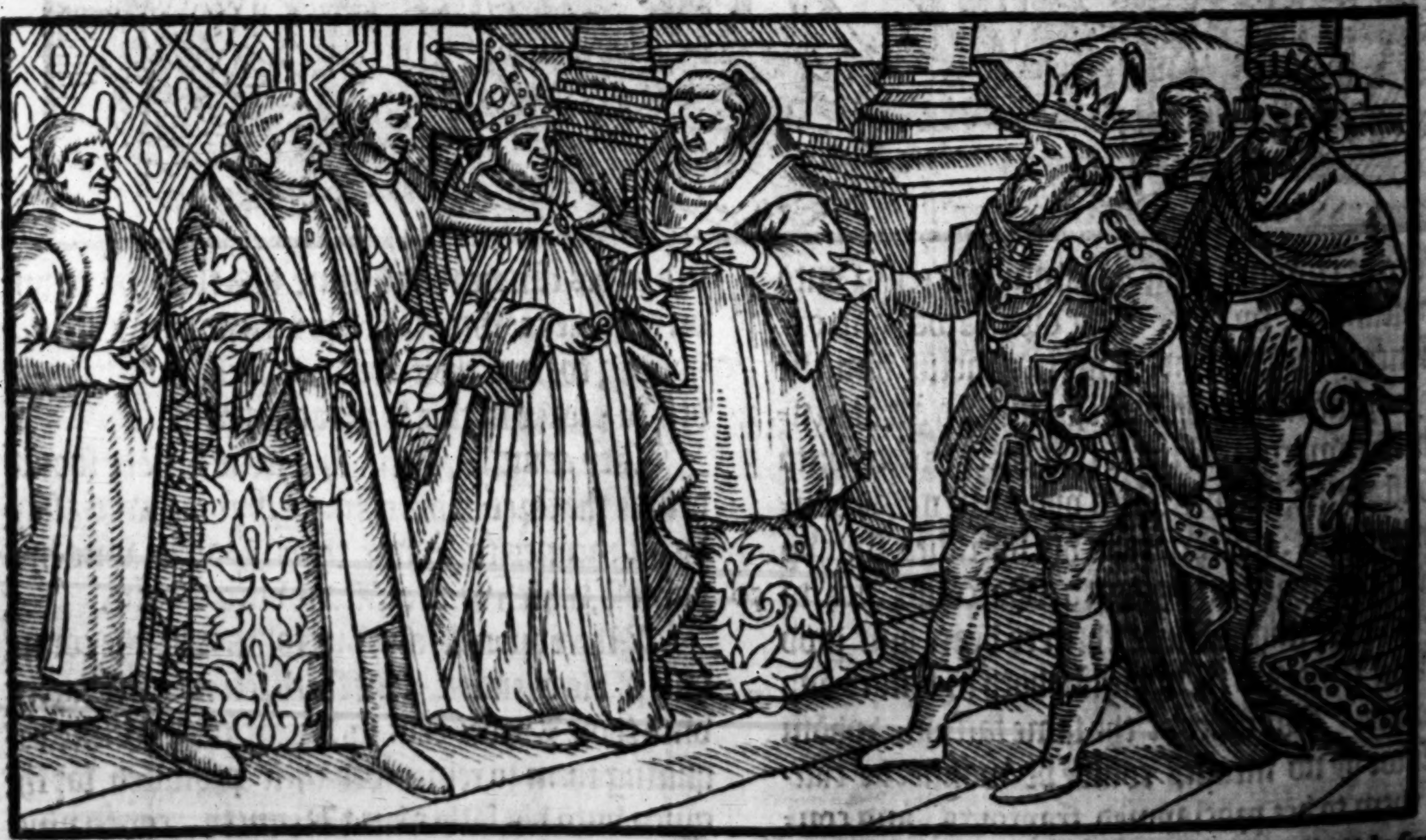
Malcolme cenceth the moſt parte his armie depart hom

Malcolme tēdeth to his enimie paſſing o the Forth.

Malcolme being aduertiſed hereof, thought not good to match in battaile agaynſt his fierce enimies with his people thus aſtonied through dread and terror, and therefore gaue licence to the moſt part of his hoſt to depart for that time, and abode onely with certain bandes of his moſt faithfull friends neare vnto the water of Forth, to ſtop his enimies from paſſing ouer that ryuer.

The grea ſhop of Sc lande.

Fothadus keth to vp the m



Whileſt the realme of Scotlande was thus diſquieted and troubled with ciuill diſcorde, Fothadus the greate Biſhop of Scotland, a man of right approued vertue and clemencie, ſore lamenting to ſee his countrey thus deuided & rent, as it were in peeces, got him into his pontificall veſtures with a multitude of other reuerend prieſts and eccleſiaſticall miniſters, in humble wiſe comming and preſenting themſelues before King Grime, who with great reuerence receiuing them, willed to vnderſtand the cauſe of their comming. Then Fothadus anſwered, that he was come as the ſeruant of Chriſt, the authour of all peace and concorde, beſeeching him by way of humble ſupplication to take ruth and pitie of the great trouble and miſerie fallen to the realme, ſith the tyme he had taken the gouernance vpon him, the ſtate of things being ſuch, as if ſome redreſſe were not founde in all ſpeedie wiſe, the vtter ruyne of the common wealth muſt needes enſue, by reaſon of the ſundrie debates and factions dayly ryſing amongeſt the people of all ſortes and degrees, ſo that murthers, robberies, reife, with al other kinds of iniuries and miſchiefe were ſtill put in practiſe without reſtraynt or puniſhment in ſuch lycentions ſort that no man coulde aſſure himſelfe of his owne: for whether it were within doores, or without, the Robber was as readie to lay handes on it as the owner. Neyther was there hope of any reformation ſo long as the ciuill warres laſted. Therfore if it might ſtande with the pleaſure of king Gryme in reliefe of the poore commons of Scotlande, to condiſcende vnto ſome neceſſarie agreement with Malcolme, Fothadus offered to vndertake to conclude a peace betwixt them in ſuche wyſe as ſhoulde in no maner of behalfe be preiudiciall to his honour and royall Maieſtie.

he fruites of il warre.

othadus vndertaketh to nclude a ace betwixt e parties.

Grime moued with the wordes of the Biſhop (who moſt inſtantly beſought him, although the calamitie and great affliction of his people did but little mollifie his heart, yet in reſpect of his owne ſuretie, which might not continue if his people were once deſtroyed, to remit part of his high diſpleaſure) anſwered, that peace he could be contented to haue, ſo the ſame might be concluded with his honor ſaued: for ſurely warres he neuer deſired but onely in defence of his good title & right, which he had to the crowne deſcended vnto him by the olde lawes and auncient ordinances of the realm, & therfore he purpoſed not to leaue the ſame with life, but to fight for it agaynſt Malcolme, and all his partakers, euen vnto death: But if it were ſo, that Malcolme would content himſelfe with the principalitie of Cumberland, & ſo therupon breake vp his campe and depart forth of the lands perteyning to the crown, he woulde gladly com to a cõmunication with him for peace, but if Malcolme refuſed thus to do, he aſſured him that he woulde not leaue off to purſue him to the vttermoſt of his power, as his moſt cruel and fierce enimie.

ymes anwere to Foadus.

Fothadus hauing heard Grymes wordes, beſought hym to ſtay a tyme, tyll hee myght goe vnto Malcolme, to vnderſtande what hys full mynde was in this behalfe, not doubting but to finde him conformable vnto any reaſonable motion, for relieuing of the poore afflicted ſtate of the lande.

Gryme graunting to this requeſt, Fothadus in like ſort and habite as he came vnto Gryme, went vnto Malcolme, whome he founde at Sterling. Where comming before his preſence wyth a long Oration, hee greatly bewayled the dolorous calamityes of the Scottiſh common weale, into the which it was fallen through ciuil ſedition only: and herewith declared alſo by great likelyhoodes of ſubſtantial reaſons, how infortunate and miſerable the ende ſhould be of the warres, if the ſame were purſued to the vttermoſt.

thadus goeth vnto Malme.

His tale being throughly heard and well diſgeſted, wrought ſo with Malcolme, that he promiſed to withdraw into Cumberlande withoute any further attempt, if Grime would in like caſe breake vp his camp, and agree to haue a truce for three Monethes ſpace, in which meane time they might by certaine commiſſioners appointed and authoriſed therto, talk and cõmon for concluding of a finall peace and concord betwixt them.

Malcolmes offer.

Grime refuſed not this offer, and ſo therevpon lycenſed his people to depart to their homes, repairing himſelfe with certaine of his nobles into Angus vnto the Caſtell of Forfair, there to take further aduice what was to be done touching the appoynted communication of peace.

Gryme is contented with Malcolmes motion.

But Fothadus would in no wiſe reſt, tyll the commiſſioners were met and aſſembled togither in communication at Scone, where within fewe dayes after (chiefly through his earneſt diligence) peace was concluded with theſe conditions.

Fothadus his diligence to procure the parties to agreement.

Firſt that Grime during his life time, ſhoulde enioy the crowne, and after his deceaſſe the ſame to remaine vnto Malcolm and his heires by lineal diſcent for euer, according to the ordinance and decree made & eſtabliſhed by king Kenneth. And whoſoeuer ſhoulde goe about eyther by worde or deed to impeach or hinder the ſaid ordinance and decree, ſhould be reputed for a traytor to the common wealth and realme.

The conditions of the peace betwixt Gryme and Malcolme.

Furthermore all the landes lying betwyxt Louthian and Northumberlande., and betwixt Clyde and Weſtmerland, euen from the Almain ſeas, to the Iriſh ſeas, ſhoulde preſently remaine and be tranſported vnto the dominion & gouernment of Malcolme, with the whiche contenting himſelfe during the naturall life of Gryme, hee ſhould cõtinue in friendſhip with the ſaid Grime, and ſo in no wiſe ſtirre or moue any warre or debate, eyther againſt him or any of his friends: for if he did, and went about to breake any of the articles of this peace, he ſhoulde not onely loſe thoſe landes which he now held, but alſo to be depriued of all the right, title, clayme, and intereſt whiche either he or his poſteritie might make or pretende vnto the crowne at any time hereafter.

When both the princes had bound themſelues by ſolemne othes to performe euery point & points in theſe articles compriſed, they layd armor aſide, and began to take order for reforming of all miſdemeanours, whiche had happened within the lande, by reaſon of the ciuill contention moued betwixt them and their partakers. Howbeit, commaundement was giuen by eyther of theſe

The warres being ceaſſed, the Princes apply their ſtudies to refourme miſdemeanors

Princes, that their ſubiectes ſhould be ſtill in a readineſſe with armure & weapon, if need required to defend themſelues againſt al ſodaine inuaſions of their neighbors, wherby it may be gathereed, that the one had the other ſtill in ſome miſtruſt, what countenance ſoeuer they ſhewed outwardly. Yet notwithſtanding for the ſpace of. viij. yeares togither, the peace continued without breach, or any notable trouble betwixt them.

King Grime his alteration from noble qualities vnto deteſtable vices.

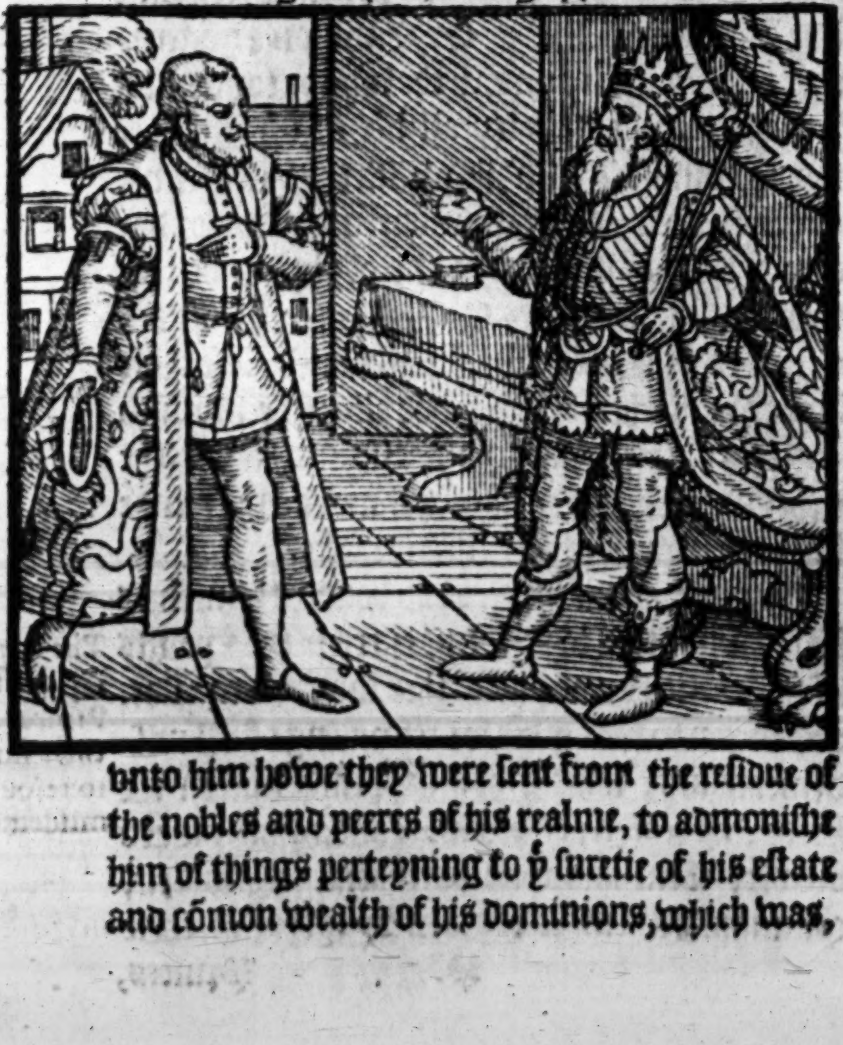
But Gryme at length of a chaſte and liberall Prince, through long ſlouth and encreaſe of ryches, became a moſt couetous tyrant, and ſo corrupted in maners and conditions, that it paſſed the termes of al reaſon and equitie: inſomuch that when he had put vnto death diuerſe of his nobles, to the ende he might haue their landes and goodes as forfeyted by attainder, he oppreſſed the people by continuall exactious alſo eche day more than other.

The common peoples praier.

His ſubiectes being thus brought into extreme miſerie through his wicked & vniuſt gouernmẽt, not knowing where to ſeeke for redreſſe, ſaue only at the handes of almightie God, the puniſher of al ſinne, beſought him to haue pitie of their afflictions, and to chaunge the gouernment of the realm into ſome better eſtate.

The Lordes require Grime to reforme the miſdemeanor of his officers.

The Lordes alſo hauing great indignation of the trouble fallen to the realme, by the kings miſgouernance and auaricious crueltie, appointed a certaine number of Gentlemen to goe vnto him as Ambaſſadours from them, to requyre him to put away from him ſuch naughtie perſons as by euill councell had peruerted his minde, and moued him to do things contrary to his honour and the wealth of his realme.



One of theſe Ambaſſadors (to whõ the charge was giuen) had the wordes in name of them all, who cõming before the kings preſence, declared vnto him howe they were ſent from the reſidue of the nobles and peeres of his realme, to admoniſhe him of things pertayning to ỹ ſuretie of his eſtate and cõmon wealth of his dominions, which was, that where through perſwaſion of euill counſaylers he ſuffred many enormities to be committed by his miniſters and officers againſt his ſubiectes, to their vtter impoueriſhment and vndoing, the rebuke wherof did redound vnto his diſhonor, if it would pleaſe him to remoue out of his preſence & ſeruice all ſuch diſloyal perſons as ſought the hinderance of the common weale, he ſhoulde winne thereby the loue of all his liege ſubiectes, whiche now coulde not but grudge and repine at this his gouernment, as men by the ſame brought into ſuch calamitie, that better it were for them in their iudgements to be dead than aliue, if reformation were not the ſooner had agaynſt ſuche extortions as his ſeruants and officers did dayly practiſe, and for the which no doubt he muſt needes anſwere, ſith the ſworde was committed vnto him, not to enrich couetous perſons, nor to oppreſſe innocent and true dealing people, but contrarily to puniſhe and correct guiltie and vniuſt dealers.

The office
the ſword

King Gri
purpoſed
haue ſlai
meſſenger

When king Gryme had heard what meſſage theſe Ambaſſadors had brought, he anſwered to the ſame with fayned wordes, & willed them vnder the pretext of courteſie to a banket, in purpoſe to haue put them all in priſon: But they beeing aduertiſed therof, got them in all haſt to their horſes, and fled forthwith vnto Bertha, where the reſidue of the nobles at the ſame time were aſſẽbled.

The Lord
Scotland
rear warre
gainſt Gri
their king.

Gryme thus hauing no regarde to the holeſome aduertiſement of his nobles, thought that all things would come forwarde with ſuch felicitie and happe as he wiſhed, not ceaſſing from rayſing new payments and exactions ſtill of his ſubiectes, till at length he was aduertiſed, how his nobles had rayſed open warre againſt him, at which newes being ſore kindled with diſpleaſure, he got togither a great number of men, & marched forth towards them that had ſo rebelled agaynſt him.

What miſ
enſued.

Then followed more miſchiefe and trouble thã euer had bene ſeene afore that time in Scotlande: for by reaſon of this ciuill diſſention, caſtels were razed & ouerthrowne, townes burned vp, corne deſtroyed, and fieldes waſted, & the people ſlaine in all places, yea as well in churches as elſwhere.

Malcolme prince of Cũberland hearing of ſuch cruell warres as were thus rayſed in Scotlande betwixt the king and the nobles of the realme, to the daunger of the vtter euerſion of the whole cõmon wealth, returned with al ſpeed forth of Englande (where hee was with an armie as then in ayd of king Egelred agaynſt the Danes) into his owne countrey for defence of his ſubiectes, if any attempt ſhould happely be made againſt them in that troubleſome ſeaſon.

Malcolme
required
relieue the
Scottiſh

Howbeit he was no ſooner returned home, but the nobles of Louthian came vnto him, beſeching him to take pitie vppon his miſerable and torne countrey, and to employe hys whole force to remoue away from the people ſuch imminent deſtruction as dayly haſted towards them, which to do they thought it was partly euen his dutie, ſith God had beſtowed vpon him ſuche giftes both of body, minde, and fortune, as moſt plenteouſly appeared in him, not onely for the weale of himſelfe, but alſo of his friends and countrey, and therefore his part was to ſhew his earneſt diligence to deliuer the common wealth of ſuch tyrannie as was practiſed by the miſgouernment of Gryme and his vnhappie counſellers. Which being done, he might order al things as ſhould like him beſt.

lcolm con-
nth to
ke warres
nst Grime

Malcolme moued with theſe and the like perſwaſions of the Scottiſh Lords, which dayly reſorted vnto him, reſolued with promiſe of their ſupport to leuie warre againſt Grime in this ſo neceſſarie a quarell, & ſo aſſembling a great puiſſance togither, he did ſet forth towards his aduerſarie. By the way alſo there came ſtill vnto him great numbers of men from eche ſide to ayde him in this enterprice, offring by ſolemne othes to become his liege men and ſubiects.

rime aſſem-
th an army
encounter
lcolme.

he campes
re the one
the other.

Gryme likewiſe beeing aduertiſed of thoſe newes, with all ſpeede got togither ſuch people as hee might aſſemble for the time, and comming forwarde with the ſame at the towne of Auchnabart, both the armyes pitched downe theyr tentes, the one faſt by the other, on the Aſcention day.

imes po-
e.

Here Grime ſuppoſing that he might take his enimies at ſome great aduantage, if he came vpō them on the ſodaine, for that being giuen to deuotion they woulde looke for nothing leſſe than for battaile on yͤ day, he got forth of his campe in the dawning of that morning, in purpoſe forthwith to aſſaile them. Notwithſtanding Malcolme being aduertiſed therof, ſent vnto Grime, requeſting him to deſiſt from battaile for reuerence of that bleſſed feaſt, but Grime woulde in no wiſe aſſent thereto, but needes would come on without ſtop or ſtay: wherevpon both the armies ruſhing togither met right fiercely, ſo that in the begynning there was great ſlaughter made on both ſides, but within a while king Grymes ſide was put to the worſe, and in the ende clearly diſcomfited.

Malcolmes requeſt.

The battaile betwixt Grime & Malcolme.

In the chaſe were many ſlaine, but yet no ſuch number as ſo notable a victorie requyred.

Grimes part diſcomfited.

It is ſaid that Grime was taken aliue ſtãding at defẽce moſt fiercely fighting, & being ſore woũded in the head, had both his eies put out, & afterwards continuing ſo in great miſerie & languor certaine dayes, at length departed out of this life, in the .ix. yeare of his raigne, and was buried in Colmkill, after the incarnation. 1010. yeares.

The ende of king Grime.

1004 Io. Ma

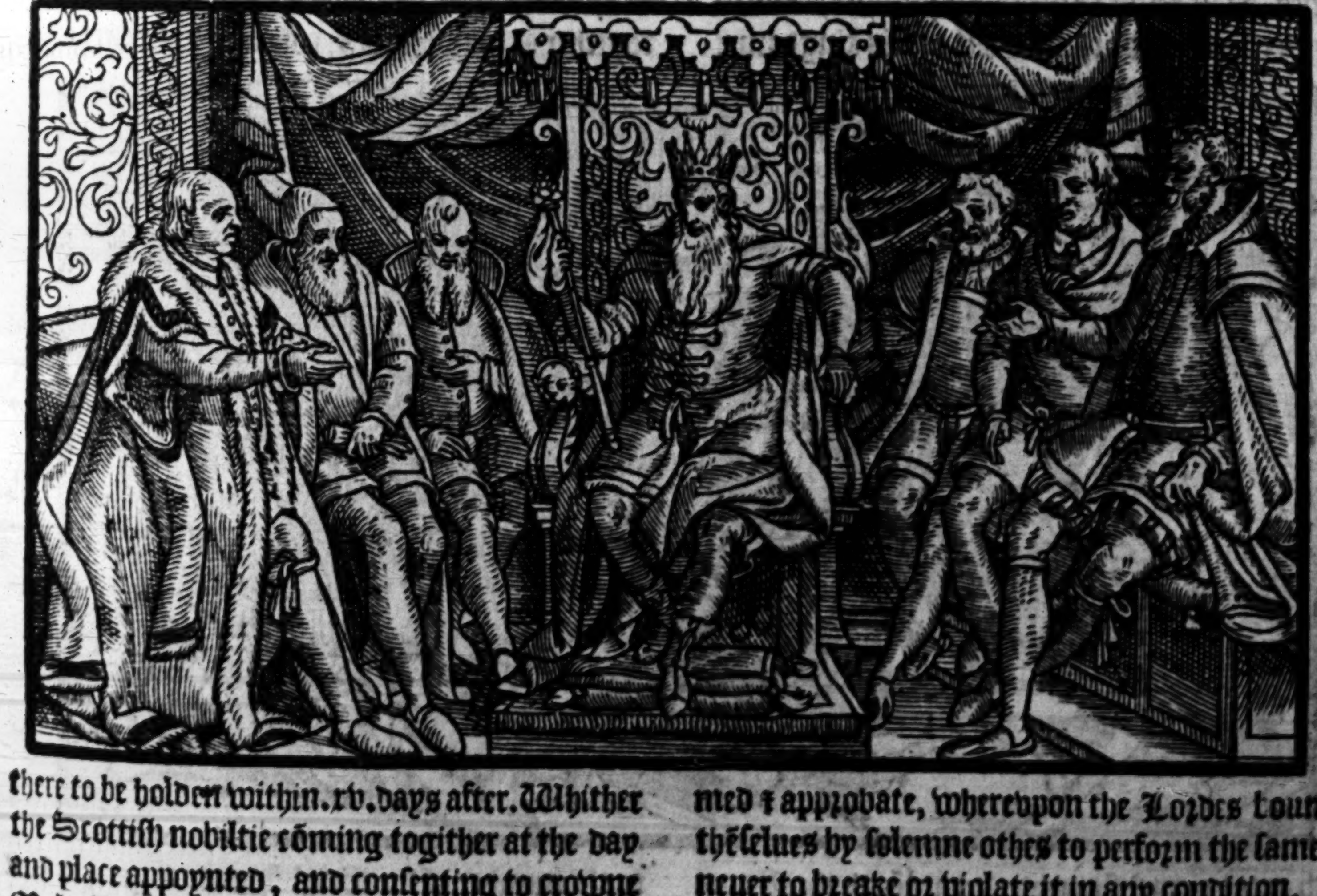
1010. H.B.

After this victorie thus obteyned by Malcolm, he called ſuch noble men as were taken priſoners in this battaile before him, vſing manye gentle wordes towards them, declaring how the right of the crown apperteyned vnto him, & that yͤ warres which he had made, were not attẽpted againſt the cōmon wealth of the Scottiſh eſtate, but rather in reliefe therof, to the ende the people might be delyuered of the tyrannie exerciſed by Grime and his counſellors. And when he had thus vttered his minde vnto them, he appointed a publike aſſemble to be kept at Scone (for the electiō of a new king) there to be holden within .xv. days after. Whither the Scottiſh nobilitie cōming togither at the day and place appoynted, and conſenting to crowne Malcolme king, he vtterly refuſed to receyue the crowne, except the law eſtabliſhed by his father Kenneth for the ſucceſſion therof were firſt cōfirmed & approbate, wherevpon the Lordes bounde thēſelues by ſolemne othes to perform the ſame, & neuer to breake or violate it in any condition.

Malcolmes wordes to the that were taken priſoners.

A Parliament at Scone.

Malcolme re-
fuſeth the
crowne but
vpon cōdition



His requeſt herein being grãted with generall conſent both of the nobles and cōmons, the crown was ſet vpon his heade, he beeing placed in the

The ordinance of king Kenneth for the ſucceſsion of the crowne is confirmed.

Chayre of Marble, to the great reioyſing of al the people preſent.

Malcolme.

Malcolme agreeth the nobles of his realme.

WHen the ſolemnitie of this coronation was ended, he called afore him again al the lords and peeres of his realme, of the which part had ayded him in the laſt warres, & part had bin aſſiſtant vnto his aduerſarie Grime: & there vſed the matter in ſuch wiſe amongſt them, that he made them all friendes, eche one promiſing to other, to forget all former offences, diſpleaſures & controuerſies paſt, which he did to auoid al inteſtine trouble yͤ might grow out of the rootes of ſuch rācor & malice, as in time of the ciuil diſcord had ſprūg vp amōgſt thē.

Malcolmes wiſdome in ordeyning officers.

Further, for the better adminiſtration of iuſtice in due forme and maner, he beſtowed publike offices vpon diſcrete perſons, ſkilful in the lawes and ordinances of the realme. Other offices perteining to the warres & defence of the realm, he committed vnto ſuch as were practiſed & trayned in ſuch exerciſes, ſo that iuſtice was miniſtred on all ſydes throughout the kingdome, with ſuch equitie and vprightneſſe, as had not beene heard of in any age before him. Whileſt the Scottiſh eſtate was gouerned in ſuch happie wiſe, by the prudent policie of K. Malcolme, it chaunced that Sueno king of Danes landed in England with a mightie nauy, in purpoſe to reuenge the iniuries done before vnto his people by the Engliſh men.

Sueno king of Denmark landed in Englande.

Sueno co
ted to the
ſtian fayt
Scotland.

Egeldre
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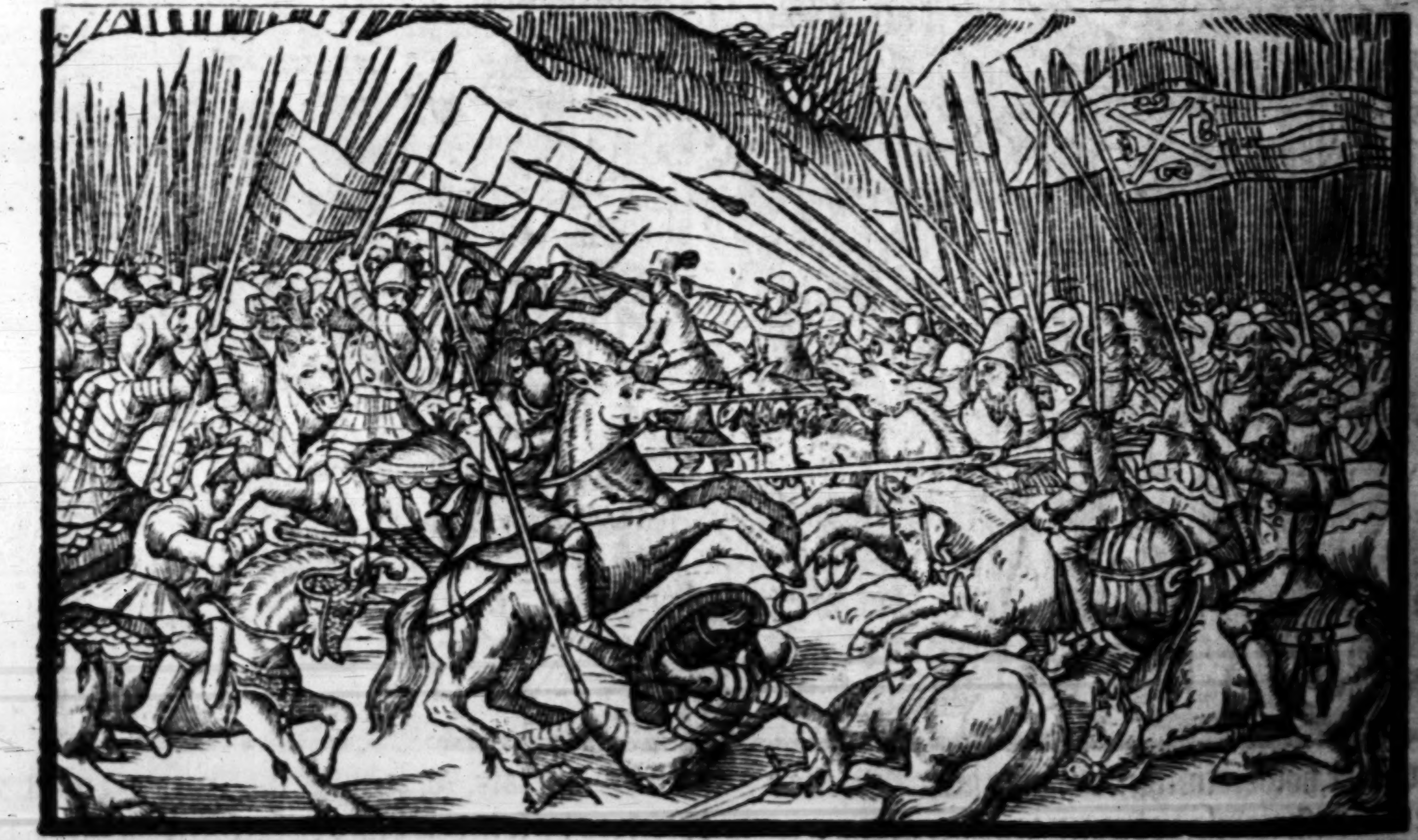
land, get
ayde from
Scottes.

Suenos m
ſage to th
Scottes.

This Sueno (as appeareth more at large in the hyſtorie of Denmark) firſt being an earneſt perſecuter of chriſtian men, and puniſhed by the deuine prouidence for his crueltie in that behalfe ſhewed by ſundry ouerthrowes receyued at the enimies handes, as in being thriſe taken priſoner, and in the end driuen and expulſed out of his kingdome, he came into Scotlande for relief & ſuccor, where through the holſome inſtruction of godly and vertuous men, he renounced his heathniſh belief, & receiued the chriſtian faith, & being baptiſed, at lēgth was reſtored home to his kingdom. Shortly after with a mightie armye of Danes, Gothes, and Norwegians, & Swedeners, with other northern people, he arriued (as is ſaid) in England, & chaſed king Egeldred into Northumberland, who there receyuing aide from the Scottes according to the league which lately before he had contracted with thē, he determined eftſoones to trie the chaunce of battaile wͭ his enimies. Marching forward therfore towards thē, he came to the riuer of Owſe, neare to the banks wherof, not far from Yorke, he pitched down his tents. Then Sueno not forgetful of the benefits & pleaſures receiued lately at the Scottiſhmēs hands, ſent an herald at armes vnto thē, cōmaūding thē to depart their wayes home & to refuſe Egeldreds cōpanie, either elſe to looke for moſt cruel battail at the hands of the Danes, the Norwegians & others yͤ people of Germany, there redie bent to their deſtruction. Egeldred being aduertiſed that his aduerſaries meſſenger was thus come into his campe, cauſed him to be ſtayed and arreſted for a ſpie. And the ſame day he brought forth his battayles readie raunged into the fieldes to trie yͤ matter by dynt of ſword, if Sueno were ſo minded, who right deſirous to accept the offer, brought forth alſo his people in perfit order & well arrayed to fight, ſo that there was no ſtay on either part, but that togither they flue moſt fiercely, & in ſuch egre wiſe, that neyther ſide had leyſure to beſtow their ſhot, but euen at the firſt they buckled togither at handblowes, cōtinuing certain houres with great & cruel ſlaughter, til at lēgth the Engliſh men were put to flight, leauing to the Danes a right deare & bloodie victorie. The murther alſo that day of the Scots was great, but yet nothing to the number of the Engliſh men. Egeldred himſelf with a fewe other, got a boat and paſſed ouer Ouſe, ſo eſcaping out of the enimies hāds, but the reſt were for the moſt part either taken or ſlaine.

The batt
betwixt E
dred and
Sueno.



The Engliſh men put to flight by the Danes.

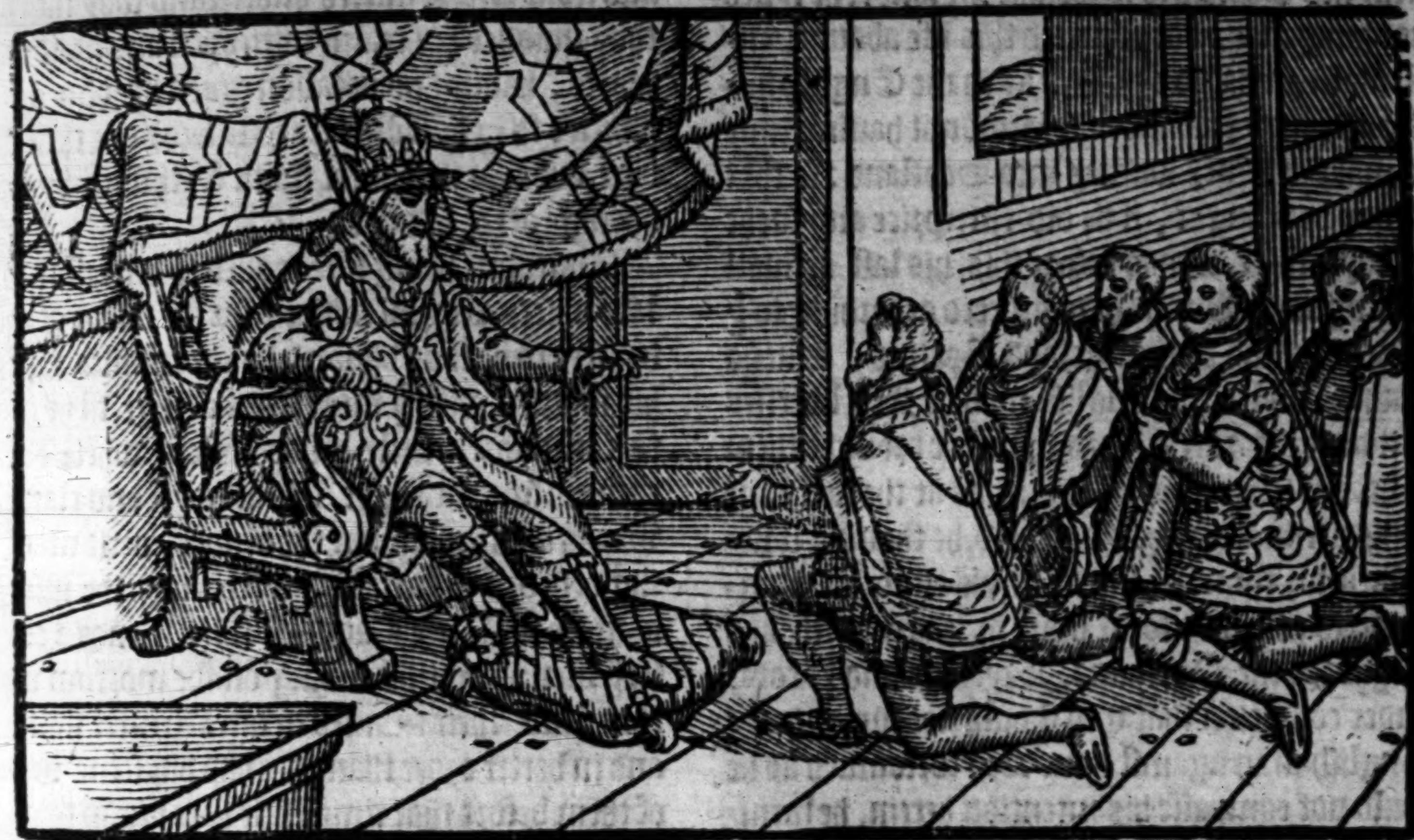
Egelde
peth by ſ

Thus Egeldred being vtterly vanquiſhed and diſpairing of al recouerie, fled out of Englande ouer into Normandie, where he was right friendly receyued of Richard as then Duke of Normādy, & afterwards purchaſed ſuch fauor there amongſt the Normans, that he maried the Ladie Emme, daughter vnto the ſayde Duke, and begot of hir two ſonnes, Alured and Edward, as in the Engliſh Chronicles more at large it doth appeare.

Suenoes cruell imagination.

Sueno hauing thus ouercome his enimies, and now put in poſſeſſion of the whole realm of England, was in mind to haue deſtroyed al the Engliſh generation, ſo to eſtabliſh the kingdom to him and his poſteritie for euer, without any impeachment afterwards to be made by ſuch as ſhuld ſucceed of them that were then aliue. But the nobles of Englād aduertiſed of Suenoes determination, came humbly before his preſence, & falling downe on their knees at his feet, beſought him in moſt pitifull wiſe to haue compaſſion on their miſerable eſtate, who in times paſt beeing a moſt puiſſant nation, both by ſea and lande, were now ſatiſfied (if he woulde graunt them life) to continue vnder what bondage and ſeruitude it ſhould ſtand with his pleaſure to preſcribe, for they deſired neither poſſeſſion of caſtels, townes, or other ſoueraintie s, but onely to liue with their wiues and children vnder ſubiection within their owne natiue Countrey, at the victors will and appointment.

The nobles of England their humble petition vnto Sueno.



Sueno albeit he was of nature very cruell, yet he qualified his diſpleaſure by this humble ſubmiſſion of the Engliſh nobility, in ſuch ſort, that he vſed the victorie farre more gently, than at the firſt he had purpoſed, cōmaūding that the whole Engliſh nation ſhould remaine in the countrey, but in ſuch wiſe, as by no meanes they ſhuld preſume to beare any armor or weapō, but to apply thēſelues vnto huſbandry, & other ſeruile occupations vnder the gouernment of the Danes, vnto whom they ſhuld reſigne & deliuer al their caſtels, forts, & ſtrōg holds, and taking an oth to be true liege men vnto Sueno as their ſoueraine lord & king: they ſhould bring in (to be deliuered vnto his vſe) al their weapon & armor with other munition for the warres, alſo all their golde and ſiluer, aſwell in plate as coyne. If any of the Engliſh men refuſed thus to do, proclamatiō was made that he ſhould immediatly loſe his life as a rebel & a diſobedient perſon.

der what
nditions
ueno licenced
e Engliſhmē
liue in their
wn countrey.

The Engliſh men were brought to ſuch an extremitie, that they were faine to accept theſe conditions of peace, for other meane to auoyd preſent death they knew none. And thus was the dominion of Englād cōquered by the Danes, after the Saxons had raigned in the ſame 564. yeares.

529. H.B.

Such tyrannie alſo after this was vſed by the Danes, that none of the Engliſh nation was admitted to any office or rule within the realme eyther ſpirituall or temporall, but were vtterly remoued from the ſame, and ſome of them caſt in priſon and dayly put in hazard of their liues.

The miſerie of the Engliſhmē vnder the bondage of the Danes.

Finally, the Engliſhe men were brought into ſuch miſerable thraldome, that euery houſholder within the realme, was conſtrayned to receyue and finde at his owne proper coſtes & charges one Dane, who ſhould continually giue good watche what was ſayde or done in the houſe, and to aduertiſe the king thereof, for doubt of conſpiracies or treaſons to be contriued and practiſed agaynſt his perſon and royall eſtate.

This Dane by the good man of the houſe & his family for honour ſake, was called Lord Dane, which word was afterwardes turned to a name of reproch, as where any idle perſon liued loitring without the vſe of ſome honeſt exerciſe to get his liuing withal, yͤ people were & yet are accuſtomed to cal him a Lordain. Thus farre out of Hector Boetius we haue ſhewed of Suenoes doings in Englād, which although it agree not in al points

The name of Lordain how it came vp.

with our Engliſh hyſtories, yet ſith the hyſtorie of Scotlande in this place ſeemeth partly to hang theron, we haue thought good to ſet it down as we finde it in the ſame Boetius: but aduertiſing the reader with all, that if our hyſtories bee true, this which followeth touching Suenoes inuading of Scotland chanced before that Egelred whom the Scottiſh writers name Eldred, was driuen to flee into Normandie. For after that Sueno laſtly returned into Englande, and conſtrayned Egelred ſo to forſake the lande, he lyued not long after, but departed this life about Candlemaſſe, in the yere 1014. (as in the Engliſh hyſtory ye may read more at large) not hauing time to make any ſuch iourney into Scotland: ſo that it may be thought, if he did enterprice any ſuche exployte there, it was before this his laſt arriuall in England. But now to proceed according to ỹ which we find in the foreſayd Boetius. Sueno hauing ſpoyled the Engliſh men of their liberties in maner before remẽbred, or rather brought them to becom tributaries vnto him, as at the firſt time of his arriuall here he did in deed, he thought it neceſſarie for the more ſuretie of his eſtate in Englande, to conclude ſome peace or league with hys neighbors the Normans, Brytains and Scots, vnder condition that they ſhould not ſupport any Engliſh man againſt him. But forſomuch as he could not compaſſe his intention herein, he furniſhed al the caſtels & fortreſſes on the ſea coaſtes, ouer againſt Normandie with mẽ, munition, and vitails, to reſiſt al ſoden inuaſions ỹ might be atẽpted on that ſide. And on the other part towards the north, he made al the prouiſion he could deuiſe to make mortal warres vpon the Scots: and the more to annoy his enimies, he ſent commaundement vnto Olauus his lieutenant in Norway, & to Onetus his deputie in Denmarke, to come with al ỹ power they might leuie into Scotland, to make warres on his enimies there.

Sueno landed here this laſt time of his cõming forth of Denmarke into England in Iuly, in the yeare. 1013. & departed this life in the beginning of Februarie, in the yeare. 1014.

Sueno prepareth to inuade the Scottes.

Olauus, and Onetus.

Wherupon ſhortly after thoſe foreſaid captains arriued with an huge army in ỹ mouth of Spay, and landed in ſuch puiſſant order, that the inhabitans of Murreyland fled out of their houſes, with their wiues, children, & goodes (ſuch as they could conuey away with them) into places where they thought to remain moſt out of daunger. But the Danes after their maner burne & ſpoyle all before them, aſwel churches and chappels, as other buildings & edifices. Such of the people as could not flee in time, but by chaunce fell into their handes, were ſlain without all mercie. Alſo al the ſtrengthes and holds in the countrey were taken by the Danes, three caſtels only excepted: that is to wit, Elgin, Fores, and Narne, which the Danes named afterwards Burg, and for that they truſted when the ſame was won, the other two woulde yeeld without any further defence, they firſt layde ſiege vnto this Caſtel of Narne, enforcing themſelues with all their power to winne it, but in the meane time, they were enformed how Malcolme the Scottiſh king was come within fiue miles of them with al the forces of his realm to giue them battaile.

The Danes land in Scotlande.

The cruelty of the Danes.

The caſtell Narn beſ

Incontinently wherupõ they rayſed their ſiege, & haſted forth to meet him with no leſſe courage, thã if victory were already preſent in their hands.

Shortly after, there came vnto them Heraldes alſo from Malcolme, to vnderſtand why they had thus inuaded his realm with open and moſt cruel warre, hauing no occaſion giuen by him or his ſubiects ſo to do. Who ſcarcely had done their meſſage, but that they were ſlaine forthwith by cruel outrage of the Danes.

Malcolm ſe deth amba dours to th Danes.

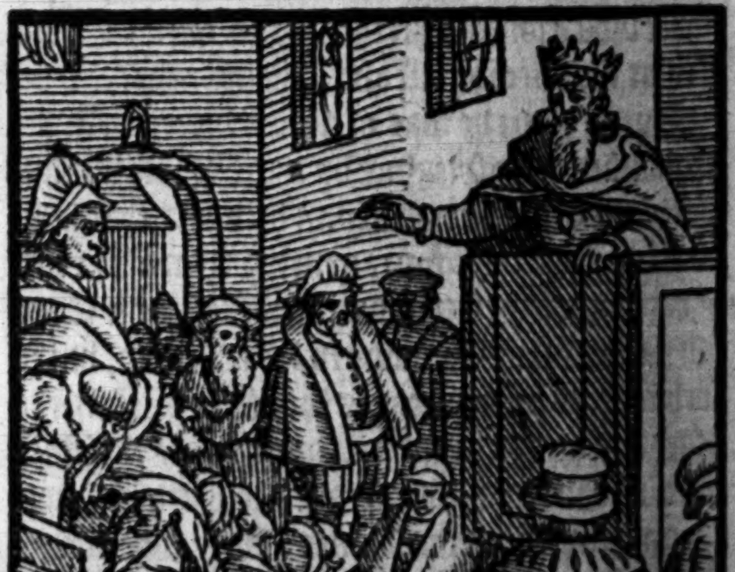
The Danes flea the Am baſſadours.

Malcolme being ſore moued to vnderſtand the law obſerued by all nations for the ſafetie of meſſengers to be thus violated by the enimies, kept on his iourney with ỹ more fierce corage, til he came to a medowe a little beſide Killos, where he encamped for that night. Great noyſe and clamour was heard throughout the armie, euerie man being deſirous of battaile, to reuenge the iniuries done by the Danes againſt their friends & countrey men: notwithſtanding on the morow when they ſawe their enimies in farre greater number, and in better order than euer had bin ſeene by any of them before that time, their hart began to ware faint, hauing greater care which way to ſaue their own liues, thã to giue the onſet vpõ their enimies.

The Scott through f are aſtonie

Malcolme perceiuing ſuch dread to be entred into the hearts of his people, that they were nowe more like to run away than to fight, if he ſhoulde bring them forth to battail, got him to a little hil, & calling his nobles about him, he declared vnto them how he could not but deteſt their great cowardiſe, that were thus aſtonied at the firſt ſight of their enimies, wᵗout further trial of their forces.

Malcolmes wordes to h Nobles.



At home (ſaid he) ye are moſt hardie and valiant, where no danger appeareth: what rebuke thẽ is it vnto you, to be thus faint harted, now that ye are come where valiancie ſhould be ſhewed,) in degenerating ſo far from your worthy fathers & noble progenitors, the which at Loncarte vnder the cõduit of my father Kenneth, obteyned ſo famous a victorie of the ſelf ſame nation, whoſe furious puiſſance ye ſeeme now ſo much to feare. There hath bene triall made in battell with this enimie in our time, both within the bounds of Scotland, & alſo of England, to the great honor & renowne of our elders. What diſcomfitures the Danes haue receyued are yet freſh in memorie, ſo many of them loſing their liues amongeſt vs, that Albion may well be reckened the ſepulture of Danes, as ſome of you can wel record by your owne remẽbrance, and other haue heard by report of their forefathers and anceſters. Ye ought then (ſayde he) to be of good courage, rather than to faint now at neede, conſidering yee haue to doe with thoſe enimies, which are but the remaynant of the other, whiche before haue bene vanquiſhed and ouerthrowne by Scottiſh men, both at Loncarte, & in diuerſe other places, yea & beſides that, ſuch as mouing warres now at this preſent without iuſt occaſion, haue violated the lawes both of God and man, deſeruing thereby iuſt vengeance at Gods handes, the puniſher of al ſuch vniuſt offenders. Ther is great hope therfore of victorie (ſaid he) left vnto all ſuch as fight againſt theſe enimies, if we take manly harts vnto vs, and ſhew our ſelues in valiant cõſtancie like to our elders, wherby it ſhall then appeare what outragious folly remained in the Danes, to inuade vs without occaſiõ of iniuries preceding. Therefore if ye haue not more regarde to to the ſafetie of your frail bodies, which muſt needes at length periſhe, than to the defence and preſeruation of your cõmon countrey, why paſſe ye not forward, ſith ther is now no place nor time to take longer aduice in the matter, as ye may well vnderſtãd by yͤ preſence of yͤ enimie redy to ioyne.

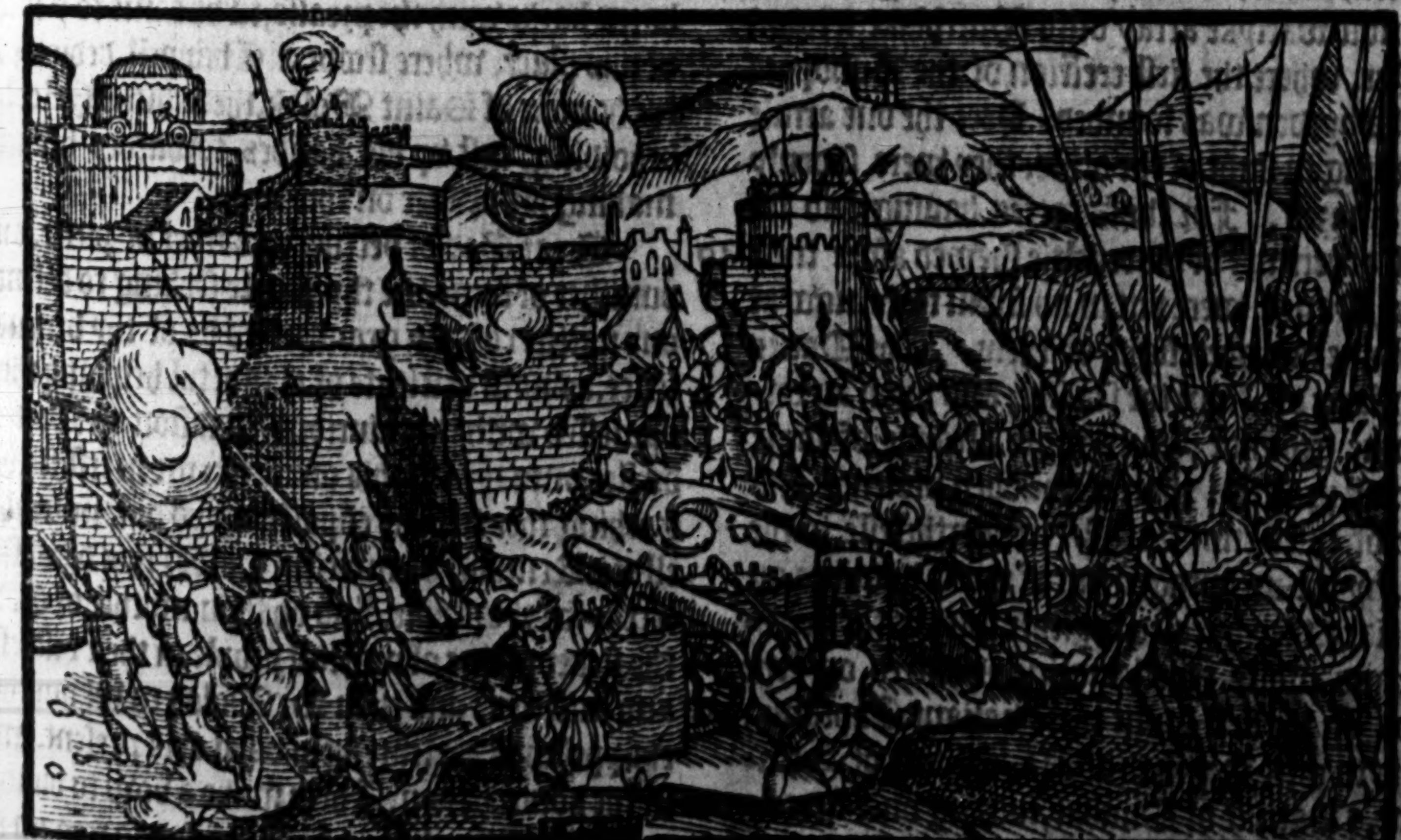
ncarte.

bion the
pulture of
nes.

The nobles moued with theſe wordes of their prince, began boldly to exhort their people to battell. Incontinently wherupon roſe ſuch noiſe and raging fury through the army, that without meaſuring either their owne forces or their enimies, they ruſh forth vpõ thẽ without any order or good aray. Olauus & Onetus beholding the Scots to come thus furiouſly againſt them, boldly encountred them with arrayed battels. Wherupõ enſued a right terrible fight, with great manhood ſhewed on both ſides, nothing being let paſſe that might apperteyne to worthy captains, the Scots enforforcing themſelues to defend their countrie & auncient liberties, on the one ſide, & the Danes doing their beſt endeuor by valiãt hardineſſe to ſaue their liues & honors on the other. At length after huge murther & ſlaughter made on both parts, yͤ Scots were put to flight, Malcolme was ſore wounded, & had his helmet ſo faſt beaten to his head, that it might not wel be got of, yet was he conueyed out of the field in maner for dead, and kept ſecrete in a wood, til he was ſomwhat amended, and then got him into places out of daunger. The Danes hauing got this victorie, and gathered the ſpoyle of the field, returned to beſiege eftſoones the caſtell of Narne, with more force and violence than before.

The Scottes without order ruſh forth to battaile.

The Scottes put to flight. Malcolme is wounded.



This Caſtell in thoſe dayes was encloſed on eche ſide with the ſea, hauing one narrow paſſage as an entrie vnto it, made by craft of man in maner of a bridge.

Thoſe that were within it, hauing knowledge of the ouerthrow and loſſe of the field, rendred the fortreſſe, on condition that leauing al their armor, weapõ, & other munitions behind thẽ, they might depart wᵗ their liues & other goods ſaued. Neuertheles the Danes cõtrary to their faith giuẽ, being

The caſtell of Narne rendred by compoſition.

The Danes breakers of faith and promiſe.

once entred the Caſtell, hanged all thoſe whiche they founde within it ouer the walles, in moſt deſpitefull maner.

Thus was Narne wonne by the Danes, the ſtrongeſt holde within Murrey lande, and ſo garniſhed with men, munition and vytayles, that it was thought impregnable.

Elgyn and Forres left voyde.

Then thoſe ſouldiers which kept Elgyn and Forres, hearing what crueltie the Danes had thus vſed, fled out of thoſe Caſtels, and left them voyd without any perſon to defende them.

The Danes reioyſing at this good fortune, truſted to eſtabliſhe thẽſelues ſure ſeates in Murrey lande, and therevpon ſent backe their ſhippes into Norway and Denmarke, to fetch frõ thence their wyues and children.

In the meane time they conſtrayned ſuche Scottes as they had layde handes on, to reape and inne the corne growing abrode in the fieldes, vnto their vſe and commoditie.

King Malcolme being aduertiſed of all theſe doings, doubting leaſt by the arriual of new ayd, his enimies might waxe more puiſſant, in the beginning of the next ſommer, he aſſembled a great multitude of warriours, and came in good order and moſt warlyke array vnto Murthlake, a town of Mar, where the firſt erection of the Biſhoppes ſea of Abyrden was founded. Here the one armie comming in ſight of the other, they were ſodenly both amazed. For the Scottes hauing had too much experience of the crueltie ſhewed afore time by the Danes, were put in no ſmall feare now at the plaine and open ſight of them. The Danes being farre off from the ſea ſide, and vpon an vnknowne grounde, were more afrayde of ſome guilefull practiſe, than of the open violence and force of their enimies. Yet neuertheleſſe in the ende, by the encouragement of the Captaines on both ſides, they buckled togither with great fierceneſſe and moſte cruell malicious hatred on eche hand. In the firſt brunt three valiant Captains, that is to wit, Kenneth of Ila, Gryme of Straherne, & Patrike of Dunbar, ruſhing ouer fiercely on their enimies, were ſlain, and gaue occaſion to many of the Scottiſhe men to flee, but the place was ſuch, that they coulde not well make theyr courſe any way forth, by reaſon of yͤ narrowneſſe thereof, fenced on either ſide with deepe trenches full of water and mudde, alſo a trauerſe were layd ſundrie trees, as it had bene of purpoſe to impeach the paſſage, deuiſed in that ſort (as was thought) in time of ſome ciuill warres.

Murthlake.

The Scotts and Danes one afrayde of another.

The Scottes forced to retyre.

Here though Malcolme like a valiant champion, did his beſt to ſtay them that fled, yet was he borne backe with the preaſſe, til he came to yͤ mids of this place, where ſtoode a Chappell dedicate in the honour of Saint Molok, the which Malcolm beholding, caſt vp his handes towardes heauen, making his prayer on this wiſe.

Great God of vertue, rewarder of pietie, and puniſher of ſinne, we thy people ſeeking to defende our natiue cou̅trey graunted to vs of thy beneuolence, as now deſtitute of al mortal help, and thus oppreſſed with the iniurious inuaſion of Danes, do flee vnto thee in this our extreeme neceſſitie, beſeeching thee to haue cõpaſſion vpõ our miſerable eſtate: Remoue (oh merciful Lorde) this dreadfull terror frõ the people. And oh thou mother of God, the ſicker refuge of mortall people in their diſtreſſe and miſeries: and thou S. Molok to whom this chappel was dedicate, help vs at this preſent, and in the honor of you, I here make a vow to build a cathedral Church for a Biſhops ſea, to remain as a monument to teſtifie vnto our poſteritie, that by your ſupport our realme hath bene defended.

Malcolm
prayer.

To you,
to God,
our Ladie
Saint M
for ſo he
ned them
gither ac
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maner of
time.

Scarcely had Malcolme made an ende of this prayer, when diuerſe of the Nobles with a loude voyce, as though they had bin aſſured yͤ his prayer was herd, cried to their companies: ſtand good fellowes, for ſurely it is the pleaſure of almightie God, that we returne and renew the battayle againſt our enimies.

The Scottes ...mmes re- ...ew batayle.

Hereupon roſe a wonderfull noyſe amongſt the ſouldiers, ech one encouraging other to withſtand the enimies, and to fight in moſte manfull wiſe in defence of theyr countrey and auncient liberties, and forthwith as it had bene by miracle they returned vpon theyr enimies, making great ſlaughter on eche ſide, without regarde to theyr liues or bloudy woundes, which they boldly and without feare receyued.

...etus is ...yne.

...e Danes put ...o flight.

Herewith Malcolme alſo with a buſhment of ſtoute warriours came vpon Onetus, who was praunſing vp and downe the fielde without any helmet on his head, as though the Scottes had bene already without recouery clearely diſcomfited, and ſo there was he beaten downe, beſide his horſe, and amongſt the footemen ſlayne out of hande. The reſidue of the Danes beholding the ſlaughter of their Captaine, ſtayed from further purſute on the Scottes. Hereof enſued great boldneſſe to the Scottes and diſcouragement to the Danes. Albeit the batayle continued ſtill a long ſpace, the ſouldiers doyng their beſt on eyther ſide, till at length the Danes were put to flight, many of them being ſlaine, and but fewe taken. Olauus beholding the diſcomfiture of his people, and how his companion in authoritie was ſlayne, fled into Murrayland with a ſmall companie about him.

Olaue fleeth into Murrayland.

The next day, Malcolme conſidering what a number of his moſte valiant Captaines he had loſt in this batayle, deuided the ſpoyle of the field amõgſt his men, and ceaſſing from further purſute of the Danes at that time, wente into Angus, where he remayned the reſidue of the yeare within the caſtell of Forfayr, taking counſell with his Nobles touching the publike affayres of the realme, and how to recouer his countrey of Murrayland out of the enimies handes.

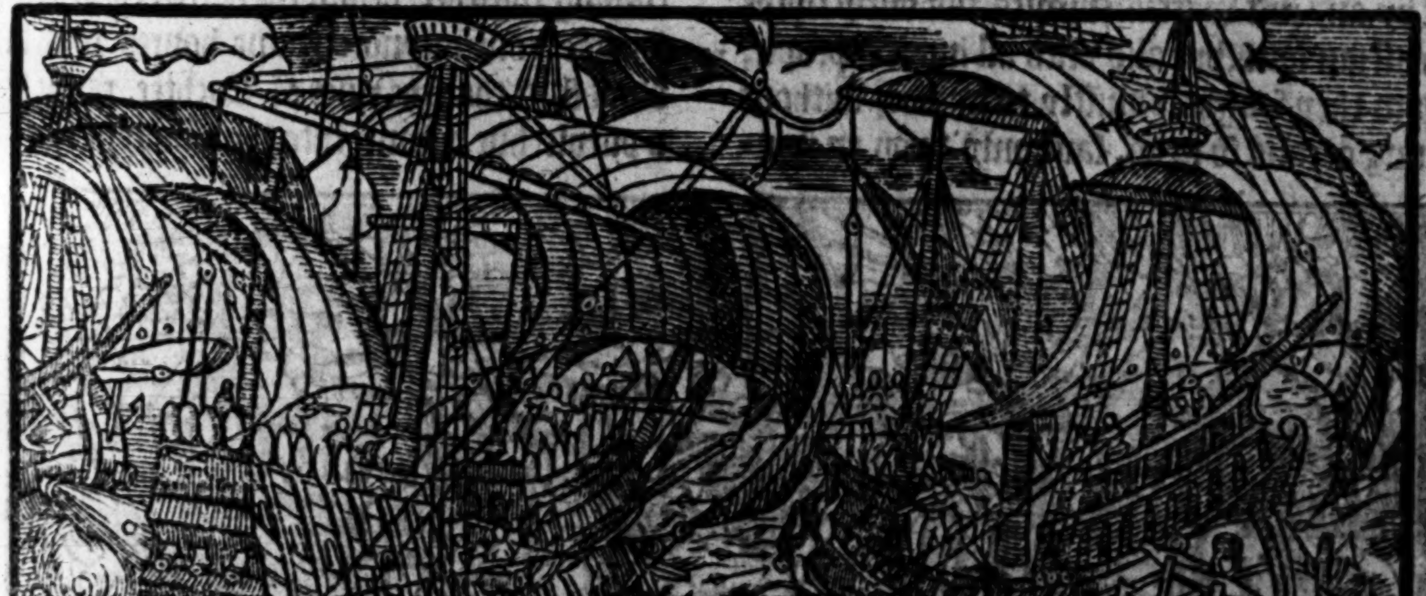
Sueno prepareth a new army to inuade Scotland.

King Sueno hearing in the meane time how infortunately his people had ſped thus in Scotland at the batayle of Murthlake, in reuenge thereof determined to inuade the Scottes with two mightie nauies, the one to be rigged in England, & to come forth of the riuer of Tames, & the other to be ſente from Denmarke, one Camus a Dane right expert in warlike knowlege, being appoynted to be gouernour of all the men of warre that ſhould come frõ both thoſe parties.

Camus appointed Captaine generall of the Danes.

The yeare next enſuyng, both theſe fleetes according to cõmaundement & order giuen, arriued and mette togither within the mouth of the Forth neare to Saint Ebbes head.

Saint Ebbes head.



...e Scottes ...pe off the ...es from ...ding.

Here Camus going about to lande his men, was kept off by the ſtout reſiſtãce of the Scots, there aſſembled for the ſame intent.

Camus then plucking vp ſayles, directed his courſe vnto the Iſle of Sketh, where riding at an anker for the ſpace of one moneth, abiding for ſome proſperous winde, at lẽgth when the ſame came once about, he paſſed from thence vnto the Redbrayes, called in latine *Rubrum promontorium*, & there landed his whole army, before the countrey coulde be gathered to reſiſt him.

...ut with ...army landed at the ...edbrayes.

Camus being once landed, got him to the next hill, and beholding the ruines of the towne of Montros, which a fewe yeares before had bene deſtroyed by the Danes, he reioyced not a litle for that his chaunce was to come a lande in the ſelfe ſame place, where the Danes had earſt vanquiſhed their enimies, hoping of like lucke in this his enterpriſe and preſent expedition.

Camus marcheth through Angus.

After this, he tooke his iourney through Angus, ſparing no maner of crueltie that might be deuiſed: Cities, Townes, villages, & Churches, The crueltie of the Danes.

with all maner of other buildings publike and priuate were conſumed with fire.

The towne & church of Brechyn deſtroyed.

At his cõming to Brechyn, for that the caſtel there in thoſe dayes was of ſuche ſtrength, that it might not be haſtely wõne, he cauſed the towne and churche being right fayre and ſumptuouſly builde in honour of the trinitie (to whom it was dedicate) to be ſpoyled & ſo raſed to the earth, that one ſtone was not left ſtanding vpon an other.

With theſe and the ſemblable crueltics, Camus raging both againſt God & mã, was finally aduertized that king Malcolme was come to Dundee with all the power of Scotland.

Then ſodenly he tooke the next way towards the ſea ſide, cõming the day next following vnto a village called Balbrid, where he pitched downe his tentes.

King Malcolme haſteth forewarde to fight with the Danes.

The ſame day, king Malcolme making all haſt poſſible to ſuccour his ſubiects, and preſerue the countrey frõ the cruel outrage of the Danes, came to the towne of Barre two litle miles frõ the place, where his enimies were encamped. In the mornyng he drew into the field, in purpoſe to giue them bataile. But before he arrayed his batayles, he called his nobles & captains togither, deſiring them to conſider how they ſhould match in fight againſt people blinded with vile auarice, liuing on the ſpoyle & pillage, got by theeuery & not by any iuſt warres: enimies not onely to the Chriſtian faith, but alſo vnto all innocẽt people, whom they ſought vniuſtly to inuade, without hauing occaſiõ ſo to do, ſaue only vpon an iniurious meaning to liue by reif of other mennes goodes, wherin they haue no maner of propertie. He willed them therefore, to remember how they were come thus againſt thoſe enimies in defence of theyr natiue countrey, appointed vndoubtedly by God to reuenge the cruell iniuries done by the Danes againſt his name and people that profeſſed the ſame. They ought not then to meaſure force in number of ſouldiers, but rather in manhood and valiancie of harte.

Malcolmes oration.

Camus ex- teth his D

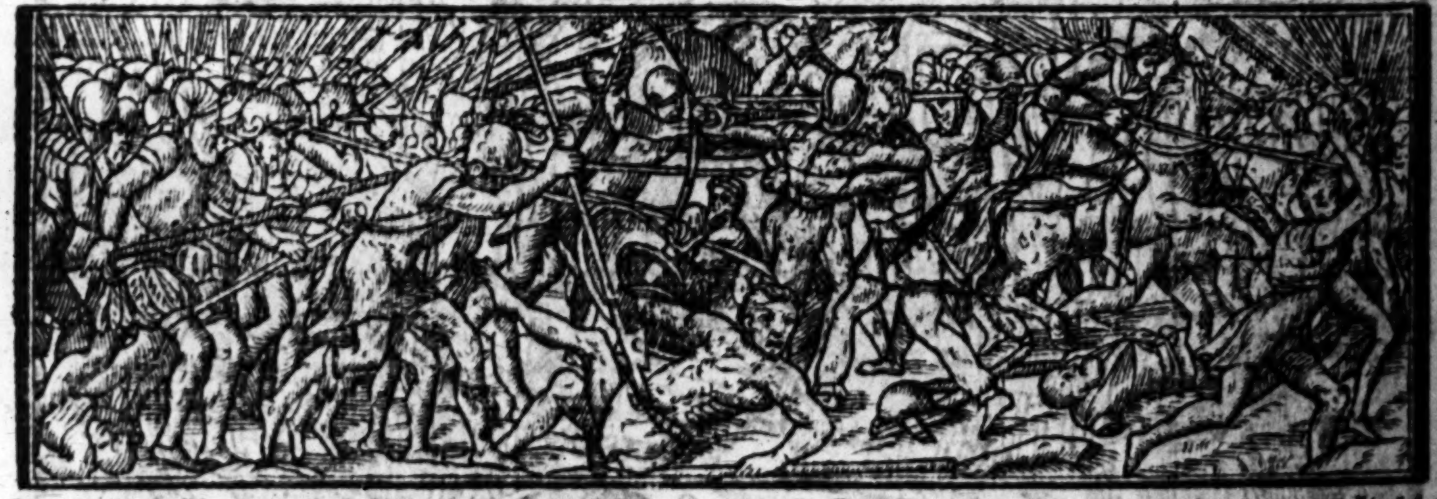
Camus likewiſe exhorted his people, not vſing many wordes, but yet pithie, deſiring thẽ to remember how it behoued them either to winne immortall fame by victorie, either els to die with miſerie in an vncouth lande, by the hand of their moſt fierce and cruell enimies.

Herewith Malcolme enbatayling his people, brought them forth ſtrongly raunged in good order to encoũter the Danes, which likewiſe approched towards him in good array of battell, his harte was filled the more with hope of victorie, for that he had tried ſundry times before yͤ force of the enimies in diuers cõflicts & encoũters. For ſuch is the nature of noble & valiãt ſtomakes, the more experience they haue in honorable enterpriſes, the more are they kindled in deſire to ſhewe their prowes in famous actes & worthy attẽpts.

The natu valiaunt h and noble makes.

A bloudy tayle.

The armies herevpon on both ſides, fiercely ruſhing togither, began the battell right cruell & terrible, continuyng certaine houres with ſuche bloudſhed, that the riuer of Lochtee, ranne with a purple hue downe into the Almayne ſeas.



The fields alſo where they fought, though they were full of ſande (as the nature of the ſoyle giueth,) yet were they made moyſt by the aboundance of bloude ſpilled in the ſame.

Many there were ſo earneſtly bent to be reuenged on the enimie, that after they had their deaths wound, they would runne thẽſelues forward vpõ the aduerſaries weapõ, till they might cloſe with him, enforcing their vttermoſt powers to diſpatch him alſo: ſo that diuers were ſeene to fall to the ground togither faſt graſping one an other, & ſo immediatly both of them to die withall. Such brenning hatred kindled theyr harts, that thus were they wholy ſet on reuenge. At length yet the honor of yͤ field remayned wͭ Malcolme.

Malcolme winneth the field.

Camus is ſlaine.

Camus perceiuing the diſcõfiture to light on his ſide, with a ſmal cõpanie about him, thought to haue eſcaped by flight vnto yͤ next moũtains, but being purſued of his enimies, he was ſlayne by them ere he was got .ij. miles frõ the place of the bataile. The place where he was ſlayne, is named after him vnto this day, & called Cameſtone, where is an Obeliſke ſet vp in memory of the thing, with his picture grauen therein, and likewiſe of thoſe that ſlewe him. The principal ſlear of Camus was one Keith, a yong gentelman of right hardy courage, whoſe ſeruice in the batayle was very notable, in recompence wherof he was rewarded by K. Malcolme, with ſundry lands and fayre poſſeſſions in Louthian.

An Obel

The hou Keithes pauuced honour.

his family (ſaith Hector Boetius) hath and doth continue in great honour amongſt Scottiſhmē euen vnto this day, and is decorated with the office of the Marſhallſhip of Scotland, to the high renowme and fame thereof, amongſt the chiefeſt peeres of the realme.

Danes ſlaine at Abirlemnon.

An other companie of the Danes fleing from this ouerthrow were ſlayne at Abirlemnon, not paſt .iiij. miles from Brechyn, where is ſet vp a great ſtone or Obeliſke, grauen with certayne characters or letters, to aduertiſe them that paſſe that wayes forth, of this ſlaughter of Danes there made by our worthy elders. The reſidue of the Danes that eſcaped with life from the fielde, hauing certaine Scottiſhmen to theyr guydes corrupted wͭ monie fled to theyr ſhips, declaring to their fellowes what miſhap had fortuned.

The deuiding of the ſpoyle.

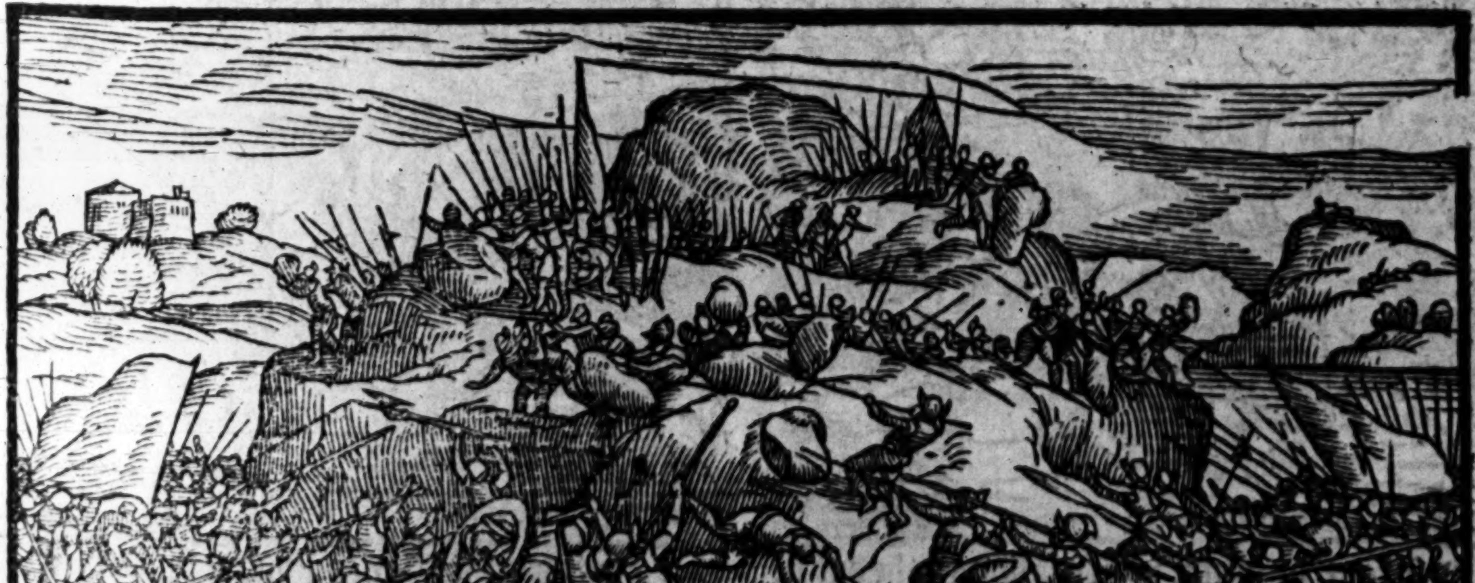
King Malcolme after he had obtayned this famous victorie (as before is ſayde) at Barre, he cauſed the ſpoile of the field to be deuided amōgſt his ſouldiers according to the lawes of armes, and then cauſed the dead bodies of the Danes to be buried in the place where the fielde had bene fought, and the bodies of the Scottiſhmē which were found dead, were conueyed vnto places of Chriſtian buriall, and there buried with funerall obſequies in ſundry churches & churchyardes.

Bones of Danes.

There are ſeene many bones of the Danes in thoſe places, where they were buried, there lying bare aboue groūd euen vnto this day, the ſandes as it often chaunceth, being blowen from them.

The other Danes whiche eſcaped to their ſhips, pulled vp ſayles to haue paſſed into Murrayland vnto Olauus, but remayning on the ſeas the ſpace of .iiij. dayes togither, toſſed to and fro by contrary windes, at length by a ſtreyneable caſt winde, they were driuen vpon the coaſt of Buchquhan, and through wante of conuenable herbrough were in preſent daunger to haue bene caſt away. At length after they had ridden at anker in the Fyrth there, to their great diſpleaſure a long ſpace, and finding no proſperous windes to departe from the ſhore, for that theyr vitayles began to fayle them, they ſet fiue hundred of their beſt and luſtieſt ſouldiers on land to fetch in ſome bootie or pray of catayle, therewith to relieue their hūger & famine. They that were thus ſent forth being perfectly appoynted with armour and weapon, ranged abrode till they had got togither a great number of beaſtes, with the whiche drawing towardes their ſhippes, they were encountred by the way by Marnachus the Thane of Buchquhane accompanied with the power of that countrey, whoſe force, when they ſaw how they were not well able to reſiſt without ſome aduantage of place, they got them vp into an high cragge, where with tūbling downe ſtones vpon the Scottiſhmen as they mounted vp towardes them, they cauſed them ſomewhat to ſtay, but at length through the earneſt exhortation of Marnachus, the Scots (as people enflamed with wood deſire to be reuenged,) mounted the hill in deſpite of theyr enimies, though diuers of them were ſlayne in that aſſault. Thoſe whiche wanne the height of the cragge vpon the Danes, made ſuche a cruell batayle with them, that there was not one Dane that eſcaped their handes.

Marnachus Thane of Buchquhane.



ſlaine
e vnto
emmer.

This conflict was fought neare vnto Gemmer a village or towne in Buchquhan, where in memorie thereof, lie many greate bones of the Danes to be ſeene, yet euen vnto theſe dayes. It ſhould appeare by the ſame bones, that men in former time were of more huge bowke and ſtature, than they be at this preſent.

The other Danes which were on ſhip borde, vnderſtanding what had happened to their felowes (bicauſe they returned not againe to the ſhippes)

ſhippes) ſo ſoone as the winde came aboute for their purpoſe, hoyſed vp ſayles, and tooke theyr courſe forth right towardes Murraylande.

Sneno prepareth the third time to inuade Scotland.

In the meane time king Sueno hearing of theſe ouerthrowes whiche his people had in ſuch ſort receyued at the Scottiſhmens handes, as a prince of a right haulte courage, not lightly ouercome with any aduerſe fortune, made preparation in all ſpeedy wiſe to be reuenged, appointing his brother Canute, as then hauing the adminiſtration of Denmarke, to come from thence with a newe fleete and army againſt the Scots.

Canute brother vnto Sueno, appointed generall to come againſt the Scottes.

It is ſayd that this Canute according to order preſcribed him by his brother Sueno, landed firſt in Buchquhane, and deſtroyed a great parte of that countrey by fire and ſworde, in reuenge of the ſlaughter of his countrey men the Danes, whiche had bene there made lately before.

King Malcolmes determination.

Malcolme ſore kindled in wrath by theſe iniuries, though through cõtinuance of the warres his power was greatly decayed, yet did hee aſſemble an army with all ſpeede he could deuiſe, & marched with the ſame towardes the Danes, in purpoſe to ſtay them with often ſkirmiſhes and light encounters, but in nowiſe to ieoparde with them in any pight field or generall bataile, for feare leaſt if he had the ouerthrow, he ſhoulde not be able to furniſh a new power for defence of his countrey, againſt the rage of the enimies.

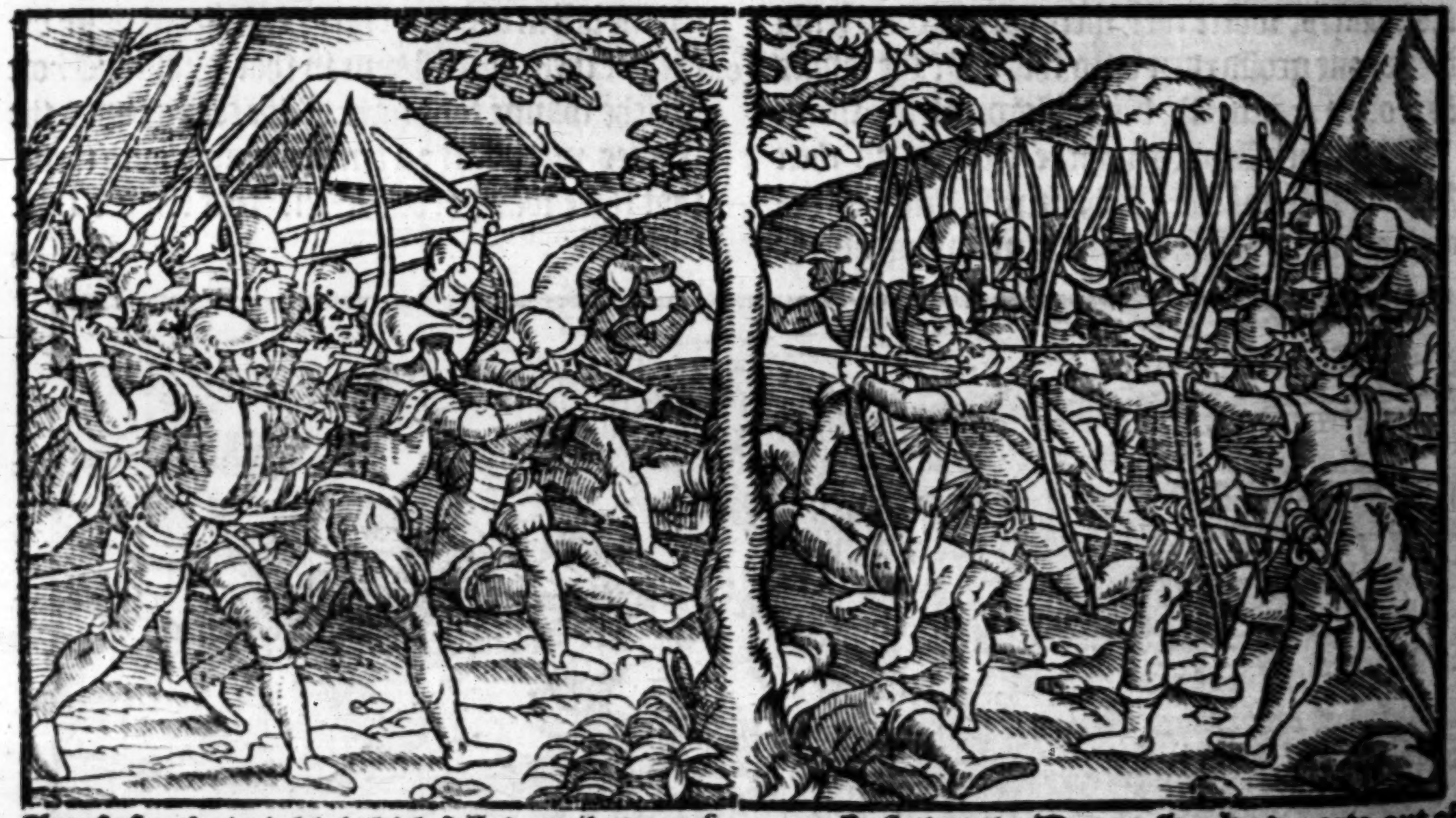
For the ſpace therfore of .xv. dayes togither, there was often ſkirmiſhing betwixt the parties, the which terme being expired, the Scots beholding ſo huge murder of theyr countreymen and frendes, with the ſpoile of the fieldes, and deſtruction of the townes and villages, brenning and blaſing on eche ſide before theyr faces, they come to king Malcolme, & deſired him that he woulde graunt them licence to fight with theyr enimies, proteſting plainely, that if he would not conſent thereto, they woulde giue batayle at their owne choyce.

The Scotti mens requ vnto their king, for li cence to fi

Malcolme perceiuing yͤ erneſt mindes of his people to encounter their enimies in playne fielde, and that he might no longer protracte the time, he graunted theyr petition, and therewith beſechyng them to remember theyr honors and dueties: incontinently the onſet was giuen with great hatred and malice on eyther parte, so that moſte egerly continuyng in fight a long time, they enforſed themſelues to rid eche other out of lyfe, ſo that all the nobles wel neare on both ſides were ſlayne, the name of victorie rather, than the victorie it ſelfe remayning with the Scots, who were ſo feeble and fainte with long fight and ſlaughter, that in the end of the battell they were not able to purſue thoſe few of the Danes, which eſcaping with life fledde faintly out of the fielde.

The onſet i giuen.

The Scott wan the of victori rather th ctorie it



And ſo for that night, which followed the day of this bloudie batayle, they lodged here and there in ſeuerall places, at aduenture aſwell as they might.

Peace concluded for want of power to maintayne batayle.

On the morow after, when it was vnderſtoode on bothe parties, what loſſe they had ſuſtayned, their mindes were conuerted rather to peace than to renewe batayle, bicauſe they were not of power longer to maintaine it. Wherupon by mediation of ſuch as tooke vpon them to treat a peace, the ſame was concluded with theſe articles.

The arti of the pe betwixt D and Scott men.

Firſt that the Danes ſhoulde departe out of Murrayland, Buthquhan, & all other the bounds of Scotland.

That the warres ſhoulde clearely ceaſſe betwixt the Danes and Scottiſhmen, during the naturall liues of Sueno and Malcolme, or eyther of them.

That neither of thoſe two nations ſhoulde ayde or in any wiſe ſupporte the others enimies.

That the fielde where the laſt batayle was fought, ſhould be hallowed for Chriſtian burial, within the whiche, the Danes that were ſlayne in the ſame batayle, ſhould be buried, ⁊ a churche to be builte there, and landes appointed forth for the maintenance of prieſts, to celebrate there according to the order of the Chriſtian religiō then vſed by both the people, for the Danes lately before that ſeaſon had alſo receyued the faith.

The holdes in ſcotland, deliuered vp by the Danes into the Scottiſhmens handes.

This peace being ratefied by the ſolēne othes of both the kings Sueno and Malcolme, Canute with his Danes reſigning vp the poſſeſſion of ſuch holdes and places, as they held in Murrayland, Buchquhan, or els where within any parte of the Scottiſh dominions, got him to his fleete, ⁊ departed with the ſame home into Denmarke.

Canute returneth into Dēmarke.

King Malcolme hauing thus reſtored his countrey vnto ioyfull peace, thought nothing ſo good as to performe the articles of the agreemēt accorded betwixt him and the Danes, and therfore cauſed a Churche to be builded in the place appointed, dedicating the ſame in honour of S. Olauus patrone of Denmarke and Norway, to ſignifie vnto ſuch as came after, that ſundry nobles of the Danes lay buried in that Church. In memory hereof, the landes that were giuen to the ſame Churche, are called euen yet vnto theſe dayes Crowdan, which ſignifieth as much as if ye ſhould ſay, The ſlaughter of Danes.

A Churche buylded.

Crowdan, what it ſignifieth.

The Church which was firſte builded there, chauncing as often happeneth in thoſe parties, to be ouercaſt with ſandes, an other was erected in place not farre off, hauing a more commodious ſite.

Sundry of the bones of them that were buried in this place, being left bare by reaſon that the ſandes were blowen away beſides them, Hector Boetius the wryter of the Scottiſh chronicle, behelde in the yeare. 1521. whiche ſeemed more lyke vnto Giants bones, than to menne of common ſtature (as he auoucheth) whereby it ſhoulde appeare, that men in olde time were of much greater ſtature and quantitie of bodie, than any that are to be found in theſe our dayes.

Bones of Danes.

Malcolme being thus deliuered of his enimies the Danes, cauſed publike prayers generally to be made throughout the realme, in rendring thanks to almightie God, that it had pleaſed him to deliuer his people from the troubles of warre. He tooke order alſo, that churches ſhoulde be repayred, which by the enimies in time of the warres had bene deſtroyed.

Publike prayers.

The repayring of Churches.

And further he cauſed the adminiſtratiō of the lawes and holeſome ordinaunces of the realme to be vſed and put in practiſe, according to the due forme of the ſame, which many yeares afore could haue no place, by reaſon of the warres.

The reſtoring of lawes and iuſtice.

He cauſed an aſſemble of all the eſtates of his realme, to be called at Bertha, a caſtell in thoſe dayes ſtanding not farre from the place where the towne of Perth nowe ſtandeth. In whiche conuention were many things enacted, both for the ſetting forth of Goddes honour and the weale of the realme, whereby Malcolme wanne much prayſe amongſt his ſubiectes, to the eternall memorie of his name.

A parliament at Bertha.

After this, ſuppoſing it moſte honorable to aduaunce the blood of ſuch as had ſerued well in the laſte warres, or had their fathers or other frendes ſlaine in the ſame, he called a parliament at Scone, in the whiche cauſing partition to be made of the realme, by deuiding it into Baronnies, he beſtowed the ſame amongſt the nobles according to the qualitie of euery one his merites, reſeruing in maner nothing to the maintenance of the crowne, common entries onely excepted, with the mountayne wherein the marble chaire ſtood, and a fewe other poſſeſſions whiche he purpoſed to giue vnto churches and chapels.

A parliament at Scone.

Diuiſion of the realme into Baronnies.

The nobles on the other parte, to the ende the king might haue ſufficient wherewith to maintayne his royall eſtate, graunted vnto him and his ſucceſſours for euer, the cuſtodie and wardſhip of theyr heyres, if they chaunced to die leauing them vnder the age of. xxj. yeares: and in the meane time till the ſame heyres came to the ſayd age, they agreed that the king ⁊ his ſucceſſours ſhoulde enioy the vſe and profites of theyr landes, whether they were men or women, and when they came to the age of. xxj. yeares, that then they ſhould enter into the poſſeſſion of their landes, yeelding vnto him or his ſucceſſours one yeares rent in name of a reliefe, and if they chaūced not to be maried before their fathers deceaſſe, thē alſo ſhould they marie at the kings appointment, or els compounde with him for the ſame.

The wardſhip of heyres graunted to the king.

Mariage of wardes.

Thus ended the parliament for that ſeaſon with great ioy and comforte on eche hande, for that the king had ſhewed ſuche liberall bounteouſneſſe towardes his Barones, and they no leſſe mindefull of their dueties had declared ſuche beneuolent hartes, as appeared in that theyr free and large gifte graunted in forme and maner as before is expreſſed.

Neyther did Malcolme forget the vowe, whiche he made at Murthlake, when he was in daunger to haue receyued the ouerthrow at the handes of the Danes, for according to the ſame vowe, he cauſed a church to be buylt in the ſame place, erecting a Biſhops ſee there, and endowed it with the landes and poſſeſſions of theſe three places, Murthlake, Cleometh, and Dunmeth, with all Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdictions and tithes apperteyning thereto.

The ſea of Murthlake, otherwiſe Abyrden.

The Biſhops that ſat in this ſee, were called the Biſhops of Murthlake till the dayes of king Dauid the firſt, who chaunging the name, cauſed them to be called the Biſhops of Abyrdene, augmenting the ſee with ſundry fayre reuenewes to the better mayntenance thereof.

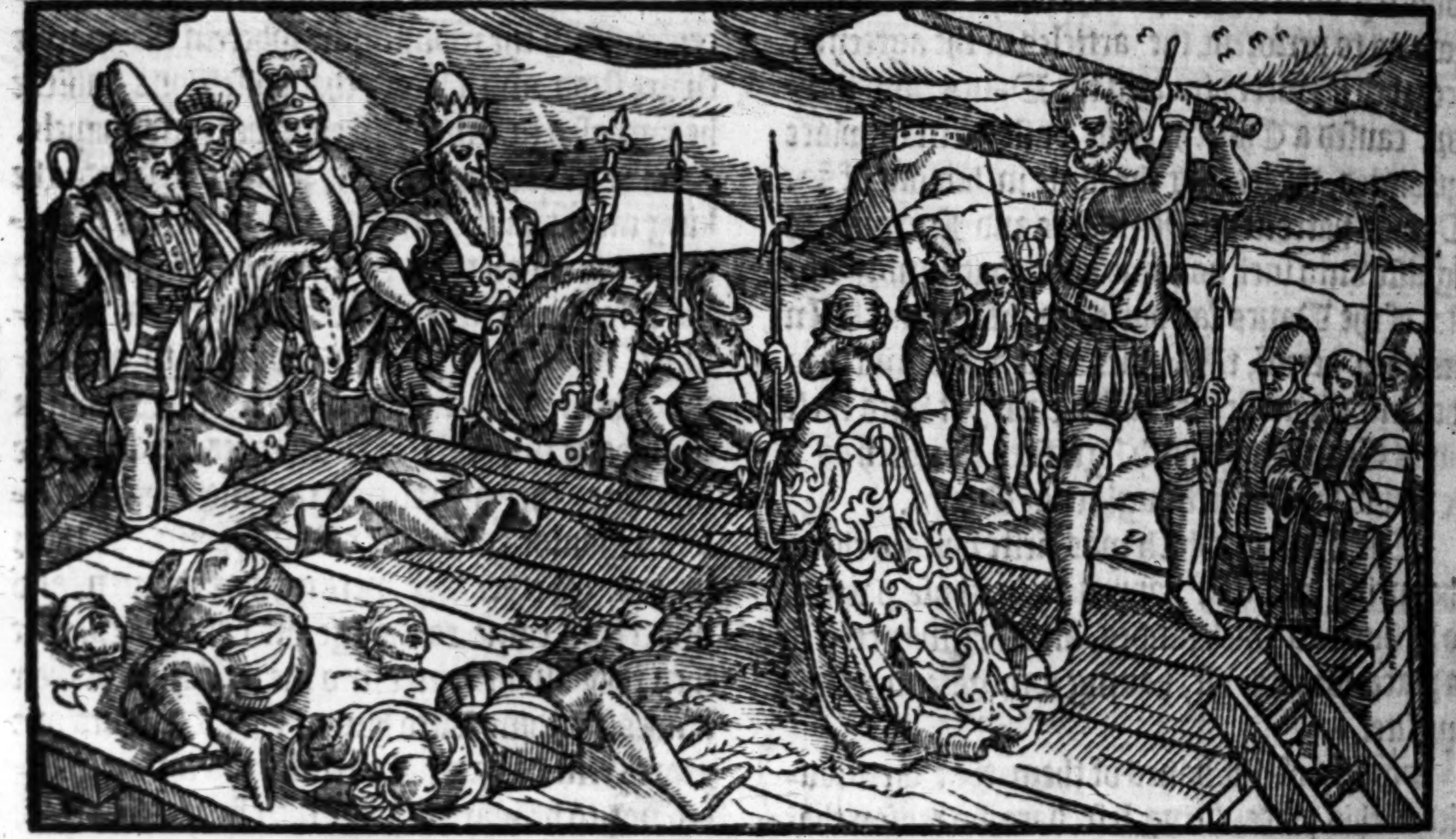
Malcolme thus hauing purchaſed reſte from further troubles of warre, gouerned the realme a certain time after in good order of iuſtice, & cauſed a booke to be ſet forth, called *Regiam maieſtatem*, conteyning the lawes & ordinances, wherby the realme ſhoulde be gouerned: and aſſigning forth in the ſame what fees alſo ſhould be giuen vnto the Chauncellour, Secretarie, Conſtable, Merſhall, Chamberlayne, Iuſtice, Treaſorer, Regiſter, Comptroller, & other the officers of his houſe. Such princely doings and noble vertues were found in this Malcolme for a ſeaſon, that if the ſame had continued with him in his later age, there had neuer reygned any king in Scotland, that might haue bene thought to haue paſſed him in worthy fame: neuertheleſſe his excellent qualities were ſtayned at length by that reprochfull vice of vile auarice. For as it ofttimes happeneth, couetouſneſſe and age layde holde on him bothe at once. He then beganne to repent in that he had bene ſo liberall in giuing away his landes to his Barones, and to recouer the ſame agayne, hee ſurmiſed fayned mater by vntrue ſuggeſtions agaynſt diuers of the chiefeſt Nobles, putting ſome to death and baniſhing other, that he might by this meanes enioy theyr lands and goodes as confiſcate to the crowne for theyr ſuppoſed offences.

The boke called *Regia maieſtas.*

Malcolme waxeth a tious.

Couetouſ and age a ming tog

Malcolme crueltie to purchas



The nobles hauing great indignation at ſuch crueltie vſed by the king againſt them and theyr lynage, and that vpon no iuſte cauſes, but onely vpon forged deuiſes, they conſpired in ſundry meetings ſecretely appointed amongſt them, to finde ſome meanes to diſpatch him out of life.

The conſpiracie of the ſcottiſh nobilitie againſt Malcolme.

At length he chaunced to haue ſome inckling whereabout they went, and doubting to fall into their handes, fled for ſauegarde of his lyfe vnto Glammis, where diuers of the conſpiratours were brought into his lodgyng, by ſome of his owne houſeholde ſeruantes, and there ſlew him in reuenge of their freendes, whom he before had wrongfully put to death. These murtherers with their complices incontinently fled with all ſpeede poſſible to auoyde further dāger for this their act, but miſſing their way, for ẏ the ground was quite couered as then with ſnowe, they finally came to the Loch of Forfayr, which was the ſame time froſen ouer. They therefore thinking to paſſe ouer it, when they came into the midſt, the Iſe brake vnder thē, ſo that ſinking in, they were finally drowned. Howbeit their bodies were afterwards drawē forth of the Loche with dragges, and diſmembred, and the heads and quarters were ſente vnto diuers townes of the realme, and there hung vp for a ſignification of their wicked treaſon.

Malcolme ſlayne at Glāmis.

The murtherers drowned.

This was the ende of king Malcolme in the xxxij. yeare of his reygne, if ye recken from the death of Conſtantine, or .xxv. after the death of Grime, and after the incarnation of our ſauiour 1034. yeares. He was buried in Colmekill with his auncetours.

31. H.B.

1040. H.B.

In this ſeaſon were ſeene many wonders and ſtraunge ſightes in Albion. On Chriſtmas day there was an earthquake, and a great rifte of the earth made therewith in the middeſt of Streuelyng towne, out of the which iſſued ſuch an abundant ſtreame of water, that it bare away the next wood that was adioyning vnto the ryuer of Forth.

Straunge ſightes.

In the ſommer the ſea roſe higher, and flowed further into the land, than euer had bene ſeene at any other time.

On midſomer day whiche is the feaſt day of Saint John Baptiſt, there was ſuche a vehement froſte, that the corne and other fruytes of the earth were blaſted and killed, ſo that therevpon followed a great dearth in al the countrey.

Dun-
can.

ncan king
Scotland.

AFter Malcolme ſucceeded his Nephew Duncan, the ſonne of his doughter Beatrice: for Malcolme had two daughters, yͤ one which was this Beatrice, being giuen in mariage vnto one Abbanath Crinen, a man of great nobilitie, and Thane of the Iſles and weſt partes of Scotlande, bare of that mariage the foreſayd Duncan: The other called Doada, was maried vnto Synell the Thane of Glammis, by whom ſhe had iſſue one Makbeth a valiant gētleman, and one that if he had not bene ſomewhat cruell of nature, might haue bene thought moſt worthie the gouernmēt of a realme. On the other parte, Duncan was ſo ſofte and gentle of nature, that the people wiſhed the inclinations & maners of theſe two couſines to haue bene ſo tempered and enterchaungeably beſtowed betwixt them, that where the one had to much of clemēcie, and the other of crueltie, the meane vertue betwixt theſe two extremities, might haue reygned by indifferent particion in them bothe, ſo ſhoulde Duncan haue proued a worthy king, and Makbeth an excellent captaine.

kbeth.

ncan of too
nature.

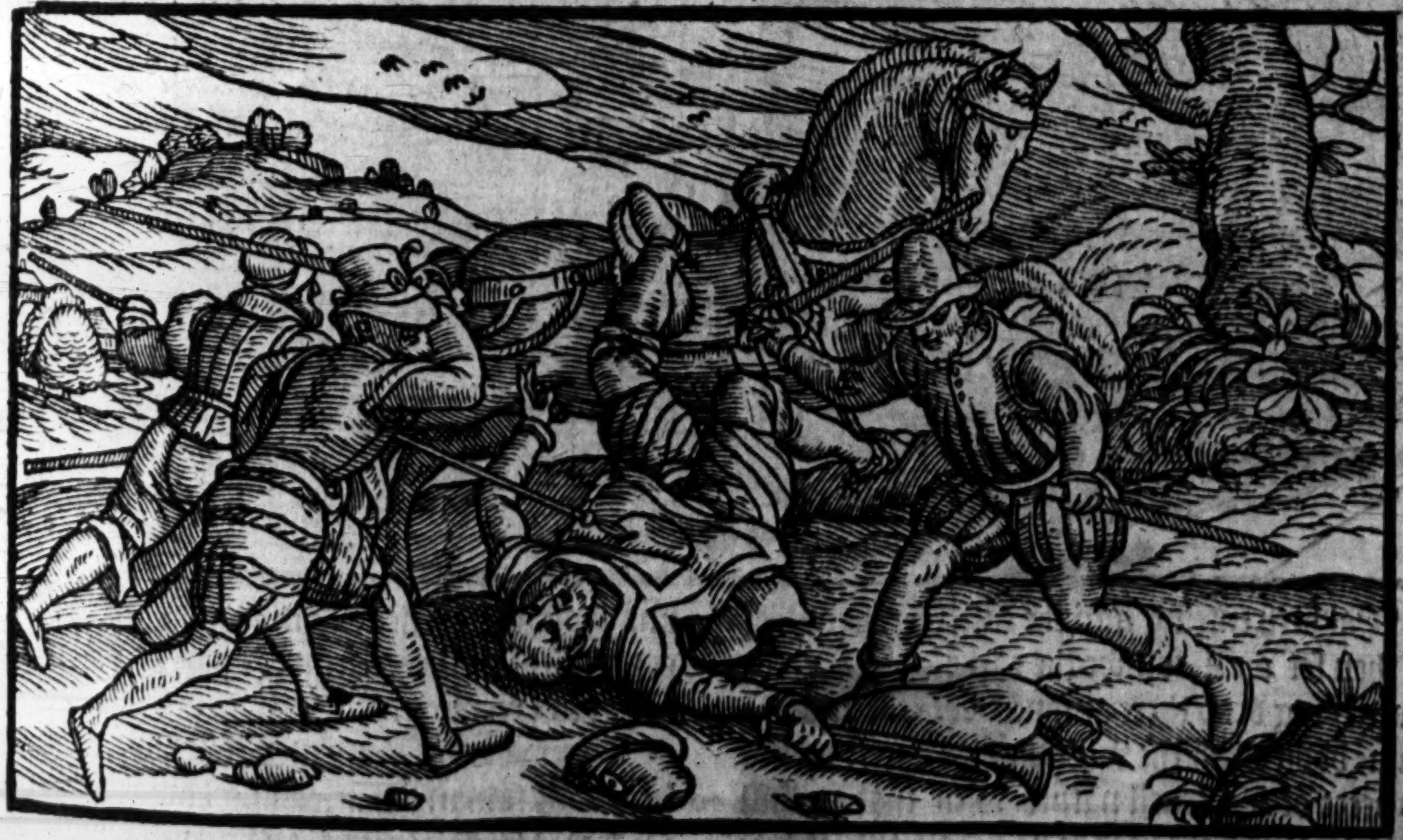
The beginning of Duncanes reig[illegible] was very quiet & peaceable, without any n[illegible] trouble, but after it was perceyued how negligent he was in puniſhing offenders, many miſruled perſons toke occaſion thereof to trouble the peace and quiet ſtate of the common wealth, by ſeditious commotions whiche firſte had theyr beginnings in this wiſe.

Banquho Thane of Lochquhaber. The houſe of the Stewards.

Banquho the Thane of Lochquhaber, of whō the houſe of the Stewardes is diſcended, the whiche by order of lynage hath nowe for a long time enioyed the crowne of Scotlande, euen till theſe our dayes, as he gathered the finaunces due to the king, and further puniſhed ſomewhat ſharpely ſuche as were notorious offenders, being aſſayled by a number of rebelles inhabiting in that countrey, and ſpoyled of the money and all other things, had muche ado to get away with life after he had receyued ſundry grieuous woundes amongſt them. Yet eſcaping theyr handes after he was ſomewhat recouered of his hurtes and was able to ride, he repayred to the courte, where making his complaint to the king in moſt earneſt wiſe, he purchaſed at length that the offenders were ſente for by a Sergeant at armes, to appeare to make aunſwere vnto ſuche mater as ſhoulde be layde to theyr charge, but they augmenting theyr miſcheuous acte with a more wicked deede, after they had miſuſed the meſſenger with ſundry kindes of reproches, they finally ſlew him alſo.

A mutenie amongſt the people of Lochquhaber.

A ſergeant at armes, ſlayne by the rebels.



Then doubting not but for ſuche contemptuous demeanour agaynſt the kings regall authoritie, they ſhoulde be inuaded with all the power the king coulde make, Makdowalde one of great eſtimation amongſt them making firſt a confederacie with his neareſt frendes and kinſmen, toke vpon him to be chiefe captayne of all ſuche rebelles, as woulde ſtande againſt the king, in maintenance of theyr grieuous offences lately cōmitted againſt him. Many ſlanderous wordes alſo, & rayling taunts this Makdowald vttered againſt his prince, calling him a faynt harted milkeſop, more meete to gouerne a ſort of idle monkes in ſome cloyſter, than to haue yͤ rule of

dowald
him-
to be cap-
of the

of ſuche v[illegible]ant and hardy men of warre as the Scott[illegible]re.

He vſed alſo ſuche ſubtile perſwaſions and forged allurements, that in a ſmall time he had got togither a mightie power of men: for out of the weſterne Iſles, there came vnto him a great multitude of people, offering themſelues to aſſiſt him in that rebellious quarell, and out of Ireland in hope of the ſpoyle came no ſmall nūber of Kernes & Galloglaſſes offering gladly to ſerue vnder him, whither it ſhoulde pleaſe him to lead them. Makdowald thus hauing a mightie puyſſaunce about him, encountred with ſuche of the kings people as were ſet againſt him into Lochquhabir, and diſcomfiting them, by fine force tooke theyr captaine Malcolme, and after the end of the batayle ſmoote of his head.

Makdowald diſcomfiteth the kings power.

The ſmal skil of the king in warlike affayres.

This ouerthrow beyng notified to the king, did put him in wonderfull feare, by reaſon of his ſmall ſkill in warlyke affayres. Calling therfore his nobles to a counſell, willed them of their beſt aduiſe for the ſubduing of Makdowald and other the rebelles.

Here in ſundry heades (as it euer happeneth) being ſundry opinions, whiche they vttered according to euery man his ſkill, at length Makbeth ſpeaking muche againſt the kings ſoftneſſe, & ouer muche ſlackneſſe in puniſhing offenders, whereby they had ſuch time to aſſemble togither, he promiſed notwithſtanding, if the charge were committed vnto him and to Banquho, ſo to order the matter, that the rebelles ſhould be ſhortly vanquiſhed and quite put downe, and that not ſo much as one of them ſhoulde be founde to make reſiſtance within the countrey.

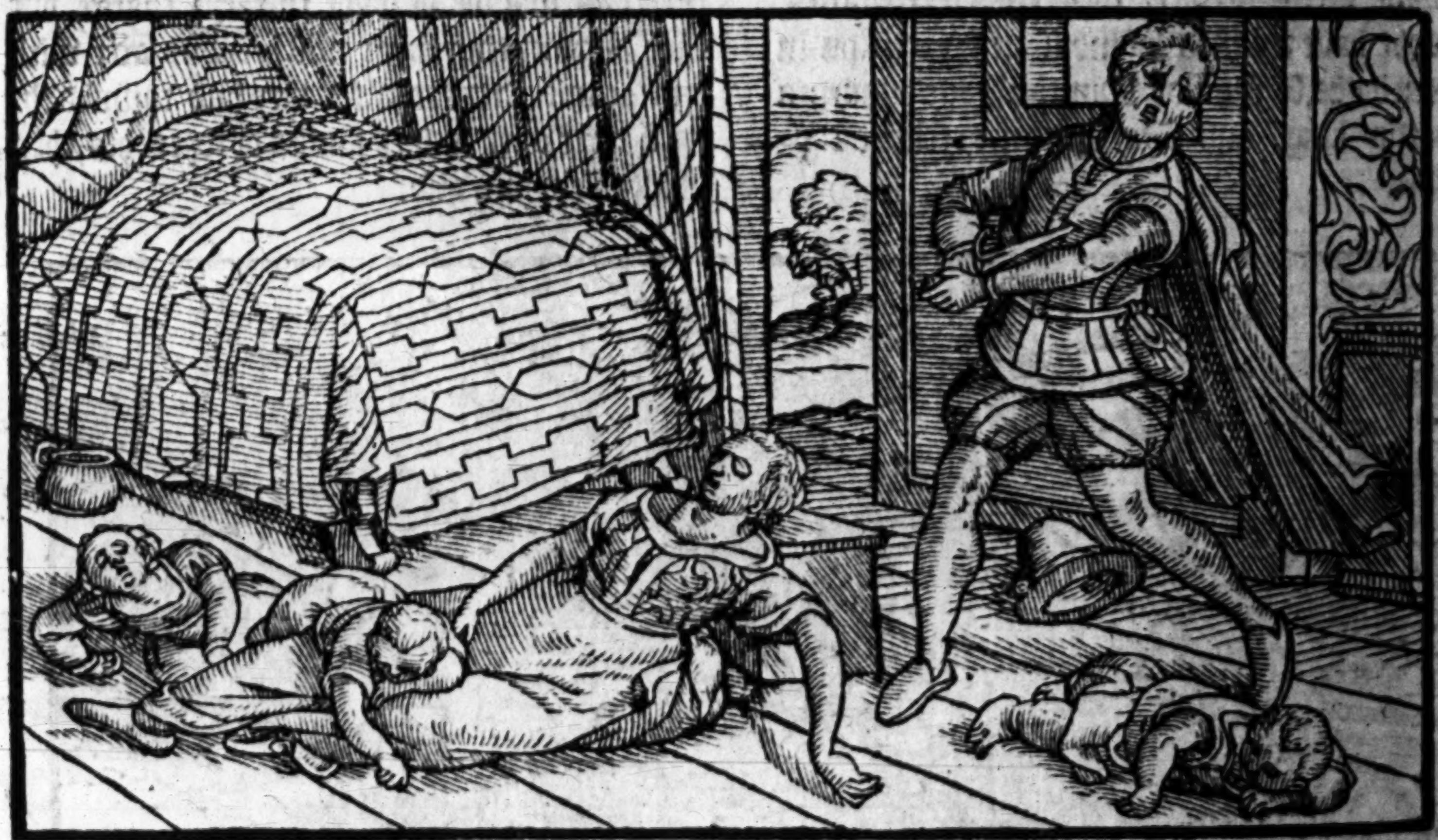
Makbeth ler.

Makbeth Banquho ſent aga the rebell

And euen ſo came it to paſſe: for being ſente forth with a newe power, at his entring into Lochquhaber, the fame of his cōming put yͤ enimies in ſuche feare, that a great number of them ſtale ſecretely away from theyr captaine Makdowald, who neuertheleſſe enforſed thereto, gaue batayle vnto Makbeth, with the reſidue whiche remained with him, but being ouercome and fleing for refuge into a caſtell (within the whiche hys wyfe and chyldren were encloſed,) at length when he ſaw how he coulde neyther defend the hold any longer againſt his enimies, nor yet vpon ſurrender be ſuffered to depart with lyfe ſaued, he firſt ſlew his wife & children, and laſtly himſelfe, leaſt if he had yeelded ſimply, he ſhoulde haue bene executed in moſt cruell wiſe for an example to other.

The rebe forſake th captayne.

Makdow ſleeth hi and chi and laſtly ſelfe.



Makbeth entring into the caſtel by the gates, as then ſet open, founde the carkaſe of Makdowald lying dead there amongſt the reſidue of the ſlaine bodies, whiche when he behelde, remitting no peece of his cruell nature with that pitifull ſight, he cauſed the head to be cut off, and ſet vpō a poles ende, & ſo ſent it as a preſent to the king who as then lay at Bertha.

Makdowaldes head ſent to the king.

Makbeths crueltie.

The headleſſe trunke he commaunded to be hong vp vpō an high payre of gallowes. Them of the Weſterne Iſles, ſuyng for pardon in that they had ayded Makdowald in his trayterous enterpryſe, he fined at great ſummes of money; and thoſe whom he tooke in Lochquhabir, being come thither to beare armure agaynſt the king, he put to execution.

Makbeth famed by Iland m

Herevpon the Iland men conceyued a deadly grudge towards him, calling him a couenant breaker, a bloudy tyrant, and a cruell murtherer of them, whom the kings mercie had pardoned. With whiche reprochfull wordes Makbeth being kindled in wrathfull yre againſt them, had paſſed ouer with an army into the Iſles, to haue taken reuenge vpon them for theyr liberall talke, had he not bene otherwayes perſwaded by ſome of his frendes, and partely pacified by giftes preſented vnto him on the behalfe of the Ilandmen, ſeeking to auoyde his diſpleaſure.

Iuſtice & law reſtored.

Thus was iuſtice and lawe reſtored againe to the old accuſtomed courſe by the diligent meanes of Makbeth. Immediatly wherevpon worde came that Sueno king of Norway was arriued in Fyfe with a puyſant army to ſubdue the whole realme of Scotland.

Sueno king of Norway landed in Fyfe.

But here to the intent it may be the better perceyued, what this Sueno was I will ſomewhat touch from whence he diſcended.

This agreeth not with our Engliſh wryters.

That Sueno whiche (as ye haue heard) conquered the realme of England, being alſo king of Denmarke and Norway had .iij. ſonnes, Harold, Sueno, & Canute, the firſte he ordeyned to be king of England, the .ij. king of Norway, and the third king of Denmarke.

Harold that reigned king of England, was not the ſonne of Sueno but of Canute, and was not ſlaine, but died of naturall diſeaſe. See more hereof in England.

Canute king of Denmarke. This is cōtrary to our Engliſhe writers.

Harolde enioyed not the ſame dominion of England paſſing .iij. yeares after his fathers deceaſſe, but was ſlaine by Etheldred or Egelred, whom his father Sueno had chaſed into Normandie. Howbeit yet the ſame Etheldred kept not long the kingdome in peace, for Canute king of Denmarke to reuenge his brothers death, landed in England with a mighty hoſte, and ſleayng Etheldred, recouered the kingdome to the vſe of the Danes, but yet one Edmond ſonne to the foreſayde Etheldred, ſurnamed Ironſide, mayntenyed the warre agaynſt Canute for a ſeaſon, till at length by bothe theyr conſentes, they agreed to fight a combat ſingularly man to man, ſo to trie the mater betwixt them, who ſhould reigne as king ouer the Engliſhmē.

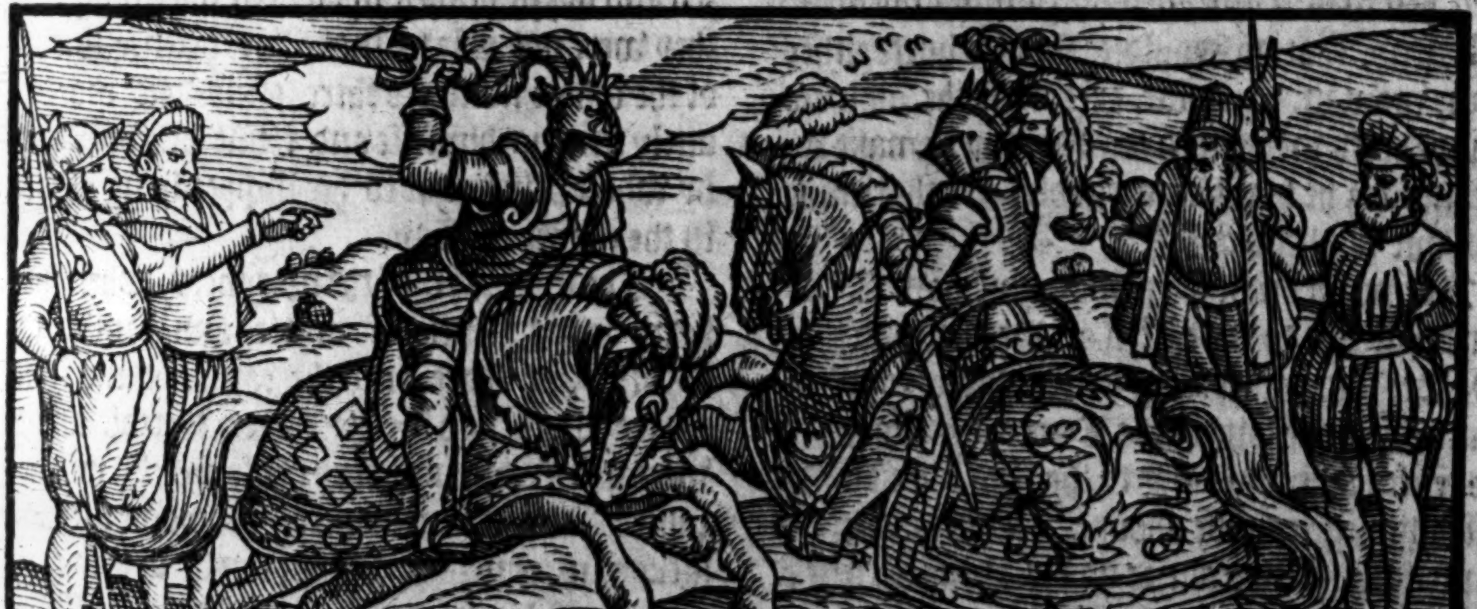
Edmund Ironſide.

This partely agreeth with our wryters.

In this fight when they had continued a long ſpace, and ſhewed right notable proofes of theyr manhood: Edmund (ſayth Canute) ſithe it hath pleaſed almighty God, yͭ thou ſhouldſt thus trie the force of my hande without hurte or wound, I thinke it be likewiſe his pleaſure, that thou ſhouldeſt enioy parte of the realme, go to therefore, I receyue thee as partener with me in the kingdome, ſo that (if thou be ſo contented) let vs diuide the kingdome betwixte vs without any more contention.

Canutes words to Edmond Ironſide.

Edmund gladly accepted this condition of agreement, ſuppoſing it better to haue halfe the kingdome, than to ſtande to the doubtfull triall of loſing the whole, for he had receyued a wound at Canutes handes, though Canute vnderſtoode not ſo muche: agayne he foreſaw that occaſion hereafter might be offered, whereby he mighte without all trouble come to enioy the whole.



So herevpon eyther of them lept beſide theyr weried horſes in that fierce and earneſt fight. and embracing ech other became good frendes, in deuiding the realme according to the aboue mencioned mocion of Canute. That parte of England that lieth ouer againſt Fraunce, was aſſigned vnto Canute, & the other that is the north partes vnto Edmund. In the meane time Emma the wife of Etheldred, with hyr two ſonnes (whiche ſhee had by the ſame Etheldred) Alured and Edward, fled ouer into Normandie, doubting leaſt this cōcorde betwixt Canute and Edmund ſhould turne ſmally to hyr aduauncemēt.

The diuiſion of the realme of England, betwixt Canute and Edmond Ironſide.

Alured & Edward the ſons of king Elred.

But now touching the arriuall of Sueno the Norwaygian king in Fyfe, as before is expreſſed, ye ſhall vnderſtand, that the pretence of his comming was to reuenge the ſlaughter of his vncle Camus and other of the Daniſhe nation ſlayne at Barre, Crowdane, and Gemmer.

The crueltie of this Sueno was ſuche, that he neyther ſpared man, woman, nor childe, of what age, condition or degree ſo euer they were, whereof when king Duncane was certified, hee ſet all ſlouthfull and lingering delayes aparte, and began to aſſemble an army in moſte ſpeedy wiſe, like a right valiant Captayne: for oftentimes

The crueltie of Sueno king of Norway.

Duncane beſturreth him ſelfe in aſſembling an army.

times it happeneth, that a dull cowarde, and ſlouthfull perſon conſtrayned by neceſſitie, becõmeth right hardie and actiue. Therfore when his whole power was come togither, he deuided the ſame into three batayles. The firſte was led by Makbeth, the ſeconde by Banquho, and the king himſelfe gouerned in the mayne batayle or middlewarde, wherein were appoynted to attende his perſon the moſte parte of all the reſidue of the Scottiſhe nobilitie.

The ſcottiſhe army deuided into three batayles.

Sueno vanquiſheth the Scottes.

The army of Scottiſhmen beyng thus ordered, came vnto Culros, where encountring with the enimies, after a ſore and cruell foughten batayle, Sueno remayned victorious, and Malcolme with his Scottes diſcomfited. Howbeit the Danes were ſo broken by this batayle, that they were not able to make long chaſe on theyr enimies, but kepte themſelues all night in order of batayle, for doubte leaſt yͤ Scots aſſembling togither againe, might haue ſet vpon them at ſome aduantage.

On the morrow when the fieldes were diſcouered, and that it was perceyued how no enimies were to be founde abroade, they gathered the ſpoyle, whiche they deuided amongſt them, according to the lawe of armes.

Suenoes commaundement to ſpare fire & ſworde.

Then was it ordeyned by commaundement of Sueno, that no Souldier ſhoulde hurte either man, woman, or childe, excepte ſuche as were founde with weapon in hande ready to make reſiſtance, for he hoped now to conquere the realme without further bloudſhed.

Duncane fled to the caſtel of Bertha.

Sueno beſiegeth king Malcolme.

But when knowledge was giuẽ how Duncane was fled to the caſtell of Bertha, and that Makbeth was gathering a new power to withſtand the incurſions of the Danes, Sueno raiſed his tentes and comming to the ſayd caſtell layde a ſtrong ſiege rounde about it. Duncane ſeyng himſelfe thus enuironned by his enimies, ſent a ſecrete meſſage by councell of Banquho vnto Makbeth, commaunding him to abide at Inchecuthill, till hee hearde from him ſome other newes.

Fayned treatie.

In the meane time Duncane fell in fayned cõmunication with Sueno as though he would haue yeelded vp the Caſtell into his handes vnder certaine conditions, and this did he to driue time, and to put his enimies out of all ſuſpition of any enterpryſe ment againſt them, till all things were brought to paſſe that might ſerue for the purpoſe.

At length when they were fallen at a poynt for rendring vp the holde, Duncane offered to ſende forth of the caſtell into the campe greate prouiſion of vitayles to refreſh the army, whiche offer was gladly accepted of the Danes for that they had bene in greate penurie of ſuſtenaunce many dayes before.

Spyced cu Prepared the Danes.

The Scots herevpon tooke the iuyce of Mekilwort beries, & mixed the ſame in theyr ale and bread, ſending it thus ſpiced and confectioned in great abundance vnto their enimies.

The Danes uercome drinke, fall ſleepe.

They reioyſing that they had got meate and drinke ſufficient to ſatiſfie theyr bellies, fell to eating and drinking after ſuch greedy wiſe, that it ſeemed they ſtroue who might deuoure & ſwallow vp moſt, till the operation of the beries ſpred in ſuche ſorte through all the partes of their bodies, that they were in the ende brought into a faſt dead ſleepe, that in maner it was vnpoſſible to awake them.

Then forthwith Duncane ſent vnto Makbeth, commaunding him with all diligence to come and ſet vpon the enimies, being in eaſie pointe to be ouercome.

Makbeth ſayleth the campe of Danes, be ouercome with drin ſleepe.

Makbeth making no delay came with his people to the place, where his enimies were lodged, & firſt killing the watche, afterwards entred the campe, and made ſuche ſlaughter on all ſides without any reſiſtance, that it was a wonderfull mater to behold, for the Danes were ſo heauy of ſleepe, that the moſt parte of them were ſlayne & neuer ſtyrred: other that were awakened eyther by the noyſe or otherwayes forth, were ſo amazed and dyzzie headed vpon their wakening, that they were not able to make any defence, ſo that of the whole numbers there eſcaped no moe but onely Sueno himſelfe and tenne other perſons, by whoſe help he got to his ſhippes lying at rode in the mouth of Tay.

The ſlaug of Danes.

Sueno wi ten other e caped.

The moſt parte of the maryners, when they heard what plentie of meate and drinke the Scottes had ſente vnto the campe, came from the ſea thyther to bee partakers thereof, and ſo were ſlayne amongeſt theyr fellowes: by meanes whereof when Sueno perceyued howe through lacke of maryners he ſhoulde not be able to conuey away his nauie, hee furniſſhed one ſhippe throughly with ſuche as were lefte, and in the ſame ſayled backe into Norway, curſing the tyme that hee ſet forewarde on this infortunate iourney.

Sueno fle with one leauing the ſidue of his nauie beh him.

The fleete the Norwe gians ſun by vehem rage of wi

The other ſhippes whiche hee lefte behinde him within three dayes after his departure from thence, were toſſed ſo togyther by violence of an Eaſt winde, that beatyng and ruſſhyng one agaynſt an other they ſuncke there, and lie in the ſame place euen vnto theſe dayes, to the greate daunger of other ſuche ſhippes as come on that coaſte, for being couered with the floudde when the tide commes, at the ebbyng againe of the ſame, ſome parte of them appeare aboue water.

Drownelo ſandes.

The place where yͤ Daniſh veſſels were thus loſt, is yet cleped Drownelow ſandes. This ouerthrow receiued in maner aforeſaid by Sueno, was right diſpleaſant to him and his people, as ſhoulde appeare in that it was a cuſtome many yeares after, that no Knightes were made in Norway, excepte they were firſte ſworne to reuenge the ſlaughter of theyr countreymen and frendes thus ſlayne in Scotland.

The othe that knightes tooke in Norway, to reuenge the death of theyr frendes.

The Scottes hauing wonne ſo notable a victory, after they had gathered and diuided the ſpoyle of the fielde, cauſed ſolemne proceſſions to be made in all places of the realme, and thankes to be giuen to almightie God, that had ſent them ſo fayre a day ouer their enimies.

Solemne proceſsions for victory gottẽ.

But whyleſt the people were thus at theyr proceſſions, worde was brought that a newe fleete of Danes was arriued at Kingcorne, ſent thyther by Canute king of England in reuenge of his brothers Suenoes ouerthrow.

A power of Danes arriue at Kyncorne from England.

To reſiſt theſe enimies, whiche were already landed, and buſie in ſpoiling the countrey, Makbeth and Banquho were ſente with the kings authoritie, who hauing with them a conuenient power, encountred the enimies, ſlewe parte of them, and chaſed the other to their ſhippes. They that eſcaped and got once to theyr ſhippes, obtayned of Makbeth for a great ſumme of golde, that ſuche of theyr frendes as were ſlaine at this laſt bickering might be buried in Saint Colmes Inche. In memorie whereof, many olde Sepultures are yet in the ſayde Inche, there to be ſeene grauen with the armes of the Danes, as the maner of burying noble men ſtill is, and heretofore hath bene vſed.

The Danes vanquiſhed by Makbeth and Banquho.

Danes buried in S. Colmes Inche,

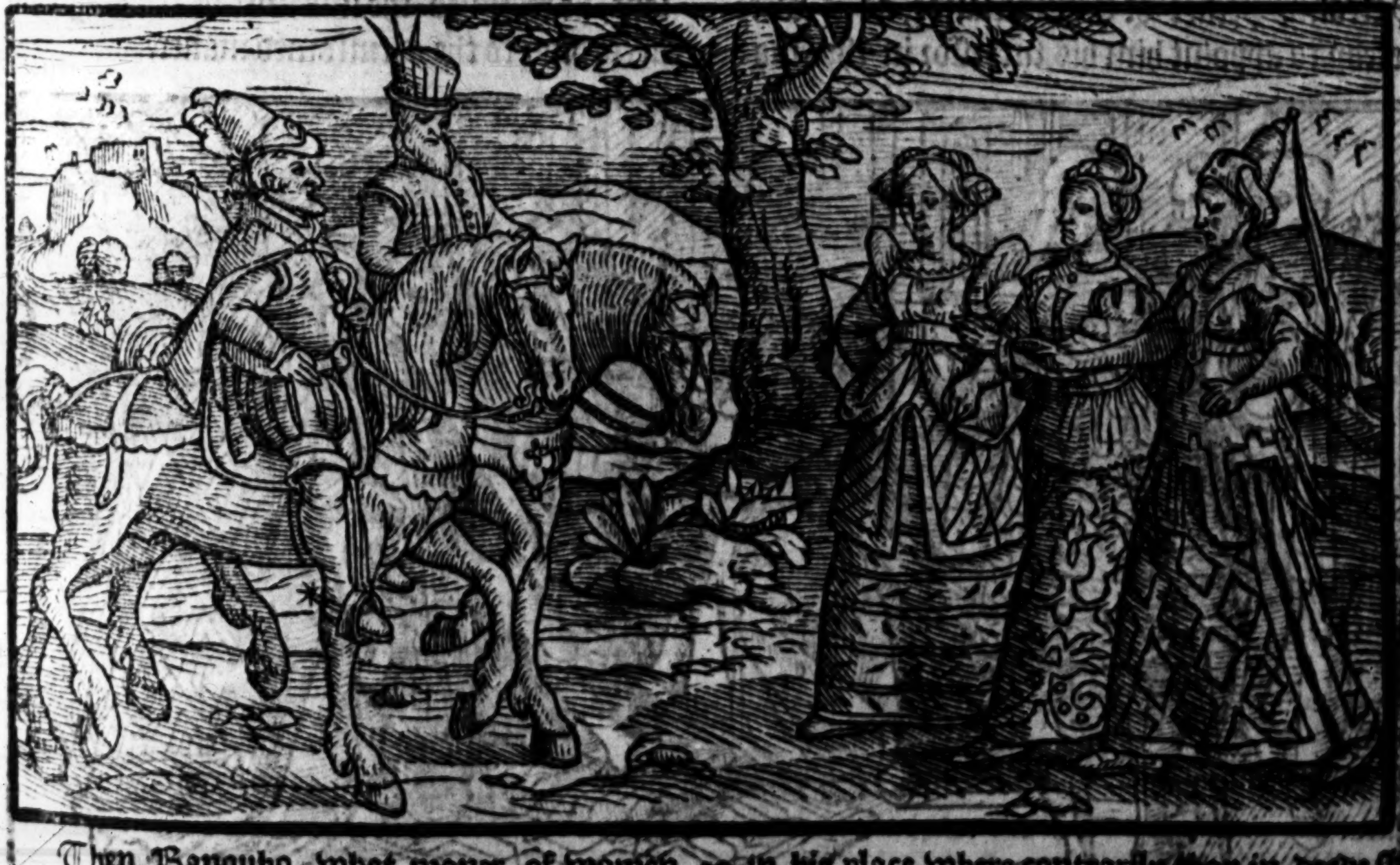
A peace was alſo concluded at the ſame time betwixte the Danes and Scottiſhmen, ratified as ſome haue wrytten in this wiſe. That from thence forth the Danes ſhoulde neuer come into Scotlande to make any warres agaynſt the Scottes by any maner of meanes.

A peace concluded betwixt Scottes and Danes.

And theſe were the warres that Duncane had with forrayne enimies in the ſeuenth yeare of his reygne.

Shortly after happened a ſtraunge and vncouth wonder, whiche afterwarde was the cauſe of muche trouble in the realme of Scotlande as ye ſhall after heare. It fortuned as Makbeth & Banquho iourneyed towarde Fores, where the king as then lay, they went ſporting by the way togither without other companie, ſaue only themſelues, paſſing through the woodes and fieldes, when ſodenly in the middes of a laūde, there met them .iij. women in ſtraunge & ferly apparell, reſembling creatures of an elder worlde, whom when they attentiuely behelde, wondering much at the ſight, The firſt of them ſpake & ſayde: All hayle Makbeth Thane of Glammis (for he had lately entred into that dignitie and office by the death of his father Synel.) The .ij. of them ſaid: Hayle Makbeth Thane of Cawder: but the third ſayde: All Hayle Makbeth that hereafter ſhall be king of Scotland.

The propheſie of three womẽ ſuppoſing to be the weird ſiſters or feiries.



Then Banquho, what maner of women (ſaith he) are you, that ſeeme ſo litle fauourable vnto me, where as to my fellow here, beſides highe offices, yee aſſigne alſo the kingdome, appointyng forth nothing for me at all? Yes ſayth the firſte of them, wee promiſe greater benefites vnto thee, than vnto him, for he ſhall reygne in deede, but with an vnluckie ende: neyther ſhall he leaue any iſſue behinde him to ſucceede in his place, where contrarily thou in deede ſhalt not reygne at all, but of thee thoſe ſhall be borne whiche ſhall gouerne the Scottiſhe kingdome by long order of continuall diſcent. Herewith the foreſayde women vaniſhed immediatly out of theyr ſight. This was reputed at the firſt but ſome vayne fantaſticall illuſion by Makbeth and Banquho, in ſo muche that Banquho woulde call Makbeth in ieſt kyng of Scot-

A thing to wonder at.

M.ij. Scot-

Banquho the father of many kings.

Scotland, and Makbeth againe would call him in ſporte likewiſe, the father of many kings. But afterwards the common opinion was, that theſe women were eyther the weird ſiſters, that is (as ye would ſay) ỹ Goddeſſes of deſtinie, or els ſome Nimphes or Feiries, endewed with knowledge of prophecie by their Nicromanticall ſcience, bicauſe euery thing came to paſſe as they had ſpoken.

The Thane of Cawder cōdemned of treaſon. Makbeth made by Thane of Cawder.

For ſhortly after, the Thane of Cawder being condemned at Fores of treaſon againſt the king committed, his landes, liuings and offices were giuen of the kings liberalitie vnto Makbeth.

The ſame night after, at ſupper Banquho ieſted with him and ſayde, now Makbeth thou haſte obtayned thoſe things which the two former ſiſters propheſied, there remayneth onely for thee to purchaſe that which the third ſayd ſhould come to paſſe.

Makbeth deuiſeth how he might attaine the kingdom.

Whereupon Makbeth reuoluing the thing in his minde, began euen then to deuiſe howe he mighte attayne to the kingdome: but yet hee thought with himſelfe that he muſt tary a time, whiche ſhoulde aduaunce him thereto (by the diuine prouidence) as it had come to paſſe in his former preferment.

The daughter of Syward erle of Northumberland, wife to king Duncane.

But ſhortely after it chaunced that king Duncane hauing two ſonnes by his wife which was the daughter of Sywarde Earle of Northumberland, he made the elder of them cleped Malcolme prince of Cumberlande, as it were thereby to appoint him his ſucceſſor in the kingdome, immediatly after his deceaſſe.

Makbeth ſore troubled herewith, for that he ſawe by this meanes his hope ſore hindered, (where by the olde lawes of the realme, the ordinance was, that if he that ſhoulde ſucceede were not of able age to take the charge vpon himſelfe, he that was nexte of bloud vnto him, ſhoulde be admitted) he beganne to take counſell howe he might vſurpe the kingdome by force, hauing a iuſte quarell ſo to do (as he tooke the mater,) for that Duncane did what in him lay to defraude him of all maner of title and clayme, whiche hee mighte in tyme to come, pretende vnto the crowne.

Makbeth dieth wh way he take the dome by

The wordes of the three weird ſiſters alſo, (of whome before ye haue heard) greatly encouraged him hereunto, but ſpecially his wife lay ſore vpon him to attempt the thing, as ſhe that was very ambitious brenning in vnquenchable deſire to beare the name of a Queene.

Propheſi moue vnlawfull tempies,

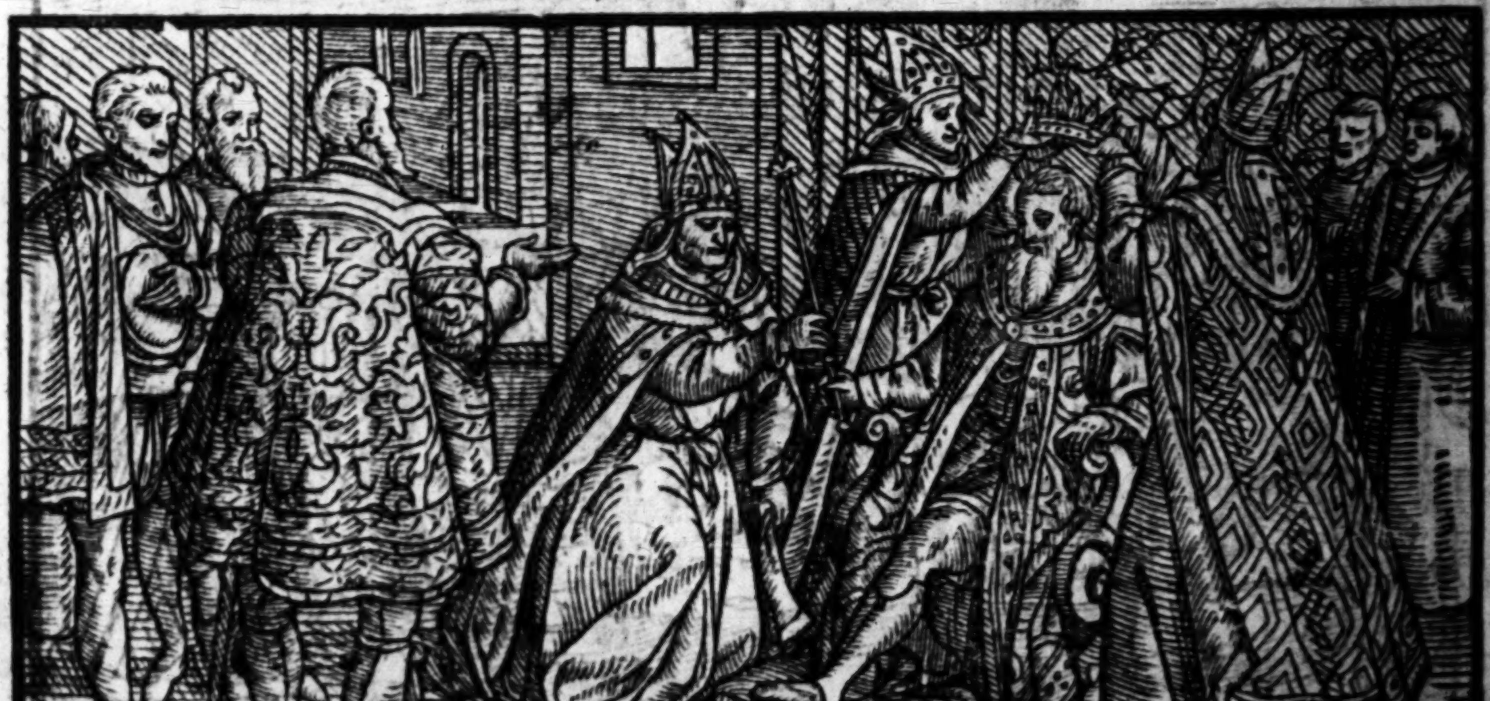
Women rous of eſtate.

At length therefore communicating his purpoſed intent with his truſtie frendes, amongſt whom Banquho was the chiefeſt, vpon confidence of theyr promiſed ayde, he ſlewe the king at Enuernes, (or as ſome ſay at Botgoſuane,) in the. vj. yeare of his reygne.

Makbeth eth king cane.

Then hauing a companie about him of ſuch as he had made priuie to his enterpryce, he cauſed himſelfe to be proclaymed king, and forthwith went vnto Scone, where by common conſent, he receyued the inueſture of the kingdome according to the accuſtomed maner.

Makbeth pes the crowne.



Duncanes buriall.

1046.H.B.

The bodie of Duncane was firſte conueyed vnto Elgyne, and there buried in kingly wiſe, but afterwardes it was remoued and conueyed vnto Colmekill, and there layd in a ſepulture amongſt his predeceſſours in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour, 1040.

Malcolme Cammore and Donald Bane the ſonnes of king Duncane, for feare of their liues (whiche they might well know ỹ Makbeth would ſeeke to bring to end for his more ſure confirmatiō in the aſtate) fled into Cūberlād, where Malcolme remained til time that S. Edward ỹ ſonne of king Etheldred recouered the dominion of England from the Daniſh power, the whiche Edward

Malcolme Cammo Donald flee into berland.

lcolme Cā- re receiued Edward g. of En- d.

Edward receyued Malcolme by way of moſte freendly entertaynement, but Donald paſſed ouer into Irelande, where he was tenderly cheriſhed by the king of that lande.

kbethes li- ralitie.

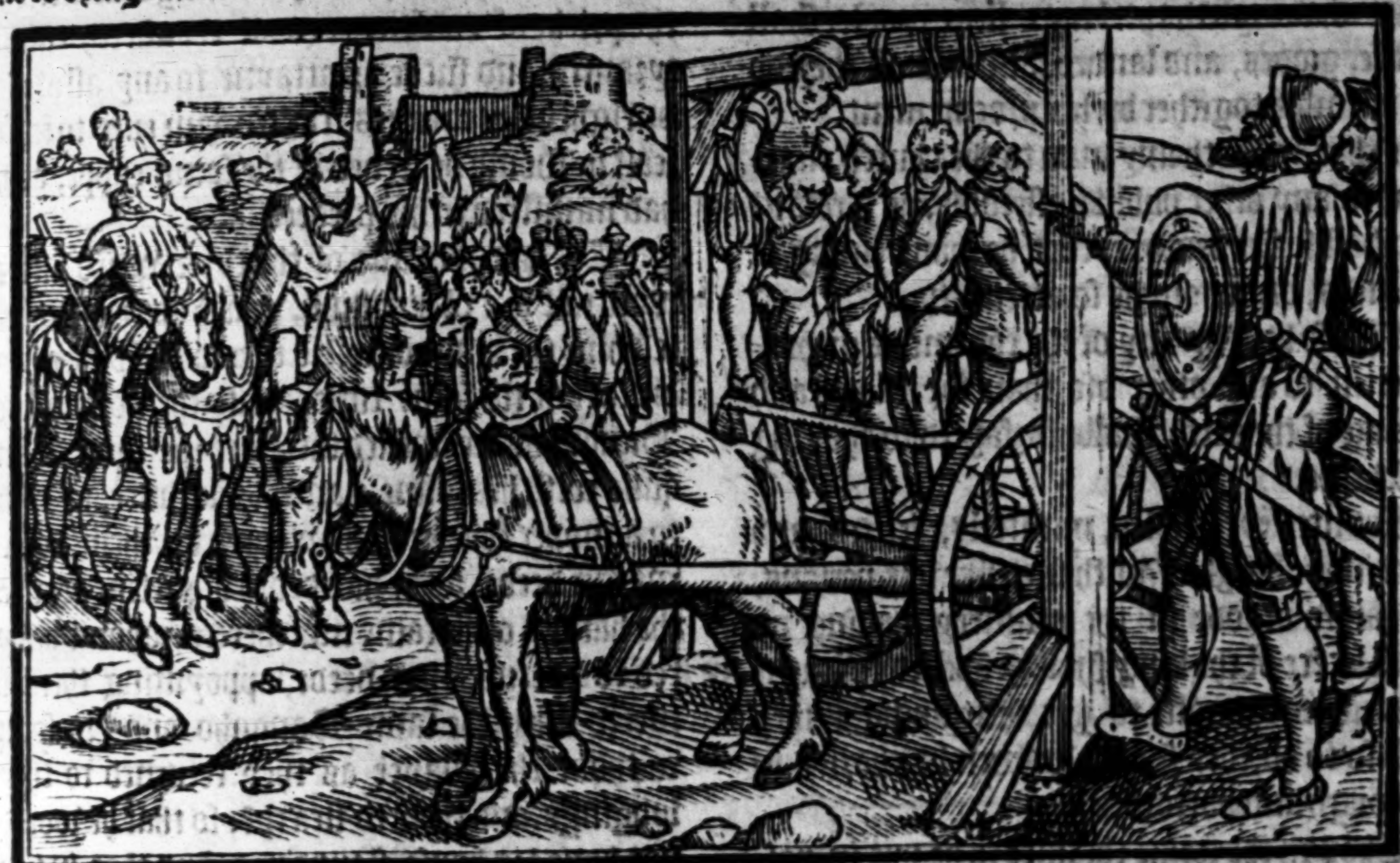
Makbeth after the departure thus of Duncanes ſonnes vſed great liberalitie towardes the nobles of the realme, thereby to winne their fauour, & when he ſaw that no mā went about to trouble him, he ſet his whole intention to maintayne iuſtice, and to puniſhe all enormities and abuſes, whiche had chaunced through the feeble and ſlouthfull adminiſtration of Duncane: and to bring his purpoſe the better to paſſe without any trouble or great buſineſſe, he deuiſed a ſubtill wile to bring al offenders and miſdoers vnto iuſtice, ſoliciting ſundrie of his liege people with high rewardes, to chalenge and appeale ſuche as moſt oppreſſed the commons, to come at a day and place appointed, to fight ſinguler combates within Barriers, in triall of their accuſations.

kbeth ſtu- th to ad- ite iuſtice.

kbeths ce.

Streight iuſtice.

When theſe theeues, barrettoures, & other oppreſſours of the innocent people were come to darreigne batell in this maner of wiſe (as ſaid is) they were ſtreight wayes apprehended by armed men & truſſed vp in halters on gibets, according as they had iuſtly deſerued. The reſidue of miſdoers yͭ were left, were puniſhed & tamed in ſuch ſort, that many yeares after all theft & reiffings were litle heard of, the people enioying the bliſſefull benefite of good peace and tranquillitie.



kingly en- uour,

Makbeth ſhewing himſelfe thus a moſt diligent puniſher of all iniuries and wrongs attempted by any miſordered perſons within his realme, was accompted the ſure defence & buckler of innocent people: and hereto he alſo applied his whole endeuour, to cauſe yong men to exerciſe themſelues in vertuous maners, and men of the Churche to attende their diuine ſeruice, according to theyr vocations.

ſtice mini- d without ect of per-

He cauſed to be ſlaine ſundry Thanes as of Cathnes, Sutherland, Stranauerne, and Ros, bicauſe through thē and their ſeditious attēpts, much trouble dayly roſe in the realme.

He appeaſed the troubleſome ſtate of Galloway, and ſlewe one Makgill a tyraunt, who had many yeares before paſſed nothing of the regall authoritie or power. To be briefe, ſuch were the worthy doings and princely actes of this Makbeth in the adminiſtration of the realme, that if he had attayned therevnto by rightfull meanes, and continued in vprightneſſe of iuſtice as he began, till the ende of his reygne, he might well haue bene numbred amongſt the moſte noble princes that any where had reygned.

Lawes made by king Makbeth.

He made many holeſome lawes & ſtatutes for the publike weale of his ſubiectes, diuers of the whiche I haue here ſet forth, according as I finde them in Hector Boetius.

Liberties of thē that haue taken orders.

He that is within orders of the churche, ſhall not be compelled to anſwere before a temporall iudge, but be remitted to his ordinarie.

Tythes to be payde to the churche.

The tēth parte of all fruytes that encreaſe on the ground, ſhalbe giuen to the churche, that God may be worſhipped with oblations and praiers.

Perſons accurſed.

He that continueth obſtinately in the curſe of the church by the ſpace of one whole yeare, cōtemning to be reconciled, ſhall be reputed enimie to the cōmon weale: and if he perſeuer with indurate minde the ſpace of two yeares all his goodes ſhalbe forfayted.

The order of knighthood.

He yͭ receyueth the order of knighthood, ſhall take an othe to defend ladies, virgins, widowes, orphans, & yͤ cominaltie. And he yͭ is made king, ſhal be ſworne in the ſemblable maner.

Eldeſt daughters.

The eldeſt daughter ſhall inherite hir fathers landes, as well as the eldeſt ſonne ſhould if the father leaue no ſonne behinde him. And if any woman marie with the lord of the ſoyle, ſhe ſhall loſe hir heritage.

The kings gifte.

No man ſhall enioy any landes, rentes, offices, or other poſſeſſions, but onely by gifte and graunt of the king.

No offices to go by inheritance.

No office ſhall go by inheritaunce, but ſhall ſtill remayne at the kings free diſpoſition, as ſhal ſtande with his pleaſure to aſſigne it.

Iudges.

No man ſhall ſit as iudge in any temporall courte without the kings commiſſion authorizing him thereto.

All conuentions, offices, and actes of iuſtice, ſhall paſſe in the kings name.

Reteynours.

He that is retayned or becommeth a ſworne mā to any other perſon ſaue only to ỹ king, ſhall loſe his life for it, & euery man ſhall be bounde to defend the king againſt all other creatures.

Rayſours of the kings people, or vnlawfull aſſembles.

He that rayſeth the kings liege people, ſhall loſe life, goodes, and landes, and ſo ſhall they do that aſſemble togither by his procurement.

Wayters vpō other men.

He that attēdeth any man to the church, market, or to any other publike aſſemble, as a retaynour ſhall ſuffer death, except he haue liuing at his hands, on whom he ſo attendeth.

Keeping of horſes.

A horſe kept by any of the commons or huſbandmen to any other vſe than for tillage and laboring of the earth, ſhalbe forfayted to the king by eſcheate.

Counterfayte fooles, with minſtrels and ſuch lyke.

Counterfeyte fooles, minſtrels, ieſters, and theſe kinde of iuglers, with ſuch like idle perſons, that range abrode in the countrey, hauing no ſpecial licēce of the king, ſhalbe cōpelled to learne ſome ſcience or crafte to get their liuing, if they refuſe ſo to do, they ſhal be drawen like horſes in the plough and harrowes.

Poſſeſsion of landes.

Though the ſonne chaunce to be put in poſſeſſion of his fathers lande by the kings licence, during the life of his father, yet ſhall the ſame landes be forfayted to the king if his father be afterwardes conuicted of treaſon committed againſt the kings perſon.

Dowrie of wiues.

All ſuche women, that are maried to any Lorde or Baron (though ſhee haue no iſſue by him) ſhall yet haue the thirde parte of his landes after his deceaſſe and the remnaunt ſhall go to his heyres.

Mariage of Lordes and Barons.

All maner of Lordes and great Barons, ſhal not contract matrimony with other, vnder paine of death, ſpecially if theyr landes and rowmes lie neare togither.

Bearing of armour.

All armour and weapon borne to other effect than in defence of the king and realme in time of warres, ſhalbe confiſcate to the kings vſe, with all other moueable goodes of the partie that herein offendeth.

Captaynes.

Bying of lāds.

Suche as be appointed gouernours (or as I may call them captaines,) that buye within thoſe limites, where their charges lie, any lāds or poſſeſſions, ſhal loſe both the land poſſeſſions & money, whiche they haue payde for the ſame.

And if any of the ſayde captaines or gouernours mary their ſonnes or daughters vnto any maner of perſon that dwelleth within the bōds of theyr roumes, they ſhall loſe their office, neyther ſhall it be lawfull for any of theyr ſonnes or coperceners to occupie the ſame office.

Makbethe counterfayte zeale and equitie.

Theſe and the like commendable lawes, Makbeth cauſed to be put as then in vſe, gouerning the realme for the ſpace of tenne yeares in equall iuſtice. But this was but a counterfayte zeale of equitie ſhewed by him, partely againſt his naturall inclination to purchaſe thereby the fauour of the people.

Makbeth tie conſci

Shortly after, he beganne to ſhewe what he was, in ſteede of equitie practiſing crueltie. For the pricke of conſcience (as it chaunceth euer in tyrantes, and ſuche as attayne to any aſtate by vnrightuous meanes) cauſed him euer to feare, leaſt he ſhould be ſerued of the ſame cuppe, as he had miniſtred to his predeceſſour.

Makbethe uiſe to ſlea Banquho his ſonne.

The wordes alſo of the three weird ſiſters, wold not out of his mind, which as they promiſed him the kingdome, ſo lykewiſe did they promiſe it at the ſame time, vnto the poſteritie of Banquho. He willed therefore the ſame Banquho with his ſonne named Fleaunce, to come to a ſupper that he had prepared for them, which was in deede, as he had deuiſed, preſent death at the handes of certaine murtherers, whome he hyred to execute that deede, appoynting them to meete with the ſame Banquho and his ſonne without the palayce as they returned to theyr lodgings, and there to ſlea thē, so that he woulde not haue his houſe ſlaundered, but that in time to come he might cleare himſelfe, if any thing were layde to his charge vpon any ſuſpition that might ariſe.

Banquho i ſlayne, bu ſonne eſcap

It chaunced yet, by the benefite of the darke night, that though the father were ſlaine, the ſonne yet by the helpe of almightie God reſeruing him to better fortune, eſcaped that daunger, & afterwardes hauing ſome inckling by the admonition of ſome frendes which he had in the courte, howe his life was ſought no leſſe then his fathers, who was ſlayne not by chaunce medley (as by the hādling of the mater Makbeth would haue had it to appeare,) but euen vpon a prepenſed deuiſe, whereupon to auoyde further peril he fledde into Wales.

Fleaunce Ba quhoes ſon fleeth into Wales.

The lyne of the Scotti kings.

But here I thinke it ſhall not much make agaynſt my purpoſe, if (according to the order which I finde obſerued in the Scottiſh hiſtorie) I ſhall in fewe wordes here rehearſe the originall line of thoſe kings, whiche haue diſcended from the foreſayde Banquho, that they, whiche haue enioyed the kingdome by ſo long continuaunce of diſcent, from one to an other, & that euen vnto theſe our dayes may be knowen from whence they had theyr firſt beginning.

Fleaunce therfore (as before is ſayd) fled into Wales, where ſhortly after by his curteous and amiable behauiour, he grew into ſuch fauour and eſtimation with the prince of that countrey, that he might vnneath haue wiſhed any greater: at length alſo he came into ſuch familiar acquaintance with the ſayd princes daughter, that ſhe of courteſie in the ende ſuffred him to get hir with childe: whiche being once vnderſtood, hyr father the prince conceyued ſuch hatefull diſpleaſure towardes Fleaunce, that he finally ſlewe him, and helde his daughter in moſte vile eſtate of ſeruitude, for that ſhe had conſented to be on this wiſe deflowred by a ſtraunger.

At the laſt yet, ſhe was deliuered of a ſonne named Walter, who within few yeares proued a man of greater courage and valiancie, than any other had commonly bene founde, although he had no better bringing vp than (by his grāndfathers appointment) amongſt the baſer ſorte of people. Howbeit he ſhewed euer euen frō his infancie, that there reigned in him a certaine ſtoutneſſe of ſtomake, ready to attēpt high enterpriſes.

It chaunced that falling out with one of his cōpanions, after many taunting wordes which paſſed betwixt them, the other to his reproch obiected that he was a baſtard, & begottē in vnlawfull bed, wherewith being ſore kindled, in his raging furie he ran vpō him & ſlew him out of hād.

Then was he glad to flee out of Wales, and cōming into Scotland to ſeeke ſome frendſhippe there, he happened into the cōpanie of ſuche Engliſhmen, as were come thither with Queene Margaret, & behaued himſelf ſo ſoberly in all his demeanour, that within a while he was highly eſteemed amongſt them.

Not long after by ſuch meanes atteyning to the degree of high reputation, he was ſent with a great power of men into the Weſterne Iſles, into Galloway, and other partes of the realme, to deliuer the ſame of the tirannie and iniurious oppreſſion there exerciſed by diuers miſgouerned perſons: which enterpryſe according to his commiſſion, he atchieued with ſuch prudent policie & manhoode, that immediatly vpon his returne to the court, he was made lord Steward of Scotland, with aſſignemēt to receyue the kings rents & dueties out of all the partes of the realme.

This Walter Stewarde, had a ſonne named Alane Steward, who went after with Godfrey of Bullion duke of Lorraine, and Robert duke of Normandy ſonne to king William the baſterd that conquered England, into the holy lande, at what time they with other weſterne Princes made the great iourney thither, in the yere. 1099. Alane had iſſue Alexander Steward, that founded the abbay of Paſley of S. Benedictes order.

Walter Steward.

Walter Steward whoſe valiancie was wel notified at the batayle of Largis as hereafter ſhalbe ſhewed, was the ſonne of the ſayde Alexander.

Alexander ſteward the ſon of Walter.

Robert ſteward.

The ſame Walter had iſſue. ij. ſonnes, the one named Alexander, fought right valiantly in defence of his father at the foreſayd batayle, and the other named Robert Steward got the landes of Terbowtoun, and maried the heyre of Crukeiſtoun, from whom deſcended the Earles of Leuenax and Dernly. Moreouer the aboue mencioned Alexāder Steward that founded Paſley, had diuers mo ſonnes, as John & James, with ſundry other. Howbeit they tooke new ſurnames by the name of thoſe landes, vnto the which they ſucceeded.

Iohn ſteward, and Iames ſteward.

The afore recited John Stewarde, after the death of his brother James, maried the heyre of Bonkill a virgine of great beautie, and had by hyr Walter Steward that inherited the landes of Bonkill, Ranfrew, Rotheſſay, Bute, & Stewartoune, after that his father the forenamed John was ſlayne at Falkyrke.

Walter inheritour of Bonkill, &c.

He maried Mariorie Bruce daughter to king Robert Bruce, by whom he had iſſue king Robert the ſecond of that name.

King Robert the ſecond.

This Robert the ſecond tooke to wiſe one Iſabel Mure, a damoſell of right excellent beutie; ſhe was daughter to ſir Adham Mure knight, and brought forth iſſue, three ſonnes and three daughters. The eldeſt ſonne hight John Steward otherwiſe named Robert, who ſucceeded immediatly after his fathers deceaſſe in gouernaunce of the crowne.

Iohn ſteward, otherwiſe Robert.

The ſecond called Robert was made Earle of Fyfe and Menteith, alſo he was created duke of Albanie, and ruled the realme of Scotlande, vnder the name of Gouernour, for the ſpace of xv. yeares.

Duke of Albany.

The third ſonne named Alexander was earle of Buchquhane and lord of Baudzenot.

Alexander ſteward, ſonne to king Robert the ſecond.

The eldeſt daughter was maried to James, that was the ſonne and heyre of William Erle of Dowglas. The ſecond daughter was maried to John Dunbar, brother to George of Dūbar Earle of Marche, and was made to the aduancement of his further fame earle of Murray.

Iohn Dunbar.

He got on hyr one oncly daughter, that was maried to the Dowglas, and ſo Dowglas came to the Erledome of Murray. The third daughter was maried vnto John Lyoun, that was after made Lorde of Glammis.

Ewfame.

Moreouer the foreſayde Robert that was the firſte of the Stewardes whiche ware the crowne in Scotlande, maried Ewfame daughter to the Earle of Ros, and got on hyr two ſonnes, Walter Earle of Atholl, and Dauid Earle of Stratherne.

Walter and Dauid, ſonnes to king Robert.

Robert Duke of Albany.

This Walter ſolicited Robert duke of Albany, to ſlea Dauid Steward duke of Rothſay.

James the firſt.

And after that James the firſte was returned home forth of England, he did what he could to moue him to ſlea likewiſe all the lynage of the ſame Duke, ſtill beyng in hope after the diſpatch of his kinſmen to come to the crowne himſelfe, whiche hope moued him to procure his Nephew Robert Steward, & Robert Grahã his daughters ſonne to ſlea king James the firſte, for the which crime the ſame Walter was after conuicted and deſtroyed with all his ſonnes.

Grayme or Graham.

His brother Dauid erle of Buchquhane died without iſſue, and ſo the landes of bothe theſe bretherne returned againe to the crowne, without any memory of theyr bloud.

Duke Murdo.

Of Robert Steward duke of Albany, came duke Murdo, who maried the Earle of Lennox daughter, and got on hyr three ſonnes, Walter, Alexander, and James.

Duke Murdo himſelfe with his two firſte ſonnes were ſlayne at Stryueling by king James the firſt, and the third brother James in reuenge therof brent Dunbertane, and was after chaſed into Ireland, where he deceaſſed without iſſue. Robert the .iij. of that name maried Anabill Drommound, daughter to ſir John Drõmound of Stodhall knight, & got on hyr Dauid & James. The firſte died in Falkeland, and the other atteyned the crowne, & was called James the firſte, and maried the lady Jane daughter to John Beauford earle of Somerſet in England. He had by hir .ij. ſonnes borne at one birth, Alexander & James. The firſt died yong. The ſecõd atteyned the crowne, named James the ſecond.

King Robert the thirde.

Dauid and James, ſonnes to king Robert the third.

John Beauford earle of Somerſet.

James the firſt and his iſſue.

James the firſt had alſo .vj. daughters, of the whiche the eldeſt was giuen in mariage to the Dolphine of Fraunce, the ſecond to the Duke of Brytayne, the thirde to the Lorde of Feir: the fourth to the Lorde of Dalkeith: the fifth to the Earle of Huntley: and the ſixte had no ſucceſſion.

The duke of Gelders daughter.

James the ſecond maried Margaret daughter to the Duke of Gelderland, and begot on hir three ſonnes, and two daughters.

James and Alexander.

The firſt ſucceeded him in the kingdome and was called James the thirde: the ſecond named Alexander was Duke of Albany, & maried firſte the Erle of Orkeneys daughter, and got on hyr Alexander, that was after Biſhop of Murray, and then parting with hyr went into Fraunce, where he maried the counteſſe of Bollogne, and begot on hir John Steward Duke of Albany, that was gouernour of Scotland many yeares in the minoritie of James the fifte.

Duke of Albany the gouernour of Scotland.

The third ſonne, John Steward was Erle of Mar, whoſe chaunce was to be ſlayne in the Cannogat in a Bathefatte.

The lorde Boyd.

The firſt daughter of James the ſecond, was maried to the Lord Boyd, who begot on hyr a ſonne that was ſlayne by the Lord Mongumrie, and a daughter that was maried to the Erle of Caſſelles.

After the death of the lord Boyd, the huſband of this firſt daughter of James the ſecõd, ſhe was eftſoones maried to the lord Hammylton, and by that meanes was the houſe of the Hammyltons decorate with the kings bloud.

The Lord Hammyl

The other ſiſter was maried to the lorde Creichton, of whom came ſmall ſucceſſion worthy to be mencioned. James the thirde maried Margaret daughter to the king of Denmarke.

Lord Crech ton.

James the third and his iſſue.

Of the whiche mariage was borne James the fourth: Alexander that was biſhop of Saint Andros and Duke of Albany: And John Stewarde Erle of Mar, but theſe two died without iſſue.

James the fourth.

James the fourth maried Margaret daughter to king Henry the ſeuenth of England, and begot on hyr James the fifth, who marying firſte the Lady Magdalene daughter to Fraunçis the French king, had no iſſue by hyr for that ſhe died in the yeare next after hyr comming into Scotland, and then ſhortely after the ſayde James the fifth maried the lady Mary de Lorrain, Duches of Longuile a widow, and by hyr had he iſſue Marie queene of Scotland, that tooke to huſbande Henry Steward lord Dernly, by whom ſhe had iſſue Charles James, nowe king of Scotland. But to returne vnto Makbeth, in cõtinuyng the hiſtory, and to beginne where I left, ye ſhal vnderſtãd, that after the cõtriued ſlaughter of Bãquho, nothing proſpered with the forſayde Makbeth: for in maner euery man began to doubt his owne life, and durſt vnneth appeare in the kings preſence, & euen as there were many that ſtoode in feare of him, ſo likewiſe ſtoode he in feare of many, in ſuch ſorte that he began to make thoſe away by one ſurmiſed cauillation or other, whom he thought moſt able to worke him any diſpleaſure.

Makbeth dread.

His cruel cauſed feare.

At length he found ſuche ſweeteneſſe by putting his nobles thus to death, that his earneſt thyrſt after bloud in this behalfe, might in nowiſe be ſatiſfied: for ye muſt conſider he wanne double profite (as he thought) hereby: for firſte they were ridde out of the way whome he feared, and then agayne his coffers were enriched by their goodes, whiche were forfeyted to his vſe, whereby he might the better mainteyne a garde of armed men about him to defend his perſon frõ iniurie of them whom he had in any ſuſpition.

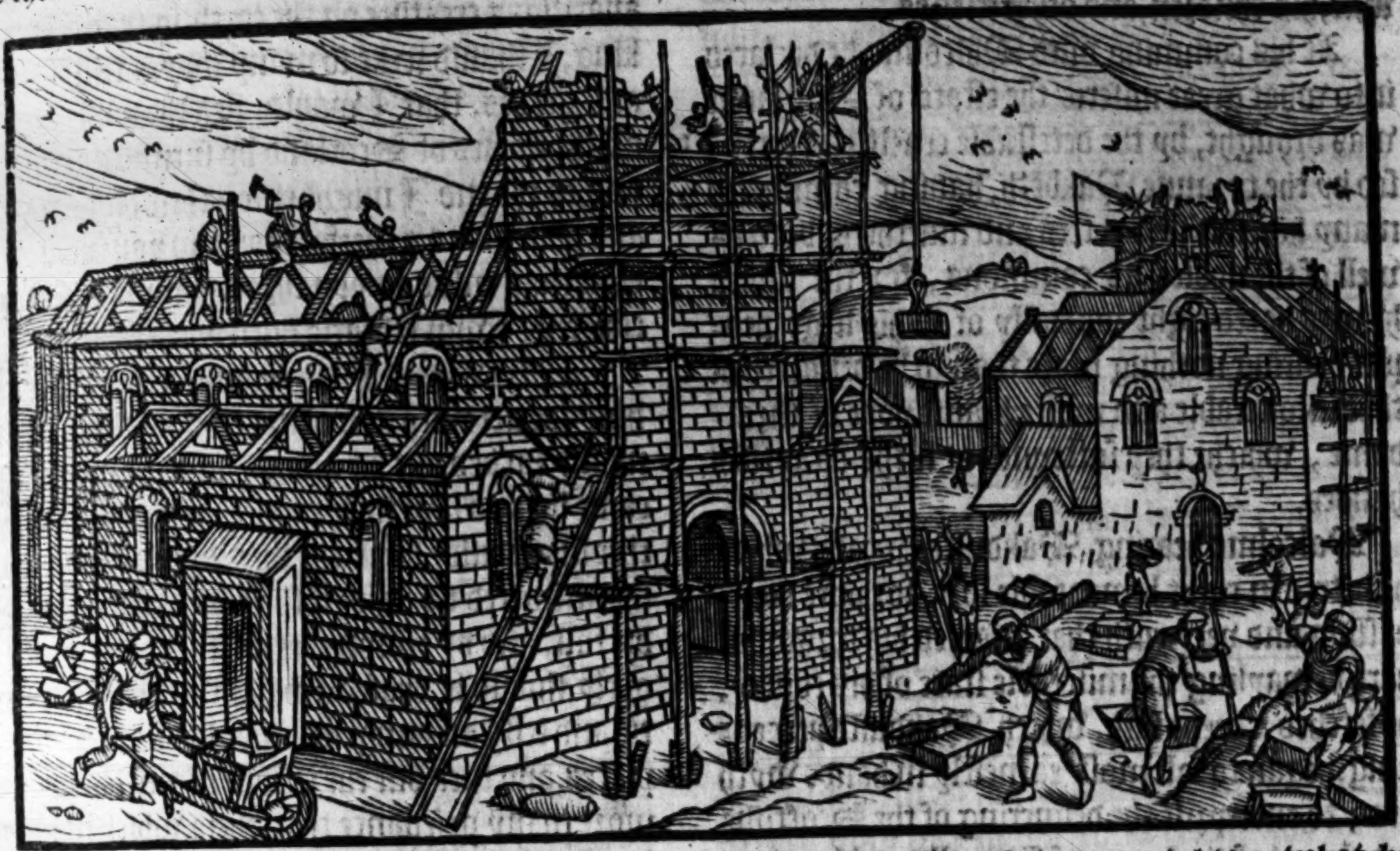
Further to the ende he might the more ſickerly oppreſſe his ſubiectes with all tyranlike wrongs, hee buylded a ſtrong Caſtell on the top of an high hill cleped Dunſinnane ſituate in Gowry, ten myles from Perth, on ſuch a proude height, that ſtãding there aloft, a man might behold

The caſt Dunſin buylded.

hold welneare all the Countreys of Angus, Fife, Stermōd, & Ernedale, as it were lying vnderneth him. This caſtell then being founded on the top of that high hill, put the realme to great charges before it was fyniſhed, for al the ſtuffe neceſſarie to the building, could not be brought vp without much toyle and buſineſſe.

Dunſinnane.

But Makbeth being once determined to haue the worke go forwarde, cauſed the Thanes of eche ſhire within the Realme, to come and helpe towardes that building, eche man hys courſe about.



Makduffe Thane of Fife.

At the laſt when the turne fell vnto Makduffe Thane of Fife to buylde his part, he ſent workmen with all needfull prouiſion, and commaunded them to ſhew ſuche diligence in euery behalfe, that no occaſion might bee giuen for the king to finde fault with him, in that he came not himſelfe as other had done, which he refuſed to do for doubt leaſt the king bearing him (as he partly vnderſtoode) no great good will, woulde lay violent handes vpon him, as he had done vppon dyuerſe other.

Makbeth is offended with Makduffe.

Shortly after, Makbeth comming to behold howe the worke went forwarde, and bycauſe hee found not Makduffe there, he was ſore offended, and ſayde, I perceyue this man will neuer obey my commaundements, till he be rydden with a ſnaffle, but I ſhal prouide well ynough for him. Neither could he afterwards abide to looke vpon the ſayde Makduffe, eyther for that he thought his puiſſance ouer great, either els for that he had learned of certain wyſardes, in whoſe wordes he put great confidence, (for that the prophecie had happened ſo right, whiche the three Fayries or weird ſiſters had declared vnto him) how that he ought to take heede of Makduffe, who in tymes to come ſhould ſeeke to deſtroy him.

Makbethes confidence in wyſardes,

And ſurely herevpon had he put Makduffe to death, but that a certaine witch whom he had in great truſt, had told that he ſhould neuer be ſlain with man borne of any woman, nor vanquiſhed till the wood of Bernane, came to the Caſtell of Dunſimane.

By this prophecie Makbeth put all feare out of his heart, ſuppoſing hee might doe what hee would, without any feare to be puniſhed for the ſame, for by the one prophesie he beleeued it was vnpoſſible for any man to vanquiſh him, and by the other vnpoſſible to ſlea him.

This vaine hope cauſed him to doe manye outragious things, to the grieuous oppreſſion of his ſubiectes.

At length Makduffe to auoyde perill of lyfe, purpoſed with himſelfe to paſſe into Englande, to procure Malcolme Cammore to clayme the crowne of Scotlande. But this was not ſo ſecretly deuiſed by Makduffe, but that Makbeth had knowledge giuen him thereof, for kings (as is ſayde,) haue ſharpe ſight like vnto Linx, and long eares like vnto Midas. For Makbeth had in euery noble mans houſe, one ſlie fellow or other in fee with him, to reueale all that was ſayd or done within the ſame, by which ſlight he oppreſſed the moſte parte of the Nobles of hys Realme.

Linxes eyes, and Mydas eares.

Immediately then, being aduertiſed whereabout Makduffe went, he came haſtily wyth a great power into Fife, and forthwith beſieged the Caſtell where Makduffe dwelled, truſting to haue found him therin.

They that kept the houſe, without any reſiſtance opened the gates, and ſuffred him to enter, miſtruſting none euill. But neuertheleſſe Makbeth moſt cruelly cauſed the wife and children of Makduffe, with all other whom he found in that caſtell, to be ſlaine.

Macbethes crueltie vſed againſt Makduffes family.

Also he confiſcate the goodes of Makduffe,

Makduffe eſ-capeth into Englande vnto Malcolme Cammore.

proclaymed him traytor, and confined him out of al the partes of his realme, but Makduffe was alreadie eſcaped out of daunger and gotten into England vnto Malcolme Cãmore, to trie what purchas he might make by meanes of his ſupport to reuẽge the ſlaughter ſo cruelly executed on his wife, his children, and other friends.

Makduffes wordes vnto Malcolme.

At his comming vnto Malcolme, he declared into what great miſerie the eſtate of Scotlande was brought, by the deteſtable cruelties exercyſed by the tyranne Makbeth, hauing committed many horrible ſlaughters and murthers, both as well of the nobles as commons, for the which he was hated right mortally of all his liege people, deſiring nothing more than to be deliuered of that intollerable and moſte heauie yoke of thraldome, whiche they ſuſteyned at ſuche a caytifes handes.

Malcolme ſigheth.

Malcolme hearing Makduffes words which he vttred in right lamentable ſort, for pure compaſſion and very ruth that pearced his ſorowfull hart, bewayling the miſerable ſtate of his cõtry, he fetched a deepe ſigh, which Makduffe perceyuing, began to fall moſt earneſtly in hande wyth him, to enterpriſe the deliuering of the Scottiſhe people out of the hands of ſo cruell and bloudie a tyrant, as Makbeth by too many plaine experiments did ſhew himſelfe to be, which was an eaſie matter for him to bring to paſſe, conſidering not only the good tytle he had, but alſo the earneſt deſire of the people to haue ſome occaſion miniſtred, wherby they might be reuenged of thoſe notable iniuries, which they dayly ſuſteyned by the outragious crueltie of Makbeths miſgouernãce.

Though Malcolme was right ſorowfull for the oppreſſion of his Countreymen the Scottes, in maner as Makduffe had declared, yet doubting whether he were come as one that ment vnfaynedly as hee ſpake, or elſe as ſent from Makbeth to betray him, he thought to haue ſome further triall, and therevpon diſſembling his minde at the firſt, he anſwered as followeth.

Malcolme Cammore his anſwere.

I am truly right ſorie for the miſerie chaunced to my Countrey of Scotlande, but though I haue neuer ſo great affection to relieue yͤ ſame, yet by reaſon of certaine incurable vyces, whiche raigne in me, I am nothing meete thereto: Firſt ſuche immoderate luſt and voluptuous ſenſualitie (the abhominable fountaine of all vyces) followeth me; that if I were made king of Scots, I ſhoulde ſeeke to deflower your Maydes and matrones in ſuch wiſe, that mine intemperancie ſhoulde bee more importable vnto you, than the bloudie tyrannie of Makbeth now is.

Makduffes anſwere.

Hereunto Makduffe anſwered: this ſurely is a very euill fault, for many noble Princes and Kings haue loſt both lyues and Kingdomes for the ſame, neuertheleſſe there are women ynowe in Scotlande, and therefore follow my counſell, make thy ſelfe king, and I ſhall conuey the matter ſo wiſely, that thou ſhalt be ſo ſatiſfied at thy pleaſure in ſuch ſecrete wiſe, that no man ſhall be aware therof.

Then ſaide Malcolme, I am alſo the moſte auaritious creature on the earth, ſo that if I were king, I ſhould ſeeke ſo many wayes to get lands and goodes, that I woulde ſlea the moſt part of all the nobles of Scotland by ſurmiſed accuſations, to the end I might enioy their lands, goods, and poſſeſſions, & therfore to ſhew you what miſchief may enſue on you through mine vnſatiable couetiſe, I will rehearſe vnto you a fable.

A fable of
Foxe.

There was a Foxe hauing a ſore place on him ouerſet with a ſwarme of flies that continually ſucked out hir bloud, and when one that came by and ſaw this maner demaunded whether ſhe woulde haue the flies dryuen beſyde hir, ſhe anſwered no: For if theſe flies that are alreadie full, and by reaſon thereof ſucke not very egerly, ſhould be chaſed away, other that are emptie and felly an hungred, ſhoulde light in theyr places, and ſuck out the reſidue of my bloud farre more to my grieuance than theſe, which now being ſatiſfied doe not much annoy me. Therefore ſayth Malcolme, ſuffer me to remaine where I am, leaſt if I attaine to the regiment of your realme, mine inquenchable auarice may proue ſuch, that ye would thinke the diſpleaſures which now grieue you, ſhould ſeeme eaſie in reſpect of the vnmeaſurable outrage, whiche might enſue through my comming amongſt you.

Couetouſ
the roote
miſchiefe.

Makduffe to this made anſwere, how it was a farre worſe fault than the other, for auarice is the roote of all miſchiefe, and for that crime the moſt part of our kings haue bene ſlain & brought to their finall ende. Yet notwithſtanding follow my counſel, and take vpon thee the crowne, there is golde and riches inough in Scotlande to ſatiſfie thy greedie deſire.

Diſſimul
and deli
in lyes.

Then ſayde Malcolme againe, I am furthermore inclined to diſſimulation, telling of leaſings and all other kinds of deceyt, ſo that I naturally reioyce in nothing ſo muche as to betray and deceyue ſuche, as put any truſt or confidence in my wordes. Then ſith there is nothing that more becommeth a prince than conſtancie, veritie, truth, and iuſtice, with the other laudable felowſhip of thoſe faire and noble vertues which are comprehended onely in ſoothfaſtneſſe, & that lying vtterly ouerthroweth yͤ ſame, you ſee how vnable I am to gouerne any prouince or region: and therfore ſith you haue remedies to cloke and hide al the reſt of my other vices, I pray you find ſhift to cloke this vice amongſt the reſidue.

Then ſayd Makduffe: this yet is the worſt of all, and there I leaue thee, and therfore ſay, oh

kduffes ex
mation.

oh ye vnhappie & miſerable Scottiſhmen, which are thus ſcourged with ſo many and ſundrie calamities, eche one aboue other. Ye haue one curſed and wicked tyrant that nowe raignes ouer you, without any right or tytle, oppreſſing you with his moſt bloudie crueltie: This other that hath the right to the crowne, is ſo replete with the inconſtant behauiour and manifeſt vices of Engliſh men, that he is nothing worthie to enioy it: for by his owne confeſſion he is not onely auaritious, and giuen to vnſatiable luſt, but ſo falſe a traytour withall, that no truſt is to be had to any worde he ſpeaketh. Adue Scotlande, for now I account my ſelfe a baniſhed man for euer without comfort or conſolation: and with thoſe wordes the teares trickled downe his cheekes right abundantly.

kduffe
eparteth.

lcolme
mforteth
akduffe.

At the laſt when hee was readie to depart, Malcolme tooke him by the ſleeue, and ſayde, Be of good comfort Makduffe, for I haue none of theſe vices before remembred, but haue ieſted with thee in this maner, only to proue thy mind: for diuerſe tymes heretofore, hath Makbeth ſought by this maner of meanes to bring me into his handes, but the more ſlow I haue ſhewed my ſelf to condiſcend to thy motion and requeſt, the more diligence ſhall I vſe in accompliſhing the ſame.

kduffe and
lcolme em-
ace eche o-
r.

Incontinently hereupon they embraced eche other, and promiſing to bee faythfull the one to the other, they fell in conſultation, howe they might beſt prouide for al their buſineſſe, to bring the ſame to good effect.

kduffe wri-
h letters to
friends in
otlande.

Soone after Makduffe repayring to the borders of Scotlande, addreſſed his letters with ſecrete diſpatch vnto the nobles of the realme, declaring howe Malcolme was confederate wyth him, to come haſtily into Scotlande to clayme the crowne, and therefore he requyred them, ſith he was right inheritor thereto, to aſſiſt him with their powers to recouer the ſame out of the hãds of the wrongfull vſurper.

arde Earle
Northum-
lande.

In the meane time, Malcolme purchaſed ſuch fauour at king Edwards handes, that olde Sywarde Earle of Northumberlande, was appoynted with ten thouſande men to go with him into Scotland, to ſupport him in this enterpriſe, for recouerie of his right.

e nobles of
tland de-
ded.

After theſe newes were ſpred abrode in Scotland, the nobles drew into two ſeuerall factions, the one taking part with Makbeth, and the other with Malcolme.

Hereupon enſued oftentymes ſundrie bickerings, and diuerſe light ſkirmiſhes, for thoſe that were of Malcolmes ſide, would not ieoparde to ioyne with their enimies in a pight field, tyll his comming out of England to their ſupport. But after that Makbeth perceiued his enimies power to increaſe, by ſuch ayde as came to them forth of England with his aduerſarie Malcolme, he reculed backe into Fife, there purpoſing to abide in campe fortified, at the Caſtell of Dunſinane, and to fight with his enimies, if they ment to purſue him, howbeit ſome of his friends aduyſed him, that it ſhould be beſt for him, eyther to make ſome agreement with Malcolme, or elſe to flee with all ſpeed into the Iles, and to take his treaſure with him, to the ende he might wage ſundrie great Princes of the realme to take his part, and retayne ſtraungers, in whom he might better truſt than in his owne ſubiectes, which ſtale dayly from him: but he had ſuche confidence in his prophecies, that he beleeued he ſhoulde neuer be vanquiſhed, till Byrnane wood were brought to Dunſinnane, nor yet to be ſlaine with anye man, that ſhould be or was borne of any womã.

Makbeth reculeth.

Makbeth is counſailed to flee into the Iles.

Makbethes truſt in propheſies.

Malcolme folowing haſtily after Makbeth, came the night before the battaile vnto Byrnan wood, and when his armie had reſted a while there to refreſhe them, hee commaunded euerye man to get a bough of ſome tree or other of that wood in his hand, as bigge as he might beare, and to march forth therwith in ſuch wiſe, that on the next morow they might come cloſely and without ſight in thys manner within viewe of hys enimies.

Braunches of trees.

On the morow when Makbeth beheld them comming in this ſort, hee firſt marueyled what the matter ment, but in the end remembred himſelfe, that the prophecie which he had hearde long before that time, of the comming of Byrnane wood to Dunſinnane Caſtell, was likely to bee now fulfilled. Neuertheleſſe, he brought hys men in order of battell, and exhorted them to doe valiantly, howbeit his enimies had ſcarcely caſt from them their boughes, when Makbeth perceiuing their numbers betooke him ſtreight to flight, whom Makduffe purſued with great hatred euen till he came vnto Lunfannain, where Makbeth perceiuing that Makduffe was hard at his backe, leapt beſide his horſe, ſaying, thou traytor, what meaneth it that thou ſhouldeſt thus in vaine follow me that am not appoynted to be ſlain by any creature that is borne of a woman, come on therefore, and receyue thy rewarde which thou haſt deſerued for thy paynes, and therewithall he lyfted vp his ſwoorde thinking to haue ſlaine him. But Makduffe quickly auoyding from his horſe, ere he came at him, anſwered (with his naked ſwoorde in his hande) ſaying: it is true Makbeth, and now ſhall thine inſatiable crueltie haue an ende, for I am euen he that thy wyſards haue tolde thee of, who was neuer borne of my mother, but ripped out of hir wombe: therewithall he ſtept vnto him, & ſlue him in the place. Then cutting his heade from the ſhoulders, hee ſet it

Makbeth ſetteth his men in order of battel.

Makbeth fleeth, and is purſued of Makduffe.

Makbeth is ſlaine.

vpon a poll, and brought it vnto Malcolme. This was the end of Makbeth, after he had raigned .xvij. yeares ouer the Scottiſhmen.

In the beginning of his raigne he accompliſhed many worthie actes, right profitable to the common wealth, (as ye haue heard) but afterwarde by illuſion of the diuell, he defamed the ſame with moſt terrible crueltie.

He was ſlaine in the yeare of the incarnation 1057. and in the .xvj. yeare of king Edwardes raigne ouer the Engliſh men.

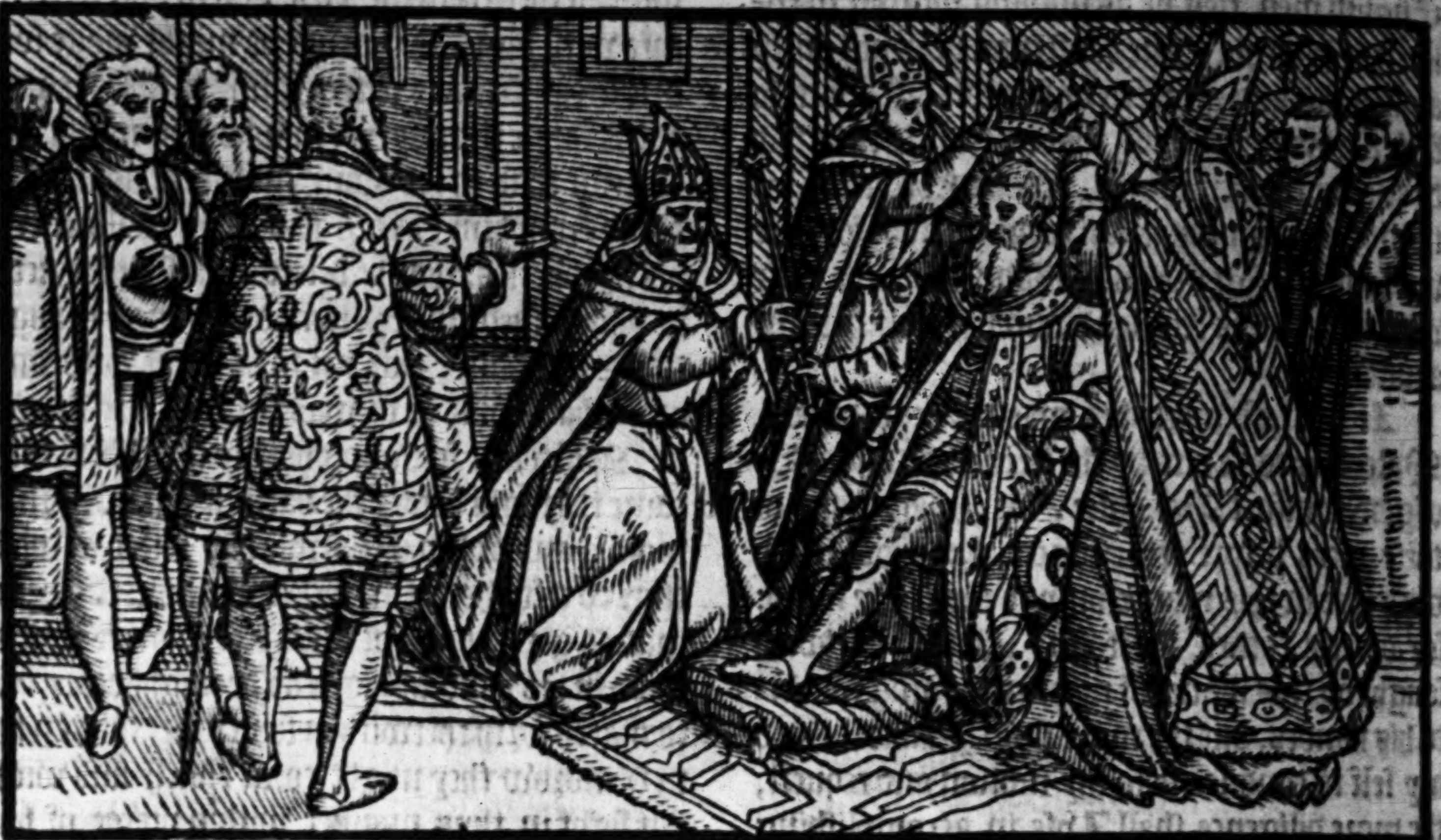
1057. 10

1061. H

8. H.

Malcolme.

Malcolme Cammore thus recouering the realme (as ye haue hearde) by ſupport of king Edward, in the .xvj. yeare of the ſame Edwards raign, he was crowned at Scone the .xxv. day of April, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1057.



A Parliament at Forfair.

Immediately after his coronation, he called a Parliament at Forfair, in the which he rewarded them with landes and liuings that had aſſiſted him agaynſt Makbeth, aduauncing them to fees and offices as he ſaw cauſe, and commaunded that ſpecially thoſe that bare the ſurname of any office or landes, ſhoulde haue and enioye the ſame.

He created many Earles, Lordes, Barons, and Knightes.

Thanes changed into Earles.

Many of them that before were Thanes, were at this time made Earles, as Fife, Menteth, Atholl, Leuenox, Murray, Cathnes, Roſſe, and Angus. Theſe were the firſt Earles that haue beene heard of amongeſt the Scottiſhe men, (as their hyſtories make mention.) Many new ſurnames were takẽ vp at this time amongſt them, as Cauder, Lokart, Gordon, Seyton, Lauder, Wawane, Meldrum, Schaw, Leirmouth, Libertoun, Strachquhen, Cargill, Rattrey, Dundas, Cockbourne, Myrtoun, Menzeis, Abercrummy, Leſly, with many other that had poſſeſſions giuen to them, which gaue names to the owners for the time.

Surnames.

Others got their ſurnames by offices, as Stewarde, Durwarde, and Banerman.

Alſo the proper names of many valiant captaynes were turned into generall ſurnames, as Kennedy, Graham, Hay, with dyuerſe other to long here to rehearſe. So that it came to paſſe then, as it hath done many tymes ſithence, that new ſurnames haue worne the olde out of vſe.

In the foreſayde Parliament thus holden at Forfair, in the beginning of his raign, there were many holeſome ordinances eſtabliſhed, both aperteyning to ciuill adminiſtration, and alſo to the eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction.

Makdeff Earle o his aduã ment.

In rewarde alſo of Makduffes ſeruice, who (as ye haue heard) chiefly ayded him to the atteyning of the crowne, he honoured him and his poſteritie with three ſortes of priuiledges.

Priuiledg graunted Makduff lynage.

Fyrſt that the Earle of Fife for the tyme being, at the coronation of a king ſhould by his office ſet the crowne on the kings head. The ſecond was, that when the king ſhould giue battaile to his enimies, the ſame Earle ſhould leade the vauntgard of his hoſt: The thirde, that the lynage of Makduffe ſhould enioy regall authoritie and power within al their landes & countries, as to appoynt officers and iudges for the hearing and determining of all matters and controuerſies (treaſon onely excepted) and that if any of their men or tenants were called to anſwere in any Court out of their circuit, they might appeale to their owne iudges to bee appoynted as before is expreſſed.

Iohannes Maior.

Iohannes Maior wryteth in his Chronicle, that the thirde priuiledge which Malcolme graunted vnto this Makduffe and his poſteritie, was this, that for euery Gentleman that any of thẽ ſhould hap to kill by chaunce medley, and not vpon pretenſed malice, for the ſumme of .xxiiij. markes he ſhould redeeme his puniſhment due for the ſame: & for the caſuall ſlaughter of a meaner perſon, he ſhould be fined at. xij. Markes, ſo that murtherers were wont to ſay, that if they were able to pay that ſumme vnto the Kynbot, they ought to be releaſed of further punition by Makduffes priuiledge. But this third priuiledge, togither with the other two former grauntes, the ſayde Maior ſore reproueth, and not without cauſe, as maye appeare, conſidering the naturall inclination of that people vnto murther, which by this meanes nouriſhing ſecrete hatred and malice in theyr heartes, might vnder the cloke of caſuall falling out, ſlea whom they luſted.

It was ordeyned alſo at this Parliament, that Barons which had liberties within themſelues, ſhould make gybbets whereon men that deſerued death ſhoulde ſuffer execution: and alſo draw Welles, wherein women that were condemned ſhould be drowned, according to the order of the ciuill lawes vſed in Scotland.

ets and
e welles.

Moreouer, all the lawes that Makbeth had ordeyned, were abrogate at this Parliament.

ibertes
es abro-

Thus whileſt Malcolme was buſied in ſetting orders amongſt his ſubiects, tydings came that one Lugtake ſurnamed the foole, being eyther the ſonne, or as ſome write, the couſin of the late mentioned Makbeth, was conueyed wyth a great number of ſuch as had taken part with the ſayde Makbeth vnto Scone, and there by their ſupport receyued the Crowne, as lawfull inheritor thereto.

ke.

gtake crow-
d at Scone.

To appeaſe this buſineſſe, was Makduffe Earle of Fife ſent with full commiſſion in the kings name, who encountering with Lugtake at a vyllage called Eſſen in Bogdale, ſlue him, and diſcomfited his whole power ordring the matter with them in ſuch wiſe, that afterwardes there was no more trouble attempted in that behalfe.

gtake is

After this, the realme continued in peace certaine yeares, till it chaunced a great number of theeues and robbers aſſembling themſelues togither at Cocbourne pethes, did much hurt by robbing and ſpoyling the people in the countreys of Mers: and Louthian howbeit at length one Patryke Dunbar of Dunbar, by commaundement of the king fought with them, ſlue their captaine, with ſix hundred of his companie, and tooke fourſcore priſoners, the which he cauſed to be hanged. And thus hauing deliuered the countrey of thoſe pyllers, with loſſe of fortie of his owne men, hee returned to the king, with the head of the captain of that route, ſo that for his manhood herein ſhewed, he was made by the king Earle of March, and for the maintenaunce of his eſtate, had the landes of Cocbourne pethes, giuen to him and his heyres for euer, vpon this condition, that in tymes comming, the Earles of March ſhoulde purge Mers and Louthian of all theeues and robbers. In memorie whereof, hee was commaunded to beare in his armes a fellons heade ſprinckled with bloud.

route of
eues.

ke Dun-
vanqui-
the thee-
and rob-
the
ntrey.

ke Dun-
Earle of

The heade of a theefe or fellon giuen in armes.

Shortly after he got knowledge, howe there were certaine Gentlemen that had conſpired to ſlea him, and therefore taking occaſion to goe a hunting, where this act ſhould haue bene executed, he calleth the chiefe authour of the conſpiracie apart into a certaine valley, which was cloſed on euery ſide with thick woods, and there brake the matter vnto him, in reprouing him right ſharply for that hee had ſo trayterouſly conſpired hys death, whoſe preſeruation hee ought chiefly to haue wiſhed, conſidering the manifolde benefites he had receyued at his handes. And herewith leaping from his horſe, drew his ſworde, commaunding the other likewiſe to draw his, that now hauing conuenient time and place thereto, they might trie the matter betwixt them, who ſhould be thought moſt worthie of life, by open force of knightly prowes.

A conſpiracie.

The manly courage of K. Malcolme.

The conſpirator hearing theſe wordes, as a man altogither aſtoniſhed, fell downe vpon hys knees at the kings feete, beſeeching his grace of mercie for his wicked purpoſe and haynous offence, who ſeeing him thus penitent, bad him ariſe, and ſayde, I am content hereupon to forgiue thee, ſo that thou be not of counſell hereafter in any ſuch trayterous practiſe.

Whyleſt things paſſed thus in Scotlande, great and marueylous chaunces came to paſſe within the Realme of Englande. For after the death of king Edward ſurnamed the Confeſſor, Harold the ſonne of Earle Godwin tooke vpon him the kingdome. But William baſtard Duke of Normandie, pretending tytle to the crowne of Englande, at length inuaded the land, & ſleaing Harold in fielde, made a full conqueſt of the realme, and was crowned king at London by Eldred Archbiſhop of Yorke. Here ye haue to vnderſtand, that king Edwarde in his life time had ſent for his nephew Edwarde, the ſonne of his brother Edmonde Ironſyde, to come home forth of Hungarie, whither after his fathers deceaſſe, he and his brother Edwin had beene ſent away, as in the Hyſtorie of Englande it appeareth more at large.

See more hereof in England.

This Edwarde had maried the daughter of the Emperour Henrie, named Agatha, ſiſter to the Ducheſſe of Hungarie, and not the king of Hungaries daughter, although the Scottiſh writers do ſo affirme. By hir he had iſſue a ſonne named Edgar and two daughters, the one named Margaret and the other Chriſtyne. King Edward ment that his nephew the ſayd Edwarde ſhoulde haue ſucceeded him, and as ſome write, he would in his life time haue reſigned the crowne vnto

William Malmesbury.

Hector Boethius.

vnto him. But he (a thing worthie of admiration) vtterly refuſed it, and would not once meddle therewith during his vncles life tyme, and as it chaunced he died whileſt his vncle king Edward was yet liuing. His ſonne Edgar therefore to whom it ſeemed that the crowne was due when he ſawe the realme conquered by the Normans, diſpairing to recouer it out of their hands, got a ſhip, and determined with his mother and ſiſters to paſſe ouer into Germanie to his friends and kinſfolk there: but by contrary winds he was driuen a ſhore in the Forth, at a place called vnto this day the Queenes ferrye.

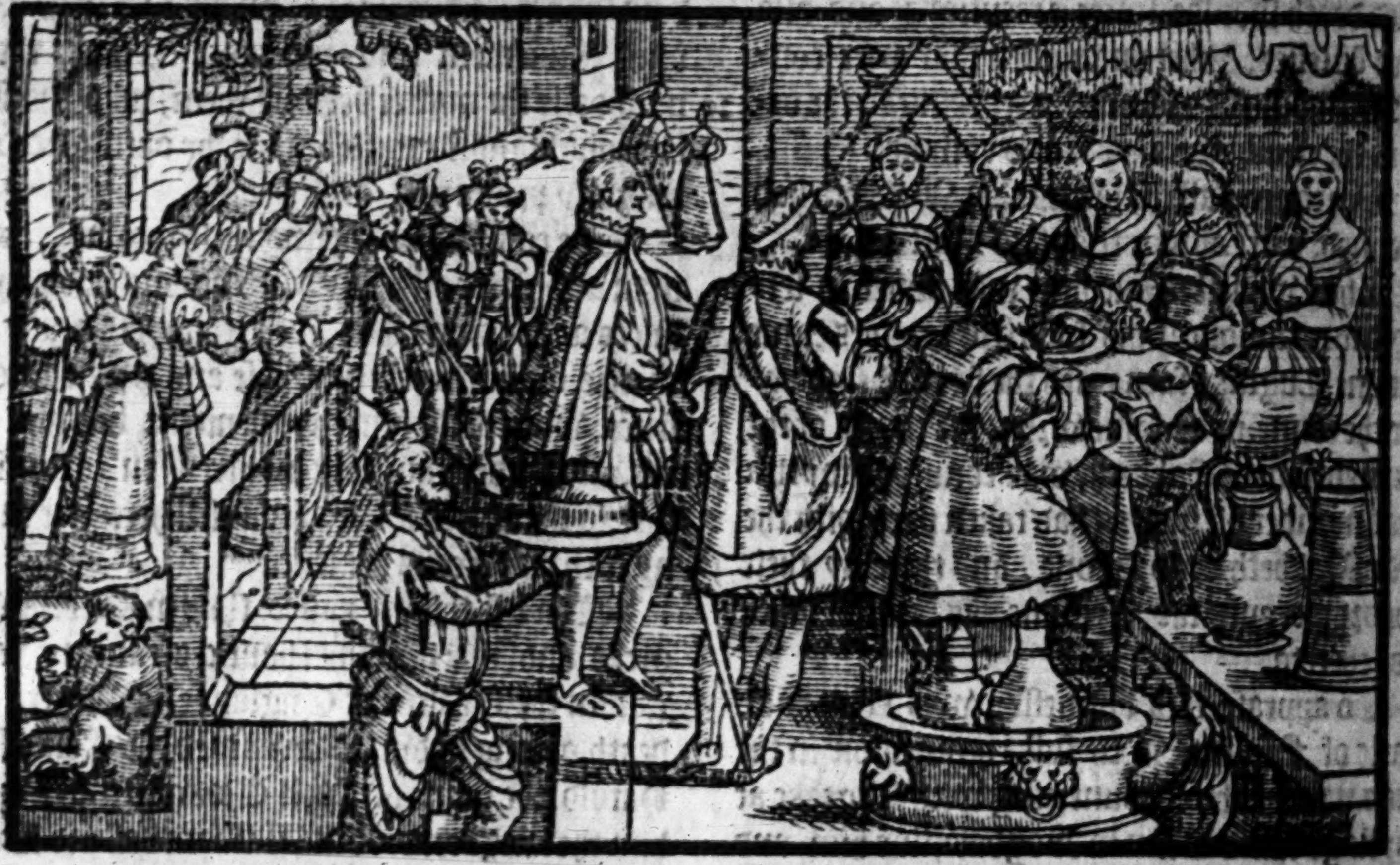
The Queenes Ferrye.

Malcolme being at the ſame time at Dunfermeling, when he heard of the arriuall of this ſhip, and vnderſtoode what they were that were abourd in hir, he reſorted thither with an honourable cōpanie about him, to viſit them for honors ſake, vpon fauour he bare towards them, for that they were diſcended of that noble Prince king Edwarde, in whom afore time he had founde ſo much gentleneſſe and friendſhip.

Finally when he vnderſtood their eſtate, hee brought thē home with him to his palace, ſhewing them all the loue and friendſhip he could deuiſe: and in the end cōſidering the excellent beautie, wiſdome, & noble qualities of the lady Margaret, eldeſt ſiſter vnto the ſame Edgar, he required of Agatha hir mother to haue hir in mariage, wherevnto Agatha gladly condiſcended. Shortly after with an aſſemble of all the nobles of Scotland this mariage was made & ſolemniſed after the Octaues of Paſch, in the yeare 1067. with al ioy and triumph that might be deuiſed.

Malcolm
more m
Margaret
ſter to E
Atheling.

1067.



King William the Conqueror of England, being enformed hereof, feared leaſt this alliance betwixt Malcolm and Edgar might breed ſome trouble & diſquietneſſe to his eſtate, ſith the ſame Edgar had many friendes through all the partes of England. To preuent therfore the occaſions of inteſtine trouble, he confined all the lynage of the foreſayd Edgar, by reaſon whereof, a great number of Engliſhe men came into Scotlande vnto king Malcolme, and many of them obteyning liuings at his handes, remayned there continually during their liues, leauing to their poſteritie their names and poſſeſſions. Amongſt whō were theſe, Lindſey, Vaus, Ramſay, Louell, Towris, Preſtoun, Sandelāds, Biſſart, Sowlis, Wardlaw, Maxwel, with diuerſe other.

Engliſh men fled into Scotlande.

Surnames of Engliſh men in Scotland.

There came diuerſe alſo oute of Hungarie with Queene Margaret, who likewiſe left theyr names to their families, which yet remaine euen vnto this day, as Creichtoun, Fotringham, Giffart, Meluil, Borthwike, and other.

Surnames of Hungarians.

Alſo there haue come at ſundrie ſeaſons out of Fraunce diuerſe ſurnames into Scotlande as Fraſeir, Sinclare, Boſwell, Mowbray, Mountgummery, Campbel, Boys, Betoun, or Betuin, Taillefer, and Bothwell, beſides ſundrie other which were but ſuperfluous to rehearſe at this tyme.

Surnames of
French m

But to the order of the hyſtorie: It is recorded by writers, that theſe (which at this time came out of Englande vnto Edgar) brought great quantitie of golde and ſiluer with them: alſo many relikes of Saints, and amongſt other that blacke croſſe which king Dauid gaue vnto the Abbey of holy Rood houſe in Louthiā, which he founded at his owne charge.

The black
croſſe.

Shortly after the proſcriptiō of theſe Engliſh men, William the Conquerour ſent an heralde at Armes vnto king Malcolme, demaunding to haue Edgar deliuered into his hands, and threatning that if he refuſed to deliuer him, he would ſurely fetch him, and that ſmally for Malcolmes commoditie.

William
queror t
neth king
Malcolm

But Malcolme though he vnderſtoode that

he ſhoulde bee ſure of warres at king Williams handes, for his deniall declared plainly to the herauld, that his maiſters requeſt was vnreaſonable, and therefore he minded not in any wiſe to gratifie him therein.

King William receyuing this anſwere from Malcolm, proclaimed opē warre againſt Scotland. In the meane time all Northumberlande toke part with king Malcolme, for that he was their Earles ſiſters ſonne.

Whereupon king William ſent a valiaunt Captaine, a Norman borne named Roger, to inuade Northumberlande. Whiche Roger gathering a power of men, came haſtily into that Countrey, howbeit he abode ſhort time there in honor, for by the Scots and Northumberlande men his army was diſcomfited, and he himſelfe trayterouſly ſlaine by his owne ſouldiers.

But king William nothing diſcoraged with this ouerthrow, ſent one Richard Erle of Glouceſter (whom amongeſt all the Engliſhmen he had moſte in truſt) with a mightie armie into Cumberlande. Agaynſt whome were ſent the Earles of March and Menteith, who defended the Countrey right manly from the inuaſion of the ſayde Earle, ſo that he was not able to take any aduauntage of them.

King William aduertiſed hereof, waxed wonderfull wroth, that no more good was done agaynſt his enimies, whereupon hee ſent a newe power thither with all ſpeede, vnder the leading of his brother Odo, who was both Biſhoppe of Bayeux, and Earle of Kent.

By this laſt army, the cou̅trey of Northumberlande, was ſore ſpoyled, and a great number both of Scottes and Northumberland men diſcomfited and ſlain. But as Odo was preparing to returne, there came Malcolme with all the power he might make, and giuing an onſet vpon his enimies, ſlue a great number of them, and recouered al the bootie which Odoes mē had got in the countrey, and ſo right ioyfull of that victorie, returned into Scotlande.

Malcolmes enterpriſe againſt his enimies.

King William yet nothing abaſhed for theſe miſhappes, ſent his ſonne called Robert wyth a farre greater power than at any time he had ſent before, into Northumberland, who remayning a long ſeaſon in campe neare to the riuer of Tine, attempted no notable enterpriſe, ſauing that he repayred and newly fortified the towne of newe Caſtell, whiche ſtandeth vpon the ſame riuer of Tine, and then at length a peace was concluded betwixt the two Kings vnder theſe conditions, that king Malcolme ſhoulde enioy that part of Northumberland which lyeth betwixt Twede, Cumberland, and Stainmore, & to do homage to the king of England for the ſame.

Robert the ſon of William Conquerour.

New Caſtell vpon Tine fortifyed.

A peace concluded betwixt William Cōquerour, and Malcolme Cammore.

In the middeſt of Stanemore there ſhall be a Croſſe ſet vp, with the king of Englandes Image on the one ſide, and the king of Scotlands on the other, to ſignifie that the one is marche to England, and the other to Scotland.

This Croſſe was called the Recroſſe, that is to ſay, the Croſſe of the kings.

The Recroſſe.

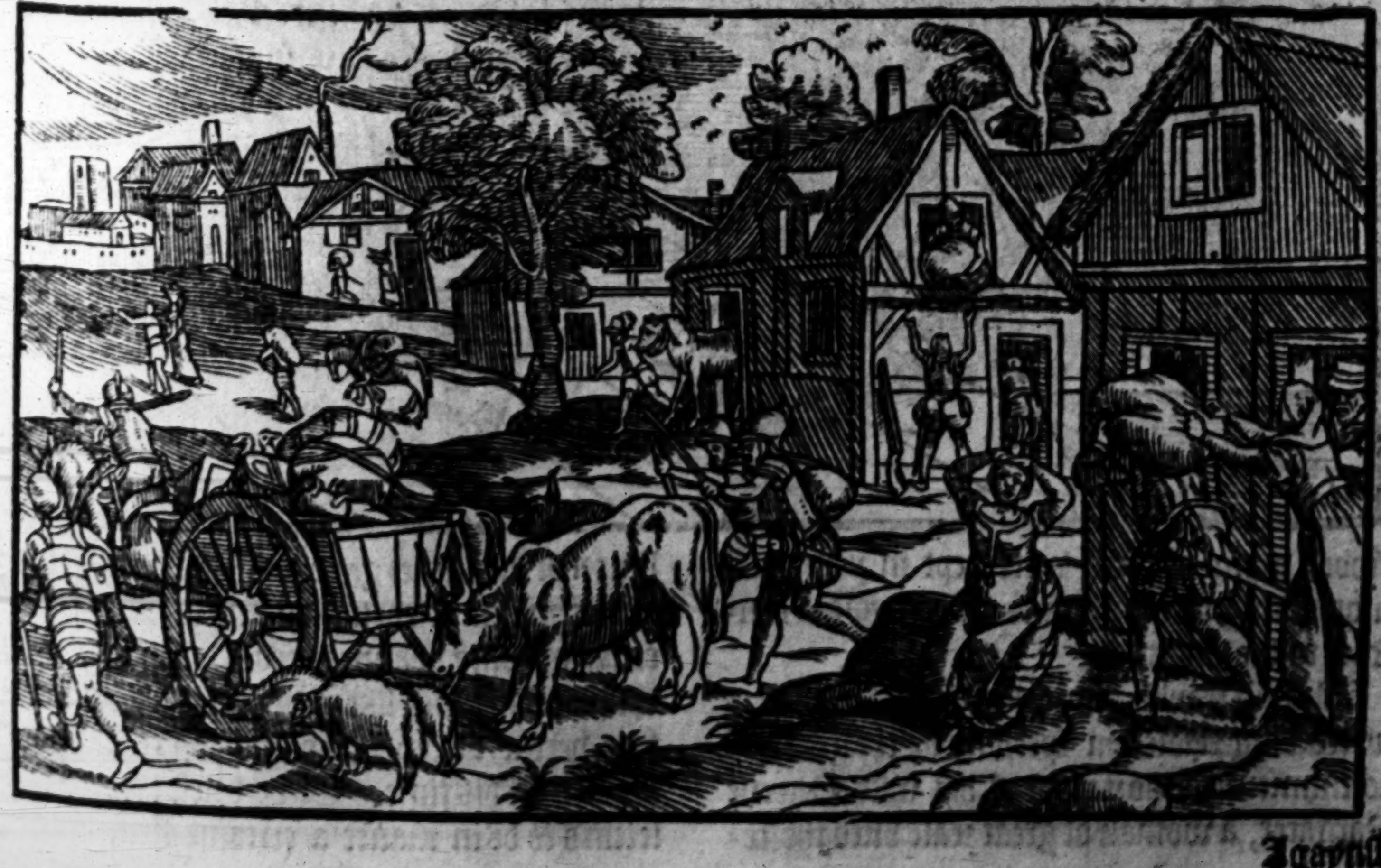
Moreouer it was concluded that Waltheof or Woldoſius (as the Scottiſh writers name him) yͤ ſonne of Sywarde Earle of Northumberlande, ſhould marry king Williams neece, borne of his daughter, and to be free from all payments and exactions due to the king by any maner of prerogatiue or meanes, for the ſpace of. xx. yeares next enſuing.

Waldef.

Syward Earle of Northumberlande.

In the neck of this peace thus cōcluded betwixt yͤ kings, hapned new trouble in Scotlād by reaſō of inteſtine rebelliō, for the people of Galloway, & the Ilād mē, roſe in great nūbers & ſpoiled yͤ borders of their neighbors, not ſparing frō ſlaughter in al parts, where they were any thing reſiſted.

Rebellion in Galloway.



Agaynſt

Walter the ſonne of Fleance.

Makglaue.

Walter created high Steward of Scotlande.

Agaynſt theſe rebelles was ſent by king Malcolme, Walter the ſonne of Fleance (of whome there is mention made before) with a conuenient armie, who at his comming into Galloway, firſt gaue the people of that Countrey an ouerthrow, and ſlue their chiefe captaine Makglaue: Then afterwards fighting with them of the Iles, he ſubdued them in ſuch wiſe, that al things were pacified euen at commaundement. For whoſe high prowes and diligence in this peece of ſeruice ſhewed, he was created by Malcolm high Steward of the realme, ſo that afterwardes both he and his poſteritie euer ſithence haue borne that ſurname, euen vnto theſe our dayes.

A new rebellion in Murrey lande.

Makduffe.

After the quieting of this buſineſſe, there ſprang a newe tumult more daungerous than the former, for the Murrey lande men procuring them of Roſſe and Cathnes, with diuerſe other to ioine with them in confederacie, did not onely ſlea the kings ſeruants, and thoſe that were appoynted vnder him to ſee iuſtice miniſtred, but through ſupport of one Makduncane, whom they choſe to be their captaine, they alſo waſted and deſtroyed the kings poſſeſſions, with more crueltie than euer had beene heard of before. Wherefore to puniſh theſe trayterous attempts, Makduffe was ſent with an armie into Mar.

But the traytors doubting leaſt they ſhould not be able to withſtande his puiſſance, thought nothing more auaylable than to ſtop him wyth money: but in the meane time came the king himſelfe in good ſeaſon vnto Monimuſke, where hee was aduertiſed, that in maner all the north partes of Scotland with the Iles, were confederate with the Murrey land men againſt him.

The ki
vow.

The king aſtoniſhed ſomthing at theſe newes, vowed to giue the Barronnie of Monimuſke (which he vnderſtoode to be landes perteyning to the crowne) vnto the Church of Saint Andrew in Fife, if it might pleaſe God to ſend him victorie ouer his enimies.

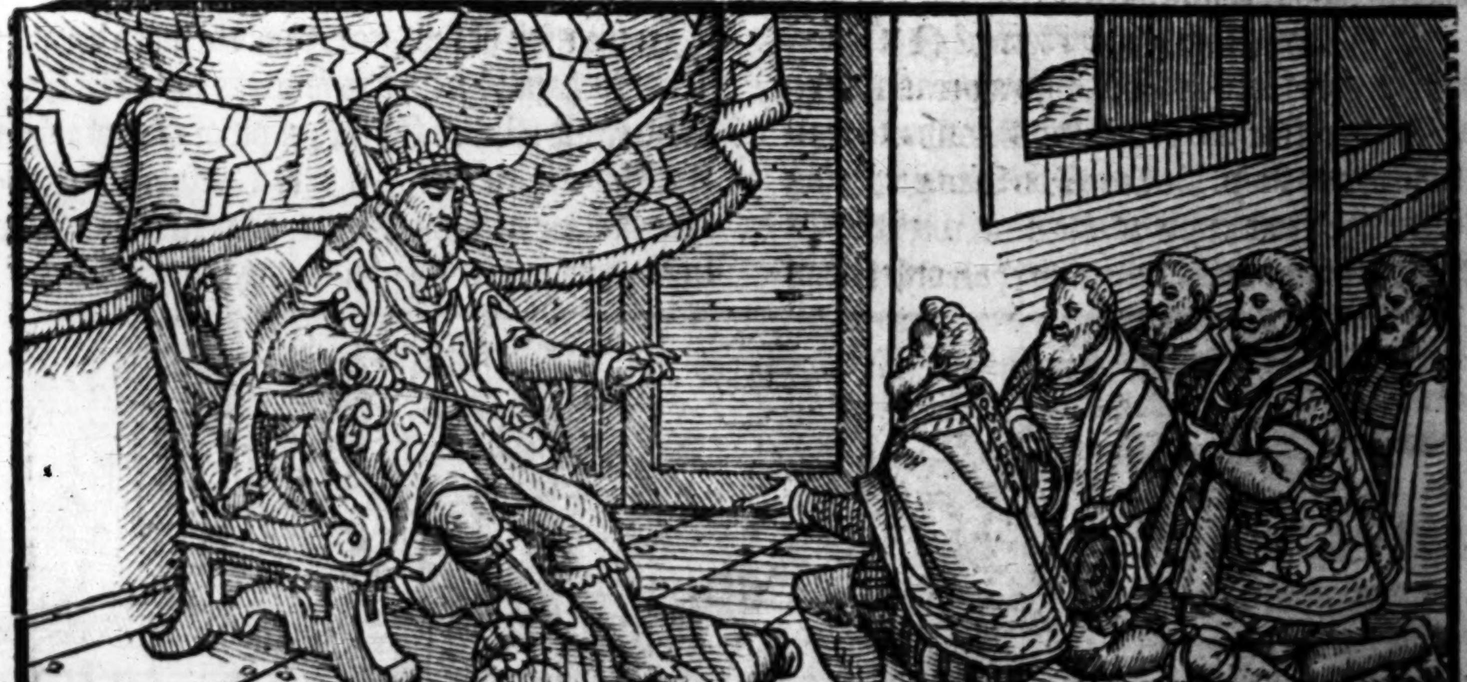
Standa
bearer.

Sir Ale
Carron.

A peace
cluded.

The ſu
ſion of
men.

At length comming vnto the water of Spey, he beheld his enimies on the further ſide in greater number, and in better furniture for armor thā hee thought had beene poſſible to haue founde in all Scotlande, he perceyued alſo that his ſtandardbearer began to ſhrinke, and not to ſhew the like chearefull countenance, as he ought to haue done. Wherfore he pulled the Banner from him, and gaue it to ſir Alexander Carron, who with this his new office obteyned ſundrie faire landes and poſſeſſions, to him and to his heyres for euer: but his ſurname was afterwardes chaunged, and called Skrimgeour, of the which is diſcended a noble houſe, continuing yet in great honour in the ſame ſurname and office. When the king was once paſſed the water, and the armies on both ſydes readie to haue ioyned, through mediation of Byſhoppes and other vertuous men, the matter was taken vp, and peace made on theſe conditions, that the commons that tooke part with the rebelles, ſhould returne home out of hande, and the Gentlemen to ſubmit thēſelues to the kings pleaſure, their liues and landes ſaued: howbeit many of them were kept in perpetuall priſon during their liues, and al their goodes confiſcate to the kings vſe.



King Malcolm through exhortation of his wife, gyueth himſelfe to deuotion.

A godly

All ciuill trouble and commotion being thus quieted, king Malcolm (ſpecially by the good admoniſhment & exhortation of his wife Queene Margaret, a woman of great zeale vnto the religion of that time) gaue himſelfe in maner altogither vnto much deuotion, and workes of mercie, as in doing of almes deedes, by prouiding for the poore, and ſuch like godly exerciſes, ſo that in true vertue hee was thought to excell all other Princes of his time. To be briefe herein, there ſeemed to be in maner a certaine ſtrife betwixt him, and that vertuous Queene his wife, which of them ſhould be moſt feruent in the loue of god, ſo that manye people by the imitation of them were brought vnto better life. Agatha and hir daughter Chriſtine alſo by the example of theſe two holy liuers, renoũced the pompe of the court, and got them to a priuate & ſolitarie life, wherein they gaue thẽſelues wholy to diuine cõtẽplation.

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ſtine re-
the
le.

Furthermore Malcolme by the ſetting on of the Queene his wife, ceaſſed not to ſet his endeuor wholy to the aduauncement of the chriſtian religion, and to reſtore things that were decayed by the negligence of his predeceſſors. Therefore whereas before his time, there were but four Biſhops Seas in Scotland, as Saint Androwes, Glaſgew, Galloway, and Murthlake, and two of them, that is to ſay, Saint Androwes and Murthlake, remayning onely in good reparation (the other being decaied) he reſtored the other two to their former beauties, and furthermore erected two other of new, as Murrey, and Cathnes, placing men of ſingular vertue and pureneſſe of life in the ſame. But to proceede. It is ſayd, that ſuch outrageous riot entred at this time, and began to growe in vſe amongeſt the Scotiſhmen, togither with the language and maners of the Engliſh nation, by reaſon that ſuch a multitude of the ſame, flying out of their Countrey, were dayly receyued as then into Scotlande to inhabite there, as before is ſhewed) that diuerſe of the nobles perceiuing what diſcommoditie & decay to the whole realme would enſue of this kinde of intemperancy, came to the king, lamenting grieuouſly the caſe, for that this venemous infection ſpred ſo faſt ouer the whole realme, to the peruerting and vtter remouing of the auncient ſobrietie of diet vſed in the ſame: wherefore they beſought him to prouide ſome remedie in time, before hope of redreſſe were paſt, that the people might be againe reduced vnto their former frugalitie, who hitherto vſed not to eate but once in the day, and then deſiring no ſuperfluous meates & drinkes to be ſought by ſea & land, nor curiouſly dreſſed or ſerued forth with ſauces, but onely feeding to ſatiſfie nature, and not their greedy appetites.

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Scottes.

Through which their ſober fare, with the exerciſing of their bodies herewith in continual trauaile, they grew more ſtrong and greater of bodie, than their offſpring are founde to be in theſe dayes: for they were more in reſemblance like vnto Giantes than vnto men of our time, with great and huge bodies, mightie armes and lims, preſſing vppon their enimies like fierce Lions, bearing downe all before them, without dread of any daunger, for that they exceeded all humane ſtrength and power.

e ſare
ſtrẽgth
bigneſſe
die.

Hereupon king Malcolme toke great paines to haue redreſſed this infectiue poyſon, and vtterly to haue expelled it forth of his realme, howbeit the nature of man is ſo prone & ready to embrace all kinds of vice, that where the Scottiſhe people before had no knowledge nor vnderſtanding of fine fare or riotous ſurfet, yet after they had once taſted the ſweete poyſoned bait thereof, there was now no meane to be found to reſtrain theyr licorous deſires. And yet thoſe corrupted abuſes and riotous ſuperfluities (which came into the realme of Scotland with the Engliſhmen planted therin by the dayes of king Malcolme, are not to bee compared in exceſſe with things vſed in our time, for in thoſe dayes, as yet the nature of man was not ſo ouercome with the abuſe of ſuperfluities, as it is now adayes, for then though they were gone frõ the auncient ſpareneſſe of diet, they yet did not eate paſt twice a day, and had but two diſhes at a meale: but nowe the greedie taſt of mens inſatiable luſt is ſuche, that no kinde of fleſhe, fiſhe, fruite, or whatſoeuer maye be gotten, is vneth able to quenche theyr gluttonous appetite and raucnous gurmandize: ſo that neyther lande, Sea, nor ayre, is left vnſought to ſatiſfie the ſame, as though they were worthie of moſt high cõmendation that may deuoure moſt: wherein they may be iuſtly compared to greedie Wolues and Cormorants.

Mans nature
prone to vice.

The greedie
taſt of mens
inſatiable luſt.

Men compared to Wolues
& Cormarãts.

But to bewaile that in wordes which cannot be amended in deedes, is but a folly, for the infection is ſo entred into the inner partes of the intrayles, that neither with purging, cutting, nor ſearing, it may be holpen. Sooner ſhall you deſtroy the whole Nation than remoue this vice.

In the meane tyme, whyleſt things thus paſſed in Scotlande, King William the Conquerour dyed in the .xxj. yeare of his raigne, and after the incarnation. 1087.

1086. H.B.

About whiche time King Malcolme cauſed the olde Church of Durham to be plucked down and buylded vp anewe, beginning euen at the firſt floore. In which ſeaſon, one Egelwyn or William (as the Scottiſhe wryters haue) was Biſhop of that Sea, and Prior of the Abbay was one Turgot, who afterwarde was made Biſhop of Saint Androwes, and wrote the liues of Queene Margaret and Malcolme hir huſbande in the Scottiſh tongue,

The Church of
Durham built
by king Malcolme.

Turgot.

Afterwarde hee deceaſſed in Saint Androwes, but hys body was brought vnto Durham, and there buryed, bycauſe hee was fyrſt Prior thereof.

King Malcolme by perſwaſion of this Turgot, builded alſo a Church in Dunfermling, dedicated to the Trinitie, ordeyning frõ thenceforth that the common ſepulture of the kings ſhoulde be there, in like maner as it had bin afore time in the Ile of Iona at the Abbay of Colmekill.

The church of
Dunfermling.

The Sepulture
of the Scottiſh
kings.

Amongeſt other vertuous ordinances alſo

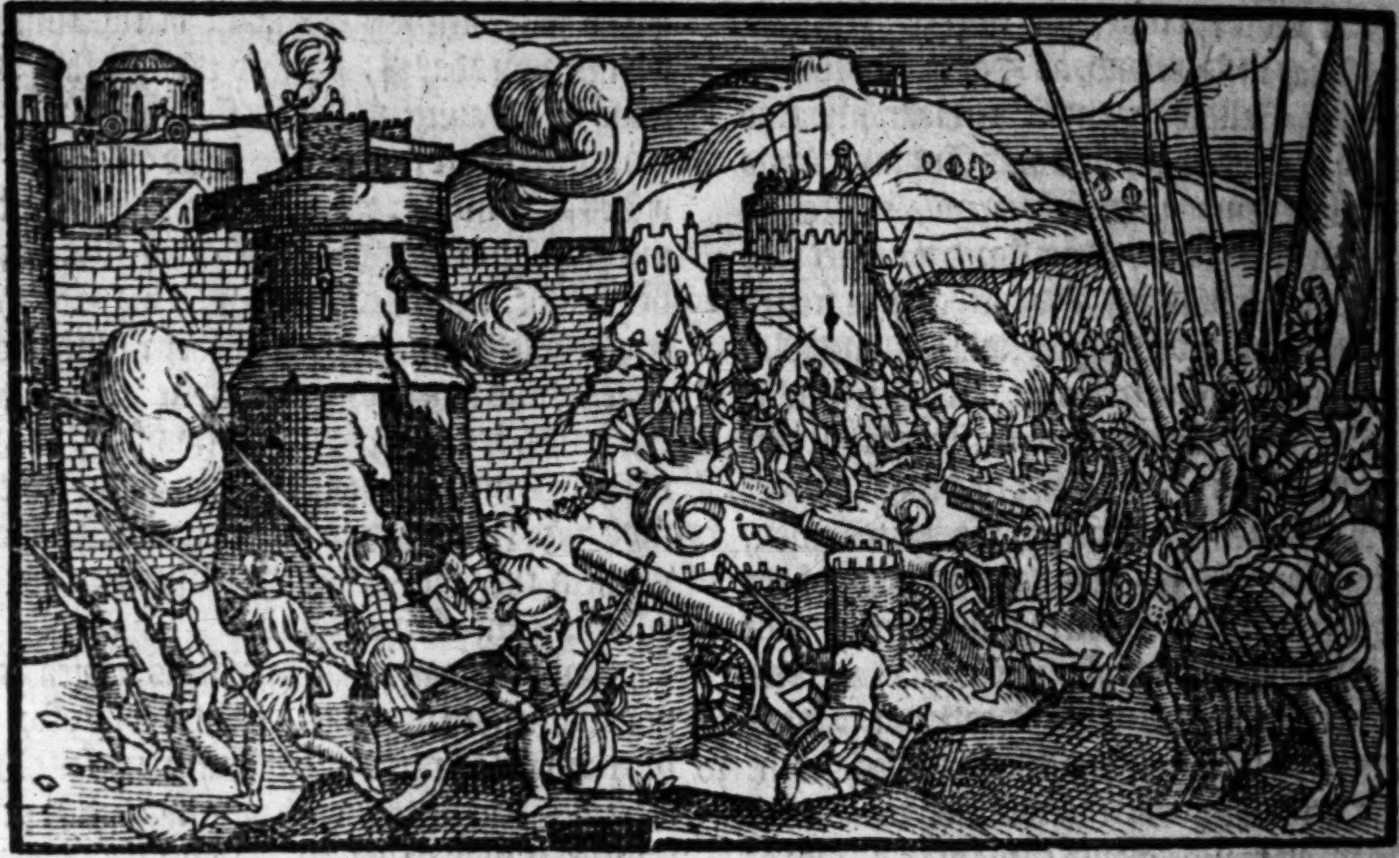
which were deuiſed & made by king Malcolme, (through exhortation of his wiſe Queene Margaret) mentioned by Turgot in the booke which he wrote of their liues, this is not to be forgotten, that he abrogated that wicked lawe, eſtabliſhed by king Ewyn the thirde, appoynting halfe a marke of ſiluer to bee payde to the Lorde of the ſoyle in redemption of the womans chaſtitie, which is vſed to be payed yet vnto this day, & is called the marchets of women, where otherwiſe by tenour of king Ewins lawe, the Lord had the vſe of theyr bodyes, for the firſt night after theyr maryage.

King Ewyns law abrogated or rather altered.

King William ſurnamed the Red, the ſeconde ſonne of king William the Conquerour, and ſucceſſour to him in the kingdome of Englande, not wel contented nor pleaſed in his mind, that the Scottes ſhoulde enioy a great portion of the north partes of England, auncienly belonging to his crowne as parcell thereof, he rayſed a great army, and before any denouncing of war by him made, inuaded Northumberland, & tooke the Caſtell of Anwike, putting all ſuche to the ſwoorde as were founde in the ſame.

Willia fus.

The ca Anwike by the E liſh me



King Malcolme to withſtande ſuch exploytes attempted by his enimie, leuied a great hoſte of his ſubiectes, and comming with the ſame into Northumberlande, beſieged the ſayde Caſtell of Anwike. And nowe when the keepers of the hold were at poynt to haue made ſurrender, a certaine Engliſh knight conceiuing in his mind an hardie and daungerous enterpriſe, mounted on a ſwift horſe without armor or weapon, ſauing a ſpeare in his hand, vpon the poynt wherof he bare the keyes of the caſtel, & ſo iſſued forth at yͤ gates, riding directly towardes the Scottiſh campe.

The caſtell of Anwike beſieged by the Scottes.

They that warded, myſtruſting no harme, brought him with great noyſe and claymor vnto the kings tent. Who hearing the noyſe, came forth of his pauilion to vnderſtande what the matter ment.

The Engliſhman herewith couched his ſtaffe as though it had beene to the ende that the ki[illegible] might receyue the keyes whiche he had brought. And whileſt all mens eyes were earneſt in beholding the keyes, the Engliſhe man ranne the king through the left eye, and ſodainly daſhing his ſpurres to his horſe, eſcaped to the next wood out of all daunger.

An hardie enterprice.

The poynt of the ſpeare entred ſo farre into the kings head, that immediately falling downe amongſt his men, he yeelded vp the ghoſt.

K. Malc is ſlaine.

This was the ende of king Malcolme in the middeſt of his armie.

It is ſayde that king William chaunged the name of this aduenturous knight, and called him Pers E, and for that he ſtroke king Malcolme ſo right in the eye, and in recompence of his ſeruice gaue him certaine landes in Northumberlande, of whom thoſe Percees are diſcended, whiche in our dayes haue enioyed the honourable tytle of Earles of Northumberlande.

The na the Per had no beginn they ca forth of mandie conque Earles o thumb

The Scottes after the ſlaughter of their king brake vp theyr campe, and buried his bodie within the Abbay of Tynmouth in England. But his ſonne Alexander cauſed it to be afterwardes taken vp, and buryed in Dunfermling before the Aulter of the Trinitie.

K. Malc buryed Tynmo

The ſame tyme was Scotlande wounded with an other miſſchappe. For Edwarde the Prince of Scotlande, eldeſt ſonne to king Malcolme, dyed of a hurt which he receyued in a ſkirmiſh not farre from Anwike, and was buryed in Dunfermeling, the fyrſt of the blood royall that hadde hys bones layde in that place.

Edward of Scot dyed.

Queene Margaret being aduertiſed of the death

Queene Margaret died.

death both of hir huſbande and ſonne, as then lying in Edenbourgh Caſtell, hir diſeaſe encreaſed through griefe thereof ſo vehemently, that within three dayes after ſhe departed out of this life vnto an other more ioyfull and bleſſed.

1097. H.B.

The Ides of October. H.B.

King Malcolme was ſlaine in the yeare of oure redemption 1092. on the.xiij. day of Nouember, and in the. xxxvj. yeare of hys raigne.

Straunge wonders.

In the ſame yeare manye vncouth things came to paſſe and were ſeene in Albion.

An huge tyde.

By the highe ſpring Tydes whiche chaunced in the Almaine Seas, many Townes, Caſtels, and Woddes were drowned, aſwell in Scotland as in England.

Goodwin ſandes.

After the ceaſſing of which tempeſt, the lands that ſomtime were Earle Goodwines (of whom ye haue hearde before) lying not farre from the towne of Sandwich, by violent force and drift of the Sea, were made a ſande bed, and euer ſithence haue beene called Goodwine ſandes.

The people haue thought that this vengeance came to that peece of grounde being poſſeſſed by his poſteritie, for the wicked ſlaughter of Alured, which he ſo trayterouſly contriued.

Moreouer ſundrie Caſtelles and Townes in Murrey lande were ouerthrowne by the ſea Tydes.

Thunder.

Such dreadfull thunder happened alſo at the ſame time, that men and beaſtes were ſlaine in the fields, and houſes ouerturned euen from their foundations.

Trees & corne burnt.

In Louthian, Fife, and Angus, trees and corne were burned vp by fire, kindled no man knew how, nor from whence.

Marianus.

Veremonde.

In the dayes of this Malcolme Cammore, liued that famous hyſtoriographer Marianus a Scottiſh man borne, but profeſſed a Monke in the Monaſterie of Fulda in Germany. Alſo Veremond a Spaniſh prieſt, but dwelling in Scotland, floriſhed about the ſame time, and wrote the Scottiſh hiſtorie, whome Hector Boetius ſo much followeth.

The ſonnes of king Malcolm Cammore.

Donald Bane.

Malcolme had by his wife Queene Margaret (otherwiſe called for hir holineſſe of life S. Margaret) vj. ſonnes, Edward (as is ſaid) was ſlain: Etheldred, which died in his tender age, and was buried in Dunfermling: and Edmond which renounced the world, & liued an holy life in England: the other three were named Edgar, Alexander and Dauid. There be that write how Edmond was taken, and put to death in priſon by his vncle Donalde Bane, when he inuaded the kingdome, and vſurped the crowne, after the deceaſſe of his brother king Malcolme, and ſo then was Edgar next inheritour to the crowne.

Donalde Bane fled into the Iles.

Donalde Bane returneth into Scotlande.

His couenant for the gift of the Iles to the king of Norway.

This Donald Bane, who (as before is mentioned) fled into the Iles to eſchue the tyrannical malice of Makbeth, after he once heard that his brother king Malcolme was dead, returned into Scotland by ſupport of the K. of Norway, vnto whom he couenanted to giue the dominion of all the Iles, if by his meanes and furtheraunce hee might obteyne the crowne of Scotland.

The reſpect that the people had to receyue Donald Bane for their king.

Herevpon landing with an armie in the Realme, he founde ſmall reſiſtance, and ſo with little a doe receyued the crowne, for many of the people abhorring the riotous maners and ſuperfluous gurmandice brought in amongſt them by the Engliſh men, were willing inough to receiue this Donalde for their king, truſting bycauſe hee had beene brought vp in the Iles with the olde cuſtomes and maners of their auncient Nation, without taſt of the Engliſh lykerous delicacies, they ſhoulde by his ſeuere order in gouernment, recouer againe the former temperancie of theyr olde progenitors.

K. Malcolmes ſonnes ſent for into Englande by Edgar their vncle.

Orgarus, or one Organ accuſeth Edgar Atheling of treaſon.

Organ is ſlain within lyſtes.

As ſoone as Edgar Adeling brother to Queene Margaret was aduertiſed that Donalde Bane had thus vſurped the crowne of Scotland, he ſent ſecretly for his thre nephews, Edgar, Alexander, and Dauid, with two ſiſters which they had, to come vnto him into England, where he had not kept thẽ any long while, but that a knight whoſe name was Organ, or Orgar, accuſed him of treaſon, alledging howe he nouriſhed his ſiſters ſonnes and daughters within the realme, in hope to make them inheritors to the crowne: but the malice of this falſe ſurmiſe remayned not vnpuniſhed, for one of Edgars friends, taking in hand to Darraine battaile with Organ, in defence of Edgars innocencie, ſlue him within lyſtes.

Donald threatneth.

After that Donalde had receyued the crowne at the Abbay of Scone, he perceyued that ſome of the nobles grudged at his prefermẽt, ſhewing by ſome tokens that they had more affection vnto king Malcolmes children, than vnto him, and therfore he caſt out a worde amongſt his familiers, that ere ought long the nobles ſhoulde repent them of their doings, if they applyed not themſelues the more to his opinion. Which wordes being marked, & deepely imprinted in ſome of their harts, turned afterwards to his great diſpleaſure.

Duncan Malcolmes baſtard ſonne.

For ſhortly after came Duncan, the baſtard ſon of king Malcolme out of Englande into Scotlande, ſupported with an armie of men appointed by king William the Red, to place him in the Kingdome, & to expulſe Donald out of the ſame by force of armes, if he attempted any reſiſtance.

Nowe when Donald approched with his puiſſance in purpoſe to haue giuen battaile, the moſt part of his people did forſake him, and drewe vnto Dũcanes ſide, ſo that Donald thus abãdoned of thẽ that ſhuld haue ayded him, was cõſtrained for his refuge to flee again into yͤ weſterne Iles: & ſo Duncan then cõming vnto Scone, receyued the

Duncane is crowned king of Scotlande.

the crowne of Scotlande, but for that he had bin trayned the moſte part of his life in the warres both in England and France, he had ſmall ſkill in ciuill gouernment, iudging that thing onely to ſtande with iuſtice, wich was decided with ſpeare and ſhielde. By reaſon whereof Scotland was ſhortly filled with newe troubles and ſeditious deuiſions.

Duncane lacked ſkill in ciuil gouernment.

Donalde Bane being aduertiſed of all thoſe things, that hereby happened in Scotland, ſolicited Makpēder Earle of Mernes to take his part, & by ſome meanes to ſlea king Duncane, which enterprice Makpender taking in hand, at length (in Menteth) accompliſhed the ſame in the night ſeaſon, when he had eſpied ſuch aduauntage and oportunitie of time, that not ſo muche as one man was founde to purſue him.

Makpender Erle of Mernes ſlayeth king Duncane.

But to ſay the truth, Duncane was ſo farre out of the peoples fauour, that mo reioyced than were ſorie for his death.

Donalde Bane is reſtored to the crowne.

After he was thus diſpatched, his vncle Donald was reſtored againe to the kingdome, chiefly by ſupporte of the forenamed Makpender, after his nephewe the foreſayde Duncane had raigned one yeare and an halfe, where Donalde himſelfe had raigned before he was expulſed by his ſayde nephewe, the ſpace of ſixe Monethes, and nowe after he had recouered the Kingdome, he continued in the regiment therof three yeares, not without greate trouble and inteſtine commotions: for the moſte part of the Lordes maligning his aduauncement, ſought occaſions dayly to depoſe him.

In the meane tyme the Ilande men made ſome ſturre, neyther did the warres with Englande ceaſſe, (though without anye greate exployte or enterprice worthie of remembrance) ſauing a fewe light ſkirmiſhes betwixt the parties as occaſion ſerued.

Magnus king of Norway cōmeth into the weſterne Iles.

At length came Magnus king of Norway with a great fleete, and ſayling aboute the Weſterne Iles, garniſhed all the ſtrengthes within them in moſt defencible wiſe, with men, munition and vitayles, vſurping the dominion as ſoueraigne Lord of the ſame Iles: and at the ſame time ordeyned thoſe lawes and conſtitutions which are vſed there amongſt the inhabitants euen vnto theſe dayes.

Edgar king Malcolms ſon is ſent for.

The Scottiſh men hauing great indignation that the Iles beeing auncientlye parcell of the crowne, ſhould be thus alienated from the ſame, ſent oratours vnto Edgar (who was as ye haue herd the fourth ſonne of king Malcolm) deſiring him moſt inſtantly to come into Scotlād, to recouer his fathers heritage and crowne of Scotland out of the vſurpers handes.

Edgar ſendeth meſſengers to Donalde.

Edgar taking deliberate aduice touching this requeſt, firſt ſent ambaſſadors vnto Donald promiſing that if he woulde be contented to reſtore vnto him the crowne being due to him by lawful ſucceſſion, he woulde gladly rewarde him with great Lordſhips and reuenues in Louthian: but Donald was ſo far from minding to do him reaſon in this behalf, that cauſing thē which brought this meſſage to be put in priſō, he finally ſlue thē.

Donald ſlay Edgars me lengers.

Then Edgar by counſell of his vncle Edgar Atheling, purchaſing ayde of men at the hands of king Williā Rufus, ſet forward toward Scotland. At his comming to Durham, he was admoniſhed by a viſion in his ſleepe, that if he toke with him the Baner of Saint Cutbert, he ſhould haue victorie.

Edgar is ay by king W liam Rufus.

Saint Cutber Baner.

On the Morrow after, he came into the Abbey Churche, where firſt hearing diuine ſeruice, when the ſame was ended, he diſplayed the foreſayde Baner, and cauſed it to be borne before him in that iourney. Neuertheleſſe king Donalde met him with a mightie armie, and after long fight, was chaſed into the Iles, where he was taken and brought vnto Edgar.

King Don diſcomfite and chaſed to the Iles.

King Don is taken.

Some ſay that when the battayles were readie to haue ioyned, his men beholding the Baner of Saint Cutbert ſpred agaynſt them, immediatly forſtoke him, ſo that he beeing deſtitute of ſuccour, fled, in purpoſe to haue ſaued himſelf ein ſome one of the Weſterne Iles, but being apprehended by the Inhabitants, was brought (as is ſayde) vnto Edgar, by whom he was (howſoeuer the hap of his taking chaunced) caſt immediatly into priſon, wherein he ſhortly after dyed.

King Don dieth in pri

The victorie thus atchieued, Edgar went vnto Edenburgh, and from thence vnto Dunfermeling to viſite the Sepultures of his mother and brethren.

Edgar.

Afterwardes cōming to yͤ Abbey of Scone and aſſembling the Lordes of the Realme, he receyued yͤ crown, and ſhortlye after was annointed by the Archbyſhop of Saint Androwes named Godrike, in the yeare of our redemption. 1101. For his mother Queene Margaret purchaſed a little before hir death of Vrbane the Pope, that from henceforth all the Kinges of Scotlande ſhoulde bee annoynted.

Edgar is cro ned and an noynted.

A priuiled for the Sco tiſh kings be annoin

This priuiledge was confirmed afterwardes by Pope Iohn the ſeconde of that name.

The firſt King that was annoynted according to that graunt, was this Edgar in the yere aforeſayde.

Edgar the anointed k of Scotla

About two yeares before, that Edgar thus recouered the Crowne of Scotlande, was that generall paſſage made into the holy lande vnder Godfrey of Bullion, and other Chriſtian Princes.

The paſſage into the holy lande.

Amongeſt them as one of the chiefe, Robert Duke of Normandie went, and ſhould haue bin created king of Jeruſalem, had he not at the ſame time heard howe his brother William Rufus king of England was ſlain by chaunce through glauncing of an arrow ſhot at a Deare in ẏ new Foreſt, & then hoping to ſucceed him in the kingdome of England, he preferred that honor to the other, wherein he ſawe to be more trauaile than gaine. But at his comming home he found that his yongſt brother Henrie ſurnamed Beauclerke was placed in the kingdome of England, and ſo was Duke Robert his hope fruſtrate of both the kingdomes, and that worthily (as moſte men thought,) for that he refuſed ſo neceſſarie a dignitie, wherein he might haue ſerued the common cauſe of the chriſtian common wealth.

Robert duke of Normãdie.

rie Beauke king of glande.

Unto Henry Beauclerke in the ſeconde yeare of his raigne king Edgar maried the one of hys ſiſters called Maulde.

Maude king Edgars ſiſter.

The other named Marie, hee coupled wyth Euſtace Earle of Bulloigne: Of the whiche mariage was borne a daughter that was the only heyre of the ſame Euſtace in the Countie of Bulloigne, the which when ſhe came to womans ſtate, was maried vnto Stephen Earle of March in England, & of Mortaigne in France, Nephew to Henrie Beauclerke by his ſiſter.

Euſtace Earle of Bulloigne.

The king of Englande Henrie, had iſſue by Queen Mauld, two ſonnes and two daughters, William and Richard, Eufamie and Maulde.

But now to returne to king Edgar, to ſhew ſome token of thanks towards ſaint Cutbert for his ayd ſhewed as was thought in the battaile agaynſt his vncle Donalde, he gaue vnto the Monkes of Durham the lands of Coldingham: and to the Biſhop of Durham called Canulph, he gaue the towne of Berwike, but for that the ſame Biſhop wrought afterwardes treaſon agaynſt him, he loſt that gyft, and the king reſumed that towne into his handes againe.

The landes of Coldinghā, Bi- of Dur-

I do not finde that Edgar had any warres any way forth during all the time of his raigne, a prince rather reuerenced than dred amongſt hys ſubiects for his ſingular equitie & vpright dealing.

He departed out of this life at Dundee, in the ix. yeare of his raigne, and after the byrth of our Sauiour 1107.

Io. Ma. H.B

Alexander.

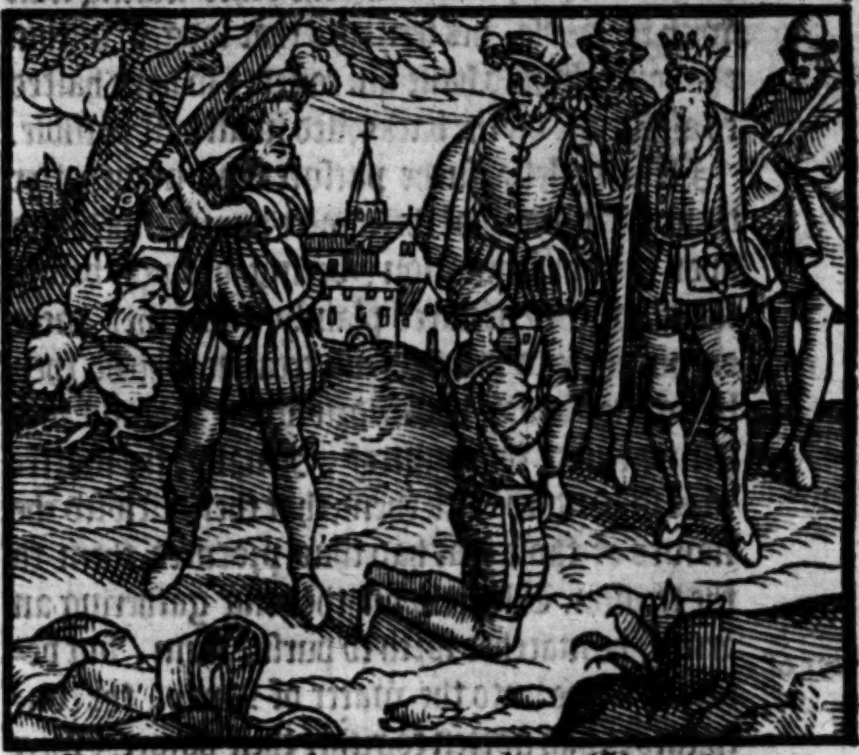
After the deceaſe of this Edgar, ſucceeded his brother Alexander the fierce, ſo called for his rigorous valiancie in purſuing of theeues and robbers. In the beginning of his raigne, the inhabitants of Murrey lande and Roſſe, beholding him to bee moſte an ende in the Church at his prayers, and diuine ſeruice, after the maner of his parents, ſuppoſed he would proue no great quick iuſticier in puniſhing offenders, & therupon moſt preſumptuouſly they began to rob and reaue on eche ſide, not ſparing to kill and ſlea all ſuche as came in their handes without reſpect to age or ſexe, in ſomuche that the yong infants ſmyling vpon the murtherers, beeing aboute to execute their deteſtable crueltie, paſſed by the Sworde as well as the reſyſters: ſuche rooted malice remayned in theyr beaſtly heartes, which vpon renuing theyr olde grudges they now accordingly ſhewed.

Theeues of Murrey land and Roſſe.

The crueltie of theeues.

King Alexander therefore aduertiſed hereof, came into thoſe parties with a competent armie, and apprehending the chiefe authours and captaynes ſtroke of their heades.

Execution.



As he returned backe through the Mernes, there came a woman vnto him weeping in lamentable ſorte, who fell vppon hir knees at his feete, beſeeching him to pitie hir caſe, hauing loſt both hir husbande and ſonne, by the tyrannous crueltie of the maiſter of Mernes, who for that they had called him afore a iudge in an action of debt, had ſlaine and murthered as well the one as the other.

The Earle of Mernes ſonne.

The king moued with this deteſtable kinde of iniurie, lyght beſide his Horſe, and woulde not alight vp againe, till hee had ſeene the Authour of that heynous treſpaſſe hanged vppon a Gybet.

A righteous Iuſticier.

After this comming into Gourie, hee tooke in hande to finiſhe and make vp the Caſtell of Baledgar, the foundation whereof his brother Edgar had begun, that it might be an ayde to chaſtice a ſort of theeues & robbers which haunted the Wooddes thereaboutes, to the great diſquiet of all the Countrey. He gaue alſo to the maintenance of that houſe certain landes, which the Earle of Gowrie had giuen him at the Font ſtone when he became his godfather.

The Caſtell of Baledgar.

Treaſon of conſpirators to haue ſlaine the king.

Whileſt he was thus buſie about the furtherance of that worke, diuerſe of thoſe theeues that were acuſtomed to liue by robberies in thoſe parts, perceiuing that this caſtell which the king was about to build, ſhoulde turne vnto their deſtruction, they conſpired his death, & winning by rewards & promiſes, the help of the kings chamberlain to the accõpliſhing of their traiterous and moſt diueliſhe practiſes, they entered one night through a priuie into his lodging, in purpoſe to haue ſlaine him as he had ſlept in his bed chãber: but he by Gods prouidence hauing knowledge of their cõming, ſtarted out of his bed, & caught a ſword which hung neare at hand, wherewith he ſlue firſt his chamberlain that had brought them in, and then diſpatched a ſix of the other traitors, (which were alreadie entred his chamber) with ſingular force & manhood: the other fearing leaſt with the noyſe, his ſeruants that lodged within the houſe, ſhould haue bin raiſed, & ſo haue haſted to aſſaile thẽ on the backs, fled in all haſt poſſible.

The kings manhood.

Neuertheleſſe, ſuche purſute was made after them, that many of them were apprehended, and vpon their examination, beeing brought before the king, they declared plainly howe they were encouraged to worke that treaſon whiche they had gone aboute, by ſundrie great Barons and gentlemen of the countrey. Finally, the matter was ſo handled with them, that they diſcloſed the names of thoſe that had thus procured them to the treaſon. Wherevpon the king gathering an army, he marched forth to purſue them, but before he came vnto the water of Spay, the conſpirators had gotten togither their power, & were lodged on the further ſide of the ſame water to ſtop him from paſſing ouer.

The water of Spay.

Sir Alexander Carron.

The Rebels are vãquiſhed.

The king ſeeing them thus aſſembled to impeach his paſſage, ſent his Banner man ſir Alexander Carron with a choſen part of his army to paſſe the water, and to fight with his enimies, where, by the hardie onſet of the ſayde ſir Alexander, they were quickly put to flight, & many of them that were taken in the chaſe, ſuffered death according as they had well deſerued.

The realme after this execution done of theſe offenders, continued many yeares after in good tranquilitie.

Skrimgeour.

This Alexander Carron alſo for that he was ſeene in the kings ſight that day to fight moſte manfully in ſleaing diuers of the rebelles with a crooked ſworde whiche he had in his hande (of whiche ſort many were vſed in thoſe dayes) he was highly rewarded at the kings handes, and euer after named Skrimgeour, that is to meane, an hardie fighter. He had alſo his armes encreaſed with a rampaunt Lion holding a crooked ſword, as is to be ſeene in the armes of his poſteritie vnto this day.

Other there be that ſay he got the ſurname of Skrimgeour, bycauſe he ſlue an Engliſh man in a ſingular combate.

The principall of this ſurname in our time helde the Conſtableſhip of Dundee, bearing in hys armes a crooked Sworde in faſhion of an hooke.

The Abbey Scone.

After that king Alexander had appeaſed the inteſtine commotions thus within his Realme, he ſet in hande to repayre the Abbey of Scone, wherein he placed regular Chanons, dedicating the Church in the honour of the Trinitie, and Saint Michael.

Saint Co ynche.

The Abbey Saint Col ynch buil

Not long after this alſo he chaunced to come into Saint Colmes Inche, where he was conſtrayned to abide three dayes togither through violent rage of weather and tempeſtes: and bycauſe he founde ſome reliefe of meate and drinke, by meanes of an hermit that dwelled within the ſame Inche and kept a Chappell there dedicate to Saint Colme, he made of that Chappell an Abbey of regular Chanons, in the honor of ſaint Colme, endowing it with ſundrie landes and rents for the maintenance of the Abbot and conuent of that houſe.

Landes na the Boarri

Boare tu

He alſo gaue vnto the Church of Saint Androwes, the landes called the Boarrinke, ſo named, for that a great Boare was ſlain vpon the ſayde grounde, that had done much hurt in the Countrey thereabout. The tuſkes of this Boare doe hang in Chaynes vppon the ſtalles of the Quier in Saint Androwes Church afore the high aulter, and are a.xvj. ynches in length, and foure ynches in thickneſſe.

The Ab bey Dunfirm

Moreouer the Abbey of Dunfirmling was finiſhed by king Alexãder, and endowed with ſundrie landes and poſſeſſions.

Dauid b to king ander.

Woldoſi Earle of thumber & Husti

The land Hunting and Nor berland ed to the crowne of Scotland.

Whileſt king Alexander was thus occupied in buylding and repayring of religious houſes, his brother Dauid liued in Englande with hys ſiſter Queene Maulde, and through fauor which the king hir huſbande bare towardes him, he obteyned in maryage one Maulde, daughter vnto Woldoſius, or rather Waltheof Earle of Huntington and Northumberland, begot of his wife the ladie Iudith that was neece vnto king William yͤ Conquerour, & for yͭ the ſayd Woldoſius or Waltheof had no other iſſue to inherite his lands, Dauid in right of his wife Mauld enioyed the ſame, and was made Earle of Huntington & Northumberland, & had iſſue by his wife a ſonne named Henrie, by whom the lands of Huntington, & ſome part of Northũberland were annexed vnto the crown of Scotlãd, as after ſhal appeare.

Mauld the daughter of king Henrie Beauclerke, was maried vnto Henrie the Emperor the fourth of that name. William, Richard, & Eufeme, the reſidue of yͤ iſſue which the ſame Henry

Beauclerke

had by his wife (ſurnamed for hir ſingular bountiouſneſſe, the good Queene Matilde) in comming forth of France to repaſſe into England, periſhed in the ſea by a tempeſt, to the great dolour of the king their father, and to all other his ſubiects of eche eſtate and degree.

The death of king Alexan-der.

Their mother the ſayde Maulde was before that time departed out of this life. It was not long after, but that Alexander deceaſſed alſo, and was buryed in Dunfermling byſydes hys fathers ſepulture, in the .xvij. yeare of his raigne complete, and from the incarnation of Chriſt 1125. yeares.

1124. H.B.

The begin-ning of the Cummings.

In the dayes of this king Alexander, the kynred of the Cummings, had their beginning, by one Iohn Cumming a man of great prowes and valiancie, obteyning of the king in reſpect thereof certaine ſmall portions of landes in Scotlande.

The houſe of theſe Cummings roſe in proces of time thus from a ſmall beginning to highe honour and puiſſance, by reaſon of the great poſſeſſions and ample reuenues which they afterwardes atteyned.

At length (as often happeneth) the importable height of this lynage was the onely cauſe of the decay and finall ruine therof, as in the ſequell of this Hyſtorie ye may at full perceyue.

nightes of the Rodes.

hite Monks.

Alſo in the dayes of king Alexander, the order of knights of the Rodes had their beginning, and likewiſe the order of white Monkes, the authour whereof was one Nodobert.

ichard de ſan-cto Victore.

About the ſame time liued that holye man *Richard de Sancto Victore*, a Scottiſh man borne, but dwelling for the more part of his time at Paris in Fraunce, where he dyed, and was buryed within the Cloyſter of the Abbey of Saint Victor, being a brother of the ſame houſe.

Dauid.

auid is crow-ned king of cotland.

BUt nowe to proceed with the hyſtorie. After the deceaſſe of Alexander the fierce, and firſt of that name, his brother Dauid came vnto Scone, and there receiued the crowne, as lawfull heyre to his brother, for that he left no heyre behinde him.

This Dauid according to the enſample of his noble Parents, ſet his whole care about the due miniſtring of Iuſtice, to the honour of almightie God, and the weale of his realme.

He had no trouble by warres with any forraine enimies, ſo long as king Henrie Beauclerke liued.

Therefore hauing oportunitie of ſuch a quiet time, he rode about all the parties of his realme, and vſed to ſit in hearing of iudgement himſelfe, ſpecially cõcerning poore mens cauſes and matters, but the controuerſies of the Lordes and barons he referred to the hearing of other Iudges.

The care of king Dauid for the poore.

A rightuous iudge.

If he vnderſtoode that any man were endomaged by any wrongful iudgement, he recõpenſed the partie wronged, according to the value of his loſſe & hinderance, with the goods of the iudge that pronounced the iudgement.

Banketting cheare baniſhed.

Thus in the firſt yeares of his raigne, hee did many things to the aduauncement of the common welth, and baniſhed ſuch banketting cheare as was vſed amongſt his people after the enſample of the Engliſhe men, perceyuing the ſame to breede a great weakning and decay of the auncient ſtoutneſſe of ſtomacke, that was wont to remaine in the Scottiſh nation.

King Dauid built.xv. Abbeyes.

He buylded the number of .xv. Abbeyes, part of them in the beginning of his raigne before the warres were begon which he had with the Engliſhe men, and part after the ſame warres were ended.

The names of the Abbeys buylded by king Dauid.

The names of thoſe Abbeyes are as followeth: Holy Roode houſe, Kelſo, Iedburgh, Melroſſe, Newbottell, Holmecultrane, Dundranane, Cambuſkenneth, Kynlois, Dunfermling, Holme in Cumberland: alſo two Nunries, the one at Carleil, & the other at north Barwike: with two Abbays beſide Newcaſtel, yͤ one of S. Benedicts order, and the other of white Monks.

Foure Biſhops ſeas erected in Scotland.

He erected alſo foure Biſhoprikes within his Realme, Roſſe, Brechin, Dunkeld, and Dublane, endowing them with riche rentes, fayre landes, and ſundrie right commodious poſſeſſions.

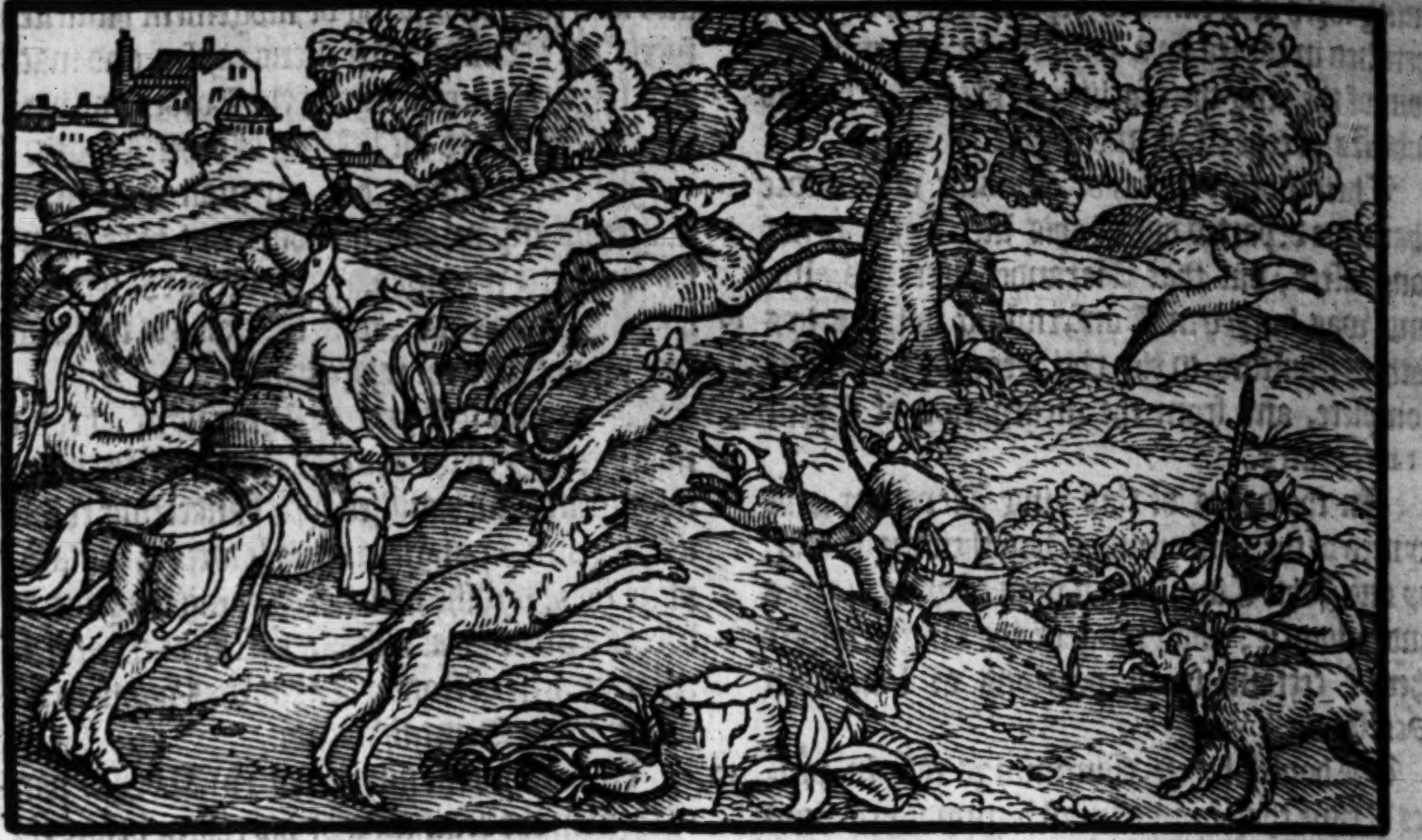
Moreouer he tranſlated the Biſhops Sea of Murthlake vnto Aberden, for ſundrie aduiſed conſiderations, augmenting it with certaine reuenues, as he thought expedient.

A tale.

There goeth a fond forged tale, that this king Dauid being in the Caſtel of Edenburgh, on the holy Rood day in Harueſt, otherwiſe called the Exaltation of the croſſe, it chaũced that through exciting of certaine yong Lordes and Gentlemen, after he had beene at Churche, hee tooke his Horſe and rode forth into the next woodes to hunt the Harte, for in thoſe dayes all that countrey was full of Woods and waſt grounds, repleniſhed with Deare and wilde beaſtes, ſmall tyllage as then beeing vſed in any part of the Realme, for all the people in maner were giuen to breeding of Cattell, more than to any other trade of liuing.

The Countrey about Edenburgh in olde time full of Wood.

The king therefore being paſſed through the dale or valley whiche lyeth plaine Eaſt from the ſayde Caſtell (where nowe ſtandeth the



Cannogate.

the Cannogate) the Houndes were caſt off, and great noyſe rayſed, what with their opening and blaſt of hornes, that all the wilde beaſtes were ſone on foot for dread thereof, and diuerſe of them ſtreyght had in chaſe. And nowe was the King come to the foote of the hyll, and all his nobles ſeuered here and there from him, when ſodenly appeared to his ſight the faireſt Hart that euer man ſet eye vpon: The dynne or noyſe of this Hart comming towardes the king with his ful courſe, made the kings horſe ſo afrayde, that he was not able to ſtay him with the reigne, but that he ran quite away with him, through thicke and thin, the Hart ſtill following ſo faſt and with ſuche violence, that at length hee bare both horſe and man to the grounde: And as the king caſt backe his handes betwixt the tyndes of this Hart, to defende himſelfe from hurt, there ſlipped a croſſe into his handes after a myraculous ſort, and immediately therewith the Hart ruſhed away with great violence, and could neuer after be ſeene.

A croſſe falling into the kings handes.

This was in the ſame place where nowe ſprings a fountaine called the Rood Well.

There is no man that could tell of what matter this Croſſe was made, whether of mettall, ſtone, or of tree.

A dreame.

He was admoniſhed alſo, (as the report goeth) in his ſlepe the next night after, that he ſhould buylde an Abbay in the ſame place where thys chaunce happened. Wherupon he ſent for workmen into Fraunce and Flaunders, and ſet them in hande to buyld this Abbey of Chanons reguler, as he was admoniſhed, dedicating it in the honor of the Croſſe.

Holy Rood houſe builded

The forelayde Croſſe remayned in this Abbey, til the dayes of king Dauid Bruce, who loſt it to the Engliſh men at Durram field where he was takẽ priſoner. But inough of theſe Mõkiſh deuiſes.

Many prudent men blame greatly the vnmeaſurable liberalitie of king' Dauid, the which he vſed towardes the Churche, in diminiſhing ſo hugely the reuenues of the Crowne, beeing the cauſe that manye noble Princes his ſucceſſours haue come to their final endes, for that they haue beene conſtrayned through want of treaſure to mainteyne their royall eſtates, to procure the fall of ſundrie great houſes, to poſſeſſe theyr landes and liuings.

Liberalitie i king Daui toward the Church reproued.

Alſo to rayſe paymentes and exactions of the common people, to the vtter impoueriſhment of the realme.

And ſometime haue they bene conſtrayned to inuade Englande by warres as deſperate men, not caring what came of their liues.

Otherwhiles haue they beene inforced to ſtampe naughtie money, to the great preiudice of the common wealth.

All which miſchiefes haue followed ſithe the time that the Church hath beene thus enryched, and the crowne empoueriſhed.

The Chur enriched, the crowne enpouerish

Therfore king Iames the firſt, when he came to king Dauid his Sepulture at Dunfirmling, he ſayd, that he was a ſore Saint for the crown, meaning that he left the Church ouer riche, and the Crowne too poore.

The ſaying king Iame the firſt. A ſore Sai

For he tooke from the crowne (as Iohn Maior wryteth in his Chronicles) lx. thouſand poũd Scottiſh of yearely reuenues, which he endowed thoſe Abbayes with. But if king Dauid had conſidered the maner how to nouriſh true religion, he had neyther endowed Churches with ſuch riches, nor buylt them with ſuch royall magnificence: for the ſuperfluous poſſeſſions of the Church (as they are now vſed) are not only occaſion to euill Prelates to liue in moſte inſolent pompe and corruption of life, but alſo an aſſured net to drawe all maner of gold and ſiluer out of the

Io. Maior. Lx.M. pou in lands gi to the chur

Superfluou poſſeſſion the Church.

the realme: howbeit leſſe domage would follow if the Abbays were at the prouiſion of their ordinaries without any diſpenſation from theyr habite and religion, and the ordinaries to be placed and admitted by their prymate without exemption, and the prymate by the councel prouincial: For within theſe.lxx.yeares ſayth the tranſlator of Hector Boetius his Chronacles (meaning from the time that he wrote, whiche was aboute the yeare of our redemption.1530.) no benefices at all were fetched from Rome, ſaue onely Biſhoprickes.

Balantine.

Benefices fetched from Rome.

Sithe whiche time it is knowen wel inough (ſayth he) what golde and ſiluer hath gone forth of the realme for the purchaſing of ſpirituall promotions.

And therfore it is(as he alſo ſaith)to be doubted, leaſt the realme ſhal be brought to irrecouerable pouertie by continuall promotion of Prelates within theſe fewe yeares, ſo as it ſhal be an eaſie pray to the enimies, ſithe it may not ſuſtayne ſo great charges, nowe (by reaſon hereof) in time of warres as it hath done in the dayes of our elders. Thus muche haue I taken forth of the ſaide tranſlators wordes, and of John Maior his booke, touching the abuſe of ſpirituall mēs poſſeſſions, the which both of them do earneſtly lament with many moe wordes in the place before alledged, where they make mencion of king Dauid his great munificēce towards the church.

Promotiō of prelates.

But nowe to returne where I left, touching the hiſtorie, ye ſhall note that as I ſayde before, king Dauid had by his wife Mauld inheritour to parte of Northumberland, Cumberland and Huntington, a ſonne named Henry, who maried the Erle of Warrannes daughter, a lady of high parentage, as diſcended of moſt noble bloud both French and Engliſh. On whom he begat three ſonnes, Malcolme, William, and Dauid: alſo three daughters, Adhama, Margaret, & Maulde.

Erle of Warranne.

The iſſue of Henry.

But now in the meane time whileſt the aſtate of the common wealth in Scotland, ſtood in high felicitie, vnder the proſperous gouernmēt of king Dauid, there happened to him an heauie loſſe: for the Queene his wife the foreſayd Mauld deceaſſed in hyr flouriſhing age, a woman of paſſing beautie and chaſtitie, whiche two poynts (as is thought) commende a woman aboue all the reſt.

Queene Mauld deceaſſeth.

King Dauid therfore tooke ſuche griefe for hyr death, that he woulde neuer after giue his minde to marie any other, but paſſed the reſidue of his life without companie of all women. She was buried in Scone, in the yeare of our lorde God.1132.

1132.

Whileſt theſe things came thus to paſſe in Scotland, Henry Beauclerke king of England, cauſed all the nobles of his realme to take theyr othes, that after his deceaſſe they ſhould receyue his daughter Mauld the Empreſſe for their ſoueraine Ladie and Queene.

Mauld the Empreſſe.

She was as then returned into England: for hyr huſbande the Emperoure was lately before deceaſſed.

King Dauid alſo tooke this othe, and therefore when king Stephan (who vſurped the crowne of England after king Henries deceaſſe againſt the ſaide Empreſſe) ſent vnto king Dauid to come and to do his homage for the Erledomes of Northumberlande, Cumberlande and Huntington (according as by his tenure he was bounde to do) with intimation that if he refuſed, king Stephan woulde inuade him with open warre: King Dauid anſweared, that he had giuen his faith once aforehand for thoſe landes vnto the Empreſſe Maulde, which he minded not to breake for the threatening wordes of any new inuaſours.

King Stephan.

Homage is required.

King Stephan moued with this anſwere, ſent a power of men to the bordures of Northumberland (whiche as then was vnder the dominion of the Scottes) to make a rode vpon the inhabitants of that countrey. They that had the charge of this enterpryſe, entring into the landes of theyr enimies, put all to the fire and ſworde that came in theyr way.

The Engliſhmen inuade Northumberland.

The Scottes kindled with that diſpleaſure, roded into England, and did the like diſpleaſures and hurtes there.

The Scottes make rodes into England.

For the yeare after, the Earles of Marche, Menteth, and Angus entred into England with a great armie, againſt whom came the Earle of Glouceſter, and giuing them batayle at Northallertoun, loſt the fielde, and was taken pryſoner himſelfe with diuers other nobles of England.

The Earle of Glouceſter Robert was againſt K. Stephā, but there might be ſome other happely, vnto whom K. Stephan had giuen that title.

King Stephan therefore, conſtreyned to redeeme the captiues, gaue not onely a great ſome of money for them, but alſo made reſignation of all ſuch title, clayme and intereſt as eyther he or any of his ſucceſſours might make or pretend to the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland.

A reſignatiō.

Howbeit his nobles were no ſooner returned home, but that repenting him of that reſignatiō, he gathered his puyſance againe, and entring into Northumberland, fought with the Scottes that came forth to reſiſt him, and obtayning the victorie, tooke a great parte of the countrey into his poſſeſſion.

King Stephan repenteth.

King Dauid to redreſſe theſe iniuries, gathered a mightie army, with deliberate minde, either to expell the Engliſhmen out of all the boundes of his dominions, or els to die in the payne.

But ſhortly after, Thurſtane Archbiſhop of Yorke came vnto Roxbourgh called in thoſe dayes Marken, to treate for a peace, where a truce was concluded for three monethes, with

Roxburgh in old time Marken.

A truce.

condition that the Engliſhmen ſhould deliuer vp the dominion of Northumberland vnto the lord Henry king Dauid his ſonnes.

King Dauid inuadeth Northumberland.

But for ſo muche as this couenant was not perfourmed on king Stephens ſide, king Dauid inuaded that part of the cuntrey which the Engliſhmen helde, making greate ſlaughter of all them that he found there about to reſiſt him.

King Stephan paſſeth vnto Roxbourgh.

King Stephan returneth.

King Stephen moued herewith, leuied his people, and came in puiſſant aray vnto Roxborough: but for that he had ſecrete knowledge that ſome of the nobles in his armie ſoughte hys deſtruction, hee was conſtrayned to returne without atchieuing of any worthie enterpriſe.

The yeare next enſuyng, a peace was talked vpon, the Archbiſhops of Cantorbury & Yorke appointed commiſſioners in the treatie therof on the behalfe of king Stephen, and the biſhops of Glaſgewe, Aberden, and Saint Androwes on the partie of king Dauid. But Maulde queene of Englande, the daughter of Euſtace Earle of Bologne, and neece to king Dauid by his ſiſter Marie, was the chiefeſt doer in this matter, to bring them to agreement.

A peace.

Couenants of agreement.

The one of the kings, that is to ſay Stephen, lay at Dureſme with his nobles, and the other, that is to ſay Dauid, lay at Newcaſtell, during all the time of this treatie, which at length ſorted to the concluſion of a peace, on theſe conditions, that the counties of Northumberland and Huntingdon ſhoulde remaine in the gouernement of Henry Prince of Scotland, as heire to the ſame by right of his mother:

But Cumberlande ſhoulde be reputed as the inheritance and right of his father king Dauid.

Homage.

And for theſe landes and ſeigniories the forenamed Prince Henry and his ſucceſſours Princes of Scotlande ſhould doe homage vnto kyng Stephen and his ſucceſſours kings of England for the tyme being.

Carleil was repaired by William Rufus K of England, about the yeare of our Lorde. 1092.

The peace thus ratified betwixt the two kinges and their ſubiectes, kyng Stephen returned into Kent, and king Dauid repaired into Cumberland, where he fortified the towne of Carleile with new walles and dyches.

Thus paſſed the three firſt yeres of king Stephens reigne.

In the fourthe yeare came Maulde the Empreſſe into Englande to clayme the crown therof (as in the Engliſhe hiſtorie more playnely may appeare.

The death of Henry prince of Scotland.

1152.

But whyleſt Englande was ſore tormented with warres by contrarye factions of the nobles for the quarelles of thoſe two perſones, no ſmall ſorrow hapned to Scotland for the death of Henrie the prince of that land, and onely ſonne vnto king Dauid, who died at Kelſo, and was buried in the Abbey church there, in the yeare of our redemption. 1152.

His death was greatly bemoned aſwel of his father the king, as of all other the eſtates and degrees of the realme, for ſuch ſingular vertue and noble conditions as appeared in hym.

Prince Henry his iſſue.

But yet for that he lefte iſſue behynd him. iij. ſons and. iij. daughters (as before is mentioned) the Realme was not thoughte vnprouided of heires.

The lawe of nature.

The king alſo being mortified from the world, tooke the death of his ſonne very patiently, conſidering that al men are ſubiect vnto death by the lawe of nature, and are ſure no longer to remaine here, than their day appointed by the eterne determination of him that giueth and taketh away lyfe and breath when pleaſeth him, as by dayly experience is moſt manyfeſt.

Therfore that king Dauid wayed the loſſe of his ſonne in ſuche balance, it maye appeare by an Oration which hee made to his nobles, at what tyme after his ſonnes deceaſe, they came to comforte hym. For he perceyuing them to be ryghte heauie and ſorowfull for the loſſe whiche he and they had ſuſteyned by the death of ſo towardly a prince, that was to haue ſucceeded him, if God had lent him lyfe thereto: in the ende of a royall feaſt the whiche he made vnto thoſe nobles that came thus to viſite hym, hee beganne in this wyſe.

An oration.

Howe great your fidelitie and care is whiche you beare towards me, although oftẽtimes heretofore I haue proued it, yet this preſent day I haue receyued moſt ample fruite therof: for now do I plainely ſee, that you lament no leſſe for the loſſe of my late deceaſſed ſonne, than if you had buried ſome one of your own ſonnes, & are therefore come to your great trauaile & paine to comfort me, whom you eſteeme to be ſore afflicted for the ouer timely death of my ſayde moſte obedient ſonne: but to let paſſe for this time due yelding of thanks to you for the ſame, till occaſion and leyſure may better ſerue thereto: this nowe may ſuffice, that I acknowledge my ſelf to be ſo much beholden to you, that what ſoeuer thing I haue in the worlde, the ſame is ready to do you pleaſure. But cõcerning the cauſe of your comming hither in ſhewing your courteſies therein, you ſhall vnderſtande, that my parentes whom I truſte to be in heauen, and (as Saintes) enioy the fruytes of theyr vertuous trauayles here taken on earth, did ſo inſtruct me from my tender youth, that I ſhould worſhip with all reuerence the moſt wiſe creatour & prouident gouernour of all things, and to thinke that nothing was done by him in vaine, but that the ſame is prouided & ordeyned to ſome good vſe by his highe and inſearchable counſell, and therefore whyleſt day and nighte I haue and do reuolue and call to

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Why we ou-
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remembraunce the precepts and inſtructions of my parents, what ſo euer hath chaunced eyther touching aduerſitie or proſperitie, good happe or bad, the ſame hath ſeemed to me (at the firſte) receyuing all things with equall and thankefull minde, and interpreting them to the beſte, farre more light than they commonly ſeeme to others, and leſſe they did diſquiet me, ſo as with vſe I haue learned at length, not onely paciently to beare all aduerſities that may happen, but alſo to receyue the ſame as things pleaſant and euen to be deſired. And verily my happe hath bene to be greatly exerciſed in this behalfe, for I haue firſte ſeene my father more deare to me thã any earthly treaſure, and no leſſe profitable than greatly deſired of all the people, and yet neyther the loue of the people, nor of his kinſmenne and frendes might warrant him from this fatall neceſſitie of death. I haue knowen my mother right famous in the worlde for hyr ſinguler vertue to paſſe hence in like maner. My bretherne that were ſo louing, and againe ſo greatly beloued of me, alſo my wife whom I eſteemed more than all other creatures, are they not gone the ſame way, and compelled to beare deaths harde ordinaunce? So verily ſtandeth the caſe, that no man might yet at any time auoyde the violence of his force when he commeth, for we all alike owe this life vnto him, as a due debte that muſte needes be payd. But this is to be receyued with a thankfull minde, in that the bountifull beneuolence of our God hath graunted that we ſhall be all immortall, if we our ſelues through vice, and as it were ſpotted with filthie diſeaſes of the minde, do not fall into the danger of eternall death. Wherfore of right me thinke I haue cauſe to reioyce, that God by his ſingular fauour hath graunted to me ſuche a ſonne, whiche in all mens iudgement was worthie to be beloued whileſt he was here amongſt vs, and to be wiſhed for now, after he is departed from hence, but ought we to take it heauily, that he to whom he belonged, and who had lent him vnto vs, ſhould call for him again, and take him that was his owne? For what iniurie is it, if when I ſee occaſion I ſhall aſke that againe whiche you haue poſſeſſed through my benefite as lent to you for a time. Neyther do I truſte to want him long, if God ſhalbe ſo mercyfull vnto me as I wiſhe him to be, for I hope ſhortly to be called hence by commaundement of that moſt high king, and to be caried vp to reſt among that felowſhippe of heauenly ſpirites, where I ſhall finde my father and mother, my bretherne, wife, and ſonne in far better eſtate than here I knew thẽ. Therfore that I may repete it once again I reioyce (I ſay) to haue obtained in my ſon, by yͤ grace of yͤ ſupernal God, yͭ I am aſſured by faith, he is already in yͤ place to the whiche all we do earneſtly wiſhe that we may atteyne, and do endeuour by all meanes, that when the time cõmeth in whiche our ſoules are to be lewſed forth of theſe frayle bodies of ours as out of pryſons, they may be found worthie of that companie, in which our cõfidence is, that he now moſt bliſſefully is remayning. Except any man may thinke that wee are ſo enuious, that therefore we do lament, bicauſe as yet we ſticke faſt ouerwhelmed & drowned in ſuche fylthye myres and combered in ſuche thornye thickets and buſhes, oute of the whiche he (beeing now deliuered of all cares) hath eſcaped. But let vs rather by followyng the foote ſteppes of him and other vertuous perſons that are gone afore vs, labour both day & night, that at length through heauenly fauour, wee may come to the place where we do recken that by deuine power he is alreadie arriued. After that the king had made an end of his Oration, and thankes giuen to God for his bountifull munificence, they roſe from the table and departed to theyr lodgings, they all greatly marueyling at the kings highe prudence and godly wiſedome.

Malcolme the ſonne of Henry proclaimed prince of Scotlande.

Erle of Northumberlande.

After this was Malcolme the eldeſt ſonne of the before mencioned prince Henry, proclaymed in his place prince of Scotlande, and conueyed through the moſte partes of the realme by Duncane Earle of Fyfe, and other of the nobles appointed, to attende vpon and to receyue the othes of all the Barons for theyr allegiaunce in his name. William the ſecond ſonne of prince Henry was conueyed into Northumberland by the foreſayde nobles, and there proclaimed and created Erle of that countrey.

Henry the empreſſe hir ſon receyueth the order of knighthode.

Then went king Dauid himſelfe vnto Carleile, where he met with Henry the ſonne of the Empreſſe, who receyued the order of knighthood there at his hands. This was a little before that the ſame Henry came to an agreemẽt with king Stephen, whereby he was admitted to the poſſeſſion of halfe the realme of Englande, and promiſed by othe of aſſurance (as the Scottiſh writers ſaye) that he ſhoulde neuer be aboute to take the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntingdon from the crowne of Scotland.

Shortly after was king Dauid taken with a ſore diſeaſe and maladie, which continued wyth him to the ende of his lyfe.

And ſo when hee perceyued himſelfe to ware faynte and feeble, he required to be borne to the Churche, where he receyued the ſacrament of the Lordes bodie and bloud, with moſt ſolemne reuerence, and then beeing brought againe to hys chamber, he called together his nobles, and commending vnto thẽ his yong nephewes, the ſonnes of his ſonne the forenamed prince Henry, he kiſſed eche one of them after an other, moſt inſtant-

The exhortation of king Dauid to his nobles.

ly deſiring them in the honour of almighty God, to ſeeke the preſeruation of common quiet, to the aduauncement of the publike weale.

King Dauid departeth out of this life.

This done, he departed out of this life in the xxix. yeare of his raigne, or rather in the. xxx. yere if he reygned. xxix. and two moneths, as John Maior hath.

1153.

His body was buried in Dunfermeling, after the incarnatiō of Chriſt our ſauiour. 1153. yeares.

Howe farre this prince king Dauid excelled in noble vertues and ſober conuerſation of lyfe, I haue thought it better to paſſe ouer with ſilence, than to go about in few wordes to comprehende that, wherein if I ſhoulde ſpende muche time, I were not able yet in any wiſe worthily to performe: for where in ſuche caſes fewe things are ſlenderly ſhewed, the reſidue may ſeeme to be omitted through fault of the writer: but yet this is not to be forgotten that where his ſinguler pitifull regard whiche he had towardes the reliefe of the poore, paſſed all other his notable vertues, he purged his court alſo in ſuche wiſe of all vicious rule & miſordered cuſtomes, yͭ his whole family was giuen onely to the exerciſe of vertue, no riotous banqueting nor ſurfeting cheare was vſed amongſt them, no laſciuious worde heard come forth of any mans mouth, nor yet any wanton ſignes ſhewed to prouoke ſenſuall luſte or carnall concupiſcence.

His ſinguler pitie towardes the poore.

King Dauids court.

King Dauids ſeruantes.

All the wordes, workes, and whole demeanour of his ſeruaunts tended to ſome good concluſion. Nothing moued to ſtyrre ſtryfe or ſedition, but al things ordered in ſuche frendly and peaceable ſorte, that the chayne of brotherly loue ſeemed to haue linked them all in one minde and will. Such a rule was theyr maiſter king Dauid vnto them and all other, to direct and frame a perfect and godly life after.

King Dauids example, a rule of godly liuing.

Malcolme.

KIng Dauid being dead and buried (as before is mencioned,) Malcolme nephew to him by his ſonne Henry, ſucceeded in yͤ aſtate.

He was but. xiiij. yeares of age, when he began his reygne, but yet his modeſtie and vertuous conditions were ſuche, that all men conceyued a good hope, that he would proue a right noble and worthie prince.

The educatiō of king Malcolme.

He was nouriſhed and brought vp in ſuche vertue, euen from his infancie, that deliting in chaſte conuerſation and cleanneſſe of body and minde, he liued ſingle all the dayes of his life, and without mariage, wherefore he was ſurnamed Malcolme the Mayden.

A dearth.

About the time of his entring into the poſſeſſion of the crowne, there was a greate dearth through all the boundes of Scotlande.

A death no contagiou

And ſone after followed a ſore death bothe amongſt men & beaſtes, though it was not perceyued that the diſeaſe whereof they died was any thing contagious.

Somerleid Thane of gile, goeth a boute to ma himſelfe kin

Hereof did one Somerleid the Thane of Argile take occaſion to attempt an higher enterpriſe, than ſtoode with the baſeneſſe of his lynage and eſtate: for conſidering that the one halfe of the realme was conſumed by mortalitie, and the other halfe neare hande famiſſhed through lacke of foode, hee thought it an eaſie mater for him, now whileſt the king was vnder yeares of ripe diſcretion, to vſurpe the gouernance of the realme into his owne handes, and ſo aſſembling togither an huge companie of ſuch as in hope of pray lightly conſented to his opinion, hee came forward to make as it were a full conqueſt, ſleaing and ſpoyling all ſuch in his way as went aboute to reſiſt him.

Somerlei crueltie.

Gilcriſt ſe with an a againſt Somerleid.

But his preſumptuous enterprice was ſhortly repreſſed: For Gylcriſt Earle of Angus lieutenaunt of the kings army, reyſed to reſiſt Somerleides attempts, encountred with him in battayle and ſlew. ij. M. of his menne. Somerleid hauing receyued this ouerthrowe, and eſcaping from the fielde, fledde into Ireland, and ſo ſaued his lyfe.

Henry the ſecond of that name king of Englande, hearing that Malcolme had thus ſubdued his domeſtical enimies, dread leaſt he being emboldened therwith, ſhould now attempt ſomewhat againſt the Engliſhmen, and therefore by counſell of his Nobles, he ſent an Herald vnto king Malcolme, commaunding him to come vnto London, there to do his homage vnto him, for the landes of Cumberland, Northumberlād, and Huntington, in maner and forme as his graundfather king Dauid had before done vnto his predeceſſour Henry the firſt, with certificate, that if he fayled he would take from him all the ſayde landes.

K. Malco ſummoned do homag

King Malcolme obeyed this cōmaundement of king Henry, but yet vnder condition, (as the Scottiſh wryters affirme) that it ſhoulde in no maner wiſe preiudice the fraunchеſſes and liberties of the Scottiſh kingdome.

King Malcome goeth with king H ry into Fra

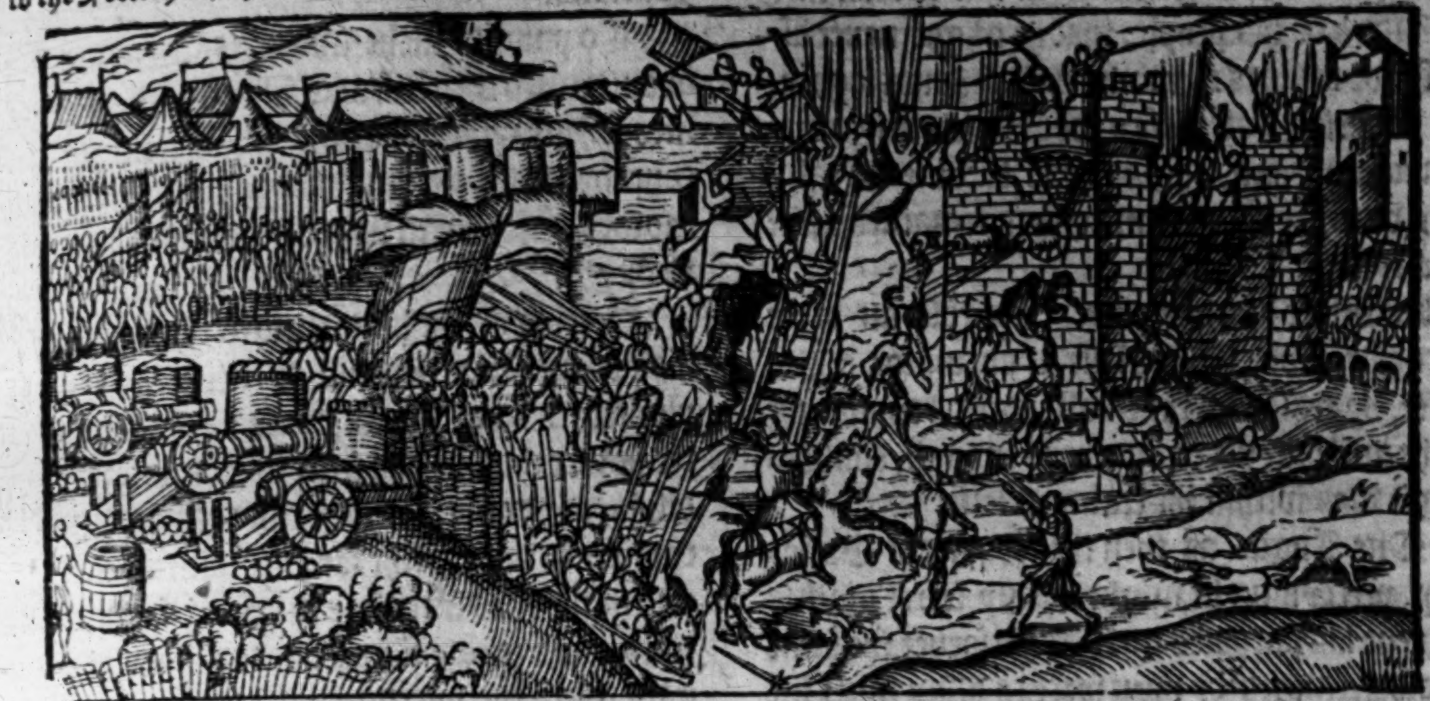
The ſame time king Henry had warres againſt Lewes the. vj. king of Fraunce, and ſo paſſing ouer into that realme, conſtreyned king Malcolme to go with him in that iourney againſt his will, notwithſtanding that hee had a ſafecunduite freely to come and goe.

In this voyage king Henry did much hurte

to the

olous be-
ged.

to the Frenchmen, and at length beſieged the citie of Tholous.



g Henries
ming.

In all whiche enterpryſes he had Malcolme preſent with him, to the ende that Malcolme might encurre ſuch hatred and diſpleaſure of the Frenchmen, that thereby the band betwixt them and the Scottes might finally be diſſolued: but in the end king Henry hauing loſte diuers of his noble men by ſickeneſſe, hee returned into England, and then licenced king Malcolme to returne home into Scotland. Who at his cōming home ſent the Biſhop of Murray, and one of his Secretaries vnto the ſea of Rome, as ambaſſadours vnto the Pope, whiche as then hight Eugenius the thirde of that name, to recogniſe the obedience which he ought to the Romaine ſea.

bаſſadours
to Rome.

rliament
Scone.

g Mal-
me repro-
d by his
ies.

g Mal-
es excuſe.

Shortly after alſo, there was a parliament holden at Scone, where king Malcolme was ſore rebuked by his Lordes, in that he had borne through his owne foly, armure agaynſt the Frenchmen their olde confederate frendes and auncient alies: but king Malcolme excuſed the mater with humble wordes, ſaying he came vnwarely into king Henries handes, and therefore might not chooſe but accompliſhe his will and pleaſure at that time, ſo that he ſuppoſed verily how yͤ Frēch king would take no great diſpleaſure with his doings, whan he once vnderſtoode the trouth of the mater.

g Mal-
e goeth
Yorke.

King Henry hauing perfect vnderſtanding of this grudge betwixt the Scottiſh Lordes and their king, thought to renew the ſame with more diſpleaſure, and thervpon ſent for king Malcolme to come vnto Yorke to a parliamēt which he held there, where at his comming, he was burdened by a right greeuous complaynt ſurmiſed againſt him by king Henry, for that he ſhoulde reuele vnto the Frenchmen, all the ſecretes of the Engliſhe army, when hee was with him in Fraunce, at the aboue remembred iourney, alleging the ſame to be ſufficient mater, for the which he ought to forfeyt all the landes, whiche he helde of the crowne of England, as Cumberland, Northumberland, and Huntington.

Fond dealing and not likely to be true.

And though king Malcolme by many ſubſtanciall reaſons declared, thoſe allegations to be vntrue and vniuſtly forged, yet by king Henries earneſt enforcing of the mater, ſentence was giuen againſt him, by the generall aſſent of all the eſtates there in that parliament aſſembled. And moreouer to bring king Malcolme in further diſpleaſure with his nobles, king Henry gaue notice vnto them before king Malcome returned backe into his countrey, how he had of his owne accorde renounced all his clayme, right title, and intereſt, whiche hee had to the foreſayde landes, ſuppoſing by this meanes to make king Malcolme far more odious to all his lieges and ſubiectes, than euer he was before.

Sentence giuē againſt king Malcolme at Yorke.

Malcolme therfore, vpon his returne into his countrey, not vnderſtanding any thing of that ſubtile contriued policie and ſlaunderous report, was beſieged within the caſtell of Bertha by the Thane of Ernedale and diuers others.

King Malcolme is beſieged.

But after it was knowen howe euill king Malcolme had bene vſed, & moſt vntruly ſlaundered, they deſired pardon of theyr offence, as induced therto by vntrue reports, which once being graunted, they brake vp theyr ſiege, and euer after continued in faithfull allegiaunce like true & moſt obedient ſubiectes.

But king Malcome ſore moued for that he was thus iniuriouſly handled by king Henry, firſte deſiring reſtitution to be made of all ſuche things as had bene wrongfully taken from him, and ſo deteyned by the Engliſhmen, proclaymed open warres agaynſt them.

Open warres proclaymed againſt the Engliſhmen.

At length after ſundry harmes done aſwell on the one parte as the other, they came to a cōmunication in a certaine appointed place, not far from Carleil, where to be briefe, it was finally concluded, that king Malcolme ſhoulde receyue againe Cumberland and Huntington: but for Northumberland he ſhoulde make a playne releaſe thereof vnto king Henry, and to his ſucceſſours for euer.

A concluſion of agreement.

For

King Malcolme hated of his people.

Feare of outwarde enimies cauſeth quietneſſe at home.

For the which agreement he ran ſo farre into the hatred of his people, that he might neuer after fynde meanes to winne their fauours again, but doubting leaſt if they ſhould ſtirre any rebellion againſt him, they mighte become an eaſye pray vnto the Engliſhmen, they remained quiet for a tyme.

Howebeit ſhortely after, there roſe an other piece of trouble, though leſſe in outwarde apparance, by reaſon of the ſmall power remayning in the authour, yet daungerous inough, conſidering it was within the realme it ſelfe.

Angus the Thane of Galloway rayſeth a commotion: vpon what occaſion writers make not anye mencion.

One Angus as then the Thane of Galloway, perceyuing he might not by ſecret practiſe atchieue his purpoſed intẽt (whatſoeuer the ſame was) determined by open force to aſſay what luckie ſucceſſe Fortune wold ſend hym, hoping that thoſe which through feare ſate as yet ſtill, would aſſiſte hym in all his attemptes, ſo ſoone as they ſaw any commotion reyſed by hym to occaſion them thereto.

Angus diſcõfited by Gilcriſt.

Hervpon he aſſembled together a great companie: but before he coulde worke anye notable feate, to make anye accounte of, Gylcriſte Earle of Angus, (whoſe faithfull valiancie was before manyfeſtly approued in the ſuppreſſion of Somerleyds rebellion) diſcomfited his power, in three ſundrye bickerings, chaſed Angus hymſelfe vnto Whyterne, where is a place of Sanctuarie priuiledged for the ſafegarde of all offendours that flee therto for ſuccour in the honour of ſainct Ninian.

Whyterne, a place of ſanctuarie.

Angus beſieged in Whyterne.

Angus yeldeth him ſelfe to the king.

Malcolme then, for that he durſte not breake the franuches of that place, ſette a bande of men of warre round about it, to watch that he ſhuld by no meanes eſcape away, ſo that at lengthe awearyed as it had bene with long ſiege, hee yelded himſelfe to the king, who takyng his ſonne to pledge for his good abearing in tyme to come, licenced hym to go whyther it ſhuld pleaſe hym: but the moſt part of his lands and liuings were confiſcate to the kings vſe.

Angus became a chanon.

Wherevppon when hee ſawe he myghte not maynteyn his eſtate as he had done before, he became a Chanon in holy Rood houſe, and ther ended his life (as it is reported.)

A rebellion moued by the Murrayes.

Gildo captayn of the rebels.

The cruelte of the rebelles.

It was not long after the pacifying of thys trouble, but that a newe rebellion was rayſed: for the Murray lande men by the prouocation of their Captaine named Gildo, waſted with fyre and ſworde the countreys of Ros, Bowgewal, or Bougdale, Mar, Gareoch, Buchquhane, and the Mernes, in more cruell ſorte, than any forrayne and moſte barbarous Nation wold haue done, in ſo muche that when the kyng ſente dyners of his ſeruauntes vnto them to vnderſtand the cauſe of their rebellious doings, they ſlewe thoſe meſſengers, contrarye to the lawe of Nations.

To puniſhe ſuche iniurious attemptes, the abouenamed Gilcriſt was ſente wyth an armie into Murrayland, but the rebels nothyng diſcouraged with the knowledge of his approued prowes, mette hym in the fielde, and put hym to flyght.

Gilcriſt

fited by

Mur ray

Herevppon the king himſelfe ſuppoſing that his preſence was needfull to encourage his people after this ouerthrow, came with a farre greater power than he had ſente forthe before, wyth diſplayed banner, ouer the riuer of Spay, nere to the mouth whereof he foughte with the enimies, and in the ende after ſore and long fyght continued with greate ſlaughter and bloudſhead, hee gaue them the ouerthrowe, and in reuenge of their cruelties ſhewed in tyme of this their rebellion, and to giue enſample to all other hys ſubiectes that ſhoulde goe about to attempte the like, he commaunded that none of thoſe of Murray lande ſhould be ſaued (women, children and aged perſons only excepted) but that all the reſidue of that generation ſhoulde paſſe by the edge of the ſworde.

The M

are ou

wen.

Thus the Murray land men being deſtroyed according to his commaundement thorough all partes of the realme, hee appoynted other people to inhabite their rowmthes, that the countreye ſhould not lye waſt without habitation.

The M

deſtroy

In thys meane tyme, Somerleid the Thane of Argyle (who as ye haue hearde was fled ouer into Irelande) vpon truſt of the hatred into the whiche Malcolme was runne with the moſte parte of all his nobles and commons thoroughe this ſlaughter of his people, and namely of them of Murrey lande, he thought to aſſay fortunes chaunce once againe, and ſo therevpon returned with certain Kernes and naked men into Scotlande: but this laſt enterpryſe of his came to a more vnluckie ende than the firſt, for being vanquiſhed in batayle at Renfrowe, he loſt the moſt parte of all his menne, and was taken priſoner hymſelfe, and after hanged on a gybet, by commaundement of the king, accordyng to that hee had iuſtly merited.

Somer

turneth

Scotland.

Somerl

vanqui

Renfrow.

Somerl

hanged.

Malcolme hauing thus ſubdued his aduerſaries, and being nowe in reſt and quiet, he ſette hys mynde wholly to gouerne his realme in vpright Iuſtice, & hauing two ſiſters mariageable, he coupled the elder named Margarete, wyth Conone duke of Britayne, and the yonger called Adhama, hee maryed with Florence, Earle of Hollande.

King Mal

colme

maryed.

After thys, there was a councell holden at Scone of all the Scottiſh nobilitie, where when they were aſſembled togyther in the Councell chamber, Arnaulde Archebiſhoppe of Sainte Andrewes ſtoode vp, and by a ryght piththye

A parli

at Sco

he oration of
nald Arch-
hop of saint
Androwes.

Oration, tooke vppon him to aduiſe the king to chaunge his purpoſe touching his vow, which as appeared, he had made to liue chaſte.

He declared vnto him by many weightie reaſons, that it was not only neceſſarie for him and his Realme, that he ſhould take a wife, by whom he might rayſe vp ſeede to ſucceede him in the poſſeſſion of the Crowne) but alſo that he might not chooſe a more perfect ſtate of lyfe (conſidering the office wherein hee was placed) than matrimonie, beeing inſtituted not by this lawmaker or that, but by God himſelfe, who in no one of all his ordinaunces myght erre or bee deceyued.

atrimonie
ituted by
od.

e pleaſure
mariage.

Agayne for pleaſure, hee affyrmed howe nothing coulde bee more delectable to him, than to haue a worthie Ladie to hys bedfellowe, wyth whome hee might conferre all the conceytes of his heart, both of griefe and gladneſſe, ſhee being a comfort vnto him as well in weale as in woe, an helpe both in ſickneſſe and health, readie to aſſwage anger, and to aduaunce myrth, alſo to refreſhe the ſpirites beeing wearyed or in any wiſe faynte through ſtudious trauayle and care of mynde. Then ſhewed he what an ayde were children vnto theyr Parentes, namely vnto Kings, howe in peace they might gouerne vnder them to the greate commoditie of the common wealth, & in warre ſupplie theyr rowmthes as Lieutenants in defence of theyr Countreyes, to the no ſmall terrour of the enimies.

e commo-
ies by a
ife.

hildren an
yde.

Men not born for thẽſelues.

Wherefore ſithe men are not borne onely for theyr owne weale, but alſo for the profite of their friendes, and commoditie of their Countrey, it coulde not bee choſen, but that he ought to perſwade with himſelfe to alter his purpoſed intention, concerning the obſeruance of chaſtitie, and to take a wife to the greate ioy and comfort of hys ſubiectes, ſithe it was commendable bothe before GOD and manne, and ſo neceſſarye withall and profitable, as nothing myght bee more.

Cõmendable before God and man.

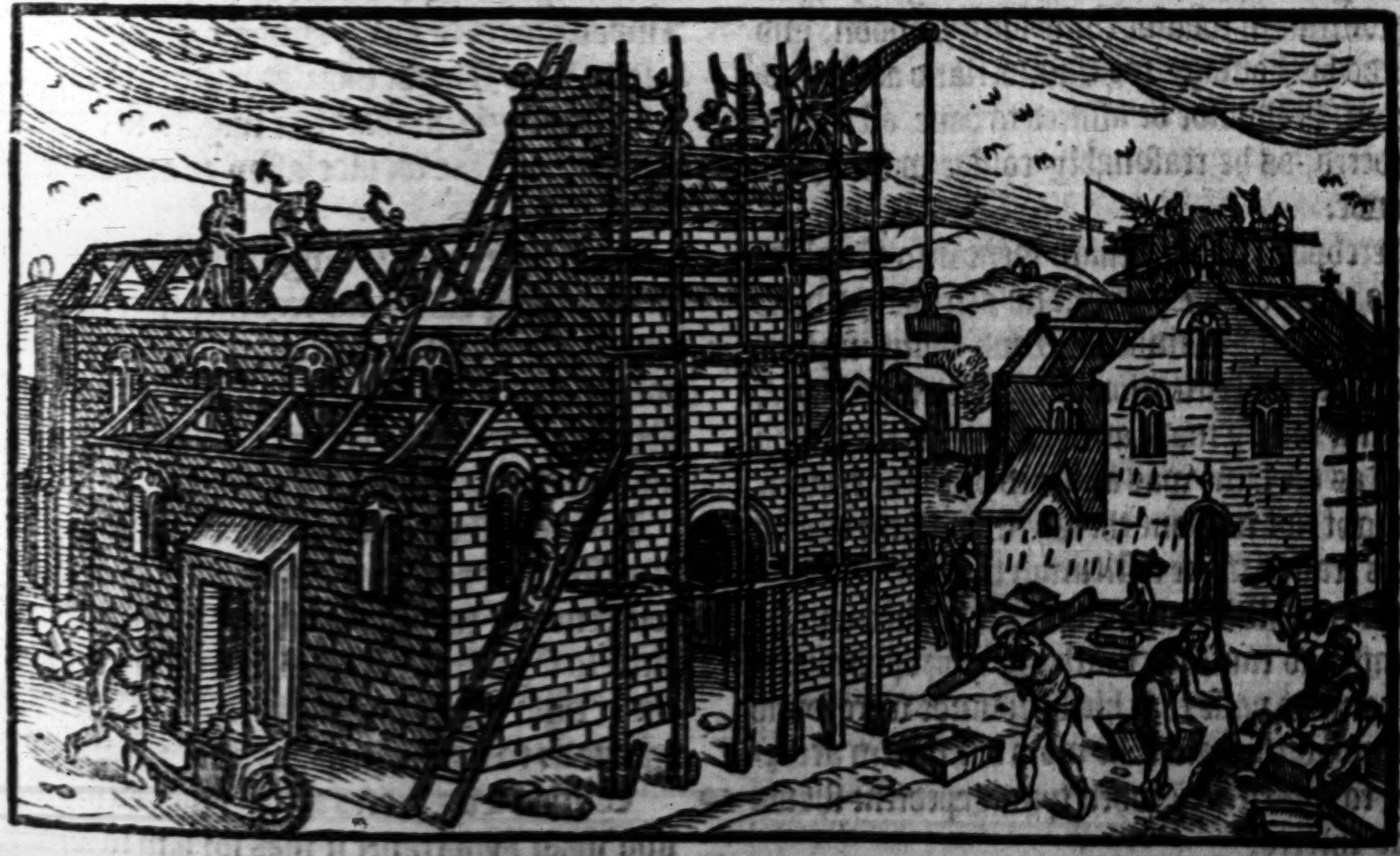
But theſe and many other moſte weightie reaſons could nothing moue his conſtant mind, hauing euen from his tender yeares fianced hys virginitie vnto Chriſt, truſting that God would ſo prouide, that the Realme ſhoulde not be deſtitute of conuenable heyres, when the time came that it ſhoulde pleaſe his diuine Maieſtie to take him hence to his mercie from amongeſt his ſubiectes.

K. Malcolme might not be perſwaded to take a wife.

Thus brake vppe that Counſell wythoute anye effecte of the purpoſe for the whiche it was called.

Shortly after it chaunced that King Malcolme fell ſicke, continuing ſo a long tyme, by reaſon whereof he ſought meanes to conclude a peace wyth Henrie King of Englande, whiche being brought to paſſe, hee ſette worke men in hande to laye the foundation of Saint Rewles Abbey, which afterwards bare the name of ſaint Androwes.

A peace concluded with Englande.



The Abbay of S. Androwes buylded.

When hee had finiſhed this houſe, being a goodly peece of worke, and right coſtly, as maye appeare at this day by the viewe thereof, he aſſigned forth certaine rentes for the ſuſtentation of the Chanons, which he placed there of the order of Saint Auguſtine, not ſo largely as ſerued for the mayntenaunce of ſuperfluous cheare, but ſufficient yet for theyr neceſſarie fynding: by reaſon whereof, the Chanons of that Abbaye lyued in thoſe dayes in moſte feruent deuotion, hauing no prouocations at all to inordinate luſtes and ſenſuall pleaſures, but onelye gyuen to diuine contemplation, wythoute reſpecte to auarice or inlarging the poſſeſſions

Superfluous rentes of Abbeyes, prouocations to inordinate luſts.

and

The abbey of Cowper founded.

The death of king Malcolm

and reuenues of their houſe: he founded alſo the abbey of Couper of the Cyſtieux order, and endowed it with many faire landes and wealthye poſſeſſions. Finally being vexed with long infirmitie, hee departed out of this lyfe at Iedburgh the .xij. yeare of his reigne.

A Comete.

A certaine comete or blaſing ſtarre appeared .xiiij. dayes together before his deathe, with long beames right terrible to beholde. His bodie was buryed at Dunfermeling, after the incarnation 1185. yeares.

1185.

Roger archbiſhop of Yorke the Popes legate.

In the days of this Malcolme, Roger Archbiſhop of Yorke, conſtituted the Popes Legate, could not be ſuffred to enter into Scotlande, bycauſe he was a man highly defamed for his couetous practiſing to enriche himſelfe by vnlawfull meanes.

William ſurnamed the Lyon.

AFter Malcolme, ſucceeded hys brother Willyam, ſurnamed for his ſingular iuſtice the Lyon.

Ambaſſadours ſente to the king of Englande.

Shortely after his Coronation, hee ſente Ambaſſadoures vnto Henrye king of Englande, requiring him, that accordyng to iuſtice, he would reſtore vnto him, the Erledom of Northumberland, ſith it appertayned by good & lawfull intereſt vnto his inheritance.

King Williā is required to doe homage.

King Henry anſwered the meſſengers, that if king William woulde come vnto London, and there do his homage for Cumberland and Huntington, he ſhoulde be aſſured to haue all things ſo ordered, as he reaſonably coulde wiſhe or demaunde.

King Williās requeſt for the reſtitution of Northumberlande.

Herevpon king William went into Englād, and ſo came vnto London, and after he had done his homage for Cumberland and Huntyngton, he required the reſtitution of Northumberlande, but king Henry made anſwer as then, that for ſo much as the ſame was annexed vnto the crown, he might not without the aſſent of all the eſtates of his realme make reſtitution therof.

The anſwer of king Henrye.

Notwithſtanding, in the next parliament, he promiſed to cauſe the matter to be proponed: and if it came to paſſe that his demaunde were found to ſtand with reaſon, he wold doe therein according to conſcience, when tyme expedient ſhould ſerue thereto.

King Henry ſayleth into Normandie.

King Willam with manye nobles of Scotlande wente with king Hēry ouer into Fraunce.

About the ſame ſeaſon king Hēry paſſed ouer into Normandy with an army, and cauſed king Willyam, with many other nobles of Scotland to goe with him in that iourney, for king Willyam would not diſobey his commandement at that preſent, in hope to attayne in quiet & peaceable maner his ſuite touchyng the reſtitution of Northumberland, (as the Scottiſh writers doe affirme) but in the ende after he had continued a long tyme with king Henry, and perceyued no comfort to recouer his lands, he got licence with muche adoe to returne home: & ſo cōmyng backe into Englād, paſſed through the realme with his nobles into Scotland, wher he applied his whole endeuour to vnderſtande the ſtate of the cōmon wealth of his ſubiectes, and ſpecially he took order in moſte diligente wyſe, to puniſhe cruelties done by theeues and robbers, which vndoubtedly was one of the moſt profitable acts that he could deuiſe to accompliſhe at that preſent, conſidering the ſtate of his realme, as it then ſtoode.

King Wil
zele of iu

For if the domages and ſkathes cōmitted by theeues and robbers were equally pondered with the hurtes and hinderances whiche dayly growe by open warre againſt any forein nation, it may well appeare, that more harme ariſeth, and more heynous cruelties are exerciſed agaynſt the poore and miſerable commons and innocent people, by ſuch as liue by reife and ſpoyling at home, than by any outward enimies, be they neuer ſo fearce and ſtrong in the field.

Scotlāde
endomaged
domeſticall
theeues th
by forain
mies.

And therefore the prudente conſideration of this prince, was no leſſe to be commēded, in that hee ſought to repreſſe the licentious outrage of ſuch errant theeues, and priuie murtherers, than if he had ſlayne many thouſandes of forraine enimies.

Ambaſſa
ſente to k
Henry.

When he hadde once clenſed the Realme of thoſe miſgouerned perſons, he ſent eftſoones hys Ambaſſadours to King Henry, requiring as before, to haue Northumberlād reſtored vnto him, with notice giuen, that if he mighte not haue it with fauour, hee woulde aſſay to recouer it by force.

See more
of in Eng

King Henry perceyuing that he muſt eyther ſatiſfye King Williams requeſt, eyther elſe haue open warres with the Scottes, by aduice of hys nobles, reſtored to king Willyam ſo muche of Northumberland as his grandfather king Malcolme had in poſſeſſion.

A portion
Northum
lande reſ
to the Sco
King Wi
receyueth
piece of N
thumberl
with his
ſaued to th
reſidue.

King William accepted the offer, but ſo as he proteſted that he receyued not that part in ful recompence of the whole whiche was due vnto him (ſo ſaye the Scottiſhe writers) but ſo as his entier right might always be ſaued as wel to the reſidue as to that which was then reſtored.

King He
repēting
ſelfe of th
whiche he
deliuered
the Scots
kes new
ſions of

Within fewe yeares after, king Henry feeling what hynderance it was for him to forbeare the commodities of thoſe landes, whiche were thus deliuered vp to the Scottiſhe kings vſe, repented him of that bargaine: and therefore to find ſome occaſion to recouer the ſame again, he procured his ſubiectes that dwelled vpon the borders, to make forrayes into the landes perteyning to the Scottes, ſo to prouoke them to battayle.

Warres with glande.

Complaint of theſe iniuries beyng broughte vnto the wardeyn of the Scottiſhe bordure, by ſuch Scottes as had loſte ſuche goodes as were taken away by the Engliſhmen, he ſente to demaunde reſtitution, but for ſo muche as he could haue no towardly aunſwere, he got together a great number of men, the which entring into the Engliſhe grounde, did muche hurt on eche ſide where they came.

At the ſame time was king Henry in France, and therefore the Engliſhmen thoughte it ſufficient to defend themſelues as wel as they might withoute attemptyng anye notable enterpriſe in reuenge of theſe diſpleaſures doone by the Scottes.

Harueſt was alſo at hande, and thereuppon they ceaſſed on eyther parte from further inuaſions, tyll the wynter ſeaſon, whyche paſſed alſo without any exployte atchieued worthy to be remembred, ſauing certaine ſmall roades made by the Scottes into the Engliſhe bordures, as they ſawe occaſion to ſerue thereto.

g Williã uadeth Cum lande.

But in the ſommer nexte followyng, kyng Willyam reyſed a myghtie armie, and came with the ſame into Cumberland, the right wing of the whyche armye was ledde by Gilcriſte, whoſe approued valiauncie often ſhewed in the tyme of king Malcolme, had aduaunced hym to mary with the kings ſiſter.

The lefte wyng was aſſigned vnto the conducte of one Rowlande the kings couſin, who was alſo lieutenant of the horſemen.

The middle warde or battaile, the king hymſelfe ledde.

e offer of Engliſhmẽ

The Engliſhmen to the intente they mighte haue tyme and leyſure to aſſemble their power, ſente vnto kyng Willyam, offering vnto him, not only large ſummes of money, if he woulde returne back with his armie without further inuaſion, but alſo redreſſe of all manner of iniuries and wrongs if any ſuche on theyr behalfe were to bee proued: but king Willyam for anſwere hereunto declared, that hee had not begun the warre for any deſire he had to money, neyther had he fyrſt giuen the occaſion, as one that was euer willing to lyue vpon his own, ſo that if they could be contented to reſtore Northumberlande being his rightfull heritage, he was not ſo deſyrous of bloud, but that he would gladly ceaſſe from all further attempts.

e anſwer of gWilliam.

The Engliſhmen hauing receyued this aunſwere, to the ende they myght protract the tyme in ſendyng ſtyll to and fro, tyll they myghte eſpye ſome occaſyon to worke ſuche feate as they had imagined, addreſſed forth other ambaſſadours vnto king William, wyth dyuers fayre offers and golden promiſes.

The Engliſhemen ſeeke by policie to vanquiſhe the Scottes.

In the meane tyme, to take the Scottiſhemen at ſome aduãtage, they conuey their whole power in the nighte ſeaſon, neere vnto the place where the ſame Scottiſhemen laye in Campe, and deuiding them ſelues into two partes, the one was appoynted to abide in the fields, tyl the ſunne were vp, and then to ſhew themſelues to the enimies, to trayn them forth to battail: The other company was leyd cloſely in a valley not far off to take the aduauntage as they ſaw their tyme.

In the morning about the riſing of the ſunne, thoſe that were appoynted to procure the ſkirmiſhe, approched ſo neere to the enimies campe, tyl they came euen within ſyght of them.

The Scottes amazed with the ſtrangeneſſe of the thyng, for that they had not heard before of any aſſemble of the Engliſhmen, at the firſte were ſomewhat afrayde: but anone encouragyng one another, they boldly iſſued forth vppon theyr enimies, who of purpoſe at the firſte made but weake reſiſtance, and at length fledde a mayne, to the intente to cauſe the Scottiſhemen to breake their araye of batayle in purſuing them, whyche they did ſo egerly, that they lefte their kyng but ſlenderly guarded with a ſmall companie aboute hym.

The Engliſhe men retyre of purpoſe.

The king lefte but weakely garded.

Then the buſhment lying in the valey, brake forthe vppon hym, according to the order before appoynted, and in the meane tyme, the other that fledde, caſte themſelues aboute, and manly abode their enimyes, ſo earneſtly laying it to their charge, that in fine they droue them backe, and conſtrayned them to flee in good earneſt, whyche they themſelues had but only cõterfaited to do before.

The Scots con ſtrained to flee

King William perceyuing his people thus diſcomfited, and himſelfe encloſed on eche ſyde, amongeſt his enimies, after he had aſſayed to breake forth on ſome ſyde from amongſt them when he ſawe his endeuour coulde by no meanes preuayle, and that the enimyes made onely at him, he yelded himſelfe.

King Williã yeldeth himſelf priſoner.

There was not muche bloud ſpilled on eyther ſyde at this bickering, for the one parte in the beginning of the fraye (as ye haue hearde) fleing of ſette purpoſe vnto the place where theyr ambuſhe laye, eſcaped without much hurt, and the other feared by the breaking forth of the ambuſhe aboade the brunt but a ſmall whyle, returning immediatly towards the king, and then perceyuing they coulde doe no good, they made the beſt ſhift they coulde eche man for himſelf to eſcape the enimies handes.

The king being thus takẽ of his enimies, was conueyed vnto king Henry ouer into Normandie where he was as then remaining. The yeare that king William was thus taken, was after the byrth of our Sauiour Chriſt. 1174. and the

King Williã conueyd into Normandie.

1174.

nynth of king Williams reigne.

Diſcorde of writers.

Other writers report the maner of his taking not altogether agreeable with that whiche wee haue here aboue remẽbred, who declare how king William after he had waſted all Cumberlande, came into Northumberlande, not ceaſſyng tyll he came to Anwyke, where he ſtayed for a tyme to haue had battayle, but in the meane whyle the Engliſhmen laye cloſe togither withoute noyſe or apperance, in ſuche wiſe that no Scottiſhmã could haue vnderſtanding where they were.

At length king William awearied with long tarying thus at Anwike, and ſeeing no ennimies to appeare, determined to worke ſome exployte yet before his returne, and therupon ſent forth the moſt parte of all his armie abroade into the countrey, to forrey the ſame, keeping no greate companie about hym, tyll the returne of the other thus ſente forth.

Wherupon incontinently a great ambuſhement of Engliſhmen came vpon him with counterfayted Scottiſhe enſignes, and were not once ſuſpected for Engliſhmen, til the king was compaſſed in by them on eche ſyde, & ſo finally taken & led away ere any Scottiſhmã wiſt therof, ſaue a few which were left (as is ſayd) wyth hym for ỹ time. In deed Wilhelmus Paruus a Chanon ſomtyme in the abbey of Brydlington in Yorkſhire, in that his booke which he writes of ỹ Norman kings of England, affirmeth how ther wer not many moe than aboute three ſcore horſmen with king William whyle he was thus taken, and that the Engliſhemen were not paſte foure hundred horſmen, whiche toke vpon them that enterpriſe: whoſe capitaines as he reciteth were theſe: Robert de Stuteuille, Ranulfe de Glaunuille, Bernard de Balliole, and diuers other.

Wilhelmus Paruus.

Capitaines of the Engliſh men.

W. Paruus.

The ſame authour writeth, that after the taking of the king, there roſe a mutinie amongeſt the Scottes: for where as the Iriſhe Scottes bare a naturall grudge agaynſte the Engliſhe Scottes, yet whyleſt the king was preſente amongſt them, they durſte not vtter their malicious intentions: but nowe that he was thus takẽ from them, ſo many of the Engliſh Scots as fell into the handes of the Iriſhe payd derely for the bargayne, beeyng cruelly murthered and ſlayne: ſo that the reſidue were conſtrayned to get them out of the waye into caſtelles and townes where they myght be receyued.

But nowe it is to be conſidered, that bicauſe there was no great ſlaughter made at the taking of king William, the warres notwithſtanding continued betwixt England and Scotland: for the two before ſpecified chiefetains Gilcriſt and Rouland ſtoutly withſtood the Engliſhmen, & bet them backe as they enterpriſed to enter into Cumberland. At length a peace was taken during the time that king William remayned in captiuitie vnder theſe cõditions that Northumberland ſhoulde continue vnder the dominion of the Engliſhemen, and Cumberlande with the Erledome of Huntington to remayne as afore vnder the gouernance of the Scottiſhmen.

Gilcriſt and Rouland reſiſt the engliſh men.

Northum land vnde Engliſhme

Immediatly vpon the taking of king Williã thus at Anwyke, his brother Dauid Earle of Huntington, thorough licence of king Henrye, came into Scotlande to haue the gouernemente of the realm, til ỹ king his brother might be redemed. So ſone therfore as he had once eſtabliſhed the realme in good quiet and iuſtice, he ſent Richard the biſhop of S. Andrewes with diuers other noble men ouer into Normandy, to take order there with king Henry, for the raunſome of the king his brother: whiche was agreed in this maner. Firſt it was accorded, that king Williã ſhould become & acknowledge himſelfe to be the king of Englands liege man againſt al men (for the realme of Scotland and his other lands) and for the ſame ſhould do fealtie to the ſayd king of England, as to his liege ſoueraigne lord, in lyke ſort as other his liege people were accuſtomed to doe. And further he ſhoulde alſo do fealtie vnto the Lorde Henry, the king of Englands ſonne, (ſauing alwayes the faith whiche he ought to the king his father.) And in like maner it was couenanted and agreed, that al the prelates of Scotland, and their ſucceſſours, ſhould recogniſe their wonted ſubiection to the churche of Englande, and doe fealtie to the king of England ſo many of them as he ſhould appoint: And likewiſe the Erles and barons of Scotlande, and their heires for their parte, ſhould do their homage and fealties vnto the ſayd king of Englande, and to the lord Henry his ſonne, ſo many as therunto ſhuld be required.

Dauid erle Huntingto

The king Scots doth altie to the king of E land for Sc lande.

Rog. Ho Math. W

The prela of Scotlan fealtie to king of E gland.

The erles lords doe mage, y him.

Moreouer the king of Scots ſhould paye for his redemption one hundred thouſande poundes ſterling, the one halfe to be payd in hand: and for ſure payment of the other halfe, the Erledomes of Cumberlande, Huntington, and Northumberlande ſhould be deliuered vnto king Henry in pledge or mortgage, tyll the tyme that the ſayde ſumme was payde. And for the more ſuretie of theſe couenantes, & that the Scots ſhould moue no warre againſt the Engliſhmen, foure of the ſtrongeſt caſtels within Scotlãd, that is to wit, Barwike, Edenburgh, Roxburgh, & Striuelling wer deliuered into ỹ Engliſhmens handes. Theſe things being thus ordred the .8. day of Decẽber, 1175. & ỹ king reſtored home, ther folowed a newe ſturre in Scotlande, for Gilbert of Galoway, a right cruell & moſt miſcheuous perſon, purpoſing to cõquer ỹ crowne by force, made great ſlaughter on all them that withſtode his deſire. And bicauſe his brother reproued his doings, he put

King Wi raunſome

Foure ca deliuere the engli in pledge.

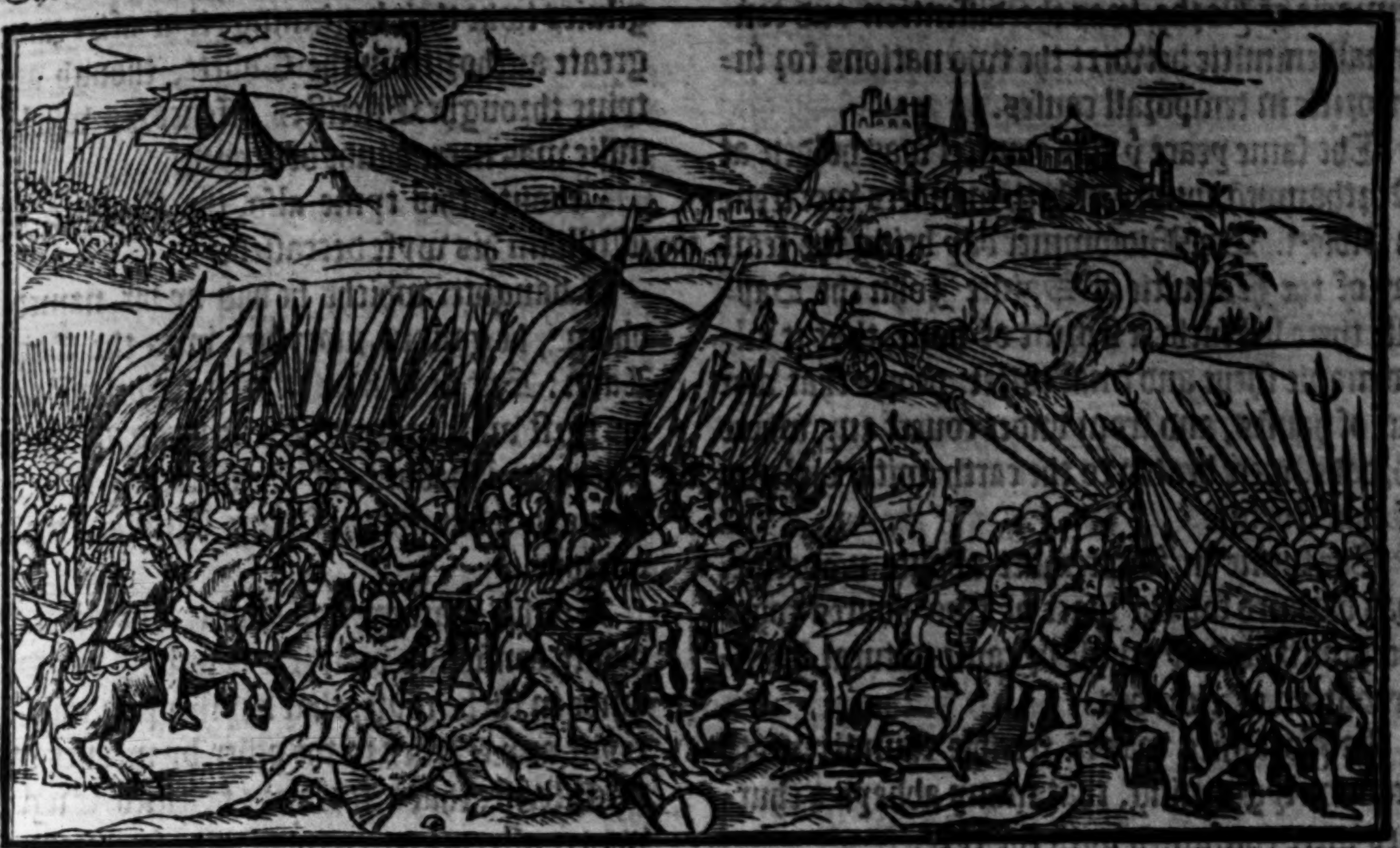
117

Gilbert o loway re lech.

out his eyes, and cut off his handes.

Againſt this Gilbert was Gilcriſt ſent with an armie by the king.

There was foughte a ſore battayle betwixte them; for the moſte parte of thoſe that followed Gilbertes commaundemente, were deſperate fellowes, ſuche commonly as for murder and other heynous crimes by them committed,



were in daunger of the lawes, and therefore vpon hope of pardon deſired a chaunge: but in the ende yet, Gilcriſt with multitude wanne the fielde of them, and ſlewe mo in the chaſe than in the batayle.

bert of Ga-
waye van-
ſht by Gil-
iſt.

Gilberte himſelfe eſcaped and got ouer into the yle of Man, & fled from thence into Irelande.

Wilhelmus
ruus.

Wilhelmus Paruus reporteth this matter ſomewhat otherwyſe, as thus: In the armie of king William (ſaith he) when he was taken nere vnto Anwike, were two brethren, Gilberte and Vlared, that were lordes of Galloway, hauing there with them a greate retinue of their countreymen.

These were the ſonnes of Fergusius, ſometyme lorde of that Prouince, after whoſe deceaſe the kyng of Scottes that is ſuperiour lord thereof, deuided the countrey betwixt theſe two brethren, but Gilbert the eldeſt brother found himſelfe muche grieued to haue any parte of thoſe landes (whiche were his fathers) gyuen from him: but yet doubting puniſhment at the kings handes, he durſte not attempt any thing againſt hys brother till it fortuned the king to be taken. And then deliuered of the feare which had ſtayed his miſcheuous purpoſe, he taketh his brother at vnwares, and cruellye murthered hym after no common manner, but rather martyred hym in beaſtly wyſe, ſo to ſatiſfie the inſtincte of his diuelliſhe nature. And immediatlye after inuading the vpper countreyes, he exerciſeth greate ſlaughter of men on eche hande. But his brother had a ſonne called Rowlande, whiche prouing a valiant yong Gentleman, boldly reſiſted his vncles rage, with the aſſiſtance and ayde of his fathers friendes.

And thus was Scotlande brought into trouble (as Wilhelmus Paruus recordeth) til by the forſayd Gilcriſt the murderer was expulſed, as before is expreſſed.

Hugh cardinall of Sainct Angelo the Popes legate.

In the yeare following, came Hugo Cardinall of Sainct Angelo as Legate from the Pope into Englande, with authoritie to reforme the Engliſhe Churches, in ſuche caſes as were thoughte requiſite: And after hee had made an ende there, to doe the like in Scotlande.

The biſhops of Scotlande ſummoned to a conuocation at Northampton.

When he had therfore finiſhed with Englande, hee cited all the biſhoppes of Scotlande to appeare before hym at a day prefixed at Northampton.

They came according to his apointment, and being aſſembled there in conſiſtorie, he wente about in moſt ernest wiſe to perſuade them to receiue the Archbiſhop of Yorke for their metropolitane: but one Gilbert a yong man, howbeit ſingularly well learned, and for his holyneſſe of lyfe much commended (as Hector Boetius wryteth) being ſent of purpoſe by king William vnto this Conuocation, to foreſee that nothing were concluded in the ſame, preiudiciall to the auncient liberties and francheſes of the realme of Scotlande, alleaging ſo ſtiffly to the contrary, that the Cardinal left off the purſute of ſuch maner of matter, and brake vp that councell without determination of any thing to the purpoſe in that behalfe.

Gilbert a lerned man defended the liberties of Scotland.

This Gilbert that thus defended the cauſe of liberties of the Scottiſhe Clergie, was afterwarde made Biſhoppe of Cathnes, and finally after hys departure out of this tranſitorie

Gilbert biſhop of Cathnes.

lyfe, regiſtred for his ſuppoſed perfect holyneſſe of lyfe amongſt the number of ſainctes.

The chiefeſt cauſe that moued the Scottiſhe Clergie to withdrawe their obedience from the primacie of Yorke, was the diſſention and continuall enimitie betwixt the two nations for ſuperioritie in temporall cauſes.

Wonders.

Hayle.

The ſame yeare ỹ this councel was holden at Northamptõ, ſundry vnketh wonders wer ſene in Albion. On Midſommer day being the feaſt day of the Natiuitie of Sainte John the Baptiſt, there fell ſuche a ſtorme of haile, that it killed manie ſhepe and ſmal cattel: people that wer out of houſes, and from vnder couert any where abroade, were beaten to the earth with violence of that ſtorme.

The ſun darkned.

The ſunne in September aboute noonetide. was darkned for the ſpace of two houres together, without any eclipſe or cauſe natural by interpoſition of clowdes.

Thunder.

In Yorkſhire was ſo terrible thunder wyth ſtraunge lyghtening, that many abbeys & churches were conſumed with the fyre.

The foundatiõ of the abbey of Arbroth, or Aberbrothok.

About this ſeaſon, the abbey of Arbroth was buylt in moſt magnificent wyſe, and endowed with landes and reuenues in ſuche ample ſorte, that fewe houſes within the boundes of Albion might compare therwith.

1178.

The Churche was dedicated in the yeare of grace. 1178. by king William, in honor of Thomas Becket archbiſhop of Cantorburye, with whome (as is ſayd) he had greate familiaritie in tyme of his yong yeares.

The abbey or Nunrie of Hadington founded.

The ſame time the abbey of Hadington was founded by Adhama the mother of kyng William, and ſhortly after ſhe had buylt it, ſhe dyed.

Ambaſſadours to the Pope.

Not long after king William ſente as Ambaſſadours John Biſhop of ſaint Andrewes, and Reignalde Abbot of Arbroth vnto Pope Alexander the thirde, to preſente vnto him his obeyſance, according as he thought ſtode with hys duetie.

A roſe of gold

The Pope ſeeming to reioyce thereat, ſente ſhortly after vnto the king a Roſe of gold, filled with balme, and certaine newe priuiledges concerning the libertie of the Church of Scotlande.

Gilcriſt murthereth his wyfe vpon ſuſpition of adulterie.

The ſame tyme Gilcriſt hauing his wyfe in ſuſpition of adulterie, droue hir out of doores, and afterwardes ſtrangled hir in a village called Manys, not paſt a myle from Dundee.

The kings indignation againſt Gilcriſt

Gilcriſt proclaimed traytour.

The king (for that ſhe was his ſiſter) toke ſuch indignation therewith, that he ſeized vpon al his landes and goodes, purpoſing to haue put hym to death if he myght haue got him into his handes: but when he ſawe he coulde not be founde, hee proclaymed hym traytour, and raſed hys Caſtell (wherein hee had dwelled) quite to the grounde, in ſuche wyſe that vneth remayneth any token at this day where it ſtode.

Bredus the brother of criſt.

The houſe the Ogil

This Gilcriſt had a brother that hight Bredus, who before this miſchance had got the landes of Ogiluie: of whome the houſe of the Ogiluies toke their beginning, that after came to greate authoritie in the Courte, though at this tyme through Gilcriſtes offence his whole familie was neere hande deſtroyed.

Aboute this tyme alſo, the Queene, kyng William his wyfe deceaſſed.

The earle Laon.

Ermengard.

1186.

A daughter whiche he had by hir, named Adhama, he gaue in maryage vnto the Earle of Laon: But he he himſelf after the deceaſe of this his fyrſt wyfe maryed Ermengard, daughter to Richarde Vicount of Beaumount that was ſonne to a daughter of king William the conquerour.

The peace firmed with Englande.

By this mariage and aliance, the peace was newly confirmed betwixte England and Scotlande in ſuche wyſe, that neyther part might receyue any rebelles to the other, by meanes wherof Gilcriſt, that before was fled into England, was conſtreyned to returne into Scotland, diſguyſed in poore weede, with two of his ſonnes, & there paſſed forth his lyfe a long tyme in great myſerie amongſt the woodes and in out places, vnknowne to any man what he was, by reaſon of his poore and ſimple habite.

The miſe ſtate of G criſt.

The caſtel Edenburg reſtored.

Somewhat before the aboue remẽbred mariage, Henry king of Englande at the motion of Hugh biſhoppe of Durham rendred vp the Caſtell of Edenburghe into kyng William his handes.

Saladine the Souldane.

King He purpoſe into the h land again the Saraſi hindered b rebellion his ſonne.

About this tyme the Souldane named Saladine proſpered hugely againſt the Chriſtians in the holy lande, making ſuche cruell ſlaughter of them, that to heare thereof, all chriſtian heartes were moued to pitifull commiſeration and dolorous teares, in ſo muche that Henrye kyng of Englande vowed to goe thyther wyth an armie to relieue the common neceſſitie of the chriſtian publique weale, and hadde gone in deede, if hee had not bene hyndered by the conſpiracie of his ſonne, whome lately before he had cauſed to bee crowned kyng, that wente aboute to vſurpe the ſole adminiſtration to hymſelfe nowe in his fathers lyfe tyme.

Makulzen and Makbein capitaines of pyrates.

Aboute the ſame tyme king William wente with an armie into Ros, agaynſte Makulzen and Makbein, two Capitaynes of the weſtern Iles, whiche vſed vppon occaſion to paſſe ouer into Ros, Cathnes and Murrayland, ſpoyling and waſting thoſe countreyes, and when they hearde of any power comming agaynſte them, they woulde ſtreyghte returne to their ſhippes, and repaſſe againe to the Iles.

But at this tyme, the king had ſente forth a Nauie to burne all thoſe veſſelles, wherein the robbers hadde paſſed ouer and had left at anker, by reaſon whereof when they were encloſed in on euery ſide by the king, and taken priſoners, they after ſuffered death on the wheele, according to the maner of the ciuill lawe.

on the
e.

The king in his returne from this iourney, came by the abbey of Abirbrothok, to viewe the worke of that houſe, how it went forward, commanding them that were ouerſeers & maiſters of ỹ works to ſpare for no coſtes, but to bring it vp to perfection, and that with moſt magnificence.

brothok
builded.

After his departure frõ thẽce, he toke the way toward Bertha, & by aduẽture eſpied where Gilcriſt was deluing vp turfes togither with his .ij. ſons, & though he knew not what they were, yet he muſed to ſee two ſuch goodly yong men, as by reſemblance they appeared to be, to be thus occupied in ſuche toyling and baſe labour.

crist del-
g clodes.

Incontinẽtly herewith Gilcriſt with his bald head came afore hym, and falling downe on his knees at the kings feete, ſayde: If there be anye mercie in thee (moſt ruthful prince) for them that are brought through their offences into extreme miſerie, hauing ſuffred condigne puniſhment for the ſame: I beſeeche thee for the loue that Chriſt had to all ſinfull people, not ſparing to ſhead his moſt precious bloud for their redemptiõ, to haue ſome pitie and compaſſion on me, and theſe my poore and miſerable ſonnes, which with me haue ſuffred muche grief and penurie, not hauing deſerued the ſame by any crime by them cõmitted.

keth
on of the
g in vn-
own habite

At the laſt, when king William had enquired of him what he was, and how it chaunced he fell into ſuch kind of miſerie, the teares came ſo faſte trickling downe frõ his eyes, that of a long ſpace he was not able to declare his owne name.

crist decla-
eth what
e is.

At length being come to himſelf, he ſaid, I am Gilcriſt (noble prince) ỹ moſt ſorowfull creature on earth, which (alas) put my hands in thy bloud and was therfore diſinherited of all my lands, and baniſhed with theſe my two ſons out of thy realme, wherupon we remained in England for a time, till through proclamation made againſt outlawes, I was conſtrained to come hyther againe with my ſaid ſonnes, where we haue liued by rootes all the ſommer ſeaſon, and nowe in the winter are glad to get our liuing with trauayle of hand thus in digging & deluing of clods: therfore if any ruthe or pitie haue place in thy hearte, or that thy indignation be qualifyed, haue mercy on our ſorowful eſtate, & remit the offence, wherby thou mayſt not only purchaſe greate honour and fame by example of pitie, beeing highly renowmed for that vertue amongſt al nations, but alſo winne great merite afore God, for ſhewing thy ſelfe the folower of Chriſte, the giuer of all mercie, grace, and peace.

The king moued by theſe wordes, and remembring the good ſeruice whiche Gilcriſt had employed ſo often tymes afore in defence of the realme, and agayn pitying his caſe to conſider from what degree of honour he was fallen into the deepeſt bottome of extreme miſerie, hee toke him wholly to his fauour, and not only forgaue him his former offences, but alſo reſtored vnto him, and to his ſonnes, al ſuche landes as ſomtymes apperteined vnto them, except ſo muche as the king had alreadie giuen vnto the Abbey of Abirbrothok.

The king ta-
keth Gilcrist
to his fauoure,
and restoreth
vnto him his
landes.

Gilcriſt euer after perſeuered in due obedience to his prince, and for ſo much as his eldeſt ſonne deceaſſed before him without heires, and that his yonger ſonne by reaſon of ſome impedimente which he had, was vnmete for mariage, he gaue the moſt part of his lands after his owne deceaſſe vnto the ſayd houſe of Abirbrothok.

Gilcrists gift
vnto the house
of Abirbro-
thoke.

His yonger ſonne alſo, no leſſe wel affectionated towardes the ſame houſe, gaue the reſidue of his landes therevnto.

The father and bothe his ſonnes, are buried before the Aulter of Sainct Catherine within the Church of this abbey, as the ſuperſcription of their tombes ſheweth.

Though kyng Willyam was earneſtly occupied in the aduauncing forwarde of the buylding of Abirbrothok, yet did he not forget hys ductie in the adminiſtration of his lawes, but diligently cauſed iuſtice to be executed, to the puniſhing of the wicked, & the rewarding of them that well deſerued.

He made alſo ſundry newe lawes for the reſtraining of theeues and oppreſſours of the people, ſo rigorous, that they myght bee in feare to heare him named.

Lawes deuised
by king Wil-
liam against
theeues.

Furthermore, where as the Church of Scotlande was ſubiecte to the church of Yorke, he obtained of Pope Clement the third of that name letters of exemption for his Clergie, wherby the Churche of Scotlande (within the which were conteyned the Biſhoppes ſeas of Sainct Andros, Glaſgo, Dunkelde, Dublayne, Brighne, Abirden, Murray, Ros, and Cathnes) was declared exempte from all other forrayne iuriſdiction except onely from that of the ſea Rome, ſo as it might not bee lawfull from thenceforth to any that was not of the realme of Scotlande to pronounce ſentence of interdiction or excommunicatiõ, or otherwiſe to deale in iudgement of eccleſiaſtical cauſes, except ſuch one as the Apoſtolike ſee of Rome ſhould ſpecially appoint and ſend thither with legantine power. The date of ỹ ſaid bul or letters of exemption thus obteined was at the Popes palace of Laterane, the third Ides of March and firſt yeare of the ſaide Pope Clements gouernment. Shortly after, to wit in the yeare. 1198. died Henry king of Englande, after

The death of
Henry king of
England.

whome ſucceded his ſeconde ſonne Richard: for Henrye his eldeſt ſon deceaſſed before his father.

King Richard.

King Richard after his coronation, prepared himſelf to paſſe with an army into the holy land, and therfore made peace with all his neighbors, that no trouble ſhould follow to his realme by reaſon of his abſence: & hereupon to kepe the Scots in frendſhip rather by beneuolence than by feare, he rendred into their handes the caſtels of Roxburgh, Barwike, and Sterlyng: And moreouer that parte of Northumberlande whiche hys father had taken from king William when hee tooke him priſoner.

The caſtels of Roſburgh, Berwik, and Sterling rendred to king William.

He alſo deliuered the Erledomes of Huntingdon and Cumberland, but vnder condition, that all the caſtels and holdes within them, ſhoulde be in the keeping of his captains and ſouldiours, ſuche as he ſhould appoynt.

He releaſed to king William alſo the reſidue of ſuche ſummes of money as were due for the foure caſtels layde to guage, ten thouſand poundes only excepted, which he receyued in hande at that preſent towards the charges of his iourney.

When king William had thus receyued hys lands and caſtels by ſurrender, he made his brother Dauid Erle of Huntington, who therupon doing his homage vnto king Richard, according to the olde ordinance deuiſed by king Malcolme the firſt, wet with him alſo in that voyage with fiue hundred Scottiſhemen, or rather fiue thouſande (as the tranſlator of Hector Boetius hath) if no fault be in the printer. As the chriſtian armye laye at ſiege before the citie of Acres, otherwiſe called Acon, it chaunced that one Oliuer, a Scottiſhman born, was within ẏ town reteined in ſeruice amõgſt ẏ Saraſins, for being conuict of felonie in his natiue cõtrey he was baniſhed out of the ſame, & fled to the Saraſins, remaining ſo long amongſt them, ẏ he had lerned their toung very perfectly, ſo that as then fewe knewe what countreyman he was. It fortuned that this Oliuer had one of the gates in keping, on ẏ ſide the towne where was but a ſingle wall without trenches, or any other fortification.

Erle of Huntington.
Scottes with king Richard in the holye lande.

The ſiege of Acres.
Oliuer a ſcottiſhmen.

He hapned by ſome good aduenture to eſpy amongſt ẏ watch of thoſe ẏ were of the retinue of Dauid Erle of Huntingtõ, one of his own kinſmẽ named Iohn Durward, with whom of long time before he had bin moſt familiarly acquainted: and incõtinetly he called vnto ẏ ſame Durward, deſiring vnder aſſurãce to talke with him. After certain cõmunicatiõ, for ẏ this Oliuer had not as yet vtterly in his hart renoũced ẏ chriſtian faith, he appointed with Durwarde to giue entrie at a certaine houre vnto Erle Dauid, & to al ẏ chriſtian army, vpon condition ẏ Erle Dauid wold ſee him reſtored again vnto his land & heritage in Scotlãd. The houre ſet, Erle Dauid came with a great power of men to ẏ gate before rehearſed, where he was ſuffered to enter according to apointment, and incontinently with great noiſe and clamour brake into the middeſt of the citie.

John Durwarde.

Erle Dauid entred the citie Acon.

In the morning betimes king Richard perceiuing the citie thus wonne, entred the ſame, & ſhortly after alſo wan a towre, which the Saracens for a while manfully defended: and thus was the citie of Acres woon from the Saracens, chiefly by meanes of the Scottiſhmen. But now touching their returne from this voyage (for ſith in other places more large mencion is made of ſuch exploites as were atchieued therin, I paſſe ouer to make any lōger diſcourſe therof in this place) ye ſhall vnderſtand, ẏ in that terrible tempeſt, in ẏ whiche king Richards nauie was diſperſed in his comming homewardes as in the hiſtorie of England is more at large expreſſed) ẏ ſhip alſo that Erle Dauid was in, chaunced to be throwen a lande on the coaſtes of Egypt, where being taken priſoner, & led into Alexandria, at length he was redemed by certain merchants of Venice, & firſt conueyed vnto Conſtantinople, & after vnto Venice, where he was bought out & redeemed by the Engliſh marchants, & in the end ſuffred to depart home. At his coming into Flanders, he hyred a veſſell at Sluyce, therwith to returne into Scotland, but beeing lewſed a little off from the ſhore, ſuch a vehement tempeſt ſodenly aroſe that droue him, not without great daūger of life, neere to the coaſtes of Norway and Shetland.

Erle Dau
ken pri
He is re

He wente
Scotlande

Here in the middeſt of this extreme tempeſte (as hath bin reported) after he had made a vowe to buylde a Churche in the honour of the virgin Mary, if he myght eſcape that daunger of ſeas, he arriued at length in Tay water beſyde Dundee, not farre from Sainct Nicholas Chapell, without eyther rudder or tackle.

Arriued at Dundee.

The place where he arriued before that time hyghte Alectum, but hee as then chaunged the name, and called it Dundee, whiche ſignifieth as though ye ſhould ſay, the gift of God.

The name Dundee.

When his brother the king heard that he was returned, ſuppoſing long tyme before, that hee had bin dead, he came ſpeedyly vnto Dundee to welcome him home, ſhewing himſelf moſt glad of his returne, in ſo muche, that hee cauſed publike proceſſions to be celebrate thorough the realme, to giue God thankes that had thus reſtored his brother home into his countrey.

Proceſsion was holden.

Erle Dauid alſo according as he had vowed, buylded a Church in the fielde commonly called the Wheate fielde, and dedicating it in honour of the virgin Mary, made it a pariſhe churche.

A Churche buylte.

At a parliamente alſo holden after thys at Dundee, licence was graunted vnto hym to buylde an Abbey in what place it ſhoulde pleaſe hym within Scotlande, and to endowe it with landes and rentes as he ſhoulde thinke good.

…iledges …ted to …owne of …dee.

There were alſo many priuiledges graunted the ſame time vnto Dundee, whiche endure to this daye.

…abbey of …doris.

Erle Dauid not refuſing the graunt and beneuolence of the king his brother, buylded an abbey called Lundoris, for monkes of the order of S. Benet. One thing there is much to be wondered at, as a ſtrange ſingularitie. For where as that houſe ſtandeth in a valleye, encloſed on eche ſide with wood and water, by reaſon wherof ther is great abundance of adders, yet doth no man catch hurt by any of them, in ſo much as ye ſhal ſee yong children play, and runne vp and down amongſt a great number of them withoute any ſkath or hurt following vnto them therof.

…ers with… …hurte.

In this meane while Richard king of England (who alſo in his returne out of the holy land was taken priſoner by the Emperor of Almain) was deliuered for a great ſumme of money, and ſo returned into his countrey.

…g Richar… …retur ne …England.

King William hearing of kyng Richardes return into England, to congratulate the ſame, toke his brother Erle Dauid with him, & came vnto London, where in token of ioy, that he had vnfainedly conceiued for his ſafe cōmmig home, after all troubles and dangers which he had paſſed, he gaue vnto him .ij. thouſand markes ſterling, for that he knew at what great charges he had bin, aſwell for furniſhing of his voyage, as alſo for redeeming of his libertie.

…e gifte of …g William …kyng Rich.

By theſe frendly points of humanitie ſhewed, there folowed great amitie & loue betwixt theſe two kings. But king William fell ſicke in England, and as it often hapneth, ſuche as wer vnquiet perſons, deſirous to be deliuered of all feare of lawes, were ſtreight way put in an vntrue belief, that he was dead: and cauſing it to bee bruted abrode, began to exerciſe all kinde of miſdemeanors by inuading the poore and ſimple people, with ſpoiling and ſlaughters in all parts.

…brute raiſed …the king …dead.

But after it was certainly knowne, that the king was not onely alyue, but alſo recouered of his infirmitie, & cōming homewards, thoſe lymmars and wicked rebels withdrew vnder yͤ conduct of one Herald yͤ Thane of Cathnes, & Erle of Orkney vnto the vttermoſt bounds of Scotlande.

…rald thane …Cathnes …counter of …les.

Howbeit the king purſued them in ſuch diligent and earneſt maner, that he apprehēded the moſt part of them in Cathnes, & cōmaunded iuſtice to be done on them, in ſuch wyſe, that mercie was not yet wanting: for ſuch as were thought to bee after a ſorte gyltleſſe, were pardoned, and the other puniſhed, euery of them according to the meaſure of his offences.

…ſtice not de… …ute of mer…

But the principall leader of them, that is to wite, the forenamed Herald, for that tyme eſcaped into the weſt Iles, but ſhortly after, returning into Cathnes, he was taken and brought to the king, who cauſed his eyes fyrſte to be put out, then gelded, and laſtly to bee hanged on a paire of gallowes.

The Thane o Cathnes takē. Seuere punition.

Alſo all thoſe of his lignage that were men, were lykewiſe gelded, that no ſucceſſion ſhould followe of ſo wicked a weede.

Great dearth. 1199.

In the yeare nexte enſuyng was more dearth felte in Scotlande, than euer was hearde off before: for a meaſure of Barley in Scottiſhe called a bolle, was ſold for fiue crownes, and yet in the yeare next following, accompted from the Natiuitie of our ſauiour. 1199. was more plentyfull abundance than euer had bin ſeene afore.

Alexander the prince of Scotlande.

The ſame yeare kyng Williams wife Ermengarde, was deliuered of a yong ſonne named Alexander.

The ſame yeare alſo, dyed Richarde kyng of England, and his brother Iohn ſucceeded in his place. About three yeres after this, was the forſayd Alexander the kings ſonne created prince of Scotland. And the ſame yeare came a legate frō the Pope ſent to king William, preſenting vnto him a ſworde, with a ſheath and hiltes of gold, ſet full of riche precious ſtones.

A legate ſent from the pope

He preſented vnto him alſo a hat or bonet, made in maner of a diademe of purpure hue, in token as it ſhould meane, that he was defendor of the Church. Manye indulgences and priuiledges were graunted at the ſame time by the Pope, for the libertie of the Church of Scotlande.

A hatte. Defendour of the churche.

It was ordeined alſo the ſame time, that Saterday ſhould be kept as holyday from noone forwarde, and greate puniſhment appointed for the that tranſgreſſed this ordinaunce, in doing any bodily worke from Saterday at noone, til Monday in the morning.

Saterday after noone to bee kept holy.

After this king Willyam returned agayne into Englande to doe his homage vnto kyng Iohn, for the landes of Cumberland, Huntington, and Northumberland.

King Williã did homage to king Iohn of England.

Imediatly wherupon king Iohn willed him to paſſe with him into Fraunce, to make warres againſt the Frenchemen, and bicauſe he refuſed ſo to do, king Iohn made clayme to all the forſayd lands as forfayted to the crowne of England, and cauſed a great bootie of goods to be fetched out of the ſame: So that open warres had immediatly folowed, if the Engliſh Lords had not compelled king Iohn to make reſtitution of all the goodes ſo taken, bycauſe they thoughte it not expedient in any wyſe to haue warres wyth the Scottes at the ſame tyme, beeing already in trouble with the Frenchmen.

In the wynter following, the froſte was ſo vehement and continued ſo long, that till midde March, no plough might be put into the groūd.

Ale ſolde by weight.

Ale was frozen in ſuch wiſe within houſes & cellars, that it was ſolde by weight.

Such a great ſnow fell alſo therewith, that beaſts dyed in many places in great numbers.

Erthquakes.

Moreouer from the twelfthtide til Februarie, there was euery day righte terrible earthquakes.

After the ende of Winter, king John hauing made an ende of his warres with France, he began to buyld a caſtell in Northumberlande ouer anenyſt Barwike, vppon purpoſe to haue ſome quarell to fall out with the Scottes.

King William being aduertiſed therof, ſente his ambaſſadoures vnto kyng John, requiring him to deſiſt from ſuch attempts, and not to ſeke any occaſion of new trouble: but for ſo much as he receyned no towardly aunſwere agayne from king John, he aſſembled a power, and commyng to the Caſtell, whiche king John had cauſed to be buylded, he ouerthrewe the ſame, and raſed it to the earth.

A caſtel ouerwerthrowne.

King John ſore offended herewith, reyſed a mightie armie, and came towardes Scotlande, but at his cōming to the borders, he founde his aduerſarie king William ready to receyue hym by battayle, if he had come forewarde, howbeit through mediation of prudente men the mater was taken vp betwixte them, ſo that on eyther ſyde the armies wer diſſolued, and both the kings repairing to Yorke, eſtabliſhed a peace there, with theſe cōditions, that Margaret & Iſabel daughters to king William, after the terme of .ix. yeares then next enſuing were once expired, ſhoulde be coupled in mariage with Henry and Richard the ſonnes of king John, vpon this paction and couenaunt, that if the one dyed, the other ſhould ſuccede to the crowne.

A peace eſtabliſhed at York betwixt the kings Iohn and William.

The couenāts of the peace.

For the whiche it was couenanted, that king William ſhould giue a right large dower.

Alſo the caſtell which king John had builded and king William raſed, it was agreed that it ſhould remayne ſo defaced, and neuer after again to be repaired.

For the ſure performance of theſe articles thus betwixt the two kings cōcluded, nine noble men of Scotlande were appointed to be deliuered as hoſtages vnto king John.

Scottiſhe hoſtages deliuered to kyng Iohn.

In that aſſemblie there at Yorke, king William alſo ſurrendred into the hādes of king John the landes of Cumberlande, Huntington, and Northumberland, to the intent he ſhuld aſſigne thoſe landes again vnto his ſonne prince Alexāder, and he to do homage for the ſame, according to the maner and cuſtome in that caſe prouided, for a knowlege and recognition that thoſe lands were holden of the kings of Englande, as ſuperiour lordes of the ſame.

A ſurrender made to a vſe.

During the aboade of theſe two kynges at Yorke, there was brought vnto them a chylde of ſingular beautie, ſonne and heire to a Gentlemā of great poſſeſſions in thoſe parties, being ſore vexed with diuers and ſundry diſeaſes, for one of his eies was conſumed and loſt through an iſſue which it had of corrupt and filthie humours: the one of his handes was dryed vp, the one of hys feete was ſo taken, that he had no vſe therof, and his toung likewiſe that he could not ſpeake.

The Phyſitions that ſawe him thus troubled with ſuche contrary infirmities, iudged him incurable. Neuertheleſſe king William making a croſſe on him, reſtored him immediatly to helth. By reaſon wherof, manie beleeued that this was done by miracle, thorough the power of almightie God, ỹ the vertue of ſo godlie a prince might be notified to the worlde.

A child
by king
lyam.

Church
dowed
Willia

After his returne from Yorke into Scotland, he endowed the churches of Newbottell, Melros, holie Rood houſe, Dunfermling, and Abirdene, with many faire poſſeſſions, as the Letters patentes made therof by him, beare manifeſt teſtimonie.

The er
of the ſ
Argyle.

He alſo erected one new biſhops ſee called Argyle, giuing therto ſufficient landes towards the mayntenance and ſuſtentation thereof.

The to
Bertha
ned by
dacion.

After this, cōming vnto the towne of Bertha, he had not remayned there many dayes, but that there chaunced ſuch a floud, by reaſon of the riſing & inundation of the two riuers Taye and Almound, that through violence of the ſtreame the towne walles were borne downe, and muche people in the town drouned, ere they could make anye ſhifte to ſaue themſelues, in ſo muche that though the king wyth his wyfe and the moſte parte of his familie eſcaped oute of that greate danger and ieopardie, his yongeſt ſonne yet named John, with his nourſe and .xij. other women periſhed, & .xx. other of his ſeruantes beſide.

The ki
daunger
drown

John the
ges fo
drowne

Here was heard ſuch clamour, noyſe and lamentable cryes, as is vſed in tyme when anye towne is ſodenly taken and ſurpriſed by the enimies: for as the common Prouerbe witneſſeth, fyre and water haue no mercie: and yet of theſe two, water is more terrible and daungerous: for there is no force or witte of man able to reſiſte the violence of inundations, wher they ſodeynly breake in.

The tow
Perth bu

King William after that the towne of Bertha was thus deſtroyed and ouerflowed wyth water, began the foundation of an other towne, which was after called Perth, by a man of that name that oughte the grounde where the ſame towne was buylded.

Freedom
granted
town of P

Furthermore to aduaunce the dignitie and augmentation of this towne, the king graunted ſundry beneficial priuiledges and freedoms therto, that it myghte the ſooner ryſe in rycheſſe and wealth.

The

Saint Johns towne.

The firſt foundation thereof was layde after the incarnation of our Sauiour 1210. yeares, but the name was chaunged afterwardes, and called Saint Johns towne, which name it beareth euen vnto this day.

Gothred moued a rebelliõ in Cathnes.

About the ſame time there roſe eft ſoones new trouble in Cathnes, for one Gothred the ſonne of Makuilzem (of whoſe rebellion ye haue heard before) ſpoyled with often incurſions and rodes the Countrey of Roſſe, and other boundes there aboutes.

His companie encreaſeth.

His companie encreaſed dayly more and more, by repayre of ſuch number of Rebelles as came vnto him oute of Lochquhaber and the Weſterne Iles.

The Earles of Fife & Athol ſent agaynſt him.

King William to repreſſe theſe attemptes, ſent forth the Earles of Fife and Atholl, with the Thane of Buthquhane, hauing ſixe thouſande in their companie, the which encountering with the enimies in ſet battail, gaue them the ouerthrowe, and taking Gothred their chiefe Captaine priſoner, brought him vnto the king, who cauſed both him and diuerſe other which were likewiſe taken priſoners, to loſe their heades.

The Rebelles ouerthrowne. Gothred taken and beheaded.

Gothred himſelfe was ſore wounded before he was taken, ſo that if his takers had not made the more ſpeede in the conueying of him to the king, he had dyed of his hurtes before execution had thus beene done on him accordingly as was appoynted.

The diſſentiõ betwixt the Pope and king John.

About this tyme roſe the diſſention and variance, betwixt John King of Englande, and Pope Innocent the thirde, for that the Engliſhe Cleargie refuſed to ayde the ſayde John wyth ſuche ſummes of money as hee demaunded of them.

The cauſe.

The death of K. William.

Shortly after, William king of Scotlande, worne with long age, departed out of this world at Striueling, in the lxxiiij. yeare of his age, and in the xlix. yeare of his raigne, and after the incarnation of Chriſt. 1214. yeares.

1214

He was buryed in Aberbrothak before the high aulter within the Quiere.

Two blaſing ſtarres.

The yeare afore his death, two Comets or blaſing ſtarres appeared in the Month of March right terrible to behold, yͤ one did ſhine before the ryſing of the Sunne, and the other before the going downe thereof.

A monſtrous Calfe.

The yeare next following, there was a Cow in Northumberlande that calued a right monſtruous Calfe, for the head and necke reſembled a verie Calfe in deede, but the reſidue of the bodye was like to a Colte.

Two Moones.

In the Winter after, there were ſeene alſo two Moones in the Fyrmament, the one being ſeuered from the other, and in ſhape naturally horned as yee ſee the Moone in hir encreaſing or waning.

The Abbay of Balmernocht founded.

King William in his life time founded the Abbay of Balmernocht, but his wife Queene Ermengard endowed it with landes and poſſeſſions after his deceaſſe.

In the xlvj. yeare of this King Williams raigne, two Monkes of the Trinitie order were ſent into Scotlande by Pope Innocent, vnto whome King William gaue his Palace royall in Abirdene, to conuert the ſame into an Abbay for them to inhabite: and was in minde to haue gyuen them many other bountifull giftes, if he had liued any longer time.

Alexander.

After the deceaſe of king William, his ſonne Alexander the ſecond of that name ſucceded, and was crowned at Scone wyth all due ſolemnitie, which beeing furniſhed, hee went vnto Abirbrothok, where he remayned. xiiij. dayes in attending the funerall obſequies of his father, and commaunded that no publike playes, nor great feaſtes ſhould be vſed or kept of all that yeare, to the intent the death of his father might be lamented through the whole Realme.

Alexandet the ſecond is crowned at Scone.

A tyme of mourning.

The King himſelfe and all his ſeruants alſo were clothed in mourning weed, during the ſpace of one whole yeare.

A Parliament at Edenburgh.

The firſt Parliament which he called, was holden at Edenbourgh, in the whiche he confyrmed all the actes and ordinaunces deuiſed by his father: and further appoynted that all ſuche as had borne offices vnder him, ſhould ſtill enioy the ſame. Namely he commaunded that William Wood Biſhop of Dunblayne ſhoulde ſtill continue Lord Chancellour, and Alane of Galloway high Conſtable, which is an office of moſt honor and reputation next to the king, as hee that hath power of life and death, if any man drawe blood of an other by violence within two myles of the Court.

Confirmation of Officers.

The office of the Conſtable.

When this Parliament was ended, bycauſe the olde Queene his mother determined to remayne during the reſidue of hir life in the place where that holye woman Queene Margaret ſometyme led hir lyfe, he gaue vnto hir towardes the maintenaunce of hir eſtate, the Caſtelles and townes of Forfair, with the landes and poſſeſſions to the ſame belonging.

The landes of Forfair giuen to the olde Queene.

He alſo appoynted certaine ſage and moſte graue perſonages, to be choſen forth as Judges, which ſhould be reſident in euerie Citie and good towne of his realme, for the hearing and due de-

A princely appointment.

termining of all quarels and matters in controuerſie betwixt partie and partie.

Diſſention betwixt K. Iohn & his nobles.

In this meane time great diſſention roſe betwixt Iohn king of Englande, & his barons, by reaſo whereof great warres enſued, as in the engliſh hyſtorie doth appeare. The Barons made ſute both to the french king, & to yͤ king of Scots for ayd, ſo that at length Lewes the french kings ſonne came ouer to ſupport them, whereof when king Alexander was aduertiſed, he likewiſe came with an army through England vnto London, cauſing his ſoldiers by the way to abſtaine from doing any kinde of domage to the people.

K. Alexander paſſeth to London.

By his comming things were partly quieted for a time, and ſhortly after that he had cōmuned with Lewes touching ſundrie affayres perteyning to both the realmes, they paſſed the Seas with ten veſſels ouer into France, leauing theyr powers behind them to aſſiſt the Engliſh lords,

The Frenche king aduertiſed thereof, came downe to Bulleigne, where finding his ſonne and king Alexander, he renued the auncient bonde of amitie betwixt France and Scotlande, with the ſame Alexander, according to the couenantes of the olde league, with this addition, that neyther Prince ſhoulde receyue the enimies of the others realme, nor to marry with any ſtranger, the one not making the other priuie thereto.

The league betwixt Fraunce and Scotlande renued.

Theſe things being ratified, king Alexander and Lewes returned into Englande: ſhortly whervpon, king Iohn died, more through anguiſh of minde and melancholy, than by force of any other naturall diſeaſe.

The beſt approued wryters affyrme that Lewes wēt not ouer into France, til after the death of king Iohn.

His ſonne Henrie the thirde of that name, ſucceeded him, and in the meane time had the Pope accurſed both Lewes, & king Alexander, with all thoſe that fauored their cauſe againſt king Iohn, which curſe was pronounced in a generall counſell, which was holden at Rome by Pope Innocent, there being preſent foure hundred and .xij Biſhops, and .viij. C. Abbots.

Lewes & king Alexander, accurſed.

A counſell at Rome.

King Alexander after the deceaſe of king Iohn, returning homewardes with his armie, thought he might haue paſſed quietly without any annoiance by the way, through meanes whereof, hee loſt a certaine number of his men, being ſodenly inuaded by ſuch Engliſh men, as watched theyr time to take the Scottes at ſome aduauntage, in ſtraying abrode out of order: with which iniurie king Alexander was ſo moued, that hee ſpoyled and harried all the Countreyes by the which hee paſſed, till he was entred within the confines of his owne dominion.

King Alexander returneth into his countrey.

Shortly after Cardinall Gualo came into England furniſhed with the Popes authoritie, to denounce the excōmunication aboue remembred againſt Lewes & Alexander, with all their fautors, wherevpon he accurſed not only the foreſaid perſons, but alſo interdited all the places where they came, inſomuch that in the end Lewes was conſtrayned to buy an abſolution with no ſmall ſummes of money, of that auaricious Cardinall Gualo, and after vpō agreement alſo made with king Henrie, he returned into France.

Cardinall Gualo.

Lewes returneth into France.

Not long after, came king Henrie with an army into Scotland, ſore endomaging the coūtry: but ſo ſoone as he was aduertiſed that king Alexander had aſſembled all the power of his realme to giue him battaile, he retyred with al ſpeed into England. The king of Englande had in his army at the ſame time, 2200. men of armes, right perfitly appointed and furniſhed with armor and weapon as was requiſite, and the king of Scots but only .v. C. But of footmen there were in the Scottiſh army 60000. able perſonages well appoynted, with Axes, Speares and Bowes, readie to die and liue with their Prince, conſtantly beleeuing, that to loſe this preſent life here in his defence, was an aſſured way to be ſaued in another worlde.

King Henrie inuadeth Sco
lande.

Ex codice a
tiquo S. Alb
ni, written b
Mathew Pa
(as I take it)

After that King Henrie was gone backe into Englande, King Alexander followed after him into Northumberland, where he ouerthrew and beate downe many Caſtels and ſtrengthes, which the Engliſh men helde.

K. Alexande
in North
berland.

Then marching through the countrey vnto Carleil, he wan that Citie, and garniſhed it with his people.

Carleil wo
by the Sco

After this, laying ſiege vnto Norham caſtel, when hee had continued at the ſame a certaine time, and perceiued how he loſt but his trauail, he left it & returned home with great honor and triumph, for his other atchieued enterpriſes in that iourney. King Henrie being once aduertiſed that king Alexander had broken vp his campe, incontinently got eftſoones his people togither, & comming to Barwike, wanne both the towne and Caſtel: After entring into Scotland, he burned and ſpoyled the coūtrey alongſt by the ſea coaſts, till he came as far as Hadington, putting al ſuch to the ſword as were found in the way, women, prieſtes, and children onely excepted.

Barwike w
by K. He

Haddingt

He aſſayed to haue wonne the Caſtel of Dunbar, but miſſing his purpoſe there, he returned into Englande.

In the meane time, the auaritious Prelate Gualo, vppon truſt to purchaſe ſome large portion of mony in Scotlande, put the ſame vnder proces of interditing, & namely he accurſed king Alexander moſt terribly, for that he had inuaded England, (and as he alledged) ſpoyled Churches as well as prophaine places. Theſe curſings ſo inflamed the heartes of the Scottiſh men with hatred agaynſt the Engliſhemen, that the ſame was not like to haue ended without the vtter deſtruction and ruine of both their realmes.

Scotland interdited.

Neuertheleſſe at length, by the diligent trauayle of the Biſhops of Yorke and Saliſburie, which came vnto King Alexander to treat an agreement, a ſmall peace was concluded vnder theſe conditions.

Biſhops of Yorke and Saliſburie.

A peace concluded.

The conditiõs

Firſt it was agreed, that King Alexander ſhould render the Citie of Carleil into the Engliſh mens handes, and King Henrie the towne of Barwike vnto the Scottes.

The whole dominion of Cumberland to remaine vnto king Alexander with the one halfe of Northumberlande, to the Recroſſe. And further that King Alexander ſhoulde be abſolued of the Cenſures of the Churche, which Gualo the Cardinall had denounced agaynſt him.

Thus the two Kings beeing accorded, the two foreſayde Byſhops comming vnto Barwike, aſſoyled King Alexander, and deliuered his Realme of the interdiction, by ſuche authoritie as they had procured of the Cardinall Gualo.

But yet the ſame Cardinall not mynding to depart with emptie handes, ſummoned all the Prelates of Scotlande to appeare before him at Anwike, there to receyue theyr full abſolution, to the intent by ſuch meanes to trouble them, tyll they had diſburſed to his vſe ſome large portion of money.

The cleargy of Scotland ſommoned by cardinal Gualo to come to Anwike.

Sundrie of them which loued quietneſſe more than contention, ſatiſfyed his mynde, but others refuſed vtterly ſo to doe, taking great indignation that ſpirituall cauſes were thus diſpatched for money, & eccleſiaſticall preferments bought and ſolde, no otherwiſe than ſecular poſſeſſions and prophane dignities.

Sale of ſpirituall promotions.

Incontinently thervpon Gualo cited them to Rome, ſuppoſing that rather thã to take vpon them ſo long a iourney, they woulde haue compounded with him at his pleaſure.

The Scottiſh cleargie cited to Rome.

Notwithſtanding they beeing nothing in doubt thereof, went vnto Rome, and at theyr commyng thyther, made vnto the Pope their complaint in moſt grieuous maner, of the inſufferable iniuries attempted in England & Scotland, by his moſt couetous Legate the foreſayde Gualo: By reaſon of which complaint, and of ſundrie ſuch letters and informations as dayly came out of England and Scotland, from other Biſhoppes and Abbots, conteyning right grieuous accuſations concerning the inſatiable auarice of Gualo, the Pope reuoked him home vnto Rome, to make anſwer in his preſence vnto ſuch matters as were layd to his charge.

The cõplaint of the Scottiſh cleargie to the Pope.

The auarice of Cardinall Gualo.

At his returne thither, forſomuch as hee was not able to diſcharge himſelfe of ſuche manifeſt crymes wherewith hee was burdened, the Pope condemned him in a great ſumme of money, to bee payed as a fine for his treſpaſſe and tranſgreſſions.

Cardinal Gualo condemned in a ſumme of money.

And thoſe Scottiſhe Biſhops, which were come for their abſolution, were abſolued by the Pope, and ſuffered to depart in peace.

The Scottiſh Biſhops abſolued.

In this meane tyme, Dauid Earle of Huntington, brother to William late king of Scots (of whom ye haue heard before how he went in the iourney made by the Chriſtian Princes into the holy land) deceaſſed, and was buried within an Abbay in England.

Dauid Erle of Huntington deceaſed.

1219

Henrie king of Englande, after he came to yeares of perfite diſcretion, ſhewed himſelfe to be more deſirous of peace than of warre: wherevpon at Yorke there was a meeting appoynted betwixt him and King Alexander, where mutuall alliaunce was accorded betwixt them on this wiſe.

An enterviewe betwixt the kings of Englande and Scotlande.

Jane the ſiſter of King Henrie, was promiſed to bee giuen in mariage to King Alexander, and two ſiſters of King Alexanders were deſpouſed vnto two great Princes of the Engliſh Nobilitie.

Mariages concluded.

Theſe maryages were thus concluded in the yeare of our Lord 1220. In the yeare next following, came a Legate into Scotlande from Pope Honorius, with bulles to gather a ſumme of money towards the furniſhing forth of an armie againſt the Turkes or rather Saracins.

A Legate ſent from Pope Honorius for a collection.

This Legate was a Cardinall, and named Egidius, who hauing purchaſed no ſmall quantitie of coyne both of the Cleargie and Laitie of Scotland, ſpent the ſame in riot and outrageous inſolencie, making his excuſe at his returne to Rome, howe it was taken from him by certaine Brygants and robbers.

A Legates excuſe.

Within ſhort while after, was an other Legat with ſemblable commiſſion ſent into Scotland from the foreſayde Pope. But King Alexander being aduertiſed of his comming, called a counſell, in the whiche one of the Biſhops that (as ſhould ſeeme) tooke great indignation to ſee howe couetouſneſſe raigned in moſte ſhamefull wiſe amongſt the Romiſh Legates, ſpake in maner as followeth.

An other Legate.

Howbeit ſundrie conſiderations there are, which might ſtay me from vttering ſuch things as be moſte preiudiciall to the common wealth, yet (moſt noble Prince) when I conſider thy humanitie, fayth, and conſtancie giuen to nothing more than to the defence and wealth of thy true liege people, I cannot but (for the zeale I beare to common wealth) declare the truth, for lyke all maner of tyrannie is intollerable, yea euen that, which is exerciſed by Kings or Princes deſcended by lineall ſucceſſion to theyr rightfull heritage: much more is that tyrannie to be deteſted, whiche is exerciſed by men of vile and baſe lynage. Therefore, if the inſolent and manifeſt wrongs

An oration of a Biſhop.

Tyrannie intollerable.

Men of baſe linage.

Men of baſe lynage.

wrongs done to vs theſe many yeares now paſſed, had come by the Popes themſelues, the ſame might ſomewhat more ſufferably haue beene borne, but ſithe naughtie vile perſons, of baſe byrth and obſcure lynage, promoted to benefices and eccleſiaſticall dignities onely for theyr wicked and horrible vices, haue not onely interdyted our Realme, without lawfull commiſſion, but haue alſo conſumed in maintenaunce of theyr wanton and inſolent vices, that money whiche they gathered in our Countrey by the Popes authoritie, vnder colour of rayſing an army to goe agaynſt the Turkes and Infidels, I am of this opinion, that theyr curſed auarice ought to haue no further place amongſt faythfull people, ſpecially amongſt vs, whoſe ſimplicitie and humbleneſſe they haue in contempt.

The Scottes ſore offended againſt Gualo.

In the yeares paſſed, ye complayned of the iniuries done by Gualo, when he had put your Realme vnder the cenſure of interdyting, and the moſt part of your prelates vnder the curſe, bycauſe they would not anſwere him of money, according to his couetous demaundes, wherewith he might mainteyne his outragious luſtes: which Gualo alſo (as ſhould appeare by moſt certaine coniectures) was of ſuche a diueliſh nature, that though he were ſent to treate a concorde betwixt the Engliſhmen and Scottes, yet to ſatiſfie his auaritious deſire, he miniſtred ſuche occaſion of warre betwixt them, that both the realmes (had not the matter beene the ſooner taken vp) were at a poynt to haue entered ſo farre into malicious hatred the one agaynſt the other, that it was not lyke, that any peace would haue taken place, tyll the one or both had bene vtterly deſtroyed. But ſith theſe haynous and terrible deedes are manifeſt ynough, to what ende ſhould I here remember them, ſith the ſame cannot bee done without your great griefe and diſpleaſure?

The practiſe of Gualo.

Moreouer, after we were deliuered of thys Gualo, ſhortly after commeth another, one ſhewing himſelfe to come forth of the ſame ſhoppe: for in conuerſation of life, he was to be iudged no whit better, but rather worſe: for after he had got vp amongeſt vs of this realme large ſummes of money vnder pretence of redeeming the Chriſtian priſoners out of the Saraſins handes, and waging of new armies agaynſt them, he waſted the ſame money in ryotous luſt and inſolencie, fayning, when it was gone, that it was bereft him by Brygants.

Therefore ſith we haue had experience, and are alreadie ſufficiently taught by the doings of the two forerembred Legates, to our heauie griefes and no ſmall domages, we may be worthily reputed vnwiſe and very fooles in deede, if we now admit the thirde.

For it is not to be thought, that this new Legate ſhall vſe the matter in any better ſort, than his fellowes haue done before him.

The Byſhops opinion.

And verily if any man ſhoulde demaunde of me, what I thinke ought to be done in this matter, I do for my part proteſt, that neither this legate, nor any other in tymes to come, ought to be receyued within this realme, conſidering how the ſame hath beene waſted and robbed by their continuall exactions: if there be any amongeſt you that hath more money than hee knoweth which way wel to ſpend, he may (in the name of God) beſtow it vpon the poore, rather than to the vſe of ſuch vicious Legates, or order it in ſuche ſort, that all men haue cauſe to thinke, whatſoeuer commeth into their handes, is but caſt away and clearely loſt.

Legate ca be receyue

Theſe wordes of this Biſhop (whatſoeuer he was) were lyked ſo well of all the Counſell, that the Legate coulde not be receyued into the Realme.

Peace co med with English m

After the breaking vp of this Counſell, the maryage was conſummate betwixt king Alexander and Ioane, ſiſter to Henrie king of Englande; alſo betwixt Hubert de Burgh high Iuſtice of Englande, and Margaret ſiſter to king Alexander, by reaſon of whiche mariages, the peace was confirmed with the Engliſhmen, and as it had beene ſealed vp for a more full and certaine aſſurance.

Gileſpy R rebell.

Enuernes ned by G py Ros.

John Cu Earle of quhane.

Gileſpy R beheaded.

Shortly after followed ciuill warres in Scotlande, by the motion of one Gileſpy Ros, who hauing liued moſt lycentiouſly in ryotous outrage, at length areared open warre agaynſt the king, and firſt ſlaying diuerſe ſuch of his companions as had kept him companie aforetime in his lewde miſdemeanors, for that they refuſed nowe to ſticke to him in this rebellious enterpriſe, hee went with the reſidue that offred to take his part vnto the towne of Enuernes, which he tooke and burned, with diuers other places being of the Kings poſſeſſions, tyll at length Iohn Cumyn Earle of Buchquhane comming agaynſt hym with an armie deliuered to him by the king, purſued the ſayde Gileſpy in ſuch earneſt wiſe, that finally he tooke him with two of his ſonnes, and ſtriking off all their three heades, ſent the ſame to the king as a witneſſe how he had ſped.

New

Adam Bi of Cathne ſlaine by people of country.

This buſineſſe beeing thus quieted, an other enſued after this maner: The men of Cathnes ſore offended with their Biſhop named Adam, for that vpon refuſall to pay theyr tythes, he had accurſed them, fell vppon him within his owne houſe, and firſt ſcourging him with roddes, at length ſet fire vpon him and brunt him within his owne Kitchen

Which act being reported to the king, as then ſoiourning at Edenbourgh, he haſted forth with all ſpeede to puniſh the offenders, not ceaſſing till he had taken foure hundred of them, all the which number he cauſed to be hanged, and for that hee would haue no ſucceſſion to come of ſuch a wicked ſeede, hee appoynted all theyr ſonnes to loſe their ſtones.

Seuere exe- cutions.

The place where they were ſo gelded, is called euen to this day the ſtonie hill.

The ſtony hil.

The Earle of Cathnes, for that he neyther ſuccoured the Biſhoppe in time of neede, nor yet ſought to puniſh the offenders that did this cruel deed, was depriued of his Earledome, and whole landes belonging to the ſame.

The Earle of Cathnes loſeth his landes.

The Pope highly commended king Alexander for this puniſhment taken of them, that had ſo cruelly murthered their Biſhop.

King Alexander commended of the Pope.

After this king Alexander comming vnto Aberdene, gaue many large gyftes and priuiledges therto, although the ſame before this time enioyed ſundrie notable commodities and endowments giuen and confirmed by other kings hys predeceſſors.

The priuiledges of Abyrdene.

The Bulles whiche were graunted by ſundrie Popes concerning the libertyes of the churches in Scotlande, were committed by the king to the cuſtodie of one Gylbert Archdeacon of Murrey, who ſucceeded next after the foreſayde Adam in the ſea of Cathneſſe.

The Archdeacon of Murrey

In the thirde yeare after, as king Alexander with his mother Erningarde were ſitting at their banquet on the .xij. day in Chriſtenmaſſe, otherwiſe called Yule, the Earle of Cathnes, hauing good oportunitie thereto, preſented himſelfe before the king, and beſought him of grace and pardon for his paſſed offence.

King Alexander taking ruth and pitie of him, reſtored him (vpon his fine to be payed in maner as was agreed betwixt them) vnto al his former honours, landes and poſſeſſions: Neuertheleſſe the offence that was pardoned by man, was afterward puniſhed by the iuſt iudgement (as ſome thought) of almightie God: for he was ſlain as he lay in bed one night by his own menial ſeruants, whome hee had roughly intreated, as the fame went. The houſe alſo wherin he was thus ſlain, was likewiſe ſet on fire and burnt ouer him, that no man ſhoulde haue ſuſpition of his ſlaughter, but that it might ſeeme as though it had come by ſome ſodaine aduenture.

The Earle of Cathnes is pardoned, and reſtored to his landes.

The Earle of Cathnes is murthered by his ſeruants.

About this time, or ſomewhat before, there came into Scotland ſent by Saint Dominicke, certaine blacke Friers, of whiche order the ſame Dominicke was the firſt author.

The firſt comming of black friers into Scotlande.

These men that were firſt ſent by him, lyued according to his inſtitution, more perfectly than ſuch as followed: for as it often happeneth, all things commonly from a good beginning fall into worſe eſtate, ſo that the ſucceſſors of thoſe men declined from al good religion, into moſt inſolent abuſes and miſorders, and ſo continuing in vicious liuing the ſpace of three hundred yeares, at length were perfectly reformed into a better rule, by a Frier named Iohn Adamſon, that proceeded doctor in the profeſſion of diuinitie in the Vniuerſitie of Abyrdene, at the ſame time that Hector Boetius the Scottiſhe Chronographer proceeded there in the ſame facultie.

Iohn Adamſon.

On the ſame maner, aboute the ſelfe ſame time, were ſent into Scotlande, aſwell as into all other partes of the chriſtian world, Friers minors of Saint Frances his order.

The firſt comming of friers minors.

Many of them alſo, after his deceaſſe fell to diſſolute liuing, keeping no ſuch ſtrayte rules, as both he preſcribed, and alſo obſerued.

But now to returne to the reſidue of the hyſtorie: the Scottiſh people enioyed peace a long time after the appeaſing of the trouble in Cathnes, till time that Alane Lorde of Galloway and Conſtable of Scotland departed out of this life, and for that hee had deuided his landes before his death amongſt his three daughters, hys baſtard ſonne gathered an army of ten thouſande men, in hope to attaine the poſſeſſion of Galloway by force of armes: but at length, after hee had wrought much ſcaith in the countrey by his violent inuaſion, he was ſlaine with fiue thouſande of thoſe that toke his part, by the Earle of Marche, and Walter Stewarde of Dunewalde, whiche was ſent agaynſte him wyth a power.

The death of Alane Lord of Galloway.

His Baſtarde ſonne rayſeth a commotion.

The Earle of March.

The eldeſt daughter of the aboue mentioned Alane of Galloway, was giuen in maryage vnto Roger Quincie Earle of Wincheſter, who after his fahter in lawe his deceaſſe, was made Coneſtable of Scotland, which office continued in the handes of his ſucceſſion, till king Robert the ſeconde his dayes: In whoſe time this Roger of Quyncyes poſteritie was diſinherited and extinguiſhed, for certaine offences commytted agaynſt the kings maieſtie, and then afterwardes the office of the Coneſtable was giuen to the Hayes of Arroll.

Roger Quincy Earle of Wincheſter Coneſtable of Scotlande.

The ſeconde daughter of the foreſayde Alane, was maryed vnto Iohn Ballyol, and the thirde to the Ealre of Albemarle.

The deuiſion of the lands of Galloway.

Thus was the Lordſhip of Galloway deuided into three, by reaſon whereof the inhabitants of that Countrey taking diſpleaſure therewith, cleaued vnto the aboue mentioned baſtard, till he was vanquiſhed and ſlaine, as before yee haue heard.

This trouble being appeaſed thus within the realme, king Alexander was aduertiſed of great diuiſion riſing betwixt king Henrie of England and his Nobles, and therefore to helpe towardes an agreement betwixt them, he went to London with

K. Alexander goeth into Englande.

with his wife Queene Jane & Iſabell his ſiſter.

Through his earneſt diligence, all the debates and quarelles were remoued, and the parties throughly accorded.

Iſabell the ſiſter of king Alexander maryed to the earle of Norffolke.

Jane Queene of Scotlande deceaſſeth.

Which beeing done, hee maryed Iſabell his ſiſter vnto the Earle of Norffolke, and in the meane tyme hys wyfe Queene Jane deceaſſed, wythoute leauing any iſſue behinde hir, whiche chaunce cauſed the King hir huſbande to returne with great griefe and lamentation into Scotlande.

1239

In the yeare next following, which was after the incarnation, 1239. king Alexander (bycauſe he had no ſucceſſion of his body begot) maryed at Rockeſbourgh the daughter of Ingelram, Lord of Coucie, a virgin of excellent beautie named Mary, on whom he got a ſonne named Alexander, which ſucceeded after his deceaſſe in the gouernment of the realme.

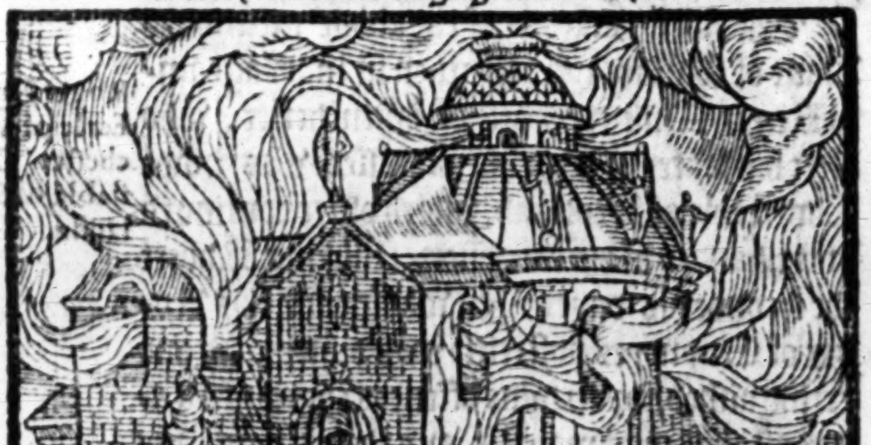
K. Alexander marieth the daughter of the Lord of Coucie.

Aboute the ſame tyme, John Cumyn Earle of Angus being ſent in Ambaſſade to Lewes the French king, dyed by the way.

John Cumyn Earle of Angus departeth this life.

Alſo at Hadynton was holden a royal tournament, where Knightes and Squiers aduaunced themſelues by valiant prowes to winne honor: Neuertheleſſe the ende of all that pleaſure and paſtime ended in ſorow, for Patrike Cumyn Earle of Atholl was ſlaine within his lodging in the nyght, and the houſe ſet on fyre and burned ouer hym, to the intente no ſuſpition ſhoulde riſe, but that it happened by ſome euill miſfortune and negligence of fyre.

Patrike Earle of Athol murthered.



John Byſſart ſuſpected.

But yet was John Byſſart, with Walter Byſſart his vncle ſhrewdly ſuſpected for the matter, inſomuch that though no euident prouſe coulde be had agaynſt them, yet were they baniſhed the Realme, and loſt all theyr goodes by confiſcation to the kings vſe.

A conuocation of the cleargie at Saint Iohns towne.

After theſe things were thus paſſed, a conuocation was called of the Cleargie at Saint Johns towne. In the which were diuers prouinciall ordinances and ſtatutes, made by conſent of the King and Nobles of the Realme, which were obſerued in the Church of Scotland vnto theſe late dayes.

About the ſame time alſo, one Sommerleid Thane of Argyle, the ſonne of that Somerleyd of whome ye haue hearde before, following his fathers ſteppes, rebelled agaynſt the King, ſore endomaging by rodes and forages the partyes bordering vpon the confines of his Countrey of Argile, till at length the Earle of March brought him to the termes of ſuch extreeme neceſſitie, that he was faine to yeelde himſelfe with a corde about his necke in token of ſubmiſſion, and beeyng ſo brought before the king, obteyned pardon of his heynous offence.

Somerleid Thane of A gile rebelle

Somerlei humble ſu miſſion.

In the ſame ſeaſon, Henrie King of Englande, prouoked by the ſetting on of ſome ſeditious perſons remayning in his Court, as truſted by warres to aduaunce theyr priuate gaine, (during whiche time lawe and iuſtice haue no place) beganne to buylde a Caſtell for anenſt Barwike, in the ſame place where the other was begunne afore by King Richarde, which (as before is ſhewed) was razed and throwne downe by King William, by the articles of agreement with couenant that it ſhould neuer be buylded vp againe.

A Caſtell b gonne to b builded by Henry ane Barwike.

Mathew P diſagreeth the Scotti writers to ching the caſion of t warre, as English c nicles ye m reade.

This attempt of the Engliſhe men had miniſtred ſufficient occaſion of warre, if the Nobles of Englande (conſidering that the buylding vp of this Caſtell was contrary to theyr bande and promyſed fayth) had not ſtayed the worke, and ſo thereuppon that beginning of newe trouble betwixt the Engliſh and Scottiſh nations for that preſent ceaſſed.

Ambaſſad forth of F

In the yeare following, came Ambaſſadors forth of Fraunce into Scotlande, declaring that King Lewes was readie to paſſe forwarde on that iourney whiche hee had taken in hande to make into Jewrie, and therefore deſired ayde of King Alexander, to ſupporte hym in thoſe warres agaynſt Gods enimies. With theſe Ambaſſadours were ſent ouer into France, certayne choyſe bandes of men of warre, vnder the leading of Patrike Earle of Marche, Dauyd Lyndſey of Glenneſk, and Walter Stewarde of Dundonalde, three Captaynes of great wiſedome, and perfect experience in feates of chiualrie.

Scotiſh m that went Lewes ki Fraunce in Egypt.

The moſte part of all thoſe Scottiſhe men that thus went forth in that iourney periſhed, in Egypt eyther on the Sworde or by ſickneſſe, ſo that fewe or none of them returned home agayne.

From henceforth, King Alexander lyued not long, but falling into a ſore and grieuous ſickeneſſe within a certaine Ile called Carnere, not farre diſtant from the coaſt of Argyle, de-

ceaſſed

The death of Alexander the ſeconde. [illegible]ia. 10. M. [illegible] that can [illegible] be.

ceaſſed in the ſame Jle ſhortly after, in the. lj. yeare of his age the. xxxv. of his raigne, and of our redemption. 1249.

His bodie according as he had commaunded in his lyfe time, was buryed in Melros.

Alex- nder.

Alexander the [illegible] crowned

After that Alexander the ſecõd was thus dead and buryed, hys ſonne Alexander the thirde of that name, not paſſing ix. yeares of age, was proclaymed King.

There was no ſmall adoe on the day of hys coronation amongſt the Nobles, for that by reaſon of the obſeruation of ſtarres, it was iudged to bee an infortunate day for him to receyue the Diademe.

[illegible] infortunate [illegible]y.

And againe ſome helde opinion, howe hee ought to bee made Knight firſt, before hee were crowned, ſo that thus they were at ſtryfe togither, in ſuche earneſt maner, that it was doubted, leaſt this contention woulde haue bred ſome great inconuenience, had not the Earle of Fife preuented the ſame, in cauſing vpon a ſodayne the Crowne to bee ſette vppon the Kinges heade, beeing placed in the Marble Chayre, according to the cuſtome, without regarde to the friuolous allegations of them that ſpake to the contrarie.

The Earle of [illegible] preuen[illegible] the occa[illegible] of further [illegible]uble.

When the ſolemnitie was ended, there came before him an Hielande man (for ſo they call ſuch as inhabite the mountaine Countreys of Scotlande) who in a certaine kynde of meetre of the Iriſh language, ſaluted him as king, thus: Bennach de re Albyn Alexander, mak Alax, mak William, mak Henrie, mak Dauid, and ſo forth, recytingin maner of a Genealogie or pedegree all the Kings in order, of whom hee was diſcended, tyll he came vp to Gathelus the fyrſt begynner of the Scottiſhe name and Nation.

The ſalutation [illegible] a Hielande [illegible].

The wordes in Engliſhe are as followeth: Hayle king of Albine, Alexander the ſonne of Dauid, the ſonne of Alex. the ſonne of William, the ſonne of Henrie, the ſonne of Dauid, and ſo forth as before.

This Hielande Scot was highly rewarded by the King for his laboure, according as was thought requiſite.

In the ſecond yeare of his raigne, King Alexander, (or rather ſuch as had the gouernment of the Realme vnder him) aſſembled togither all the Prelates and Barons of the realme at Dunfermling, and there ordeyned to take vp the bones of his Grandmother Queene Margaret, which being done, he cauſed them to be put into a Shrine of ſiluer, the. xxj. day of July, and minding to place the ſame where it reſteth at thys preſent, as it was borne forth towarde that place, when the bearers came anenyſt the Sepulcre of hir huſbande King Malcolme, they were not able to remoue the Relykes any further, till by the counſell (as is ſayde) of an aged man that was there preſent, they toke vp the bones of the ſame Malcolme alſo, and bare them forth with hirs to the place aforeſaid, where they after reſted in great veneration of the people.

The tranſlation of Queene Margarets Bones.

Such as were appoynted gouernours (during the minoritie of king Alexander) doubting leaſt the tender yeares of their ſoueraigne might enbolden the enimies of the Realme to attempt ſome inuaſion, ſent Ambaſſadors vnto Henrie king of England, requiring that the peace might be ratified of new with him and his people, and further to make a motion of mariage to bee had betwixt king Alexander and a daughter of king Henries.

They were fianced in the dayes of king Alexander the ſayre as in the Engliſh chronicle it may appeare.

Shortly after, vpon this motion, both the kings mette at Yorke with a greate number of Lordes, aſwell ſpirituall as temporall of both the Realmes, where king Alexander according to the promiſe before that tyme made, maryed the Lady Margaret daughter to the forenamed king Henry, on Saint Stephens day in Chriſtmaſſe, with al ſolemnitie and ioyfull myrth that might be deuiſed.

An enterulew of the kings of Englande and Scotlande.

1250.

The charges whereof, were borne partly by king Henrie, & partly by the Archbiſhop of Yorke, who in feaſting thoſe princes ſpẽt right liberally.

At length, king Alexander after he had ſolaced him ſelfe in the companie of his father in lawe King Henrie a certaine tyme, returned into Scotlande wyth hys newe maryed wyfe.

During the minoritie of King Alexander, the realme of Scotlande was gouerned in great proſperitie by the Nobles: But after his comming to rype age, he was enformed of certaine extortions done by ſome of the Peeres of hys Realme agaynſt the poore people, and thereupon determined to ſee redreſſe therein.

Amongeſt other there were accuſed of ſuch tranſgreſſion, the Earles of Menteith, Atholl, and Buchquhane, with the Lorde of Strabogy, which were of one ſurname, that is to wit, of the Cumyns.

Complaint made of the Cumyns.

Theſe being ſummoned to appeare before the Juſtices, with one Hugh Abernethy, and other of their complyces, vpon theyr contempt ſo to doe, were proclaymed traytors, and as the Scottiſhe men terme it, put to the horne.

The Cumyns put to the Horne.

The king taken by the Cumyns.

The forſayde Lordes moued with this diſpleaſure, purpoſed to reuenge the ſame, and aſſembling their powers in ſecrete wiſe, toke the king at Kynroſſy, & brought him vnto Striueling, where they kept him as captiue in warde a long time after.

Through which aduenture much harme enſued, by reaſon of miſruled perſons, that wrought many oppreſſions agaynſt the people, in hope to eſcape the due puniſhment for theyr miſchieuous actes prouided, ſithe the king who ſhoulde haue ſeene iuſtice miniſtred, was holdẽ in captiuitie by his preſumptious aduerſaries. But of this matter ye may ſee more in the Engliſh Chronicles about the 39. yeare of Henrie the thirde.

The greate power of the Cumyns.

Thirtie and two knightes of one ſurname.

The houſe of the Cumyns was in thoſe dayes of great power within the Realme, both in multitude of offpring, riches, landes, poſſeſſions, and manrent. There were at the ſame time to the number of .xxxij. knightes of that ſurname within the realme, all men of fayre poſſeſſions and reuenues.

The height of great families the cauſe oftentimes of their fall.

The Earle of Menteith is poyſoned.

But as it often happeneth that men of great poſſeſſions and dominion are had in ſuſpition with the Prince, whereby the ſame is for the more part the cauſe of their ruine and fall, ſpecially when they preſume too farre vpon their high power; ſo it chaunced here: for within a ſhorte time after that the king was thus taken (as before is ſhewed) the chiefe authour of the whole conſpiracie, that is to witte, the Lorde Walter Earle of Menteth, who was higheſt in authoritie amongſt all thoſe Cumyns, was poyſoned, as was thought by his owne wife, through which miſchaunce the reſidue of the Cumyns were ſo amated, that obteining their pardon for all offences paſſed of the king, they did ſet him againe at libertie.

The kin at libert

This woman did thus make away hir huſband the Earle of Menteith through inſtigation of an Engliſh man called John Ruſſell, as by coniectures it was ſuſpected, namely for that refuſing to marrie with any of the Scottiſh nobilitie, ſhe toke the ſaid Ruſſell to huſband, though in eſtate to be compared with hirs he was iudged a match farre vnmeete, and thervpon conſtrayned to flee with him into Englande, ſhee dyed there in great miſerie.

John Ru an Englis

The feaſt Corpus C ſti inſtitu

About this time Pope Urbane the fourth of that name, inſtituted the feaſt of Corpus Chriſti, to be celebrated eche yeare on the Thurſday after Trinitie Sunday.

The firſt co ming of th Carmelit Friers.

The Carmelite Friers came at this tyme into Scotland, and erected a Chappell of our Ladie without the walles of Saint Johns towne, which the Biſhop of Dunkeld appoynted them, therein to celebrate their ſeruice.

A part of holy Cro founde.

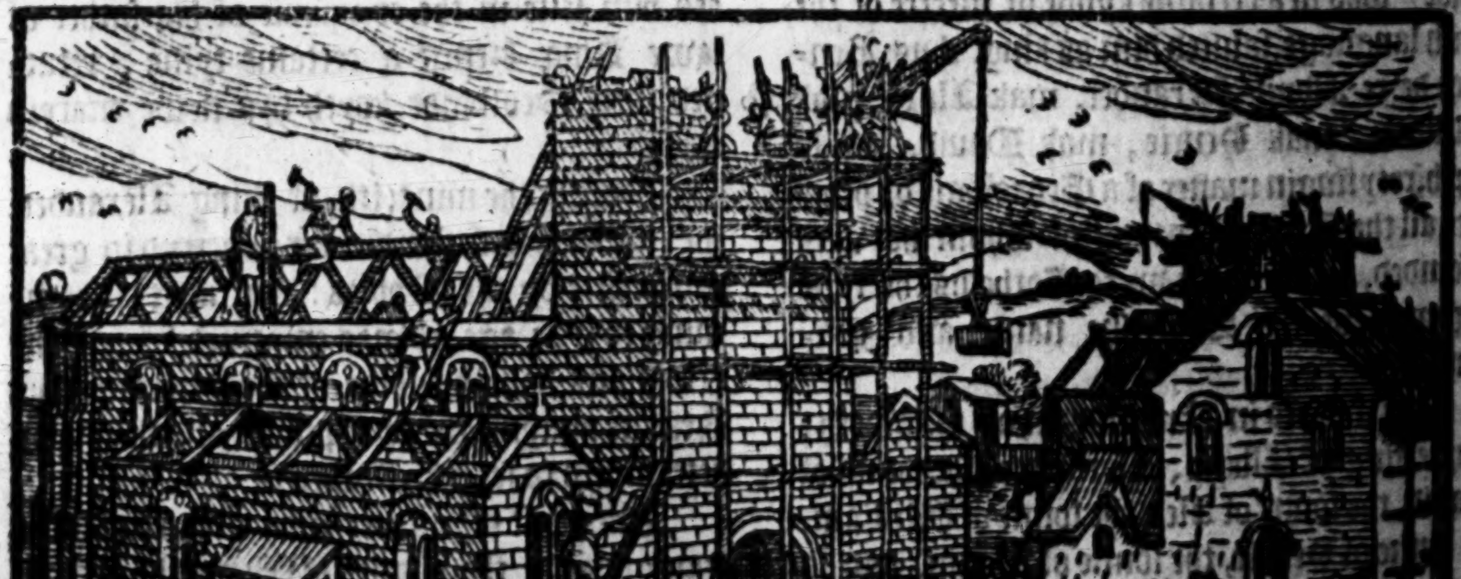
It was alſo ſayde, that in this ſeaſon a Monk of Melroſſe was admoniſhed in a dream, where he ſhoulde finde a part of the holy Croſſe, not farre from Peplis in Louthian, encloſed in a Caſe engrauen wyth the tytle of Saint Nicholas.

And not farre from the ſame, was lykewiſe founde a ſtone Cheſte, right cunningly wrought and engrauen, wherein were founde certaine bones wrapped in ſilk, but whoſe bones the ſame were, it was not knowne.

As ſoone as the caſe was opened within the which the Croſſe was included, many myracles were wrought (as it was then beleeued.)

An Abbe bylt.

King Alexander for deuotion hereof, buylded an Abbay in honor of the holy croſſe, in the ſame place where that peece of the croſſe was ſo found.



In this Abbay afterwardes there were Monks inhabiting of the order of the Trinitie.

Not long after, the two kings of Englande and Scotlande, met togither at Warke Caſtell, accompanied with a great number of the nobles and gentlemen of both theyr Realmes, for the redreſſe of certaine miſorders committed betwixt the borderers.

An enteruiew. Mathew Paris wryteth that in the yere 1256 both king Alexander & his wife came into England to [illegible] king Henrie, whom they found at Woodſtocke, as in the Engliſh chronicle further appeareth.

Suche reformation alſo was here deuyſed, and recompence made on eyther ſyde, that bothe the Realmes continued afterwardes in more perfect tranquilitie for a certayne ſpace, than euer was ſeene in anye Kinges dayes before that tyme.

In this ſeaſon was the Church of Glaſkew finiſhed, in that perfection as it ſtandes to bee ſeene at this day, right ſumptuouſly buylded for the moſt parte at the charges of William Byſhop of that Sea, who lyued not long after the finiſhing of the ſayde worke.

1262.

In the yeare following, whiche was the yeare after the byrth of oure Sauiour 1263. there fell a great dearth through both the realmes of Englande and Scotlande, by reaſon of the weate Harueſt preceeding, ſo that the corne and graine was quite marred and corrupted before it could be got beſide the ground.

A great dearth

cho king of Norway.

Acho King of Norway, being informed how the Scottes were thus oppreſſed with famine and other miſeryes, by report of them that made the ſame more than it was in deede, ſuppoſed to fynde tyme and occaſion fytte for hys purpoſe, to ſubdue them wholy to his dominion.

Hereupon, preparing an armie and fleete of Shippes, conuenient for ſuch an enterpriſe, hee landed with the ſame in the Weſterne Iles, on Lammas daye otherwyſe called Petri Aduincula.

he weſterne les vnder ſubiection of the anes and orwegians.

Thoſe Iles continued vnder ſubiection of the Norwegians and Danes from King Edgars time vnto the dayes of this Acho.

From thence the ſayde Acho with a mightie power of his Danes & Norwegians came ouer into Aran and Bute, which are two Iles, & only at that time amongeſt all the reſidue were vnder the dominion of Scottes.

cho landed in lbion.

But Acho hauing quickly ſubdued them at his pleaſure, in hope of more proſperous ſucceſſe, tranſported his whole armie ouer into Albion, & landed with the ſame on the next coſtes, where after he had beſieged the Caſtel of Ayre a certain time, he tooke the ſame, and began to waſte and ſpoyle all the Countrey there aboutes.

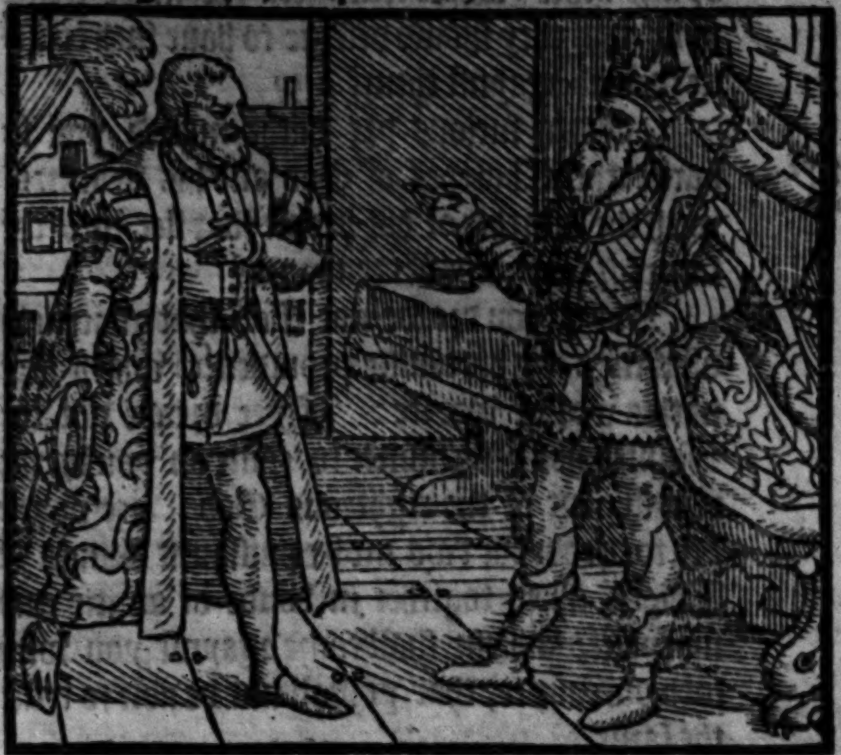
e Caſtel of e beſieged d wonne.

Alexanders rpoſe to enble his enis force.

King Alexander beeing ſore aſtonyed with theſe newes, for that he was yong, and not able as it was doubted to reſyſt the force of his enimies, enboldned vpon ſuche frequent victories as they had atchieued, thought beſt to prolong the time by colour of ſome treatie for a peace, that waye to diminiſhe the enimyes force, by long ſoiourning in Campe withoute tryall of anye battayle.

Ambaſſadors ſent to Achó.

Hereupon were Ambaſſadors ſent vnto Acho, of the which one amongſt them appoynted therto, being well languaged and wiſe, at their firſt comming before him ſpake in this maner.



The oration of one of the Ambaſſadors.

Were it not that our King and Nobles of the Realme (by an auncient cuſtome obſerued euen from the begynning) doe vſe fyrſt to ſeeke redreſſe of all iniuryes receyued, before they offer to bee reuenged with the ſworde, ye ſhoulde not nowe beholde Orators ſent vnto you to talke of concorde, but a mightie armie in ordinaunce of battayle comming towardes you to giue the onſet: We are of that opinion, that we neuer get ſo muche gaynes by victorie of the enimies, no though they haue robbed and ſpoyled our confines, but that we account it muche better to haue peace, if wee maye haue reſtitution of wrongs done to vs, by ſome maner of honeſt meanes. For what greater follye may be, than to ſeeke for that by fyre and ſworde, which may be purchaſed with fayre and quyet wordes? Neuertheleſſe when our iuſt deſires and reaſonable motions are refuſed of the enimyes, when we finde them not wylling to haue peace, (for the obteyning whereof all warres ought to be taken in hande) but rather that their onely ſeeking is to haue warres, not reſpecting the quarell: wee are readie to riſe wholy togither in reuenge of ſuch cõtempt with all poſſible ſpeed and violence againſt our aduerſaries. We are ſent therfore from our King and Soueraigne, to enquyre what occaſion you haue thus to inuade his Realme and Subiects, in violating that peace and league, whiche hath beene obſerued and kept betwixt vs and your Nation, the ſpace of this hundred yeares, and not onely to take from him hys two Iles of Bute and Aran, but alſo to inuade the mayne lande of hys Dominions, wyth ſuche crueltie, as neyther conſideration of age or perſon ſeemeth to be had, but that women, children, and feeble olde perſons haue paſſed by the Sworde, as well as thoſe that haue ſtand at reſiſtaunce with weapen

Peace to be preferred before warres.

Wherefore warres ought to be moued.

The cauſe of their meſſage.

in hande agaynſt you.

What haynous offence haue the Scottiſhe men at any tyme committed eyther agaynſt you or any other (whoſe reuengers yee maye ſeeme to be, that they ſhould deſerue to haue ſuch crueltie ſhewed agaynſt them?

Burning of Churches.

What furious yre hathe moued you to burne the Churches of God and his Saintes, with the murther of his people that flee into the ſame for ſauegarde of their lyues?

But if you dreade not God that gouerneth all things (by his diuine prouidence) which here in this worlde wee ſee: If yee dreade not the Saintes nor vengeaunce to come on you by the puniſhment of the righteous God, yee ought yet to dreade the two moſte puiſſaunt Kings of Albion, allied togither in bonde of amitie and maryage, whiche ſhall come agaynſt you with ſuch puiſſaunce, that ye ſhall not be able to reſiſt the ſame.

Therefore ſithe ye maye depart with honour, we on the behalfe of him from whome wee are ſent, doe admoniſhe you, that better it is for you to redreſſe ſuche iniuryes as yee haue alreadie done, and therewith to repayre home, than in aduenture to bee brought to ſuche deſperate termes, that when yee ſhall bee conſtrayned to ſeeke for mercie, the ſame in no wiſe wil be granted vnto you.

These wordes were ſpoken by the Ambaſſadours, vppon purpoſe to put ſome terror into the heart of this hardie king Acho.

Neuertheleſſe hee abaſhed ſo lyttle therewyth, that hee aunſwered them in thys maner.

King Achoes anſwere.

Your beliefe is (I perceyue) ye Ambaſſadors, to abaſhe vs with your fierce and awful wordes, ſuppoſing vs ſo weake hearted, that wee ſhoulde leaue off our enterpriſe through your menaſing threates: but ye are farre deceyued ſurely if your ymagination be ſuch.

And where yee exaggerate our iniuries done to you in taking from you certaine Iles, we perceyue you are not meete nor indifferent perſons to be choſen for iudges in that cauſe, neyther doe wee mynde to learne of you, what wee ought to eſteeme right or wrong in ſuch behalfe.

If yee deſyre further to knowe and vnderſtande the cauſe, why wee haue inuaded Arrane and Bute, wee ſay and affyrme, that not onely thoſe two Iles perteyne to vs and oure people by good tytle and auncient right of inheritaunce, but alſo al the other Iles of Scotland, as we are able ſufficiently to proue.

The cauſe of Achoes comming into Scotlande.

And therefore are we come to take preſently ſo muche in value out of Scotlande, as ye haue taken in iſſues and profytes out of thoſe Iles in times paſt from vs. Shewe then to your King, that wee feare neyther his menacing wordes, nor yet anye other vyolence that hee can ſhewe agaynſte vs: Notwithſtanding, if hee bee more deſyrous of peace than of battayle, and luſteth to auoyde the ſpoyling and burning of hys Townes, the ſlaughter of hys people, or if hee deſyred not to ſee the vtter extermynion of his Realme afore hys eyes, commaunde him to ſende vnto vs forthwith tenne thouſande Markes ſterling for the fruites of oure landes taken vp and receyued by hym and his elders in tymes paſt, and further that hee make a cleare reſignation of all clayme or title that he may ſeeme to pretend vnto the ſayde Iles, in ſuch ſort that the ſame may paſſe vnder our dominion in perpetuitie without any contradiction.

His dema

When King Alexander had hearde what the anſwere of his enimie was, he was therewith ſore amoued, and perceyuing no waye to eſchue the battayle, but that he ſhoulde bee conſtrayned to trye fortunes chaunce, hee aſſembled togyther an armye of fortie thouſand men, that thoughe hee were not able to matche hys enimyes in prowes, hee might yet paſſe them in number.

King Ale der aſſemb his power

The order of the Sco tiſh hoſt.

Alexander wart leade the right

Patrike D bar captai of the left wing.

The king the mydd warde.

Hee deuided this hoſte into three battayles. In the ryght Wing was Alexander Stewart a right valyaunt Knight, Nephewe to that Alexander whiche endowed the Abbey of Paſley. He had with him all the menne that came forth of Argyle, Leuenor, Atholl, and Galloway. In the left Wing was Patrike Dunbarre, hauing wyth him the men of Louthian, Fyfe, Mers, Barwike, and Strineling ſhyre. In the myddle warde was the King himſelfe, with all the remnant people of the other partes of Scotlande to ſuccour the wings when daunger appeared.

These battayles were ordered in ſuche array, that euerye clan had a Captayne aſſigned to them of theyr owne language, to exhort them to manhoode, thereby to winne prayſe and honour.

K. Alexa exhorteth people to valiantly.

At his entring into the confines of Conningham, where he came fyrſt within ſight of hys enimies, hee called his people togyther, and exhorted them to doe theyr dutyfull endeuours lyke hardie and valyaunt men, agaynſte thoſe enimies that inuaded theyr Countrey withoute any iuſt cauſe or tytle of warre: and to put their truſte in almightie God, deſyring hym to graunt victorie vnto that partie, which had moſt right and iuſteſt cauſe of battayle. He further ſhewed how neceſſarie it was for them to behaue thẽſelues valiantly, and how much it ſtood them in hand to fight with manly courages, in defence of their wiues, children, lyberties and landes,

hauing

pe of surety / what point / ted.

hauing no hope of ſuretie of lyfe but in the valyaunt vſing of theyr able handes, ſo that theyr whole ſauegarde reſted in thys poynt, eyther to vanquiſhe the enimyes wyth manhoode, or elſe to liue in ſeruile bondage as theyr ſlaues and miſerable thralles, and to ſuffer theyr wyues and daughters to be abuſed at theyr luſte and pleaſure. He willed them therfore to conſider, that not onely hee, but all Scotlande ſhoulde ſee them fight that day, noting both theyr manhoode and cowardiſe: but ſithe theyr cauſe was iuſte and moued onely in defence of theyr natiue Countrey and auncient libertyes, hee truſted they woulde ſhewe the more hardyneſſe and courage, namely agaynſte them that ſought onely bloud and ſpoyle.

e necesſitie / e cause.

Theſe wyth other the lyke wordes King Alexander vttered wyth bolde ſpirite, to encourage hys people: And on the other part King Acho likewyſe thought it expedient to vſe ſome exhortation vnto hys armye, that they ſhould not bee afrayde of the great number and huge multitude of the Scottes.

es exhor- / to his

The chiefeſt poynt to encourage them to do valyauntly, he ſuppoſed was the hope of ſpoyle, and therefore he put them in remembrance, howe by victorie not onely all ſuch ryches as the Scots had brought thyther wyth them (whiche coulde not bee ſmall) but alſo all the whole ſubſtaunce and treaſure of the Realme to be at theyr commaundement, yea and the Realme it ſelfe, if they mynded to enioye it: ſo that this was the day whiche they had ſo muche deſired, wherein ſufficient oportunitie was offered to ſhewe what rewarde ſhoulde followe to eche man for hys good and valiaunt ſeruice. But for that highe enterpryſes and famous exploytes might neuer bee atchieued without extreme ieopardie, it behoued them to attaine to theſe ſo greate commodities by pierſing through, and ouerthrowing by dynt of ſworde, the arrayed battayles of theyr enimyes, whiche howe eaſie a matter it ſhoulde be for them to bring to paſſe, ſuche as well conſidered the circumſtances, might ſone coniecture: for through dearth and famine whiche ſo long hath raigned amongſt the Scottiſh people, their bodies and forces (ſayth he) are ſo wonderfully enfeebled, that they appeare to repreſent rather ſhadowes than full perſonages of men able to make reſiſtance.

pe of spoile / engeth / of warre.

enter- / achiued / extreme

Again, in conſideration how neceſſarie it was for euery man to fight without faynting, ſithe they were enuironed on ech part without meane to eſcape, he deſyred them, that if it ſo fel out, that they ſhould chaunce to be ouercome, (which as he truſted ſhould not come to paſſe) that in ſuch miſaduenture they woulde yet ſell their lyues dearly and not to die vnreuenged.

Thus hauing opened vnto them what proſperous hap followed by victorie, and what danger by the ouerthrow, he thought to haue ſufficiently inſtructed them to put all feare aſyde, and to doe what lay in their vttermoſt forces to vanquiſh the enimies.

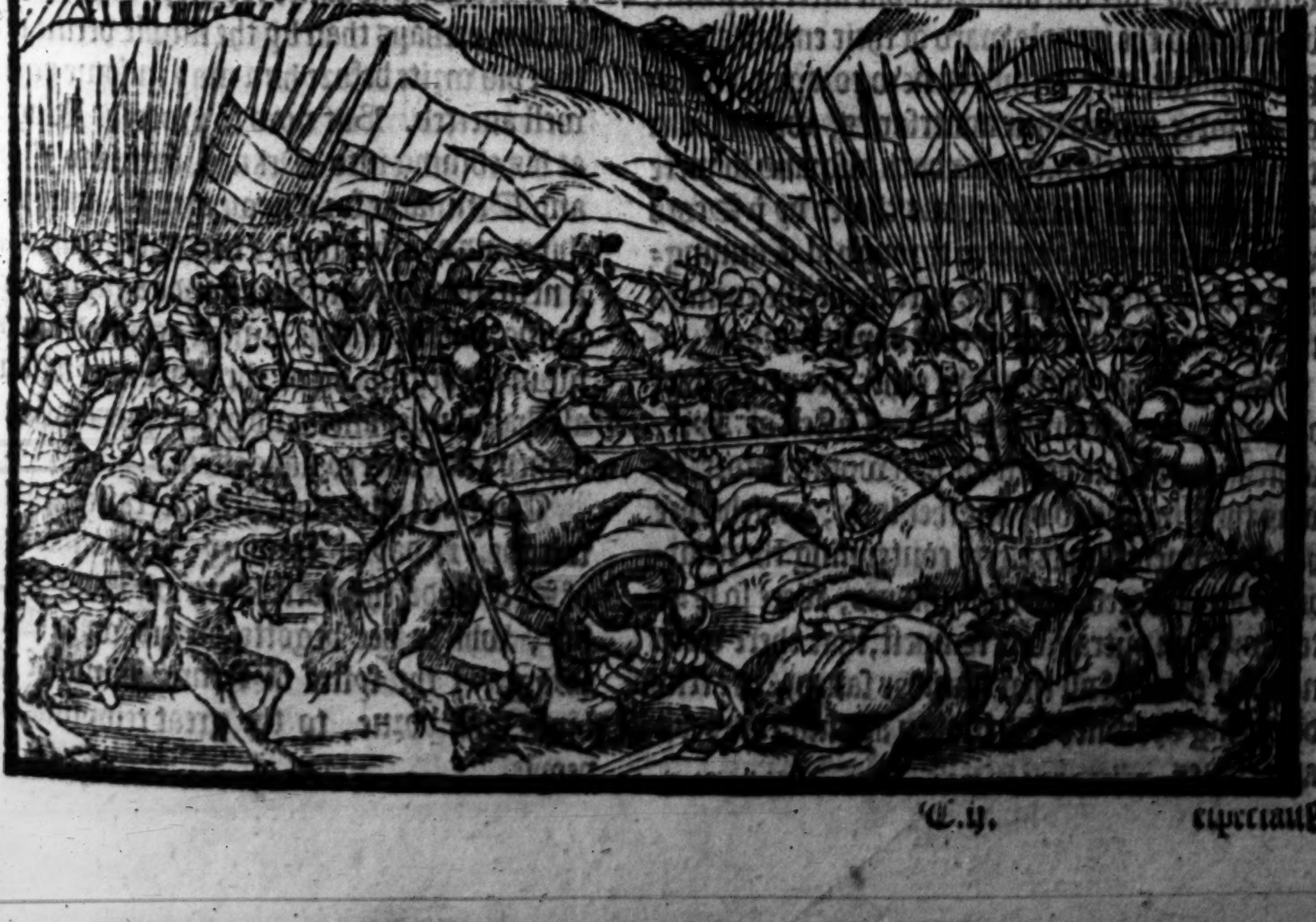
The ordering of the battails.

The Kings on eyther ſide, hauing thus exhorted their people to do their deuoirs, they array their battayles.

Acho diſpoſed all his beſt ſouldiers and whole force of his armie in the middle warde, for that he had knowledge howe the Scottiſh king was placed in the middeſt battaile of his people, wherfore he ſuppoſed, that if he might ouerthrow and vanquiſh that part where the king ſtood, he ſhould eaſily then put the reſidue to flight.

The battailes ioyne.

His wings (bicauſe he had not number ſufficient to furniſh thẽ fully) were arayed more weakly in ſlender and thin rankes: but yet at the fyrſt encoũter there was a terrible fight betwixt them,



eſpecially where the two Kinges fought: For they preaſſed ſtill with great violence on that part where they ſay any daunger, not ceaſſing to exhort and encourage theyr men to ſtande to the bargaine with manly ſtomackes, ſo that on eyther ſide theſe two kings playde the partes of right valiant captaynes.

The valiancie of the kings.

Acho with a bande of right hardie ſouldiers aſſayed ſundrie tymes to pierce and diſorder the battaile where king Alexander fought, notwithſtanding he had ſo great number of people there with him, that he ſtuffed euer the ranks with freſh men where he ſaw it needfull.

The great nūber of Scottiſh men.

Alſo betwixt the wings, there was no leſſe crueltie ſhewed on eyther ſide in the beginning of the battaile, till at length the Norwegians perceyuing themſelues ouerpreſſed with multitude, and compaſſed in on euery ſide, they ſomewhat beganne to ſhrinke, and firſt thoſe in the lefte wyng, conſtrayned to breake theyr order, fell to running away.

The left wing of the Norwegians are put to flight.

Alexander Stewart therefore, that had the leading of the right wing of the Scottes, hauing purſued the enimies a certaine ſpace, and ſlaine Achos nephewe, a man of high reputation and authoritie amongſt the Norwegians, cauſed the retreate to be ſounded, and gathering his men againe into array, brought them agaynſt the enimyes of the myddle warde, where was hard hold betwixt the two kings, the battaile continuing with great ſlaughter on both partes, and vncertaine a long while to whether part the victorie would encline: but the Norwegians being now aſſayled on the backes by a new power of theyr enimies, at length they began to flee amaine: but in the meane time the left wing of the Scottes whereof one Patrike had the leading, was in great daunger, by reaſon the Captain himſelf was ſore wounded, and thereby all the companies in the ſame wing ſore diſcomforted: but after they once beheld how the middle ward of their enimies was put to flight, they recouered new corages, & with great force cauſed their aduerſaries, with whom they were matched, to giue back alſo: and ſo were the Danes and Norwegians chaſed by ẏ Scots with right cruel ſlaughter through al Cunningham, not ceaſing from the purſute of the enimies til night made an ende of that dayes worke.

Achoes nephew is ſlaine.

The maine battaile of the Norwegians fleeth.

The left wing of the Scots in daunger.

The Danes & Norwegians chaced by the Scottes.

King Acho with a few other eſcaped out of daunger, and comming to the Caſtell of Ayre, which (as ye haue heard) he had wonne before, he was there informed of another loſſe, whiche hee had ſuſteyned: for his fleete conteyning the number of an hundred and fiftie ſhippes, were ſo beaten wyth an outragious tempeſt, that there were not paſt foure of all that number ſaued, the reſidue being drowned and broken againſt the rocks and clyues.

The loſſe of Achoes ſhips by tempeſt.

The Mariners alſo, beeing conſtrayned to come a lande for ſafegarde of their lyues, were ſlaine by the people of the countrey, ſo that few of them or none at all eſcaped.

The lo
the ma

Acho being thus abaſhed with theſe two infortunate miſchaunces, aſwell for the loſſe and diſcomfiture of his armie by lande, as for the periſhing of his Nauie on the Seas, got him vnto thoſe foure ſhippes that were ſaued, and ſayled with them aboute the coaſt, till he arryued in Orknay.

Acho fle
to Orcn

In thys battayle whiche was foughten at Largis, the thirde daye of Auguſt in the yeare 1263. there were ſlaine of Danes and Norwegians .xxiiij. thouſande, and of Scottes about fiue thouſand.

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Thus hath Hector Bo. But Fourdon ſeemeth not to agree altogither herewith, who writing of this inuaſiō made by ẏ Norwegians into Scotland, ſaith, that they were but .xx. M. men of war in al embarked in .lxxx. ſhips, which comming to the new caſtel of Aran, beſieged aſwel ẏ ſaid caſtel of Aran, as the caſtel of Bute, & toke thē both, ſpoyling alſo the churches alongſt the ſea coaſt, & after arriuing at Largis in Cunningham on the feaſt of the Natiuitie of our Ladie, loſt the moſt part of their veſſels, whiche were drowned togither with thouſands of men in the ſame. The reſidue that got to land, encoūtering with ẏ Scots led by Alexander Stewart of Dondenald, were diſcōfited, put to flight, chaſed & drowned in the ſea, into the which they were driuen. Amongſt other that were ſlaine, a nephew of king Acho was one, a yong Gentleman of great valiancie, and ſore lamented of his Uncle. Acho had muche adoe to eſcape himſelfe he was ſo egrely purſued of his enimies. Thus haue I thought good to ſhew the diuerſitie of writers in this behalf, that it may appere how things are ſomtimes amplified by Boetius to aduance the glory of his coūtrymē further perhaps than by the ſimple veritie of thoſe that did write before him may in ſome poynts be well auerred. But now to proceed. King Acho at his cōming into Orkney, ſent into Norway and Denmarke for a newe army, and prouided ſhips and al other things neceſſarie, to haue made a new inuaſion into Scotlande agaynſt the next ſpring: but for that he himſelf departed out of this life in the beginning of the yeare next following, all that purueyance and great preparation was daſhed and came to none effect.

Iohn Fo

Acho pr
reth to
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into Sc
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fore hi
uiſion
readie.

The ſame day, that Acho deceaſſed, that is to wit, the .xxj. day of January, Alexander Prince of Scotlande the eldeſt ſonne of King Alexander, whiche hee begotte on his wyfe Queene Margaret the ſyſter of Henrie King of Englande was borne, to the great reioyſing of the people.

Alexan
Prince
Scotlan
eldeſt ſ
the king
borne.

For the people conceiued double ioy and gladneſſe hereof, bycauſe that both a newe Prince was borne, and that enimie deade which ſought the deſtruction of the whole Realme.

After the deceaſſe of king Acho, his ſonne Magnus ſucceeded him, a right faythfull prince, and one that had the feare of God before his eies.

In the ſeconde yeare of his raigne, he ſent his Imbaſſadours (of whome the chiefe was the Chauncelor of Norway) vnto king Alexander, whome they found at Saint Iohns towne, and there ſignified to him that king Magnus theyr maiſter, would willingly giue ouer all his tytle, right and clayme vnto Arrane and Bute, ſo that the reſidue of the Iles might remaine in quiet poſſeſſion of him and his ſucceſſours in tyme cōming. Herevnto was anſwere made by K. Alexander, that the Iles by right of olde inheritance perteined vnto him and his progenitors kings of Scotland, and therefore he might not make any agreement with the Danes or Norwegians, til he had recouered the ful poſſeſſion of yͤ ſame Iles.

mbaſſadours fró Mag- king of way to K. ander.

The Imbaſſadors being diſpatched and ſent away with this anſwere, incontinently Alexander Stewart of Paſley, and Iohn Cumyn were ſent with an armie ouer into Man, which Ile they then recouered (though not without bloud) forth of the handes of the Danes and Norwegians, who had kept the ſame in poſſeſſion nowe for the ſpace of 167. yeares paſſed, but not without ſome alteration and trouble, as may appeare by the annales of Richard Southwell, a writer (as ſhould ſeme) wel inſtructed in matters aſwel touching Scotland and the North partes, as alſo concerning the ſtate of the out Iles. And therfore that the ſame maye the better appeare to the Readers, I haue thought it not impertinent to ſet downe what I haue read in the ſame Southwell, touching the kings, or rather viceroyes of Man, and thoſe Iles which for a ſeaſon as ſhuld ſeeme in deede, were ſubſtituted by the kings of Norway, although it may alſo appeare, that ſomtime there was a certaine ſucceſſion in them, as from the father to the ſonne, and from the brother to the brother, &c. in maner as if it had beene by way of inheritance.

of the ble be- the of Mal- Camore their vncle ald Bane, agnus K. of way the of Olaue these

Southwel.

In the dayes of king Iohn therfore (as ſaith the foreſayd Southwel) one Guthred raigned as king in Man. And in the yeare 1228 one Reginald being king of thoſe Iles, was murthered by wicked perſons, and thē his brother Olaue raigned in his place. In the yeare 1230. the King of Norwaye appoynted one Huſbac, the ſonne of Oſmond (ſurnamed Hacon) to gouerne the ſayd Iles called Sodorenſes, that is to meane, the Ile of Man, & the other Iles there abouts the coaſts of Scotlande, the which Huſbac, togither with other two Captaynes Olaue and Godred ſurnamed Don came by ſea, and arryued at Bute, where they wanne the Caſtell: but Huſbac was ſlaine with a ſtone that was throwne downe vpon him. And then after this, the foreſayde Olaue and Godred came vnto the Ile of Man, where they deuided the Kingdome of the Iles betwixt them, ſo as Olaue had Man alotted to him for his part, and Godred the other Iles. But after that Godred was alſo ſlaine, Olaue gouerned both in Man, and in all the other Iles (thoſe excepted which the ſonnes of Somerleid helde in poſſeſſion) In the yeare 1237. in the moneth of May, Alaue king of Man, the ſonne of Godred, and brother to Reginald, departed this life, after whoſe deceaſſe his ſonne Harolde ſucceded him, & raigned. xij. yeares, being but. xiiij. yeares of age whē he began his raigne. In the yere 1247. Haco king of Norway ſent for Harolde king of Man to come vnto his coronation. Who comming thither, was honorably receyued, & obteyned king Hacons daughter in mariage: but as he returned from thence in the yeare 1249. togither with his wife, they periſhed in the ſeas by a tempeſt on the coaſtes of Iſeland. Then ſucceeded his brother Reginald, who raigned but. xxvij. dayes, for he was ſlaine the firſt of Iune the ſame yeare, by the ſeruants of a knight called Yuarus. Then Harald the ſon of Godred Don gouerned Man one yere, being remoued by the king of Norway: and after him Magnus the ſon of Olaue began his raigne ouer Man and the other Iles, by conſent of the Manſke men themſelues. But in the yere 1254. one Yuarus was ordeyned king, or rather viceroy of thoſe Iles, and gouerned the ſame, tyll the foreſaid Magnus king of Norway reſigned his tytle to all the ſayd Iles vnto K. Alexander, (as ye haue heard) who placed his Lieutenants there, of whō the firſt hight Godred mac Mares, the ſecōd Alane. And after him Maurice Okarefair ſucceeded: and then folowed one that was the kings Chaplain. For the time of the reſignatiō made, I followe Hector Boetius, by reaſon of ſome contrarietie which appeareth in Southwel in the accoūt of the yeares aſſigned to the raignes of thoſe Iland kings, if you cōferre the ſame with the time of the foreſayd reſignation. But now to the matter: the lieutenant appointed to haue the rule of thoſe yles now, yͭ they wer thus come into the handes of the Scots, was bound by his office to be redy with. xiij. ſhips, and. v. C. mariners to come to the ayd of the Scots, at all times whē he ſhould therto be required. After this, were the erles of Athol, Carik, & March, Alexāder Stewart, the Thanes of Argile, & Lennos, ſent wͭ a puiſſant army vnto the other of yͤ weſtern Iles, the which thoſe that were greateſt, they brought with much ado vnder the obeyſance of the crowne of Scotland, the reſidue ſubmitted themſelues.

ed king Man. alde. 1228. 1230. Sodo-

Bute.

Husbac ſlaine.

Olauus and Godredus deuide the kingdome of the Iles betwixt them.

1237.

Alane.

Harolde.

1247.

Harold paſſeth into Norway.

Is drowned in his returne.

1249.

Reginald. He began to raigne the firſt of May.

Yuarus.

Harald.

Magnus.

1254.

Yuarus.

Lieutenant or Baylife of the Ile of Man vnder the Scots.

The weſterne Iles recouered out of the handes of the Norwegians.

The Chancelor of Norway ambaſſador to K. Alexander.

Magnus King of Norway informed hereof, ſent eftſoones his Chauncelour in Ambaſſade vnto King Alexander, to trie if he might by treatie recouer againe thoſe Iles: and if he might not bring that to paſſe, yet to compounde with him for a yearly tribute.

The firſt motion of the Chauncelor woulde in no wiſe be heard, therefore ſurceaſſing to ſpend any longer tyme aboute it, they fell in communication touching the ſeconde, which tooke effect at length in this wiſe.

The releaſe of Magnus king of Norway to the Scottiſh Iles.

King Magnus by his Letters vnder hys greate Seale, renounced and gaue ouer all ryght or clayme that hee had or myght haue, both for him and his ſucceſſours to all the Iles of Scotlande.

A yearely penſion.

And King Alexander for this reſignation was agreed to paye to the ſayde King of Norway, foure thouſande Markes ſterling, togither wyth a penſion or trybute of an hundred Markes by yeare: And for the more confyrmation of loue and amitie betwixt the two kings and their people, Margaret the daughter of King Alexander being not paſt one yeare of age, was promiſed in maryage vnto Hannigo, the ſonne of King Magnus, the ſame maryage to be conſummate when ſhe came to yeares maryageable.

Margaret king Alexanders daughter.

Further, in place where the greateſt ſlaughter of Danes and Norwegyans had bene made, it was couenaunted that an Hoſpitall ſhoulde bee erected and founded there, for the ſuſtentation of poore folkes.

Warres in Englande.

Aboute thys ſeaſon, there was great warres in Englande betwixte King Henrie and hys Barons, of whome the chiefe was Symon Mountfort Earle of Leyceſter, and dyuerſe other.

King Henrie requireth ayd of Scottes.

King Henrie beeing not well able to wythſtand his aduerſaries attempts, requeſted King Alexander to ſende him ſome ayde of Scottes to ſubdue the rebels of his realme, that had arreared warres agaynſt him.

Alexander Cumyn ſent into England.

Hereupon ſhortly after, was Alexander Cumyn with fiue thouſand choſen mē ſent by king Alexander into Englande, who right valiantly bare themſelues in that warre whiche king Henrie held againſt his Barons, wherof in the Engliſh Chronicle ye may read more at large.

Robyn Hood and little Iohn his cōpanion.

In theſe dayes (as the tranſlator of Hector Boetius hath wrytten) that notable and moſte famous outlawe Robyn Hoode lyued, with his fellow little Iohn, of whom are many fables and mery ieaſtes deuiſed and ſung amongſt the vulgar people.

But Iohn Maior wryteth, that they liued as he doth geſſe, in the dayes of King Richarde, the firſt of that name, which raigned in England about the yeare of our Lord. 1198.

A Legate f
Pope Cle

In the yeare next after that Henrie king of England had ſubdued his domeſticall enimyes, there came a Legate from Pope Clement the fourth, requiring hym to haue a collection of money in Scotlande towardes the charges of leuying an armye agaynſt the Saraſins: But thys Legate was not receyued into the Realme, but commaunded to ſhewe his meſſage vppon the borders.

The Leg
demaunde

Hee demaunded therefore of euery Pariſhe Church in Scotland foure Markes ſterling, and of euery Abbey 80. Markes: and to the ende hee might the ſooner purchaſe fauour to the furtherance of his purpoſe, he deuiſed by the way certaine ſtatutes and ordinances right profitable to be vſed in the realme of Scotland as he iudged.

The anſw
K. Alexan
to the Le
meſſage.

But king Alexander for anſwere herevnto alledged, that the Scottes minded not to receyue any ſtatutes or decrees other than ſuch as were ordeyned by the Pope, or ſome generall Counſell: For by a generall rule the more precepts, the more offendours are alwayes found.

The mor
precepts,
more off
ders.

And as touching the requeſte made for the collection of ſo greate ſummes of money, it was not thought neceſſarie, that ſo much coyne ſhoulde goe forth of the Realme: Neuertheleſſe if it were thought expedient, he woulde bee contented to ſende forth at his owne proper coſts and charges, a number of armed men to go with the Chriſtian armie agaynſte the Turkes: but for money otherwiſe forth, the Realme woulde not depart with any, leaſt it ſhoulde be waſtfully ſpent, or taken by the way of theeues, as it had beene afore time.

K. Alex
wiſdome
ſed by k
Henrie.

Henrie King of Englande prayſed much the wiſedome of king Alexander for this his anſwer, as he declared ſhortly after by his ſonne Prince Edwarde (who came to viſite his ſiſter the Queene, and his brother in lawe King Alexander at Rokeſbourgh, where they met him for ye muſt vnderſtand that king Henrie had alſo learned (by experience) to be wiſe in that behalfe, as well as other.

A thous
Markes
to the P

King Alexander yet after this, ſent vnto the Pope a thouſande Markes in ſiluer: and vnto Lewes the French King that requyred his ayde in that iourney which he made into Affrike agaynſt the Saraſins there, a thouſande Souldiours vnder the leading of the Earles of Carrike, and Atholl, Iohn Stewart the brother of Alexander Stewart, Alexander Cumyn, Robert Keth, George Durwarde, Iohn Quincie and William Gordon.

Scottiſh
tayney
to Affri

All theſe going ouer with King Lewes into Affrike, dyed there, either vpō the enimies ſworde, or by the intemperate heate of that Countrey, (wherevnto they had not bine accuſtomed) in the yeare after the incarnation. 1270.

1270

Thomas earle of Carrike.

The Earle of Carrike, whoſe name was Thomas, periſhing thus amongſt the reſidue in Affrike, left no inheritor behinde him to enioy his landes, ſauing a daughter named Martha, being then about .xv. yeares of age.

Martha daughter to the earle of Carrike.

This yong Ladie chauncing to ryde a hunting in the Woods for paſtime and ſolace, as the vſe is, fortuned by aduenture to meete with a noble yong man one Robert Bruce the ſonne and heyre to Robert Bruys the Lorde of Annandale in Scotland, and Cleuelande in England, begot of Iſabel the ſecond daughter of Dauid Earle of Huntington,

Robert Bruce.

The Lady immediately became ſo inamoured of this yong Gentleman, that ſhee ledde him with hir home vnto Carrike, where without making hir friendes priuy to the matter, ſhe maryed him in all haſt, leaſt any man ſhould be about to hynder hir determinate purpoſe.

Robert Bruce maryed to Martha daughter to the earle of Carrike.

Of this maryage was borne that Robert Bruce whiche afterwardes (through want of heyres of the lynage of King Alexander) atteyned the Crowne of Scotlande.

As ſoone as King Alexander was aduertiſed hereof, he tooke ſuch indignation that ſhe ſhoulde beſtow hir ſelf ſo lightly vpon one whom ſhe neuer ſaw before, that he tooke hir Caſtel of Turnberie into his own hands with al hir other lands and poſſeſſions, as it were by eſcheit, for that ſhee had maried without his conſent.

K. Alexander diſpleaſed with the foreſayd Martha.

Notwithſtanding, within ſhort while after, he tooke pitie on hir caſe, and for an eaſie compoſition of money which ſhe payed for hir mariage, reſtored vnto hir againe all hir landes & liuings, ſuffring hir to enioy hir huſbande without any more trouble or vexation.

In the thirde yeare after, the ſayd Ladie was deliuered of the afore remembred Robert Bruce that was after king of Scotland. And the ſame yeare which was the yeare after the byrth of our Sauiour 1274, Dauid the ſeconde ſonne of king Alexander deceaſſed: and the thirde yeare after, the brethren of Edward king of England came into Scotland to viſite the Queene their ſiſter, and their brother in lawe the King, and after did attend them both in theyr iourney to London, whither they went to be preſent at the coronation of the foreſayde Edwarde, as then returned forth of Affrike after the deceaſſe of his father King Henrie, to take vpon him the gouernment of the Kingdome deſcended vnto him by right of inheritance.

Robert Bruce that was after king of Scotland is borne.

1274.

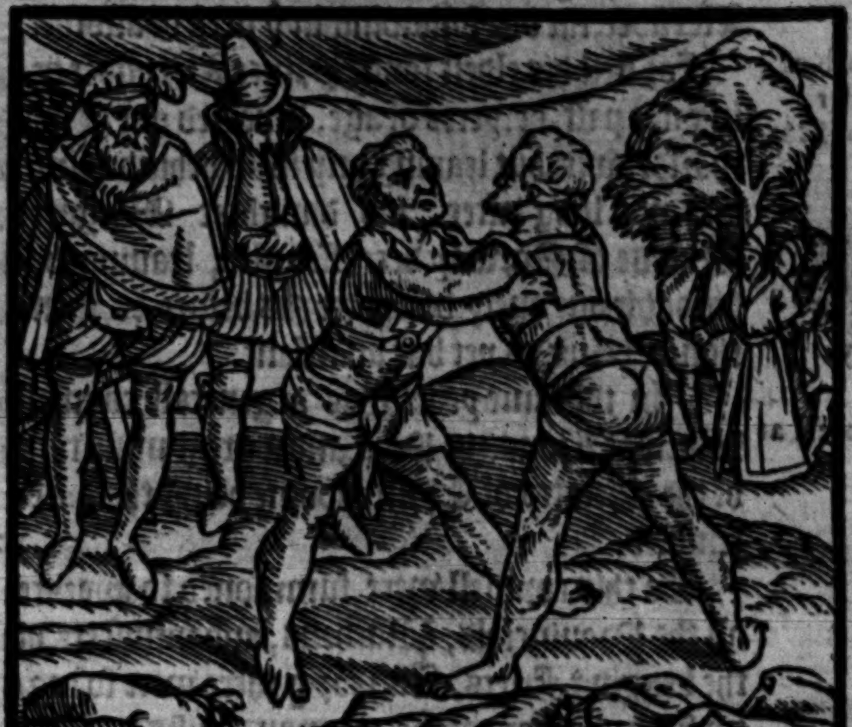
K. Alexander with his wife the Queene came to London.

He was crowned the ſame yeare on the day of the aſſumption of our Ladie in Auguſt, wyth great ſolemnitie and tryumph.

The ſame time there was a Norman in king Edwardes Court, of ſuche paſſing ſtrength of bodye, that he ouerthrewe all men with whome hee wraſtled, tyll at length one Ferquhard a Scottiſh man borne, of the Countrey of Roſſe, deſcended of noble parentage, vanquiſhed him to his great prayſe and aduauncement in honor, for King Alexander in guerdon of ſo worthie a deed there done in the preſence of ſo honourable an aſſemble, gaue vnto him the Earledome of Roſſe foreuermore.

A Norman of paſſing ſtrength.

Ferquhard a Scottiſh man ouerthrew the ſayd Norman.



Of this Ferquhard ſucceeded fiue Earles all of his ſurname, but the ſixt Earle was named William Roſſe, otherwiſe Leſly, in whoſe ſonne the ſeuenth Earle, fayled the dignitie of that houſe for fault of ſucceſſion. At the ſame time prince Alexander king Alexanders ſonne did homage vnto king Edward for the Earledome of Huntington, as the Scottiſh writers do teſtifie.

The Earldom of Roſſe giuẽ. William Roſſe alias Leſlie.

Shortly after that king Alexander was returned forth of Englande at that time into Scotlande, his wife Queene Margaret deceaſſed, and was buried in Dunfermling.

The death of Queene Margaret.

She bare by him two ſonnes, Alexander and Dauid, and one daughter named Margaret, the which (according to the aſſurance before made) was maried about three yeares after hir mothers deceaſſe, vnto Hanigo, or rather Aquine king of Norway, and deceaſſed in the ſeconde yeare after the ſolemnization of the maryage, leauing behinde hir a daughter named alſo Margaret.

The mariage of Margaret K. Alexanders daughter.

But before this happe fell ſo oute, euen immediately after the death of Queene Margaret the mother, hir yonger ſonne Dauid deceaſſed: By reaſon whereof, King Alexander being carefull for his ſucceſſion, procured a maryage for his elder ſonne Prince Alexander, wyth the Earle of Flaunders his daughter, the whiche beeing brought into Scotlande, was maryed vnto the ſayd Prince at Iedworth, on the Sunday after the feaſt of Saint Martyn in Winter, in the yeare 1279.

The death of Dauid ſonne to king Alexander.

The mariage of Alexander prince of Scotlande.

1279.

The feaſt of this maryage was holden with great tryumph and ſolemnitie continually the ſpace of .xv. dayes togither.

This yeare a number of the Scottiſh nobilitie which had attended the Ladie Margaret into Norway, were loſt by ſhipwracke, as they would haue returned back againe into Scotland after the conſummation of hir maryage there with king Haniga or Aquine.

Shortly after, by force of deathes dreadfull dint, two grieuous loſſes chaunced vnto King Alexāder, the one following in yͤ neck of another.

The death of Alexander prince of Scotlande.

For firſt his eldeſt ſonne Prince Alexander being not paſt .xx. yeres of age, departed out of this worlde, without leauing any iſſue behinde him: and not long after, his daughter Margaret Queene of Norway deceaſſed alſo, leauing behinde hir one onely daughter (as before is mentioned) being as yet but an infant.

The death of Margaret Queene of Norway.

A Councell at Lions.

In the ſame yeare was a generall counſell holden at Lions, the Pope and a great multitude of the Prelates of Chriſtendome being there aſſembled.

The foure orders of Friers.

A commaundement giuen againſt deuiſing new orders of Friers.

To this counſell were ſummoned to appeare all the Prouincials, Wardens, and miniſters of the begging Friers. And for yͭ there were ſo many ſundry orders of thē, ech man deuiſing of hys owne brayne ſome newe alteration, all thoſe orders were reduced into the foure orders which after by the church of Rome were approued and alowed. A general cōmandement was alſo giuen, that no man ſhould go about to begin any newe forme of ſuch vaine ſuperſtitious orders, whiche appoynt themſelues to eſchue labour, to the ende they may liue in pleaſure, luſt and ydleneſſe, vpō the trauaile of other mens browes.

The Sold contrary to the truce inuadeth the Chriſtians.

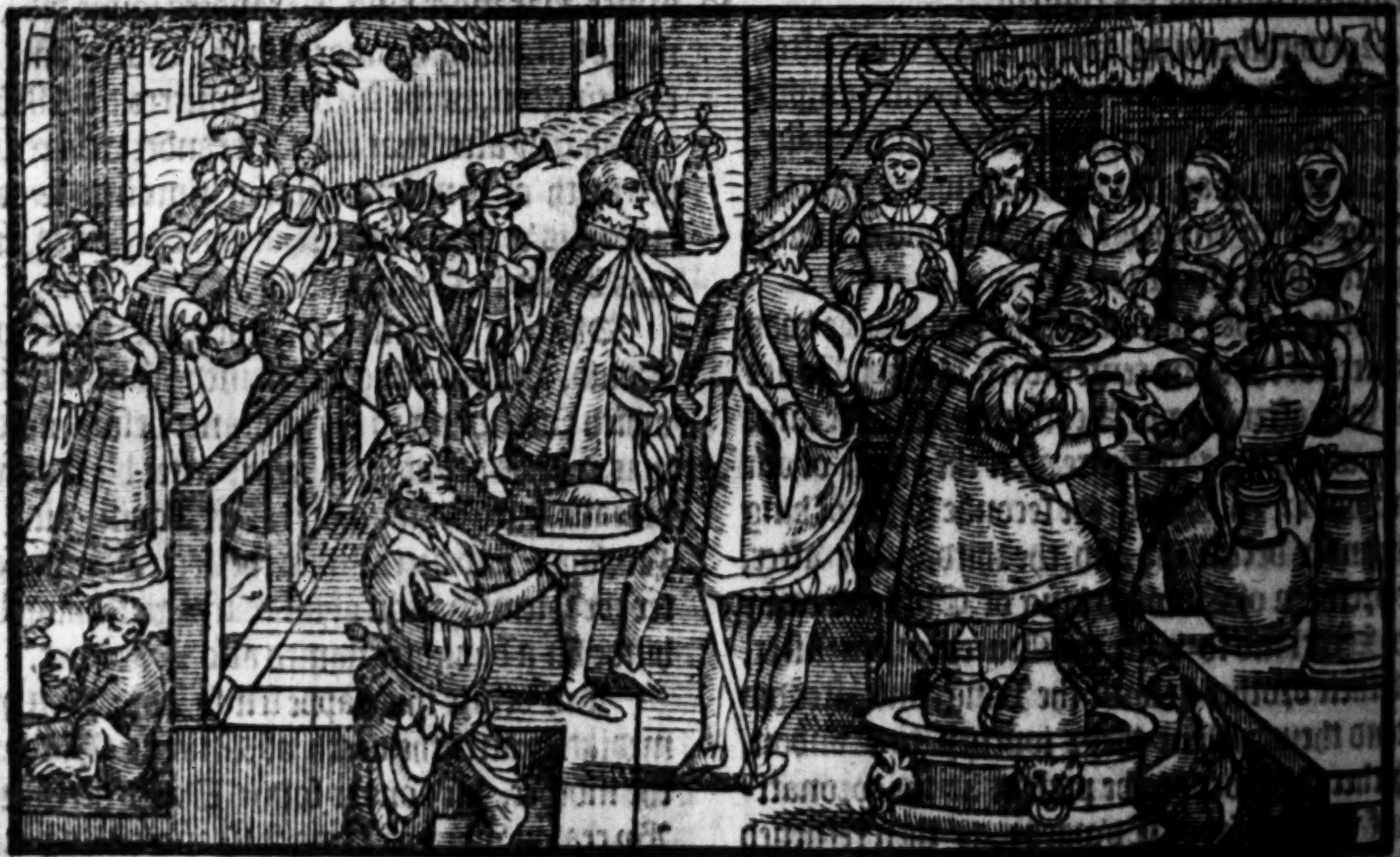
In this meane time, after that the Chriſtian army was returned home out of Affrike, by reaſon of a truce concluded with the Soldane, the ſame Soldan (that truce notwithſtanding) ceaſſed not to make great ſlaughters and inuaſions vpon thoſe chriſten men that remayned behinde.

The Scotte contributio for a iourne into the ho lande.

The chriſtian Princes ſore moued herewith, made their appreſts for a new expedition into the holy land. The Scots gaue the tenth pennie of all their landes, or rather (as ſome bookes haue) the tenth part of all tythes belonging to churches to the furtherance of this iourney, notwithſtanding through ſuch enuie and contentions as roſe amongeſt the ſayde Princes, that iourney brake, to the great domage and preiudice of the Chriſtian fayth.

K. Alexand maryed th daughter o the Earle of Champa but of Dr ſayth Sout

King Alexander hauing loſt his wife and children, in maner as is before expreſſed, not only he himſelf, but alſo all Scotland was in great penſiueneſſe and ſorrow, eche man by a certaine foreiudgement and miſgiuing in minde, doubting the miſhap that might therof enſue. But yet did king Alexander by aduice of his Nobles, in hope of new iſſue, marrie the daughter of the Erle of Champainge in Fraunce, named Iolant.



The mariage was celebrate at Iedburgh with greate feaſting and triumph: but that ioye and gladſome blythneſſe endured not long after.

Rl. Southwel varieth ſomewhat from the Scottiſh writers in report of K. Alexanders death. See in Englande.

For the ſame yeare on the .xviij. day of Aprill, as he was gallopping vpon a fierce horſe at Kingorn, forcing him in his race ſomwhat raſhly, he was throwne ouer the weſt clife towards the Sea by a wonderfull miſfortune ſo rudely, that hee brake his necke, and ſo therewyth immediately dyed in the .xlij. yeare of hys raigne.

35. H.B

1290.

1285. H

1286. Jo.M

He was buryed at Dunfermling in the yeare after the Incarnation. 1290.

Thomas Erſilton or rymer.

It is ſayde, that the day before the Kinges death, the Earle of Marche a little before night demaūded of one Thomas Leirmont, otherwiſe named Thomas the rymer, or as the tranſlator of Hector Boetius hath, Tho. Erſilton, who in thoſe dayes was reputed for a notable propheſier or as we may cal him) a ſoothſaier) what wether they ſhoulde haue on the morow? To whome the ſayd Thomas anſwered, that on the morow before noone, ſhould blowe the ſoreſt wynde and tempeſt, that euer was heard of in Scotlande at any time before.

propheſie of
mpeſt.

On the morow, when the ſkye appeared clere and bright, without cloude or any other ſigne of foule weather, and that it drewe neere vnto the middeſt of the day, and no winde heard from any ſyde, but all calme and quiet, the Earle of Marche ſente for the forenamed Thomas, and tolde him that hee had myſtaken his markes, in propheſying of any ſuche notable tempeſt as he had ſpoken of the nighte before, conſideryng it proued ſo lythe a day without appearance of any tempeſt to enſue.

This Thomas ſayd little therto, ſauing that he alledged how it was not yet paſt noone.

And incontinently herevpon came a poaſt to the caſtell gate of Dunbar, where this Earle of March as then lay, bringing word of the kings ſodaine death, as before is recited.

Then ſaid the Propheſier: That is the ſcathfull winde and dreadfull tempeſte, whiche ſhall blowe ſuche calamitie and trouble to the whole eſtate of the realme of Scotland.

This Thomas was a man in greate admiration of the people, ſhewing ſundrye thinges, as they afterwardes chaunced: howbeit they were euer hidde and inuolued vnder the vayle of darke and obſcure ſpeeche.

Many ſtrange wonders and vnketh ſightes were ſeene in the dayes of this Alexander the thyrde.

nketh ſightes
woonders.

In the .xvij. yeare of his reigne, there was ſuche an infinite number of wormes through al the parties of Albion, that not onely the leaues and fruites of trees, but alſo flowres and herbes in gardens, were eaten vp and conſumed with them.

gh tides.

And in the ſame yeare, the waters of Furth and Tay roſe with ſuche high tydes in flowing ouer the bankes, that many townes and villages were drowned, to the great deſtruction both of men and beaſtes.

laſing
re.

In the .xx. yeare of his reigne, there was a Comete or blaſing ſtarre ſeene of a merueilous quantitie, ſhyning euery day towarde the ſouth, euen about noone dayes.

wyndes.

On the Epiphanie day next after, roſe ſo great windes, with ſtormes of ſuch vnmeſurable great hayle ſtones, that many townes were throwne downe by violence thereof.

re cauſed
ough wind

In the meane tyme, roſe thorough the vehement rage of windes a ſodaine fyre, in manye boundes within the realme of Scotlande, that did muche hurt in buyldings and edifices, brenning vp ſteeples with ſuch force of fyre, that the belles were in diuers places melted, as though it had bin in a furnace.

Belles melted

Amongeſt other, thoſe of the abbey of Abirbrothok were moſt precious, which were as then conſumed together with the ſteeple wherin they hung. The towns of Abirden and Perth, were brenned the ſame tyme: Alſo parte of Laynrike, with the temple and all the townes and villages in Clow a part of Angus, and lykewyſe manie townes and other buyldings in Lowthian, and in dyuers other partes of the realme, to long here to reherſe.

The firſt comming of the peſtilence into Scotland.

In the .xxxj. yeare of his reigne was the firſt commyng of the peſtilence into Scotland, with great mortalitie of the people, where it had not bin herd, that euer this ſickneſſe had come within that realme before that tyme.

A ſtrange ſight in dauncing.

In the ſolemnization of the ſeconde mariage of king Alexander, as the bridegrome according to the maner, ledde the bryde in a daunce, a great number of lordes and ladies folowing them on the ſame daunce, there appeared in their ſight as it were cloſing vp the hindermoſte of the dauncers, a creature reſembling deathe, all naked of fleſhe and lyre, with bare bones right dredfull to beholde, through whiche ſpectacle the king and the reſidue of all the companie were ſo aſtonyed, and put in ſuch fright and feare, that they hadde quickly made an ende of their daunce for ẏ time.

Learned men.

In the days of this king Alexander the third, lyued ſundry great clarkes.

Michaell Scot a phiſition.

Amongſt other one Michaell Scot was reputed for an excellent Phyſition, and for his ſingular practiſe and knowledge in that profeſſion was no leſſe eſteemed and hadde in high fauour, with Edward king of England, than wyth K. Alexander during his lyfe tyme.

Scotland without a king and gouernour.

Miſcheues enſuing for lacke of a ruler.

King Alexander the thirde, being in ſuch miſerable wiſe deceaſſed, as before is ſpecified, the realme remained in great diſcomfort, by reaſon he had neyther left any iſſue behynde him to ſucceede in the gouernement therof, neyther taken order in his lyfe tyme by teſtamente, or otherwiſe, for any other to ſupply the rowmth of a gouernour, ſo that hereof enſued ſuch infinite miſorders, by the preſumption of wicked and vngracious perſons, the which vpon hope to eſcape vnpuniſhed (bicauſe Juſtice was lyke to wante due proceſſe,) ceaſſed not to attempt many vnlawfull actes, to the grieuous oppreſſion of the people: whiche miſruled demeanoures and diſordred enterpriſes of thoſe outragious perſons, when ſuch as had any zeale to the welth of their countrey, vnderſtood daily to multiply & increaſe, they thought it apperteined to their dueties to prouide ſome remedie in tyme, and thereupon called a councell together, wherein after ſundry conſulta-

Six gouernors choſen to haue the rule of Scotland.

tations had, ⁊ many matters debated touching yͤ rule of the realme, it was finally agreed, yͤ ſix gouernors ſhould be elected ⁊ choſẽ, of the which three ſhould haue the adminiſtration and rule of the north partes, and theſe were William Fraſer biſhop of ſaint Androwes, Duncane Erle of Fyfe, and John Cumyne Erle of Buchquhane.

The other three were appointed to the gouernance of the South countreys, that is to ſaye, Robert biſhop of Glaſgew, ſir John Cumyn (a man of high eſtimation for his wyſedome and experience as well in matters concerning peace as warre) ⁊ James high Steward of Scotland.

But in the meane tyme Edwarde king of Englande, ſurnamed Longſhankes, caſt in hys mynd, howe he might make ſome conqueſte of Scotlande, nowe that the ſame was thus deſtitute of an head to gouerne it.

How can this be true when king Edwarde had a wyfe at that tyme? but verily the Scots writers ſhewe themſelues ouercome with too much malice in moſte things whyche they write in the defamatiõ of king Edwarde.

And for that he well vnderſtode yͭ the daughter of Norway (of whom before ye haue heard) was right inheritor to the crowne of Scotland, though ſhe were but very yong in yeres, and not able for mariage: yet to cõpaſſe his purpoſe that wayes forth, he ſente his ambaſſadors vnto the Lordes of Scotlande, requiring to haue hir to wife, and the realme withall, as dewe vnto hir by good title and right of inheritance.

The lords after long deliberation herein had, conſented to his deſire, vnder theſe conditions, that the realme ſhould remain in all fredomes ⁊ liberties, without any kind of ſeruile ſubiection, in the ſame maner and ſtate as it was vſed in yͤ days of king Alexander laſt deceaſſed, and other his noble progenitors: and if it chaunced, that no iſſue came of this mariage to ſucceede them, then ſhould the crowne returne by remaynder ouer, to the next heires of king Alexander, without any clayme or pretexte of title to bee made by kyng Edwarde, or any of his ſucceſſours in time to come. Immediatly herewith, two noble knights ſir John Scot of Albawore, ⁊ ſir James Weuyls were ſent into Norway to fetche the bryde ouer into Scotlande: but before their comming thyther, ſhe was deceaſſed, and ſo they returned backe into Scotland againe withoute effecte of their errande. And thus by meanes of hir death all amitie and frendſhip betwixt Engliſhemen ⁊ Scots ceaſſed. Then began to enſue great trouble ⁊ buſineſſe in Scotland, by reaſon of the contention whiche ſprang betwixte the kinſemen of king Alexander, for the title ⁊ claym which they ſeuerally made and pretended to the crowne.

The daughter of Norway deceaſſeth.

The cõtention betwixte the kinſmen of K. Alexander for the crowne.

See more of this matter in the Engliſhe hiſtories.

The aunceſtors of Robert le Bruce.

There were .iij. chiefly that ſemed by nereneſſe of bloud to haue moſt right, and therfore made moſt earneſt ſuite in their claime, John Ballyol, Robert Bruce, and John Haſtings. This Robert Bruce, was ſonne to the ſon of that Robert Bruce, which maried Iſabell the yõgeſt daughter of Dauid Erle of Huntington, on whome he got a ſon named alſo Robert, that maried the inheritor of Carryk, as we haue ſhewed before, whoſe ſonne this Robert Bruce was, that now claimed the crown. John Balliol came of Margaret, eldeſt daughter to the foreſaid Dauid erle of Huntington: for Alane lorde of Gallowaye, which marryed the ſayde Margarete, begot on hir two daughters, of the which the eldeſt named Deruogil, was giuen in mariage vnto ſir John Ballyol, father vnto this John Ballyoll, yͭ thus made clayme to the crowne, alledging that forſomuch as he was come of the eldeſt daughter of Earle Dauid the brother of king William, hee ought by reſon to be reputed as next heire to the ſame king William, ſith none other perſon aliue approched ſo neare vnto him in bloud.

The lyn
the Ball
with his
to the c

The titl
Robert

On the other ſyde Roberte Bruce, albeit hee was deſcended of the yongeſt daughter to Earle Dauid, yet was he come of the firſte iſſue male, for his father was firſt borne, and therefore if king William had deceaſſed without iſſue, the crowne had deſcended vnto him: for which conſideration, he mainteyned that he ought nowe to be preferred. Haſtings alſo for his part, bycauſe hee was come of the yongeſt daughter of king Dauid, maryed to his father Henrie Haſtings, wanted not allegations to propone, why he ought to be admitted. Beſides theſe, there were other alſo that made claim to the crowne of Scotland, and had matter ſufficiẽt to mainteyn their ſute. This controuerſie being brought before the gouernors, was at ſundry times argued with much cõtention, not without the aſſiſtance of the nobles fauoring the parties, as occaſion of frendſhip or kynred moued them, namely Ballyol ⁊ Bruce had no ſmall nũber yͭ leaned vnto their parts, by reaſon wherof, yͤ gouernors were in doubt to proceed to any definite ſentẽce in the mater, leſt if they declared one of the king, an other wold attẽpt to vſurpe the crowne by force.

Haſtings.

The do
the gou

Hervpon they iudged it beſt to refer the deciſion of all this whole mater vnto ſome mightye king, whiche was of puiſſance able to conſtrayne the parties repugnant, to obey his ſentence.

Hereunto was none thought ſo meete as Edward king of Englãd, ⁊ therfore they choſe him, who taking the charge vpon him as competent iudge, promiſed by a certayne daye to come vnto Barwike, willing that their counſell might be aſſembled there againſt that time.

The ti
doubt

At his comming thither, at the day aſſigned, and hauing hearde what coulde be ſayd on eche part, and throughly conſidering at length theyr allegations, he perceyued the ſame doubtfull, and required a longer time to diſcuſſe yͤ troth by good aduiſe of counſel, ⁊ therfore required to haue .xij. Scottiſhmẽ, yͤ beſt lerned ⁊ moſt ſkilful lawyers of all of al the realme to be aſſociate with .xij. Engliſh men, whiche he promiſed to chooſe forthe of the moſt perfect and wyſeſt clerkes that myght bee founde within all his dominions, to the intent that by their ripe & aduiſed debating of the matter, the trouth might appeare, according to the whiche, he mynded to giue ſentence, without fauour eyther of one parte or other.

When all ſuche matters and proues as were propouned by the parties alleged by them for furtherance of their titles were put in writing, as matter of recorde, he returned backe agayne into Englande.

This report of the Scottiſhe writers ſmelleth altogether of malice conceyued againſt him for that he ſcourged them ſo ſore for their [illegible].

Here the Scottiſhe writers reporte, that king Edwarde vſed himſelfe nothing vprightly in this matter, but accordingly as it often happeneth, had the eyes of his conſcience blynded, vpon hope to gayne ſomewhat by this credit thus to him cōmitted. But how vniuſtly he is ſlaundered in this behalfe, I leaue to the indifferent readers to conſider, by conferring that which the Scottes doe write thereof, with that which is to be founde in our Engliſhe hiſtorie. But to proceede as we fynd it in the Scottiſh writers: king Edward to be ſatiſfied in knowlege of the truth, ſent into France for men lerned & of great experiēce in the lawes, that he might haue their opinions in the demaundes of ẏ parties for their doutfull rightes. But (ſayth Hector Boetius) he firſt cōmaunded them in no wiſe to agree vpon any reſolute poynte, but rather to varie in opinions, that when the plea ſhould ſeeme doubtfull by reaſon of their contrarietie in deciding thereof, he mighte the better vnder that colour, giue iudgement with which parte he thought moſt expediēt to ſerue his purpoſe.

Reſpect of perſons in deciding controuerſie is not to be conſidered.

Howbeit the moſt parte of the lawyers iudged with Robert Bruce, both for the worthines of his perſon, and alſo for that hee was come of the fyrſt iſſue male.

But ſome there were that gaue ſentence with John Ballyole, for that he was deſcended of the eldeſt ſiſter.

King Edwarde ſuppoſing this to be the time moſte conuenient for his purpoſed intention to conquere the realme of Scotlande, returned to Barwik, where he had appointed the .xxiiij. learned men before ſpecified, to be preſent, that finall ſentence myght be giuen, according as he had before promiſed.

King Edwarde commeth to Barwike.

When he was come thus vnto Barwik, and the foreſayd .xxiiij. learned lawyers aſſembled, as aſſiſtantes with him, and the parties appearing before him in a chamber prouided for ẏ purpoſe, he cauſed the dores to bee ſurely kepte, and the entries ſtrongly warded, that no man myghte come in or out, but by his appointment & licence.

The purpoſe of king Edward as the Scots doe vainly reporte.

His purpoſe was to make hym king, that would be ſworne to holde the crowne of Scotlande of him, as ſuperiour lorde thereof.

And bycauſe he knewe that Roberte Bruce was a man of ſingular manhode and wyſedome, he thought beſt to aſſay hym firſt, and if he founde him not cōformable to his purpoſe, then he mynded to trie what the Balliol would doe.

The anſwere of Roberte Bruce.

When Robert Bruce had throughly hearde king Edwardes motion, he aunſwered that hee wayed the libertie of his countrey, more than his priuate preferrement, and therefore mynded not to deliuer his countrey, (whiche euer to that day had bene free) into the bondage and ſeruitude of the Engliſhmen.

King Edwarde perceyuing his ſtoutneſſe of ſtomacke, brake off with him, and fell in talke with the Ballyole, who had ſuche blynde deſire to attayne the crowne, that hee paſſed not whether he enioyed the ſame in libertie or ſeruitude, ſo he might haue it.

The Ballyol promiſeth to do homage to king Edward.

Hereupon when this Ballyoll had giuen his fayth by aſſured othe vnto king Edward, that he woulde doe homage vnto him for the realme of Scotlande, and acknowledge to holde the ſame of him as ſuperiour lorde, king Edwarde gaue ſentence with him, to haue moſte ryghte to the crowne and realme of Scotlande nowe thus in controuerſie.

The ſaying of the Earle of Glouceſter (as the ſcots write but not lyke to be true.) K. Edwarde was no man ſo to be delt with.

It is ſayde, that the Erle of Glouceſter, a man of great prudence and authoritie in Englande, (ſeyng the Ballyol thus made king, and Robert Bruce without reaſon put backe) ſpake in thys ſort to king Edward: Oh king, remember what is done by thee this day, ſparing to giue righteous ſentence in this matter; for though the ſame bee nowe couered and hidde, it ſhall be reuealed, when the great iudge that ſearcheth conſciences and the ſecretes of euery mans mynd, ſhal cauſe thee to anſwere for it at the dreadfull day of that vniuerſall iudgement: thou haſte nowe giuen ſentence on a king, but then ſhall iudgements be giuen on thee.

John Ballyol crowned king of Scotlande.

Shortly after, John Ballyol went in great array vnto Scone, where he was crowned king of Scotlande on ſaint Andrewes day, in the yeare from the incarnation. 1292.

1292.

John Ballyol doth homage to king Edward.

In the yeare next enſuing, on ſaint Stephens day in Chriſtmaſſe, he came to Newcaſtell vpon Tyne, and there did homage vnto king Edwarde for the realme of Scotlande, contrarye to the mynde and conſent of all his nobles, for that by this meanes, hee ſeemed to ſubmitte his realme (whiche had remayned in freedome vnto thoſe dayes) into the ſeruitude of the Engliſhemen: but ſmall felicitie ſucceeded thereof: for within fewe yeares after, king Edwarde commaunded hym by vertue of his bonde of homage to come with all the power he might make to ayde him in his

So ſaye the Scottiſhe writers, but howe truely, reade more hereof in England.

in his warres againſt the king of Fraunce.

John Ballyoll repenteth him

King John incontinently herewith, became repentaunt, in that he had indaungered hymſelfe thus by doing his homage: and therupon ſent his ambaſſadours to king Edward, as then ſoiorning at London, to renounce his acte touching the ſame homage, alledging that forſomuche as it was done without the aduiſe of the three eſtates of Scotland, it was of no force in it ſelf, and not meete to be obſerued.

The anſwere of king Edwarde to the Scottiſh ambaſſadours.

King Edward aunſwered theſe ambaſſadors thus: Sith we perceiue your king will not come vnto vs, we intend ſhortly to come vnto him. Herewith alſo he depriued him according to the maner, (ſo farreforth as mighte bee done in hys abſence) of all his kingly authoritie.

And the better to accompliſh his purpoſed intention againſt the Scots, he founde meanes to conclude a peace with the king of Fraunce, and for the more confirmation of the ſame peace, the Frenche kings daughter was giuen in mariage to king Edward his ſon, neuertheleſſe (as ſayth the Scottiſh Chronicle) he purpoſed (when hee had wrought his will once againſt the Scottes) to inuade France as fiercely as before, notwithſtanding any bonde of amitie, or maryage by him contracted.

After this, he procured ẏ frendſhip of Robert Bruce, and vpon promiſe (as it is to be thought) to make him king, the ſame Robert deliuered into king Edwarde his handes all ſuche caſtels as he helde in Scotlande.

The league renewed betwixte France and Scotland.

John Ballyol the Scottiſh king, vnderſtanding that king Edwarde mynded to make a cõqueſt vpon him, ſent William biſhop of Sainte Androwes, & Mathew biſhop of Dunkeld, with ſir John Sowlis, and ſir Ingrame Umfrayuile into Fraunce, to renewe the auncient league betwixte him and Philyp the fourth as then king of Fraunce: whyche accordyngly was done: and for the more corroboration thereof, the eldeſt daughter of Charles Earle of Walloys and Angiewe, brother to king Philippe, was promiſed in mariage vnto Edwarde Ballyoll, the ſonne of king John, whiche Edward ſhould enioy landes of yearely rente and reuenues to the ſumme of .xv. C. li. ſterling, in places not of the demains belonging to the crowne, as Bailleulle, Dampierre, Harecourte, and Horney, which his father helde in Fraunce with Lanarke, Kidion, Maldeſey. Cunyngham, and the caſtell of Dundee, with the apurtenaunces in Scotland: and hereto was annexed a prouiſo, that if thoſe ſeignories and places exceeded the value of .xv. C. li. of yearely reuenues, then ſhould the ſurpluſage remaine to the king of Scotland: but if the ſame amounted not to that ſumme, then ſhoulde the ſayd king make them good & ſupply ẏ ſame, with other rentes in Scotlande, or otherwiſe, as ſhuld be thought meete. And further, the ſayde ſumme of .xv. C. li. in yearely rente was aſſigned as it were the dower of the ſayde Ladye, to enioye to hir ſelfe during hir lyfe after hir huſbandes deceaſſe, if hir happe were to ſuruiue him.

Ex Chron. Abindon. as I take it.

Hector Boetius. Alyndon.

In conſideration wherof, king Philip couenanted to content and pay vnto king John in name of the mariage mony, the ſum of .lx. M. crowns, or (as other write) .xxv. thouſande pound Turnoiſe. The charter conteyning the articles, couenants and agreementes of this mariage & league aboue mencioned, beareth date at Paris, the .23. day of October, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1295. And the letters procuratorie made by king John vnto the ſaid biſhop of Saint Androws and the other his aſſociates, bare date at Striueling, the third Nonas of July the ſame yeare.

1295.

The gentlemen of Fyfe, and Louthi ſent to Barwike to defe it abainſt the Engliſhmen.

Shortly hervpon, king John was aduertiſed that king Edwarde purpoſed to come and beſiege Barwike: wherfore by aduiſe of his nobles he ſent the moſt parte of all the lordes and gentlemen of Fyfe and Louthian vnto Barwike, to defende the towne againſt the enimie, if he came to beſiege it.

Engliſhe taken at Ba wike.

The Engliſhmenne came not onely with a myghtie power by lande, but alſo wyth a greate nauye by ſea towardes the ſaide towne of Barwyke: Of whoſe commyng the Scottes being aduertiſed, came forth againſte thoſe that approched by ſea, toke .xvij. of their ſhippes, and chaſed awaye the reſidue.

Barwike beſieged.

King Edwarde rather prouoked than feared with this miſaduenture, came with a far greater puiſſance than before, to renewe the ſiege: but when he perceyued his purpoſe toke not ſo ſpedy effect as he hoped it ſhoulde haue done, he deuiſed howe to take this towne by ſome ſlightfull policie.

The polic king Edw to winne wike.

Herevpon he fayned as though he wold haue broken vp his ſiege, & ſo reyſing his camp, withdrew a little from the towne, and then hauing prouided baners and enſignes, reſembling altogither ſuch as diuers noble men in Scotland vſed, he ſodeynly returned towards the towne, euery one of his ſoldiors wearing a croſſe of ſaint Androws aboue on their harneis, after the maner of the Scottiſhmen.

There were alſo ſente before vnto the towne certayne Scottes that ſerued the kyng of England, whiche gaue knowledge to the captaynes within the towne, that their lord king John was comming with his armie to their ſuccours.

The Scott ceyued and entrapped

The Scottes that were within the towne, beleeuing it had bin moſt true, ſet open the gates and came forth againſt their king (as they ſuppoſed) to haue receyued him with all ioye and gladneſſe.

But when they came nere vnto the Engliſhmen, they perceyued both by their language and habite what they were: but this was not before the Engliſhmen were harde at the gates, ſo that when the Scottiſhmen would haue fledde backe to haue got into the towne agayne, the Engliſh men purſued them ſo faſte at the heeles, that they entred the gates with them, & ſo tooke the towne with great ſlaughter, as well of the ſouldiours and men of warre, as alſo of women, children, & aged perſons, without all ruth or compaſſion, ſo that they lefte not one creature alyue of the Scottiſhe bloud within all that towne.

The crueltie of the English men.

Barwike is wonne.

Thus was Barwike wonne the. xxx. day of Marche, in the yere. 1296.

of Marche being good Friday. Anno 1295. H.B.

Suche abundance of bloud was ſpilled thorough all partes of the towne (as the Scottiſhe Chronicles teſtifie) that where at a falling tyde the water was not able to dryue aboute the mylnes, ſome of the ſame mylnes yet, were nowe at a lowe water ſet on gate, by reaſon the ſtreames were ſo hugely augmented with bloud.

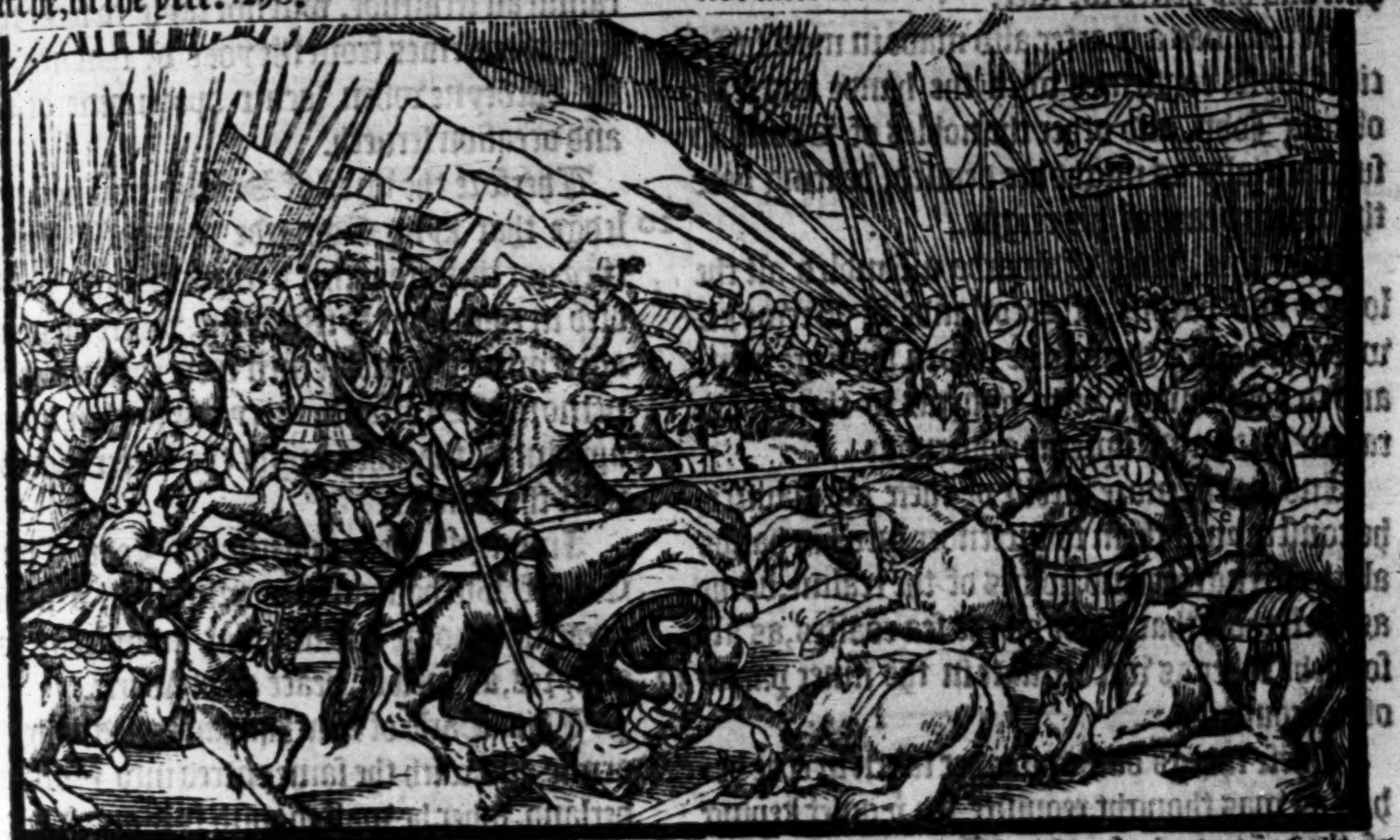
The abundãce of bloud ſpilled.

Streames augmented with bloud.

There were ſlayne aboue. vij. thouſand perſons that day, with the greateſt parte of all the nobles and gentlemen of Fyfe and Louthian.

Kyng John hearing of this ſlaughter of his people at Barwyk, in great deſire to be auenged, gathered his power, and ſent the ſame forth agaynſte king Edwarde, with whome they met not farre from Dunbar, and there encountring with hym in battayle, the Scottiſhe hoſte was diſcomfited, the moſte part of the Scottes being eyther ſlayne or taken.

The Scots diſcomfited at Dunbar.



The Erles of March and Menteth with lxx. knightes, fled to the caſtell of Dunbar, but they were beſieged ſo ſtraightly by the Engliſhe power, enuironning the Caſtell on eche ſide, that in the end they were conſtrayned for lack of victuals to yelde themſelues to king Edwarde, on condition to haue their lyues ſaued, which couenant was not obſerued (as the Scottiſhe wryters affirme:) for king Edwarde hauing got thẽ into his handes, cauſed them forthwyth to bee put to death.

The caſtel of Dunbar rẽdred to K. Edward.

It was reported that Robert Bruce vpon ſecrete conference had with king Edwarde before this battaile at Dunbar, ſolicited all his frendes in the Scottiſhe armie to flee vpon the firſt ioyning, whiche the reſidue perceyuing, were ſo diſcomforted, that incontinently they threw away both armour and weapon, and ſo were vanquiſhed without reſiſtance.

Robert Bruce occaſion of the ouerthrowe of Scottes at Dunbar.

Trouth it is, that after this victorie, Robert Bruce ſubmitted himſelfe vnto king Edwarde, requiring him to performe his promiſe touching the right whiche he had to the crowne of Scotland: howbeit he receyued no anſwere to his lyking touching that requeſt: for king Edwarde had no leſſe deſire to enioy the kingdom of Scotland, than Bruce (as the Scottiſhe wryters affirme.) Therfore to caſt off Robert Bruce concerning his demaunde, he anſwered thus (as is ſayd) Beleeueſt thou that we haue nothing elſe a doe but to conquere realmes, and to delyuer them ouer againe vnto thee?

Robert Bruce submitteth himſelfe to K. Edwarde.

The anſwere of king Edwarde to Robert Bruce.

Roberte Bruce hereby perceyuing the ſuttle meaning of king Edwarde, returned right ſorowfull vnto his landes in Englande, hauyng great indignation in his mynde, that he had obeyde king Edwardes requeſts: but yet conſidered with himſelf that he muſt ſuffer for the time, tyll occaſion ſerued to reuenge the iniuries receiued whiche he mynded to doe, and that in moſte cruell maner, as afterwardes it will appeare.

King Edwarde after he had thus wonne the caſtell of Dunbar, got lykewiſe both the caſtels of Edenburgh and Striueling, & purſued king John till he had conſtrayned him to take for his refuge the caſtell of Forfair.

The caſtels of Edenburgh & Striueling wonne.

King Iohn driuen into the caſtell of Forfaire.

Herewith John Cumyn lorde of Strabogy

came to kyng Edwarde, and was ſworne his liege man.

John Ballyol king of Scotland reſigneth all his right to king Edward.

Shortly after, by a politik practiſe of the ſame John Cumyn, king John with his ſon Edward Ballyol came to Mountros, where perceyuyng himſelfe vnwyſely fallen into the hands of king Edward, through feare of death which he doubted by reaſon of the menacing wordes of king Edward, he ſuffred himſelf to be ſpoyled of al his kingly abiliments, and with a white wande in his hande (as the maner is) preſented himſelf before king Edward, reſigning there vnto him all the right and title which he had to the crowne of Scotland, vtterly renouncing the ſame both for him and his heires for euer.

A chartour.

Hereof was a charter alſo made in moſt ſufficient wyſe, confirmed with the hande and ſeale of king John, and other the nobles of Scotland ſubſtancially as might bee deuiſed, bearing date the fourth yeare of his reigne.

Homage of the barons of Scotland to king Edward.

After this, king Edwarde aſſembled all the lordes and barons of Scotlande at Berwyke, where he cauſed them to be ſworn his liege men, and to doe homage vnto hym as to their ſoueraigne lorde and ſupreme gouernour.

The holdes of Scotland deliuered into K. Edwarde his handes.

And for the more ſuretie of their allegiaunce, he conſtrayned them to ſurrender into his hands all the ſtrengthes and holdes of the realme, bothe as well thoſe that ſtoode on the ſea coaſtes, as alſo ſuche other as were ſituate in the inner partes of the countrey.

John Ballyol kept as priſoner in Englãd.

Theſe things don, and order taken in eche behalf as was thought requiſite for ẏ quiet keping of the cou̅trey, he ſent king John & his ſon Edwarde Ballyoll vnto London, where they were kept in ſtrong ward, tyll at length he ſuffred the ſayd king John to returne into Scotlande, but leauing ſtil his ſonne in pledge behynd him, leſt he ſhould attempte any newe rebellion after his departure.

He returneth into Scotland.

He renoũceth the adminiſtration of Scotland.

He returneth into France, & deceaſſeth in caſtel Galliard

King John vpon his returne into Scotland, perceyuing that he was in the hatred both of his lordes and commons, he withdrewe agayne of his owne accord into England, forſaking wholly the adminiſtration of the Scottiſh dominion, and finally wente ouer into Normandie to hys auncient inheritance and landes there, where at length falling blind, and waſting away by long age, he departed out of this worlde in the caſtell Gallyard, leauing thoſe landes which he poſſeſſed on that ſide the ſea, vnto his ſonne Edward Ballyoll, who beeing releaſed out of captiuitie, was come ouer to his father before his deceaſſe.

King Edward his purpoſe to inuade Frãce.

In the mean time king Edward hauing wel in remembraunce the warres which he had intended to make againſt Frãce, had he not bin ſtayed thorough the buſineſſe of Scotlande, purpoſed now to purſue the ſame with all diligence: and therefore firſt garniſhing all the ſtrengthes and forts in Scotland to withſtãd the Scots, if they attempted any rebellion againſt him in his abſence, he appointed Hugh Creſſingham to be regent there, whileſt he ſhuld be occupied in Frãce, which Creſſingham before was Treaſourer.

Hugh Cre
gham re
of Scotla

Then hauing prouided a great nauie of ſhips, hee paſſed ouer into Fraunce, truſtyng that the Scots would not ſturre, ſith they had of late ſuſteyned ſo many ouerthrows and ſore loſſes one after an other by the laſt warres: but tyrannie is of ſuch a nature, that by no kind of prouiſion it may any long tyme be ſurely defended.

King Ed
burdened
the Scotti
writers of
rannie.

For thoſe people that be oppreſſed by any tyrannicall ſeruitude, will not fayle to ſeeke to deliuer themſelues from the yoke of that importable burdeyne when ſoeuer opportunitie of tyme and occaſion ſerueth.

The Scotti
lordes aſſem
ble at Striue
ling.

xii. gouern
elected in
Scotland.

Therfore the lordes of Scotlãd hauing knowledge that kyng Edwarde was paſſed the ſeas, they got them together ſtreightwayes, & aſſembled in councel at Striuelyng, where by general agreement. xij. noble men were choſen to be gouernors of Scotland, euery one in their limittes appointed, that they might the better prouide to reſiſt the enimie.

Amongeſt theſe gouernours John Cumyn Erle of Buchquhan was principall, a man of great wyſedome and ſingular knowledge in all affayres, as well of peace as of warre.

John Cumy

This Earle of Buchquhan reyſed a myghtie armie, and with the ſame entred into Northumberland, wher he waſted with fyre and ſword all that countreye. After this, hee layde ſiege to Carleile, but he wanne nothing there, the towne was ſo well defended.

Williã Wa
lace begin
to waxe fa
mous.

In that ſeaſon alſo, the fame of Willyam Wallace began to ſpring, a yong gentleman of ſo huge ſtature and notable ſtrength of bodye, with ſuche ſkil and knowlege in warlike enterpryſes, and hereto of ſuch hardineſſe of ſtomacke in attempting all manner of daungerous exploites, that his matche was not anye where lyghtly to be founde.

Sir Andrew
Wallace kni
ght father
Williã Wa
lace.

He was ſonne to one ſyr Andrew Wallace of Cragy, knight, and from his youth bare euer an inwarde hatred agaynſt the Engliſh nation.

Sundry notable feates alſo he wrought agaynſt the Engliſhmen in defence of the Scots, and was of ſuche incredible force at his commyng to perfecte age, that of hym ſelfe alone, without all helpe, he woulde not feare to ſette vpon three or foure Engliſhemen at once, and vanquiſhe them.

When the fame therefore of his worthie actes was notified thorough the realme, many were put in good hope that by his meanes the realme ſhoulde bee deliuered from the ſeruitude of the

Engliſh

Engliſhemen within ſhorte tyme after: And hereupon a great number of the Scottiſhe nation as well of the nobilitie as other, were readye to aſſiſte him in all his enterpriſes. By reaſon wherof he myght not bee eaſily entrapped nor taken of the Engliſhmen, that went aboute to haue got him into their handes.

At length, when occaſion ſerued to vſe the helpe of ſuche a notable chieftayne, he was choſen by generall conſente of the Scottiſhmen as gouernour vnder John Ballyoll, to deliuer his countrey from bondage of the Engliſh nation.

eres of ande in glishmens ds.

At the ſame tyme many Abbeyes and ſpirituall benefices in Scotlande were in Engliſhe mẽs hands. Neuertheleſſe this William Wallace by commiſſion hadde of Willyam Fraſer Biſhop of Sainct Androwes, auoyded and put them forth of all partes of Scotlande, leauing neyther temporall nor ſpirituall perſon of theyr bloud within that realme.

tels wonne William lace.

For ſhortely after, by publike authoritie, he receiued the armie that John Cumyn Erle of Buchquhan had led before, & conſtrayned thoſe Scottes that fauoured kyng Edward, to obey his commaundementes, in renouncing all ſuch faith and promiſe as they had giuẽ or made vnto him. This done, he paſſed forth with greate puiſſance againſt the engliſhmen, that held ſundry caſtels within Scotlande, and with greate hardineſſe and manhode he wan the caſtelles of Forfair, Dundee, Brechen, & Mountros, ſleaing all ſuch ſouldiers as he founde within them.

Dunoter won by William Wallace.

Wallace nowe ioyfull of this his proſperous ſucceſſe, and hearing that certaine of the chiefeſt capitaines and officers of thoſe Engliſhemen yͤ kepte the caſtell of Dunoter, were gone forth to conſulte with other Engliſhemen of the fortes nexte to them adioyning, came ſodeynly to the ſayd caſtel, and tooke it, not leauing a man aliue of all thoſe whiche he found as then within it.

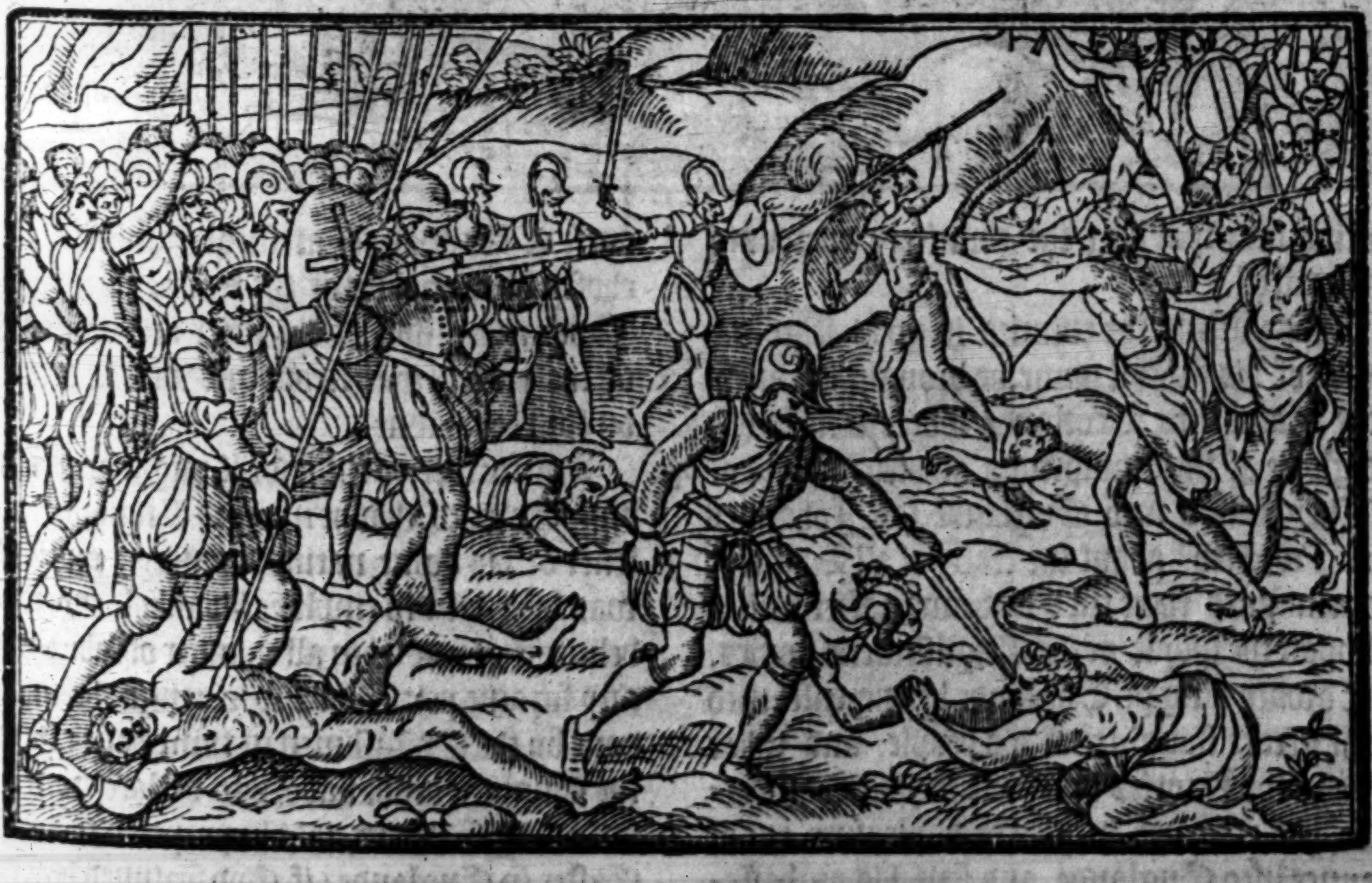
Then after he had furniſhed that holde wyth his owne ſouldiors in moſte defenſible wiſe, hee went to Abyrden.

The towne he founde in maner voyde of all the inhabitants, but the caſtell was ſo ſtrongly garniſhed with men and munitiõ, that conſidering it might not be won without great murder, he reyſed from thence and returned into Angus.

Hugh Creſsingham ſent into Scotlande.

King Edwarde as then beeing in Fraunce, hearing of theſe exploits atchieued by this Wallace his aduerſarie, ſent dyuers noble captaines vnto his lieutenãt Hugh Creſſingham with an armie into Scotland to redreſſe the matter.

Wallace in the meane tyme had layde ſiege vnto the caſtell of Couper, but nowe being aduertiſed of the comming of this armie againſte hym, he reyſed his ſiege, and wente to Striueling to defend the bridge there, that Hugh Creſſingham with his armye ſhoulde not paſſe the ſame, according (as the reporte wente) his intent was to doe.



Creſsin- ayn at ing and y dis- ed by lace.

Heere encountryng with the enimies the thirde Ides of September, he obtayned a righte worthie victorie, for he ſlewe not only the forſayde Creſſingham with a greate parte of his armye beeing paſſed the ryuer, but alſo forced the reſidue to flee, in ſuche ſorte, that a greate number of them were drowned, and fewe eſcaped awaye with lyfe.

The caſtell of Couper rendred to Wallace.

Thus hauing gotten the vpper hande of his enimies here at Striueling, hee returned againe to the ſiege of Couper, whyche ſhortely after vppon his returne thyther, was rendred vnto hym by thoſe that were within in garriſon.

There were many of the Scottiſhe nobilitie the ſame tyme, that ſente vnto hym, offeryng to leaue the king of Englands part, and to ayde him with money and victuals, if he would onlye receyue them into fauoure, whereunto hee graunted.

By which meanes ſundry other caſtels were yelded vnto him, the whiche after he had garniſhed with men, munition, and victuals (accordingly as was thought requiſite) he brake vp his campe, and went with ſundrie of his moſt faithfull frendes vnto the caſtell of Striueling.

Dearth in Scotlande.

The policie of Wallace to relieue the peoples lacke in tyme of dearth.

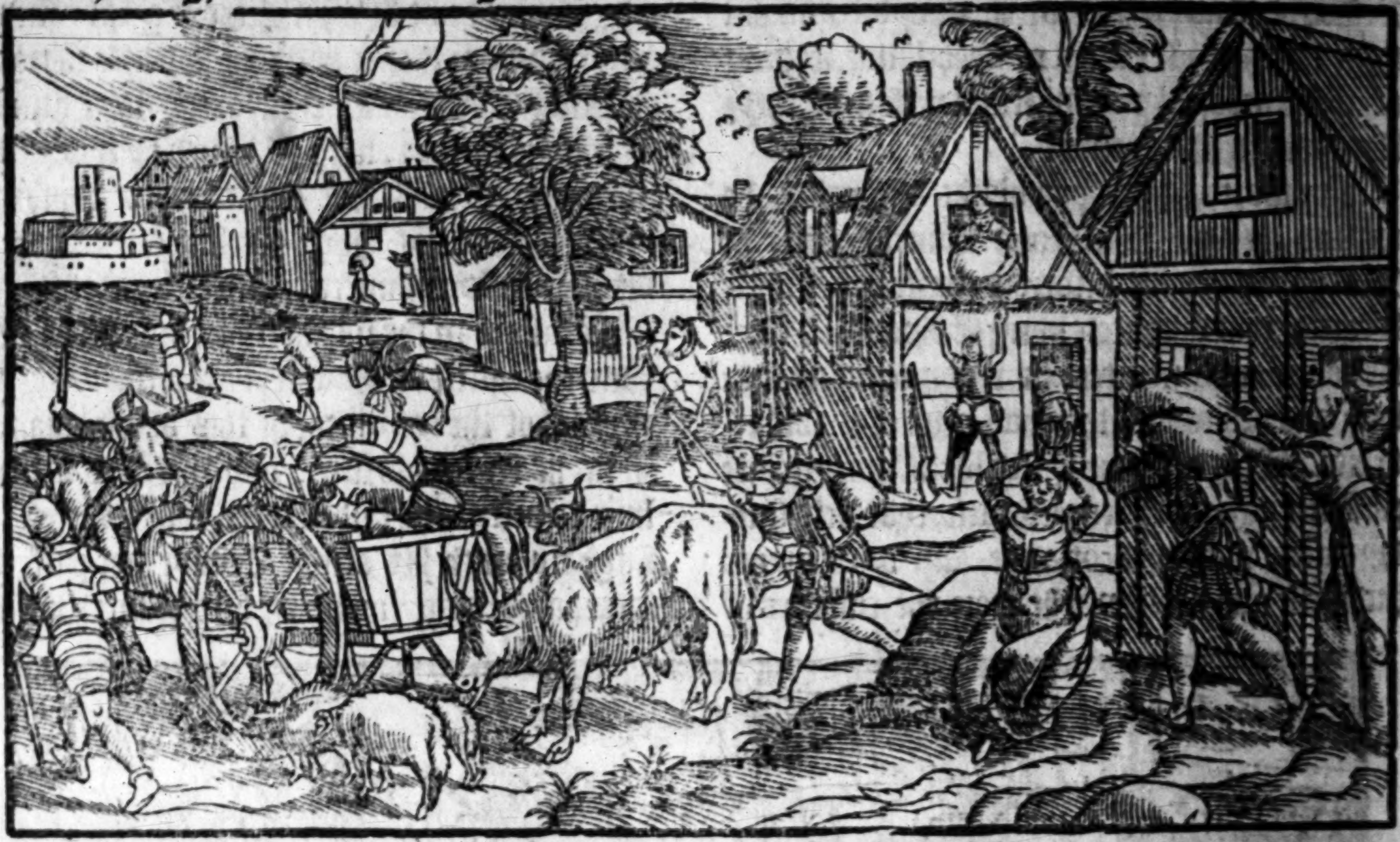
Afterwardes perceyuing that through ſcarcitie of corne, great dearth roſe on eche ſide within the realme of Scotland, he deuiſed which way he might beſt relieue the peoples neceſſitie & lack in that behalfe, and herevppon he determined to paſſe with a mightie armie into Englande, and to ſoiorne there the moſte parte of the winter in ſuſteyning the whole number of his men of war on ſuche prouiſion as they mighte fynde within the boundes of their enimies countrey.

Diſobed puniſhe

He commaunded therfore that all the Scots appointed to goe with him in that iourney, ſhuld be readie at a certaine day and place prefixed, but dyuers of the Northerne Scottes (as they of Abirden and other,) for that they diſobeyed his cōmaundements ſette forth by letters and proclamations, were hanged as rebelles and traytours to theyr countrey.

Wallace i uadeth N thumbe

By whoſe example, other being put in feare, his commaundementes were the better obeyed, ſo that hauing got togither an huge hoſt of men, he entred with the ſame into Northumberlande, waſting and ſpoyling the countreye euen vnto Newcaſtell.



Thus putting the enimies in great feare and terrour of his awfull name, he brought his army backe againe into Scotlande loden with ſpoyle and glorie of their proſperous atchieued iorney.

They entred into Englande (as Johannes Maior writeth) about the feaſte of all Saintes, and remayned there till Candelmas after, liuing ſtill vpon the ſpoyle of the Engliſhmens goodes.

King Edwards meſſage vnto Wallace.

Edward king of Englande beeing enformed of the greate ſlaughter of his people, and what damage the Scottes had done in Northumberlande, hee returned in greate diſpleaſure out of Fraunce into Englande, and ſent his ambaſſadors vnto Wallace, ſore menacing him, for that he had inuaded his realme in ſuche cruell wiſe in his abſēce, which he durſt (as he ſent him word) ful little haue done, if he had bin at home himſelf.

The anſwere of Wallace to king Edwards meſſage as the Scots do write

Wallace hereunto anſwered, that he had taken the aduauntage for the atchieuing of his enterpriſe, touching the inuaſion of Englande, in lyke ſort as king Edward had done for the conqueſt of Scotlande, at ſuche tyme as hee was choſen by the nobles of the realme as indifferent Judge in deciſion of the right and lawfull title of the parties that ſtroue and were at contention for the crowne.

And further, to the ende it might appere vnto king Edward, that he inuaded Englande in defence of his owne natiue countrey, and that he was fully bent to employe his whole endeuor to deliuer the ſame from all manner of ſubiection to any forraine power, and to reuenge the iniuries done by the Engliſhmen in tyme paſt, he willed the Engliſhe ambaſſadors to declare from hym vnto king Edward, that he purpoſed to hold his Eaſter in Englande (if God fortuned him lyfe) and that in deſpite of king Edward and al ſuch as would beare armour againſt him.

Wallace tred Eng with an of.xxx. ſand m

And vndoubtedly according to his promiſe, he kept his day: for aſſemblyng together an armye of.xxx.thouſand men, he entred into Englande at the tyme before appoynted, where king Edwarde was readie with an armie vpon Stanemore, double in number to the Scots, to giue them battayle: but when the tyme came, that both parties were ready to haue ioyned, the Engliſhemen withdꝛewe, hauing no luſt (as ſhoulde ſeeme) to fyght with the Scottes at that tyme, who perceyuing them to giue back, incontinently woulde haue ruſhed foꝛthe of their rankes to haue purſewed in chaſe after them: but Wallace doubting leaſt the Engliſhemen had ment ſome policie, cauſed the Scottes to keepe togither in oꝛder of battayle, and ſo pꝛeſeruing them from the deceytfull malice of their enimies, bꝛoughte them backe into Scotlande with lyues and honours ſaued, beſides the infinite ſpoyle and booties, which they got in this ioꝛney.

But as in the beginning all men were glad to ſuppoꝛt Wallace in all exploytes and enterpꝛiſes which he tooke in hand, ſo afterwards whẽ his fame began to waxe great, to the derogation of other mennes renoumes, ſuche as were farre his ſuperiours in birth and lignage, that fauour which many bare him at the firſt, was now turned into Enuie, hauyng no ſmall indignation, that a man of ſo baſe parentage, ſhoulde ſo ſurmount them in all honour and dignitie.

allace is
yed.

Thoſe that enuied him moſt, were of the Cumyns bloud, and Robert Bꝛuce.

King Edwarde beeing aduertiſed of this enuious grudge and new ſedition amongſt the nobles of Scotlande, had ſecrete conference by his agentes with the chiefeſt amongeſt thoſe that thus enuied the high gloꝛie of Wallace, and vpon truſt of ſuche pꝛactiſe as was concluded by reaſon of the ſame conference, hee came with a mightie armie into Scotland, and at Falkyrke mette with this Wallace, who myſtruſting no guyle, had rayſed a power to reſiſt him: but now being come in ſight of the Engliſhmen, ther roſe a ryght odious contention betwixte the head capitayns, who ſhuld haue the leading of the vauntgarde, whiche is reputed a moſte high honour amongſt the Scottiſhmen.

King Edward inuadeth Scotlande.

Wallace rayſeth a power to reſiſt him.

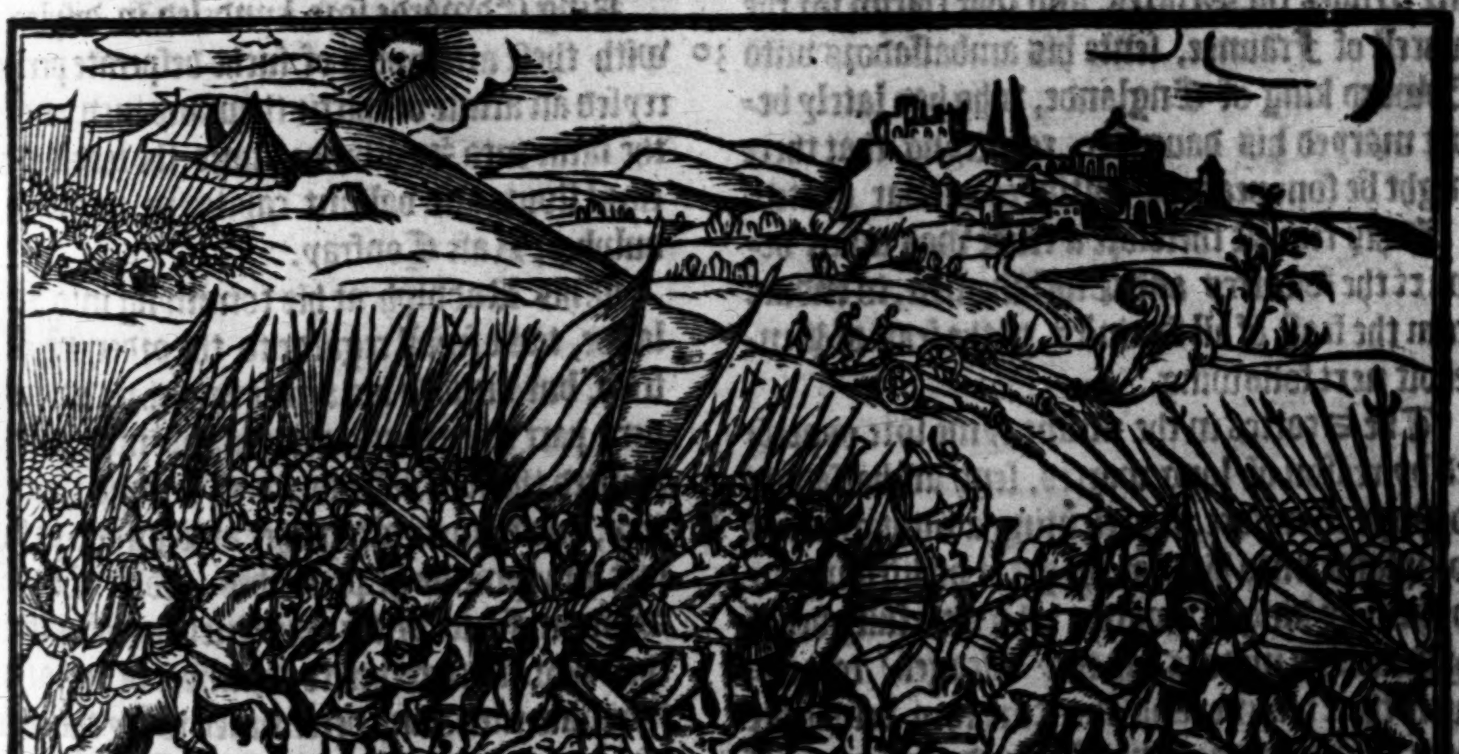
Striſe for the leading of the vauntgarde.

And amongſt other, Stewarde and Cumyn thought ſkoꝛne, that Wallace, a man of ſo low beginning, ſhoulde bee pꝛeferred befoꝛe them in that honour: But on the other parte, Wallace conſyderyng that the charge of the whole was giuen vnto hym by agreemente and conſente of the thꝛee eſtates, thoughte it no reaſon that hee ſhould giue place to any of them.

In the meane tyme came the Engliſhemen vpon thẽ right fiercely, befoꝛe the Scottiſh chieftains (hauing their bꝛeſtes filled with moꝛe malice one againſt an other, than with deſire to defend theyꝛ countrey againſt their enimies) could bꝛyng their men into any perfecte araye.

Herewith at the cõming to the poynt of ioyning, the Cumyns wyth theyꝛ retinues fled out of the fielde, and lefte the reſidue of the Scots in all the daunger.

e Cumyns
ee.



Robert Bꝛuce ſeruing that day amongſt the Engliſhmen, fetched a compaſſe about an hill, & came on the backes of the Scottes, ſo that they were in maner compaſſed in, & beaten downe on eche ſide: Yet Wallace left nothing vndon that might pertaine to the dutie of a valiant captain. But at length all his endeuoꝛs notwithſtãding, the Scots (ouerſet with multitude of enimies) (as the Scottiſh wꝛiters affirme) were ſlayne in ſuch huge numbers, that he was conſtrayned to dꝛaw out of the field with ſuche ſmall remnant, as were left alyue.

The Engliſhmen purſued fiercely after hym, and namely one valiant captayne named Frere Bꝛyan Iay, a Templer, whome Wallace perceyuing to be within his daunger, ſtepped foꝛth vnto hym, and ſlewe him there in ſyght (as it is ſayd) of all the Englyſhe armie: Whiche valiaunt acte of Wallace, cauſed the Engliſh men

The Scottes diſcomfited at Falkyrke.

Frere Bryan Iay ſlayne by the hand of Williã Wallace.

ſomewhat to ſtaye; for doubt of further perill by their vnwyſe purſuite.

Nobles of Scotland ſlayn at the battayle of Falkyrke.

In this infortunate battaile were ſlain on the Scottiſhe ſide, John Stewarde of Bute wyth his Brandanes, for ſo they name them, that are taken vp to ſerue in the warres forth of the Stewardes landes) Mackduff erle of Fyfe, with ſir John Graham, whoſe death was much lamented by Wallace, as one whome he highly eſteemed for his great experience in warlyke knowledge.

Many other noble and valiant men dyed in this conflict, whoſe names wold be to long to reherſe.

Mary Magdalens day proſperous for the Engliſhemen to fyghte againſte Scots.

This batail was ſtricken on Mary Magdalens day, in the yere of our Lorde. 1298. and therfore the Engliſhmē haue holden it euer ſithence an happy day for to fight againſt Scottes.

1298

Wallace renounceth his office.

Wallace after thys diſconfiture, came to Perth, and there vttering by complaint the iniurious enuie of the nobles againſt hym, he renoūced and diſcharged hymſelfe of all the auctoritie which had bin committed to his hands, touching the gouernance of the realme.

Philip king of Fraunce.

The ſame tyme, Philip king of Fraunce the fourth of that name, and ſurnamed le Beau, hauing great ruth in his heart for the miſerable calamities thus chaunced to his auncient confederate frendes the Scottes, and that chiefly for the quarell of Fraunce, ſente his ambaſſadors vnto Edward king of Englande, who had lately before maryed his daughter, requiryng that there might be ſom peace or abſtinēce of war grāted.

A truce.

At his requeſt therefore a truce was taken betwixt the Scottes and Engliſhemen, to endure from the feaſt of all Saincts, til the feaſt of Pentecoſt next following.

Scottiſh ambaſſadors ſent to Pope Boniface.

The Scottes in the meane tyme ſore oppreſſed by reaſon of long warres, ſent ambaſſadors to Pope Boniface, in preſenting a right greuous complaint vnto him for the great affliction done to them by king Edwarde, who was fully bente by iniurious meanes (as they alledged) to conquere their realme, and therefore they beſoughte hym to conſtreyne king Edwarde by vertue of his prerogatiue which he pretended to haue ouer the realme of Englande, to ſtand to his order in deciding the right cōcerning ẏ liberties of Scotland, which might no otherways be determined, but by intollerable damage falling to the people thorough blynd deſire and couetous ambition of the nobles, contending for the crowne.

The opinton of the Pope.

The Pope (as is ſaid) after he had by good and deliberatt aduiſe heard the matter, gaue ſentence with the Scottes, that they had iuſte cauſe of warres in defence of the liberties of their cōtrey againſt king Edward and his fautors.

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The Scots ſomewhat recomforted herewith, ſhortly thereuppon choſe John Cumyn to their gouernour, in purpoſe to trie with the Engliſhemen for their liberties. Wherof king Edwarde being aduertiſed, ſente forthwith an armie into Scotlande, which paſſed thorough the countrey to Saint Johns towne, with great damage of thoſe that were adiudged rebelles to king Edwardes Empire.

An arm
Engliſ
ſent in
lande.

All the countrey in manner vnto Forthy at this ſeaſon was ſubiect to the Engliſhemen, ſauing ſuche fewe of the inhabitauntes, as lyued within the woods, hauing more regarde to the ancient liberties of their countreye, than to any deſire of preſeruing their goodes or lyues.

John Cumyn therefore deſirous to redreſſe this heauie miſerie and lamentable caſe of his countrey, admitted Symon Fraſer fellow with him in the adminiſtratiō of the wars, againſt the Engliſhmen, and therwith gathering an army of .viij. thouſand hardy men of warre, ſetteth in hande to reuēge the iniurious doings of the enimies, chaſing out of the realme all ſuch officers with their ſeruauntes as king Edward had placed in any roomthes within the bounds of Scotland, and ſuche as reſiſted hee purſued in moſte cruell wyſe, not ſparyng to put them vnto the ſwoorde in all places where hee might fynde them.

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King Edwarde ſore kyndeled in diſpleaſure with theſe attemptes of ſuche deſperate perſons, reyſed an armie of thirtie thouſand men, and ſent the ſame into Scotlande vnder the leading of a right ſtoute and valiant capitayne named Radulph, or Rafe Confray.

Radulph C
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Symon

This Radulph at his commyng into Scotlande, tooke ſmall regarde to the orderyng of his field, but deuided his armie into three partes, euery part conteining .x. thouſand men, and appointed them to paſſe forth to forraye the countrey, and to mete altogither at Roſlyn, in ſuche ſort and tyme as he preſcribed. John Cumyn & Symon Fraſer being aduertiſed hereof, gathered their powers together, to the nūber of .vij. or .viij. thouſand men, and determined to try the chance of battayle with one part of the Engliſh armye firſt, truſting that if they hapned to haue the vpper hande of one of the three parts, the other two would be the more eaſy to deale with.

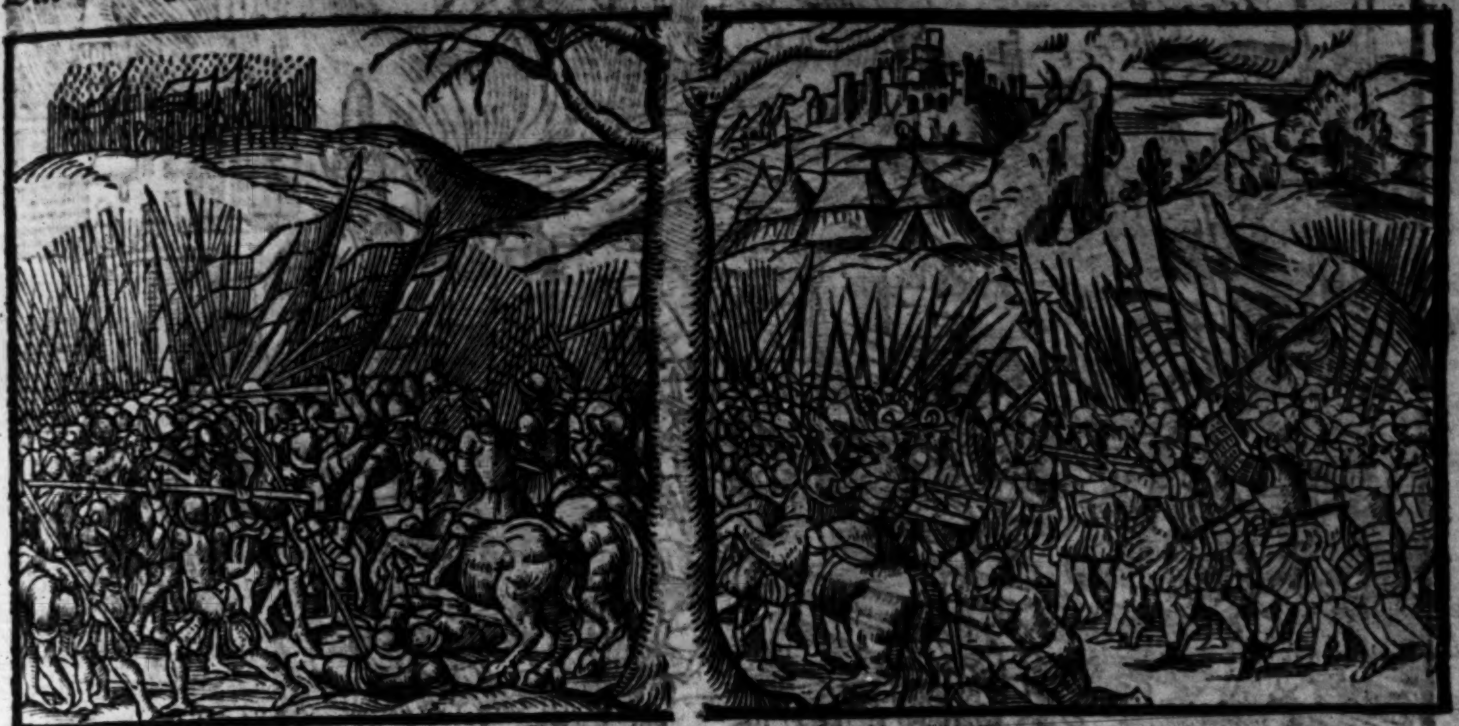
The Scottiſh captains reſolued thus vpon that point, exhorted their people to remēber how they were to fight in defence of their wiues, their children, their goods and liberties of their countreye, againſt ſuch as ſought to bring them into thraldome and vile ſeruitude.

With which wordes the Scottes were ſo emboldned, that minding either to die or to winne the victorie, they gaue the onſette ſo fiercely on their enimyes, that the fyrſte battayle of the

...e firſte bat- ...le of the en- ...ſhmen o- ...throwne.

Engliſhemen was quickely ouerthrowen and vanquiſhed.

But ſcarſely hadde they gathered the ſpoyle, when an other part of the Engliſhmen came vpon them with more fierceneſſe than the other before: neuertheleſſe the Scottes encouraged with theyr freſhe wonne victorie, got themſelues ſpedyly into array, and receyued their enimies with ſuche incredible manhood, that they had quickely got the vpper hande of theſe alſo. But vneth had they made an ende with this ſeconde battayle, when the thirde parte was at hande readie to charge them, beeing nowe ſore enfeebled, what thorough wearyneſſe and woundes receyued in the two former encountres, beſydes the want of ſuche of theyr numbers as were ſlayne: yet by exhortation of theyr Capitaynes, and the valyaunt preſence of the officers of bandes beſyde, they ruſhed forthe on their enimies wyth ſuche earneſt forewardeneſſe to receyue them, that after a ryghte ſharpe bickeryng, they put the whole number of them to flight.



...e ſeconde ...le ouer- ...e.

Fewe of the Englyſhmen hadde eſcaped the Scottiſhmens hands, had they not ben ſo awearyed wyth continuall fyghte, that they were not able to followe anye greate waye in the chaſe.

...e third ba- ...le of the en- ...ſhmen van- ...ſhed at ...lyn. 1302.

Thys victorie fell to the Scottes in manner as before is reherſed vppon Sainct Mathewes daye, in the yeare after the byrthe of oure Sauiour. 1302. The glorye of thys victorie was greate, conſydering that thirtie thouſand Engliſhemen well furnyſhed, and thoroughly appoynted for warre, ſhoulde be thus in one daye vanquiſhed wyth an handfull of Scottiſhmen. For as theyr Hyſtories make mention, they paſſed not eyghte thouſande at the moſte: and therefore all menne ſuppoſed, that it came to paſſe by the ſingular fauoure and grace of almyghtie GOD. But yet the Scottes dydde not long enioye the benefytes of ſo notable a victorie.

...e matter is ...plified by ...e Scottes to ...e vttermoſt.

...e gret pre- ...ration of K. Edward to ...uade the Scottes.

For kyng Edwarde hearyng of thys diſcomfiture of his people at Roſlyng, gathered a myghtie armye of Engliſhemenne, Gaſcoynes, Iriſhemen, and ſuche Scottes as tooke hys parte, and hauyng all hys furniture and purueyaunce readye bothe by ſea and lande, he ſet forwarde with the ſame to inuade the Scots on eche ſide.

The Scottes withdraw to their holdes.

The Scottes perceyuyng they were not of puiſſaunce able to reſiſt his inuaſion, withdrewe to their ſtrengthes: by meanes wherof the Engliſhe armie paſſed through all Scotland, euen from the South partes to the North, and founde fewe or none to make reſiſtance, excepte Wallace and ſuche as followed his opinion, whyche were fledde to the mountaynes and woddes to eſchewe the malice of the Engliſhmen.

The engliſhe armie paſſeth through Scotland from the South parts to the North.

It is ſayde, that king Edwarde requyred by a meſſenger ſente vnto thys Wallace, that if he woulde come in and be ſworne his liege man and true ſubiecte, he ſhoulde haue at his handes greate Lordſhippes and poſſeſſions within Englande to mayntayne his porte as was requiſite to a manne of righte honourable eſtate. But Wallace refuſed theſe offers, ſaying that he preferred libertie wyth ſmall reuenues in Scotlande, before any poſſeſſion of landes in Englande, were the ſame neuer ſo greate, conſideryng he myght not enioye them, but vnder the yoke of bondage.

King Edward ſendeth vnto Wallace.

Wallace refuſeth the offers of K. Edward.

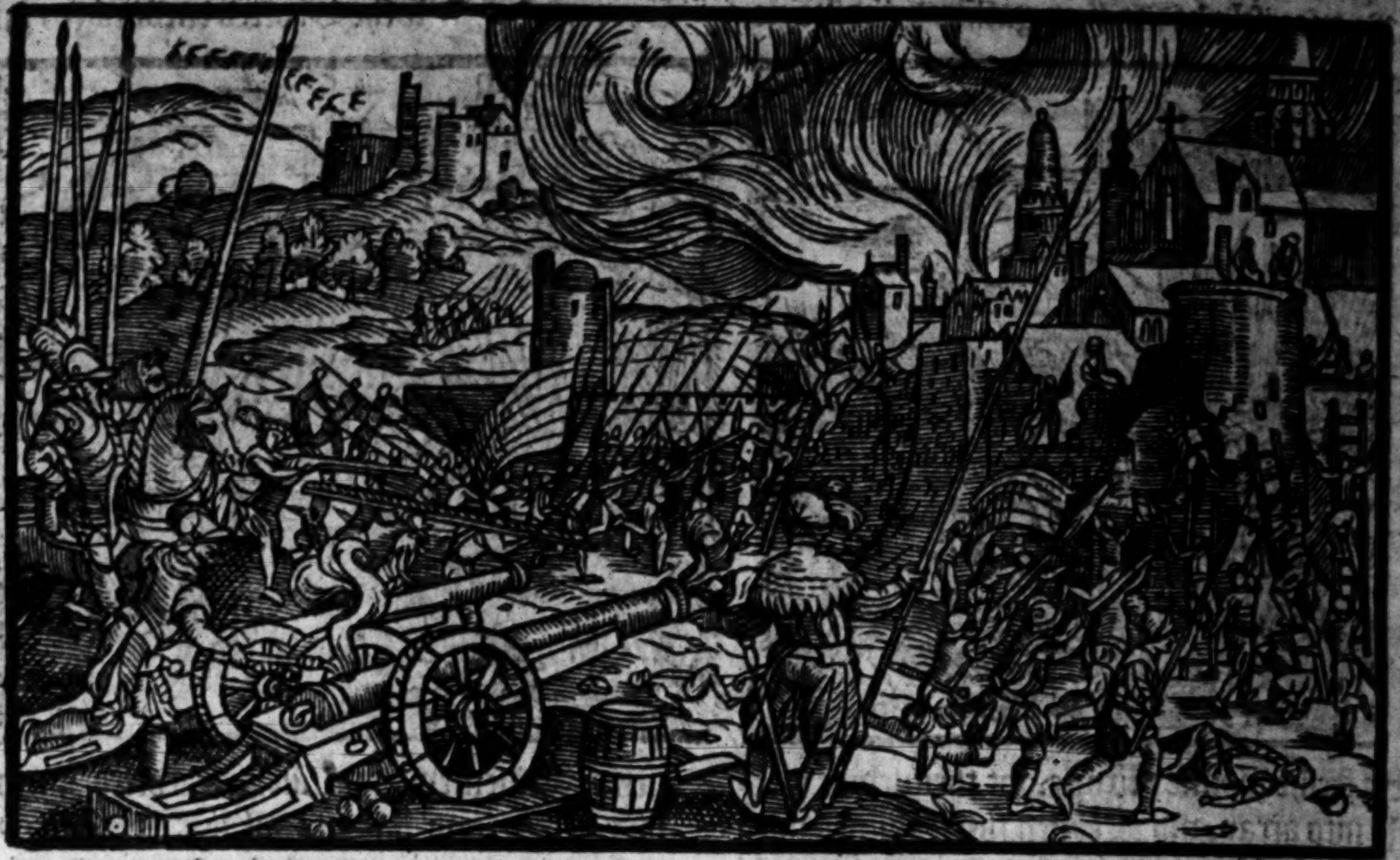
The Caſtell of Sterlyng at the ſame tyme was in the kepyng of one ſir William Uthred knighte, who woulde not render it to king Edwarde by any ſummonaunce or other meanes, tyll after three moneths ſiege he was conſtrayned to gyue it ouer vnder theſe conditions, that all perſons being within the caſtell, ſhoulde departe by ſafe conduyt with bagge and baggage at their pleaſure.

The caſtell of Sterling rendred.

Neuertheleſſe K. Edward cauſed the ſaid ſir Williã Uthred to be conueyd to London, wher he remained as priſoner many yeares after.

This Vthred the Scottiſhe bookes name Oliſer.

Sundry other Caſtelles were taken by force the ſame tyme by king Edwarde, and all ſuche as reſiſted, beyng founde within anye of them, ſlayne without mercie or raunſome.



The caſtell of Vrquhard taken by force.

Amongeſt other, the caſtell of Urquhard in Murraylande was taken by force, and not one lefte alyue that was founde in the ſame (one Gentlewoman only excepted) who beyng great with chylde was in that reſpecte preſerued.

She was the wyfe of Alexander Boyis lord of that houſe, though by reaſon ſhe was got into poore apparell, the Engliſhmen tooke hir but for ſome other woman of meaner eſtate.

She therefore with hir lyfe ſaued being ſuffered to depart, got hir ouer into Ireland, where ſhe was delyuered of a ſonne, that was named at the Font ſtone Alexander, the whiche when Scotlãd was recouered out of the Engliſhmẽs hands, came to king Robert le Bruce, requiring him to be reſtored vnto his fathers heritage, being as then in the occupation of other poſſeſſors.

King Robert doubtfull what to doe heerein, for he thought it neyther cõuenient that a prince ſhoulde take landes or poſſeſſions from noble menne, whyche hadde bene gyuen to them in rewarde of theyr manhoode, ſhewed in defence of the realme, neyther iudged hee it reaſon to keepe hym from his rightfull inheritaunce that hadde loſte hys father, his friendes, and all his whole ſubſtaunce in the lyke cauſe and quarell by iniurie of the common enimies. Wherefore to qualifie the matter, hee deuyſed thys meane: he gaue vnto thys Alexander Boyis certayne other landes in Mar, nothyng leſſe in value, (conſideryng the largeneſſe and fertilitie) than the other of Urquharde were: and willed hym to content hym ſelfe with thoſe, in recompence of ſuche as belonged to his father: to the intent that all parties myght bee ſatiſfied, and no man ſhoulde ſeeme to haue wrong in being depriued of his rightfull poſſeſſions.

This Alexander Boyis hadde afterwardes hys name chaunged, and was called Forbes, for that he ſlewe a Beare in thoſe parties by greate and ſingular manhoode.

The be- ning of name of Forbeſſe

And ſo the ſurname of the Forbeſſes had begynning, as deſcended from hym.

Scotlande beyng ſubdewed by the mightye puiſſaunce of kyng Edwarde, he wente aboute to abolyſhe all the olde Statutes and auncient conſtitutions of the Realme, truſtyng by that meanes, that Scottes lyuyng togyther wyth Englyſhemen, vnder one vniforme maner of Lawes, they ſhoulde fynally ſort themſelues to bee of one mynde and opinion, as wel touchyng the ſupreme gouernemente of theyr publyque weale, as alſo in all other thyngs, touchyng the frendly ſocietie of lyfe.

Chronic other bo brent.

Hee brente all the Chronicles of the Scottyſhe Nation, with all manner of Bookes, as well thoſe conteynyng diuine ſeruice, as anye other Treatyſes of prophane matters, to the ende that the memorye of the Scottes ſhoulde periſhe: and thereto appoynted greeuous puniſhementes for them that ſhoulde diſobeye hys commaundementes herein, in keeping any of the ſayde bookes vndefaced. And he ordeyned alſo, that the Scots ſhuld occupie church bookes after the vſe of Sarum, and none other.

Scottiſh learned, maunded be reſide Oxforde.

Moreouer, he cõpelled al ſuch ſcottiſhmen as wer of any ſingular knowledge in lerning or literature, to be reſident in Oxford, doubting leſt the Scottiſh nobilitie encreacing in politik prudence by their inſtructions, ſhould ſeeke to throw off the yoke of bondage. Thus king Edward going about (as the Scottiſh writers do report) to extinguiſh the name of Scots together with their rule & empire, paſſed through the moſt part of all the boundes of Scotlande, and vppon berye hate whyche he hadde to the Scottiſhe antiquities, at his comming to Camelon, he commaũded the round temple ſtanding ouer againſt the ſame, to be throwne downe, which was builded (as before is ſhewed) in the honour of Claudius the Emperor, and the goddeſſe Victoria. But for that his cõmandemẽt was not immediatly put in execution, he chaunged his purpoſe and apointed only that the monumẽts of Claudius with the ſuperſcription of his name ſhould be taken away, and in place therof, the armes of king Arthur, with his name to be ſet vp, commanding the place to be called Arthurs hoif (as ye woulde ſay) Arthurs Courte.

e temple of audius was Colcheſter, io Scot- whit ſoe- Hector tius or o- r dreame reof.

urs hoiſe.

Moreouer king Edward at his returning into Englãd, toke the chaire of Marble with him, and cauſing it to be conueyd vp to London, dyd place it at Weſtminſter, where it remaineth yet vnto this daye. Furthermore, before his departure out of Scotlãd, he apointed al the Scottiſh lordes to aſſemble at Scone, where he cauſed them to take a newe othe, that from thenceforth they ſhoulde take him for their ſoueraigne lord, & to obey him in al things as loyal ſubiects,

e Marble is con- into En- & pla- in Weſt- ſter.

e nobilitie Scotlande to king ward.

All the nobilitie of Scotlande was ſworne to hym that daye (Wallace onely excepted) who eſchewed more than the companye of a ſerpent, to haue any thing to doe with the Engliſhmen, touching any agreement to be made with them, agreeable to their deſires.

allace eſ- to a- with the gliſhmen.

Moreouer to kepe the Scottes from rebellion, king Edwarde ordeyned Odomare de Valence to be gouernor there as his general lieutenaunt ouer the whole realme of Scotlande in his abſẽce. And hauing thus ſet al things in good and quiet order (as he ſuppoſed he returned into Englande with great ioy and triumph.

Odomare or mer de alence go- ernour of otlande vn- king Ed- ward.

In the meane time John Cumyn ſurnamed the redde, and Roberte Bruce hauing conference together, complayned the one to the other of the myſerable ſeruitude wherein the Realme of Scotlande as then ſtoode by the oppreſſion of king Edward. And at length vpon offers made betwixte them, it was agreed, that if by anye meanes they myght delyuer the Realme out of the Engliſhmens hands, the one of them ſhould be king, that is to witte the Bruce, and the other that is to ſay the Cumyn, ſhoulde enioy all the Bruces landes and poſſeſſions, with many other preferments of honoures and dignities as nexte vnto him in all authoritie touchyng the gouernement of the realme.

Cõference be- the Cu & Bruce.

There were Indentures made betwene them, ſubſcribed wyth theyr names, and ſealed with theyr ſeales interchaungeably, for the full ratifying of couenauntes agreed in thys confederacie betwixte them.

ntures of ement be- Cumyn Bruce tou- the cõ- racie.

And ſhortely after vppon deliuerie of thoſe wrytings, Bruce wente into Englande, for he myght not remayne long in Scotlande, for doubte of ſuſpition, whiche kyng Edwarde had in hym, bicauſe of the title whiche he had to the Crowne of Scotlande, as before is ſpecifyed, inſo muche (as was thoughte) kyng Edwarde woulde haue put bothe hym and his bretherne vnto death long before, if he myght haue once got them all into his handes.

John Cumyn doth doubt.

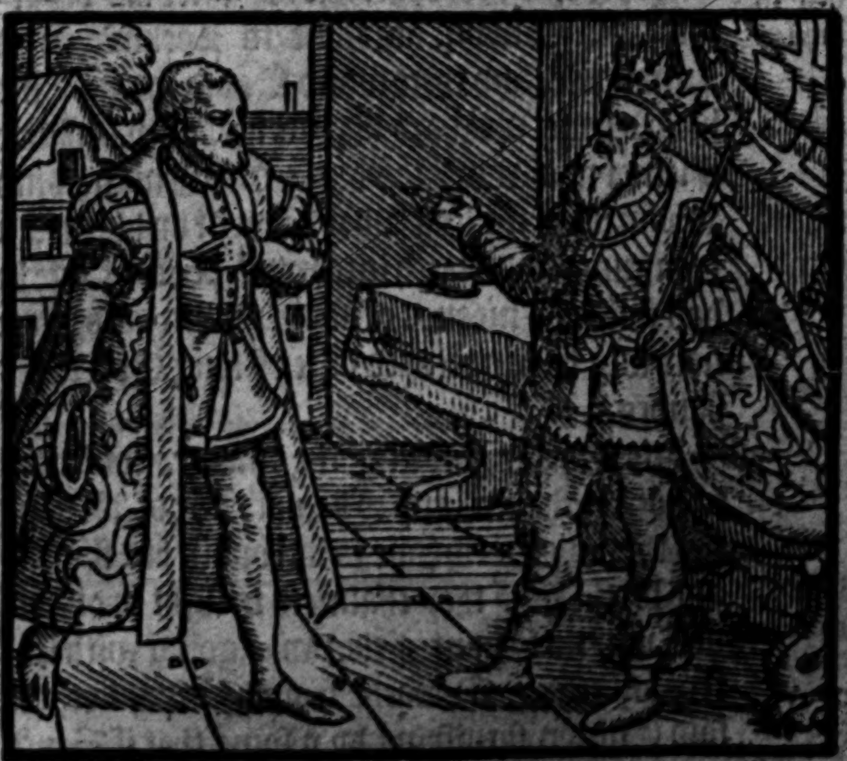
John Cumyn (after that hee and Bruce were thus agreed vppon Articles, and departed the one from the other) beganne to doubt, leaſt this conſpiracie deuiſed betwixte them, woulde not ſorte to anye luckye concluſion for his purpoſe, eyther for that hee feared the greate puiſſaunce of kyng Edwarde, eyther elſe for that his authoritie and power (as hee myſtruſted) woulde not bee greate, if the Bruce once attayned the Crowne: And herevppon hee ſente one of his ſeruauntes vnto kyng Edwarde, with his counterpane of the Indenture conteynyng the couenauntes of the conſpiracie, ſigned and ſealed wyth Bruces owne hande and ſeale.

Cumyn diſcloſeth the conſpiracie.

The meſſenger delyuered this writing in ſecrete wyſe vnto king Edwarde, declaryng vnto him the whole matter as it was paſſed and concluded betwixt the Bruce and his maiſter, accordyng to inſtructions gyuen hym in ẏ behalf.

But king Edwarde at the firſt gaue lyghte credite eyther to the writings or wordes of the Cumyn, ſuppoſyng that the ſame proceded only through enuie, whiche he bare towardes the Bruce, euer dreading leaſt he ſhoulde beare no rule in Scotland, if the Bruce once atteined any authoritie within the ſame.

At length yet, king Edward pondering with himſelfe the whole circumſtance, and beeing in ſome doubte of the matter, he ſhewed the counterpane of the Indenture vnto Bruce himſelfe,



questionyng with him, if he knew his own hand.

Robert Bruce is examined.

The Bruce ſtoutely denyed that he was pri-

He deni.th his writing.

uie to any ſuche deuyſe or wrytyng, and therefore deſyred of kyng Edwarde to haue the ſame for one nyghte to peruſe and ſcanne ouer at leyſure, and then if he were not able to proue that it was forged and maliciouſly deuiſed vpon an enuious purpoſe to put him in daunger of lyfe, he would forfait all his landes and lyuings that he helde eyther within the realme of Englande or elſe where.

King Edwarde bicauſe he coniectured at the fyrſte howe thys accuſation of Cumyn was, nothing lyke to bee true, graunted his requeſt, wherein many iudged he dydde vnwyſely: but ſuche was the ordinaunce of almightie GOD, that Bruce ſhould eſcape that danger to accompliſhe that whereunto he was appointed.

The Erle of Gloceſter immediatly after that Robert Bruce was departed frõ the kings preſence, ſent vnto him .xij. ſterling pennies, wyth two ſharpe ſpurres, whereby he coniectured his meaning to be, that the beſt ſhift for him was to auoyde out of the waye in moſte ſpeedy wyſe, wherupon he cauſyng a ſmyth to ſhoe. iij. horſes for him, contrarily with yͤ calkyns forward, that it ſhould not bee perceyued whiche way he had taken by the tracte of the horſes for that the ground at that time (being in the winter ſeaſon) was couered with ſnowe: hee departed oute of London aboute midnighte, accompanyed onely with two truſtie ſeruantes.

Robert Bruce doth flee.

It chaunced alſo, that ther fell the ſame night more ſnow aloft vpon the other ſnow that was fallen before, by reaſon whereof it coulde not bee iudged in the morning which way he was gon, though king Edward vpon knowlege had that he was fled, ſent out a great maynie of horſmen after, to haue brought him againe, if they might any where haue founde him.

But the Bruce haſted forth with ſuch ſpeede in his iourney, that the .vij. day after his departure from London, hee came to Lochmaben in Annandale, and there found Dauid (or as ſome bookes haue) Edward his brother, with Roberte Flemeyn, a worthie young Gentleman, vnto whom they muſing what he ment by his ſodain comming, he declared into what perill of lyfe he had fallen by meanes of the Cumyn, and howe narowly he had eſcaped oute of king Edwardes handes.

He commeth to Lochmaben.

His brother hearing the matter, conſented to goe wyth him, and to be partaker of all happes that mighte fortune to fall out in his flighte: and by the way they chaunced to light vpon one of Cumyns ſeruantes, that was going with letters vnto king Edwarde from hys mayſter, the ſaid Cumyn, ſignifying by yͤ ſame, that if Bruce were not the ſooner put to death, there would enſue ſhortely ſuche trouble and ruffling in Scotlande agaynſte kyng Edwarde, that it woulde bee muche adoe to appeaſe it.

A ſeruaunt of Cumyns taken with letters on him.

Theſe letters beyng founde vppon Cumyns ſeruaunt, thorough meanes of yong Flemeyn, the Bruce after he had appoſed the bearer thoroughly in eche behalfe, and learned of him that his maiſter the ſayde Cumyn was in the Fryers at Domfryſe, he firſt ſlewe this fellow that was thus ſente with the letters, and after in all haſte poſſible came to Dounfryſe by the guyding of the ſame Flemeyn, where in the Quyer of the the Fryers churche there, he found the Cumyn: and reaſoning the matter with hym, for that he had vſed him ſo euill, and withall ſhewing hym the indenture whiche king Edwarde had deliuered to him, as before is mencioned, in the ende after ſome multiplying of wordes together, Robert Bruce plucked forth his ſworde, and ſtroke the foreſayde Cumyn a ſore blowe in the belly, and therupon fleeing out of the Churche, mette with two of his deareſt frendes, James Lyndſey, and Roger Kyrkpatryke, who beholding his countenance altered, and comming forth of the churche in ſuche haſte, demaunded of hym what was the matter: I trowe (ſaid he) that Cumyn is ſlayne.

Cumyn the Fr Dunfre

Why (ſayd they againe) haſt thou attempted ſo hyghe an enterpryſe, and lefte it doubtefull? And immediatly herewith they went to the place where Cumyn lay wounded (as before is mencioned) and aſked of hym whether he thoughte he had any deathes wounde or, hoped to recouer if he myght haue a good Surgion, and for that he anſwered howe he truſted to doe well ynough if he might haue a good ſurgion in tyme: they gaue him three or foure other woundes ſo greuous and deadly, that forthwith vppon the ſame, he yelded vp the ghoſt.

Cumy ſlayne.

1305.

This chanced in the yeare of our Lord. 1305. the fourth Ides of Februarie.

Aboute the ſame tyme was William Wallace taken at Glaſkow by the means of ſir Iohn Menteth and other, in whome he had euer put a moſte ſpeciall truſte: but they beeing corrupted with the offers of large rewardes promyſed by king Edwarde to ſuche as coulde helpe to take him, wrought ſuche fetches that he was apprehended at length by Odomare de Valance Erle of Penbroke, who with a greate power of men brought him to London, where hee was put to death, and his quarters ſent into Scotlande, and ſet vp in ſundry great townes there for a ſpectacle, as it were, to giue enſample to other. Thys was the ende of that puiſſant champion Williã Wallace, prayſed amongeſt the Scottiſhmen aboue all other in that age, for ſo muche as hee woulde neuer yelde or conſent to acknowlege any ſuperioritie in the Engliſhemen ouer hys

Wallace is taken.

Wallace i brought London.

He is put death.

countrey, no not when all other had ſubmitted themſelues to king Edward as his liege ſubiects and moſt obedient vaſſals.

It is ſayde, that when hee was young and went to ſchole, he learned by hearte two verſes of his ſchoolemaiſter, which euer after hee bare in mynde, and vſually woulde reherſe them, which were as followe.

Jo. Fourdon. Io. Maior.

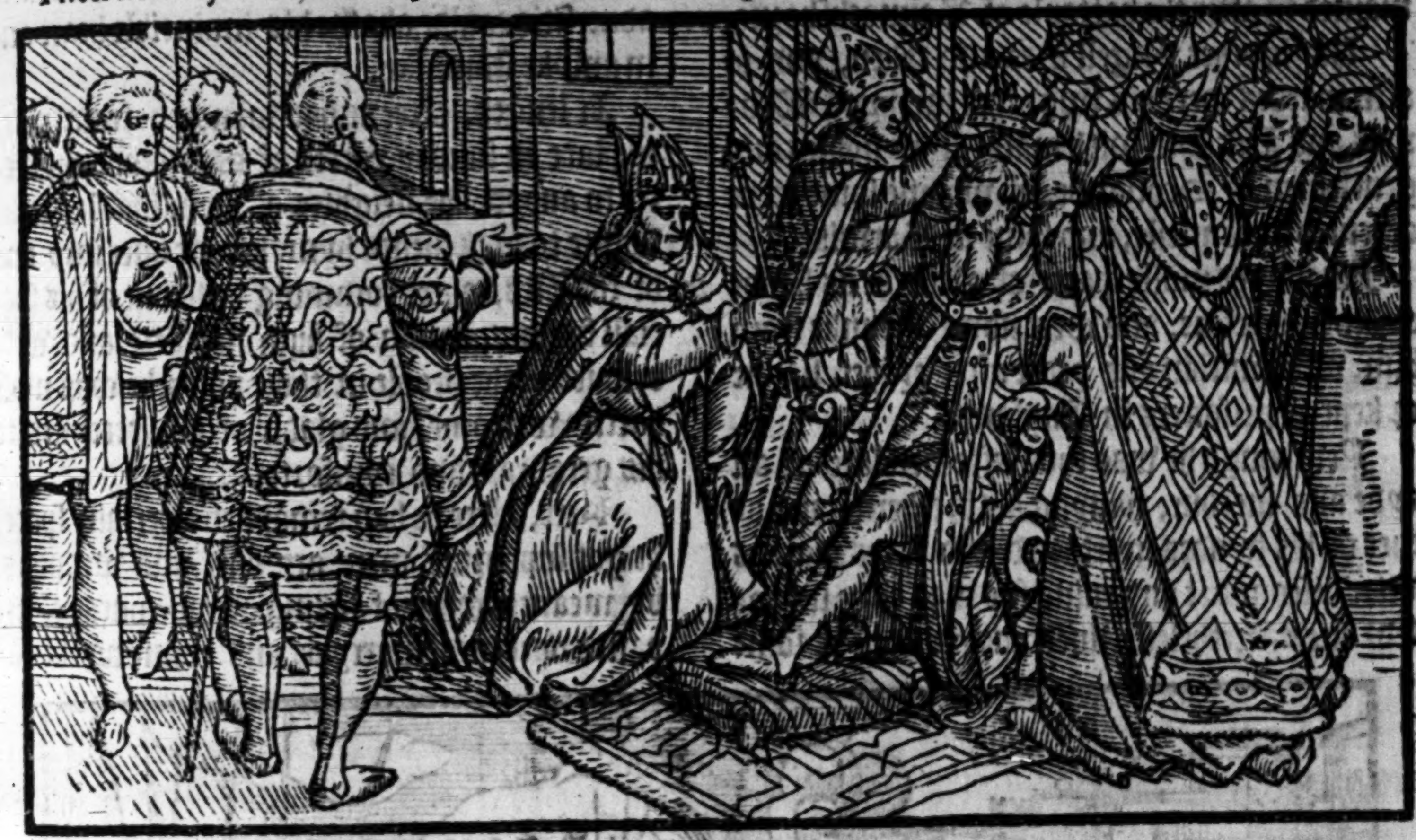
Dico tibi verum, libertas optima rerum,
Nunquam ſeruili, ſub nexu viuito fili.

Whiche maye be Engliſhed thus.

My ſonne, I ſay, freedome is beſt,
Then neuer yelde to thralles arreſt.

But now touchyng the Bruce: after hee hadde ſlayne the Cumyn (as before is mencioned) he purchaſed an abſolutiō from Rome for that acte, & to ÿ end he might then through authoritie obtaine ſome ayde to reſiſt ÿ puiſſance of his aduerſarie K. Edward, he went by ſupport of frends vnto Scone, & there cauſed himſelf to be crowned king, on the 27. day of Marche, though he had no great nūber that toke his parte in the beginning, as ſhortely after well appered.

Abſolution from Rome.



Robert Bruce is crowned king of Scotlande, the firſte of that name.

For when he ſhould aſſemble an armie againſt a power of Engliſhmen that were ſent againſt him by K. Edward, immediatly vpon knowledge had of his attemptes, hee was not able to get togither any ſufficiēt number to reſiſte his aduerſaries, though with thoſe few which came vnto him, he thought to try the chaunce of batayle, and ſo encountryng wyth Odomare de Valence lieutenant of the engliſh armye at Meſſene the. xix. daye of June, in the yeare. 1306. he was ther put to flight: and though the ſlaughter was not great, yet for that it was iudged to be an euill ſigne to haue ſuche infortunate lucke vpon his entring into the aſtate, the peoples fauour ſhranke greatly from him.

Io. Maior. King Roberte is diſcomfited at Meſſene.

Odomare de Valence after he had obteyned this victorie againſt king Roberte, baniſhed the wiues of all thoſe that ſupported the ſame Robert, by meanes whereof many ladies and gentlewomen were conſtrayned to flee into woodes, and other deſert places, to eſchewe the crueltie of their aduerſaries. King Robert alſo after this ouerthrow, fled into Athole, where the. iij. Ides of Auguſt at a place called Dalry, he fought agayne with the Cumyns and other ſuche Scots and engliſhmen as were aſſembled in thoſe parties readie to purſewe him, and had the like luck here that had chaunced to him before at Meſſen, for he was put to flight after the ſame manner, though he loſt here but fewe of his men, neither in the fyght nor chaſe.

K. Robert eftſones diſcōfited in Athol.

Wherevpon fyndiug Fortune thus contrarie vnto him in theſe two ſeuerall batayles, he was left ſo deſolate and vnprouided of all frendſhip, that he was conſtrayned for his refuge to withdrawe into the woodes and mountaynes, with a fewe other in his companye, and there lyued on herbes and rootes, oftentymes for want of other foode.

The miſerable ſtate of king Robert in the beginning of his reigne.

Whyleſt he remayned in this eſtate of aduerſe Fortune, there were two that ſhewed themſelues ryghte truſtie and faithefull ſeruantes vnto hym aboue all the reſte, the Earle of Leuenax, and Gilberte Hay: for though eyther enforced by perſecution of enimyes, or conſtrained through ſome other neceſſitie, they departed ſometymes from his preſence, yet didde they euer acknowleadge hym for theyr Souerayghe

The Earle of Leuenax and Gilbert Hay faithful ſeruitours to king Robert.

lorde and only king, readie at all ſeaſons to ſerue and obey hym in eche behalfe.

The moſte parte of all other his frendes yea and ſeruauntes, in that preſent miſerie, did clerely forſake hym, ſo that ſometymes he was lefte wyth onely one or two in his companye, and gladde to keepe hymſelfe ſecrete in deſerte places, where no perſon vſed lyghtly to reſort.

King Roberts wyfe taken.

His wyfe the Queene fledde to Sainct Dutho, and chaunced to be taken by William Cumyn Earle of Ros, who delyuered hir to kyng Edward, by whoſe commaundemente, ſhe was cõmitted to ſafe keping at London, where ſhe remained til after the battayle of Bannockſborne.

Nigell, Thomas and Alexander brethrẽ to king Robert are taken and put to death.

His brother Nigell was alſo taken, and ſo afterwardes were his two other brethren, Thomas and Alexãder, with many other nobles and gentlemen of Scotlande, of whome ſome were executed at Carleile, and ſome at Barwike.

Finally the moſte parte of all ſuche as hadde ayded him before, and were nowe ſhrunke from him, were within one yeare after eyther ſlayne or kept as priſoners in Englande.

King R
good h
tyme of
treme
ſitie.

Yet though he was thus lefte deſolate of all ayde and ſuccour, hauyng his bretherne and other of his frendes murthered and ſlayne to hys vtter diſcomfort and ruine (as was to be ſuppoſed) hee neuertheleſſe liued euer in hope of ſome better fortune, whereby in tyme to come, hee myght recouer the realme oute of the enimies handes, and reſtore the auncient libertie thereof to the former eſtate.

His inuin
hart and v
daunted
macke.

As for the paynes whiche he toke in lyuing barely for the moſt part by water and rootes, and lodging oftentymes on the bare earth withoute houſe or other harborough, he was ſo accuſtomed therto by haunting the warres in his youth, that the ſame greeued him little or nothing at all. But to conclude, ſuche was his valiauncie and moſt excellent fortitude of mynde and courage, that no iniurious miſchance of frowarde aduerſitie coulde abaſhe his inuincible heart and manlyke ſtomacke.

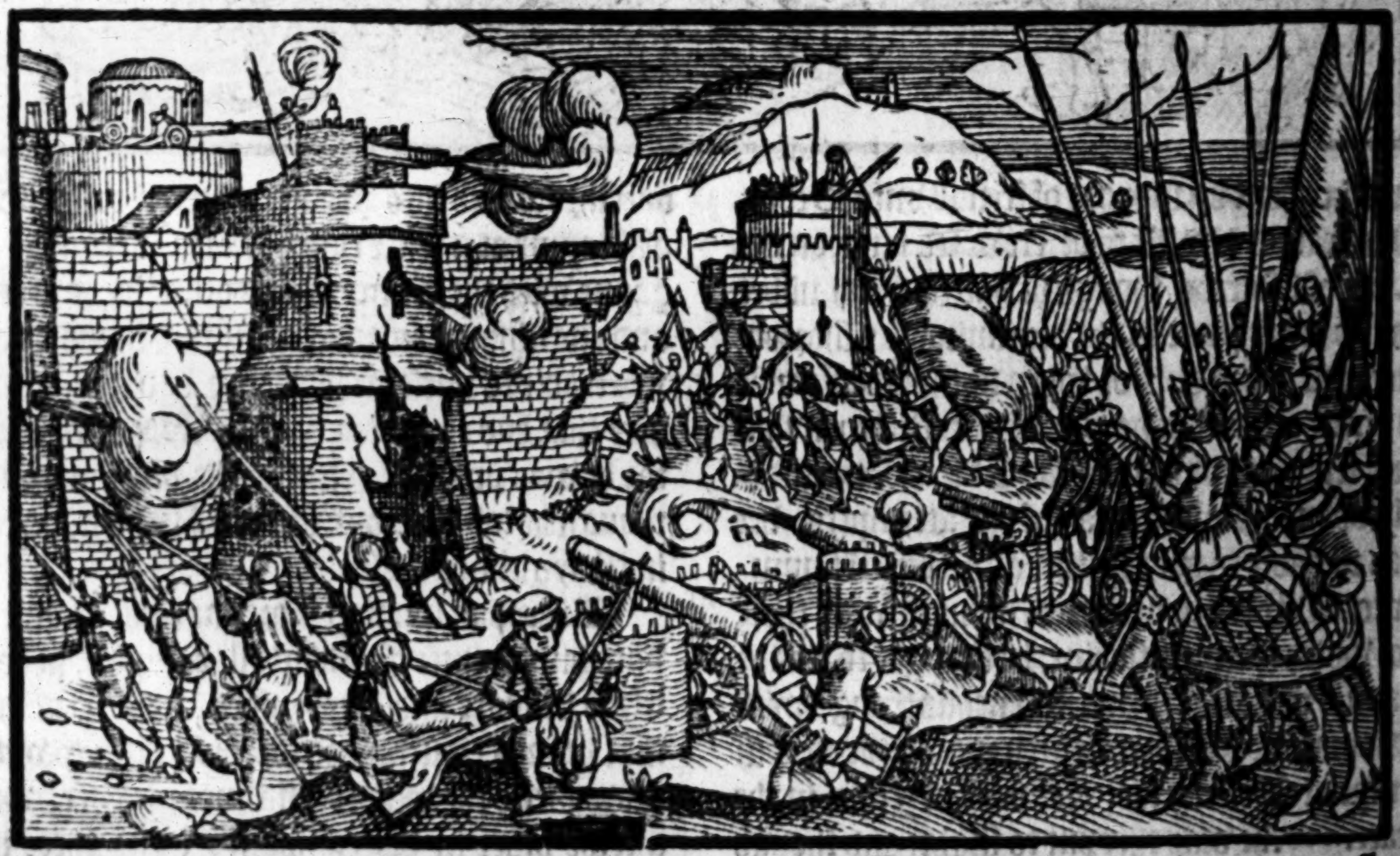
King Ro
getteth
into the

At length, after he had wandred from place to place in ſundry partes of Scotlande, the better to auoyde the ſleightes of them that lay in awayte to apprehende hym, he got ouer into one of the Iles, where comming vnto one of his ſpeciall frendes, a man of high nobilitie and welbeloued of the people in thoſe partes, he was moſt hartily welcome, and gladly of him receyued, to his great eaſe and comforte.

King Ro
purchaſeth
ayde in
yles.

He winneth the caſtell of Carryke.

Here, after he had remayned a certain ſpace, he got ſupport of men, armour, and weapons, by meanes whereof taking newe courage, hee paſſed ouer into Carryke, and winning the caſtell there that belonged to his fathers inheritaunce, he ſlewe all the Engliſhemen, whiche hee founde within it, and beſtowed all the ſpoyle of money and goods gotten there amongeſt his ſouldiers and men of warre.



His power increaceth.

Inuerneſſe caſtell taken.

His frendes that laye hidde in couerte and ſecrete corners, hearyng of theſe his doings, beganne from eche ſyde to reſorte vnto hym, by whoſe aſſiſtance ſhortely after he wan the caſtell of Inuerneſſe, and ſlew all them that were within there in garryſon.

King Ro
commeth
Glenneſke.

With the lyke felicitie he got the moſt part of all the Caſtels in the north, raſing and brennyng vp the ſame tyll hee came to Glenneſke, wher being aduertiſed that John Cumyn with ſundry Engliſhemen and Scots were gathered againſte him, bicauſe hee was vppon a ſtrong groũd, he determined there to abide thẽ: but they being thereof infourmed, and wondryng at his manly courage, durſt not approche to giue him battaile, but ſent Ambaſſadors vnto him to haue truce for a time, vnder colour of ſome communication for a peace, till they might increaſe theyr power more ſtrongly agaynſt him: whiche being done, they purſued him more fiercely than before.

Neuertheleſſe King Robert receyued them at all tymes in ſuche warrelike order, that they might neuer take him at any aduauntage, but were ſtill dryuen backe with ſlaughter and loſſe, though the ſame was of no great importance to make account of, but ſuche like as happeneth oftentymes in ſkirmiſhes and lyght encounters, where the battayles come not to ioyne puiſſance agaynſt puiſſance. The fame whereof yet procured him the fauour of ſundrie great Barons in Scotland.

mes Dowglas goeth to ng Robert.

Amongeſt other, Iames Douglas a man of great courage and ſingular valiancie, couſin to William Lamberton Biſhop of S. Androwes, and remayning with the ſayde Biſhop in houſeholde, tooke all the Biſhops golde, and certaine of his beſt horſes, with the which hauing in his cōpanie diuers other hardie yong gentlemen priuie to his doings, he fledde with all ſpeed vnto King Robert, offring him his ſeruice, and to ſpende his life in his quarell and defence.

tie diſſembling Prelate.

The Biſhop was priuie to his couſins going away, yea and counſelled him therto, though he would by no meanes it ſhoulde outwardly ſo appeare, for doubt leaſt if things had not come to paſſe as he wiſhed, he might haue run in daunger for his cloked diſſimulation.

The Dowglas was ioyfully receyued of king Robert, in whoſe ſeruice he faythfully continued both in peace and warre, to his liues ende.

The riſing of the Dowglaſſes to honour.

Thoughe the ſurname and family of the Dowglaſſes was in ſome eſtimation of Nobilitie before thoſe dayes, yet the ryſing thereof to honour chaunced through this Iames Dowglas, for by meanes of his aduauncement, other of the ſame lynage tooke occaſion by theyr ſingular manhoode and noble prowes ſhewed at ſundrie tymes in defence of the Realme, to grow to ſuch heigth in authoritie and eſtimation, that theyr mightie puiſſance in manrent, landes, and great poſſeſſions at lēgth was (through ſuſpition conceyued by the kings that ſucceded) the cauſe in parte of their ruinous decay. Edwarde king of England hearing of the doings of his aduerſarie king Robert, doubted (if ſome redreſſe were not founde in tyme) leaſt the Scottes reioyſing in the proſperous ſucceſſe of his ſayde aduerſarie, would reuolt wholy frō the Engliſh obeyſance: and herevpon purpoſing with all ſpeede to ſubdue the whole Realme of Scotlande from ende to ende, he came with a farre greater armie than euer he had raiſed before to the borders, but before his entring into Scotlande, he fell ſicke of a right ſore and grieuous maladie, whereof he died ſhortly after at Burgh vpon ſandes, as in the Engliſhe hyſtorie more plainly it doth appeare.

The death of king Edwarde Longſhankes.

The crueltie of king Edwarde as is noted by the Scottiſh wryters.

The Scottiſh wryters make mention that a little before he departed out of this worlde, there were brought vnto him .lv. yōg ſtriplings, which were taken in the Caſtell of Kildrummy, after it was wonne by the Engliſh men, and being aſked what ſhould be done with them, he commaūded they ſhould be hanged incontinently, without reſpect to their yong yeares, or other conſideration of their innocencies that might haue moued him to pitie.

Edwarde of Carnaruan, ſonne to Edward Longſhankes.

After his deceaſſe, his ſonne Edward of Carnaruane ſucceeded in the gouernment of England, who following his fathers enterpriſe, called a counſell at Dunfreis, ſommoning the Lordes of Scotlande to appeare at the ſame, and cauſed a greate number of them at theyr comming thither to doe their homage vnto him, as to their ſuperiour Lorde and gouernour: But diuerſe yet diſobeyed his commaundements, and would not come at his ſummoning, vppon truſt of ſome chaunge of fortune by the death of his father, for that the ſonne was muche giuen (as was reported) to incline his eare to lewde counſell, not without the great griefe of his people, and namely of the Lords and chiefe Nobles of his realme.

Homage to king Edward of Carnaruan.

Shortly after this, the ſayde Edwarde of Carnaruane returned into Englande, and in the meane time Iohn Cumyn Erle of Buchquhane gathered a mightie armie, both of Scottes and Engliſh men to reſiſt agaynſt king Robert, that he might thereby declare his faythfull affection towardes the new Engliſh king.

He truſted onely with multitude of people to cauſe his enimies to giue place: But K. Robert though he was holden with a ſore ſicknes at that time, yet he aſſembled a power, and cauſed himſelfe in a Horſelitter to bee caried forth with the ſame agaynſt his enimies, who abiding him at a ſtreyght, ſuppoſed it had bene an eaſie matter for them to haue put him to flight: but it chaunced quite contrarie to their expectation: for in the end the Cumyn with his whole armie was diſcomfited, and a great number of King Roberts aduerſaries ſlaine or taken. This victorie was gotten at a village called Enuerrour, tenne myles diſtant from Abyrdene, on the Aſcention daye, wherewith king Robert was ſo muche refreſhed in contentation of minde, that hee was ſodenly thereupon reſtored to his former health.

Iohn Cumyn diſcomfited by king Robert at Enuerrour.

1308.

Donald of the Iles diſcomfited by Edward Bruce.

The ſame yeare Donalde of the Iles came with a great armie of Engliſh men and Scottes agaynſt King Robert, and was on the feaſt day of the Apoſtles Peter and Paule diſcomfited by Edward Bruce the kings brother, at the water of Deyr.

At this battaile was a right valiant knight named Rowlande, ſlaine of the Engliſh parte, with a great number of other aboute him, and Donalde himſelfe was taken priſoner. Thus king Robert through fauour of proſperous fortune, obteyning the victorie in ſundrie conflicts, came with an armie into Argyle, and not onely ſubdued the Countrey to his obeyſance, but alſo tooke Alexander Lorde of Argyle out of a ſtrong Caſtel in that Countrey, and baniſhed him with all his friendes into Englande, where ſhortly after he deceaſſed.

Argyle ſubdued by King Robert. This was, An. 1309. as Iohn Maior hath.

In the yeare next following king Edwarde came with an armie into Scotlande, where ioyning with an other armie of Scottes that were aſſembled readie to ayde him, he paſſed through the countrey vnto Ranfrew, and at length without atchieuing any notable enterpriſe worthy the mentioning, he returned againe into England.

King Edwarde commeth into Scotlande. Anno 1310. as ſhould ſeme by Io. Ma.

The ſame yeare, through continuall warres, there roſe ſuche dearth and ſcarcitie of things in Scotland, that neither corne nor other vytayles could be had for money, for the ground in maner generally through the countrey lay vntilled, and beaſtes with all kind of Cattel were driuen away as booties taken by the enimies.

A ſore dearth.

By reaſon wherof famine ſo encreaſed on ech ſide, that the people were conſtrayned to eate horſes and other lothſome fleſh and meates, thereby to ſuſteyne theyr liues.

In the yeare following, which was after the incarnation 1311. king Robert chaſed the Engliſh men out of all partes of Scotlande, winning many caſtels out of their handes, diuerſe of the which he razed and conſumed with fire.

1311.

Caſtels recouered by king Robert.

After this entring at ſundrie times into England, with his fierce armie, he brought frõ thence innumerable booties of cattell and other ryches, afflicting the Engliſhe men with like ſlaughter and calamities as the Scottes had ſuffered in the yeres before by the outragious force and puiſſance of king Edwarde.

King R
inuade
lande.

On the eight day of Ianuarie next enſuing, King Robert wanne by fine force the ſtrong towne of Perth, ſleaing and hanging all the people both Engliſh, and Scottiſh, which were found in the ſame.

The tow
Perth re
uered,
otherwiſ
led S. Io
towne.

He threw alſo the walles of that town to the ground, and filled the ditch with the rampyre.

The ſame yeare the Caſtelles of Dunfreis, Ayre, Lanarke, with many other ſtrengthes and Caſtelles were rendred vnto him, and caſt to the ground.

Caſtels

The Caſtell of of Rokeſbourgh was taken by ſir Iames Dowglas on feaſtings euen, in the yeare 1313. when they of the garriſon were ouercome with immoderate ſurfeyting by meates and drinkes exceſſiuely taken, according as on that day the accuſtomed vſe is.

Rokeſb
wonne o
Shroue
day.

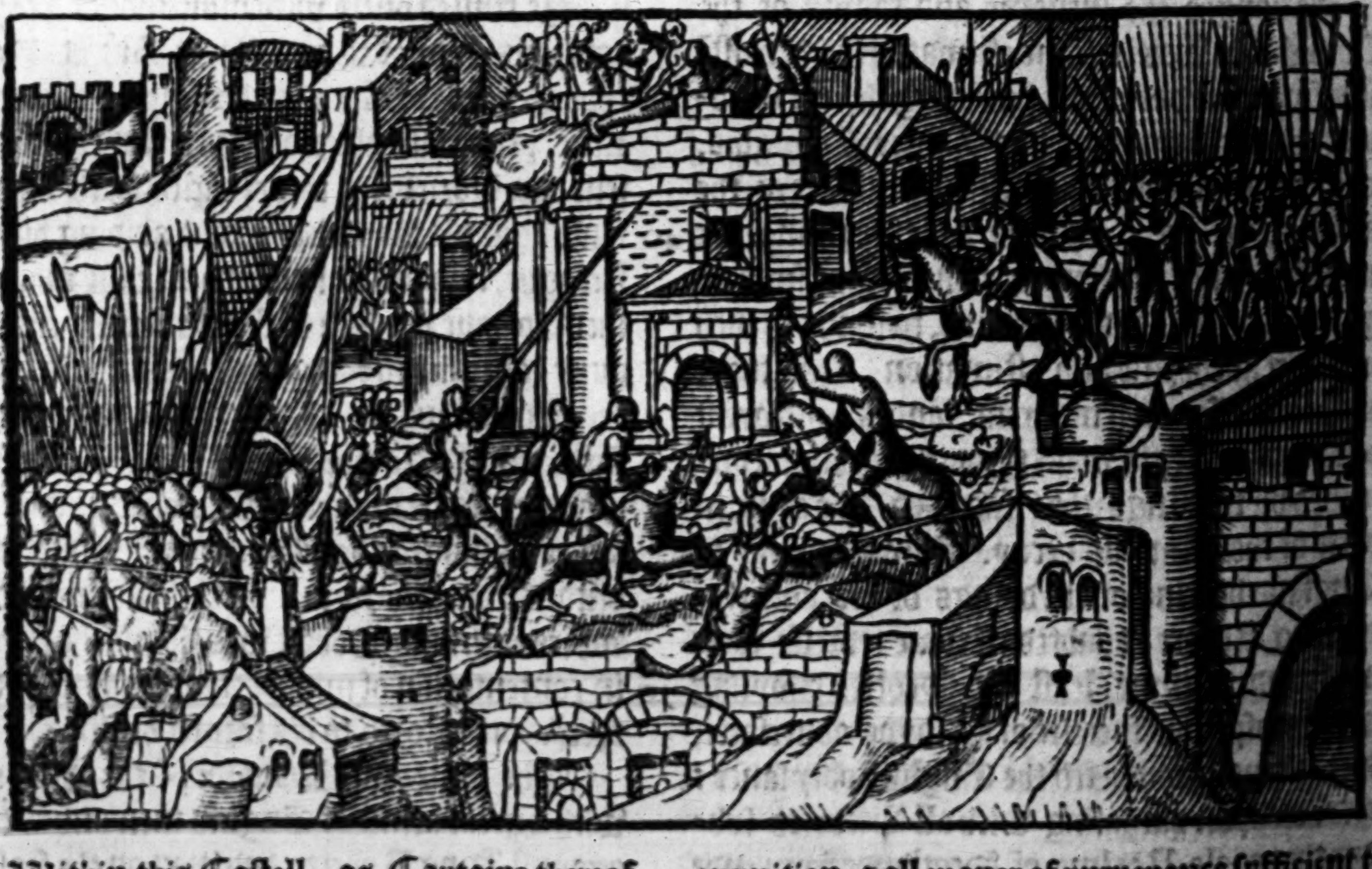
1313

In that yeare alſo Thomas Randall afterwardes created Erle of Murrey wanne the Caſtell of Edenbourgh.

The Ca
Edenbo
wonne.

And the ſame yeare Edwarde Bruce beſieged the Caſtell of Striueling: but the ſtrength of the houſe was ſuch, what by nature of the hight cragge whereon it ſtoode, and what by fortification of mans hand beſide, all his trauaile and inforcement diligently employed to winne it, proued vaine for the time.

Striueli
ſtell beſ



Within this Caſtell, as Captaine thereof, was a right valiant Knight named ſir Philip Mowbray, a Scottiſhe man borne, but taking part with the Engliſh men, who feared nothing the ſiege, for he had ſufficient ſtore of mẽ, vitails, munition, & all maner of puruеyance ſufficient to defend the holde for a long ſeaſon: ſo that finally Edward Bruce perceiuing no means wherby to atchieue yͤ enterprice which he had raſhly takẽ in hand, was abaſſed therof: for by force he ſaw wel ynough

Sir Philip Mowbray.

ynough it coulde not be brought to paſſe, and by large offers made to the Captaine if hee woulde render the place and become ſeruant to the King his brother, he coulde not once moue him to giue any eare therto, inſomuch as at lẽgth he ſought to trie him another way forth, which in ỹ ende tooke better effect than was likely it would haue done, conſidering the lacke of circumſpection vſed in the bargain making: as thus.

After long ſiege, and (as before is ſayde) no good done, there was a motiõ made betwixt him and the Captaine within for a truce, which was accorded on this wiſe: that if the fortreſſe were not ſuccoured within .xij. monthes next enſuing, it ſhould then be rendred to king Robert, and in the meane time no force ſhould be vſed againſt it.

An vnwiſe cõpoſition.

This compoſition was vnwiſely made, as moſte men iudged: for euery man of any wiſedome might eaſily coniecture, that king Edward hauing ſo long day to make his prouiſion, would come in ſupport of them within the Caſtell, and that ſo ſtrongly, as would be hard for the Scots to reſiſt him.

King Robert offended with his brother.

King Robert himſelfe alſo was ſore offended with his brother for his follie ſhewed in this behalfe, but yet he would not goe aboute to breake the couenant accorded, for doubt to loſe his brother, whoſe ayde he might not well want.

King Edwarde taketh vp ſoldiers.

In the meane time king Edwarde ſent forth meſſengers with letters, not onely vnto all hys ſubiectes, but alſo vnto all his confederates and allyes, to haue men of warre taken vp and retayned to ſerue him in his warres againſt the Scots which he intended to follow to the vtter deſtruction of the whole nation.

There came therefore in hope of ſpoyle, not onely ſuch as were appoynted by commiſſioners of the muſters, but alſo a greate number of other that offered themſelues of their owne accorde to go in that iourney, namely ſuch as had lyttle to liue vpon at home, and truſted to amend the matter by ſome good fortune in the warres abrode.

Out of what countreys K. Edwarde had ayde of men.

The Countreys out of the which it is reported by the Scottiſh writers, that ſuch ayde came to the Engliſhe men, were theſe, Hollande, Zeland, Brabant, Flanders, Picardie, Bologignois, Gaſcoigne, Normandie, Guian, and Burdelois, for all theſe at that time were either ſubiect to the King of Englande, or elſe in confederate league with him.

There were alſo many Scottes that were Engliſhe by deuotion, and ayded king Edward at this tyme.

But the number of natural Engliſhmen exceeded any one nation beſyde, inſomuch that the whole armie what of one and other conteyned (as the fame went) one hundred and fiftie thouſane footmen, and almoſt as many horſemen, beſide caryage men, coyſtrels, women, and lackies, but the fame herein belike (as often happeneth) did farre exceed the ſooth.

Fame oftentymes exceedeth the ſooth

For it is not to bee thought (as Iohn Maior himſelfe wryteth) that he ſhould get ſuch a number togither, not for that Englande it ſelfe is not able to ſet forth ſuche a power: For as the ſame Maior ſayth, as many men as are to be found in Englande of lawfull age, ſo many able perſonages may be found there to paſſe for able ſouldiers.

But either kings are not of abilitie to finde ſo greate a multitude with vitayles and ſufficient prouiſion, or elſe they will not ſtraine themſelues thereto.

Neuertheleſſe the whole number by all likelyhoode was great, for manye aſwell ſtraungers as Engliſhmen, brought their wiues, their children, and whole houſeholde meinie with them, in hope after the Countrey were ſubdued, to haue dwelling places appoynted them in the ſame, there to inhabite: For ſo had king Edward promiſed them.

King Edwards promiſe.

By reaſon whereof the diſorder was ſuch, that no warlike diſcipline might be obſerued amongſt them, for men, women, and children were all myxt togither, with ſuche clamour and noyſe through the huge number of people, and diuerſitie of languages, that it was a thing right ſtraunge to beholde a campe ſo confuſedly ordered.

The confuſed order.

King Edward himſelfe moſt proude and inſolent of ſuch incredible number, tooke no heed at all to the gouerning of them, ſuppoſing victorie to be alreadie in his handes, inſomuch that at his comming to the borders, he tooke aduiſe with his counſell to what kinde of torment and death hee might put king Robert, for he put no doubtes of catching him at all.

Fiſhing before the net.

Hee alſo brought with him a religious man ſomewhat learned belike, of the order of the Carmelites, to deſcriue the whole maner of his conqueſt and victorie ouer the Scottes, ſo ſure hee thought himſelfe, that all things woulde come to paſſe as he could wiſhe or deuiſe.

King Edwarde thinketh himſelfe ſure of victorie.

This Carmelite, as maye appeare in Iohn Bales booke intytled a ſummarie of the writers of great Brytaine, was named Robert Baſton, and had the gouernaunce of an houſe in Scarbourgh, of the Carmelites order, he being (as before is ſayde) of that cote himſelfe.

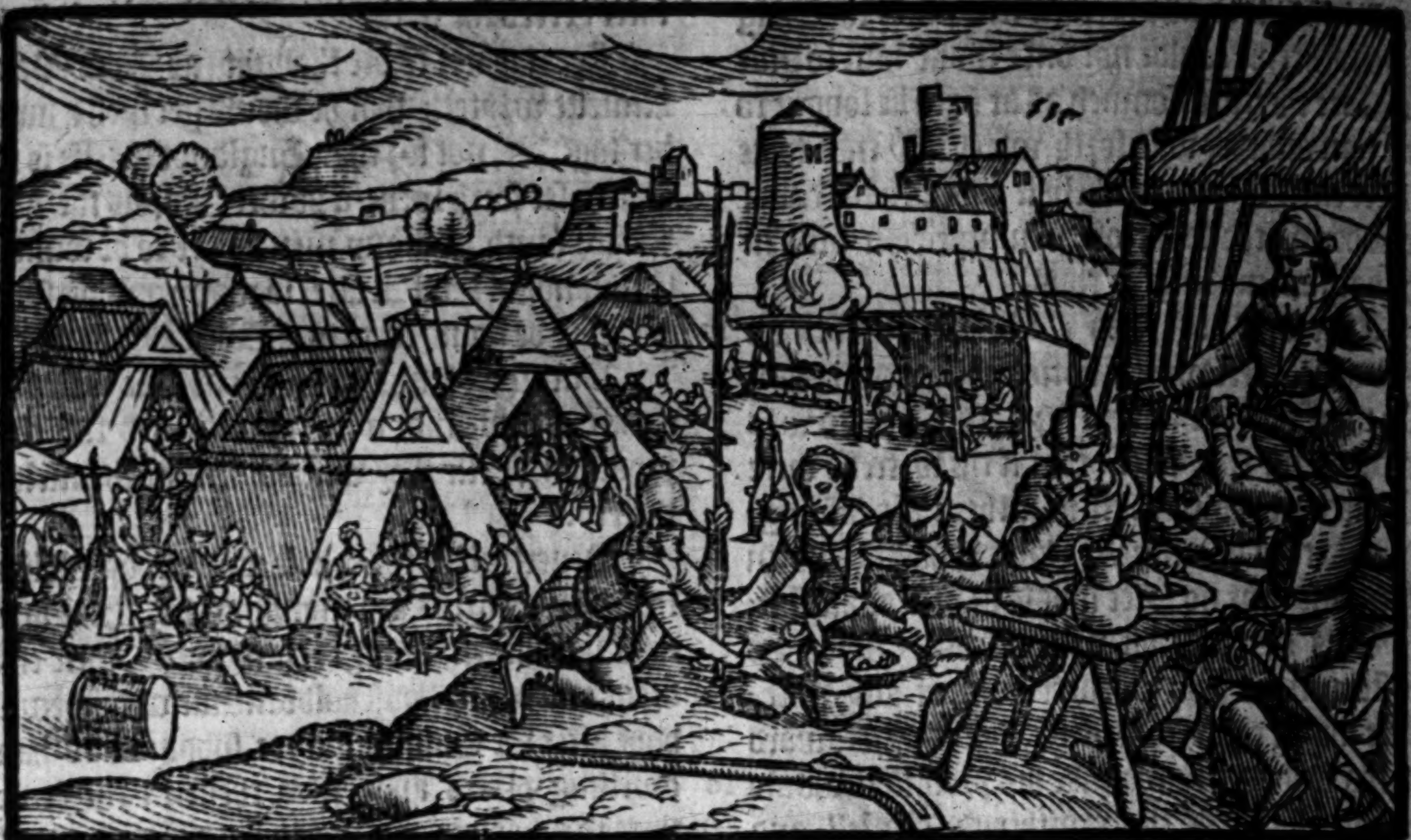
Robert Baſton a Carmelite.

On the contrarie part king Robert ordred al his doings by good and prudent aduice, and with xxx. thouſande men right hardie and throughlye exerciſed in warres, came forth agaynſt his enimies, ſhewing no token of feare in the world, but boldly pitched downe his tents in good order and warlike array, vpon a plaine, a little aboue Bannocks borne.

Iohn Maior hath in his booke .xxxv. thouſande.

King Robert his comming towardes the battaile.

Whether he did this for the great confidence he had in the hardineſſe of his people, or for that he woulde ſhewe howe little he doubted the puiſſance of his enimies, leaſt they ſhould haue him in contempt, it is vncertaine.



The opinion of expert warriours of king Robert.

In deede there were diuerſe expert warriours amongſt the Engliſh men, that ſayde when they heard howe the Scottes were thus aſſembled to fight, that the victorie would not be had, except it were dearely bought: the wiſedome and manhood of king Robert was knowen ſo wel amōgſt them, that they were aſſured he woulde not ieoparde himſelfe in ſuch a caſe, but that he knew he had ſuch fellowes about him as woulde ſticke to their tackle.

Trenches made by Scots to ouerthrow the Engliſhe men.

Moreouer the Scottes by appoyntment of their king to the furtherance of his hardie enterpriſe, had caſte deepe pyttes and dytches in the place where it was iudged the battayles ſhoulde ioyne, and pitched ſharpe ſtakes within the ſame, and after couered them ouer ſlightly with greene turfes or ſoddes, in ſuch wiſe that a few footemen might paſſe ouer well ynough, but if any great number ſhoulde come preaſſing togither, or that any horſemen came thereupon, the ſoddes would ſhrinke and fall to the bottome of the trenches, with extreeme perill of the men and horſes, that were ſure to fall vpon the ſtakes ſet there for that purpoſe, or elſe to be ſo encloſed, that they ſhould not be well able to get out of thoſe pitfalles.

By the place where king Robert was thus encamped there runneth a greate Brooke or water called Bannockeſborne, ſo named of Ote cakes called Bannockes, which were vſed to be made commonly at the Mylnes ſtanding on the banks of the ſame water.

Bannockſborne.

It falleth into the Forth right famous afterwardes by reaſon of this battaile foughten neare to the ſame.

When both the armies were approched within a myle togither, King Edwarde ſent an eight hundred horſemen by a ſecret way, vnto the Caſtell of Striueling, to giue notice to ſir Philip Mowbray the Captain, that he was come with his armie to ſuccour him. King Robert beeing aduertiſed of their gate, & beholding them whiche way they tooke, he ſent Thomas Randall with fiue hundred Scottiſh horſmen to ſaue the countrey from ſpoyle, who with ſingular manhoode encountering with thoſe Engliſh men in ſight of both yͤ armies, there enſued a cruel fight betwixt them for ſo ſmall a number, continuing a long ſpace with vncertaine victorie.

The figh... Thomas ... dall with ... hundred ... tiſh men ... his comp... agaynſt. ... hundred ... liſhe men.

In the meane time ſir James Dowglaſſe dreading that his ſpeciall friende the ſayde Thomas Randall ſhoulde be ouerſet with multitude of the Engliſhe men, came to king Robert, and falling on his knees before him, requyred licence to go forth to the ſupport of them that were thus fighting with their enimies: whiche bycauſe the king would not graũt at the firſt, he ruſhed forth of the campe without licence, hauing in his cōpanie a ſmall bande of men, but yet choſen out for the purpoſe, that if it were but by ſhewing himhimſelfe, he myght put the enimies in ſome feare.

Notwithſtanding, when he was come neare to the place where they fought, and ſawe how the Scottes had got the victorie with great murther of the Engliſh men, he ſtayed and went no further, leaſt he ſhould by his comming ſeeme to bereue them the glorie of yͤ victorie, which had won it with ſo great prowes and ſingular valiancie.

All thoſe in the Scottiſh campe were relieued in good hope of greater ſucceſſe to followe in the whole enterpriſe by ſo happie a beginning.

The Engli... men deter... to giue battaile.

The Engliſh men paſſed little thereof, but yet for that the Scots ſhoulde not waxe proude, and take ouermuch courage thereby, they determined to giue them battaile the next morow.

King

g Robert
eth to
ue the
mes by
aile.

King Robert with great diligence cauſed his people to prepare themſelues readie to receyue the enimies, though he was nothing able to matche them in number, deuiſing which way hee might traine them into the ditches before prepared.

He commaunded through the armie that euery man ſhould on the next morow receyue the Sacrament of the Lordes bodie, throughe the which they might haue the better hope of victorie againſt the vniuſt inuaders of theyr Realme and Countrey.

On the other ſide, the Engliſh men truſted that al things would proſper with them, euen as they could beſt deuiſe: for by one ſmall dayes labour they hoped to be Lordes of all Scotlande, and to diſpoſe of the landes and goodes of theyr enimies as ſhoulde ſeeme to them good and moſt for their owne auaile.

But king Robert all the night before the battaile tooke little reſt, hauing greate care in hys mynde for the ſuretie of his armie, one while reuoluing in his conſideration this chaunce, and an other while that, yea and ſometymes he fell to deuout contemplation, making his prayer to God and Saint Phillane, whoſe arme as it was ſet and encloſed in a ſiluer caſe, he ſuppoſed had bene the ſame time within his tent, truſting the better fortune to follow by preſence thereof.

int Phillane

In the meane time, as he was thus making his prayers, the caſe ſodenly opened, and clapped to againe. The Kings Chaplaine being preſent, aſtonied therewith, went to the aulter where the caſe ſtoode, and finding the arme within it, hee cried to the king and other that were preſent, how there was a great myracle wrought, confeſſing that he brought the emptie caſe to the fielde, and left the arme at home, leaſt that Relyke ſhoulde haue beene loſt in the fielde, if any thing chaunced to the armie otherwayes than well.

ſelie chap-
ine.

The King right ioyfull of this myracle paſſed the remnant of the night in prayer and thankeſgiuing.

matter deui-
ed betwixt
e king and
is chaplaine,
s to bee
ought.

On the morrowe he cauſed all his folkes to heare diuine ſeruice, and to receyue the Sacrament as ouer night he had appoynted.

The Abbot of Inchechaffray did celebrate before the king that day, and miniſtred vnto him and other of the Nobles the communion, other Prieſtes being appoynted to miniſter the ſame vnto the reſidue of the armie.

e exhorta-
n of king
bert to his
ople.

After this, when ſeruice was ended, the king called the people to his ſtandart, and firſt declared vnto them from poynt to poynt how neceſſarie it was for them to ſhewe their wonted manhood, conſidering that ſuch an huge multitude of people was brought thither agaynſte them by king Edwarde, not of one Nation or dominion, but of ſundrie languages and parties, aſwel ſubiectes as alyes to the Engliſh men, with ful purpoſe vtterly to extinguiſh the Scottiſh name and memorie, and to plant themſelues in their ſtates and rowmeths, as in poſſeſſions vtterly voyded of all the auncient and former inhabitants.

To encreaſe the fierce ſtomacks of the Scottiſh men agaynſt the enimies, he recounted vnto them what hee heard by credible report touching the menacing wordes and inſolent brags of the ſame enimies, able to moue right quiet mindes vnto full indignation.

Againe, to auoyde feare out of their heartes, which they might conceiue by reaſon of the multitude of their aduerſaries, hee rehearſed what a number of raſkals were amongſt them, without any ſkill of warrelike affayres, not taken vp by choyſe and election in appoynted muſters, but reſorting withoute difference togither, in hope of ſpoyle and bootyes, hauing not elſe whereupon to liue at home in their countreys.

Moreouer, if nothing elſe might rayſe theyr hearts in hope of victorie, their iuſt cauſe ſith they come in defence of their countrey againſt iniurious inuaders, was matter ſufficient to aduaunce their manly ſtomackes, in truſt of Gods ayde in that quarell, hauing partly aſſured them thereof, by notable myracles ſhewed in the night laſte paſſed.

Hereto hee added, that the greater multitude there was of the enimies, the more ſpoyle and ryches was to be got, if they atteyned the victorie.

Finally, the more to ſtyrre their heartes to do valiantly, he required thẽ of one thing, which he truſted (their manhoode being ſuch) they woulde not thinke harde for them to atchieue, and this was, that euerie of them woulde but diſpatch one of the enimies, whiche if they performed he promiſed them aſſured victorie.

As for ten thouſande, he knew to be amongſt them of ſuch approued ſouldiers, and olde men of warre, as he durſt ſafely vndertake for them that they would ſlea two of the enimies a peece at the leaſt. Such maner of perſwaſions king Robert vſed to encourage his people.

The exhortation of king Edwarde.

On the other part king Edwarde cauſed the Coronels of eche Nation within his campe to exhort their retinues to remember, that if they fought valiantly for one houre or two, they ſhuld purchaſe infinite ryches with the whole Realme of Scotlande in reward of their labor: for he deſired nothing for himſelfe, but the ſuperioritie.

Againe, hee willed they ſhoulde haue in remembrance what irrecouerable ſhame would folow (ſith they had departed out of their countreys in hope of gaine) to returne home with emptye handes, and voyde of victorie, not without ſome reproche and note of cowardice. But yet when they ſhould marche forwarde in array of battaile

towardes

Incombrance in an armie.

The order of the Engliſh battayles.

The appoynting of the Scottiſh battayles.

The firſt battaile.

towardes the Scottes they might vneth be ſeuered from their wiues and children which they had there in campe with them: Neuertheleſſe at length by the ſharpe calling vpon of theyr Captaines, they were brought into order of battaile, not without much a doe, by reaſon of the vnruly multitude. The Archers were placed in wings, mingled amongeſt the horſemen on the ſides of the wardes and battayles, which ſtoode encloſed in the middeſt of the ſame wings. King Robert appoynting all his battayles on foote, deuided the ſame into three partes, the forewarde he committed to Thomas Randulf, and James Dowglas captayns of right approued valiancie: vnder whō went ſeuen thouſande of the borderers, and three thouſande of the Iriſhe Scots, otherwiſe called Kateranes or Redſhanks: Theſe no leſſe fierce & forward, than the other practiſed and ſkilfull.

The ſeconde.

The ſecond ward was gouerned by Edward the kings brother, wherein were ten thouſande, men: but for that he was ſuſpected of too muche raſhneſſe, there was ioyned with him certain ancient gentlemen of greate ſobrietie and circumſpection, to qualifie his haſtie and hote nature.

The thirde.

The thirde battaile, in the whiche were (as John Maior recordeth) fiftene thouſand fighting men the king himſelfe led, ſhewing a right chearfull countenance amongeſt them, ſo farforth that euery one that beheld him, conceyued in his mind an aſſured hope of victorie to ſucceede.

The Abbot of Inchchaffray bearing a croſſe.

The Abbot of Inchechaffray aforeſayd (who as before is mentioned, did celebrate that morning afore the King) came forth before the battayles with the Crucifix in his hands, bearing it aloft like a ſtandart.

Incontinently wherevpon, the Scottiſh army fell on knees before it, deuoutly commending themſelues to almightie God.

The Engliſh armie beholding the Scots fall on knees, thought verely they had yeelded themſelues without ſtroke ſtryken.

The firſt ioyning.

But when they ſawe them riſe againe, and to come forward, they began to be ſomwhat doubtfull. And herevpon ruſhing togither, at the firſte ioyning, a great number of people on eyther ſyde were beaten downe and ſlaine. The Archers whiche were arrayed on the vtter ſkirtes of the Engliſh wings, ſore annoyed the Scottes, till finally Edwarde Bruce came on theyr backes with a thouſande Speares, and brake them aſunder, in ſuche wiſe that they did but little more hurt that day.

Thirtie thouſand Engliſh horſemen ouerthrowne in trenches.

Albeit incontinently herewith a battaile of horſemen to the number of.xxx.thouſande, came ruſhing togither all at once in ſhocke, to haue borne downe and ouerridden the Scots, but being ſo in their ful race gallopping with moſt violence towards thē, they tumbled into the foſſes & pittes before mentioned, in ſuch wiſe one vpon an other, that the moſt part of thē were ſlain, without all recouerie. Neuertheleſſe the Scots in maner oppreſſed through the huge multitude of the enimies, were neare at the point to haue bin vanquiſhed.

The Eng mens hea begin to

The Eng men put flight.

But herevpon thoſe that were appointed to attend the cariage, as carters, wainmen, lackeys, & the women, beholding in what danger their maiſters, friends, & countrymen ſtood, put on ſhirtes, ſmockes, and other white lynens aloft vpon their vſuall garments, and herewith binding towels & napkins to their ſpeares, and to other ſuch ſtaues as they got in theyr handes, placed themſelues as wel as they might in array of battail, and ſo making a great muſter & ſhew of new, came downe the hill ſyde in the face of their enimies, with ſuch a terrible noyſe & hideous clamor, that the Engliſh men fighting as then with moſt fury againſt the Scots with vncertaine victorie, and beholding this new reenforce comming down the hill on their faces, ſuppoſing verily it had bene ſome new armie, their hearts began to faint; the more in deede, for that they ſaw themſelues vneth able to ſuſtain the violent encounter of the Scots thē preſent. And herevpon they began to turne their backs, and fell to running away as people clearly vanquiſhed: on whom the Scottes folowed with inſatiable yre, & ſlue thē downe on all ſides where they might ouertake thē. Sir James Dowglas with.iiij C. choſen horſmen, was cōmaunded by king Robert to purſue the king of England with all ſpeede, to trie if he might ouertake him.

King Ed eſcapeth.

The vnſic ſtate of wo ly puiſſanc

The Dowglas (according to his charge) folowed him in chaſe vnto Dunbar, & caſting betwixt that and the borders, lay in awayt to haue taken him, if he had returned by land: but hee being receyued into the Caſtell of Dunbar by Patrike Dunbar Erle of March, with.xv. Erles in his companie, was by the ſame Earle of Marche conueyed into certaine veſſels, lying there at anker, with the which he paſſed alongſt by the ſhore into England, to ſhew an example of the vnſicker ſtate and glorie of princes: for though thys Edwarde was that daye in the morning right proude of the great puiſſance and number of people which he had about him, not vnlike ſomtime to the great armie of king Xerxes, yet he was cōſtrayned before the Euening of the ſame day, to ſaue his life in a poore fiſhers boate.

In this battail were ſlain. l. M. Engliſhmen (as the Scottiſh writers affyrme) amongſt whō was the Erle of Glouceſter, with.ii.C knightes.

The num of Scottes ſlaine.

On the Scottiſh part were ſlaine about foure thouſand, & amongſt other two valiant knights, ſir William Wepount, and ſir Walter Ros.

The ſpoyle was ſo great of golde, ſiluer, and other iewels gotten in the field, that the whole number of the Scottiſhe armie was made riche therby: and beſyde thys, they got lyttle leſſe money and ryches by raunſoming of priſoners taken at this battaile, than of ſpoyle gotten in the fight, campe and field.

Gyles Ar-
tyne ſlain.

But the death of ſir Giles Argentine, that dyed amongſt other in this mortall battaile, was ſo diſpleaſant to king Robert, for the familiaritie which he had ſometymes with him in England, that he reioyced little of all the gaine got by ſo famous a victorie.

He cauſed his bodie to be buryed right honourably in Saint Patrikes Church, beſyde Edenbourgh.

he Queene
g Roberts
e reſtored
hir husbád.

The Queene king Roberts wife, who had bene kept in captiuitie the ſpace of .viij. yeares in Englande, was now deliuered by exchaunge for one of the nobles of Englande, which was taken at this battaile.

The rich clothes of Silkes, Veluet, and gold, which were founde in the Engliſh campe, were diſtributed to the Abbayes and Monaſteries of the realme, to make therof veſtments, copes, and frountalles for aulters.

The Carmelite Frier, of whom ye heard before, brought thither by king Edward to deſcribe the victorie of the Engliſhmen, was taken priſoner amongeſt other, and commaunded by King Robert to write contrarily the victorie of the Scots, according as he had ſeene: who thereupon made certaine rude verſes begynning thus.

erſes made
Robert
ſton the
armelite.

De planctu cudo, metrum cum carmine nudo,
Riſum retrudo, dum tali themate ludo.

Which may be engliſhed thus.

VVith barraine verſe this rime I make,
Bewayling whilſt ſuch theme I take.

There be ſome that haue iudged howe thys victory was attayned by the ſingular fauor of almightie God, by reaſon of myracles whiche they rehearſe to happen at the ſame time.

The night before the day of the battaile, there came to the Abbay of Glaſtenburie two men in complete armour, deſiring to lodge there for that night: The Abbot keeping an houſe of great hoſpitalitie, receyued them right gladly, and making them good cheare, demaunded what they were, & whither they wer going, who anſwered that they were the ſeruants of God, and going to helpe the Scottes at Bannockeſborne.

acles, if ye
t to beleue
m.

On the morrow the chamberlain found them departed before any of the gates were opened, and the beddes fayre made, and not ſtyrred otherwiſe than as they left them ouer night.

The ſame day that the battail was foughten, a knight clad in fayre bright armour, declared to the people at Aberdene, how the Scots had gotten a famous victorie againſt the Engliſh men, and was ſene ſhortly after to paſſe ouer Pictland Fyrth on horſebacke.

It was ſuppoſed by the people that this was S. Magnus, ſomtime prince of Orkney, and for that cauſe K. Robert endowed yͤ church of Orkney with .v. li. ſterling of yͤ cuſtoms of Aberdene, to furniſh the ſame church, with bread, wine, & waxe.

Many noble men for their approued manhod ſhewed in this conflict, were highly rewarded at the handes of king Robert.

Robert Fle-
meyn rewar-
ded for his
faythful ſer-
uice.

One Robert Flemeyn, by whoſe meanes he reuenged the treaſon wrought agaynſt him by John Cumyn, with ſlaughter of the ſame John, had the lands of Cumnernald giuen him, whiche were of the inheritãce bilõging to yͤ ſaid Cumin.

It is reported by writers, that two knightes of Brabant that ſerued amongſt the Engliſh men, chaunced to heare many reprochfull wordes ſpoken in the Engliſhe campe againſt king Robert, who being ſomewhat moued therewith, & miſlyking ſuch diſmeaſured talke, wiſhed in wordes that the victorie might chaunce vnto him.

For the which wiſh king Edwarde informed thereof, cauſed them by a trumpet to be conueyed vnto the Scottiſh campe, with commaundement to ayde King Robert to the vttermoſte of theyr powers, purpoſing to puniſh them according to his minde, if he atteyned the victorie, as hee put no doubt, but he ſhoulde.

A proclama-
tion.

And hereupon, before the ioyning of the battayles, he cauſed proclamation to be made, that whoſoeuer brought their heades vnto him, ſhould haue an hundred Markes in rewarde.

The Scottiſh
houſe in And-
warpe buyld.

King Robert hearing in what daunger they had run for his ſake, rewarded them with great riches of the ſpoyle got in the field, with the which they returning into Brabãt, buylt a goodly houſe in Andwarpe, naming the ſame Scotlande, and cauſing the Scottiſhe armes, and the picture of Bruce to be ſet vp in the ſame, appoynted it for a lodging to receyue them of the Scottiſhe nation that ſhoulde reſort vnto that towne, as may appeare euen vnto this day.

And this was done for a memoriall, to ſhew what loue and heartie beneuolence theſe two knights bare towardes king Robert & his people, for the great liberalitie receyued at his handes.

1314

This glorious victorie chaunced to the Scottes on the day of the natiuitie of S. John Baptiſt, in the yere.1314. Immediatly after, K. Robert called a Parliamẽt at Ayre, where by conſent of the three eſtates he was cõfirmed king, & the crown entailed to the heyres males of his bodie lawfully begotten, & for want of ſuch heyres to remaine vnto his brother Edward Bruce, & to the heyres males of his body: and if he chaunced to die without ſuch heyres, thẽ ſhould the crowne deſcend vnto Mariory the daughter of K. Robert, and to the heyres generall of his bodie, by lawfull ſucceſſion.

The crown of
Scotlande en-
tayled.

Mariorie the
daughter of
king Robert
by his firſt
wife.

This Mariorie was gotten by king Robert on the Earle of Mar his ſiſter, his firſt wife, and was maryed by the aduice of his Nobles, vnto Walter great Steward of Scotlande.

The ſeconde maryage of king Robert.

Alſo K. Robert, for that his firſt wife aforeſaid was deceaſſed, maried ſhortly after Elizabeth the daughter of the Earle of Vlſter, on whom he got a ſonne named Dauid, and two daughters, the one named Margaret, and the other Maulde.

The iſſue of king Robert by his ſeconde wife.

The firſte was maryed to the Earle of Sutherlande, and bare him a ſonne named Iohn.

The ſeconde departed this worlde in hir infancie.

After the maryage ſolemnized betwixt hys daughter Mariorie, and the foreſayde Walter Steward, King Robert went through all the boundes of his Realme, and did not onely confirme the auncient lyberties and priuiledges of the Burrowes and townes in al places where he came, but alſo augmented the ſame, and graunted vnto diuerſe aſwel townes as baronies, ſundrie newe prerogatiues and franchiſes, as maye appeare by his charters made vnto them of the ſame, ſpecially to the townes of Perth, Dundee, and Aberdene.

Liberties by king Robert.

1315

In the yeare following, whiche was in the yeare 1315. the Princes of Irelande oppreſſed (as they tooke it) with long and inſufferable tyrannie of the Engliſh men, and truſting by ſupport of Scottes to recouer their libertie, now after ſo notable an ouerthrowe of the whole Engliſhe puiſſance, ſent Ambaſſadors vnto king Robert, requyring that it might pleaſe him to ſende hys brother Edwarde Bruce, to receyue the crowne and gouernment of theyr Countrey of Irelande.

The Lordes of Irelande require ayde of king Robert.

This requeſt being graunted, Edwarde prepared to take that iourney in hande, and ſo with a ſmall power of Scottiſh men tranſporting ouer into Irelande, and ioyning with an army of ſuch as were readie to aſſiſt him there, he tooke the town of Vlſter, and ſlue a great number of Engliſh men which were found in the ſame.

Vlneſter.

Then afterwardes, by the generall conſent of all the eſtates of Irelande. Edwarde Bruce was proclaymed king of that Realme, and certaine of the Iriſh Nobilitie ſent Ambaſſadors vnto the Pope, to ſewe for a ratification of theyr act and proceedings, for the ſuretie and weale of theyr Countrey, ſithe they were not able longer to ſuſteyne the grieuous yoke of the Engliſh thraldome.

Edward Bruce proclaimed K. of Irelande.

These Ambaſſadours, through their earneſt diligence, got ſuch fauour in theyr ſute, that the Pope ſundrie tymes charged the Engliſh men to auoyde out of Irelande, howbeit they ſeemed to paſſe little of his commaundements in that behalfe, for they dayly ſought how to make themſelues ſtrong in that part, leaſt they ſhoulde loſe the poſſeſſion of that Countrey, whiche theyr enimies were aboute to get forth of their handes.

The Engliſh men paſſe litle on the Popes commaundements.

King Robert being enformed howe through the reenforcement of the Engliſhe armie being dayly refreſhed with newe ſuccours, his brother was like to runne in perill and daunger to be caſt away, he left ſir Iames Dowglas gouernour in Scotland, with a competent number of men to defend the borders, and he himſelfe with a great power of other ſouldiers and men of warre, went ouer into Ireland to ſupport his brother. But ſuffering great diſtreſſe at his firſt comming thither, for want of vitayles and other prouiſions, he loſt almoſt the one halfe of his folkes through verye famine and hunger, & the reſidue were conſtrayned to eate Horſes, and other ſuche lothſome meates, therewith to ſuſteyne theyr languiſhing lyues.

See more of in Irel

King Ro paſſeth into Ire

At length beeing approched within a dayes iourney of his brother, in purpoſe to haue ſupported him with thoſe people which he had left, hys brother not abyding his comming, fought vnwiſely with the Engliſhe men at a place called Dundach, & receyuing the ouerthrow, was ſlaine himſelfe with a great number of other.

Edward is ſlaine Irelande.

It is vncertaine whether hee had any knowledge of the cōming of his brother king Robert, or that through deſire of fame he feared leaſt if he ſtayed till his brother came, a greate parte of the prayſe (if they got the victorie) ſhould remaine to him: and therefore he made ſuch haſt to fight. But howſoeuer it was, thus he was ſlaine the .xiiij. of October, in the yeare 1317.

See more th iſtma Irelande

Edwarde King of Englande, hearing that K. Robert was paſſed ouer into Ireland, thought the time to ſerue well for his purpoſe, eftſoones to inuade Scotlande: and hereupon comming with a great power to the borders, he purpoſed to haue done ſome great feate: but ſir Iames Dowglas the gouernor hauing likewiſe gathered an army, gaue him battaile, and put both him and his people to flight.

In this battail were ſlain three notable Captaynes on the Engliſh ſide: as ſir Edmond Lylaw a Gaſcoigne, Captaine of Berwike, with ſir Robert Neuill, and the thirde ſir Iames Dowglas ſlue with his owne handes.

King Edward perceyuing it was not like that he ſhould doe any good at that time agaynſt the Scottes by land, thought it beſt to aſſayle them by ſea, which way forth the Engliſh men commonly were euer too good for the Scots.

King Ed ſendeth a uie into lande.

He rigged therefore a fleete of ſhippes, and ſent the ſame into the Forth, which burned the Countrey on ech ſide, and tooke many rich booties from the inhabitants neare to the ſhore. Duncan Erle of Fyfe, hearing of theſe crueltyes done by the Engliſh men, came forth with fiue hundred hardy ſouldiers to defende the Countrey from ſuche inuaſions: but when hee perceyued that the enimyes were of greater number than hee was able well to encounter, hauing but an handful of men in compariſon to them, he gaue ſomewhat back, and in the meane time met with William Sinclare Biſhop of Dunkelde, hauing about .lx. armed menne in his companie, who blaming the Earle for his faintneſſe of courage, cauſed hym to ſet forward againe towardes the enimies, and finding them buſie in ſpoyling and harrying the cuntrey, they gaue an onſet vpon them ſo fiercely that there was ſlaine at the firſt encounter to the number of fiue hundred of the Engliſh men, & the reſidue chaſed to their boates lying at Dunbryſſel, which they entred in ſuch haſt, that one of the boates being preſſed with ouer great number, ſank with thẽ before they could get to their ſhips.

English men diſcomfited.

William Sinclare called king Roberts biſhop.

King Robert euer after cuſtomarily called thys W. Synclare his owne Biſhop, for the noble prowes which he thus ſhewed in this enterpriſe.

Robert Steward borne.

In the ſame yeare Robert Steward the ſonne of Walter Steward, and Mariorie Bruce was borne, which Robert after the death of king Dauid le Bruce, was preferred to the Crowne.

1318

Barwike recouered.

After this, Thomas Randol Earle of Murrey, the ſecond day of Aprill recouered the towne of Barwike out of the Engliſhe mens handes, whiche they had helde for the ſpace of twentye yeares before.

It was taken nowe by practiſe, through meanes of one Spaldeyn an Engliſh man, who for his labour had certaine landes giuen him in Angus, whiche his poſteritie enioyeth vnto theſe dayes.

Ri. Southwel.

The Scots enter further into England than they were accuſtomed, euẽ Wetherby (as Fourdon ſayth.)

After that the Earle of Murrey had recouered Barwike, he & the Lord James Dowglas in the Month of May inuaded Englande with a puiſſant army, paſſing further into the countrey than the Scots had bene accuſtomed to do afore time, burning as they wente forwarde the townes of Northallerton, and Burrow brig, and comming to Ripon, they ſpoyled the towne of all the goods found therein: but compounding with them that kept the Churche agaynſt them for a thouſande marks, they forbare to burn any of the buildings. After they had taried here three dayes, they departed thence and went to Knareſbourgh, whiche towne they burnt, and beating the woods (into the which the people were withdrawn with their goods and cattell) they got a great bootie, and returning homewards by Skipton in Crauẽ, they firſt ſpoyled the towne, & after burnt it, & ſo marching throughe the Countrey, came backe into Scotland with their ſpoyles and priſoners without any reſiſtance.

1319

Barwike beſieged.

In the yeare following, king Edwarde came and laid ſiege vnto Barwike, but the towne was ſo well defended, that he was conſtrayned with ſmall honor to returne home, and leaue it as he founde it.

Ri. Southwel.

William Melton Archbiſhop of York.

The battail of Mitton vpon Swale.

For in the meane time, whiliſt king Edward lay at ẏ ſiege before Barwike, Thomas Randoll Erle of Murrey, and the Lord James Dowglas aſſembled their forces togither, but perceyuing thẽſelues too weake to remoue the ſiege by force, they paſſed by, & entring into Englande, waſted and ſpoyled all before them, keeping on their way vnto Borrow bridge: whereof when the Citizens of Yorke were aduertiſed, with their Captaines William Melton their Archbiſhop, & the Biſhop of Ely, not making them of the countrey once priuy to their purpoſe, but hauing in their company a great number of prieſts and men of religion, they gaue battaile to the Scots one day in the after noone, not farre from the towne of Miton vpõ Swale .xij. miles diſtãt from Yorke northwards. But forſomuch as the more part of the Engliſh men were not expert in the feates of warre, and came not in any orderly aray of battail, they were eaſily vanquiſhed and put to flight by the Scots, who were readie to receyue them in good order, cloſe togither in one entier ſquadrone, and after their accuſtomed maner, at their firſte ioyning they gaue a great ſhowte, wherwith the Engliſh men out of hand began to giue backe: which whẽ the Scots perceyued, they got them to their horſes, and followed the chaſe moſte egrely, beating downe and ſleaing the Engliſh men, neither ſparing religious perſon nor other, ſo that there died to the number of .iiij. M. Engliſh men that day, and amongeſt the reſt was the Maior of Yorke or .e. In the water of Swale (as was ſayde) there were drowned to the number of a thouſand: to be ſhort, if night had not come the ſooner vpon, it was thought vneth there ſhould any of the Engliſh part haue eſcaped. When K. Edward lying as yet at the ſiege of Barwike, vnderſtoode what miſchief the Scots did within his realme, he rayſed his ſiege, in purpoſe to haue encountred with his enimies: but the Scots aduertiſed of his purpoſe, returned with all their priſoners and ſpoile by Stanemoore and ſo through Gilleſlande, and the weſt marches, ſo drew home into their cũtry.

The Engliſh men diſcomfited.

The Maior of Yorke ſlaine.

King Edwarde leuieth his ſiege.

The Scots inuade England.

Bourgh vnder Stanemoore.

About the feaſt of al Saints, when the inhabitants of the north partes had got in their harueſt, ſo that their barnes were now ſtuffed with corn, of the which prouiſion they were to liue all ẏ yeere after, the Scots vnder the conduct of the ſaid two captains, the Erle of Murrey, & the Lord Dowglas, entred into England, and burnt the country of Gilſlãd, taking away both ſuch people as they toke priſoners, and alſo all the cattell which they might meete with, and ſo kept vpon their iourney till they came to Bourgh vnder Stanemore, deſtroying all afore them, and then returning through Weſtmerland, practiſed the like miſchief there, in burning vp houſes and corne in all places where they came, as they had done before in Gilſlande. And finally paſſing through Cumberlande with the like hauocke, at length they drewe home into their owne Countrey with no ſmall number of pryſoners, and plentie of great ryches which they had got in that iourney.

Marlory Bruce deceaſſeth.

About the ſame time dyed Mariorie Bruce, king Roberts daughter. Shortly after alſo was a truce taken betwixt the two Realmes of England and Scotlande for a certaine time.

A Parliament at Perth.

Then king Robert hauing no trouble, neyther within his Realme, nor without, cauſed a Parliament to be holden at Perth, where he requyred the Lordes to ſhew their deedes and charters whereby they helde their landes.

The euidence and charters whereby the Lords of Scotlande helde their landes.

The Lords after long aduiſement taken herein, at length pulled out theyr ſwordes all at once, declaring that they had none other euidence nor Charters to ſhewe for the tenure of theyr landes.

King Robert was ſomewhat amaſed of this ſight, and tooke no ſmall indignation therewith, but yet he diſſembled for the time, and commended them for their noble heartes and valiant ſtomacks: neuertheleſſe he purpoſed to be reuenged of their proude preſumptions when more opportunitie of time ſerued thereto.

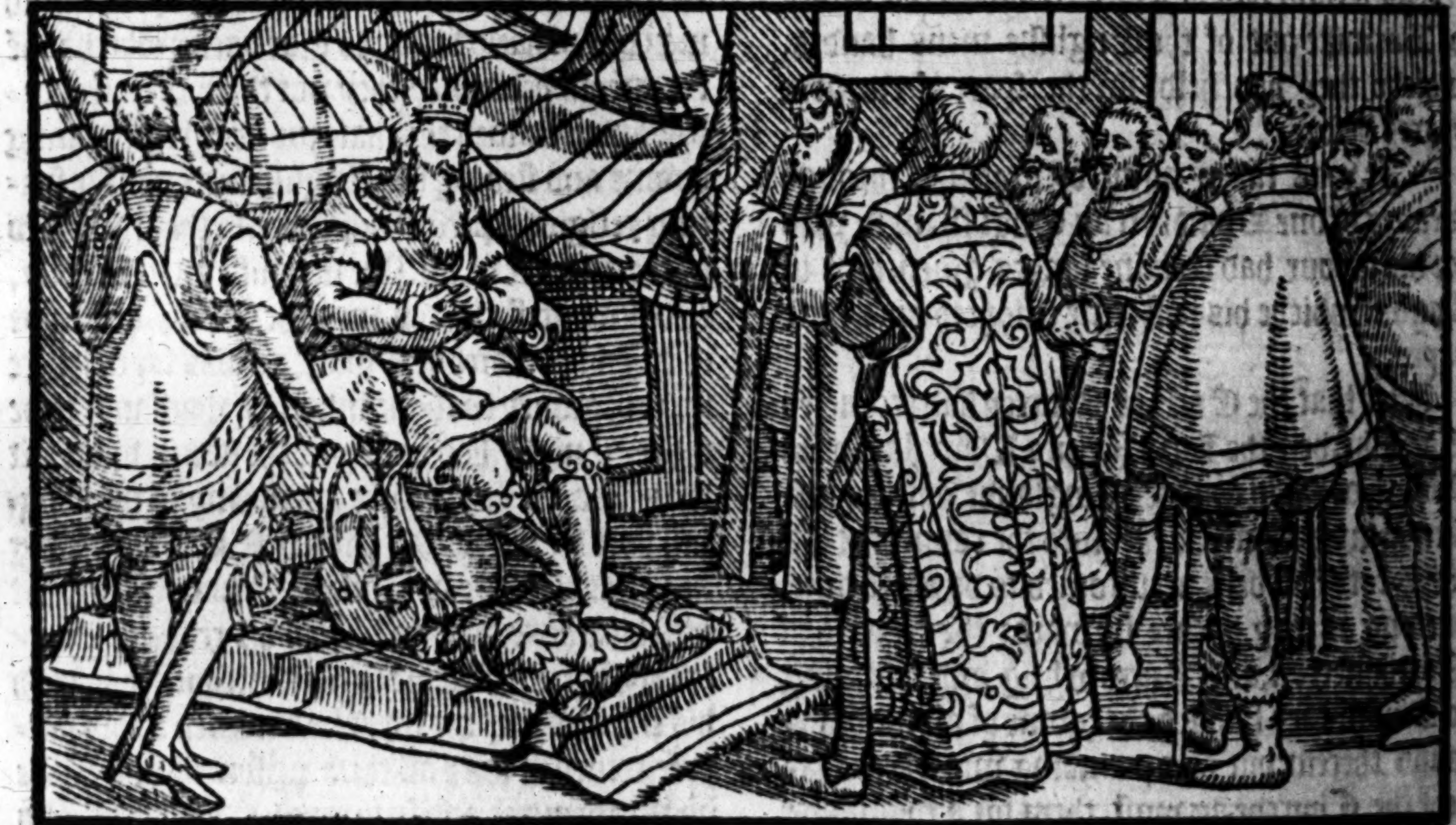
Conſpiraci the Lordes a gaynſt king Robert.

Sundrie of the nobles perceiuing that the king bare an inwarde grudge towardes them for this matter, deuiſed amongſt thẽſelues how to deliuer him into king Edwardes handes, ſo to auoyd all daunger that might folow of his diſpleaſure conceyued thus agaynſt them.

For the accompliſhment of this their treaſonable practiſe, they made a bonde in wryting, confirmed with their handes and ſeales betwixt thẽ, and minded to ſend the ſame into England vnto king Edward. But king Robert hauing ſome ynkeling of this their purpoſe, cauſed diligent watch to be layde by the way for ſuch as ſhoulde paſſe into England frõ them with the ſaid band, inſomuch that in the ende a Palmer or Pylgrym was apprehended which had the bonde and other wrytings encloſed within his pylgrimes ſtaffe.

A Palmer ken with tings on

King Robert vnderſtanding by theſe wrytings all the maner of the treaſon, and what they were that had conſented to the ſame, he haſtily ſent for the whole number of them, as though there had beene ſome matter in hand wherein he wiſhed to haue their aduiſe.



The Lordes that had conſpired are cõmitted to warde.

They were no ſooner come, but ſtreyghtwayes calling them before him, hee queſtioned with them whether they knew their owne handes and ſeales, and immediately therewith ſhewed the wrytings, which were found in the Palmers ſtaffe: and bycauſe they coulde not denie theyr owne acte, they were committed to warde within ſundrie Caſtelles, till he had taken further aduiſe in the matter.

Incontinently after, he went to Barwike, and there arreſted the captaine of the towne named ſir William Soulis, and cauſed him to bee conueyed vnto Perth, where ſhortly after he called an aſſembly of all the eſtates of the realme.

The bl Parliam 132

This was called the black Parliament, kept in the yeare after the incarnation of our Sauiour 1320. In this Parliament at the beginning therof, was Dauid Abernethy, the ſiſters ſonne of K. Robert, accuſed as party to the treaſon aforeſayd, though being labored vnto by the reſt of the conſpirators to ioyne with them therein, he refuſed ſo to doe, but yet for that he did not vtter the thing, but concealed with them, he was condẽned & loſt his head, the people ſore lamenting his miſhap, for the great valiancy which was knowne to be in him, hauing ſerued honorably many yeares

Dauid A thy le heade.

before agaynſt the Saraſins, and other miſcreants in the parties of beyonde the ſeas, where he was cleped the flower of chiualry.

In deed the king himſelfe would gladly haue ſaued his life, but for that he minded to do iuſtice on the reſidue, and finding no man to make ſute for hym, he permytted the execution to proceede agaynſt him.

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On the morrowe after, he cauſed all the reſidue of the trayters to be brought forth to iudgement, and ſentence being giuen agaynſt them, he commaunded without delay that they ſhould be executed.

ecution
hout re-
ite.

Then came diuerſe and ſundry perſons in moſt humble wiſe to make ſute for pardon to the king for their friends and kinſmen: but he made them plaine anſwere, that there was none to bee founde that would make interceſſion for the ſauing of his kinſmans life the day before, when he was led to execution, that had offended nothing ſo grieuouſly in compariſon to them for whome they now made ſute, & therefore he bad them be contented, for they ſhoulde aſſuredly haue according to yͤ which they had deſerued. And therwith were the officers cõmaunded to make haſt with the execution, whiche was done incontinently without any further reſpite.

There were ſome that were accuſed to bee partakers in this treaſon, but yet for that no euident proues could be produced againſt them, they were diſmiſſed, as Walter Maxwel, with Walter Berclay Shirif of Aberdene, Patrike Graim, Hameline Peydrinton, and Euſtace a Rathre, knights, beſide eight others. But yet the Cõuteſſe of Stratherne, and William de Soulis, were condemned to perpetuall priſon.

The Earle of Buchquhanes landes, who ſuffred at that preſent, were deuided into two parts, the one being giuen to William Hay that was made Coneſtable of the realme in place of Iohn Quincie, who likewiſe ſuffred the ſame time: and the other part was giuẽ vnto William Keth, togither with the office of the Stewardſhip of the Realme.

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About the ſame time the king of England by complaynt made to the Pope, purchaſed that a Legate was ſent from the Sea Apoſtolike into Scotland, to admoniſh king Robert to ceaſſe frõ further diſquieting the realme of Englande, by ſuch cruell inuaſions, as were ſurmiſed that hee wrongfully exerciſed againſt the ſame Realme. But anſwer was made herevnto by the king and other the nobles of the realme of Scotlande, that all the worlde might well vnderſtande that the whole occaſion of al the trouble which had chanced betwixt the two Realmes of Englande and Scotland, did only proceed of the couetous deſire in the Engliſh mẽ, ſeeking to conquer that realm without any iuſt clayme or title: and therefore they thought it reaſon firſt to ſuppreſſe the loftie ſtomacks of the Engliſh men, and then if there were any thing worthie to be reformed on theyr behalues, they would be contented to ſtand vnto the order of the Popes authoritie therein.

And thus was the Legate diſpatched home, without other effect of his errant.

King Robert with an army in Scotlande.

Shortly after K. Robert entred with an army into Englãd, & waſted the country before him, til he came to the Recroſſe, whiche ſtandeth vpon Stanmore.

Ri. Southwel.

1321

The Biſhoprike of Durham burnt by the Scottes.

Richmondſhire redeemed from ſpoyle with a ſumme of money.

The Duke of Lancaſters diſloyaltie.

King Robert inuadeth Englande.

The Abbey of Holme burnt.

Fourneis Abbey.

Howbeit it ſhould ſeeme by that which R. So. writeth hereof, that K. Robert was not preſent himſelfe in perſon in this iourney, but that he appoynted the Erle of Murrey to be his Lieutenãt, who with an army after yͤ feaſt of the Epiphanie entred into England, & comming to Darington, ſtayed there for a ſeaſon, whileſt the Lord Iames Dowglas, and the Lord Steward of Scotlande went abrode to harie and ſpoyle the countrey on eche ſide, the one of them paſſing forth towardes Hartilpoole, & Cliueland, and the other towardes Richmond. The inhabitants of Richmond ſhire hauing no captain amongſt them to defend their countrey from that grieuous inuaſion of the enimie, gaue a great ſumme of money in like maner as at other times they had don, to haue their coũtry ſpared from fire & ſpoyle. The Scots taryed at this time about .xv. dayes within Englande & in the end returned without battaile. For when the Knightes of the north Countreys repayred to the Duke of Lancaſter then lying at Pomfret, and offred to goe into the field with him agaynſt the Scots, he would not once ſtyrre his foote by reaſon of the diſcorde that was depending betwixt him and king Edward: but howſoeuer the matter went, king Edward ſore grieued in hys minde with ſuch inuaſion made by his enimies the Scots, he gaue order to leuie an army of an hundred thouſand men, what on horſebacke and on foote, (as the report went) appoynting them to be readie to enter into Scotlande at Lammas next: wherof king Robert being aduertiſed, ment to preuent him, and therevpon in the Octaues of the natiuitie of Saint Iohn Baptiſt, hee entred into Englande with an armie neare to Carleil, & burnt a manor place that ſometime belonged to him at Roſſe, & Allerdale, & ſpoiled the monaſtery of Holme, notwithſtãding his fathers corps was there interred. Frõ thence he marched forward, deſtroying and ſpoyling the country of Copland, & ſo keeping vpon his iourney paſſed Doden ſandes towards the Abbay of Furneis: but yͤ Abbot meeting him on the way, redeemed his landes from ſpoile, and brought king Robert to his houſe, and made to him great chere: but yet the Scots could not hold their handes from burning and ſpoyling

Leuyn ſandes.

The towne of Lancaſter brent.

Preſton in Anderneis burnt.

dyuerſe places. And marching forwarde vnto Cartmele beyond Leuyn ſands, brent & ſpoyled all the countrey about, except a Priorie of blacke Chanons which ſtood there. Paſſing from thence they came to Lancaſter, which towne they alſo brent, ſaue onely the Priorie of blacke Monkes, and a houſe of preaching Friers. Here came to them the Erle of Murrey, and the Lorde James Dowglas with an other armie, whereupon marching further ſouthwards, they came to Preſton in Anderneis, & brent that towne alſo, the houſe of Friers minors only excepted. And thus being lxxx. miles within England frō their owne borders, they returned homewards wͭ al their priſoners, cattel, & other booties which they had got in that iorney, cōming to Carleil in the vigill of S. Margaret, & lodging about that towne the ſpace of. v. dayes, they waſted & deſtroyed the corne & al other things yͭ came within their reach. Which done, on S. James euen they entred into Scotland again, hauing bene within England at this time three weekes and three dayes.

King Edwarde rayſeth an armie.

He entred Scotlande.

Immediately herevpon, to wit about the feaſt of Lammas, King Edwarde with his armie came to Newcaſtell, and deſirous to be reuenged of ſuche iniuries done to his ſubiectꝭ, entred into Scotlande, and paſſing forth till he came to Edenbourgh, through want of vitayles and other neceſſarie prouiſion, he was conſtrayned to returne home within the ſpace of. xv. dayes. For king Robert aduertiſed of his comming, had cauſed all the corne and cattell in the Countrey to be conueyed out of the way into certain ſtrengthes, where the Engliſh men might not come to get it into their handes, ſo to relieue themſelues therewith. But in their returning homewardes, ſomewhat to reuenge their diſpleaſures, they ſpoyled & brent the Abbayes of Melroſe, and Dryborough, with diuerſe other religious houſes & places, not ſparing any kinde of crueltie agaynſt all thoſe of the inhabitants that fell into their handes.

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In reuenge hereof, King Robert ſhortly after entred with a puiſſant army into England, ſpoyling and waſting the Countrey, till he came almoſt to Yorke.

At length hearing that king Edwarde was comming towards him with an army, he choſe a plot of grounde betwixt the Abbay of Bylande and S. Sauiour, there to abyde battayle, whiche King Edward refuſed not to giue, though in the end, he was put to flight with his whole power, and chaſed with great ſlaughter both of Engliſh men and Normans, whiche were there in hys ayde. Diuerſe alſo of the Nobilitie were taken priſoners, as John de Brytaine Earle of Richmont, and Henrie Sowly, with others.

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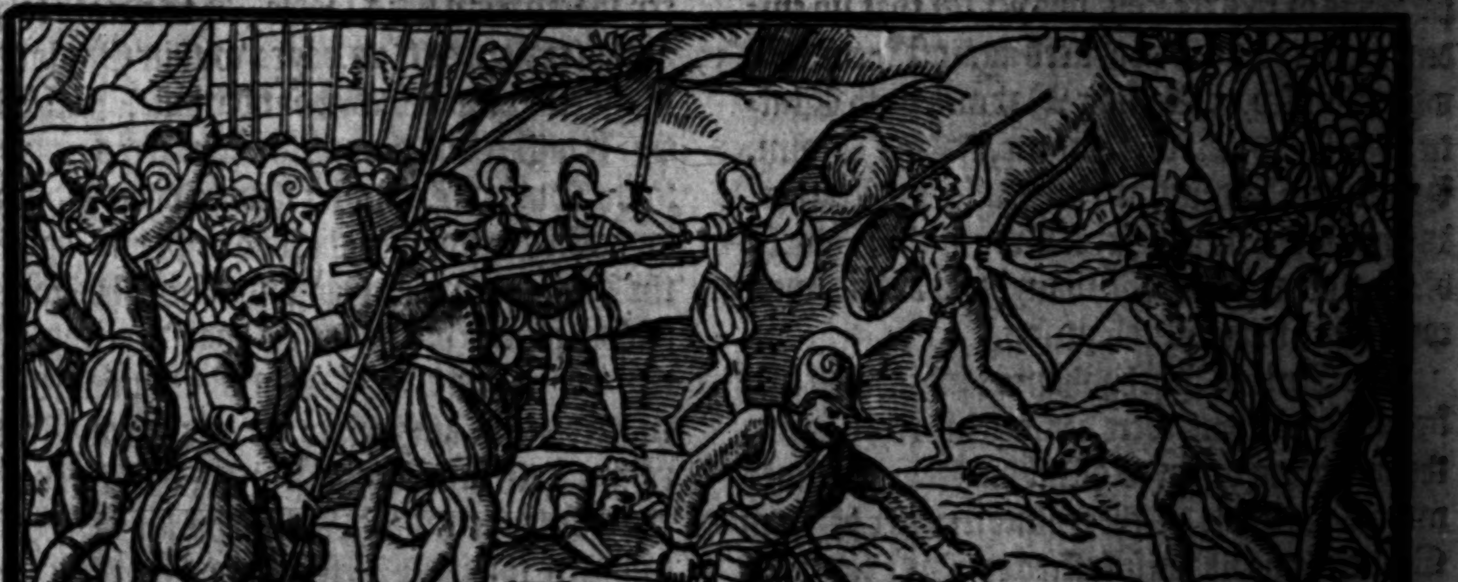

1323

Ri. Southwel.
Riuale Abbay.

This battaile was fought in the yeare of our ſauiour 1323. xv. dayes after the feaſt of Saint Michael the Archangell.

King Edward lying the ſame time at the Abbay of Riuale, aduertiſed of this ouerthrowe, fled and got him into Yorke, leauing his plate and much other ſtuffe behind him for want of cariage in that his ſodaine departure, which the Scottes comming thither founde, and toke away with them.

Yorkeſ
waſted b
Scottes.

And from thence they paſſed forth into Yorkſwolde, ſpoyling and waſting the countrey euen vnto Beuerley, which town for a ſumme of money they were contented to ſpare, and ſo then they returned homewardes, entring agayne into Scotlande on all Soules daye, whiche is the ſeconde of Nouember, after they had remayned wythin Englande at that tyme the ſpace of a Month and foure dayes.

Shortly after king Robert ſent an Ambaſſadour to the French King, to renue the auncient bonde of amitie betwixte the two Realmes of

Scotland

e bande of y betwixt tlande and ce renued h new ar- les.

Scotlande and Fraunce, which was accompliſhed with this newe condition added to the former articles, that if it chaunced, that ſucceſſion fayled touching the enheritance of the crowne of eyther Realme, ſo that a doubt ſhould riſe, who ought by right to enioy the ſame, the clayme and tytle thereof ſhoulde be tryed and decyded by the nobles of both the realmes, and further, that they ſhould not onely remoue and exclude all ſuche as went aboute wrongfully to vſurpe the crowne, but alſo to defend and maintayne the true inheritour to the vttermoſt of their powers.

ouiſo.

In confirmation of this couenant, both the kings receyued the Sacrament: and for the further ratifying of it, they made a prouiſo, ẏ where (as then) they had the Popes conſent hereto, neither he nor any of his ſucceſſors hereafter ſhoulde diſpence with them for the breaking of that bond, and if they did, euery ſuch diſpenſation ſhould be reputed voyde and of none effect.

. Southwel.

In this yeare 1323. as Richard Southwell reporteth, aboute the Aſcention day came commiſſioners from the two kings of Englande and Scotlande, vnto Newcaſtell, there to treate of ſome agreement of peace. For the king of Englande came Amerie de Valence Erle of Pembroke, the Lorde Hughe Spencer the yonger, and foure other perſons ſufficiently authoriſed. And for the King of Scottes came the Biſhop of Saint Androwes, Thomas Randall Earle of Murrey, and foure other perſons likewiſe of good calling. After much talke, in the ende they agreed vpon a truce to endure for .xiij. yeares, which was proclaimed in both realmes about the feaſt of Saint Barnabie next enſuing.

amton an gliſh man whom the miltons are nded.

About this time alſo, or not lõg before, an Engliſh man diſcended of noble lynage called Hamton, chaunced for ſpeaking certaine wordes in commendation of king Robert, to fall at variance with one of king Edwardes priuie Chamber named John Spencer, inſomuch that fighting togither about the ſame wordes, Hamtons hap was to ſlea this Spencer, and thereuppon knowing there was no way but death if he ſhuld hap to be caught, he fled with al ſpeed into Scotland, where he was receyued of the king in moſt friendly wiſe, & had giuen to him for the maintenance of his eſtate like a gentleman, the lands of Cadzow.

e Hamil- s mingled th the kings oud.

The poſteritie of this Hamton remayneth in Scotlande vnto this day, increaſed ſo in kinred & honor, by reaſõ it was in proces of time mingled with the kings bloud, that few linages within ẏ realme are of like eſtimation. They are now called Hamiltons, ſomewhat chaunged from the name of their firſt beginner.

In the meane time, Edward king of England being ruled altogither by two of the Spencers, as Hugh the father, and Hugh the ſonne, ran ſo farre into the hatred of his people, aſwel the nobles as commons, that in the end he was depoſed of all kingly authoritie, committed to priſon, and in fine ſecretly murthered, as in the Engliſhe hiſtorie more plainly appeareth.

King Edwarde depoſed.

His ſonne Edward the third was placed in his rowmth, and crowned the .xxvj. day of January in the yeare. 1326.

His ſonne Edwarde the third crowned. 1326

Ri. Southwel.

The Caſtell of Norham.

In the night of the ſame day in which he receyued the crowne, the Scottes ment to haue ſtolne the Caſtel of Norham by ſcaling, and they went ſo cunningly about their purpoſe, that there were to the number of .xvj. of them got aloft on the walles: but ẏ captain of this caſtell Robert Maners being warned aforehand of their comming by one of his ſouldiers that was a Scottes man borne, ſodenly aſſailed them, ſlue .ix. or .x. of them, and toke .v. priſoners aliue, but ſore wounded, ſo as this miſfortune falling to them in the beginning of king Edward the third his raigne, might haue bene a forewarning of their loſſes to follow in the dayes of his gouernment.

Whileſt theſe things were a doing in Englande, King Robert though hee might ſeeme to haue title iuſt ynough to the Crowne of Scotland, which he had poſſeſt now not only by rightful conqueſt, but alſo by lawfull intereſt of inheritaunce for a certaine number of yeares, by conſent of all the eſtates of the Realme, yet to the ende to put awaye all doubtes, and to conclude the ſucceſſion of the Ballyoll from all clayme, which hereafter they might pretende to the Crowne of Scotlande, hee ſent ſir James Dowgals into Fraunce vnto the Lorde John Ballyoll, to require him to tranſpoſe and reſigne all the chalenge of right and intereſt whiche hee might ſeeme to haue to the crowne of Scotland, aſwell for himſelfe as his heyres & ſucceſſors for euer to K. Robert le Bruce and his heyres.

James Dowglas ſent into Fraunce to the Ballyoll.

In conſideration of which reſignation, he offred fayre landes and rentes vnto him to bee appoynted forth in Scotland.

The Ballyol being now ſore worne with age, and thereto blinde of bodily ſight, lightly conſented vnto this motion, conſidering (as he ſayde) he toke it to be the ordinance of almightie God that king Robert ſhould enioy the gouernment of the Scottiſh kingdome, as moſte worthie and able thereto, hauing deliuered the ſame and defended it moſt valiantly from the handes of moſt cruell enimies.

He called therefore his friendes and kynſmen togither, in the preſence of whome he wholy reſigned vnto king Robert and his heires, all the right and title whiche hee or any other for him either had, or hereafter might haue to the crowne of Scotlande, concerning any intereſt or clayme

The reſignation of the Ballyoll to king Robert.

which might be auouched for any cauſe or conſideration, from the beginning of the worlde vnto that preſent day.

A Parliament at Cambuſkenneth.

After the returne of ſir James Dowglas forth of Fraunce, with ſo good expedition and diſpatch of that buſineſſe where aboute he was ſent, King Robert right ioyfull thereof, aſſembled a Parliament of the Nobles and other eſtates of the Realme at Cambuſkenneth, where hee procured a new acte to be eſtabliſhed touching the ſucceſſion of the crowne, which was, that if his ſonne Dauid deceaſſed without heires of his body lawfully begotten, that then Robert Steward begotten on Mariorie Bruce his daughter, ſhould ſucceede in poſſeſſion of the Crowne.

An act for the ſucceſsion of the crowne.

All the Lordes at the ſame time were ſworne to mainteyne this ordinance.

In the meane while, King Edward the thirde ſent vnto king Robert for peace, but forſomuche as it was perceiued to be but a coloured pretence, no concluſion thereof enſued, but preparation made on eyther part for warres.

King Robert ſhortly after fell ſicke, by reaſon whereof, being not able to ride abrode nor to trauaile himſelfe, he committed the adminiſtration of all things touching the common wealth and other the affayres of the realme vnto Thomas Randall, Earle of Murrey, and to the Lorde James Dowglas, two Captaynes, for theyr high prowes and noble valiancie in thoſe dayes greatly renowmed.

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Theſe two hardie chieftaynes aſſembling an armie of .xx. thouſande men, or as ſome writers haue .xxv. thouſande, entred with the ſame into Northumberlande, waſting and ſpoyling the countrey on eche ſide.

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Agaynſt whom came king Edward with an army of an hundred thouſand men: of the which number there were (as Froiſſart hath) an eight thouſande horſemen, and .xxiiij. thouſande Archers. At their comming into Northumberland, they might wel perceyue by the ſmoke of the fiers which the Scottes made in burning of villages, houſes, and townes, where the enimies were: but yet bycauſe they taryed not long in a place, but paſſed on withoute ſoiourning here or there, the Engliſh men might not come neare to fight wyth them.

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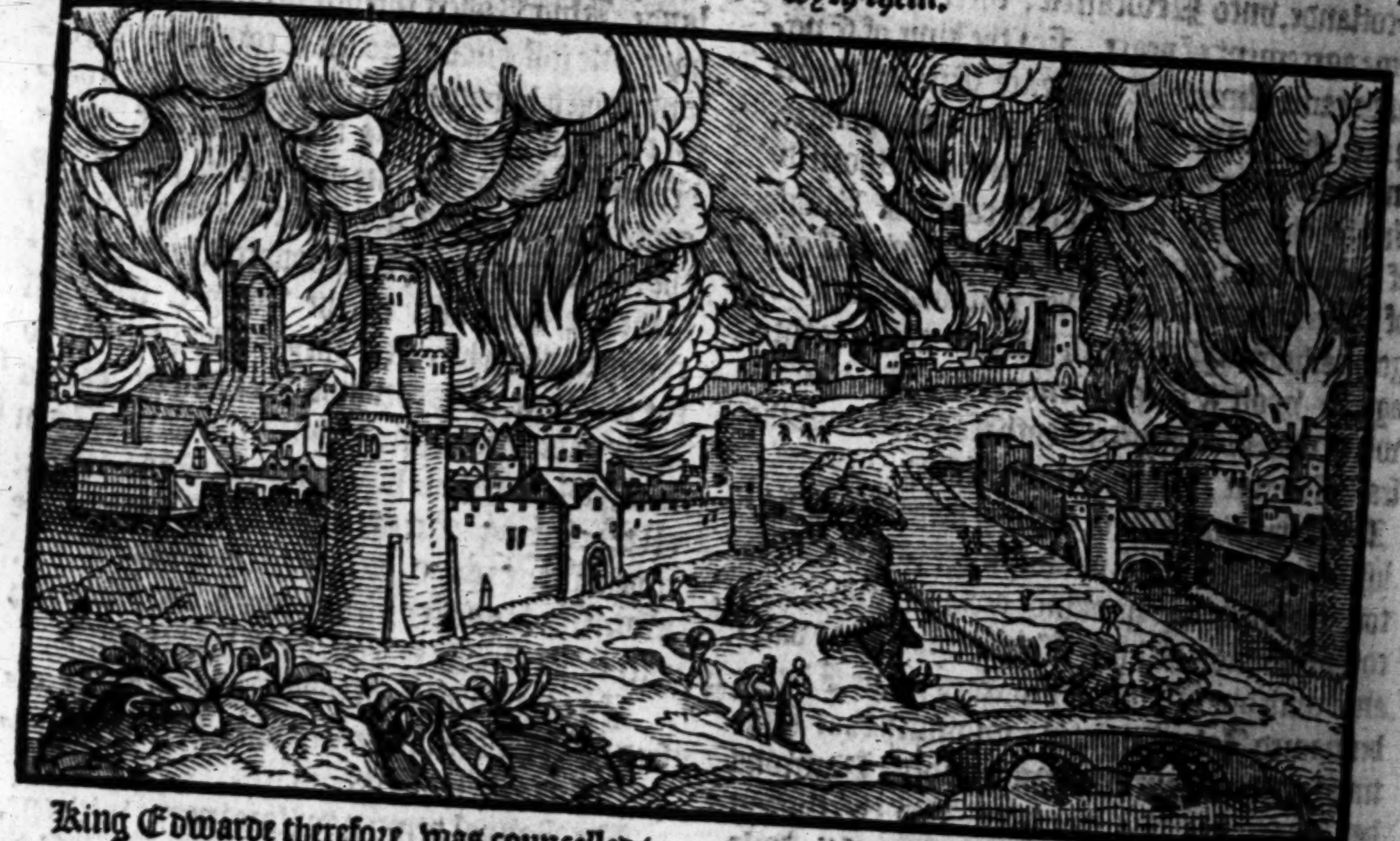


King Edwarde therefore, was councelled to draw towardes Scotlande, that lying betwixt them and home, he might haue them at ſome aduauntage as they ſhoulde returne, whiche was thought woulde bee ſhortly, as well for lacke of vitayles, as alſo to defende theyr owne borders, when they hearde once that the Engliſhe armye drew that wayes forth.

But comming to the riuer of Tine, through abundance of rain lately fallen) the ſtreame was ſo ryſen, that neither horſe nor man might paſſe, ſo that the armie was conſtrayned to encampe there for the ſpace of three dayes, in great ſcarcity of vitails, till they were faine to ſend vnto Newcaſtell, (whiche was diſtant from thence .xxvj. myles,) and to Carleil, (whiche was aboute .xxij. myles thence,) for prouiſion, which was ſent them from thoſe places in great plentie.

In the meane tyme were thus certayne lyght Horſemen ſent abroade into the Country to vnderſtande where the Scottes were, and to viewe their doings.

The Sco
encamp
a hyll.

Thoſe that were ſente, finding where the Scottes were encamped, vppon the toppe of a mountain, not paſſing ſixe myles from the Engliſh campe, they returned backe to king Edward, and declared what they had ſeene and learned of the enimies doings.

King Edwarde right ioyfull of the newes, cauſeth his armie to be deuyded into three battailes, tayles, and forthwith marcheth on towardes the place where his enimies laye. And comming about Noone dayes within ſight of the Scottes, he perceyued at length that the place whiche they kept was ſo ſtrong, what with the heigth of the ground, and thereto defended on the one ſide with the courſe of a Ryuer, that by no meanes they might bee aſſayled wythout great and manifeſt daunger.

The Engliſhe ſent to e Scottes.

The Engliſh men in the ende, thought it beſt to chooſe forth a place to encampe in for yͤ night, and ſo doing ſent an Heralde at armes vnto the Scottes, requyring them to come downe vnto ſome euen grounde where battaile might bee giuen: but the Scottes refuſed ſo to doe, alledging that ſithe the Engliſhe men were three to one of them in number, it was no reaſon to wil them to forſake their grounde of aduauntage which they had taken and choſen forth for their own defence.

The anſwer of e Scottes.

Thus were they encamped neare togither eyther in ſight of other for the ſpace of three nights, euery day ſhewing themſelues in order of battail, without breaking their array, except certain of yͤ horſmen which on either part now and thē came forth & fel in ſkirmiſh, ſo yͭ ſomtimes a mā might haue ſeene good emptying of ſaddles betwixt thē.

The Scottes lodge.

On the fourth day in the morning, when the Engliſh men beheld the hill where the Scots had lyen the night before, they perceyued howe they were gone, & therevpon ſending forth light horſmen to trie out which way they were takē, word was brought howe they were but remoued to an other hil a litle of, lying faſt by the ſame riuer, and there lay encamped more ſtrongly than before.

The Engliſh me rayſed.

Incontinently herevpon king Edward rayſeth his camp, and remoueth to an other hil lying ouer againſt that hil where the Scots were now lodged.

At length, after that both the armies had lyen thus a good ſpace the one fore aneynſt the other, James Dowglas tooke aduiſe with himſelfe to exployt a right hardie enterpriſe.

enterpriſe by James Dowgla.

He choſe forth two hundred of perfite good horſemen, mounted vpon very ſwift and readie geldings, with the which in the night ſeaſon hee paſſed ſlily by the Engliſh watche, that he was not once diſcryed by any of them, till he was entred into their campe, where by the dyn and noiſe made by the mouing of the horſe feet, ſome chanced to awake that lay and ſlept, but yet ere the alarme were rayſed to any purpoſe, the Scottes thus led by yͤ Dowglas had pierced through euē vnto the kings tent, & cut two cordes of the ſame in ſunder, ſo that the king was in no ſmal danger to haue beene ſlaine, had not the Scottes withdrawne yͤ ſooner for doubt of being incloſed with their enimies as now rayſed on eche ſide to come to his ſuccours, but the Dowglas yet returned in ſafetie with his number back againe to the Scottiſh campe, hauing ſlaine (as ſome bookes report) three hundred Engliſh men at this brunt.

The Engliſh men warned hereby, tooke better heede after to their watch.

The Scottes ſecretely returne home to their countrey.

These armies lay thus one againſt an other for the ſpace of .xviij. dayes, till at length the Scottes priuily in the night conueyed themſelues away, and returned home in moſte ſpeedye wiſe, ſuppoſing they had done ſufficiently inough for that tyme.

It chaunced that in the Euening before the Scottes went thus their wayes, there was a Scot taken by the Engliſh watch, who beeyng brought before the king, confeſſed that there was cōmaūdement giuē through the Scottiſh camp, that euery man ſhould be ready with his armour and weapon to follow the ſtandart of the Dowglas at a certaine houre the ſame night, but whither they intended to go it was vnknowne, ſaue onely amongſt the Captaines.

Herevpon the Engliſhmen doubting leaſt the Scots minded to giue thē a camiſado that night, placed themſelues in order of battail, & ſo ſtood till the next morning readie to haue receyued them, if they had come. The Scots alſo made great fires within their camp, that they might ſee about thē.

In the breake of the day, there were two Scottiſh Trumpetters taken by the Engliſh ſcoutes, the which being brought before the king, declared how the Scottiſh armie was broken vp and returned, & further ſhewed how they were appoynted thus to declare vnto him, hauing ſuffred themſelues to be taken for the ſame intent.

As ſoone as the Engliſh men were aduertiſed that the Scots were thus departed, they haſted to the place where they had lyen encamped, in hope to haue founde ſome riches, which for haſt they had left behind them: but at their cōming thither, they found nothing, but, x. M. payre of Hielande ſhooes, which are made of greene hydes of beaſtes vntanned: Alſo they found three hundred hydes of ſauage beaſts ſet vpon ſtakes in ſtead of Cawdrons, therein to ſeeth their meate.

Moreouer, they had left behinde them fiue hundred dead carkaſſes of beaſtes & ſheepe, which for that they coulde not driue them away, they killed, to the ende the Engliſhe men ſhoulde haue no gaine by them.

There were likewyſe founde fiue Engliſhe men wyth theyr legges broken, and bounde naked vnto trees, which were quickly looſed and cōmitted to the cure of Chirurgians.

King Edward breaketh vp his campe.

The enimyes beeing thus departed, king Edwarde by aduice of his Counſell brake vp hys campe, and returned to London, ſuppoſing it but loſt labour to trauaile his people any further at that tyme.

In this yeare dyed Walter Steward, father to Robert Steward, that was after king of Scotlande.

1326. as Io. M. hath, but that cannot be, if ſhe died the ſame yeare that the Scots were beſieged in Stanhop parke.

Northam Caſtell wonne.

Alnewike beſieged.

And in the yeare following, or rather the ſame yeare, Q. Elizabeth mother to Dauid Bruce the Prince deceaſſed, and was buried in Dunfermling in the yeare after the byrth of our Sauiour. 1328. In the ſame yeare, king Robert wanne the Caſtell of Norham, and ſhortly after beſieged the Caſtel of Alnwike, where were ſlain William de Mountalte knight, John Clapanen and Maliſius de Dunbar, with diuerſe other of the Scottiſh nobilitie.

Ambaſſadors ſent from K. Edward for a peace.

In the ende of the ſame yeare, there were Ambaſſadours ſent from king Edwarde into Scotland for the concluſion of a peace, which was accorded in this wiſe: That king Edward ſhoulde renounce all his right & clayme which he had or might haue to the crowne of Scotland, in declaring it free as it was in time of K. Alexander the third, vnder theſe cõditions, that Northũberland ſhould be admitted for the marches of Scotland on the eaſt part, and Cumberland on the weſt.

A peace concluded with England in the yeare 1328. after the account of them that beginne the yeare at Chriſtmaſſe.

For the which renunciation thus to be made, and for the domages done to Englande by the Scots, it was couenanted that K. Robert ſhould pay to K. Edward. xxx. M. Markes ſterling.

And for the more ſuretie & ratification of this finall agreemẽt & peace betwixt the two nations, it was cõcluded that Jane the ſiſter of King Edward ſhould be coupled in mariage with Dauid Bruce the Prince of Scotland.

Iane, or rather Ione, the ſiſter of king Edward, maryed to Dauid Bruce Prince of Scotland.

Al which articles were put in writing, whereunto all the ſeales of the great Lords within both the realmes were ſet in moſt ſubſtantiall wiſe.

The ſolemnization of the mariage before remembred was kept at Barwike within a while after, on the. xviij. day of July, in the preſence of a great number of the Nobilitie, both of England and Scotland.

The death of king Robert.

King Robert liued not paſt a tweluemonth after this mariage, departing out of this life at Cardros the ſeuenth day of July in the yeare of our Lorde. 1329.

1329

In the latter ende of his dayes, he was grieuouſly vexed with a leproſie, which thus finally made an ende of him, in the. xxiiij. yeare of hys raign, being one of the moſt valiant princes knowen in any part of the whole worlde in thoſe his dayes, hauing felt in his time the force of eyther fortune: for in the beginning of his raigne, ſuche ſtormes of aduerſitie ſurrounded him on eche ſide, that if his conſtant manhoode had not beene the greater, it might haue brought him in diſpayre of all recouerie: for beſides ſundrye diſcomfitures, which he receyued at the handes of the enimies, with loſſe of all his brethren (his brother Edward only excepted) the moſte part of all the Lordes of Scotlande were againſt him, and ayded his aduerſaries to the vttermoſt of their powers: yet he nothing diſcouraged herewith, ceaſſed not to employ all induſtruous meanes to deliuer his countrey from the yoke of ſeruile bondage (which hee beleeued would ſucceed by the gouernment of the Engliſh kings) til at length (as it were in deſpite of all former chances) he atteyned the effect of his whole indeuours, ſo much the more to his praiſe, as he had found the hinderance & difficultie great in bringing the ſame fully to paſſe.

King Robert taſted both proſperous & aduerſe fortune.

The fa king R

His fame therfore did ſpread hugely, not onely amõgſt his own people, but alſo amongſt ſtrangers, inſomuch as his due praiſe was not wanting, no not euen amongſt and in the middeſt of his verie enimies.

His pra mongſt enimies.

For (as it is ſayde) on a tyme it chaunced that king Edward the thirde, ſitting at a banket amongeſt his Nobles, fell in talke with them of warlike enterpriſes, and of ſuche notable Captaynes, as had excelled in knowledge in yͤ behalf.

A queſti poned Engliſh ralde by Edward third.

At length after much reaſoning to and fro, he propounded this queſtion to the king of Heralds, that as then ſtood by, cõmaunding him to declare which were the three moſt worthie and valiant captains that he had knowne in all his dayes.

The Herald aduiſing with himſelf of this matter, ſtayed a ſpace, in which meane while all the cõpanie were quiet, longing to heare his anſwere therein, both for that they knew his ſkil was ſuch as was able beſt to giue ſentence in ſuch a matter, and againe, for that many of them thought he woulde haue numbred ſome of thoſe that were there preſent, amongeſt thoſe three. But the Herald did not onely know all the noble men within the realme of England, but alſo al ſuch ſtrangers as had in any wiſe excelled in martiall prowes, hauing all their actes and valiant doings in freſh memorie, and therevpon boldly vttered his mind as followeth:

The Hera anſwere queſtion.

The firſt, moſt worthie and valiant chieftain (ſayd he) that hath liued in theſe our dayes, was Henrie the Emperor, for he ſubdued three kings and three realmes, and mainteyned his imperiall eſtate with proſperous felicitie to his liues ende.

The ſecond, was ſir Giles of Argentine, who in three ſundry battails againſt the Saraſins got the victorie, and ſlue two of their principall Captaynes with his owne handes.

The thirde (if vnder your graces correction I may prayſe the enimie) I muſt iudge to be Robert Bruce king of Scotlande: whome the Herald had no ſooner named, but all thoſe that were preſente with ſkornefull laughter began to ieaſt at the Heraldes preſumption, for that he durſt ſo malapertly in the kings preſence honour the enimie with ſo high prayſe.

The Hera is ſcorned.

At length, at the Heraldes requeſt, the King commaunded

The Heraulds cuſe.

commaunded them to be ſtyll: the Harold then began againe thus: I beſeeke youre highneſſe, (ſayd he) if I haue oughte offended, to take my wordes in good part: for I haue bene euer of this opinion, that the trouth ſhould in euery caſe bee vttered, receiued and allowed in your graces preſence, namely where your highneſſe commaundeth any man to declare the ſame.

The Heraulds opinion.

This one thing therefore, I ſhall deſyre you to conſider, that if a man muſt needes bee vanquiſhed, it is leſſe diſhonoure to bee vanquiſhed of him that is knowne for a right valiant perſonage, than of him that is but a coward.

The opinion of the herauld concerning K. Roberts valiance.

Moreouer, to ſhew playnly vnto your grace, how much I eſteeme the valiancie of king Robert (whom I perceiue ſome here may not abide to haue numbred with the .ij. former moſt valiant capitains) if the trouth mighte appeare, I durſt be bold to preferre him with good cauſe before them both: for the valiaunt actes atchieued by Henry the Emperour may be aſcribed rather to the wiſedom of his counſellors, than to hys own valiantneſſe and prudencie: but contraryly King Robert being confined out of his coũtrey, and deſtitute of frendes and all conuenable ayde, recouered the realme of Scotlande, by his ſingular manhood out of the handes of your noble father, and eſtabliſhed it with ſuche tranquillitie that he appeared more terrible to his enimies of Englande, than euer they hadde bin afore to hys ſubiects of Scotland.

These or the ſemblable wordes vttered by the Heraulde, were well allowed of the kyng, and ſtopped the mouthes of them that tooke the matter ſo ſtraungely at the firſt.

But now to return to the purpoſe, King Roberte a little before the tyme of his death, called togither into the chamber where he lay, the chiefeſt peeres of his realme, and there in preſence of them all, committed vnto them the gouernment of his ſonne Dauid, a child as then not paſt ſeuen yeares of age.

He alſo aduiſed them of ſundry things touching the rule of the Realme after his deceaſe, whiche he perceyued was at hand.

The aduice giuen by K. Robert vnto his nobles before his deceaſe.

And firſt he counſelled them that in no wyſe they ſhould at any tyme make an abſolute lord ouer the Iles, bycauſe the people of the ſame are of nature vnſtedfaſt, & ſoone ſeduced & broughte to moue rebellion againſte the Kyng, into the which beeing once fallen, they are not eaſily reduced to their due obedience againe, by reaſon theyr countreys are of ſuche ſtrength, that they can not be approched but by ſea, as enuironned with the ſame.

Secondarily, hee aduiſed them neuer to appoint any ſette battayle with the Engliſhmen, nor to ieoparde the realme vpon the chaunce of one fielde, but rather to reſiſt and keepe them off from endomaging their countrey, by often ſkirmiſhing and cutting them off at ſtraits and places of aduauntage, to the intent that if Scottes be diſcomfited, they maye yet haue ſome power reſerued to make new reſiſtance.

Thirdly, he forbad them in any wiſe to make any long peace with Englande, for naturally men ware dull and ſlouthfull by long reſte and quietneſſe, ſo that after long peace, through lack of vſe and exerciſe of armes, men are not able to ſuſtaine any great paines or trauaile.

Moreouer, he alledged, how the Engliſhmen woulde continue in peace no longer than there wanted oportunitie and conuenient occaſion for them to attempt the warres, and therfore he iudged it beſt, that the Scottes ſhoulde neuer conclude any perpetuall peace with them, nor take any truce longer than for three or foure yeares at the moſte.

He willed them farther to conſider one thing, that when there appeared leaſt occaſion of warres with England, then they ought to be moſte circumſpecte, in aduenture their enimies ſhould come at vnwares, and fynde them vnprouided, for tymely reſiſtance.

His deſire to haue his harte borne to the holy ſepulchre

Hereunto hee deſired them, that after his deceaſſe, they woulde choſe ſome one of the moſte worthie capitaines within the whole realme to beare his heart vnto Hieruſalem, and there to ſee it buried within the temple, before the holy Sepulchre of our Lorde.

For if he had not bin for a long ſpace hyndered by vrgent buſineſſe of warres at home, and laſtly preuented by death, he had vowed to haue paſſed with an army into the holy lande, in defence of the chriſtian faith, againſte the Turks and Saraſins.

Sir Iames Douglas appointed to goe with K. Roberts heart to the ſepulchre.

Hereupon, when he was dead, the lordes by one aſſent, appointed ſir Iames Dowglas, to take this enterpriſe in hande, who willingly obeyed their order, as he that had euer duryng the lyfe of king Roberte ſerued moſte faithfully the bodie wherin the ſame hart was incloſed.

The cauſe why the Douglaſſes bear the bloudye heart.

And for this cauſe, the Douglaſſes beare the bloudy heart in their armes.

Syr Iames Douglas then, choſen as moſte worthy to paſſe with king Robertes heart vnto the holy lande, cloſed the ſame in a caſe of golde, enbalmed with ſweet ſpices, and right precious oyntments. And herewith hauing in his companie a number of nobles, and gentlemen, amongſt whome ſir William Synclare, and ſir Robert Logan were chiefe, he paſſed forth tyll he came to the Citie of Ieruſalem, where hee buried the hart aforeſayd, with al reuerence and ſolennitie that he might deuiſe.

This done, he reſorted with ſuch number as

The valiancie of Iames Douglas ſhewed againſte the Turkes.

he had brought thither with him vnto ſuch other Chriſtian princes as at the ſame tyme were gathered with great puiſſance, from ſundry partes of Chriſtendome to warre againſt the Turkes, and there in companye with them, he did ſo noble ſeruice agaynſt the common enimies of our religion, that by his often victories he wan great honour to the Chriſtian name.

Iames Douglas cõmeth a land in Spayn.

At lengthe, hauing accompliſhed his charge in thoſe parties, with no leſſe fame and glorye, than princely magnificence, he toke the ſeas to haue returned home into Scotland, but by force of contrary wynds he was driuen on the coaſt of Spayne, landyng there vppon the bordures of Granado, where at the ſame tyme, he found the king of Aragone, readie to make warres againſt the Saraſins that inhabited in thoſe parties.

The Douglas to make his manhod and prowes the more knowne in all partes where hee came, offered the king of Aragone, to ſerue vnder hym in thoſe warres againſt the infidels, and ſo fought at ſundry times in his ſupport againſt the enimies with proſperous ſucceſſe, til at lẽgth hauing to much confidence in fortunes fauour, (whiche hathe broughte ſo manye noble men to their deaths) he waxed negligent, and toke ſmall regarde of daungers that myghte enſue, ſo that in the ende he was incloſed by an ambuſhe layde for him by the enimies, and there ſlayn amongſt them with all ſuche as he had about him.

Iames Douglas ſlayne by the Saraſins in Spayne.

How often Iames Douglas had got the victorie.

This was the ende of that noble Douglas, one of the moſt valiant knightes, that lyued in his days. He had gotten the victorie. lvij. ſundry tymes in fight againſt the Engliſhmen, & xiij. tymes againſte the Turkes, as it is written at length (ſayth Balentine) in Scoticronicon.

He might haue bin right neceſſary for the defence of Scotland, if his chance had bin to haue returned home in ſafetie. He ended his life in maner (as is before mencioned) on the. xxvj. day of Auguſt, in the yeare of grace. 1330.

1330.

King Dauid.

1331.

Erle Thomas Randall gouernoure of Scotland.

BUt now to procede in order with the hiſtorie, ye ſhal note yͭ after yͤ deceaſe of K. Robert, his ſonne Dauid a childe vneth. vij. yeres of age, was proclaimed king, & afterwardes crowned at Scone, the. 22. day of Nouember, in the yere of our lord. 1331. During yͤ time of his minoritie, Erle Thomas Rãdal was ordeined gouernor of yͤ realm, who for the ſpace of four yeres, in the later ende of K. Roberts reigne, had yͤ whole adminiſtration of things cõmitted to his charge by the ſame king, for that by reaſon of ſicknes, he was not able to attẽd yͤ ſame himſelf. This Erle Thomas then beeing elected gouernour by the generall conſent of al the nobles of the realm, cõſidered with himſelf, how neceſſarie it was for the people to continue in peace, till they had ſomewhat recouered their hynderance and loſſes chãced to them by the former warres. He addreſſed therfore certaine ambaſſadors immediatly after the death of king Robert vnto the king of Englande, to require a new confirmation of the peace betwixt both the realmes for a ſeaſon.

Ambaſſa
ſent into
land.

Theſe ambaſſadours founde the king of England eaſy ynough to be intreated for the graunt of their ſuite, ſo that a generall truce was taken for the ſpace of. iij. yeares.

A truce f
three yea

In that meane tyme, Erle Thomas applied his whole ſtudie for the mayntenance of iuſtice and equitie thorow the whole realme, not omitting yet to appoint order, that menne ſhoulde be prouided of armoure and weapon for defence of the countrey, if neceſſitie ſo requeſted.

A meane
haue iuſ
executed,

Moreouer, for the better proofe of exercyſing Juſtice amongeſt them that coueted to lyue by truthe, and to haue more readie occaſion to puniſhe other that ment the contrarie, he commanded yͤ ſaddles and brydles with all other ſuch inſtruments and ſtuffe as perteined to huſbandry, ſhoulde be left abroade both day and night withoute the dores: and if it chaunced that anye of them were ſtollen or taken awaye, the Sheriffe of the ſhyre ſhoulde eyther cauſe the ſame to be reſtored agayne, or elſe to paye for it on hys owne purſe.

Puniſhm
of theeue

Finally ſuche puniſhment was exerciſed againſt theeues in all places, that both thefte and pickerie were quite ſuppreſſed, and the Realme broughte to more tranquillitie than euer it was in any kings dayes before.

Many inſolent and miſruled perſons wer tamed by his ſeuere chaſtiſement and iuſtice.

A laudabl
dinãce a
vagarant
ſons.

Alſo that vertue might be cheriſhed within the realme, he commaunded that no vagabunde nor ydle perſon ſhould be receiued into any towne or place, except they had ſome craft or ſcience wherwith to get their lyuing.

By this means he purged the realm of Scotlande of many idle and ſlouthfull roges and vagabundes.

It is ſaide, that during the tyme whyleſt ſuch ſtraight puniſhment was exerciſed againſt offendors by the miniſters of the lawes therto by him auctoriſed & aſſigned: it fortuned that a earle of the countrey, bicauſe he durſt not ſteale other mens goodes, ſtale his owne plough yrons, yͭ he might haue the value of them recõpenced to him by the Sheriffe: Neuertheleſſe ſuch earneſt diligence was vſed in the ſerche and triall, who had the plough yrons, that finally the trouth came to light, wherupon for his craftie falſhood the partie giltie was hanged, as he had well deſerued.

Vpright
ſtice.

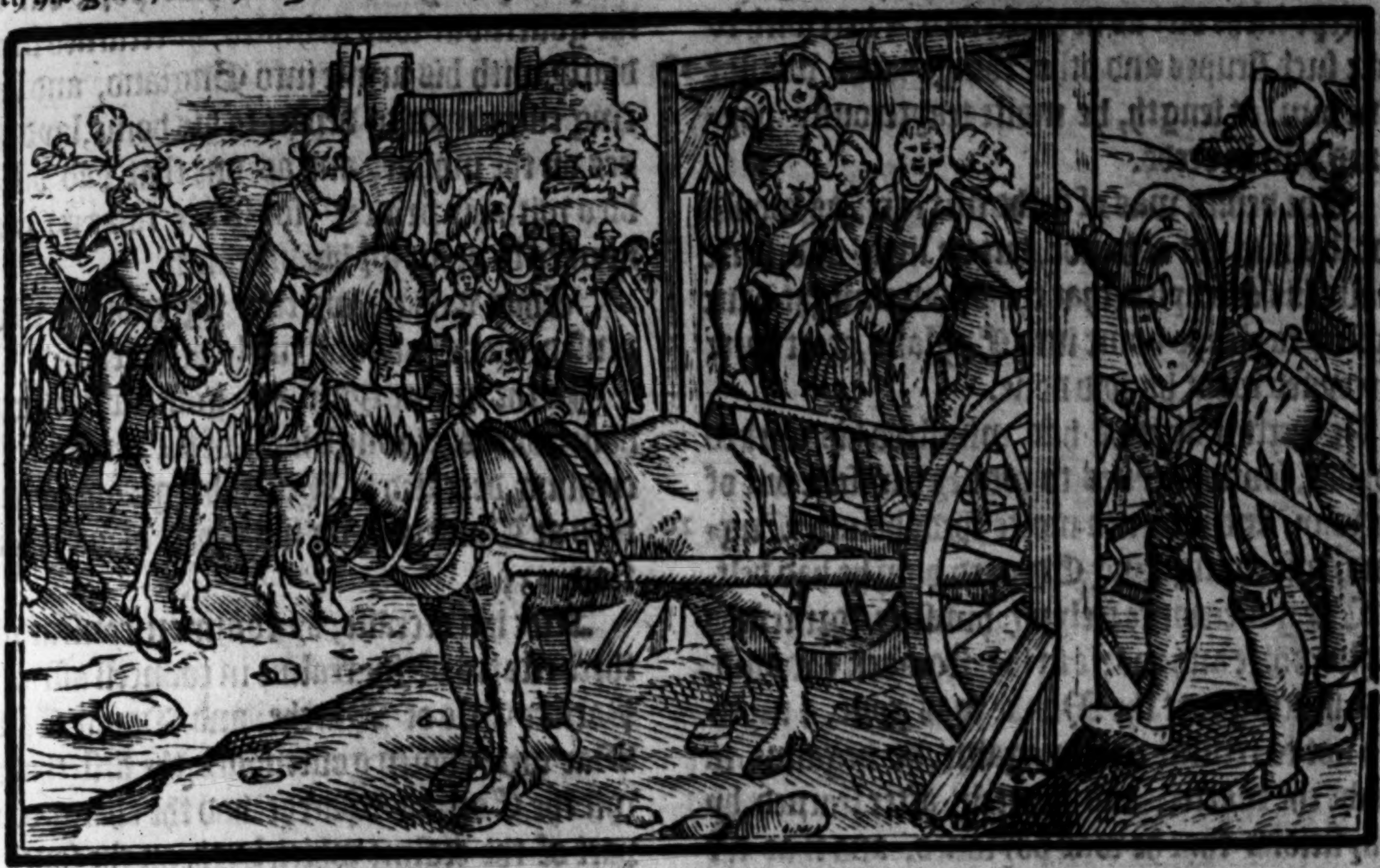
The gouernor himſelf for yͭ he ſaw how hard it was to reduce them that had bin brought vp in ſlouthfull loytering, vnto honeſt exerciſe, helde euer aboute him a guarde of warlyke perſons, that he myght the more eaſily oppreſſe all ſtubborne offenders, which would not ſubmit themſelues to his commaundementes.

Those that appeared before him, vpon ſummonance giuen, had fauorable iuſtice, tempered with muche mercie miniſtred vnto them.

Iuſtice tempered with mercie.

Others, that refuſed to obey, were purſewed with his gard, and hanged euer as they were taken: as it hapned on a tyme at Hadington, where threeſcore euil and naughtie diſpoſed perſons being gathered together, robbed & ſpoyled the people on eche ſyde: and for that they regarded not, but rather myſuſed a purſeuaunt, which he ſent vnto them, they were all taken incontinently by his foreſayd gard, which followed the ſayd purſeuaunt at the heeles, and without reſpite hanged thẽ vp on gybets to giue enſample to others.

Stubborne rebelles ſharply puniſhed.



Through ſuche rigorous iuſtice, no rebellion was hearde of within the realme of Scotlande many yeares after, ſo that ſuche tranquillitie folowed, that not only theeues and loytering limmers were daunted, but the realme alſo aduaunced in wealth and riches, to the great terrour of all the foes and enimies therof.

King Edwarde enuieth the felicitie of Scots.

King Edward aduertiſed of this great felicitie chaunced to the Scottes, by this meanes began to enuie the ſame, and imagined with hymſelfe, that if Erle Thomas, the auctor of ẏ ſame felicitie were diſpatched out of the way, it ſhuld not onely impeache the proceeding of ſo greate wealth to the Scots, but alſo make for the ſuretie of the realme of Englande: for the ſingular manhood and high prowes of this Erle, was by him and other his nobles ſore ſuſpected.

He thought good therfore to attempt the thing by ſleight, that myght not be done by force, that afterwrads the realme of Scotlande myght bee the more enfeebled, and as it were made open to receyue diſpleaſure at his handes.

King Edwards purpoſe to deſtroy Earle Thomas (as the Scottes do write.) But this is a kinde of practiſe amongſt men to forge ſlanderous reports to bring princes in cõtempt

For king Dauid was yong, and many of his nobles bare ſmall good will towards either hym, or his houſe, for the ſlaughter of their fathers and frendes in the blacke parliament.

Hereupon he deuiſed, whiche way hee myght beſt deſtroy Erle Thomas, the only confounder of all his imagined hope, as to atchieue any luckie enterpriſe againſt the Scots.

At length hee deuiſed to diſpatche hym by poyſon: and after hee hadde long debated by whome he mighte worke that feate: fynally hee founde none ſo fitte for his purpoſe, as a Monke of the order and facultie of thoſe, that wandring from place to place, can with diſſembling viſage ſay that thing with mouthe, whiche they neuer thought in heart; for oftentimes men of that order put no difference betwixte ſhame and honeſtie, clokyng their execrable wickedneſſe vnder the fayned ſhadow of their hypocritical cowles.

This Monke, fully inſtructed in that whereabout he was ſent, came into Scotland, and faining himſelfe to be a Phyſition, got credit within a whyle amongeſt the people, to be a man of moſt excellente knowledge, for he had a companion with him, that beeing made priuie to the matter, ſette forth his cunnyng and practiſe to the vttermoſte, declaryng what notable and moſte deſperate cures he had taken in hande, and made the pacientes perfectly whole of the ſame, where al other had quite giuen them ouer, namely he bruted it abroade, that for healing of the ſtone and grauell, his lyke was not to be founde in all Chriſtendome, as euidently had appeared by cures whiche he had ſhewed vpon ſundry noble men, both in England and Fraunce.

A Monke ſent into Scotlande to poyſon the gouernor. The fitteſt inſtrument to bring ſuch a thing to paſſe.

This he ſpake, for that it was knowne, how the Lorde gouernour was ſore vexed with that diſeaſe, hoping by this meanes to haue hym in cure, that he might therby the more eaſily work his diueliſhe enterpryſe.

And euen according to his deſire it came to paſſe: for being taken for ſuch a man as he was named to be, he was ſente for to the gouernour, and comming before him, he handled the matter ſo with wordes, that the gouernor was contented he ſhould take him in hande, whiche he didde with ſuch wicked intention, that perſuading him to keepe ſuche diet as he preſcribed, & herewith to take ſuch ſirupes and other things as he woulde giue him, at length, he moſte trayterouſly poyſoned him in deede.

The gouernor is poyſoned.

The venim was of ſuche mixture, as would not ſlea him out of hande, but by little and little waſte his entrayles, that the Monke might haue leyſure to eſcape home into England, ere it were perceyued what he had done.

The Monke fleeth.

He therfore after he had miniſtred his wicked poyſon, found meanes to conuey himſelfe out of the way, and returned moſte ſpedyly into England, informing king Edward how he had delt.

The gouernoure feelyng himſelfe tormented dayly worſe and worſe in his ſtomack & womb, and hearing that the Monke was gone, & mynded not to returne to him againe, he beganne to doubt the matter, and ſhortely after learned by Phyſitions that he was poyſoned, and that the venym had taken ſuch holde within his bowels, that it was not poſſible to remoue it.

King Edward his purpoſe to inuade Scotland.

In the meane tyme, was king Edward come with an armie vnto the bordures, purpoſing to inuade Scotlande, for that he thought how the gouernor was eyther dead, or at the verie poynt of death, and therfore he was in hope, that comming in tyme of the trouble vpon his death into Scotland, he ſhoulde finde occaſion to atchieue some enterpriſe, highly to his aduantage.

The gouernor in an horſe litter is caryed forth to encounter the Engliſhmen.

But the gouernour aduertized hereof, reyſed a power, and though he were not able eyther to ryde or goe, he yet cauſed himſelfe to bee caryed forth in an horſe litter.

An heraulde ſent to the gouernour.

King Edwarde hearing that the gouernoure was comming towards him with an armie, and that himſelfe in perſon quite contrary to his expectation, he ſent an herauld vnto him for meane of communication of ſome peace, as was outewardly pretended, though nothing elſe was ment but that he ſhoulde eſpye howe all things in the Scottiſhe campe ſtoode.

The gouernour hearing of this heraulds cōming, arayed hymſelf in his beſt apparell, that it might appeare he was rather recouered of his infirmitie, than otherwyſe weake and feeble thorough his diſeaſe, and then cauſing the Herauld to be brought afore him, where he was ſette in a chaire, to heare what his meſſage was, which cōſiſting in certain demaundes not greatly agreable to reaſon, the gouernour with bolde countenāce anſwered, that he truſted within ſhort time to make it knowne, what right the Engliſhmen had to moue ſuche vnreaſonable requeſtes, and thus diſpatching the heraulde, he gaue him all ſuche gorgeous and riche apparel as he ware the ſame tyme when he thus talked with hym.

The goue nours anſ to the he

King Edward at the returne of the Heralde, not perceyuing otherwiſe by his report, but that the gouernour was in health, he returned immediatly with his armie into England, and licencing euery man to depart to his home, layd handes on the monke, and as one that had diſſembled with his prince, (for ſo hee tooke it) cauſed hym to be brent for his vntrouth.

The monke is brent.

Thus was the wretche rightuouſly recompenſed, as he had moſt juſtly deſerued.

In the meane tyme, the gouernor returning homewards, through force of the venym ſtil encreaſing, deceaſed at Muſculburgh, and was buryed at Dunfermlyng in the yere of our redemption. 1331.

Two gou nours cho to rule Sco land.

After his deceaſſe, by common conſent of the three eſtates of the realme in councell aſſembled, Patrike Erle of Marche, and Dauid Earle of Mar were choſen gouernours, the firſt (that is to wit the Earle of Marche) had the charge of that part of the realme which lyeth on the ſouth ſide of the Furth, and the other (that is to ſaye, the Erle of Mar) was appointed to gouerne al that on the north ſyde.

Twynam L ryſon.

Shortly after roſe great trouble in Scotland by meanes of Edwarde Ballyoll, the ſonne of John Ballyoll before remembred, as thus: It chaunced there was one Twynam Loriſon, a Gentleman borne, but ſpotted with vile conditions, as adulterie & diuers other, for the whiche being put vnder cenſures of the church by the official of Glaſgewe: he tooke at length the ſame Officiall as he was going toward the towne of Ayre, and helde him in captiuitie till he had paid two hundred poundes for his deliuerance. But this iniurie remayned not long vnpuniſhed: for ſir James Douglas before his paſſage to the holy lande, would not ſuffer him to reſt, till he had conſtrayned hym to flee into Englande for his more ſafegarde.

Scottiſh lo baniſhed i England.

At his comming into England, he met with Dauyd Cumyn Earle of Athole, and many other Scottiſhmen, which wer baniſhed in tymes paſt by king Robert, for ẏ they aſſiſted the king of England againſt him.

These perſons being driuen out of the realme and confederate altogither in one bande, remayned in Englād long time after, euer truſting to ſee ſome occaſion offred, wherby they might one day return agayn into their own natiue cūtry.

And now, hearing that Erle Thomas Randall the gouernour was deceaſſed, this Twy-

nam

Tavnam Lo- ſent vn- Edwarde Ballyoll.

nam Laryſon in name of them all was ſent ouer into Fraunce to perſuade Edwarde Ballyoll to attempt the recouerie of the crowne and realme of Scotlande, as the rightfull heritage of his father, and diſcended vnto him as lawfull & rightfull heire.

Though the Ballyoll had no regard to make any claime at all to the crowne of Scotland before this tyme, yet through the pithye perſuaſiõs of the earneſt meſſenger, declaring howe eaſy a matter it were for him to atchieue, conſidering the ayde which he ſhould haue in England, both at the kings handes, and alſo by the Scottiſhemen, whiche remayned there in exile, by whoſe meanes he mighte aſſure himſelfe of ſupport ynough within Scotlande it ſelfe, after hee was once entred: finally he concluded to paſſe ouer into Englande, to proue what purchaſe he myght make there.

ard Bally- eth in- England.

At his comming thither, he made ſuite to the king, to ayde hym in his rightuous quarell towards the atteyning of the crowne of Scotland, whiche if he mighte bring to paſſe with proſperous ſucceſſe, hee promiſed to holde the ſame of him and his ſucceſſors as ſuperior lords thereof.

e promiſe the Ballyol king Edw.

g Edwarde e agree to the Bal- oll.

King Edward gladly vppon that condition, condiſcended to his requeſt, notwithſtanding the aliance contracted with king Dauid, by the mariage of him with his ſiſter.

e Engliſhe ers ſpeake u.thou- d, or. 2500. e moſt.

Herewith he appoynted forth. vj. thouſande men well apparayled and arayed for the warre, to paſſe by ſea with the Ballyol & other the confederates into Scotlande, truſting that vppon their arriuall there, they ſhoulde fynde no ſmall number of frendes to aſſiſt them.

Southwell.

For beſide the Ballyoll, there was the lorde Henry Beaumount a Frenchmã, who had maryed the erle of Buchquhanes daughter & heire: Alſo the Erles of Athole and Angus, and other ſuche Scottiſhe lordes as were baniſhed Scotlande, when king Robert le Bruce recouered it out of the Engliſhe mens handes.

ard Bally- eth in land.

These were appointed to goe with the Ballyoll to aſſiſte him in that enterpryſe: and lykewyſe the lorde Stafforde and diuers other Engliſhe capitaynes, wherupon when al their prouiſion was once ready, with the number apointed them by king Edwarde, and a fewe others, they got them a ſhipborde, and ſaylyng forth by the coaſte till they entred into the Forth, at length they came a lande neare to the towne of Kingorne, and ſhortly after, encountring with Alexander Seyton, they ſlewe him, and put his folkes to flight.

der Sei- s ſlayne.

e Earles of March der their pe.

Ballyoll ryght ioyful of this happie ſucceſſe, came with his people to Perth, otherwiſe called S. Johns towne, wherof the erles of Mar and March being aduertiſed, they reiſed two mightie armies, and haſted towarde the enimies, not as though they ſhuld haue to doe with men of war, but to chaſtiſe a number of theeues & robbers that were come out of Englande.

At length yet they concluded to ioyn both together in Stratherne, that they might ioyntly ſet vpon their enimies both at once.

Edward Ballyol at Duplin

The Ballyoll ſeeing the matter broughte ſo farforth, that no feare of death nor ſtarting hole by flight might auayle him, boldly came forward, and pitched downe his tentes at Duplyn neare to the water of Erne, truſtyng that if his armie would ſtande to it, and fighte with manlyke conſtancie, he ſhould weyld his enimies wel ynough, notwithſtanding their huge number.

The ſame night came the Erle of Mar with his power, and encamped with the ſame within ſight of the engliſh armie, but the erle of March lodged about fiue myles from thence, at Othirardour.

The negligẽce of the Scottes:

The Scots that were with the Erle of Mar, hauing knowledge of the ſmall number of their enimies, made no accompts of them, ſo that they neither toke heede to their watche, nor to any other order for defence of themſelues, but fell to ſinging, dauncing, reuelling and drynkyng in moſte diſſolute maner.

The Ballyol taking occaſion hereof, determined to aſſayle them yͤ ſame night in their campe: and thereupon cauſing his people to make them readie to accompliſhe that enterpriſe, in the dead of the night he iſſued forth of his campe, & comming vnto the water of Erne, paſſeth the ſame by the forde, where one Andrewe Murraye of Tullybarde had pight a ſtake of ſet purpoſe, in midſt of the ſtreame, to ſhewe them the way.

Thus hauing got all his armie ouer yͤ water, without any noyſe or dinne, ſo ſecretly as might be deuiſed, he entred the campe of his enimies, and brake through till he came to the tent of the Erle of Mar the Scottes general, before he was once deſcryed.

The Earle of Mar is ſlayn in his bedde.

Here at the firſt was the Earle himſelf ſlayne lying faſt a ſleepe in his bed, and after with huge noiſe they ſet vpon the whole camp, murthering the Scottes as then buried in ſleepe without al defence. And therupon folowed ſo cruel ſlaughter, that nothing was hearde but grunting and groning of people, as they lay on heapes redie to dye, weltring togither in their owne bloud.

See more here of in Scotland.

And if it had not bin that Edward Ballyol had cauſed eche of his men to wrappe a whyte cloth aboute his arme, no man might haue knowen (by reaſon of the myrkneſſe of the night) his frende from his foe.

The Engliſhemen were ſo earneſtly bent to the ſlaughter of Scottes, that they myghte not bee ſatiate with the bloud and murder of them,

ſo

The greate ſlaughter of Scottes. Sixtene thouſand ſayth R. Southwell.

ſo that they ſaued none whom they myght ouertake. There were ſlain of nobles & gentlemen, to the number of.iij.thouſand, beſides innumerable of the commons. A certain number of the Scots that eſcaped out of the place, cloſed themſelues together, and in purpoſe to bee reuenged on the Engliſhemen for the death of their fellowes, returned vpon them againe, and were ſlaine them ſelues euery mothers ſonne.

The Earle of Mar was not ſlayne in the night as before ye haue heard, but now in the morowe folowing as hath Southwel.

Noble men ſlayne at Dupline.

The chiefeſt nobles that wer ſlayn at this batayle, were theſe the erle of Mar generall of yͤ armie, Roberte Bruce erle of Carryke, Alexander Fraſer knight, William Hay cõſtable of Scotlande, with al his lygnage ſo wholly, yͤ had not his wyfe as then being great bellyed, bin afterwardes deliuered of a ſonne, all his ſurname had bin vtterly extinguiſhed.

There were ſlayne alſo Robert Keyth Marſhall of the realme, with many of his ſurname, Dauid Lyndſey of Glenneſk, Alexander Seyton, George Dunbar, Roberte Strathequhen, Thomas Halyburton, and John Skrymgeour knightes, with many other ouerlong to reherſe.

The Ea
Fife take

The Erle of Fyfe with a few other be taken.

This batayl was fought on the thirtenth day of August, in the yeare. 1332.

1332. H.

After that Edwarde Ballyoll had atchieued this victorie thus at Duplyn, he wente ſtraighwayes vnto Perth, (otherwyſe called Saynct Johns town) and giuing aſſault therto, quickly entred it by force, without any great reſiſtance.

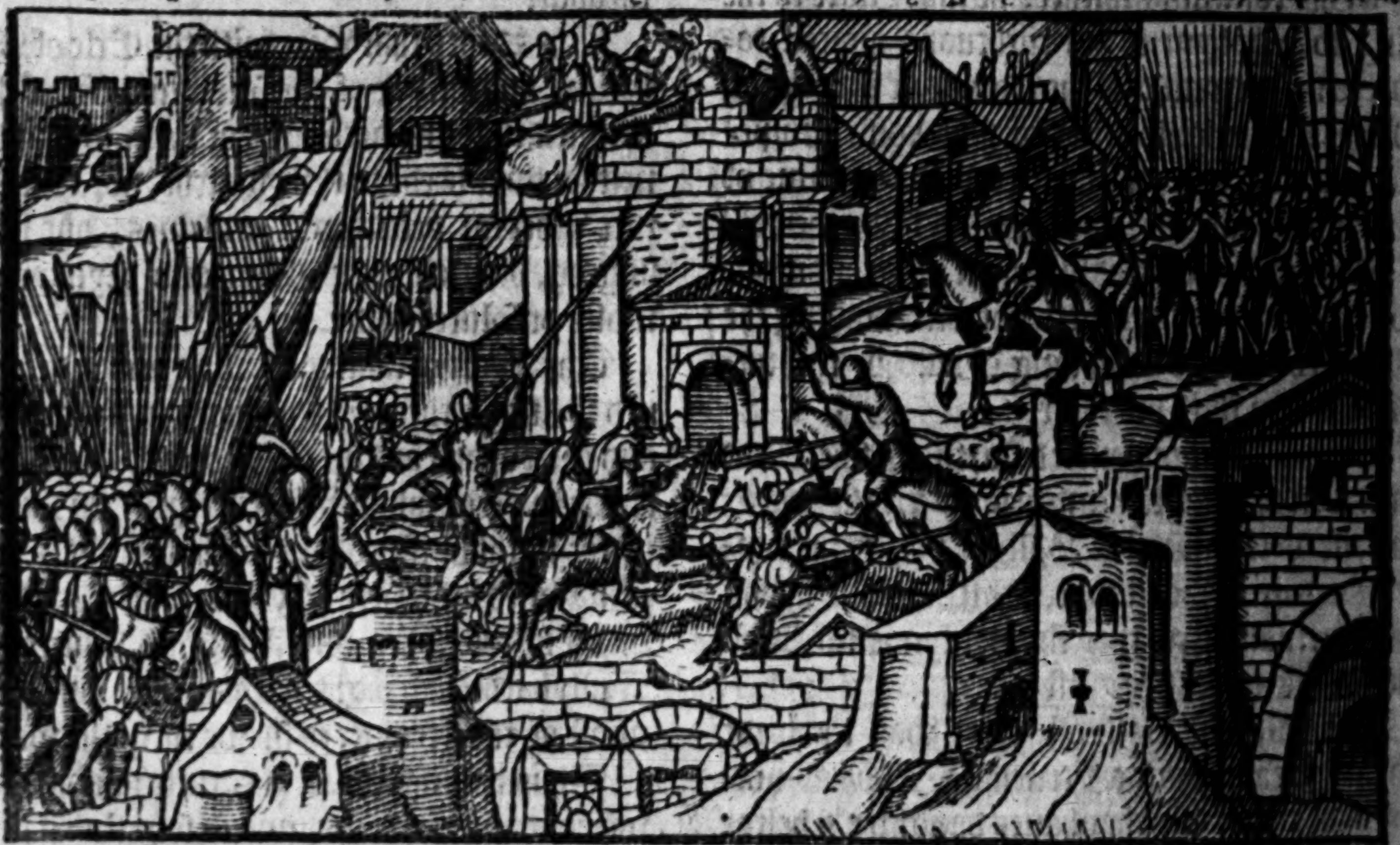
Perth w
by the Ba

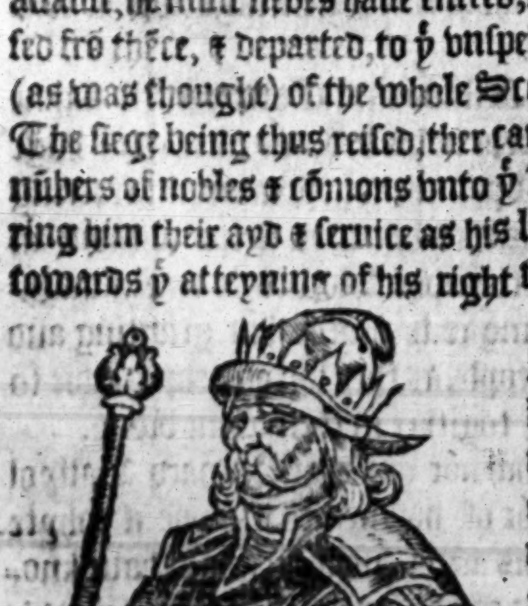
The Erle of March that lodged (as is ſayd) the ſame night that the battaile was fought, not paſt fiue myles off, hearyng what had chaunced bothe of the battayle and towne, came wyth his people arayed in good and perfecte order vnto Perth aforeſayde, to beſiege the Engliſhmen with Ewarde Ballyoll and other as then within it.

Perth be
by the E
of March.

He rayſeth his ſeege.

But hauyng layne there a certayn ſpace, and filled the diches in the meane tyme to ſuch aduãuantage, that it was thought if he had giuen the aſſault, he muſt nedes haue entred, he ſodenly reiſed frõ thẽce, & departed, to yͤ vnſpekable domage (as was thought) of the whole Scottiſh nation. The ſiege being thus reiſed, ther came dayly gret nũbers of nobles & cõmons vnto yͤ Ballyol, offering him their ayd & ſeruice as his loyal ſubiects, towards yͤ atteyning of his right to yͤ crowne.





Edward
liol crow
King of S
land, not
24. of Sep
ber, but
fourth of O
tober as R.
Southwe
hath.

Herevpon perceiuing his power ſufficientlye increaſed, and receyuing the Othes of the Erle of Fyfe, and William de Saint clare Byſhoppe of Dunkelde, hee wente accompanyed with them and a greate number of other, vnto Scone, where he was crowned the. xxiiij. daye of September, in the yeare laſte before remembred, and receyued there the ſame tyme the homages and fealties of a greate companye of nobles and Gentlemenne, at that ſolemne feaſte there aſſembled.

King Da
is conuey
ouer int
Fraunce.

Kyng Dauid beyng not paſſe nyne yeares of age, to auoyde all daungers in that troubleſome tyme, as deſtitute of ſuccoures, by aduiſe of his Counſel, was conueyd ouer into Fraunce, wyth Queene Jane hys wyfe, ſiſter to Edwarde kyng of Englande, and was moſt frendly receyued by Philippe King of Fraunce the ſixte of that name, ſo that they remayned there with him for the ſpace of nine yeeres, and in the meane time diuers noble men that yet remayned at the deuotion of King Dauid vnderſtanding that King Edward le Balliol ſoiourned within the

R. Sou

the towne of Perth, otherwiſe called S. Johns towne, which ſtandeth almoſt in the middle part of the Realme, and was at that preſent not cloſed with any wall, or rampire, they reyſed theyr powers, and beſeeged him within ẏ ſame towne, he hauing as then no great company about him. Whereof whē they of Galloway had aduertiſemente, bycauſe the Kyng was their ſpecial Lord and chiefe gouernoure, they aſſembled togyther vnder the conduct of the Lorde Euſtace de Makeſwel, and inuaded the lands of thoſe Scottiſhmen that had thus beſeeged their Lorde King Edward Ballyol, and by that meanes conſtreyned the aduerſaries to leuie their ſeege. Whervpon Earle Patricke & the newe Earle of Murrey, with the Lord Andrewe de Murrey, and the Lord Archēbald Dowglas, with an army aſſembled in all ſpeede, entred into Galloway, doing al the miſchiefe they coulde deuiſe, with fire and ſworde, taking and bringing away from thence a great number of Cattell and other goodes, but they ſlewe no greate number of people, for they found them not at home, being withdrawen out of ẏ way for feare of this terrible inuaſiō. Thus did the Scottes in that part of the Realm ſpoyle and harrie each others countreys. In the meane time, King Edwarde le Balliol fortifyed the towne of Perth, appoynting the Earle of Fife to the keeping thereof, whileſt he with an army paſſed into the countrey, but before he retourned, hys aduerſaries, to witte, the ſonnes of them that had bin ſlain at the battel of Duplyn, Robert Keith, Alexāder Lindſey, James and Simon Fraſeir, wanne Saint Johns towne in the third moneth after they had layde ſeege thereto, as Hector Boetius hath, but whether that is to be intended after the firſt beſeeging thereof, or now after theyr laſt comming thither I can not affirme, but as the ſame Boetius writeth: now when the towne was won, the Earle of Fife, and Androw Murray of Tullybard, were taken with other of their complices.

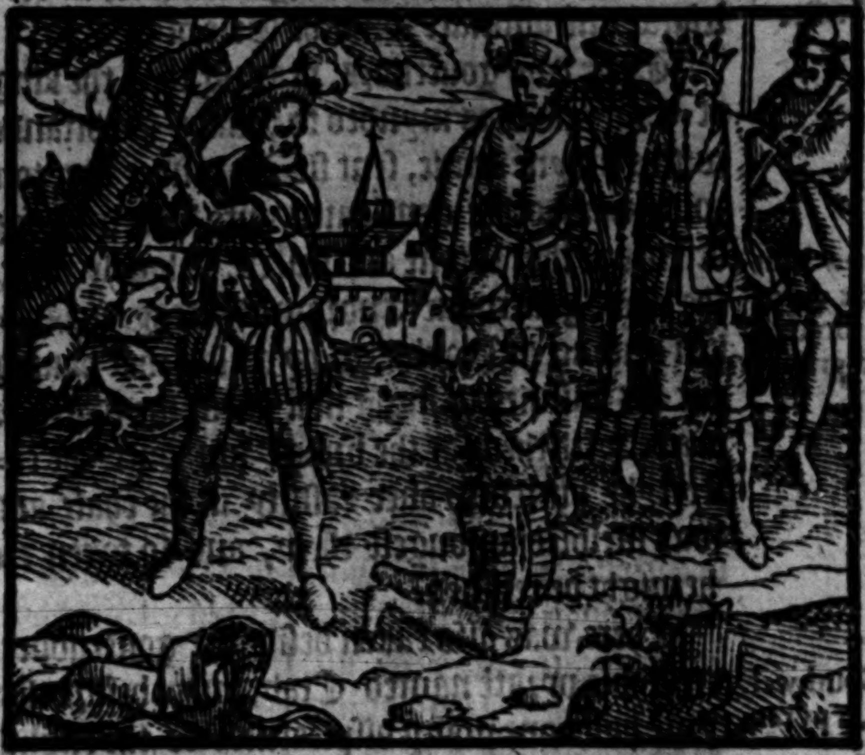
Iohns beſee-

lloway in-

Iohns fortified.

Iohns wonne.

The Earle was ſent to ẏ Caſtle of Kyldrūmy, there to remayne vnder ſafekeeping: but Androw Murray for his treaſon afore committed, was beheaded.

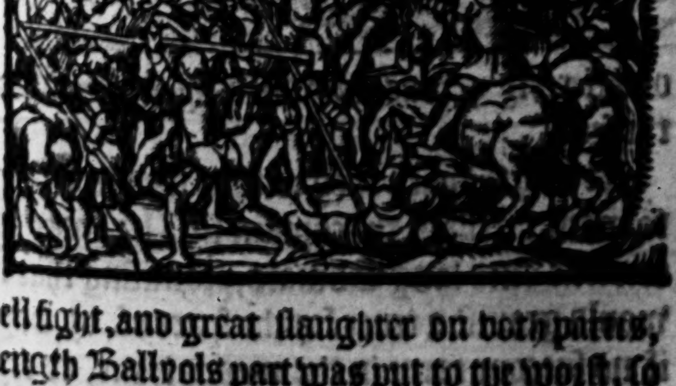


The towne being thus won, was deliuered to the keeping of John Lindſay.

The gayning of this towne, put the Scottes in hope of more proſperitie to ſucceede.

And thervppon John Randoll the Earle of Murrey, ſon to Earle Thomas late of famous memorie, and Archembald Douglas Lorde of Galloway, the brother of James Douglas lately ſlayne (as before is mentioned) in Spain with Symon Fraſeir and others, gathered a great army, and came with the ſame againſt the Balliol, who beeing aduertiſed thereof, mette them in Annandale, where encountring togither after cruell fight, and great ſlaughter on both partes, at length Ballyols part was put to the worſt, ſo that he him ſelfe was glad to flee, hauing got an horſe without a bridle, & reſted not till he came to Roxburgh or rather to Carleil, as Richarde Southwell hath.

The battell in An- ndale.



In this battel wer ſlayn Sir Henry Ballyol, a man of great valiancie, Sir John Mowbray, Walter Cumyn, and Richard Kyrkby: but Alexander Bruce Erle of Carryke, and the lorde of Galloway were taken priſoners, and ſaued by the helpe of the Earle of Murray, for that they hadde ſubmitted them ſelues to the Balyoll but lately before.

Androw Murray choſen fellow gouernor with the erle of Marche.

Shortly after the atchieuing of this victorie, Androw Murray a man of great puiſſance and poſſeſſions was choſen to be gouernoure, as colleague and aſſociate with the Erle of March.

Androw Murray the newe gouernour is taken priſoner

These two gouernors, hearing that the king of England was mynded to inuade Scotlande with a mayne armie, ſent ſir Alexander Seyton with many other gentlemen vnto Berwike for defence of that towne and caſtell. Shortly after, the newe gouernour Androw Murray was taken priſoner at Roxburgh, by reaſon that hauing put his enimies to flight in a ſkirmiſhe which he made with them at the bridge withoute the caſtell, he purſewed ouer raſhely in the chaſe, and was incloſed amongeſt them, and ſo taken ere he might be reſkued.

Ric. Southwel. Crab, a pyrate taken.

There was alſo taken beſide the gouernoure, a notable pyrate named Crab, who before that tyme had done many diſpleaſures to the engliſh men both by ſea and lande: and now bicauſe his countreymen woulde not raunſome him, but to his further griefe, had ſlayne his ſonne within Barwike, he becam the king of Englands man, and did the Scots more domage afterwards, thã euer he had done to the Engliſhmen before. The gouernour at length was raunſomed for a great ſumme of golde.

Will glas o dale t ſoner.

About the ſame tyme William Douglas of Lyddeſdale named for his ſingular manhod, the floure of chiualrie, fought with the Engliſhmen in Annandale, where himſelfe was taken, and his people diſcomfited.

Bothe theſe noble men thus taken priſoners, were deteyned in captiuitie more than a twelue monethѕ ſpace, and then raunſomed for a great ſumme of golde.

This William Douglas was ſonne to ſir James Douglas, of whome ſo often mention is made heretofore.

Edward of Engl purpoſ ſubdue Scottes.

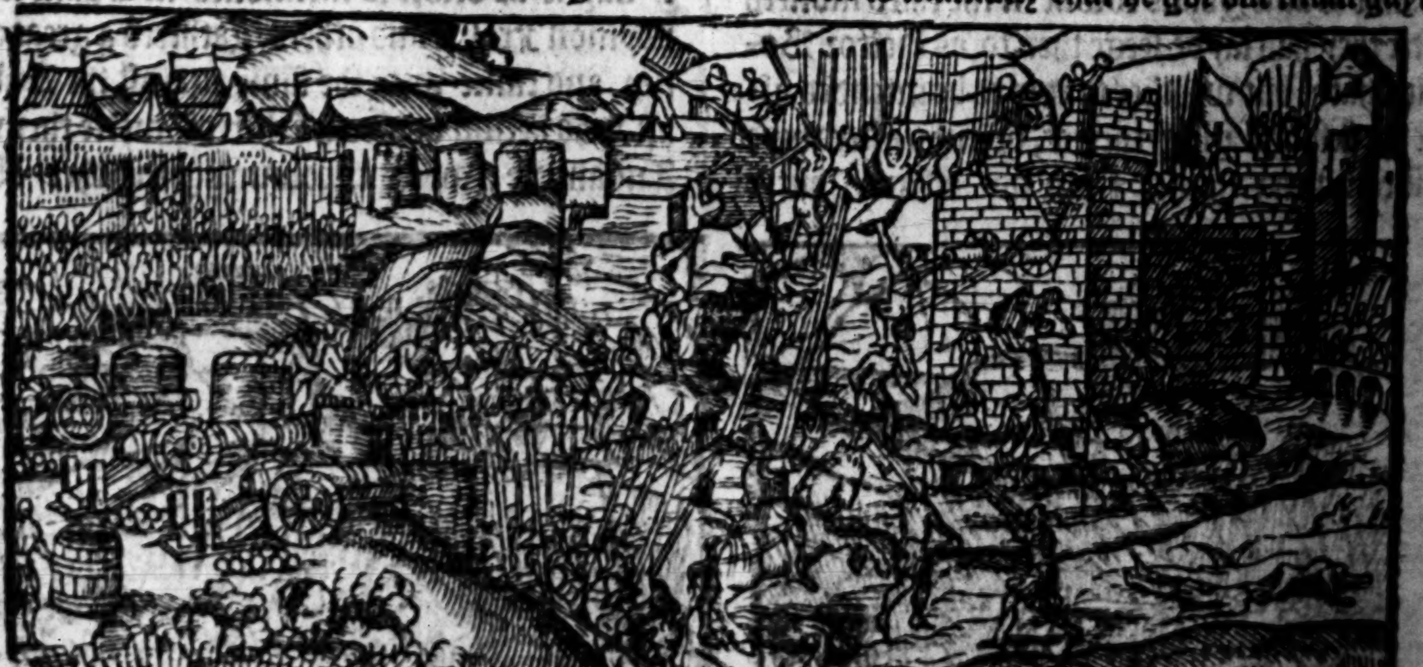
The realme of Scotlande being thus deuyded in two partes, the one aſſiſting the Ballyol, & the other continuing in their allegiance ſworn and promiſed to king Dauid: Edwarde king of England iudged ẏ time to ſerue wel for his purpoſe to make a conqueſt on the Scots, and herevpon gathering a mightie armie both of Engliſh men, and ſtrangers, as well ſuche as were ſubiectes to hym as other, whome he reteyned out of Normandie, Aniou, and Flanders, he came with the ſame to ſubdue (as he outwardely pretended) only ſuch Scottes as woulde not yelde themſelues to the Ballyoll.

The E Murray into F

The Scots perceyuing themſelues thus ouerſet with enimies on ech ſide, ſent John Randoll Erle of Murray into Fraunce vnto kyng Dauid, that by his meanes they might purchaſe ſome ayd of the French kyng to defend ẏ realme from the force of the enimies.

Barwike ſieged.

In the meane tyme the king of England beſiegeth Barwike both by ſea and land, notwithſtandyng ſuche as were within it, defended the towne ſo manfully that he got but ſmall gaynes by aſſaultes, by reaſon whereof, the ſiege contynued for the ſpace of four months: during which tyme many iſſues and ſkirmiſhes were made betwixt the Scots and Engliſhmen, whereat manye proper feates of armes were atchieued with varyable fortune.



William Seyton ſonne to the captaine of the towne was taken priſoner, and his baſterde brother, as he aſſayled the engliſh ſhippes one night ouerfiercely, was drowned by miſchaunce in the ſea.

Sir Alexande Seiton capta of Barwike.

At length when they within the towne began to want victuals, the captain ſir Alexander Seiton ſent vnto king Edward, promiſing that if he would graunt a truce for the ſpace of. vj. dayes, if no ſuccour came in the meane tyme, to rayſe his ſiege, the towne ſhould be delyuered into hys handes at the ende of that terme, and for the aſſurance thereof, he was contented that his eldeſt ſonne and heire Thomas Seiton ſhould remain with the ſayd king in hoſtage.

rchembalde
uglas cho-
gouernour
place of An
Murray.

Whyleſt things paſſed thus at Barwyke, the nobles of Scotland by common conſente, choſe Archembald Douglas to be gouernour in place of Androw Murray.

This Archembald Douglas reyſing a mightie armie of Scottiſhmen, entred with the ſame into the bordures of Englande, ſo to withdrawe king Edward from the ſiege of Barwike to defende hys owne landes from brennyng and ſpoiling.

But king Edwarde aduertiſed hereof, deuiſed an other ſhift, for immediatly ſending a meſſenger vnto ſir Alexander Seiton captain of the towne, he certified him playnly, that onleſſe hee rendred the town forthwith into his hands, both his ſonnes whiche hee had with him, the one as hoſtage, and the other as pryſoner, ſhoulde bee without further delay hanged vpō a gybet there in ſight afore his owne face.

Sir Alexander Seiton hereunto aunſwered, that as yet the terme of the truce was not expired, and therfore deſyred the King eyther to obſerue the couenauntes, or elſe to deliuer the pledges, that he mighte be at his aduauntage: But King Edward (as ſaith the Scottiſh chronicle) immediately cauſed a payre of gallows to bee reyſed afore the towne, and bothe the ſonnes of the ſayde ſyr Alexander to be led thyther, to ſuffer on the ſame without further reſpite.

Alexander
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manlye
of
ander Sei-
ſe.

Sir Alexander Seiton beholdyng that pityfull ſighte, and weying with himſelfe, that hee myght ſaue the lyues of thoſe innocent creatures, if he woulde, was broughte into great perplexitie of mynde, the naturall affection ⁊ compaſſion which he bare towardes his ſonnes, mouing him to haue rendred the towne on the one ſide, and the duetie with faithe promyſed to his king and countrey, reſtrayning him from all ſuche reſolution on the other: but in the end the tender regard he had to ſaue the lyues of his ſonnes, had ouercome him, and cauſed him to haue rendred the town into his enimies hand, had not his wyfe and mother to his ſayd ſonnes, exhorted him moſt earneſtly to the contrary, alledging that ſuche reproch and diſhonour ſhuld redounde vnto them, and their poſteritie, if through their fault the towne were trayterouſly deliuered into the enimies hande, that from thenceforth they ſhoulde be infamed for euer: and as for the death of their ſonnes, it was not to bee accompted a loſſe, for by this kynde of death, they ſhuld win immortall name, and leaue to their parentes the high honoure and renoume of faythfull and loyall ſubiectes.

Agayne, they were yong ynough to begette and bryng forthe newe chyldren, where they ſhould be neuer able to recouer honour once loſt, if by deliuering the towne into the enimies handes, they ſhoulde ſeeme to betray their countrey, and falſe their faithe to their naturall prince and ſoueraigne.

With ſuche and many other the lyke wordes, thys noble and worthie Ladye perſwaded hir huſbande to refrayne his inwarde griefe, and broughte hym with ryghte ſorowfull and heauie cheere vnto hir chamber, that through commiſeration hadde of his ſonnes, he ſhould commit nothyng eyther agaynſt his honor or weale of the towne.

Sir Alexander Seitons ſonnes executed.

In the meane tyme, his two ſonnes were put to death, endyng their lyues (ſayeth Hector Boetius) with moſte honour, for the righteous quarell of their countrey.

Archembald Douglas purpoſeth to giue battaile.

Archembalde Douglas the gouernour, beyng at that preſente entred into Northumberlande with his armye, hearing that king Edward had thus cruelly put to death thoſe two yong Gentlemen, came the thirde daye after wyth all his power, and pitched downe his tentes not farre from King Edwardes armye, fully reſolued to giue him battaile, as well to reuenge the diſpleaſure for the death of the ſaid gentlemē, as to deliuer the towne of Barwike from further danger of the enimies force.

Yet were there ſundrie prudent counſellors in the Scottiſhe armie, that for diuers reſpectes aduiſed him in no wiſe to fight with the enemies at that preſent, conſidering the huge number of practiſed ſouldiours whiche they had amongeſt them, and the wante of ſkilfull warriours on his ſyde, hauing fewe wyth hym ſaue yong menne, and ſuche as lacked experience in the warres, for that they hadde bin but little trayned therein.

Notwithſtanding, he hymſelf was of a contrary opinion, iudging that the good willes and deſyre whyche his people hadde to fighte wyth the Engliſhmenne, ſhoulde ſupplye their lacke of ſkill: and therevppon determyning to trye the chaunce of battayle wyth them, commaunded his armye to refreſhe themſelues with meate, drinke and ſleepe for that nyght, and to prouide them ſelues readye for battayle on the nexte mornyng.

The apointing of the Scottiſh battails.

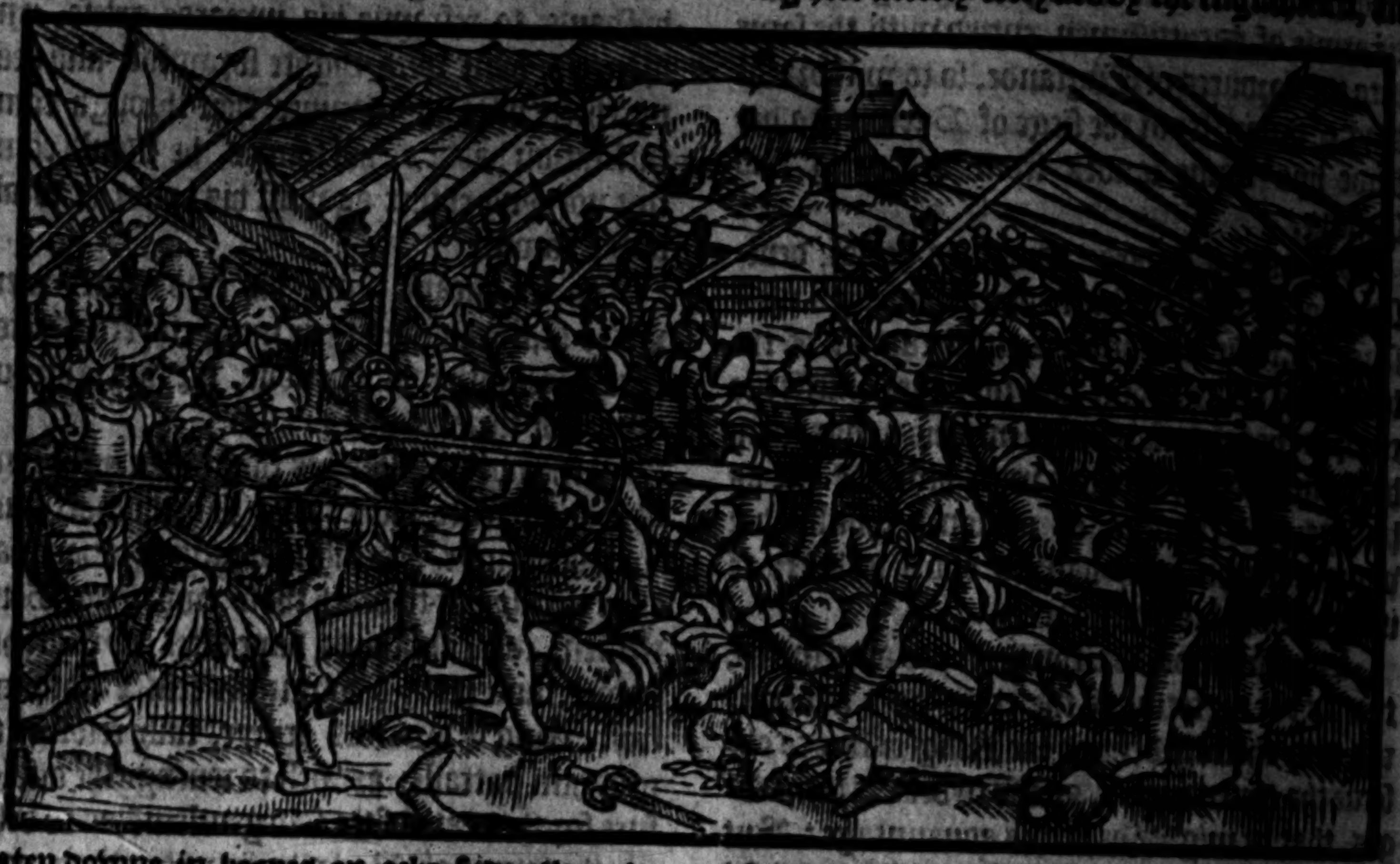
In the breake of the daye he arayed his people in order of battayle. The vauntgarde was giuen to Hugh, lorde Roſſe, hauing with him Kenneth Earle of Southerlande, Symon and John Fraſer, and John Murraye Lieutenaunt to the Earle of Murray, who as then was ſore tormented with a grieuous maladie or ſyckneſſe.

The ſeconde battayle was committed to

the gouernaunce of Alexander Lyndſey, with whome were ioyned Alexander Gordon, Reynolde Grahame, and Robert Kenneth.

In the thyrde battayle was the gouernoure hymſelfe, accompanyed with James, John and Alane, Stewardes, the ſonnes of Walter great Stewarde of Scotlande.

On the other part, the Engliſhmen were nothing ſlacke to come forwarde to encounter the Scottes, but at the firſt to take the vauntage of the grounde, they gaue ſomewhat backe, withdrawyng to the ſide of an hill, whiche they hauing once got, boldely turned themſelues to the Scottes that purſued them ouer raſhly, in hope that the victorie had bin alreadie theyrs: but being here fiercely receyued by the engliſhmen, and



beaten downe in heapes on eche ſyde, thoughe they enforced themſelues with all their might to be reuenged both for olde & new iniuries whiche they had receyued, and ſo ſlewe no ſmall number of the enimies: yet in the end was the Scottiſh army put to flight, and more ſlaughter made in the chaſe, than was afore in the battayle: for one wing of the Engliſhmen making forwarde to get before the Scottes, ſo ſtopped their paſſage, that they were ſlayne miſerablye on eche ſyde, as they had bin encloſed within a toylle or deere ſtall. There were but fewe in number that were taken priſoners, thoſe on the next day were beheaded by commaundement of king Edward, except a ſmall number whiche were kept ſecrete by ſome of the Engliſhemen for profite of their raunſome. There were ſlayn on that day of the battayle, to the number of. xiiij. thouſande men, amongeſt whome were theſe as principall, Archembald Douglas the gouernour, John Steward, James Stewarde, and Alane Stewarde the ſonnes of Walter Stewarde: the Earle of Ros, the Earle of Suthirlande, Alexander Bruce Erle of Carryke, Andrew, James, and Symon Fraſeir. This batayl was fought on the Magdalene day, in the yeare. 1332.

The Scottiſhe Armie put to flight.

The greate ſlaughter of Scottes.

The number of Scottes ſlayne at Halydowne hill.

1333.H.B

That this number and therewith many mo doe abounde by one yeare, William Harryſon dothe gather by the ſeries, bicauſe Adam Meremouth ſayeth, that Magdalene day fell on the Monday this yeare, and that the morrowe after being Tuiſday, Barwike was ſurrendred. But for ſo much as the ſame Meremouth may be perhappes deceyued, or miſtaken herein, I haue here thought good as in other places, to note in the margent the yeere, according to the accompt of Hector Boetius, ſpecially in this place, the rather bicauſe he agreeth with Richard Southwell, Robert Aueſburie, and other of our Engliſh writers, concerning this yeere in whiche this battell was fought: but where the ſame Boetius ſayth, that it was fought on Magdalen day, Richarde Southwell, Robert Aueſburie, Thomas Wals. and diuers other affirme, that it was fought the .xix. of July being Saint Margarets euen. But now to proceede.

The place where this battell was foughten, is called Halidown hill.

Immediately vpon this ouerthrowe of the Scottiſh power, Alexander Seyton and Patrike Dunbar captaynes of Barwicke, being voyde of all ſupport, yeelded the towne to King Edward, with condition to haue their liues and goodes ſaued, and to become ſubiectes vnto King Edward. Herevpon, when they had receyued their othes, Patricke Dunbar was commaunded by K. Edward, to builde vp agayne the Caſtell of Dunbar vpon his owne coſtes and charges, for that he had throwne it downe, when he was not of power able to defend it, againſt the Engliſh power comming towards hym.

King Edwarde hauing thus accompliſhed his

The p... of the men.

The ... of Bar... yelde... King E... on S.M... rets day Southw... hoph.

hys deſyre, returned backe into Englande, leauing behynde hym wyth the Ballyoll, manye greate Lordes of Englande (amongeſt whome as chiefe was Rycharde Talbot) that vſyng the aduice and councell of them hee might rule the Realme of Scotlande as ſhould be thought expedient.

ard Tal-

Edwarde Ballyoll herevppon wente through all the boundes of Scotlande, placing garnyſons of Engliſhmen in moſte part of all the ſtrengthes and caſtels of the realme, ſo he had them al at his commaundement, fiue of them onely excepted, whyche were kepte by ſuche Scottiſhmen, as woulde not renounce their allegiance promiſed to king Dauid.

fortreſ-
Scotlād
Balliols
des, fiue
excepte.

For Dounbryton was kepte by Malcolme Flemmyng of Cummirnalde: Lochleuyn by Alane of Vepount: The Caſtell of Kyldrummy by Chriſtine Bruce: And Vrquharte by Roberte Lawder: The pyle of Lowdoun, a ſtrong thyng of ſo ſmall a compaſſe, was in the keping of one John Thomſon.

These Capitaines would by no meanes neyther yeeld themſelues nor their fortreſſes to Edward Ballyol, but defend them to the vtterance for the behoofe of their ſoueraine Lord and maiſter king Dauid.

In the meane tyme, Philip king of Fraunce laboured to the Pope, that he mighte by his authoritie cauſe the Engliſhmen to ſurceaſſe from further vexing the Scottes, by their cruell inuaſions made into their countrey: But when the Popes ambaſſadours came aboute this matter into Englande, they were ſo little regarded, that they could not get licence to declare yͤ meſſage, & ſo were they glad to returne without doing any thing in the matter whereabout they were ſent,

Popes
ſſadours
regarded.

Shortlye after was a Parliamente called at Perthe, where Edwarde Ballyoll was confirmed Kyng of Scotlande, a greate number of the nobles promiſing there by ſolemne othes neuer to moue anye rebellion agaynſte him in tymes to come.

arliamente
rth.

In the meane tyme roſe great altercation betwixt Henry Beaumont, and Alexander Mowbraye for certaine landes in Buchquhane: Henry Beaumount claymed thoſe lands by the right of his wyfe, that was daughter to the ſayd Alexander, but the Mowbraye claymed them as heire to his brother.

ſe betwixt
wbray and
umount.

After long contention, Mowbray hadde the landes adiudged to him by ſentence of the Ballyoll, by reaſon wherof, Dauid Cumyn Earle of Athole, and Richarde Talbot, fauouring the cauſe of Henry Beaumont, began to practiſe ſuche conſpiracies againſt the Ballyoll, that to auoyde further daunger, he was glad to repeale the former ſentence by him gyuen on the behalfe of Alexander Mowbraye, and by newe ſentence adiudged the landes vnto Henry Beaumonte, for that (as was alledged) he had marryed the inheritour therof.

Thus through the puiſſaunce of the parties, the truthe in decydyng of the Controuerſye, myghte not haue place, and alſo the Ballyoll conſtrayned to haue the one of them to hys enimye.

Not long after this, Edward Ballyol came to Rainfrewe, and there receyuyng the people into his obeyſaunce, hadde the keyes of the Caſtell of Rothſaye and Dunnone broughte vnto hym by ſir Alane Lyle Sheriffe of Bute.

The caſtels of Rothſay and Dunnone deliuered to the Ballyoll.

Thus dyd the Ballyoll encreaſe in puiſſaunce by ſuche confluence of people, as dayly ſubmitted them ſelues vnto hym, and hee enryched them liberally wyth landes and goodes ſtill as they came vnto him, thereby to winne their good willes.

He ſoughte by all meanes poſſible to haue gotten Roberte Stewarde into hys handes, as the perſone whome hee knewe to haue moſte ryghte next vnto kyng Dauid to the Crowne of Scotlande: but thorough the dyligent forſyghte of hys friendes: Thys Roberte Stewarde beyng aboute the age of fyfteene yeares, was conueyed to the caſtell of Dunbreton, where hee was ioyefully receyued by Malcolme Flemyng the captaine.

Robert Stewarde.

The Ballyoll beeyng ſore offended, that ſuche Caſtelles as were kepte by his enimies, were ſo greate an impedimente to hys enterpriſes, by ſuccouring and relieuyng hys aduerſaryes to mayntayne warres agaynſt him, he got togyther an armye, and the nexte yeare layde ſiege vnto the Caſtell of Lochleuyn: But perceyuyng that thys Caſtell myghte not bee wonne without long ſiege, he appoynted Syr John Strinelyng to continue the ſiege wyth a greate power of menne, vntill the Caſtel were yeelded.

Lochleuyn beſieged.

There were lefte alſo with him Michaell Herrot, Dauid Wemis, and Richarde Malcuille, with diuers other. These capitaines aduiſing the place and ſyte of the Caſtell, lodged themſelues within the Churcheyarde of Sainte Serfe, beſide Kinroſſe, makyng Baſtyles and other defenſes within the ſame, for their more ſafegarde.

Within the Caſtell were two valyant captaynes to defende it, the one named Alane Vepount, and James Lamby Citeſins of Sainte Andrewes.

Alane Vepont & Iames Lamby captains of Lochleuyn.

The enimies aſſayd al the meanes that might be deuiſed to haue wonne this caſtel, but it was in vayne.

At length they deuiſed a ſubtill ſleight, whereby to compaſſe their intent in this wiſe.

A deuyſe to drowne the caſtell.

They wente aboute to damme vp the mouth of the ryuer where it iſſueth out of the Loche, wyth earth, trees, and ſtones, that the water beyng ſo kepte in, might ryſe to ſuch an heighte, that it ſhoulde ouerflowe the Caſtell, and ſo drowne all the people wythin it: and to cauſe the Loche to ſwell more ſpeedyly, they tourned the courſe of dyuers ryuers and brokes in the countrey thereaboutes, and broughte them into the ſame loche.

It chaunced at the ſame tyme, that ſir John Striuelyng capitayne of the ſiege, with a great parte of the armie, went vnto Donfermling for deuotion ſake, to viſite the ſhrine of Saint Margaret, ſometyme Queene of Scotlande.

Whereof Alane Vepount then capitayne of the Caſtell, hauyng vnderſtanding, about midnight prepared three boates, and takyng certayn ſouldiours with hym, rowed forth to the heade of the damme or water, and there with ſuch engines as he had deuyſed for the purpoſe, aſſayed to boare thorough and make a hole in the banke or rampier that kepte vp the water, which when they had brought to paſſe, they returned quickely agayne to the caſtell.

The baſtiles and tentes of them that laye at ſiege drowned.

The water hauing once gotten an iſſue, within a whyle ware the hole ſo large, that entryng with more violence, it finally brake downe the banke, & ruſhed forth with ſuch an huge ſtream, that it bare downe all afore it, drowning vp the baſtils and tentes of them that lay at ſiege there, and carryed the ſame with men and all downe into the deepe ſea, they were ſo ſodenly taken, ere they could make any ſhift to eſcape.

Alane Vepount, whē the water was fallen to the olde marke, iſſued forth of the caſtel, and ſetting vpon thoſe that had eſcaped the daunger of the water, ſlew part of them, and put the remnant to flyght.

John Striuelyng hearing the miſchiefe that had hapned to his folks, returned to the ſiege, and made a vowe neuer to departe from thence, til he had taken the caſtel, and ſlayn al them within it.

But yet after he had layne there a long tyme, and ſawe it was not poſſible to wynne that fortreſſe, he was conſtrayned to reyſe his ſiege, and to goe his wayes, after he had loſt therat no ſmal number of his people. This ſiege of Loche Leuyn chanced in the Lent ſeaſon in the yere. 1335.

1335

In the yeare following, King Edward prepared an armie both by ſea and land to enter into Scotlande.

King E
inuade
lande b
ſea and

He ſent by ſea. lxx. ſhips well and ſufficiently decked for the warres, to enter by the Forth: but by a ſore tempeſte many of thoſe veſſels periſhed betwixt Inchkieth and the north lande.

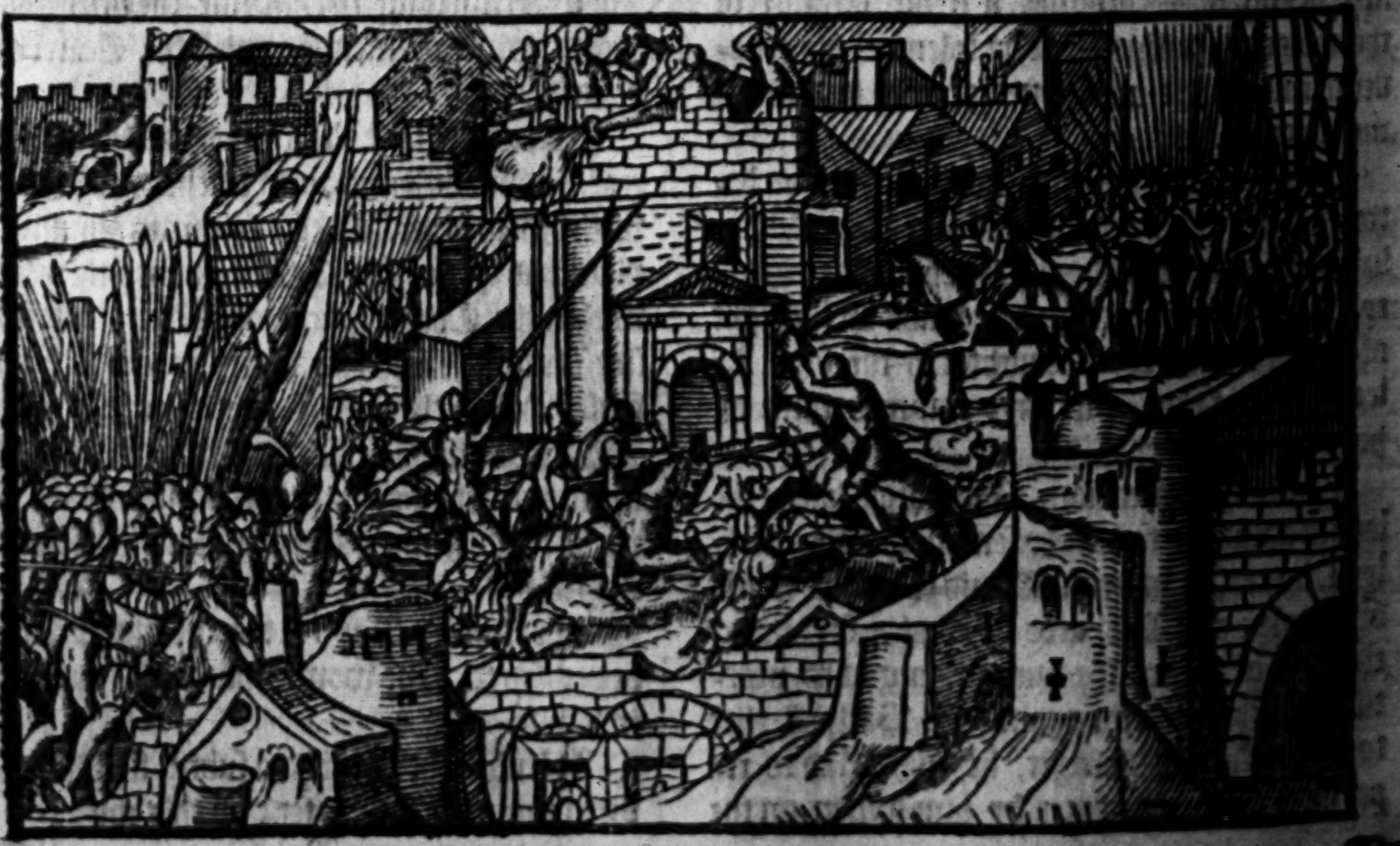
He himſelf hauing the Ballyol in his companie with fiftie thouſande menne, came by lande vnto Glaſgow, and perceiuing there was little for him to doe, for that no rebellion greatly anye where apeared, he returned back again into England with the Ballyol, and left Dauid Cumyn Erle of Athole gouernor in his rowmth to ſubdue the reſidue of the rebels, and to win thoſe ſtrengthes, which as yet were defended againſt him.

Dauid C
erle of
gouernou
for the
in Scotl

Dauid Cumyn lefte thus to be gouernoure in Scotlande, toke vpon him to rule in name both of the king of Englād, and alſo of the Ballyoll, and ſeaſed into his handes all thoſe landes in Murray and Buchquhane, whiche pertayned to Robert Stewarde, confiſcatyng all the goodes of ſuche the inhabitauntes, as woulde not bee ſworne vnto him.

The ca
Dunno

Incontinently wherevppon, Robert Stuarde aſſembled his frendes by the helpe of Dungall Campbell of Lochquhow, and ſodeinly toke the caſtell of Dunnone, ſleying all the Engliſhmen and other which were found therin.



The commons of Bute and Arrayne glad of this proſperous beginning, aſſembled together to the number of. iiij. hundred perſons, and ſet forward, that they mighte come to ſupport Robert Steward in ſuche his late begon enterpriſes: and beeing encountred by the waye by Alane Lyle ſheriffe of Bute, they layd ſo luſtily about them, that they ſlewe the ſheriffe there in the field, and diſcomfited all his people.

e ſheriffe Bute ſlayne.

Dyuers of them taken priſoners, were brought away and preſented vnto Robert Steward, who in recompence of this ſeruice, graunted ſundrye priuiledges vnto the inhabitantes of Bute and Arrane: As among other things, to bee free from paying tribute for their corne and grayne.

eleaſement ibute.

Suche felicities ſucceedyng one an other, cauſed manye of the Scottes to ioyne themſelues wyth Roberte Stewarde, in hope to recouer the Realme oute of the Engliſhmennes handes.

Amongeſt other, Thomas Bruce Earle of Carryke, and William Canthere, with a number of the commons came vnto hym.

About the ſame tyme, the Earle of Murray returned forth of Fraunce, and landed at Donbryton, where he was moſt ioyfully receyued by the ſayd Robert Steward.

e Erle of urray retur ed foorth of raunce.

Shortlye after the ſayd, Stewarde and the ſayde Earle, hauing with them a greate power of their frendes and allies, came into Clydeſdale, Ranfrew, Kyle, Cunyngham, and Ayre, which together with Ros and Murray, they reduced to the obeyſance of king Dauid. The Earle of Murraye alſo, to reuenge the iniuries done by the Earle of Athole, wente vnto Abyrden, and there learning where hee ſoiourned, made thither with all ſpeede: but the Earle of Athole vnderſtanding howe all the countrey tooke parte with his aduerſaries, fled into the mountains, where hee ſuſteyned his lyfe wyth hearbes and rootes for a tyme, and durſte not come forth to ſhewe his head.

ountreys re- uced to the eyſance of ng Dauid.

e Erle of A- ole fleeth in- the moun- ynes.

At length when he ſawe no waye to eſcape, he came forth and in moſt humble wyſe ſubmitted himſelfe to the lordes that defended the parte of king Dauid.

e ſubmitteth imſelfe.

They receyuing him vppon his ſubmiſſion, ſware him to be true vnto king Dauid, and exhortyng him to bee as diligente in reconcilyng the people vnto king Dauid, as he hadde ben afore to ſubdewe them to the obedience of the Ballyoll, they ſuffred him to departe.

Aboute the ſame tyme, ſir Wylliam Douglas of Lyddyſdale, and Androwe Murraye were raunſomed home oute of Englande, for a great ſumme of moneye, after they had bene kepte there by the ſpace of three yeares in captiuitie.

Wylliam ouglas, and ndrow Mur- y raunſomed.

At theyr commyng to Edenburgh, they founde the Lordes aſſembled in Councell, at the whyche the Earle of Murray and Robert Stewarde, wyth generall voyces were elected gouernours.

The Earle of Murray and Robert Stuard elected gouer- nours.

Many Scottiſhemen at thys tyme reuolted from the Kyng of Englande, in ſubmyttyng themſelues to king Dauid, as Alexander Ramſay, a ryghte ſkylfull warryour, Laurence Preſton, John Herryng, and John Halyburton knyghts, with diuers other.

Not long after, was an other Parlyamente called by the gouernours at Darſe, to deuiſe for the ordering of things perteyning to the common wealth: but for ſo muche as Dauid Cumyn Earle of Athole came thyther with a greater power than was thought expedient for ſuche an aſſẽble, other miſtruſting his meaning, grudged therat, and alledged howe they myghte not with ſuretie proceede in theyr doyngs, and ſo by that meanes the aſſemble brake vp for that tyme, withoute effect of that whereabout they were come.

Edwarde Kyng of Englande vnderſtandyng the Rebellyon of the Scottes, determyned to aſſayle them bothe by ſea and lande: and ſo prouydyng a Nauye of an hundreth and foureſcore ſhyppes, ſente the ſame well victualled and manned to ſayle into the Forth, the whyche beeyng there arryued, brente and ſpoyled the townes on bothe ſydes that ryuer, but returnyng backe into Englande, they loſte many of their veſſels by a tempeſt.

Ye may reade more of thys matter in the hiſtorie of Englande.

A nauie ſente into Scotland.

Shipwracke.

Kyng Edwarde hymſelfe, together wyth Edwarde Ballyoll entred by lande, wyth an armye of fyftye thouſande menne, leadyng the ſame vnto the towne of Perth, otherwyſe called Saynte Johns towne, and there lodged in Campe, abydyng for the commyng of the Earle of Athole, who as then beeyng ſoliſited thereto by the Kyng of Englandes agentes, was readye to tourne agayne incontinently to hys ſyde.

King Edwarde inuadeth the Scots by land.

The ſame tyme whyleſt the kyng of Englande laye thus at Perth, the Earle of Namure (whome the Scottiſhe wryters wrongly name the Duke of Gelderlande) came into Englande wyth an armye, and purpoſyng to paſſe thorough Scotland vnto the place where Kyng Edwarde laye in Campe, to come to hys ayde, was diſcomfyted on the Bourrowe More, beſyde Edynburghe, by the power of the Gouernoures, and others, whiche were there aſſembled agaynſt him.

Not the Duke of Gelderland, but the Erle of Namure, named Guy.

There dyed many on bothe partes in the fight (as John Fourdon writeth) for the ſtraungers fought right valiantly: in ſo muche, that if William Douglas with diuers other, had not come

Iohn Fourdon

Williã Douglas commeth to the ſuccour of the Scots.

downe from Pictlande hilles to the ayde of the Scottes, whyleſt they were thus fightyng, the ſtrangers that day had wonne the victorie. But now diſcouraged with the ſodayne comming of this freſhe ayde to theyr aduerſaries, they began to giue place, and drewe towardes Edenburgh, neuertheleſſe kepyng themſelues in order of battayle, they fought ſtill: and at length comming to Edenburgh, they were driuen vp thoroughe the Fryers ſtreete, and ſo by an other ſtreete, called Saint Marie Wynde, where one ſir Dauid de Anand a right valiant knight chaunced to be wounded by one of the enimies, by reaſon whereof he was ſo kindled in wrathfull deſire to be reuenged, that with an axe whiche he had in his hande, he raughte his aduerſarie (that had hurt him) ſuche a blow on the ſhoulder, that he cloue hym downe togither with his horſe, that the axe ſtayed not till it light vpon the verie harde pauement, ſo as the print of that violẽt ſtroke remained to be ſene a long tyme after in one of the ſtones of the ſame pauement. The Strangers ſtill retiring, and manfully defending themſelues, at lengthe got to the hill where Edenburgh caſtell ſtandeth, and there ſlew their horſes, made as it were a rampier of their carcaſſes, ſo to defend thẽſelues from the force of their enemies: but being enuironed by the Scots on eche ſide all yͤ night, and hauing neither meate nor drinke wherwith to ſuſtain their languiſhing bodies, the which beſide hunger and thirſt were ſore tormented with cold alſo and wante of conuenient lodging, they yelded themſelues the next day, with cõdition to haue their lyues ſaued. When the ſpoyl of yͤ field (where they firſt) ioyned was gathered, amongſt the dead bodies, there was found a woman of an huge ſtature, who in the beginning of the battayle, ſtept forth before hir companie, & encountring in ſingular fight with an eſquire of Scotland named Richard Shaw, ſhe ouerthrew him & afterwards beating down hir enimes on eche ſide, long it was ere ſhe might be ouerthrowne, which chanced not before ſhe was enuironed about on eche ſide with hir enimies.

Dauid de Anand, a Scottiſh knight.

A woman of manlyke force and ſtature.

The Erle of Namure hauing yelded himſelf into the handes of the gouernours, was ryghte curteouſly vſed, the Erle of Murray not onely rendring vnto him all his goodes, but alſo granting him licẽce to depart: and for his more ſuretie, he went himſelfe in perſon with hym to the bordures, to ſee hym ſafe deliuered oute of all daungers.

The Earle of Murray is taken priſoner.

But by an ambuſhe that laye in awayte for the Erle of Murray, he was taken priſoner, and brought to king Edward.

Dauid Cumyn Erle of Athole, hearing that the Erle of Murray one of the gouernours was thus taken, ſuppoſing king Edwards parte to be muche aduaunced thereby, came ſtreightwayes vnto Perth, & gaue his faith eftſoones vnto Edwarde Ballyoll, and was againe eſtabliſhed by him gouernour of the realme of Scotland, as he was before. The king of England hauing in the meane tyme gotten the towne of Perth, returned into Englande, and toke the Ballyoll with him, for doubte leaſt when he had recouered the whole gouernemente of the realme, he ſhoulde ſhrinke away from him.

The er
Athole
ting to
lyoll, i
nes eſta
gouern

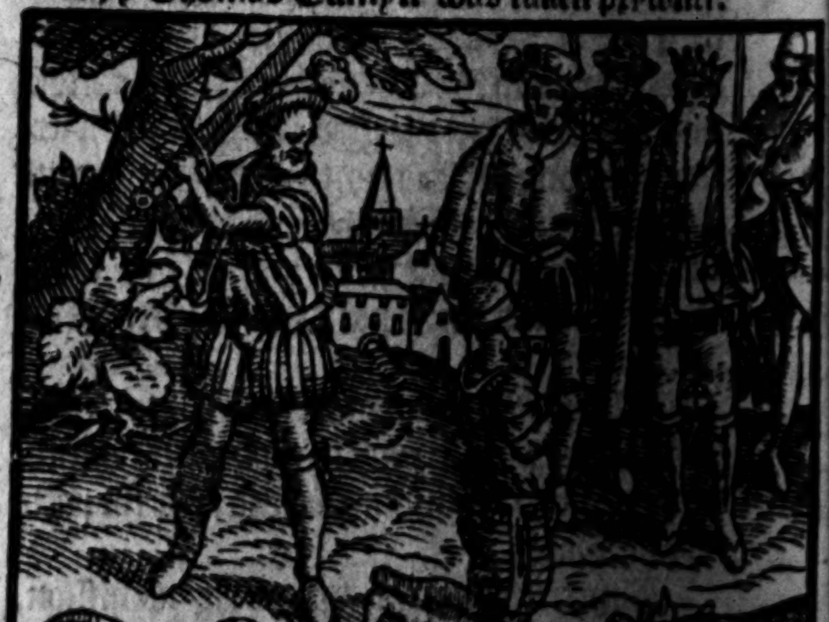
The ki
Englan
turneth
taking
Ballyol
him.

The Earle of Athole hauing now regayned his former authoritie, began to exerciſe greate crueltie againſte all thoſe that were enimies to the Ballyoll.

The nobles of the contrarye faction (as Patrike Dunbar Erle of Marche, Androwe Murray, and William Douglas with other) toke greate deſpite thereat, and reyſing an armye to reſtrayne his inſolente doings, came towardes him, whereof he being aduertiſed (as then lying at ſiege before the caſtell of Kyldrummy) roſe and met them in the fieldes within the forreſt of Kilblayn, where hee gaue them a ſore battayle, and hadde gone away with the victorie, had not John Crag Captayne of Kildrummy ſallyed forth of the caſtel with three hundred freſh men, and comming to the ſuccour of his frendes, renewed the battaile in ſuch earneſt wiſe, that the aduerſaries therby were diſcomfited, Earle Dauid their chieftayne beeyng ſlayne in the fielde, with Walter Bryde, Robert Cumyn, and a greate number of other, bothe Gentlemen and commons.

The Erle
Athole

Syr Thomas Cumyn was taken priſoner, and beheaded the next day, being Newyeres day. For the battayle before mencioned, was fought the laſte daye of December (as Fourdone noteth.) Who further ſayeth, that the Earle of Athole had with hym three thouſand menne agaynſt his aduerſaries, whyche were not paſte xj. hundred.



Fourdon.

After that Dauid Cumyn Earle of Athole was ſlayn on this wiſe, Androw Murray was

choſen

ndrow Mur-
ay choſen go-
uernour.

choſen gouernour in place of the Erle of Murray. taken (as before is ſayde) by the Engliſhemen. This Androw Murray in the beginnyng of his new office, layd ſiege to the caſtel of Couper with a myghtie power of men, but hearyng that the Cumyns made fowle worke in the north partes of the realme, againſt ſuche as fauoured not the Engliſhe parte, he left that ſiege, & went againſt them, with whom encountring in battayle, he ouerthrewe their armye, and put them all to flyght.

The Cumyns
ut to flighte.

At this bickering were ſlaine two of the Cumyns, Roberte and William, Thomas Caldar, and diuers other valyant men, though enimies for the tyme vnto the gouernour.

The north par
tes of Scotlāde
reduced to the
obeyſance of
king Dauid.

This victorie reduced all the north partes of Scotland vnto the obeyſance of king Dauid.

Few Engliſhmen after the ſame, abode within the north boundes of Scotlande, excepte thoſe that were within the Caſtell of Dungarde in Buchquharie.

The caſtel of
Dungard won.

At length this caſtel was wonne, and all that kepte it ſlayne, excepte Henry Beaumount the captayne, who being ſworne neuer to returne againe into Scotlande, was licenced by the gouernour to depart into Englande without any interruption.

The caſtell of
Lochyndoris
beſieged.

After this, the gouernor came to the caſtell of Lochindoris, and layde ſiege to it, where within was the Counteſſe of Athole, the wife of the late ſlayne Erle Dauid.

This woman hauing knowledge aforehand, that hir houſe ſhoulde be beſieged, had ſente vnto the king of England, and to Edward Ballyoll for ſuccours.

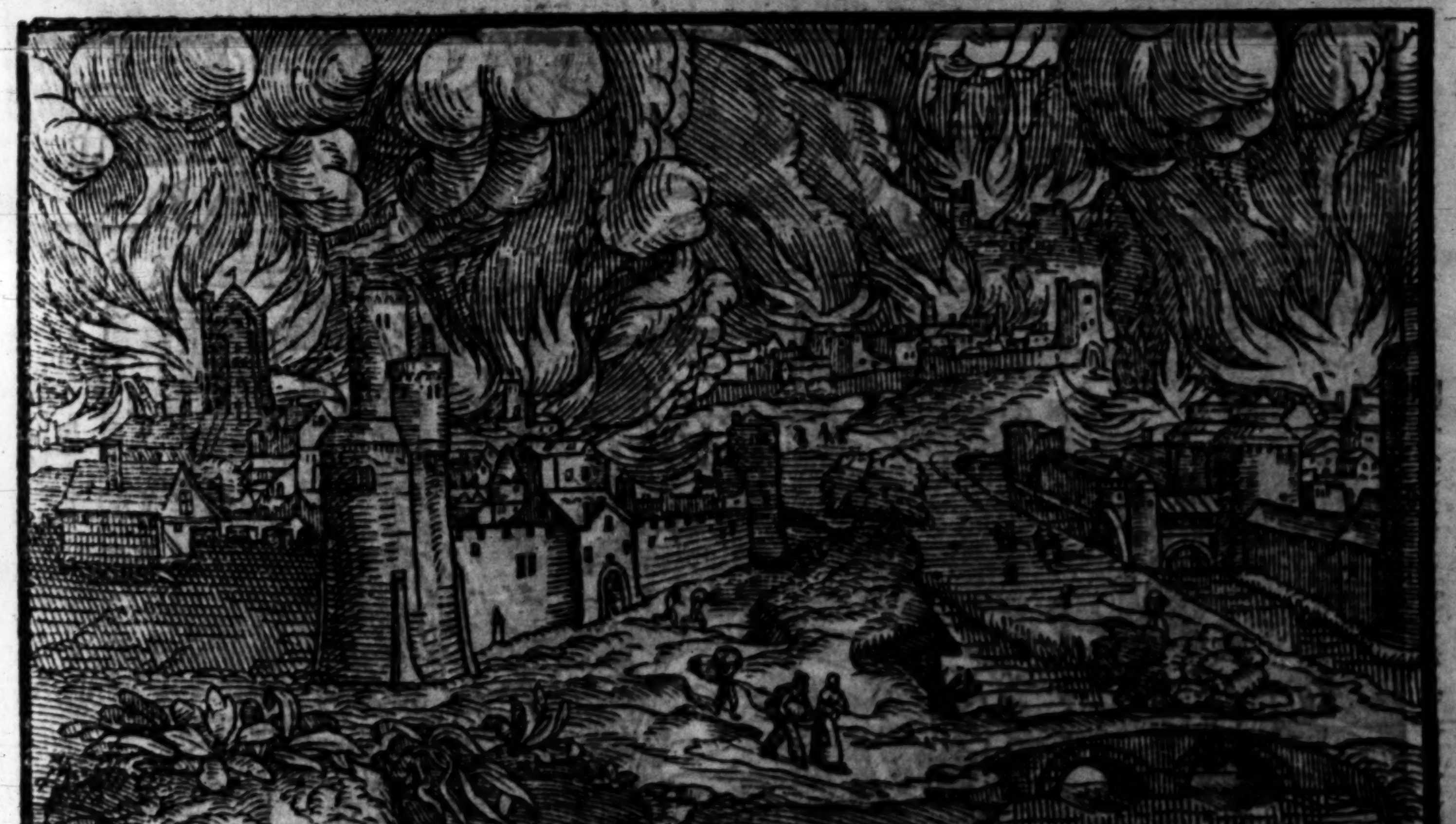
The king of
England com-
meth to rayſe
the ſiege of
Lochindoris.

The king of Englande doubting leaſt all the ſtrengthes in Scotland kept by ſuch as were his frendes woulde be loſt without recouerie, if the ſame were not the ſooner reſkued, hee reyſed an armie of fortie thouſand men, and entryng therewith into Scotlande, came to the caſtell of Lochindoris aforeſayde.

The Scots that lay there at ſiege vpon knowledge had of his comming towards them, brake vp, and departed from thence.

The towne of
Abyrden brēt
by the Engliſh
men.

Hereupon, whē he had refreſhed the hold with newe men, munition, and victuals, he toke the counteſſe forth with him, and paſſed with bloudye ſworde thorough Murray, euen vnto Elghyne, and returnyng by Mar, brente the town of Abyrdene.



His nauie being on the ſea, the ſame time, entred into the Forth, and ſpoyling (as other had done afore tyme) the church of ſaynt Colme, felt reuenge thereof ſhortly after: for that ſhippe (as they tell the tale) wherin Saint Colmes goodes (for ſo they call them) were laden, ſonke to the bottome of the ſea, without force of tempeſt, or other apparant occaſion.

The towne of
Perth newly
fenſed.

The king of Englande at his commyng to Perth, forth of the north partes of Scotlande, and finding the town vnfortified, cauſed the ſame to be newly fenſed with walles and bulwarks at the charges and only expēſes of theſe. vj. abbeys, Abirbrothok, Couper, Lundoris, Balmerinoch, Dunfermlyn, and ſaynt Androws.

Henry Beaumount alſo, who contrarye to his othe before taken, was nowe returned with kyng Edwarde into Scotland, was made captaine of Saint Androws.

Alſo Henry Ferrar was made captaine of the caſtel of Lucres: Williā Mountagew of Striuelyng: Williā Felton of Roxburgh: and the keping of the towne of Perth, was committed vnto one Thomas Uthred.

Whileſt king Edward ordred things in Scotlande after this manner, his brother ſurnamed by the Scottiſhe writers Eltham, came vnto

His crueltie.

him at Perth, who in the Weſt partes of Scotland, had exerciſed much crueltie, aſwell againſt the enimies of the Engliſhmen, as againſt thoſe that were fauourers and friends vnto them, in ſo much, that paſſing through Galloway, Caryck, Kyle, and Cunyngham, he put al to the fire and ſword that came in his wayes.

He brenned the Churche of Saint Bute, and a thouſand perſons within it, whiche were fledde thither for ſafegard of their liues.

King Edwarde ſleyeth his brother Holtam.

At his comming to Perth, he found the king his brother within the Churche there, who being ſore offended with him for his miſordred doings, right ſharply reproued him for the ſame, and for as muche as he aunſwered him ſomewhat frowardly, he plucked forth hys ſworde: and there thruſt him through the body euen before the alter of Saint John, wiſhing that all ſuche might periſh on the ſame wiſe, as put no difference betwixt friend and foe, place hallowed or vnhallowed, as being no reaſon, that the Church ſhould be any more refuge for him, than he had made it for other.

He dyed naturall mitie, as Engliſhe ters it ap reth.

It may bee that Kyng Edward ſlewe ſome other man in thys ſorte, as the Scottes here doe write, but for the Earle of Cornwall that was brother to King Edward, & ſurnamed John of Eltham bycauſe he was borne at Eltham, it is nothing true that he was ſo made away, for hee dyed of a naturall infirmitie, as by our Engliſhe writers it manifeſtly appeareth. But nowe to procede with the hiſtory as we finde it written.

King Ed returne England.

Such things accompliſhed in Scotlande as before ye haue hearde, King Edward retourned into Englande, and lefte the Ballyoll behynde him with a great power of men at Perth.

About the ſame time Henry Beaumont ſlew all ſuch Scottes as he might lay handes on, that had bin at the battell of Kylbleyn, where hys couſin Dauid Cumyn was ſlayne.

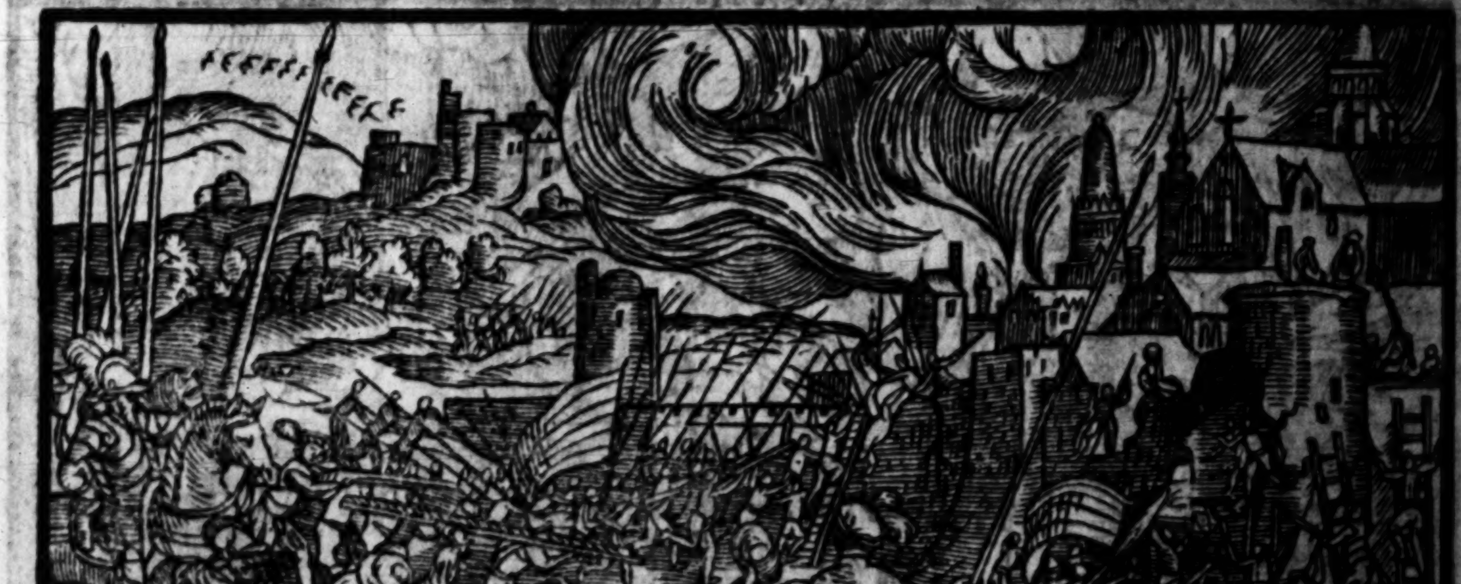
Androw M ray comm foorth of mountay

Moreouer nowe, after that King Edwarde was returned into England, Androw Murray came forth of the Mountaynes, into the which he was before withdrawen to eſchew the fury of the Engliſhmen, and by the aſſiſtance of ſundry of the nobles of Scotland, he wan the Caſtell of Kyncleuyn, and raſed it to the earth.

He winne the caſtell Kyncleuy

Shortly after, hee came into Mernes, and there toke the Caſtell of Kylneſſe, and likewyſe raſed the ſame.

Then paſſing forwarde hee brenned Dunnoter.



The calamitie chauncing to ſundry countreys of Scotland thorough continual warres.

And on the other part, the Engliſhmen made no leſſe ſpoyle and deſtruction on each ſide where they came, ſo that the Mernes, Angus, Stermond, and Gowry through reif, murder, and other diſgraces, chauncing by continuall warre, were left in manner waſt and deſolate.

The victorie of Androwe Murray gotté [illegible] Panmore.

At length, this Androw Murray aſſembling a great power, with ſupport of them of Murray, Mar, and Buchquham, fought with his enimies at Panmor in Angus, where hee obtayned the victory with huge ſlaughter of Engliſhmen, and other his aduerſaries.

Henry M fort ſlayn

In this battell was ſlayne Henry Mountfort, who lately before had bene ſente by Kyng Edward into Scotland to ſupport the Ballyol, beſides foure thouſande others, the moſt parte gentlemen, ſo that this ouerthrowe was ryght diſpleaſant to the King of England, hauing hys ſyde ſore weakened thereby.

The caſtel Lucres ou throwne.

After the gayn of thys victory, Androw Murray paſt through Fife and Angus, ouerthrowing the caſtell of Lucres, wyth all the other ſtrengthes of Fyfe, the Caſtell of Couper onely excepted.

So that king Edwarde hearing of ſuch proſperous ſucceſſe chauncing to his aduerſaries, ſent incontinently two captaynes with two armies into Scotlande, to the ſupport of the Balyoll.

wo armies
nt into
tlande.

William Tailbois a man of notable prowes hauing the conducte of the one of theſe armyes, was encountred by William Keith, and after the diſcomfiture of his people being taken priſoner, was kept in captiuitie til he payde two thouſand Markes for his raunſome.

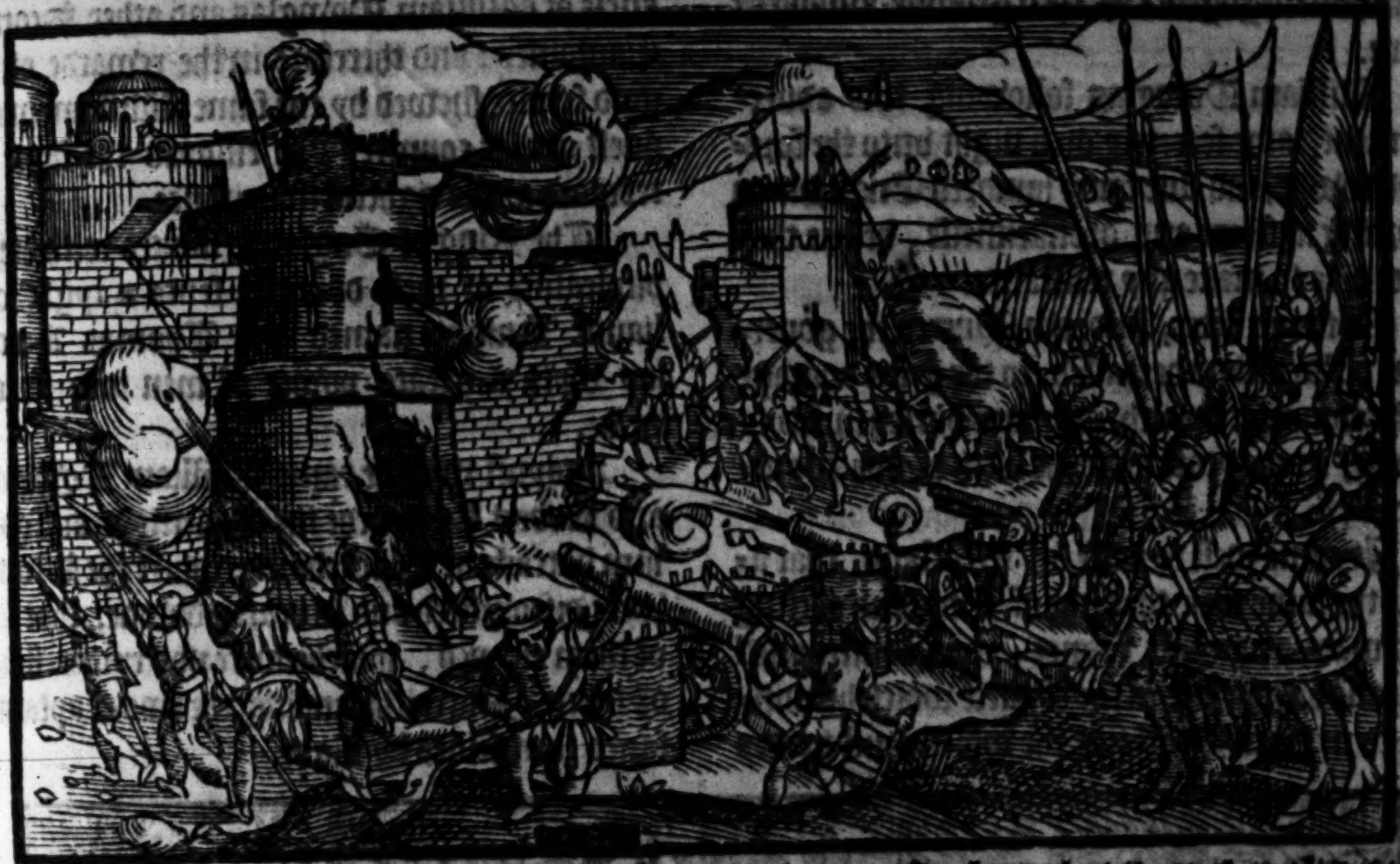
illiam Tal-
, or rather
Talboys is ta-
priſoner.

The other was led by Richarde Mountfort, with whome Laurence Preſton & Robert Gordon met, and giuing him battaile, ſlue the ſame Richard with the moſt part of all his companie.

Richarde Mountfort or Montagew is ſlaine.

About the ſame time ſir William Mountagew Erle of Saliſburie, togither with the Erle of Arundall came into Scotland with a great power of men, & beſieged the caſtell of Dunbar, lying at the ſame for the ſpace of .xxij. weekes.

The Caſtell of Dunbar is beſieged by the Earles of Saliſburie and Arondall.



Within the whiche Caſtell was the Counteſſe hir ſelfe, ſurnamed black Agnes of Dunbar, who ſhewed ſuch manly defence, that no gayne was to be got any wayes forth at hir handes, ſo that in the ende they were conſtrayned to rayſe theyr ſiege, and to depart without ſpeede of their purpoſe.

ke Agnes
Dunbar,

It is ſayde, that this Counteſſe vſed manye pleaſant wordes in ieaſting and taunting at the enimies doings, thereby the more to encourage hir ſouldiers.

One day it chaunced that the Engliſhe men had deuiſed an engine called a Sow, vnder the pentiſe or couer wherof they might approch ſafely to the walles: ſhe beholding this engine, merily ſayde, that onleſſe the Engliſh men kept their Sow the better, ſhe woulde make hir to caſt hir pigges.

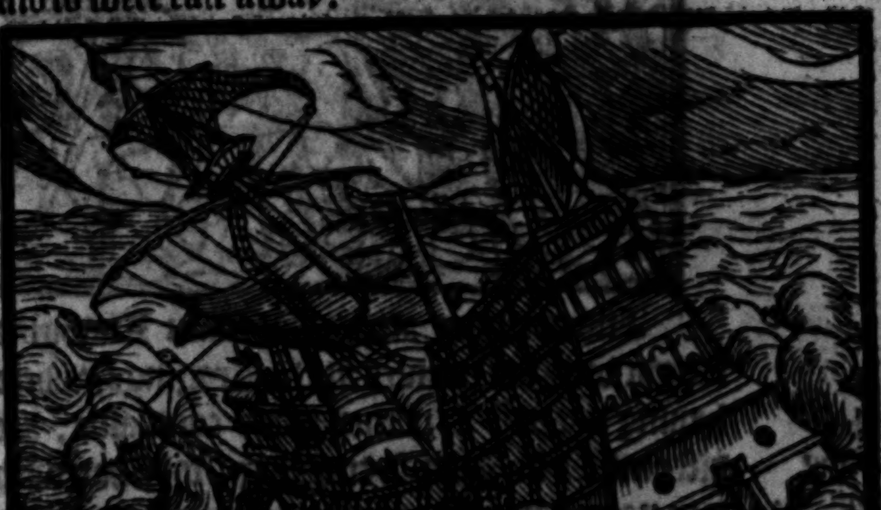
An engine cal-
led a Sowe.

In the yeare next after this ſiege, there was ſuch a dearth through all the boundes of Scotland, which ſuch mortalitie of people, as a greater had not lightly beene ſeene nor heard of. The cauſe of whiche mortalitie proceeded (as was thought) for that the ground lay vntilled and not occupied, by reaſon of the continuall warres before paſſed.

great dearth
and alſo a
death in Scot-
nde.

All the ſouldiers that kept the Caſtel of Cowper, for lacke of vytayles left the houſe voyde, and comming to the ſea ſide, hyred a ſhippe to haue paſſed into Englande, but through negligence of the maiſter Mariner, they fell vpon a ſande bed, and ſo were caſt away.

The Caſtell of
Cowper left
voyde.



About the ſame time the moſt part of all the ſtrengthes and fortreſſes in Louthian were kept by Engliſh men.

The Caſtels of Louthian in the handes of the Engliſh men.

The towne of Edenbourgh was ſtuffed with a great number of ſouldiours, both Engliſh men and Scottes. Amongſt whom there was a Scot of a right ſtoute ſtomacke named Robert Prendergeſt: he, for that it was perceyued he loued but little the Engliſh nation, was euill entreated and vſed amongeſt them, in ſomuch that one day hauing his heade broken by the Marſhall named Thomas Knatoun, hee ceaſſed not to ſeeke ſome meane to be reuenged, tyll he brought his purpoſe to paſſe, ſo that ſhortly after he ſlue the ſayde Marſhall, and afterwarde to auoyde the daunger of death due for that fact, he got away, and came to William Dowglas, whome hee perſwaded with all diligence to paſſe vnto Edenbourgh, where he might finde his enimies at ſome greate aduauntage, by reaſon of the ſlouthfull negligence as then growne amongeſt them.

William Dowglas following this aduertiſement, came ſecretely on a night vnto the foreſayd towne, and ſlue foure hundred Engliſhmen ſnorting in ſleepe and dronkenneſſe, before they were able to make any reſiſtance.

The death of Andrew Murrey the gouernour.

Not long after, Androw Murrey the gouernour of Scotland deceaſſed, to the great domage of the common wealth, and was buried in Roſmarky, in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour 1338.

1338

It came well to paſſe for Scotland, that about the ſame time the king of England entring into warres agaynſt France, was conſtrayned to ceaſſe his purſute of the cõqueſt which he minded to make in Scotland, the which muſt needes haue come to full effecte, if he had followed hys former purpoſe and intent.

But to proceede, after the deceaſſe of Androw Murrey the gouernour, Robert Stewarde toke all the charge on him for the gouernment of the Realme, till king Dauid returned home out of France, and began to rule all things himſelfe.

Tinidal ucered ou the Engl mens ha by Will Dowglas

Tinidall alſo was recouered out of the Engliſh mens handes, with diuerſe other places, about this time, by the high prowes and manly valiancie of William Dowglas and other Scottiſh Captaines: and therefore in the rewarde of the good ſeruice ſhewed by the ſame William in cõqueſt of that countrey, he enioyed the ſame afterward as his rightful inheritance.

Sir Thom Berckl

The King of Englande moued with hyghe diſpleaſure at theſe doings, ſente a ryght valiaunt Knight named Sir Thomas Berckley wyth a greate power of men into Scotlande.

The batta Blackbor

Agaynſt whome came William Dowglas, and Robert Stewarde the Gouernour, and gaue him battaile at Blackeborne, where the Scottes were diſcomfited and ſo beaten downe, that few of them eſcaped, whiche were not eyther ſlaine or taken. Notwithſtanding, the two Captaines ſaued themſelues by flight.

And not long after, William Dowglas fought with his enimies at the Cragings, where hauing not paſt a. xl. men in his companie, hee diſcomfited ſir John Striueling, who had with him neare hande fiue hundred Engliſh men and Scottes, that toke his part in the king of Englandes quarell.

Sir Iohn Striueling diſcomfited.

The Caſtell of Hermitage wonne.

In the yeare following, the ſame William Dowglas wanne the Caſtell of Hermitage, and ſlue all them that were found within it.

In the yeare next after, he fought fiue times in one day with ſir Laurence Abernethy, principall Captayne vnder the Ballyoll, and beeing put to the worſe at foure of thoſe tymes, at the fifth he vanquiſhed his enimyes, and toke priſoner theyr Captaine the ſayde ſir Laurence, who was ſent to the Caſtell of Dunbryton, there to remaine in ſafe keeping for a time.

Sir Laurence Abernethy taken priſoner.

For theſe and ſuch worthie enterpryſes hardely atchieued, thys William Dowglas was much commended, and within a fewe dayes after the taking of the ſayde ſir Laurence Abernethy, hee was ſente by the Gouernour the ſayde Robert Stewarde into Fraunce, as Ambaſſadour to King Dauid, for the diſpatche of certaine weightie matters touching the ſtate of the Realme.

Sir Willi Dowglas into Franc

1339

The town Perth be

In the meane time, Robert Stewarde the gouernor raiſed a mightie armie, and came with the ſame vnto ỹ towne of Perth, planting a ſtrög ſiege rounde aboute it: for deuiding his hoſt into four partes, he lodged them with their Captaines in foure ſeuerall places.

There wa ſo in that my beſid ther noble William of Galle

The fyrſt conſiſting for the moſte parte of Weſterne Scottes, he gouerned himſelfe: the ſeconde he committed to Patrike Dunbar Erle of Marche: the thirde to William Earle of Roſſe: and the fourth, to Maurice of Mowbray Lorde of Clydeſdall.

These lay thus at ſiege of this towne for the ſpace of ten weekes, and though ſundrie tymes they gaue alarmes and aſſaultes to it, yet was it ſo ſtoutly defended by Engliſhe men and other within, that the Scots for a long time loſt more than they wanne.

William Dowglas returneth out of France.

At length when they were in maner out of all hope to get the towne, and readie to haue departed from it, William Dowglas arriued in the Tay, bringing with him out of Fraunce in fiue ſhippes, both men of warre, and alſo munition of armure, artillerie, and weapons, whiche ſerued the Scottiſh men in that ſeaſon greatly to purpoſe.

John Fourdon

Amongſt other, there were two knightes of the family of Caſtelgaliard, and two Eſquiers, Giles de la Hois, and John de Breyſe: alſo a notable Pirate named Hugh Hancpile, who had the charge ouer the foreſayde fiue ſhippes.

About the ſame time, one William Bullok had taken eftſoones the Caſtell of Cowper to the king of Englandes vſe, but by perſwaſion of this William Dowglas, he rendred it vp againe and departed with bagge and baggage.

The towne of Perth rendred to the gouernour.

1341

Thoſe Scots that had ſerued vnder him likewiſe, were contented to forſake the king of Englandes wages, and to ſerue William Dowglas, who led them forthwith to the ſiege of Perth, the which towne ſhortly after his cõming was rendred into the gouernors handes, by Thomas Uthred the Captaine, in the thirde moneth after it was firſt beſieged, and in the yeare after our redemption. 1341.

John Fourdon

Among other exploytes attempted at thys ſiege after the comming of the Lorde William Dowglas, the French man Hugh Handpile, taking vpõ him one day to approch the towne with his ſhippes, & to giue an aſſault therto, he loſt the chiefeſt veſſell he had, although afterwards when the towne was now rendred, the Lord William Dowglas cauſed the ſame ſhippe to be to him againe reſtored, and with great thankes and liberall rewards giuen as well to him as to the other of the French men, he ſent thẽ backe into France greatly to their pleaſure and contentation, although in theyr returne, as they paſſed oute of Drumley Fyrth they eſcaped very hardly from the ſhore.

A ſore dearth.

Children eate.

In which ſame yeare (as ſome do write) or according vnto other, in the yeare following, there was ſuch a miſerable dearth, both through England and Scotlande, that the people were driuen to eate the fleſh of horſes, dogges, cattes, and ſuch like vnuſed kindes of meate, to ſuſtaine their languiſhing lyues withall, yea inſomuch that (as is ſayde) there was a Scottiſh man, an vplandiſhe fellow named Tryſticlok, ſpared not to ſteale children, and to kil women, on whoſe fleſh he fed, as if he had bene a Woolfe.

The Caſtell of Striueling rendred.

Alias Rugby.

Perth being once deliuered (as before is ſayd) to the gouernour, hee went with his armye to Stryueling, and beſieging the Caſtell, had it rendred vnto him, the. viij. daye after his comming thither, on theſe cõditions, that Thomas Fouky the Captaine, with his wife and children might ſafely paſſe into Englãd, without fraud or guile of any empeachment.

Edward Balliol withdraweth into Englande.

Edward Ballyoll, by ſuch good and proſperous ſucceſſe, as did thus dayly fall vnto his enimies, to auoyde further daunger, after oft remouing from place to place, at length hee was conſtrayned to flee into Englande, leaſt hee ſhoulde haue light into his aduerſaries handes.

The Caſtell of Edenbourgh wonne.

Not long after, the Caſtell of Edenbourgh was wonne by policie on this wiſe. William Dowglas hauing acquaintance with one Walter Towers, cauſed him to prouide a ſhip, and to arriue therewith in the Forth, feyning as though he were a Marchant, and to offer wines to ſell vnto the garriſon that kept Edenbourgh Caſtell.

A policie.

This Towers according to inſtructions thus giuen him, prouided him of all things neceſſarie for his purpoſe, and ſo comming into the Forth with his ſhip, came a lande himſelfe, and brought with him vnto Edenbourgh two punchions of wine, which he offred to ſell vnto the ſtewarde of houſeholde to the Captaine of the Caſtell, who falling at a price with him, appoynted that hee ſhoulde bring them early in the morning vp to the Caſtel, that they might be receyued in.

Towers hyring a Cart ouer night, came with the punchions vp to the Caſtell gate early vpon the break of the day in the next morning, and hauing the gates opened, entred with his Cart, and being come within the gates with it, hee plucked forth a wedge or pynne deuiſed of purpoſe, and immediately therewith the Cart with the punchions fell downe, ſtopping ſo the entrie of the gates that in no wiſe they might bee ſhut or cloſed againe.

The Dowglas hauing in his cõpanie William Bullock, Walter Fraſeir, & John Sandlandes, right valiant knightes, with diuerſe other hardie and bolde perſonages, lay in couert not farre off from the Caſtell, and hauing knowledge giuen him by ſound of horne or otherwiſe whẽ to come forth, he haſted therevpon with all diligence vnto the gates, and finding them thus open, firſt ſlue the porters, & after entring the Caſtell, within a while had diſpatched all them within, and ſo became maiſters of that fortreſſe, within the which for Captaine, they left one William Dowglas, the baſtard brother of the other William Dowglas, by whoſe conduct chiefely, both this enterpryſe and diuerſe other were luckily atchieued.

Thus was the Realme of Scotland clearely recouered out of the enimies handes, the Engliſh men and all other that toke part with the Balliol conſtrayned to auoyde out of all the partes and boundes thereof.

The Caſtell of Edenbourgh was thus recouered by the Scottes in the yeare laſt before remembred, to wit, 1341.

1341. H B.
1342. Io. M.

King Dauid returneth into Scotlande.

The ſame yeare, or in the yeare next enſuing, the ſecond of June, King Dauid with his wyfe Queene Jane, and ſundrie nobles both Frenche and Scottiſhe, came ſafelye through the Seas, and arryued at Innerberuy, from whence wyth no ſmall tryumphe they were conueyed vnto Perth.

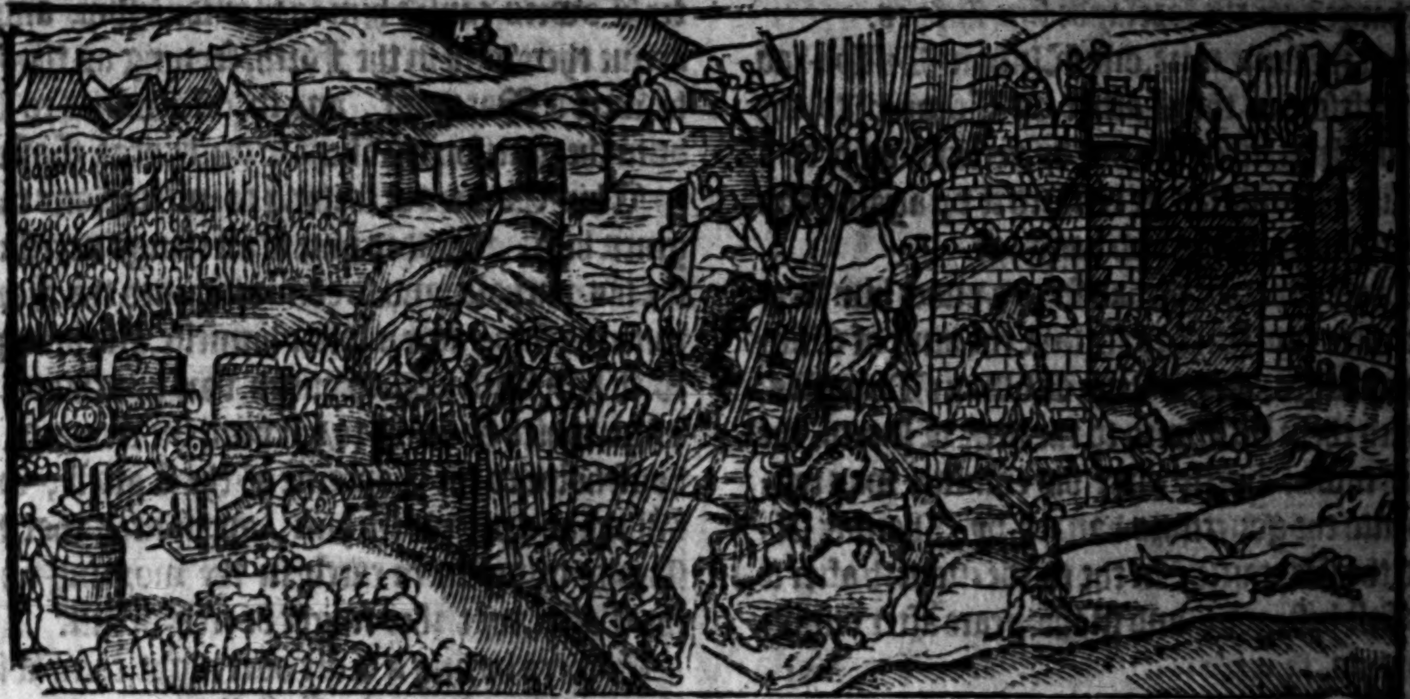
Alexander Ramſey rodeth into Englande.

About the ſame tyme, Alexander Ramſey of Dalehouſe, one of the moſte valiant Captaynes knowne in thoſe dayes, gathering a great power of men, entred into England, and hauing knowledge that the Engliſhe men were aſſembled, in purpoſe to giue him battaile, layde an ambuſhe for them, and trayning them within daunger thereof, by ſuch a fierce and newe onſet as he gaue vpon them, he put them out of order, and chaſed them moſte egerly, kylling and ſleaing a greate number of them at his pleaſure.

This Ram was ſo ren med, that euery nob man was glad to ha his ſonne kinſman t ſerue vnde him.

Amongeſt the pryſoners that were taken, the Earle of Salyſburie (as the Scottiſhe hyſtorie ſayeth) was one, and the Captaine of Rokeſbourgh another.

The Earle Saliſburie ken after in the bo of Picard not here, terwardes haue note



The Caſtel Rokeſbo wonne by lexander Ram'ey.

Sir Alexander Ramſey perceyuing that the moſt part of the garriſon of Rokeſbourgh were eyther ſlain or taken in this laſt conflict, togither with their Captaine came haſtily thither, and gyuing a right fierce aſſault thereto, by fine force toke it. Wherefore king Dauid in recompence of his valiancie thus declared in his ſeruice, gaue vnto him the keeping of this Caſtell, togyther with the Shiriffwike of Tiuidall. Wherat William Dowglas toke ſuche diſpleaſure, that ſeeking to be reuenged, he founde meanes to apprehend this Alexander Ramſey within the Church of Hawyke, and put him in priſon within the caſtell of Hermitage, where he remayned in greate miſerie and lacke of fode till he dyed.

Alexander Ramſey takon by William Dowglas, and empriſoned.

King Dauid was ſore moued herewith, purpoſing to ſee ſuch puniſhment done on William Dowglas for that rebellious attempt, as might ſerue for an enſample to all other how they went about any the lyke offence.

Neuertheleſſe the Dowglas kept himſelfe out of the way amongſt the Mountaynes and other deſart places, till finally Robert Steward and other Nobles purchaſed his pardon, ſo that at length he came into fauour again, and had al his landes and liuings reſtored vnto him, as well in Tyuidall as elſewhere.

The Earle of Saliſburie exchanged for the Earle of Murrey.

Sone after the Earle of Saliſburie taken by ſir Alexander Ramſey (as before is ſayd) was exchaunged for the Earle of Murrey that had bene holden many yeares before as priſoner in Englande. But it ſhoulde appeare by other wryters, that the Earle of Saliſburie was not taken at that time on the borders of Scotlande, (as before is ſuppoſed) but in the borders of Fraunce, where he was in the warres which the king Edwarde the ſame tyme made agaynſt the Frenchmen, and now exchaunged for the Earle of Murrey. But howſoeuer it was, king Dauid after the Realme of Scotlande was once brought into a quiet eſtate from the former trouble of warres, he called a Parliament at the towne of Perth, where hee rewarded verye liberally all ſuche as had eyther done any notable ſeruice themſelues, or had loſt any of theyr friendes or parents in defence and recouerie of the Realme oute of his aduerſaries handes.

Froiſſart.

134

A Parlia at Perth.

The bou ous libe of K. Da

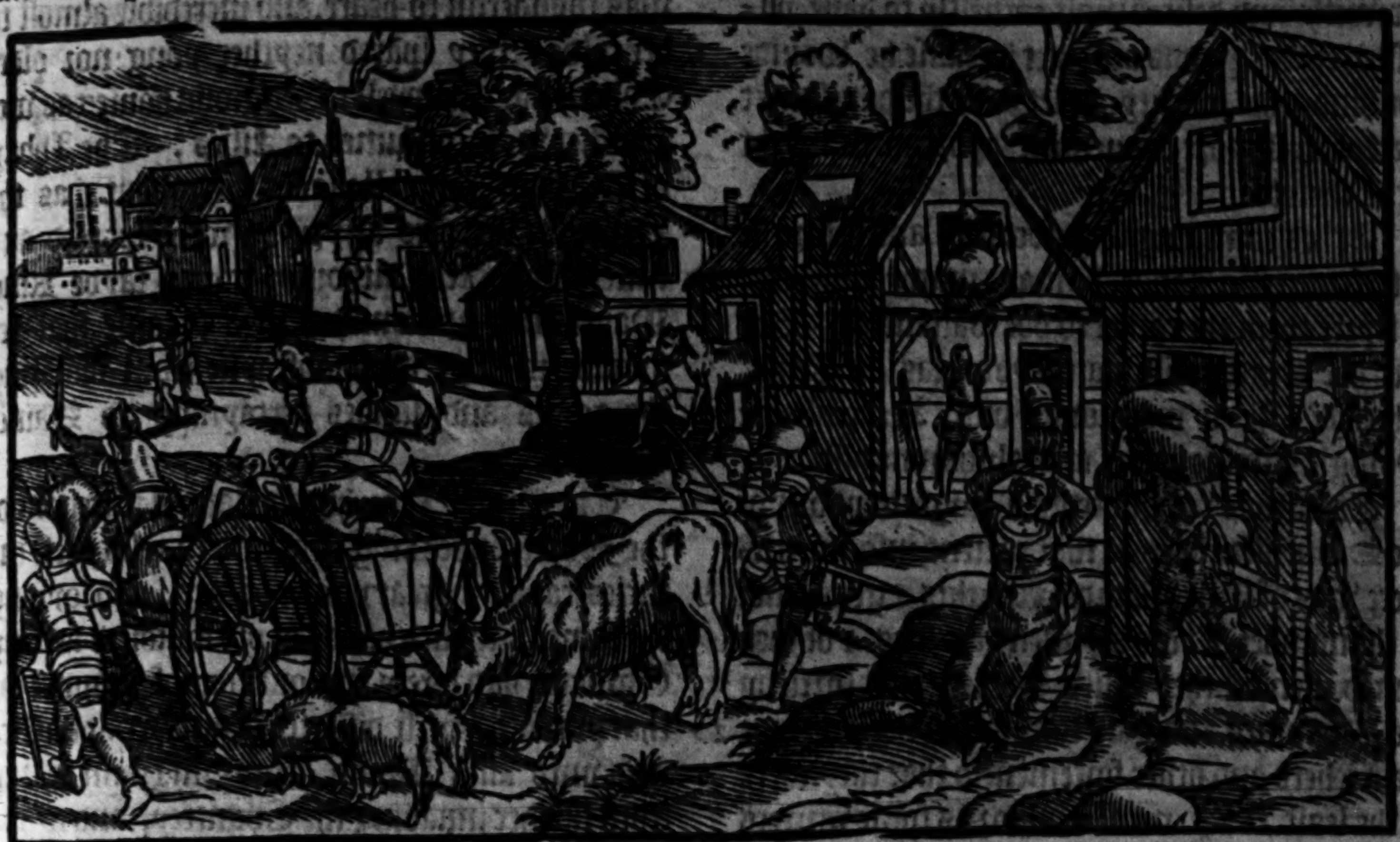
Amongſt other, Hugh Boece had in recompence of his fathers ſlaughter at Dupline the inheritour and Ladie of the Baronie of [illegible] giuen to him in mariage, which Baronie is yet poſſeſſed by the heyres of the ſayde Hugh.

This Hug was Gran ther to H Boetius.

Shortly after vpon the breaking vp of this Parliament, king Dauid rayſed a mightie armie, and entred with the ſame into Northumberlande, but committing the whole charge to the Earle of Murrey as lieutenant Generall, he woulde not that any of his owne Banets ſhoulde

King Da inuadeth chamber

be ſpread and borne in all that voyage, in the which the moſt part of al Northumberland was burnt and ſpoiled, for they remained there a Moneth before they returned, conueying away with them great ryches which they got abrode in all places where they came.



ng Dauid e ſeconde me inuadeth e Engliſh rders.

Shortly after he came with a newe armie into Englande, cauſing his owne ſtandard to bee borne afore him at that time, as he that tooke vpon him the whole gouernance of that enterpriſe himſelfe.

The Engliſhe men withdrawing all theyr goodes into ſtrengthes, mynded not to giue the Scottes any ſet battaile, but to take them euer at ſome aduauntage, if they ſtrayed abrode any where vnwarely to fetch in booties.

ue Scottiſh ightes taken priſoners.

Neyther were they altogyther diſappoynted of their hoped pray, for fiue Scottes knightes, whoſe names were Steward, Eglyntõ, Cragy, Boyd, and Fullarton, purſuing their enimies one time ouer fiercely, were taken priſoners, and after redeemed for great ſummes of money.

At length king Dauid, perceyuing that hee waſted but tyme, returned into Scotlande.

ng Dauid e third time uadeth Englande. ule weather

But not long after he went againe into Englande, in which iourney his people were ſo beaten with vehement ſtormes of rayne and hayle, that they had much adoe to ſaue themſelues from periſhing through the vnmeaſurable force of that ſo rigorous weather.

On the other ſide, the Engliſh men that were gathered to reſiſt agaynſt him, were in ſemblable maner neare handes deſtroyed with the lyke rage of tempeſt.

Herevpon King Dauid to the ende that his enterpriſe ſhoulde not ſeeme altogither to want effect, ouerthrewe ſundrie ſtrong houſes on the Engliſh borders, and ſo returned home without other domage eyther done or receyued.

Calice beſieged.

About the ſame time did Edwarde King of England beſiege the towne of Calice: the French king therefore deuiſing all wayes poſſible whereby to ſaue that towne, and to cauſe his aduerſarie to reyſe hys ſiege, ſent Ambaſſadours into Scotlande, to require king Dauid, that with an army he would enter into Englande, and do what domage he might vnto the Engliſhe men, to trie if by that meanes king Edward could be conſtrayned to leaue his ſiege, and to returne home for defence of his owne Countrey and ſubiects.

Ambaſſadours frõ the French king into Scotlande.

Ambaſſadours from the king of England into Scotland.

In the meane time alſo (as I finde in the Scottiſhe Chronicles) king Edwarde addreſſed his Orators into Scotland, offring vnto K. Dauid, vpõ cõdition that peace might be had, to deliuer into his hands not only the towne of Barwik, but alſo Edwarde Ballyoll his olde aduerſarie, for whoſe cauſe the warre had ſo long continued betwixt them.

The king of Englands offers.

The Scots readie to help the French, and hinder their neighbours the Engliſh.

Theſe offers beeing proponed in counſaile, though ſome of the wiſer ſort gaue aduice that in no cõdition they ought to be refuſed, yet the king himſelfe (for loue that he had to the French king with whom he had bene brought vp) and other of the Nobles hauing yong heades, vppon deſire to be reuenged on the Engliſhe men by practiſe of warres (whereunto they were enclined) woulde needes condiſcende to the French kings chargeable requeſt, and refuſe the king of Englands beneficiall offers.

An army rayſed to inuade Englande.

Wherevpon an army was leuied, and ſolemne proclamation made that al ſuch as were able and meete to beare armour, ſhould meete the king at a certaine day and place which was to them in the ſame proclamation aſſigned. The Earle of Ros therefore came with his people vnto Perth, and there made his muſters before the king, but in the night following he ſlue the Lord of the Iles with ſeuen of his kinneſmen as they were in their beds,

The Lorde of the Iles ſlaine by the Earle of Ros.

and therevpon fledde and got him with all ſpeede againe into Ros.

King Dauid though hee was ſore diſpleaſed herewith, and deſired moſt earneſtly to haue puniſhed that heynous act, yet bycauſe he woulde not hinder his iourney, he let paſſe the puniſhmēt thereof, tyll more conuenient opportunitie might ſerue thereto.

William Dowglas created Earle of Dowglas.

At his comming to the borders, and before he entred into Englande, he made many knightes, to ſtyrre them the rather to doe valiantly. But firſt hee created William Dowglas an Earle, which William was ſonne vnto Archembalde Dowglas, ſlaine before at Halydowne hill.

Ri. Southwell.

Two thouſand men of armes. XX. thouſand Hoblers.

King Dauid inuadeth England.

The Fort of Lydell.

Sir Walter Selby beheaded by the Scottes.

There was vndoubtedly a mightie power of the Scots aſſembled at that preſent, inſomuch as there was of Erles, Lords, Knights, & gentlemē, to the number of two M. men of armes, & of ſuch armed men as they called Hoblers, ſet forth by the Burrowes and good townes. xx. M. beſyde the Archers and other footemen, ſo that they were at the leaſt. xl. M. men in all, or as ſome writers affyrme. lx. thouſande. King Dauid wyth that his puiſſaunt armie, the ſixth of October entred Northumberlande, and comming to a fortreſſe not farre off from the borders called Lydell, they lay rounde about that place for the ſpace of three dayes, without giuing thereto any aſſault: but the fourth day they aſſayled it right fiercely, and in the ende entred by fine force, ſleaing the more part of all thoſe whiche they founde wythin the houſe. The Captaine ſir Walter Selby was taken aliue, but immediately by king Dauid his commaundement had his head ſtryken off, and was not permitted to haue ſo muche time as to make his confeſſion, which he inſtantly deſired to haue done, but it woulde not be graunted.

Lauercoſt.

From thence the army remoued, and went vnto the Abbey of Lauercoſt, which they ſpoiled, and that done they departed, and paſſing by Nawarde Caſtell, & the town of Redpeth, kept on tyll they came vnto yͤ Priorie of Herham, which they ſacked, but the Towne was ſaued from fire by commaundement of King Dauid, who in this iourney appointed to preſerue foure townes onely from burning, to witte, Herham aforeſayde, Corbridge, Darington, and Durham, to the ende he might in them lay vp ſuch ſtore of vitayles, as he ſhould prouide abrode in the Countrey, wherewith to ſuſteyne his army during the time of his abyding in thoſe parties.

King Dauid lodged in the Manour of Beaurepaire.

From Herham, where he lay three dayes, he marched to Ebcheſter, waſting and ſpoyling the Countrey on eche hande, and after turned towardes the wood of Beaurepaire, and comming thyther, lodged himſelfe in the Manour, and ſet his people abrode into the Countrey to fetch in bootyes and to burne vp the townes and houſes in all places where they came.

The Abbe Durham ſpoyled.

The ſpoyle, waſt, deſtruction, and ſlaughter which the Scottes practiſed with fire and ſworde, was wonderful to heare, and incredible almoſt to bee tolde, they ſpared neyther yong nor olde, Church nor Chappell: Religious houſes as well as other were conſumed to Aſhes. The Abbey of Durham, and all places thereabout (as the Scottiſhe wryters affyrme) were ſpoyled and miſerably ſacked, although it was ſayde King Dauid was admoniſhed in a dreame that hee ſhoulde in anye wyſe abſtayne from violating the goodes and landes pertayning to Sainct Cutbert.

The Earle Northum land Lieu nant of th north.

A Heralde

The Erle of Northumberland Lieutenant of the North vnder king Edward to reſiſt theſe iniuries, rayſed a great power of men, and ioyning the ſame with ſuch bands of old ſouldiers as king Edwarde had lately ſent ouer out of Fraunce for that purpoſe, fyrſt diſpatched an Heralde at armes vnto king Dauid, requyring him to ſtay from further inuading the Countrey, and to returne into Scotlande till ſome reaſonable order for a finall peace might be agreed vpon betwixt him and the king his maſter: otherwyſe he ſhould be ſure to haue battaile to the vtteraunce within three dayes after.

The appoy ting of the Scottiſh b tayles.

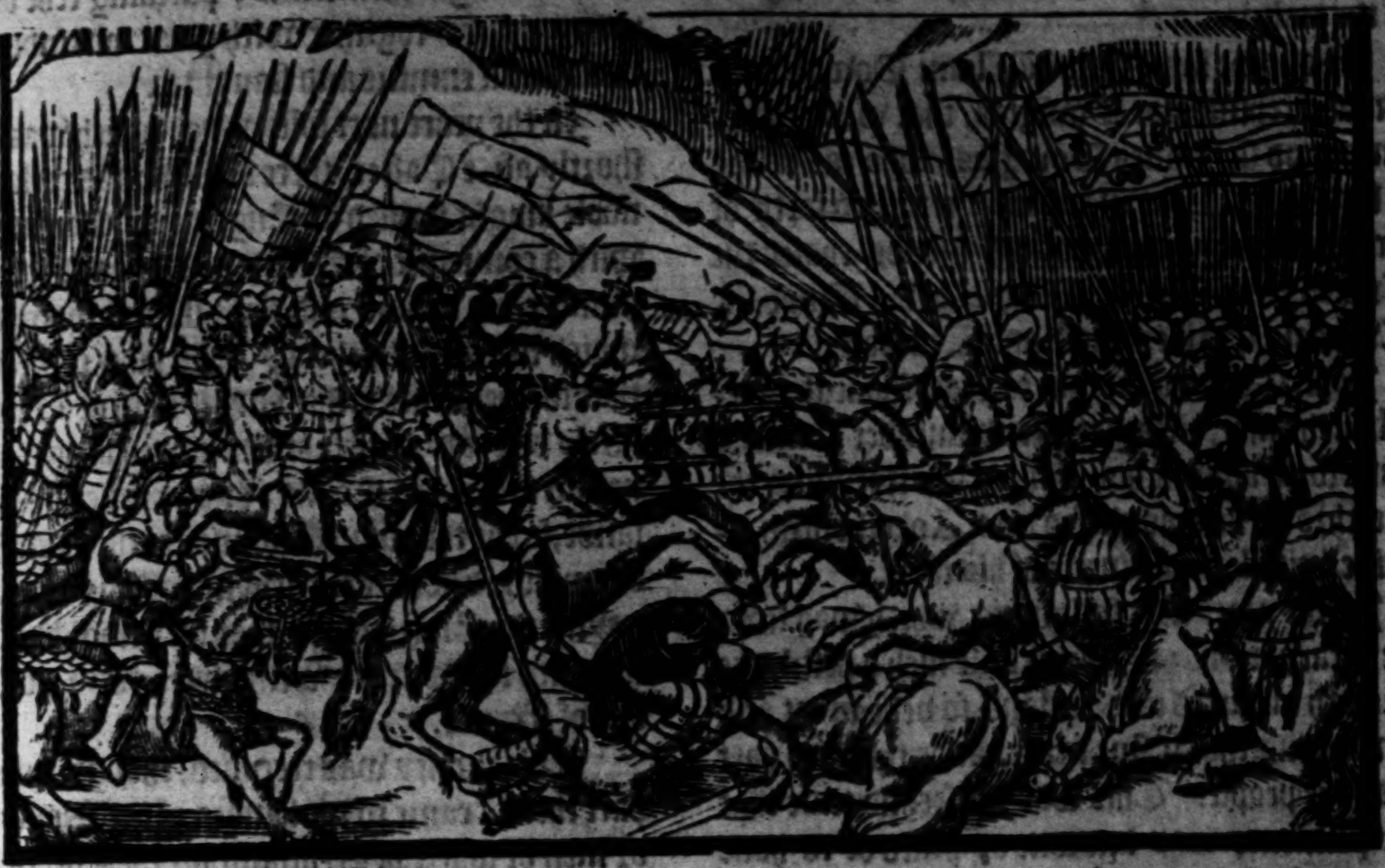
King Dauid contemning thys meſſage, requyred his folkes to make them readie to receyue theyr enimyes if they came to aſſayle them, and on the next morrowe, he deuided hys armie into three battayles: in the fyrſt was Robert Steward Prince of Scotlande, and Patrike Dunbar Earle of Marche: In the ſeconde were appoynted John Earle of Murrey, and William Earle of Dowglas: In the thyrde was the King himſelfe, with all the reſidue of the Nobles.

The Earle Dowglas chaſed.

In the morning early before the battayle, the Earle of Dowglas departed frō the armie to deſcrie the Engliſh hoſt, and to vnderſtande their force and order (if it were poſſible) but entring ſomewhat vnwarely within daunger of his enimies, he was chaſed, and that to ſuch diſaduantage, that he loſt fiftie or rather fiue hundred (as ſome bookes haue) of yong Gentlemen, and ſuch other light horſemen as he tooke forth with him, eſcaping verie narowly himſelfe alſo from beyng taken at the chaſe.

Dauid Gr ham driu backe.

In the meane ſeaſon, the Engliſh hoſt deuided likewyſe into three battayles, approched forwarde, and came wythin ſyght of the Scottiſh armie. Wherevppon Dauid Graham wyth a wing of fiue hundred well appoynted horſemen, gaue a full charge on the ſkyrtes of the Engliſh Archers, thinking to haue dyſtreſſed them: but he was ſo ſharpely receyued and beaten with arrowes, that loſing a great number of hys men, he was conſtrayned to flee backe to the maine battaile, and that not without great daunger of being taken in his flight by ſuche as followed him.



These two diſcomfitures notwithſtanding, the Scots ruſhed fiercely vpon their enimies, and fought with great manhoode a long ſeaſon, but in the ende, Robert Stewarde and the Earle of March perceyuing their people partly to ſhrinke backe, cauſed the retreate to be ſounded, in hope to ſaue their men by withdrawing into ſome ſicker place: but this fleeing backe of the Earle of Marche and Robert Stewarde, brought the diſcomfiture vpon all the reſidue of the Scots, for that battaile of Engliſh men that was firſt matched with thẽ, came now with ſuch violence vpon the maine battail where king Dauid fought, that within a ſhort while after, the ſame was vtterly diſcomfited and put to flight.

The cauſe of the ouerthrow

The Scottes diſcomfited.

In this buſineſſe king Dauid himſelfe did in euery poynt play the part of a moſt valiant chieftaine, encouraging hys people as well wyth wordes as notable examples to doe theyr deuoires.

King Dauid his valiancie.

Neyther woulde he flee after he ſawe himſelfe deſtitute of all conuenable ayde, but ſtil continued in earneſt fight, deſiring nothing ſo much (as ſhoulde appeare) as death, for that he thought nothing more diſpleaſaunt than lyfe, after the ſlaughter of ſo manye of his Nobles and liege people.

At length hauing his weapons ſtricken oute of his handes, one Iohn Coplande came vnto him, and wylled him to yeelde, but he with one of his fiſtes gaue this Coplande ſuche a blowe on the mouth, that by force of the Gauntlet he ſtrake out two of his teeth before hee did yeelde vnto him. Which Coplande is myſnamed by Iohn Maior, and not onely called Couptaunt, but alſo reported by him to be a Gaſcoigne, whereas it is euident by our Hyſtories, that hee was named Coplande and a meere Engliſh men.

King Dauid taken by Iohn Coplande.

But to our purpoſe. The Scottes that fought in the rerewarde had no better ſucceſſe than the other: for that battaile was alſo broken and put to flight, with great ſlaughter as well of the nobles as other commons, beſides thoſe that were taken.

There were ſlain in this dolorous conflict, the Earle of Murrey, the Earle of Stratherne, the Conſtable, the Marſhal, the Chamberlayne and Chauncelor of Scotlande, with a great number of other nobles and commons.

Nobles ſlaine in this battail.

There were taken with the king fiue Earles, that is to witte, Dowglas, Fife, Sutherlande, Wigtoun, and Menteith.

Priſoners taken.

And beſydes other great ryches loſt in thys fielde, the holye Croſſe (as they call it) of holye Roode houſe, was founde vpon king Dauid, who bare it about him, in truſt that by vertue thereof he ſhould be inuincible; but he was ſpoyled both of that and al other his iewels which were founde vpon him at the ſame time.

This battayle was ſtryken neare vnto Durham, the .xvij. day of October in the yeare 1346. What Countreys and places the Engliſhe men got after thys victorie, ye may read in the Engliſh Hyſtorie.

In the yeare following, the Ballyoll, with the Earle of Northumberlande made a rode into Louthian, and Clydeſdale, bringing a great bootie of goodes and cattaile out of thoſe Countreys into Galloway, in which Countrey the Ballyoll abode a long time after.

The Ballyoll ſoiourneth in Galloway.

At length the Scots recouering thẽſelues with much paine, after the ſlaughter of ſo many of their

Rober Steward gouernor of Scotlande.

their nobles and commons, beſide the diſcomfort for the taking of their king, choſe and appointed Robert Stewarde as gouernor to haue the rule of the realme.

Countreys recouered out of the Engliſhe mens hands.

About the ſame time William Dowglas the ſon of Archimbalde Dowglas, that was brother vnto good ſir James Dowglas, who (as before is ſayde was ſlaine in Spaine) returned forth of France, and by ſupport of his friends chaſed the Engliſhe men out of Douglaſdale, Tiuydale, Twydale, Etrike Foreſt, and Twedale.

John Copland chaſed.

John Copland captain of Rokeſbourgh to reſiſt ſuch enterpriſes, gathered a number of men, & came forth againſt his enimies, but receyuing the ouerthrow, he was chaſed into Rokeſbourgh againe, with loſſe of diuerſe of his men.

1349

The ſeconde peſtilence that was heard of in Scotland.

In the yeare next following, which was from the incarnation 1349. there came ſuch a peſtilence through al partes of Scotland, ſo vehement and contagious, that it ſlue neare hande the third part of all the people. This was the ſecond time that the peſtilence was knowne or heard of to haue come in Scotland.

Sir Dauid Berclay ſlaine.

The ſame yeare (or as other bookes haue, the yeare next enſuing) one John Saint Mighell ſlue ſir Dauid Berclay knight at Aberdene in the night ſeaſon, by procurement of ſir William Dowglas of Liddeſdale, as thẽ priſoner in England with the Earle of Dowglas, both of them beeyng taken at Durham fielde.

The occaſion was, for that this ſir Dauid Berclay had aforetime ſlaine one John Dowglas, brother to the ſayd ſir William, and father to ſir James Dowglas of Dalkeeth.

1353. Io.Ma.

Sir William Dowglas ſlain.

In the yeare folowing, was the ſame ſir William Dowglas, being lately before ranſomed out of England, ſlain, as he was a hunting in Etrik Foreſt, by his couſin and godſon William Erle of Dowglas, in reuenge of the ſlaughter of Alexander Ramſey, and other olde grudges.

1354

Thus was the houſe of the Dowglaſſes deuided amongſt themſelues, purſuing eche other many yeares togither with great vnkindneſſe, vnnaturall enmitie and ſlaughter.

1355

Sir Euge Garenter French m arriued i Scotland.

In the yeare next following, which was 1355 ſhortly after Eaſter, there arriued in Scotland a noble knight named ſir Eugenie de Garenteris, with a companie of Frenchmen, though fewe in number, yet valiant and right ſkilfull warriours, which were ſent thither by John king of France, that ſucceeded his father king Philip of Valoys, lately before deceaſſed, and deliuered vnto the gouernor and other Nobles of the realme of Scotlande, fortie thouſand Crownes of the Sunne, to be employed aboute the leuying of an armye agaynſt the Engliſh men, that they might be conſtrayned the ſooner to withdrawe theyr powers out of France.

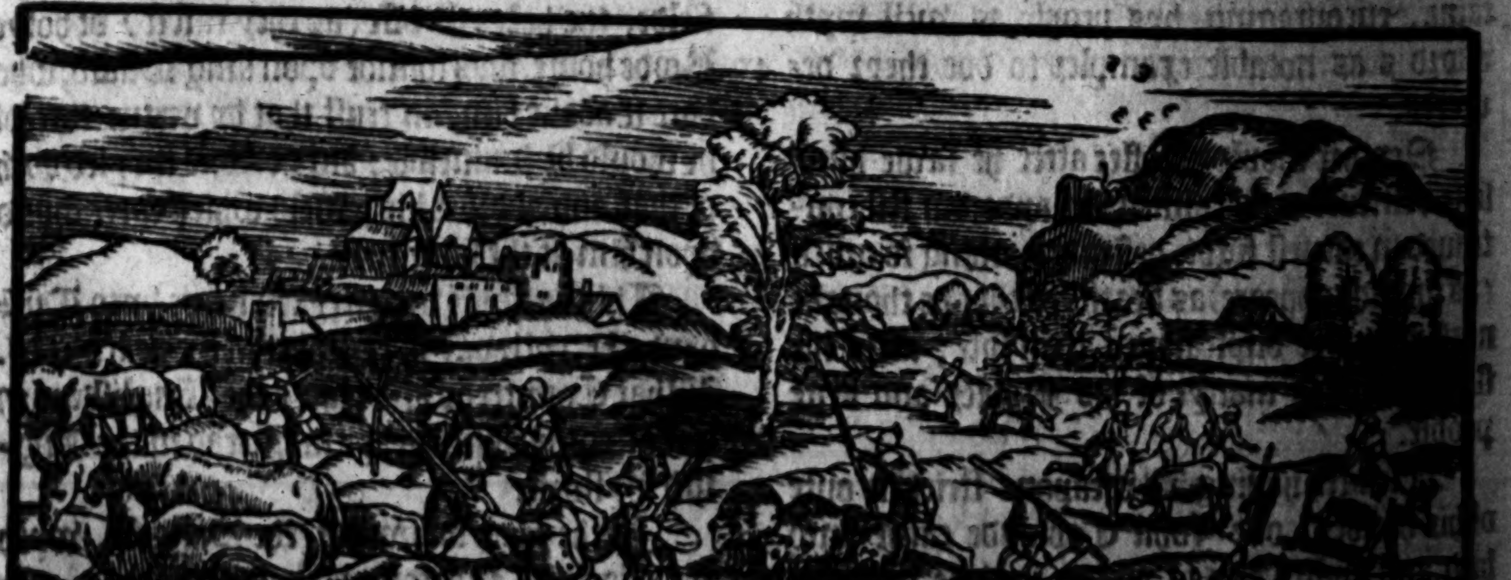
Forty thouſand crow

The Earle March and William glas enter to Engla with an a

William ſey of the houſy.

This money was receyued, though a ſmall part thereof came to the handes of the Souldiers or men of warre of Scotland, for the Lordes and nobles kept it ſafe ynough to their owne vſe. Yet neuertheleſſe, the Earle of March, and William Dowglas gather their people, & paſſe forth with the ſame to the borders, and entring into Englande, appoynt William Ramſey of the Dalehouſy, to ride afore with a number of light horſmen, to the ende, that if the Engliſh men did aſſemble and come forth too ſtrong agaynſt him, hee might retyre backe to the mayne battayle, where they lay in couert at a place called Nyſbet Moore.

This Ramſey doing as he was commaunded, made a great forrey through the Countrey, and hauing got togyther a greate bootie of Cattaile, withdrew with the ſame homewardes: but being ſharpely purſued by the Engliſhe men in hope to recouer theyr goodes, he fledde amayne,



and they following egreelye in the chaſe were vpon the Scottiſh army before they were ware.

The Engliſh entrapped

The Scottiſhe men, and thoſe fewe Frenche men that were there, ſette vppon the Engliſhe men right fiercelye, and finallye putte them to flight, though not withoute ſome ſlaughter on theyr part: for there were ſlaine of Scottes ſir John Holyburton, and ſir James Turnebull knightes.

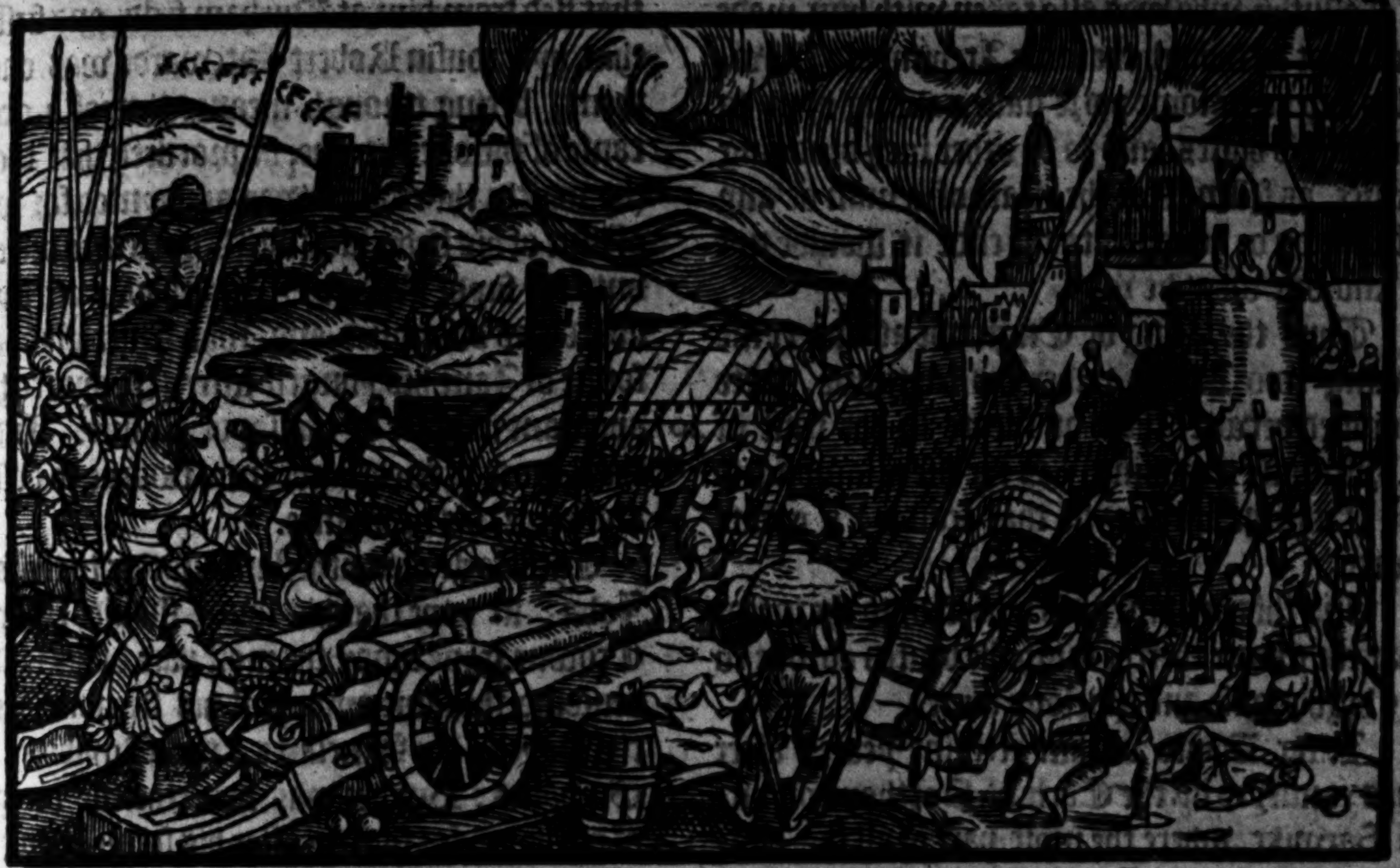
to flight.

Priſoners taken.

There were taken priſoners of Engliſh men, ſir Thomas Gray, and his ſonne, with John Darcas, and many other Engliſh men.

Barwike wonne.

The Erles of March and Dowglas, after the obteyning of this victorie, came ſodenly in the night ſeaſon vnto the towne of Barwike, and rayſing vp Ladders to the walles wanne the towne, but not without loſſe of diuerſe Scottiſhe gentlemen, as Thomas Uaus, Andrew Scot of Balweary, John Gordon, William Synclare, Tho. Preſton, & Alexander Mowbray knights.



Of Engliſh men were ſlaine Alexander Ogyll Captaine of the towne, Thomas Percye, brother to the Earle of Northumberlande, and Edward Gray, with other.

Eugeny de Garenteris with his French men did right valiauntly beare himſelfe in this enterpriſe, whome Robert Stewarde the gouernour rewarding with great gyftes, ſent backe into Fraunce, commending him by letters vnto the French king, as he that had done his duetie in euery behalfe right throughly.

The Caſtell of Barwike notwithſtanding that the towne was thus wonne, helde forth the Scots and French men, by reaſon whereof when an armye of Engliſhe men came to the ſuccours thereof, they razed the walles, and burnt the houſes of the towne, and ſo departed.

walles

King Edwarde himſelfe comming to the reſcue, when he ſawe the towne thus defaced, hee tooke order for the repayring thereof againe, went to Roxbourgh, and there receyued of the Ballyol a full reſignation of all his pretenced right to the crowne of Scotlande, and after paſſing forth to Hadington, ſpoyled and waſted the Countrey by the waye on eche hande as hee marched forwarde: and for diſpleaſure that his Nauie on the Sea (after the ſouldiers and mariners had beene a lande and burnt a Church of our Ladie in thoſe parties called Whitekyrke) had with force of a rygorous tempeſt beene ſore ſhaken, and manye of the Shippes loſt and drowned togyther with men and all, he fell into ſuch a rage, that he cauſed all the buyldings in thoſe partyes to be burnt and ſpoyled, as well Abbeys as all other Churches and Religious houſes, as though hee mynded (ſay the Scottiſhe wryters) to make warre both agaynſt God and all his Saints.

wike is re- againe king Ed-

Ballyoll his

kyrke

1355

These things chaunced in the yeare. 1355. after our common account, about the feaſt of the Purification of our Ladie, and by reaſon that the Engliſh men did ſo muche hurt at that tyme in thoſe parties by fyre, it was cleped euer after the burnt Candlemaſſe.

The burne Candlemaſſe.

Shortly after that King Edwarde was returned into Englande, William Dowglas of Niddeſdale recouered out of the Engliſhe mens poſſeſſion the landes of Galloway, and the landes of Driſdale, were in ſemblable maner recouered by one Kyrkpatrike.

Galloway recouered.

The ſame yeare on the. xx. day of October, was the battaile of Poyters fought, where Edwarde Prince of Wales, otherwiſe named the blacke Prince, ouerthrew the armie of Fraunce, and tooke king John priſoner, with his yongeſt ſonne Philip, and a great number of other of the French Nobilitie beſide.

The battaile of Poyсters.

The French king Iohn taken priſoner.

There was at this battaile with king John, the Erle William Dowglas, and to the number of three thouſand Scots, hauing diuerſe knightes and Gentlemen to their Captaynes, of whome there dyed in the ſame battayle Androwe Stewarde, Robert Gordon, Androwe Holyburton, and Androw Vaus, knightes.

Archimbalde Dowglas taken priſoner.

The Erle of Dowglas eſcaped with life and vntaken, but Archimbald Dowglas, ſonne to ſir James Dowglas ſlaine in Spaine, was taken priſoner, albeit his taker ſuffred him to depart for a ſmal raunſom, by reaſon ẏ William Ramſey of Colluthy, who was alſo taken with him, made ſemblant as though the ſame Archimbald Dowglas had beene ſome poore ſlaue, cauſing hym to pull off his bootes, and to do other ſuch drudging ſeruice, as fell not for the eſtate of a man of any eſtimation or honeſtie, to the ende it ſhoulde not be knowne what he was.

A ſubtile policie.

Two kings priſoners in England at one time.

Thus the King of Englande at one tyme hauing two Kings vnder his captiuitie, ſatte crowned betwixt them at meate in the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe, making (as the vſe is amongeſt the Engliſhe menne in that ſeaſon) a greate banket.

And this hee did (as is reported) to the intent that the maner thereof might be bruted abrode to his high prayſe and glorious fame.

King Dauid within certaine yeares after was conueyed by the Earle of Northamton vnto Barwike, where the moſt part of all the Nobles of Scotlande aſſembled togyther to conſult with him touching ſome agreement to bee had for hys raunſome, but bycauſe they coulde growe to no certayne poynte therein, hee was brought backe agayne to London, and there remayned in priſon as before.

Roger Kyrkpatrike ſlaine.

In the meane time Roger Kirkpatrike was ſlaine by James Lyndſey, in a Caſtell where the ſayde James dwelled, and receyued the ſaid Roger as his gueſt.

This Lyndſey fledde vpon the acte committed, but yet beeing apprehended and brought to the gouernour Robert Stewarde, he ſuffred death for that offence.

Shortly after, that is to witte at Michaelmaſſe nexte enſuyng, after King Dauid hadde beene at Barwike, there was an agreemente made for his raunſome, whereuppon beeing delyuered, hee returned into Scotlande, in the eleuenth yeare after hys takyng at Durham fielde.

King Dauid is deliuered.

It was agreed that there ſhoulde be payde for his raunſom one hundred thouſand Markes ſterling, at ſundrie dayes of payment, as was accorded betwixt them.

Truce for. 14. yeares.

Truce alſo was taken for the ſpace of. xiiij. yeares betwixt both Realmes, and dyuerſe Nobles of Scotlande were appoynted to lye as Hoſtages in Englande, tyll the money were payde, as is before mentioned. King Dauid was alſo bounde by couenaunt of agreement to raze certayne Caſtelles within Scotlande, whiche ſeemed moſte noyſome to the Engliſhe Barons, whiche couenaunt hee perfourmed, for vpon hys returne into Scotlande, hee caſt downe the Caſtelles of Dalſwynton, Dunfreys, Mortowne, and Duryſdere.

Caſtels

A Parlia

He alſo called a Parliament, wherein he enacted ſundrie things for the puniſhment of them that fled from him at Durham field, and firſt for that hys couſin Robert Stewarde was one of them, beeing through meanes thereof a greate cauſe of the ouerthrowe, he procured that the act (by whiche the crowne was appoynted for want of iſſue of his bodie lawfully begotten, to deſcende vnto the ſayde Robert Steward) was vtterly reuoked and diſanulled, and John Sutherlande the ſonne of Jane his yongeſt ſiſter, appoynted heire apparant in place of the ſayde Robert. And all the Lordes of Scotlande were ſworne to obſerue and keepe this ordinance.

Robert S
warde di
herited o
crowne.

Iohn Su
lande m
heyre ap
rant.

The Earle of Sutherlande, father to the ſayde John, in hope that his ſonne ſhoulde enioy the Crowne, gaue away the moſt part of his landes, deuiding the ſame amongeſt his friendes, as to the Hayes, the Sinclares, the Ogylbies, and Gordones: But hee was neuertheleſſe deceyued of his hope, for ſhortly after his ſonne beeing one of them that was giuen in pledge to remaine in England, till the money for the kings raunſome was payde, dyed there of the Peſtilence, in ſuche ſorte as the moſte part of the other pledges likewiſe did.

The dea
Iohn Su
lande.

And ſhortlye after his deceaſſe, Robert Stewarde was reconciled to the Kings fauour, and ordeyned heyre apparaunt to the crowne in ſemblable maner as he was before.

Robert S
warde ag
ordeined
apparan

The Cleargie of Scotlande condiſcended to giue the tenth pennie of all theyr fruites and reuenues towardes the payment of the Kings raunſome.

The con
tion of th
Cleargie.

Not long after, King Dauid called an other Councell, wherein according to hys promyſe made to the King of Englande before hys delyueraunce, he moued the Lordes and Barons of Scotlande in a matter whereof hee wyſhed not to haue of them anye towardlye aunſwere, and that was thys: Whether they coulde bee contented, that after his deceaſſe, the crowne of Scotlande ſhoulde bee transferred vnto the King of Englandes ſonne, and to hys lawfull heyres.

A dema
proponed
the Lord
Scotland.

The Lordes hearing what was proponed vnto them, aunſwered wythoute anye long ſtudie, that ſo long as anye of them were able to beare armour or weapon, they woulde neuer conſent thereto.

Theyr an
ſwere.

King Dauid right ioyfull to heare them at this poynt, thought himſelfe diſcharged, for that he was not bounde to labour further in this ſuite, bycauſe his promiſe made to the King of England touching this poynt, onely was, that if the Scottiſh Lordes would agree, then he ſhould entaile the crowne to his ſonne.

1357

Queene Ianes death.

In the yeare next following which was from the Incarnation 1357. Queene Iane the wife of king Dauid went into Englande to ſee hir brother king Edwarde, and died there before ſhe returned, leauing no iſſue behinde hir.

King Dauid maryeth Margaret Logy.

King Dauid after hir deceaſſe maryed a yong luſtie Gentlewoman named Margaret Logy, daughter to ſir Iohn Logy Knight, but wythin three Monethes after, hee repented him for that hee had matched himſelfe wyth one of ſo meane Parentage, to the diſparagement of his bloud.

He repenteth his mariage.

He baniſheth hir.

And hereupon he baniſhed both hir and all other that had counſelled him to mary hir, confining them for euer out of all the parties of his dominions.

She complayneth to the Pope.

Shee hirſelfe went vnto Auignon, where as then the Pope with his conſiſtorie remained, and entring hir plaint there in the Court, followed the ſame with ſuch diligence, that in the ende ſentence was giuen on hir ſyde, that is to witte, that King Dauid ſhoulde receyue hir againe into his companie, and to accept and vſe hir as his iuſt and lawfull wyfe.

Sentence giuẽ on hir part.

She departeth this worlde.

Thus ſhoulde the Realme of Scotlande haue runne in trouble and daunger of interdiction, had ſhe not departed out of this life by the way in returning homewardes.

Dauids tower buylt.

King Dauid in the meane time repayred ſundrie places and ſtrengthes of his realme, and buylt a tower in Edenbourgh Caſtell, bearing the name after hym vnto thys day, called Dauids Tower.

After this, appeaſing certaine Rebelles that ſought to trouble the quiet ſtate of the Realme, he purpoſed to haue gone to Ieruſalem, but hauing prouided all things neceſſarie for ſuche a iourney, he fell ſicke of a burning feuer, and died wythin the Caſtell of Edenbourgh, in the xxxix. yeare of hys raigne, and xlvij. of hys age. Which was from the incarnation. 1370.

The death of king Dauid.

1370

His bodie lyeth in holy Roode houſe, where it was buryed in the yeare aforeſayde.

Straunge wonders.

Sundrie marueylous things were ſeene in the dayes of this king Dauid within the boundes of Albion.

In the. xvj yeare of his raigne, Crowes, Rauens, and Pyes, in the Winter ſeaſon brought forth theyr brood, and ceaſſed in the Sommer and Spring tyme, contrarie to theyr kynde.

Yewes barren.

All the Yewes in the countrey the ſame yeare were barren and brought no lambes.

There was ſuch plentie of Myſe and Rattes both in houſes and abrode in the fieldes, that they might not be deſtroyed.

Great rayne.

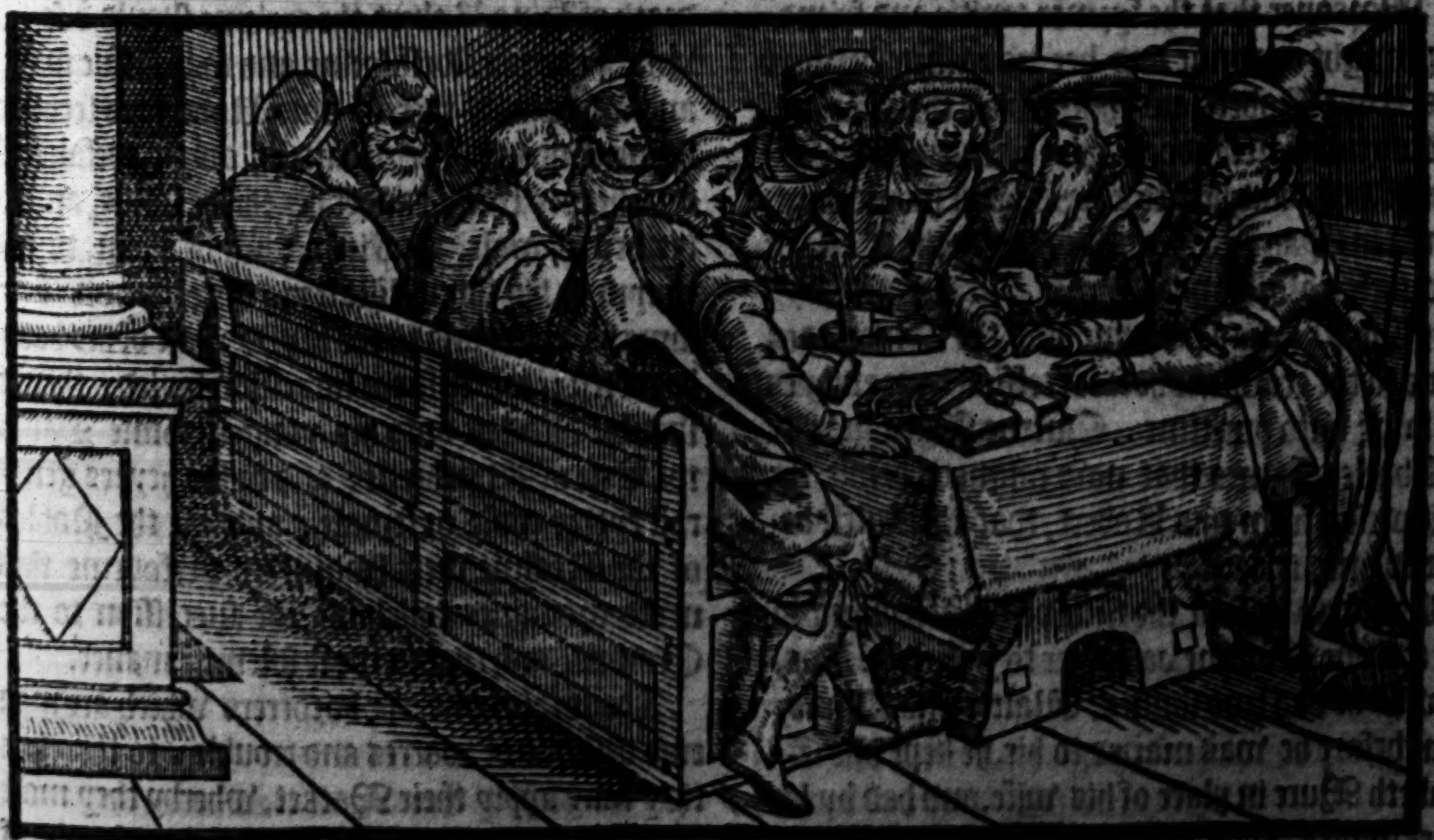
In the. xxvij. yeare of hys raigne the Riuers and other waters roſe on ſuche heigth throughe aboundaunce of rayne that fell in the latter ende of Harueſt, that breaking forth of theyr common Chanelles, wyth theyr violent ſtreame manye houſes and townes were borne downe and deſtroyed.

John Duns.

About thys tyme lyued diuerſe notable Clerkes, as Iohn Duns of the order of Saint Francis, Richard Middleton, and William Ocham, with other.

The aſſemble of the Lordes for the election of a new king.

King Dauid beeing thus deade and buryed, the Nobles aſſembled at Lythquo aboute the election of hym that ſhoulde ſucceede in hys place.



William Erle of Dowglas claymeth the crowne.

The greater part of the Nobilitie, and ſuche as were of the ſounder iudgement, agreed vpon Robert Stewarde, but William Erle of Dowglas being come thither with a great power, claimed to be preferred by right of Edwarde Ballyoll and the Cumyn, which right he pretended to haue receyued of them both, and there ought to be no doubt (as he alledged) but that the crowne apperteined by iuſt title vnto them, as all the world knewe, and therfore ſith he had both their rightes, he mainteyned that he was true and indubitate inheritour to the crowne.

It appeared that the ſayde Earle Dowglas purpoſed to vſurpe the Crowne by force, if hee might not haue it by friendly and quiet meanes: But neuertheleſſe he was diſappointed of his purpoſe, by reaſon that George Earle of March, and John Dunbar Earle of Murrey, with the Lorde Erſkyne and others (of whoſe friendly furtherance hee thought himſelfe aſſured) gaue theyr voyces with the Stewarde, aſſyſting his ſide to their vttermoſt powers.

He reſigneth his right to the Stewarde.

The Dowglas perceyuing hereby that hee ſhould not be able to mainteyne his quarel, reſigned therevpon his pretenſed title, which in effect was of no importāce, nor worthy the diſcuſſing.

Robert.

Robert Stewarde is crowned king of Scotlande.

THen was Rob. Stewarde conueyed vnto Scone, and there crowned wt great ſolemnitie, and was called Robert the ſecōd. This came to paſſe in the .xlvij. yeare of his age, on our Ladye daye in Lent, called the Annuntiation.

Moreouer that the fyrmer amitie and friendſhip might continue and bee nouriſhed betwixt this King Robert and his ſubiect the Earle of Dowglas aforeſayde, it was accorded that Eufame eldeſt daughter to king Robert ſhould be giuen in maryage to James ſonne to the Earle of Dowglas aforeſayde.

The firſt comming of the Stewardes to the Crowne.

Thus ye may perceyue how the Stewardes came to the crown, whoſe ſucceſſion haue enioyed the ſame vnto our time. Queene Mary mother to Charles James that now raigneth being the viij. perſon from this Robert, that thus firſt atteyned vnto it.

Elizabeth Mure king Roberts concubine.

He had to wife at the time of his atteyning to the crowne, Eufame daughter to ye Erle of Ros, by whō he had two ſonnes, Walter and Dauid. But before he was maried to hir, he kept one Elizabeth Mure in place of his wife, and had by hir three ſonnes, John, Robert, and Alexander, with diuerſe daughters, of the which one was maried to John Dunbar Erle of Murrey, and an other to John Leon Lord of Glames.

How the glaſſes c the Erled of Murrey.

The Erledome of Murrey continued in poſſeſſion of the Dunbars onely during the lyfe of this Erle John and his ſonne, in whom the ſucceſſion failed touching the name of the Dunbars, in the inioying of that Erledome: for leauing a daughter behinde him that was maryed to the Dowglas, the ſame Dowglas came by that meanes to the ſayd Erledome of Murrey.

King Robert after his coronation made ſundrie Erles, Lordes, Barons and Knightes. Amongſt other James Lindſey of Glenneſk was made Erle of Crawford.

Eufame th Queene de ceaſſeth.

Elizabeth Mure mari to K.Robe

His wife Queene Eufame deceaſſed the third yeare after hir huſband atteyned the crowne, and then incontinently hee maryed Elizabeth Mure his olde lemman, to the ende that the children which he had by hir might be made legitimate by vertue of the matrimonie ſubſequent.

The prefer ment of the kings ſonn to digniti

Not long after by authoritie of a Parliament aſſembled, he made his eldeſt ſonne John, begotten on Elizabeth Mure aforeſayde, Erle of Carrik: his ſecond ſonne begottē on hir Erle of Mentrith and Fife: and his third ſonne Alexander begotten likewiſe on the ſame mother, he created Earle of Buchquhane, and Lorde of Badzenocht.

Hys eldeſt ſonne Walter, begotten on Eufame his fyrſt wyfe, was made Earle of Atholl, and Lorde of Brechin: his ſeconde ſonne Dauid, begotten on the ſame Eufame, was made Earle of Stratherne.

The ſayde Walter procured the ſlaughter of James the firſt, for that hee pretended a right to the crowne, as after ſhall appeare.

An Act for ſ ceſsion of th Crowne.

Shortly after, he called another Parliament at Perth, where it was ordeyned, that after the death of King Robert, the crowne ſhould diſcend vnto John his eldeſt ſonne, and to his iſſue male, and for default thereof vnto Robert his ſeconde ſonne, and to his heyres male, and for default of ſuch heyres, to Alexander his thirde ſonne, and to his heyres male. And in default of them, to remayne to his ſonne Walter, begotten on Eufame his wife, and to the heyres male of his body begotten: and if ſuche ſucceſſion fayled, then it ſhoulde diſcende vnto his yongeſt ſonne Dauid the Erle of Stratherne, and to his heyres generall eyther male or female, and all the Nobles of the Realme were ſworne to perfourme this newe ordinance touching the ſucceſſion to the Crowne, and that in moſt ſolemne maner.

The borderers deſirous of warre.

About this time, the borderers which are moſt euer deſirous of warres and trouble, to the ende they may apply their Market, wherby they moſt chiefely liue, that is to witte, reife and ſpoyle of their neighbours goodes, through enuie of long peace and quietneſſe, vpon a quarell pyked, ſlue certaine of the houſeholde ſeruauntes of George Earle of Dunbar at the Fayre of Roxbourgh, which as then the Engliſh men helde.

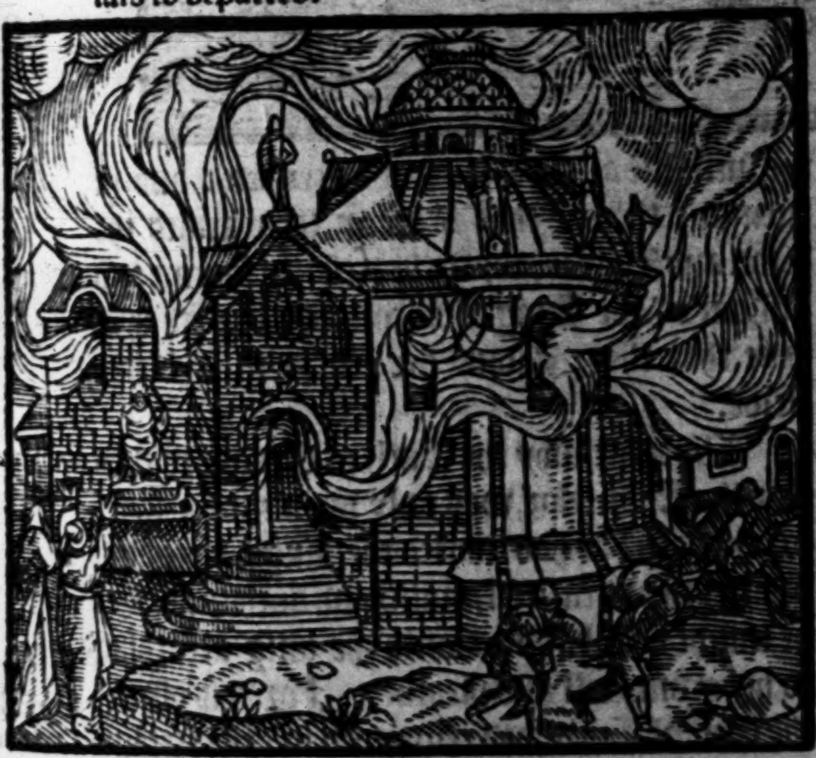
Roxbourgh Fayre.

Earle George ſore offended herewith, ſent an Heralde vnto the Earle of Northumberlande Warden of the Engliſhe Marches, requiring that ſuche as had committed the ſlaughter might bee deliuered to receyue according to that they had deſerued: But when hee coulde get nought but dilatorie anſweres, full of deriſion rather than importing any true meaning, he paſſed ouer his diſpleaſure tyll more oportunitie of tyme might ſerue.

The truce violated.

In the yeare following agaynſte the nexte Fayre to be holden at Roxbourgh aforeſayde, the ſayd Erle of March, with his brother the Erle of Murrey gathered a power of men ſecretely togither, and cõming to the ſayd towne tooke it, ſlue all the Engliſh men founde within it, put theyr goodes to the ſack, and after ſet the towne on fire, and ſo departed.

Roxbourgh ſurpriſed by the Earle of March.



Herevpon the Engliſh men ſhortly after enter with an armie into Scotlande, burning & doing much hurt vpon the landes of ſir John Gordon, for that they ioyned to the Erle of Marches lãds.

The Engliſh men inuade Scotlande.

Sir John Gordoun right deſirous to reuenge this iniurie, came into Englande with an armie, and getting togither a great bootie of Cattell, returned therwith homewardes, but being encountred by the way at a place called Carran or Corram, by John Lilborne and other Engliſh men, there was a ſore fight betwixt them, the victorie for a time ſhewing it ſelfe ſo variable and vncertaine, that ſir John Gordon was ſore wounded, and the Scottes were fiue tymes that day had in chaſe, and as often got the like aduantage of their enimies.

The Engliſh was diſcomfited.

Sir Iohn Lylborne taken.

In the ende the Engliſhe men were cleanly diſcomfited, and theyr Captayne ſir John Lylborne, with his brother & diuerſe other brought priſoners into Scotlande.

Henrie Percie Erle of Northumberland.

To reuenge theſe diſpleaſures, Henrie Percie Erle of Northumberland, entred into Scotlande with ſeuen thouſande men, and comming vnto Duns, there pytched downe his tentes, but in the night following came the Herdes and other people of the countrey, hauing prepared certayne bagges made and ſowed togither of drie leather like to Bladders, into the whiche they had put ſmall pebble ſtones, and running vp and downe about the place where the Engliſh men were encamped, made ſuche a noyſe with thoſe bagges full of ſtones, that the Engliſhe mens Horſes breaking theyr Halters and Brydles, wherewith they were tyed, ranne from theyr maiſters and keepers, and were ſcattered ſo abrode in the countrey, that the Scottiſhe men got holde of them, and ſo in the morning the Engliſh men that had watched al night, for doubt to haue beene aſſayled by theyr enimies) perceyuing themſelues ſet on foote, returned home without any further attempt.

A policie to afright horſes.

Thomas Muſgraue captaine of Barwike taken priſoner.

In the meane time, Thomas Muſgraue captaine of Barwike comming to the ſuccors of the Earle of Northumberlande, chaunced to meete with ſir John Gordon vpon the way, by whome he was takẽ, & led into Scotland as his priſoner.

Neyther had the Scottes the better thus onely on the Eaſt Marches, but alſo on the Weſt, where ſir John Johnſtoun had ſundrie ſkyrmiſhes with the Engliſh men, and went euer away with the vpper hande.

A Legate from the Pope.

About this time, Pope Gregorie the .xj. ſent a Legate from Auignion to king Robert, forbidding him in any wiſe to meddle with the goodes perteining to the Church after the deceaſſe of any Biſhop, perſon, or vicar.

1378

On the .xxij. day of October, in the yere. 1378. Dauid Stewarde was borne, which afterwards was made Duke of Rothſay, and on Saint Androwes day next following, the towne of Barwike was taken by ſir John Gordon and .vj. or vij. other knightes, but it was not long kept: for a number of Engliſh men entring by a poſterne of the Caſtell, recouered the towne eaſily againe out of the Scottiſh mens handes.

Barwike taken by Scottes.

Recouered againe out of their handes.

1380

After this, William Erle of Douglas came with .xx. thouſande men to the Fayre of Pennire within Englande, and ſpoyled all the goods founde as then in the ſame Fayre, and ſo returned with great rythes into Scotlande: but the Scottiſhe men ſmally reioyſed at this gayning, for with ſuch cloth & other wares as they brought away with them from the foreſayde Fayre, they brought alſo to the Countrey ſuche a violent and ſore peſtilence, that the thirde part of all the people where it came dyed therof.

The Fayre of Pennyth.

The thirde time that the peſtilẽce came in to Scotland.

This was the thirde time that the peſtilence was

1380

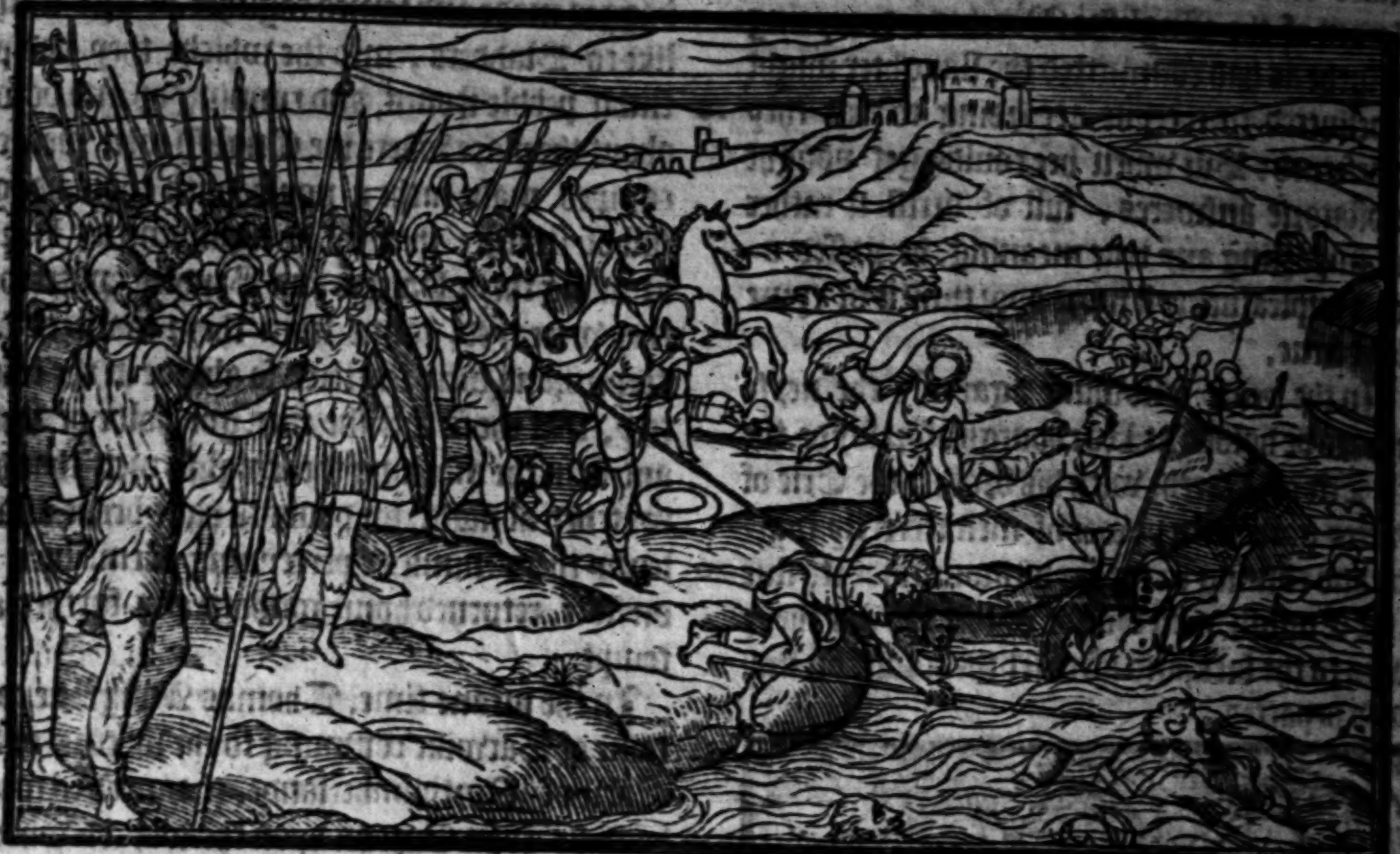
knowne to haue don any great hurt in Scotlād, being in the yeare after the incarnation, 1380.

The Engliſh men inuade the Scottiſh borders.

The Engliſh men to reuenge the diſpleaſure done by the Earle of Dowglas at Penryze, rayſed a great army, and came with the ſame ouer Sulway, & inuading ỹ Scottiſh borders on that ſide moſt cruelly, ſpared neither fire nor ſworde.

English
ſlaine and
drowned.

In the meane time, the Scots gathered to the number of fiue .C. men, and ſtood at a ſtrayt, tyll the Engliſh men ſhoulde come to paſſe by them, & then with ſuch huge noyſe and clamor they ſet on the Engliſh men, that in giuing backe there was foure .C. of them ſlaine, & a great number of the reſidue for haſte drowned in the water of Sulway, and hereby was all the bootie of cattaile and goodes recouered againe by the Scottes, and the moſt part of it reſtored to the owners.



Ambaſſadours frō the French king.

Charles the ſixt as then French king, hearing of ſuche proſperous aduentures dayly chauncing to the Scottes, ſent ouer his Ambaſſadours vnto king Robert, exhorting him to followe his good fortune and occaſion thus offered, to reuenge old iniuries agaynſt the Engliſhe men, nowe that their heartes ſeemed to fayle them through loſſes ſuſteyned diuerſe wayes of late at the Scottiſhe mens handes.

The renuing of the league betwixt Scotlande and Fraunce.

An other cauſe of their meſſage was alſo, (as the Scottes doe write) to renue the olde league and bande betwixt Scotland and France, which being done in ſolemne wiſe according to the maner, they returned into Fraunce, and with them went Ambaſſadors from king Robert vnto their maiſter the ſayd King Charles, Walter Wardlaw, Cardinall and Biſhop of Glaſgew, wyth many other noble men, who in like maner there renued the ſame league and bond of friendſhip, to the high contentation of both the Princes. This was in the eleuenth yeare of King Robert hys raigne.

The Chauncelor of Scotland ſlaine.

In which yeare Iohn Lion Chauncelor of Scotlande was ſlaine by Iames Lyndeſay Erle of Crawford.

This Iohn Lion grewe into ſo high fauour with king Robert, that he gaue to him his daughter the Ladie Elizabeth in mariage, with diuerſe poſſeſſions and landes called Glammis. Of him the ſurname of the Lions is deſcended: and in memorie thereof they beare in their armes the Lion and Lillyes, wyth the treſſe in fourme and faſhion as the King of Scotlande beareth hys, ſaue that theyr Lions are placed in a blacke fielde.

Enuie and
ſpite.

The cauſe why the Earle of Crawford thus ſlue the Chancelor, was only vpon enuy & ſpite, for that after he had maried the kings daughter, he atteyned to ſuch eſtimatiō and authoritie, that he might do all things with the king according to his owne will and pleaſure. For this offence the Erle of Crawford remayned in exile certaine yeares after, and durſt not returne home, til finally through earneſt ſute made to the king by the Erles of Dowglas, and March, his pardon was begged, and then at length he was reconciled to the kings fauour.

The Erle
Crawford in
exile.

His pardo
begged.

1381

English Am-
baſſadors ſe
into Scotland

In the meane time Edward king of England the third of that name, departed this life, and Richard of Burdeaux, ſonne to the blacke Prince, Edward, that was ſonne to the ſaid K. Edward, ſucceeded, in the fourth yeare of whoſe raigne being after the byrth of our Sauiour, 1381. Iohn of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter, with diuerſe Engliſhe Lordes came into Scotlande in Ambaſſade, to treate for the appeaſing of the diſcorde as then continuing betwixt the two Realmes: and in the ende the matter was ſo handled, that a truce was concluded to endure for three yeares.

A truce ta

Rebellion in
England

As the ſaid Duke was returning homewardes, he was informed of the rebellion and inſurrection

made

acke Straw.

made by the commons of England againſt the nobles, hauing one Iacke Straw & others to their captaines, wherevpon doubting to paſſe through his owne countrey till things were better appeaſed, he returned into Scotlande, & was conueyed by William Erle of Dowglas, and Archymbald Dowglas Lorde of Galloway, vnto holy Roode houſe beſide Edenbourgh, where he remayned till he heard that the rebels were ſuppreſſed, and their captaynes ſlaine or taken and put to execution.

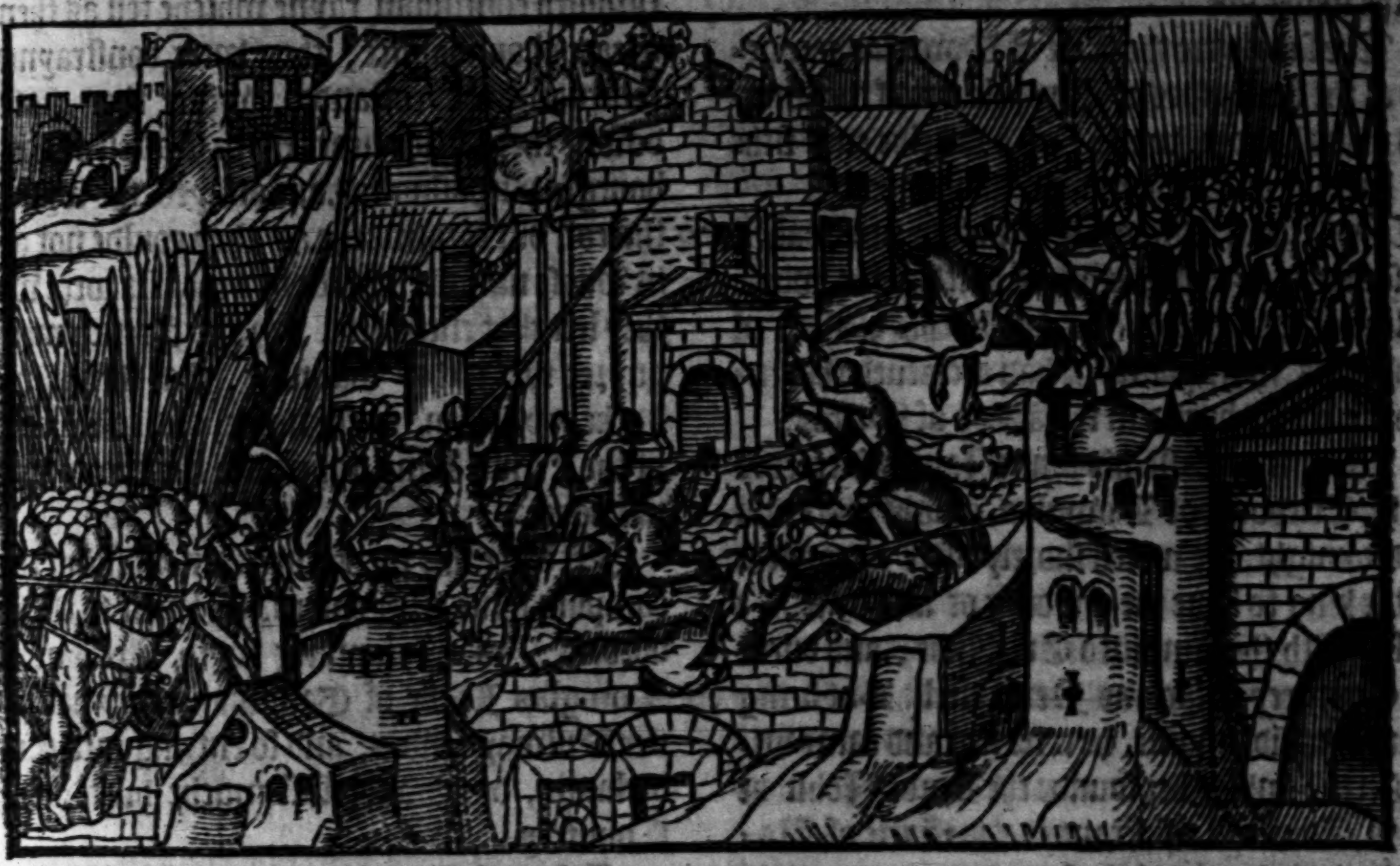
The truce expyred.

The gariſon of Lochmaben

As ſoone as the truce was expyred, Archymbalde Dowglas Lorde of Galloway, diſpleaſed in his minde that the Engliſhmen lying in garriſon within the Caſtell of Lochmaben did dayly harie and robbe the villages and country townes of Galloway & Annandall, rayſed a great power by ſupport of the Earles of Dowglas, & March, & therwith layd a ſtrong ſiege vnto the ſayd Caſtell of Lochmaben, and hauing lyen thereat the ſpace of ix. dayes, they fought with a number of Engliſh men that came out of Carleil to reſcue this caſtel, whom hauing put to flight, they gaue therewith alſo a ſharpe aſſault to the Caſtell, and put them within in ſuche feare, that ſir William Fetherſton then captaine thereof, and the reſidue conſented to yeeld the houſe vnto the Scots euen the ſame day wͭout more ado, vpõ condition they might depart wͭ their goods in ſaftie into Englãd

1384

The caſtell of Lochmaben rendred to the Scotties.



Fourdon.

But Fourdon writing of the winning of this Caſtell, ſpeaketh not of any ouerthrow giuen to thoſe that ſhould come from Carleil in maner as other write. For thus he ſayth. Whẽ Archimbald Dowglas had got knowledge that the ſame Caſtell was vtterly vnprouided both of men and vitails neceſſarie for the defence therof, he aſſembled an army togither with the helpe of the Earles of Dowglas & Dunbar, who ioining with him, enuironed the Caſtell about with a ſtrong ſiege, ſo that no ſuccour coulde enter to the reliefe of them within at any hande. Herevpon the captaine ſir William Fetherſton knight, ſent letters vnto the lord wardens of the Engliſh marches, requiring ayde, & letting them to vnderſtande in what daunger hee ſtoode for lacke of men and vitayles. The wardens wrote to him again, that he ſhould do his beſt for. viij. dayes to holde out, & if no ſuccor came within that terme, thẽ to do as he ſhuld ſee cauſe. Herevpon ſir William Fetherſton requyred a truce of the Scottiſh lords for the ſpace of thoſe. viij dayes, within which terme if no ſuccor came to remoue their ſiege, he would yeeld the caſtel vnto them, the liues and goods of thẽ within ſaued. This was granted, & the Scots ceaſſed further to annoy them within by aſſaultes: and when the. ix. day was come, and no ayde from Englande appeared, they receyued the caſtel into their poſſeſſion, according to the couenãt. And ſo the Scottes hauing thus wonne the Caſtell of Lochmaben, razed it quite downe to the earth.

Sir William Fetherſton.

It is raſed.

King Richard hearing that the Scots had atchieued this enterpriſe, appoynted the Baron of Grayſtocke with a certaine number of men to go with vitayles and munition vnto Roxbourgh, for doubt leaſt if the Scottes came to lay ſiege to that fortreſſe, & finding it vnprouided, they might peraduenture bring it into further daunger than would lightly be remedied.

The Baron of Grayſtocke taken.

As this Baron was come within a myle of Roxbourgh, he was takẽ by the Erle of March, and brought to Dunbar with all his prouiſion.

An army by ſea and an other by lande prepared againſt the Scottes.

The Duke of Lancaſter commeth with an army to Edenbourgh.

The king of England being informed alſo of this miſhap, appoynted two armies, one by ſea, & another by land, to inuade the Scots, yͤ Duke of Lancaſter hauing the general charge & conduit of thẽ both, who giuing order to thẽ that ſhuld paſſe by ſea what they ſhuld do, entred himſelf by land, and waſting the coũtreyes of March & Louthian, came to Edenbourgh, & toke yͤ town, but whereas his ſouldiours woulde haue ſpoyled and burned it, he compounded with the inhabitantes for a ſumme of money, and ſo returned without doing any more domage.

His nauie being as then arriued in the Forth, taryed behinde, and firſt burning the Abbay of Saint Colmes Inche, a number of the Souldiers with their Captaynes landed in Fife, and ſpoyled diuerſe townes and villages there: but in the ende, Thomas and Nicholas Erſkynnes being brethren, Alexander Lindſey, and William Cunningham of Kylmauris, ſet vpon them, and ſlue the moſt part of them, ſo that few in number eſcaped againe to their ſhips, being purſued hard to the water ſide.

The Engliſh men diſcomfited in Fife.

The ſame yere the Erle of Dowglas recouered al the ſtrengthes of Tiuidale out of the Engliſh mens handes, which they had helde euer ſithe the battaile of Durham vnto thoſe dayes.

The ſtrengthes of Tiuidale recouered.

This Erle of Dowglas, one of the moſt valiãt perſonages in thoſe his dayes within the whole realme of Scotlande, died within his Caſtell of Dowglas, ſhortly after he had atchieued this enterpriſe, & was buried in the Abbey of Melros.

The Earle of Dowglas deceaſſeth.

After his deceaſſe, his ſonne James ſucceeded in the Erledome of Dowglas, a right fierce and hardie knight, the which ſhortly after appoynted by the king to haue the guyding of an armie, he paſſed with the ſame into Englande, and burnt the Countrey ſo farre as Newcaſtell. But being countermaũded home, he returned and came vnto Perth, where hee founde the Lorde John de Vian, Admirall of Fraunce and Earle of Valentinois, who about the ſame time was arriued in Scotlande with two hundred and. xl. ſhippes well and perfitely furniſhed for the warres, and in them two thouſand and fiue hundred armed mẽ, diuerſe of them beeing Lordes and Barons, beſides Gentlemen and others. Alſo there was amongſt them 400. Hagbutters, (as Balentine ſayth) and two hundred with Croſbowes: the reſidue bare pykes, halberts, & ſuch like weapons.

James Earle of Dowglas.

The Scots inuade Northumberland.

Iohn de Vian Admirall of France.

26. Barons, 800. men of armes or knights. I. Fo. I doubt whether there were any Hagbuttes vſed in thoſe dayes, though gonnes were ſomewhat before that time inuẽted.

They were payde theyr wages for one whole yeare aforehande, and had brought vitayles with them to ſerue them as long. They had brought alſo with them. 400. hundred payre of white Curets, foure hundred halfe lang ſwordes, and fiftie thouſande Frankes to to bee giuen among the Nobles of Scotlande, accordingly as king Robert ſhould appoynt and thinke expedient.

The Admirall and other the nobles of France, being thus come into Scotlande to make warres on the Engliſhe men, were highly feaſted by the king and Lordes of the Realme, as then preſent with him, and when the Erle of Dowglas was once come, by common conſent of them all there aſſembled togither in Counſell, it was ordeyned that an army ſhould be rayſed with al ſpeed, that ioyning with theſe French men they might paſſe immediately into Englande.

The Earle of Fife ſonne to king Robert was appoynted to bee generall of this armie, hauing with him the Earles of Dowglas, and Marche, Archymbald Dowglas Lord of Galloway, and diuerſe other of the Scottiſh nobilitie.

The Earle of Fife.

This armie when they were all togither, amounted to the number of fiftie thouſande men, the which entring into England, toke the caſtels of Warke, Fourde, and Cornwall.

An armie of Scottes and French men enter into England.

Caſtels wo

After this, by robbing and ſpoyling the countrey betwixt Barwike and Newcaſtell, they did much hurt in all parties where they came, but through continuall rayne whiche fell as then in greate aboundaunce, they were conſtrayned to returne into Scotlande, where they pytched downe theyr fielde neare to the Caſtell of Rokeſbourgh, purpoſing to haue aſſayed the wynning thereof, but foraſmuche as they coulde not agree in whoſe name it ſhoulde be kept, if it were won, they left that enterpriſe. For the French men requyred that if they wanne it, that then it might bee kept by them, in the name, and to the behoofe of the French King, wherevnto the Scots would not agree.

The French men & Scot cannot agre

Yet after this the French men wiſhing to accompliſh ſome other enterpriſe, went to the weſt borders, where ioyning wyth Archymbalde Dowglas Lorde of Galloway, they paſſed ouer Sulway ſandes, and ſo entring into Cumberlande, did wonderfull muche hurte in that Countrey.

They inuade Cumberland

At length they determined to laye ſiege vnto Carleil, but being called frõ thence, they returned into Scotland, and then (as ſome authors write) and not before, they laid ſiege vnto Rokſbourgh, and rayſed from thence within. viij. dayes after, by reaſon of the variance before alledged.

At Alhallowentide next enſuing, the French men returned into Fraunce, hauing endured no ſmall trauail and paynes ſith their firſt comming forth of their Countrey.

The French men returne into France.

After they were gotten a Shippe borde to returne homewardes, the Scottes againe enter into England with an armie, remayning there for the ſpace of two monethes, (as the Scottiſh writers ſay.) And in the meane time king Richarde aſſembled a mightie power, and inuading Scotland, paſſed through the Mers, and Louthian, putting all the townes, countrys and houſes vnto vtter ruine, as in the Engliſhe Hiſtorie more plainly it may appeare.

King Richar inuadeth Scot lande.

1387

In the yeare next enſuing, Walter Wardlaw Biſhop of Glaſgewe and Cardinall departed this life. Alſo within a while after that king Richard was returned back into England, Robert Steward Erle of Fife, wt James Erle of Dowglas,

glas, Archimbald Dowglas, L. of Galoway entred into Englande with an army of thirtie M. men, comming ſo ſecretely through the water of Sulway, that they came to Cokermouth in ſuch ſpeedy wiſe vppon the ſuddayne, that the people had not leyſure to conuay away their goodes, ſo that the Scottes remayning there for the ſpace of three dayes, got a riche bootie togither, and returned with the ſame through ẏ countreys of Weſtmerland and Northumberlãd ſafe, and without encounter agayne into Scotlande.

Army of
rty thou-
d Scottes
aded Eng-
d by the
marches.
okermouth
en vpon the
dayne.

Amongſt certayne other things, found in rifeling and ranſacking of houſes in thys iourney, there was a Chartor found of certayne lands giuen by King Athelſtane in this forme:

he forme of
ld deede
gle.

I Kyng Athelſtane gyues to Paullane, Odhiam and Rodhiam, als guid and als fayre, als euer yay mine wayre, and yarto witneſſe Malde my wife. By tenoure of whiche deede it may appeare, that our aunceſtors gaue more credite to the true meaning of a fewe words barely expreſſed in their writings, than that there needed ſo long proces and circumſtaunce as is nowe vſed with long ſtudie of penning, nothyng beeyng thought ſufficiente to aſſure the parties of theyr couenaunted bargaynes, and concluded agreementes.

e true mea-
g of men
lde time.

In this laſt iourney againſt the Engliſhmen, William Dowglas ſon to Archimbalde Dowglas Lord of Galloway, wanne greate fame and honor for his high prowes and noble valiancie, ſhewed as well in certayne approches made vnto Carlile, as in diuers other ſkirmiſhes elſe where.

lli Dow-
honored
his high
es.

The King alſo herevpon began to fauour him in ſuch wiſe, that he thought him worthy of ſome high aduancement: and therevpon gaue hym hys daughter in marriage named Giles, a Ladye of ſuch excellent beautie, as hir match in thoſe dayes was not to be found.

He begote on hir a daughter, whiche was after maried to the Erle of Orkeney. This William Dowglas, as Iohn Furdon noteth, was of a blackiſh or ſwart couloure, not ouercharged with fleſh, but bigge of bone, a mightie perſonage, vpright and tall, valiant, curteous, amiable, full of liberalitie, mery, faithfull, and pleaſaunt in company, but herewith he was of ſuche ſtrength, that whome ſoeuer he ſtroke eyther with mace, ſword, or ſpeare, downe he wente were hee neuer ſo well armed. At one time, as the ſame Furdon ſayeth, he hauing with him but eight hundreth, foughte againſt three thouſand Engliſhmen, of whome, two hundred he ſlewe in the fielde, and broughte fiue hundred priſoners with him into Scotland.

88.

In the yeere 1388. Roberte Earle of Fife, and Archembald Dowglas Lorde of Galloway, entred with a proude army into Englande, and in the meane time, came ſundry Iriſhmen by Sea, to the coaſtes of Galloway, and landing in dyuers places, fetched away great booties of Cattel, and other goodes of the inhabitauntes, whereof William Dowglas, ſonne of the ſaide Archembald being enformed, gote a conuenable power of men togither, by ſupporte of his brother in lawe, Robert Earle of Fife, and by licence of the King paſſed ouer with the ſame, ſhipped in certayne veſſels into Ireland, where being gote a lande, he layd ſiege to the towne of Carlingford.

Iriſhmen fetch prayes in Galloway.

Williã Dowglas inuadeth Ireland with fiue hundred men, as Iohn Fourdon hath.

Carelingforde beſeeged.

The towneſmen doubting to be taken by aſſalt, purchaſed a truce for certayne dayes, promiſing to giue a greate ſumme of money to haue their towne ſaued: but in the meane time, they aſſembled the number of an eight hundred menne, through help of an other towne not farre off, called Doundalke, and ioyning with them, they deuided them ſelues into two partes, one parte ſetteth vpon Robert of Duryſdeir, who hauing the conduit of the Earle of Fifes men, was gone abroade into the Countrey to fetch in ſome pray, and the other part aſſayleth William Dowglas, that lay ſtill afore the towne.

The craftie dealing of the towneſmen.

The Iriſhmen aſſayle the Scottes in two ſeueral places.

Neuertheleſſe, the ſayd Robert and William receyued the enimies with ſuche manhoode, that they put them in both places to flight, and immediately after, gaue aſſaulte to the towne, and entring the ſame perforce, put all the goodes founde therein to the ſacke, and then ſet it on fire, and brenned it to aſhes.

The Iriſhmen put to flighte.

Carelingforde won by aſſalt.

This done, they toke threeſcore ſhippes whiche they found in diuers hauens and creekes there on that coaſt, and fraughting .xv. of them with ſuch ſpoyle as they had gote, they brenned the reſidue, and then returning homewards, ſpoyled the Ile of Man by the way as they paſſed.

The Ile of Man ſpoyled.

Shortly after their returne home, the King of England ſent an Army into Scotlande, whyche did muche hurt in the Mers, in brenning and ouerthrowing diuers towres and houſes. Kyng Robert being certifyed hereof, as then remayning in the North partes of Scotlande, aſſembled the Nobles of his Realme at Aberdene, and there by all their aduiſes it was concluded, that the whole puiſſance of the Realme ſhould be reiſed with all ſpede, to reuenge thoſe iniuries done by the Engliſhmen.

Engliſhmen brenne in the Mers.

Herevppon were two Armies aſſembled, the one, wherein was a .xv. thouſande men, was cõmitted to the gouernaunce of the Earle of Fife, hauing with him the Earle of Menteith, Archibald Douglas Lord of Galloway, and Alexander Lindſay of Walcop.

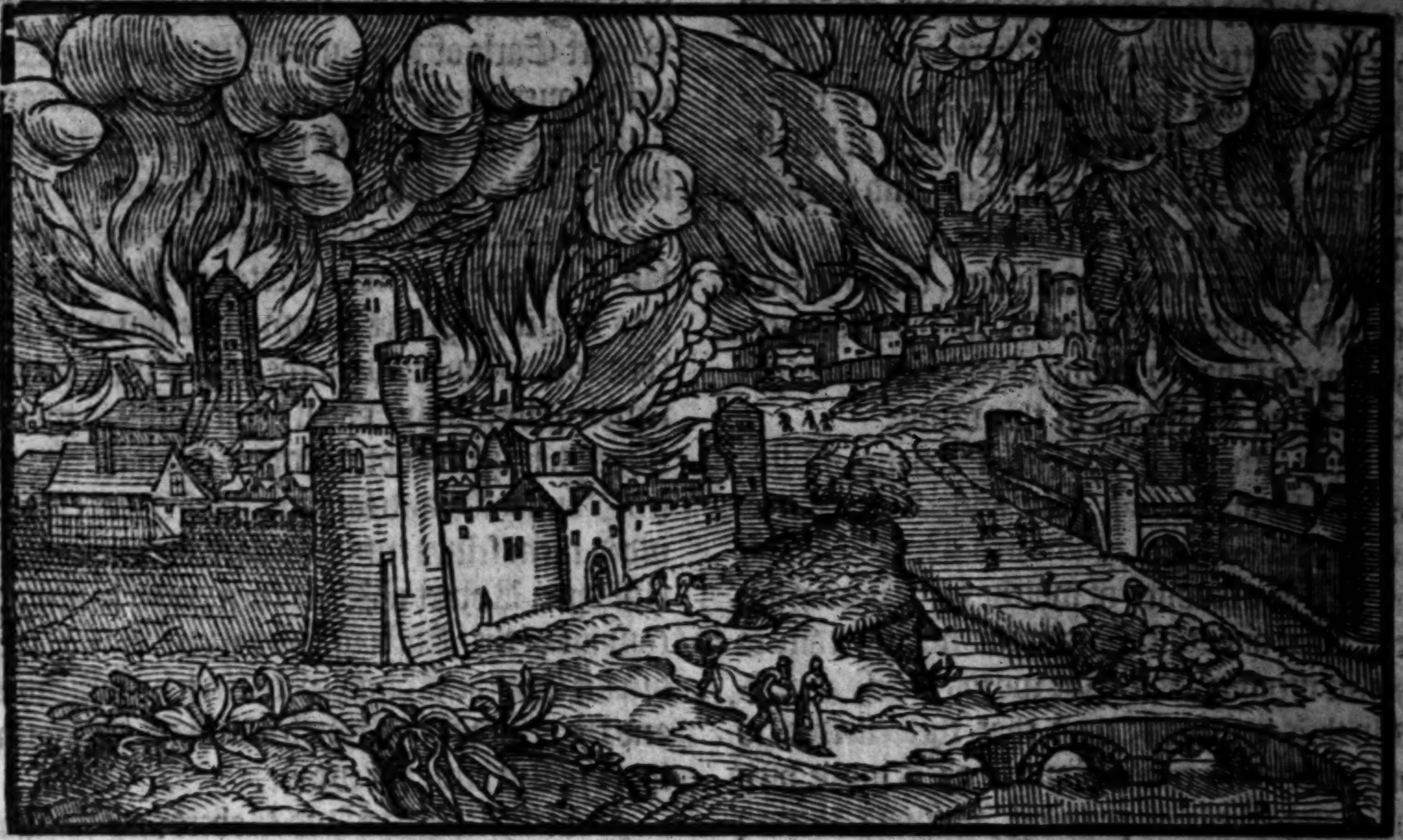
Two armies of Scottiſhmen aſſembled.

The other containing the like number of men, was appointed to the guiding of the Earles of Douglas and March, hauing with them Iames Lindſay Earle of Crawforde, Iohn Dunbar Earle of Murray, and the Lorde Hay the Cunſtable of Scotlande, with diuers other of the nobilitie.

Cumberland inuided.

North land

These two armies parting in ſunder at Iedworth, the Earle of Fyfe with his people entred into Cumberlande by the weſt marches, and the Earles of Dowglas and March with theirs, entred on the other ſide into Northumberland, paſſing through the countrey ſpoyling and waſting the ſame, till as farre as Durham, and on the other part, the Earle of Fife ſpared neyther fire nor ſword, all the way as he paſſed.



At length both theſe armies met togither about a tenne miles from Newcaſtle.

Tenne thouſand of the choyleſt men with the Earle of Dowglas.

Heere the Earle of Dowglas choſe forth ten thouſande of the moſt able men that coulde bee found amongſt all the numbers, with the whiche he went to Newcaſtle, to trie if by any meanes he might take the towne.

The aſſemble of the Engliſhmen at Newcaſtell.

There was gathered into Newcaſtell before hys comming thither, the moſt part of al the choſen men from Yorke to the bordures, with the Earle of Northumberland, who by reaſon of extreame age, was not able to ſturre abroade (any thing to purpoſe) him ſelfe, but he had with hym two of his owne ſonnes, the one named Henry, and the other Rauſe, very forwarde and luſty gentlemen.

Henry hoteſpurre.

This Henry beeing the elder, was ſurnamed for his often pricking, Henry hoteſpure, as one that ſeldome times reſted, if there were any ſeruice to be done abroade.

The Earle of Dowglas encampeth faſt by Newcaſtle.

The Earle of Dowglas comming to Newcaſtell, encamped with his people on that ſide the towne towards Scotland, and viewed the towne earneſtly, which way he might beſt come to giue aſſalt to winne it.

Henry Percy deſirous to ſhewe ſome proofe of his ſingular manhoode, wherein hee greatly truſted, required to fight with the Earle of Dowglas man to man, which requeſt the Earle graunting, togither they ranne mounted on two great courſers with ſharpe ground Speares at the vtteraunce.

The Earle of Dowglas and Henry Percy runne togither

The Earle of Dowglas in this encoũter bare himſelfe ſo well, that in the end he droue the Percy out of his ſaddle.

The Per diſmou beſide hy Horſe.

The Engliſhmen yͤ ſtoode without the gates made to the reſkew, recouered him on foote, and brought him forthwith backe into the towne.

An aſſal to New

Incontinetly herevpon, yͤ Earle of Dowglas cauſed the aſſault to be giuen, and filling the ditches with hay and fagottes, came with ladders to the walles: but the Engliſhmen ſo well defended them ſelues, that the Scottes were beaten backe not withoute greate loſſe and ſlaughter of theyr people.

Froiſar what va from th ciſh wri

Froyſart making mention of this enterprice thus made by the Scottes, varieth ſomewhat frõ the Scottiſh writers in this place, for he ſpeaketh nothing that the Dowglas and the Percy ſhould thus runne togither on horſebacke as before is ſpecifyed, but that in giuing aſſault to the towne, it chaunced that as the Engliſhmen defended their barriers withoute the gate, the Dowglas fortuned to be matched hand to hãd with Henry Percy, and there by force plucked the Percyes ſtaffe from him, and in retourning hoyſted it vp on heigth, ſaying, he woulde carrie the ſame for hys ſake into Scotlande: and the nexte day after, hee reyſed his campe and departed homewardes toward the bordures, and comming to a place called Otterborne, about a twelue or fourtene miles from Newcaſtel, pitched downe his tentes there, that his ſouldiours might take ſome reſt and refreſhe themſelues after their greate trauell, for they had not reſted of all the day nor night before, nor to any purpoſe, ſith their firſte entring into Englande.

Dowgl campe Otterb

In

The Engliſhe power encreaſed.

In the meane time the Engliſhe power was highly encreaſed at Newcaſtle, for a great number of the Countrey came, and entred into the Towne the ſame night that followed the day of the aſſault.

Henry Percy followeth the Scottes.

Henry Percy then perceyuing his number ſufficient to fyghte with the Dowglas, ſet them in order of battayle, and determined to iſſue forthe vpon the Scottes, and to giue them an encounter: but when he vnderſtode that they were gone homewardes, he followed them with all ſpeede, for he would by no meanes that they ſhould paſſe into Scotlande without battayle, truſting to recouer the diſhonor whiche he had ſuſteyned by loſing his ſtaffe at the barryers before the gate of Newcaſtell.

The Dowglas exhorteth hys men to fyghte manfully.

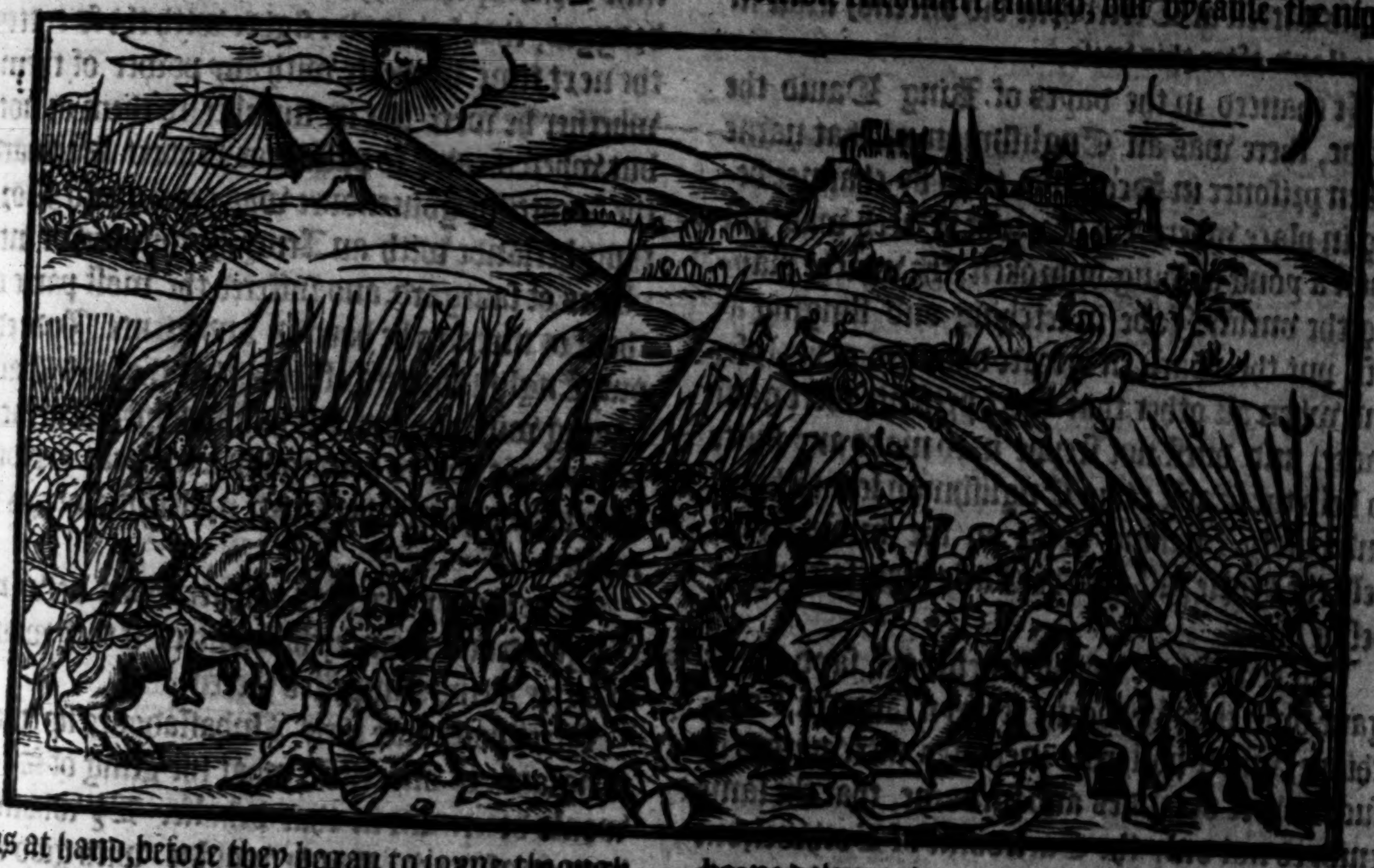
Earle Dowglas aduertiſed that the enimies were cumming to giue hym battell, exhorted his people with fewe wordes to remember their wonted manhode, that by gayning the victory, they might winne interminable fame and honor, with ſaufegard to themſelues and their country.

The Percy with comfortable wordes encourageth his men.

The Percy likewiſe for his part, encouraged his men, willing them to fyghte manfully in reuenge of the iniuries done to them and theyr friends by the Scottes, and herewith commaunding the Trumpettes to ſounde, he gaue the onſet fiercely.

The onſet is giuen.

Here both the armies ioyning togither, a right terrible encounter enſued, but bycauſe the nighte was at hand, before they began to ioyne, through want of light to ſee what was to doe, they were ſeuered in ſunder for that time: but remembring that the Moone would ſhortly ryſe, they determined ſo ſoone as ſhe began to giue lighte, to renewe the battell againe.



…ey were ſe-…ed by com-…ng on of …ight.

…e battell is …ewed.

As ſoone therefore as the Moone began to appeare, they ioyned agayne with more malice than afore.

…ike Heb-…releeue… the Scots …at to be …come.

The Engliſhmen fought ſo egerly, that putting the Scottes abacke, and cauſing them to giue ground, they had wonne the Scottiſh ſtanderts, and ſo by all likelihood gote the vpper hand, had not Patrike Hepborne with his ſonne, and ſuch other of his company as attended him, come to the reſkew, by whome the fight was begunne afreſhe.

…e valiancie …e Earle of …glas.

Herewith alſo came the Earle of Dowglas, and with a great mace in his hand, layd ſuch ſore ſtrokes round about him, that none came within his reach, but downe he went.

…e Engliſh-…en put to …ght.

Finally, the whole number of the Scottiſhmen bare themſelues ſo manfully, that the Engliſhmen being broken and put to flighte, were ſlayne and borne downe.

The chaſe continued till the breake of the day with killing and taking, as in ſuche caſes is euer ſeene, though the moſt parte indeede were taken with their liues ſaued after they once fell in chaſe.

Rauſe and Henry Percy taken priſoners.

Amongſt other, Rauſe Percy and his brother Henry, were taken by Keith the Merſhall of Scotland, ſomewhat before the Engliſhmen began to turne.

Other perſons taken.

There were alſo taken beſydes the two Percies, diuers other men of name, as Robert Ogill, Thomas Halbecke, John Lilborne, William Wauchope, Robert Nrott, the Baron of Hilth, John Colwell, and Patrike Louel Knightes.

The number of priſoners taken.

There were taken in all of Engliſhmen, to the number of a thouſande and fortie, and ſlayne what in the fielde and chaſe (as Froyſart teſtifieth) about an eyghteene hundred.

There were ſlayne but fiue hundreth Engliſhmen as Hector Boetius hath.

But yet the Scottiſh writers ſpeake of a farre leſſe number. Neyther did this victory chaunce to the Scottes without great loſſe and ſlaughter.

The death of James Earle of Dowglas.

For amongſt other, the Earle of Dowglas himſelfe was thruſt through the body, and alſo wounded ſo mortally on the head, that being borne to his tent a little before the end of the battell, he dyed of thoſe hurtes immediately after, to the greate diſcomforte of all his armie, conceyuing more dolorous griefe for the loſſe of ſo worthy a chieuetayne, than ioy for the gayne of ſo greate a victory. His body was conueyed vnto Melros, and buryed beſide his father Earle William in the Abbey church there. And bycauſe this Earle James had no heires of his body begotten, his Couſin Archembald Dowglas Lord of Galloway ſucceeded him in the Earledome.

See more of this matter in Englande.

Archimbalde Dowglas ſucceeded the Earle Iames of Dowglas.

The houſe of the Hepbornes (of the whyche this Patrike Hepborne that fought ſo valiauntly in this battell at Otterborne did diſcend) aroſe in Scotland after this wiſe.

It chanced in the dayes of King Dauid the thirde, there was an Engliſhman of that name taken priſoner in Scotland, who by chaunce being in place where the Earle of March was got vpon a yong gelding vnbroken, the whiche playing the vnruly Jade in fetching and flinging aloft, put the Earle in greate daunger of his lyfe, and when all other that were preſente there gaue backe, and durſt not ſteppe in to make any ſhifte to help the Earle: this Engliſhman lept to hym, and boldly catching holde on the bridle reyne, held the Horſe faſt till the Earle was ſafely gote beſide him.

The firſt aduancement of the Hepborns.

The Earles of Bothwell.

In rewarde of which benefite the ſayd Earle gaue vnto this Hepborne certayn lands in Lowthiam, whoſe poſteritie increaſed afterwardes in ſuch power of landes and ſurname, that the ſame enioyed not only the Earledome of Bothwel, but was alſo deuided into ſundry braunches, and many Knightes thereof haue riſen of right worthy fame and eſtimation.

This battell of Otterborne was foughte on ſaint Oſwaldes day, which is the fifth of Auguſt, in the yeere. 1388.

1388.

The Biſhop of Durham approcheth the Scottes with an armie.

The Biſhop of Durham was comming the day nexte following with a newe power to haue ayded the Percies, but hearing of the ouerthrowe, and beeing come within a little of the Scottiſhe camp, hee was enformed that the Scottes were as ready to defende, as hee was to aſſayle, and therevpon doubting the iſſue of his enterpriſe, if he ſhoulde giue battell, he turned backe to Newcaſtell, and ſuffered the Scottes to returne into their countrey without any further purſute.

He retireth.

A Parliament at Perth.

Robert Earle of Fyfe is choſen gouernoure of the Realme.

In the yeere following, a Parliamente was holden at Perth, in the whiche demonſtratiō was made by King Roberte, that for aſmuche as hee was broke by great age, and might not through feebleneſſe occaſioned thereof attende to his office in gouernemente of the Realme, it was neceſſary that ſome gouernoure ſhould be choſen, and therfore hee required that his ſeconde ſonne Roberte Earle of Fife might enioy that office, conſidering his eldeſt ſonne John Earle of Carrike (by reaſon of a ſtripe which he had receyued on the legge by an horſe of Sir James Douglas of Dalketh) was not able to trauell, but kept his bed, & might ſturre no way forth abroade.

The Lordes conſented to the Kings requeſt, and ſo the Earle of Fife was conſtituted gouernour of Scotland, by common conſente of all the Lords of the Realme.

The Earle Marſhal of England, w den of the Marches.

Alſo the Earle Marſhall of Englande, was ſent by King Richard to the borders, to remain there as Warden in the place of Henry Percye priſoner in Scotland. It is reported by ẏ Scottiſhe writers, that this Earle ſhould make ſtoute bragges, that he woulde fighte with the Scottes the next time he mette with any power of them, whether he were like in number to them or not, but when it came to paſſe that Robert Steward the Scottiſhe gouernoure was entred into Northumberlande with an Army, he withdrewe into places of ſauegard, and ſuffered the moſt parte of the Countrey to be harryed and brente. Indeede our Engliſh writers affirme, that the ſayd Earle hauing with him but fiue hundred men of armes, he was not able to accompliſh any great exploite auaylable againſt the greate multitude of hys enimies.

The gouer nour of Sc land inua Northum berlande.

A truce ta

The ſame yeere was a truce taken betwixte England and France, the Scottes (if they would ſo agree) being compriſed therein.

English a baſſadors into Scot The Kin Scottes a to the tr

Herevpon came their Ambaſſadours forthe of England, to vnderſtād what the King of Scots would determine in that behalfe. By whome it was aunſwered, that he woulde with good will ſtand to the ſame truce according as it was concluded.

Whileſt things paſſed thus in Scotland, Alexander Stewarde Earle of Buchquhan brente the Cathedrall Church of Murray, the lanterne and ornament of all the north part of Scotland, vpon diſpleaſure conceyued againſte the Byſhop of the ſame place. Whereat his father the Kyng tooke ſuche indignation, that when his ſonne the ſaid Alexander was broughte to his preſence, hee commaunded him to be committed vnto ſtraight priſon, wherein he remayned till after hys fathers deceaſe.

The Cat drall Ch of Murra brente.

The Earl Buchqu empriſo

The Realme being in this manner broughte to good tranquillitie, King Roberte falling into great infirmitie and feebleneſſe, by reaſon of extreame age, withoute any manner of other accidentall ſickneſſe, deceaſſed at his Caſtell of Dundonald, the nineteenth day of Aprill, in the yeere after our redemption. 1390. being as then about threeſcore and fifteene yeeres of age, and hauing reigned the ſpace of nineteene yeeres, his body was buried at Scone before the high altar.

The dec of King bert the conde.

139

is happy
ccesse in
arres.

This Robert the ſeconde, though by reaſon of his great age, he wente not forth into the warres him ſelfe, yet was there neuer Prince afore hym that had more happie ſucceſſe by the conduit of his Captaynes whiche he ſente forth as Lieutenaunts vnder him, for they neuer lightly returned home but with victory.

he constan-
e of King
oberte in
rd and
omise.

He was a Prince of ſuch cōſtancie in promiſe, that he ſeldome ſpake the worde which he performed not.

pright
ice.

Suche an obſeruer he was alſo of iuſtice, that when ſo euer hee remoued from any place, hee would cauſe proclamation to be made, that if any of his men or officers had taken vp any thing vnpayde for, the partie to whome the debte was due ſhould come in, and immediately he ſhoulde be ſatiſfyed.

s diligence
ndreſſe
re mens
ngs.

He willingly hearde the complayntes of the pore, and was no leſſe diligent to ſee their wrōgs redreſſed.

obert.

Stewarde
e of Car-
admitted
e Crown.

After the deceaſſe of King Roberte the ſeconde, hys ſon John Steward Earle of Carricke was admitted to the Crowne, which hee receyued at Scone on oure Ladye the Aſſumption.

1390

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chaun-
nd called
rte the

li Dow-
Nid-
e cho-
miral
e Lordes
n.

And for ſo much as John was thought to bee an infortunate name for Kings, they chaunged his name and called him Robert after his father, being now the third of that name.

About the ſame time, William Dowglas of Niddeſdale was choſen by the Lordes of Prutzen, to be Admirall of a nauy, conteyning two hundred and fortie ſhippes, whiche they had rigged, and purpoſed to ſet forthe againſte the miſcreaunt people of the Northeaſt partes, but being appealed by the Lord Clifford an Engliſhman, (who was there likewiſe to ſerue with the foreſaid Lords in that iourney) to fight with him in a ſingular combate. Before the day came appoynted for them to haue darreigned the battell, the Lorde Clifford lay in awayte for the Dowglas, and vppon the bridge of Danzke mette with him, and there ſlew him, to the great diſturbance and ſtay of the whole iourney.

lame by

agus.

Moreouer, ſhortly after the coronation of king Roberte the thirde, tidings came that Duncane Stewarde, ſonne to Alexander Stewarde the Kings brother afore reherſed, was entred into Angus with a greate number of men, and ſlewe Walter Ogiluy Shirefe of the countrey, that came forth with a power to reſiſt him from ſpoiling the people whom he miſerably afflicted, howbeit theſe his inſolent doings were not long vnpuniſhed, for the Earle of Crawfort beeing ſent againſt him with an army, cauſed him to diſperſe his company, and to flee his wayes, but beeyng apprehended with the moſt part of his ſayd company, they were puniſhed according to their demerites.

The North
partes of
Scotland ſore
diſquieted by
two Clannes.

At this time alſo the moſt parte of the North countrey of Scotland, was ſore diſquieted by two Clannes of thoſe Iriſh Scots, cleped Kateranes, whiche inhabite the hye lande countreys, the one named Clankayes, & the other Clanquhattanes.

Wild Scots
cleped Kateranes.

Theſe two being at deadly fude, robbed and waſted the countrey with continuall ſlaughter and reiſe.

A battell of
thirtie againſt
thirtie.

At length it was accorded betwixt yͤ parties, by the aduice of the Earles of Murray & Crawfort, that thirtie perſons of the one Clan, ſhoulde fight before the King at Perth againſte thirtie other of the other Clannes men with ſharp ſwords to the vtterance, without any kind of armoure or harneſſe in triall and deciſion of the quarell, for the which the baryance betwixt them firſt roſe.

Both theſe Clannes right ioyfull of this appointmente, came to Perth with their number, where in a place cleped the North Inche, a little beſide the Towne in preſence of the King and other iudges aſſigned thereto, they foughte according as it was agreed, and that with ſuch rage and deſperate furie, that all thoſe of Clankayes part were ſlayne (one onely excepted) who to ſaue his life after he ſawe all his fellowes ſlayne, lepte into the water of Tay, and ſwamme ouer, and ſo eſcaped.

A deſperate
fighte.

There was a. xi. of Clanquhattanes ſyde that eſcaped with life, but not one of them vnwounded, and that very ſore.

At their entring into the fielde or liſtes where they ſhould darraigne yͤ battell, one of yͤ Clannes wanted one of hys number, by reaſon that hee which ſhould haue ſupplyed it, was priuily ſtollen away, not willing to be partaker of ſo deere a bargaine, but there was a Countrey felowe amōgſt the beholders, being ſory that ſo notable a fighte ſhoulde be paſſed ouer, offered himſelfe for a ſmall ſumme of money to fyll vp the number, though the matter apperteyned nothing to him, nor to any of his friends.

This battell was foughte betwixt theſe two Clannes, in manner as before is remembred, in the yeere. 1396.

1396

1398

In the thirde yeere after a Parliamente was holden at Perth, wherein, beſides diuers conſtitutions and ordinances enacted for the aduauncement of the common wealth, the King made his eldeſt ſonne named Dauid (that was as then about an eighteene yeeres of age) Duke of Rothſay, and his brother Roberte (that was Earle of Fife and gouernour of the Realme, as before yee haue heard) hee created Duke of Albany. Theſe were the firſte Dukes that hadde bin hearde of in Scotland, for till thoſe dayes there was neuer any within yͤ Realm that bare that tytle of honor.

The firſte Dukes that were created in Scotlande.

During the time that the peace continued betwixt the two Realmes of England and Scotland, there were ſundry iuſts and combates put in vre, and exerciſed betwixt Scots and Engliſhmen, for proofe of their valiant actiuitie in feates of armes, to winne thereby fame and honor.

Iuſts and combates betwixte Scottes and Engliſhmen.

But amongſt the reſidue that was moſt notable, whiche chaunced betwixt Dauid Earle of Crawford Scottiſhe, & the L. Welles Engliſh.

It was agreed betwixte theſe two noble men, to runne certayne courſes on horſebacke, with ſpeares ſharp ground, for life and death.

The Earle of Crawfort of Scotland, and the Lord Wels of England iuſted for life and deathe.

The place appoynted for theſe iuſtes, was London bridge, and the day the three and twentie of Aprill, being the feaſt of Saint George.

At the place and day thus prefixed, they came ready to furniſhe their enterpriſe, and being mounted on their mighty courſers, they ranne togither right egrely.

At the firſte courſe, though they atteynted, yet kepte they their ſaddles withoute anye perill of falling.

The people beholding howe ſtiffely Earle Dauid ſate without mouing, cryed that yͤ Scottiſhman was locked in his ſaddle.

He hearing this, lepte beſyde his Horſe, and right deliuerly mounted vp agayne into the ſaddle, armed as he was, to the greate wonder of the beholders.

This done, he tooke another ſtaffe, and ſo togither they runne againe right fiercely the ſecond time, and yet without any great hurte on eyther part, but the thirde time, the Lorde Welles was borne out of the ſadle, and ſore hurt with the fall.

The Lorde Welles borne out of his ſaddle.

And bycauſe the Earle of Crawford thus vanquiſhed his aduerſarie on ſaint Georges day, he founded a Chanterie of ſeuen Prieſtes to ſing in our Ladies Church of Dundee, in memorie of Saint George, which they did vnto our time, not withoute ſingular commendation of the ſayde Earle. After this, hee remained three monethes in Englande, in ſporting and feaſting amongſt the nobles, before he returned into Scotlande, highly prayſed of all eſtates for his noble port and great liberalitie there ſhewed amongſt them.

Prayſe of the Earle of Crawfort.

Sir Roberte Morlay.

Not long after, one Sir Roberte Morlay an Engliſhman came into Scotlande to trie hys manhoode in ſingular battel, with whome ſo euer woulde come againſte him, hee vanquiſhed one Archembald Edmounſton and Hew Wallace, but at length, hee was ouercome by one Hewe Traill at Berwike, and dyed ſhortly after vpon diſpleaſure thereof conceyued.

The ſame yeere, Richard King of England maried Iſabell daughter to the Frenche King, and ſoone after, went into Ireland to ſubdue ſuch Iriſhe Rebells, as troubled the quiet ſtate of the Countrey. But in the meane time, his Lords at home rebelled againſt him, and determined to depoſe him from the Crowne, ſo that vpon hys returne into Englande, hee was apprehended and put in ward, and ſhortly after, conſtreyned to renounce all his righte to the Crowne, and adiudged therewith to perpetuall priſon: yet at length, (as the Scottiſh Chronicle telleth) he gote forth of priſon diſguiſed in womans apparell, & came into Galloway, where hee fell in ſeruice with a Scottiſhman named Makdonald, but at yͤ laſt, being bewrayed and knowen what he was, and therevpon brought to King Robert, he was right honorably by him entertained, neuertheleſſe, knowing him ſelfe depoſed from his royall eſtate, hee gaue himſelfe wholly to contemplation, til finally he departed this world at Striueling, and was buried in the blacke Friers there within the ſame towne as the ſame Scottiſh Chronicles vntruely do report. But to the matter, Henry the ſonne of Iohn of Gaūt ſometime Duke of Lancaſter, after yͤ King Richard was depoſed, was Crowned King of England at Weſtminſter the. xiij. day of October, in the yeere. 1399.

Richard of Engla goeth in irelande.

King Ri is depoſe

He is adi ged to p tuall pri

He eſcap foorth o priſon.

King R dieth at ling and buried t

Henry t fourth K of Engl is crown

1399.

140

In the yere next enſuing, that is to wit. 1400. King Robert in conſideratiō of a ſumme of money to him aforehand payd, contracted couenants of mariage to be had and made betwixt his ſonne the Duke of Rothſay, and the Earle of Marches daughter, but Archembalde Earle of Dowglas hauing indignation yͭ the Earle of March ſhould be preferred before him, by ſupport of the Duke of Albany, procured a counſel to be called, in yͤ whiche hee founde meanes to aſſure his daughter the Lady Mariory vnto the ſayd Duke of Rothſay, and with al ſpeede went about to conſummate yͤ mariage betwixt them, to put the matter out of all doubt.

The oc of the fooſth King R and the of Mar

The Earle of March perceiuing this dealing, came to the King, and required to know his pleaſure, if he minded to performe the couenantes concluded, concerning the mariage betwixt yͤ prince & his daughter or not, making as it were a great complainte of that which was already done to yͤ breach thereof, and receyuing anſwere nothyng agreeable to his minde, hee departed in a greate fume, not ſticking to ſay, hee woulde be reuenged on ſuch vntruth ere it were long.

Shortly after he fled into England, leauyng his Caſtell of Dunbar, well ſtuffed of all thyngs neceſſary for defence, in the keeping of his ſiſters ſonne named Robert Maitland, but when Ar-

The E Marc into

chembald Dowgles came thither in the Kyngs name, and required to haue the Caſtell rendred into his hands, this Robert Maitland obeyed the kings commaundemente, and deliuered the houſe to the ſayd Dowglas.

he Caſtell
Dunbar
yeld to the
ngs vſe.

George Earle of March enformed herof, procured all his friendes to conuey themſelues into England, and determined with himſelfe to do all the diſpleaſure and miſchife he mighte inuente againſt his owne natiue countrey.

King Roberte
riteth vnto
e Earle of
arche.

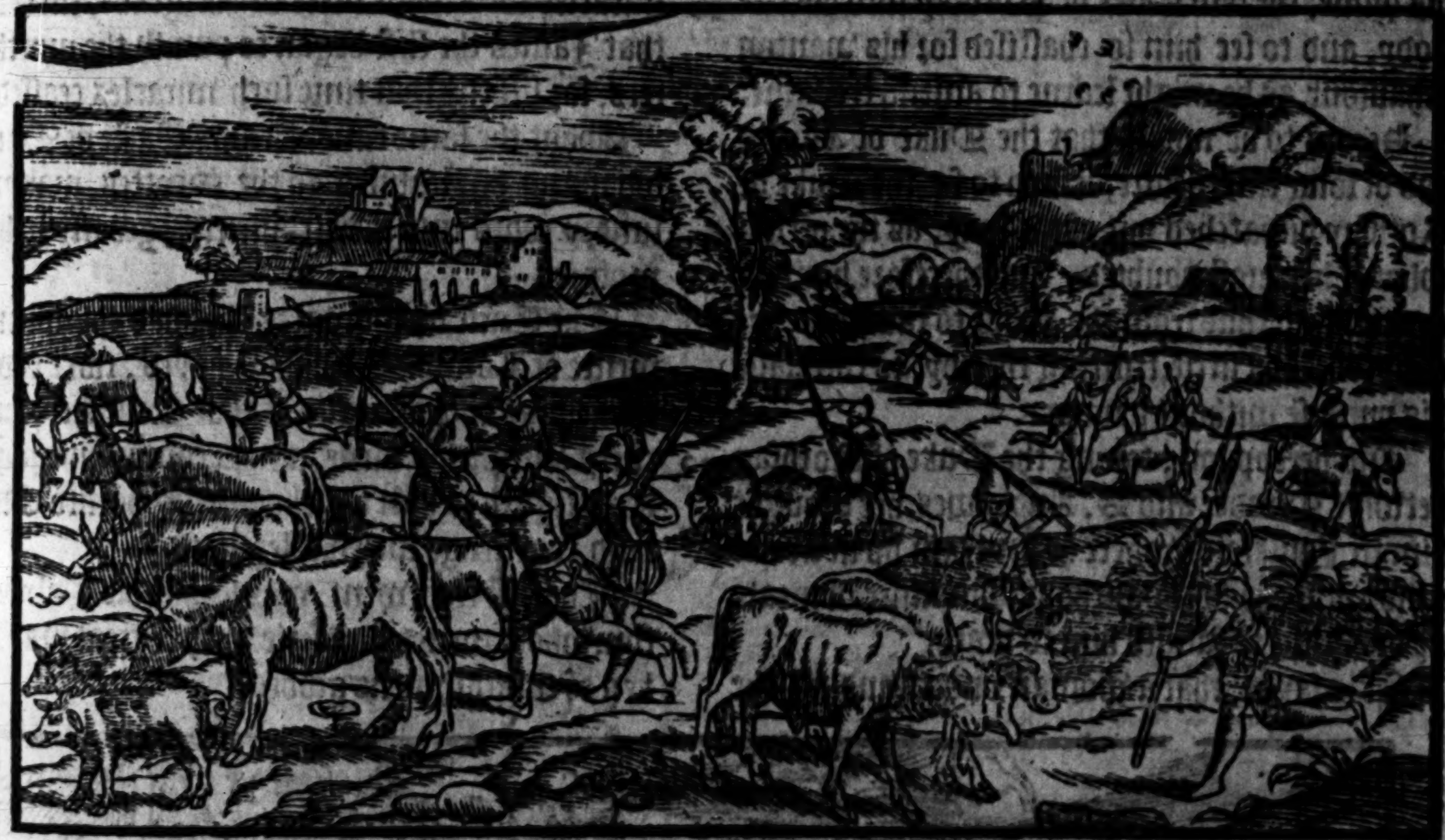
King Roberte ſore dreading, leaſt by thys Earles procuremente ſome trouble might hap to folowe amongſt his ſubiectes, ſente an Herald at armes into England with letters vnto him, promiſing by the tenor of the ſame, not only to pardon him of all offences committed, but alſo to redreſſe all wrongs or iniuries which he hadde any wayes forth receyued, if hee woulde returne into Scotlande: & for as much as the Earle of March refuſed this offer, the ſame Heralde according to inſtructions giuen him at his departure frõ King Roberte, wente immediatelye to Henry King of Englãd with other letters, earneſtly deſiring him to cauſe the Earle of March to depart out of hys Realme, and not to receyue any Rebelles out of Scotlande into his boundes, whereby the Peace might bee violated, whiche as yet remayned betwixt the two Kingdomes.

Sent letters alſo vnto the King of Englande.

King Henry vpon reaſonable allegations as he pretended, refuſed to ſatiſfye King Robertes petitions in this behalfe, by reaſon whereof the peace brake betwixte them and their ſubiectes, withoute any further tracting of time.

Henry Hoteſpurre and the Earle of March enter into Scotland.

For ſhortly after, Henry Percy ſurnamed as is ſaid, Henry Hotſpurre, & the Earle of March entred into Scotland, and gote togither a great bootie of goods and Cattell, but for returne the old Archembald Earle of Dowglas hauing aſſembled a power of mẽ, came with the ſame towards the enimies, immediately whervpon they fledde, and left all their bootie behynd them, which beyng recouered by the ſaid Earle of Dowglas and his company, hee returned backe vnto Edynburgh, wher he ſhortly after being takẽ wt an hote feuer, departed out of this life, leauing behind hym an honorable memorie of his name for his high prowes and noble valiancie ſhewed in many and ſundry enterpriſes by him luckily atchieued for the wealth of his countrey.



e deceſſe of
chymbald
le of Dow-
glas.

He was named of his terrible countenance and dreadful lookes, the grimme Dowglas.

After his deceaſſe, his ſeconde ſonne that hight likewiſe Archembald, was made Earle of Dowglas, for his eldeſt ſonne William Dowglas dyed in the yeere afore his father.

enry King
Englande
uadeth
cotlande.

Shortly after, Henry King of England came into Scotland with an Army, without doing any great domage to the people, for hee required no more of thẽ that kept any Caſtells or ſtrengths, but only to put foorthe a Banner of his armies as he paſſed by.

At his comming to Hadington, he was lodged in the Nunrie there, and ſhewed much bounteous humanitie towards the Nunnes, and al other of that houſe, not ſuffering any maner of thing to be done preiuditiall to the ſame.

The like gentleneſſe he vſed towardes them of the holy Roode houſe at his comming to Edynburgh, wherein he likewiſe lodged.

It is thoughte, that in memory of the friendly entertainemente, whiche his father the Duke of Lancaſter founde in theſe Abbeys, at the time of his being in Scotland, when the rebellion chaunced in England, through Jacke Strawe and his complices, he ſhewed ſuche kindneſſe towardes them at this preſent.

To bee brieſe it ſhoulde appeare, that King Henry came into Scotlande, as it were enforced, more through counſell of his nobles, than for any hatred he bare towardes the Scottes, as hee well ſhewed in returning backe againe, without doing them any further iniurie.

The death of Queene Annabell.

In the yeere after, deceaſſed the Scottiſhe Queene Annabell Drommond, after whoſe deceſſe hir ſonne Dauid the Duke of Rothſay that vnder hir gouernemente had bin well and vertuouſly broughte vp, hauing nowe gote once the reyne at liberty, fell to al kind of inſolent outrage, ſeeking to defyle Wiues, Virgines, Nunnes, and al other kind of womē in al places wher he came.

The inſolent outrage of the Duke of Rothſay.

At length, his Father perceyuing his ſonnes youthful nature to rage after that manner in vnbrideled luſt beyond the tearmes of all meaſure, to the great reproch of them both, wrote to his brother the Duke of Albany, requiring him to take his ſonne, the ſaid Duke of Rothſay into his cuſtody, and to ſee him ſo chaſtiſed for his wanton behauiour, as he might learne to amend the ſame.

Here is to be noted, that the Duke of Albany had of long time before, deſired to ſee the Duke of Rothſay diſpatched out of the way, as the perſon whome hee moſt doubted, and therefore hauyng commiſſion thus from the King to take him, hee reioyced not a little, truſting thereby, to compaſſe his purpoſe without daunger.

The Duke of Rothſay cōmitted to priſon.

And hereuppon, taking the Duke of Rothſay betwixt Dundee and S. Androwes, hee brought him to Faulkland, where he ſhut him vp in ſtraite priſon, and kept him without al manner of meate or drinke, ſo to famiſh him to death.

It is ſayde, that a woman vnderſtanding the Duke of Albanies intention, and taking ruth of the others pitifull caſe, found meanes to let meale fall downe through a rift of the loft of that towre wherein he was encloſed, by meanes whereof, hys life was certayne dayes ſuſteyned, but after thys was once knowne, incontinently was the woman made away.

On the ſame maner, another woman through a long reede, fedde him with milke of hir owne breſts, and was likewiſe diſpatched as ſoone as hir doings were perceyued.

The Duk Rothſay miſhed to death.

Then after this, the Duke deſtitute of all worldly ſuſtenaunce through very famine, was conſtreyned to eate not onely all ſuche filth as hee could finde within the Towre, but alſo in ẏ end, hee gnawed off his owne fingers, and ſo finally in this miſerable ſtate of Martirdome (as I may call it) ended his wretched life, and was buryed in Lundoris, where (as the fame wente) many fayre miracles were done neere to his graue, till tyme that James the firſt began to puniſh the murtherers, for ſithens that time ſuch miracles ceaſſed.

Miracles.

The diſp ſures done George E of March.

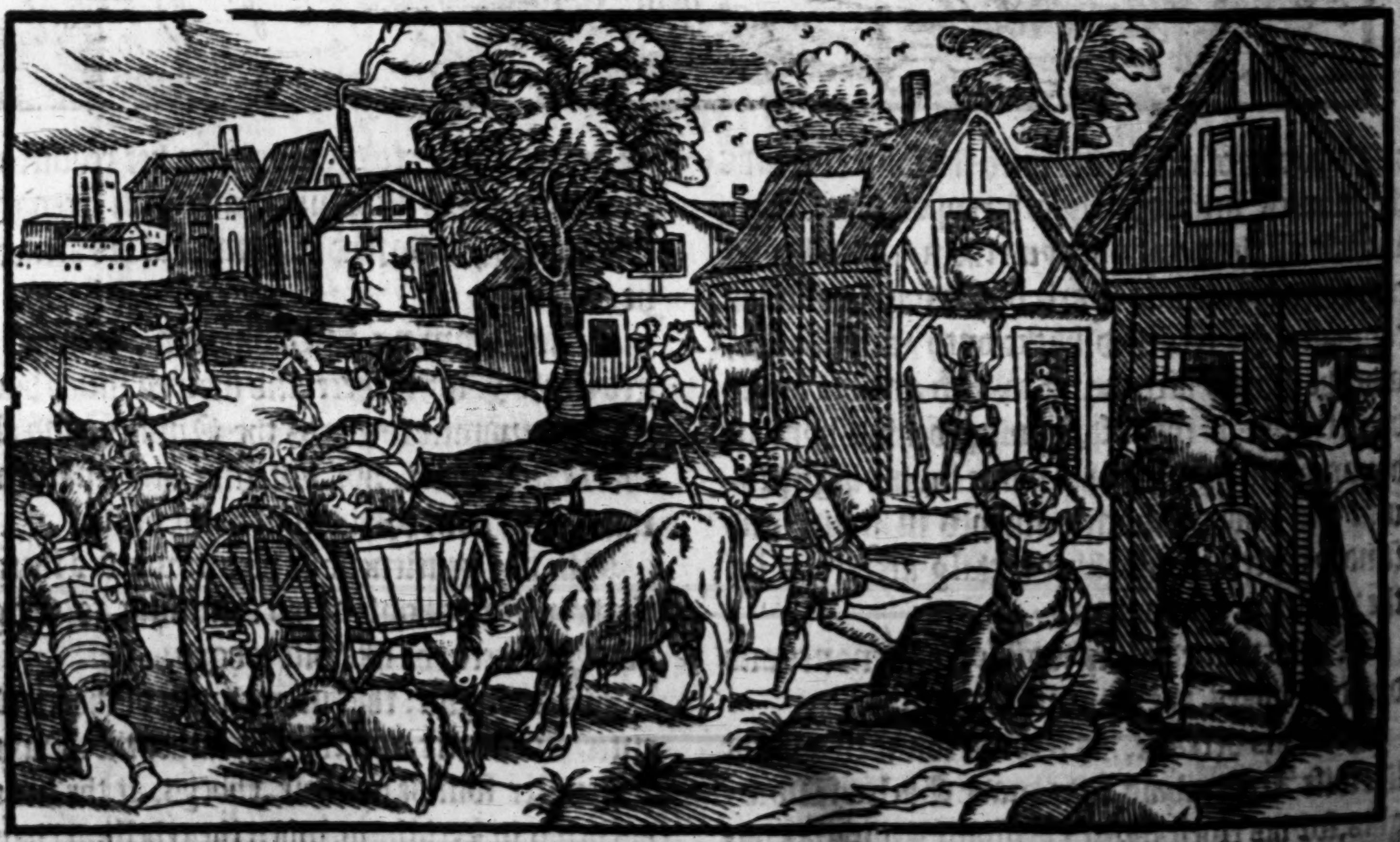
About the ſame time, George Earle of March did many diſpleaſures to the Scottes, makyng ſundry rodes into their countrey, greatly to hys profyte.

The Earle Dowglas uernoer Louthian

The Earle of Dowglas that had the gouernmente of Lowthian in thoſe dayes, tooke order, that certayne Captaines of that Countrey, ſhuld euery one for his turne, with a competente number aſſigned to him for the time, rode into England, to reuenge ſuch diſpleaſures.

Thomas lyburton.

The firſt that went, was Thomas Halyburton, who returned in ſafetie with a great pray taken of Engliſhmens goodes.



Next vnto him, was Patrike Hepborne of the Halis the yonger, appoynted to goe forthe as Captayne generall with a certaine number, who entring into Englande, gote a great bootie togither, but the Engliſhmen following thereuppon to recouer it, encountred with hym at Neſbet in the Mers, and there not onely ſlew him, but alſo diſtreſſed his people.

Beſides them that were ſlayne with theyr Captayne, there were alſo many that were taken, as John and William Cokborne, Roberte Lawder of the Bas, John and Thomas Haliburton, with many other.

Almoſt all the floure of Lowthian (as Johannes Maior writeth) periſhed in this battell, whiche was fought the. xxij. of June, in the yere. 1402.

1402

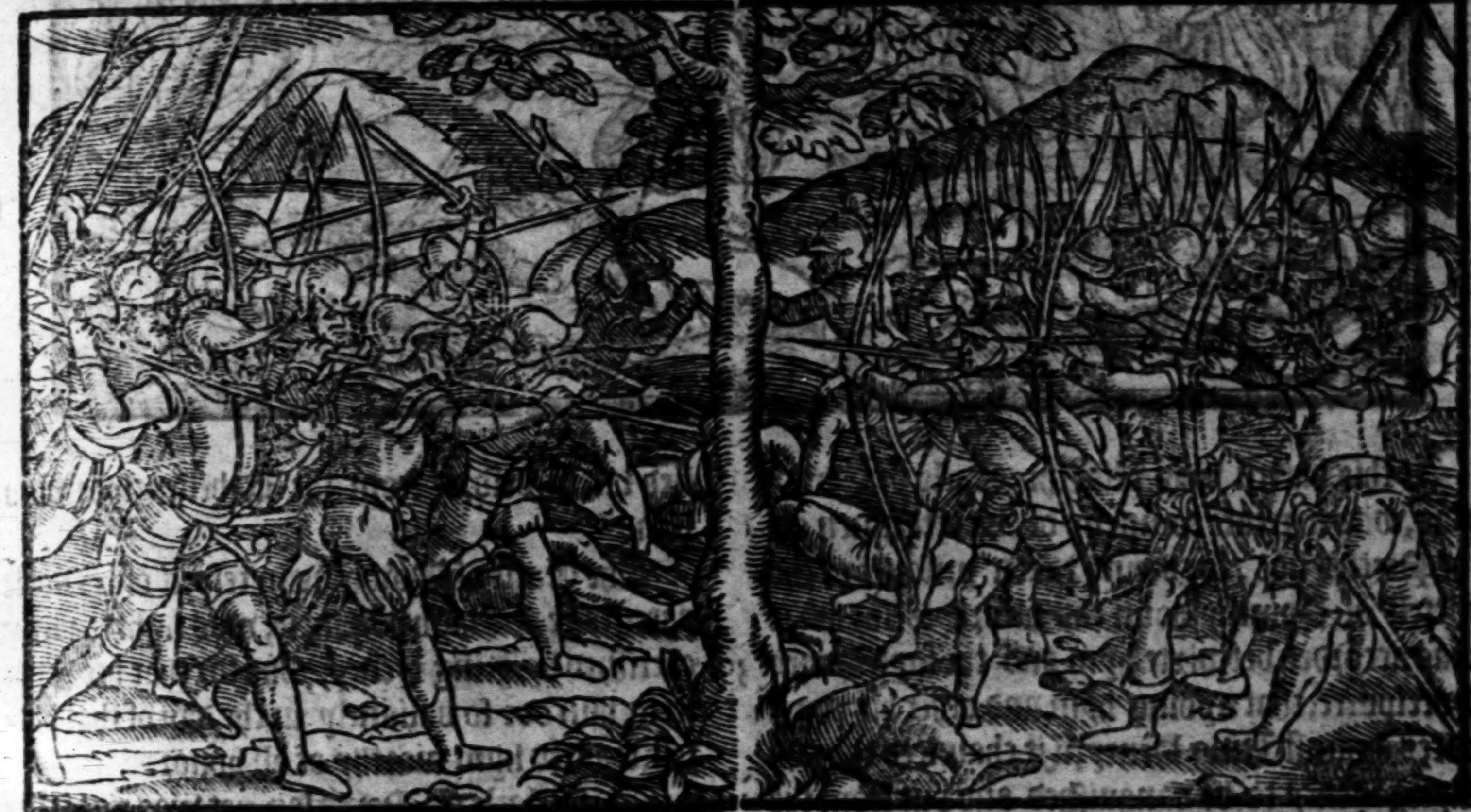
Archembald Earle of Dowglas ſore diſpleaſed and wonderfully wroth in his minde for this ouerthrowe, gote commiſſion to inuade Englande with an army of tenne thouſand men, and hauing the ſame once ready, with all thyngs neceſſary for his voyage, hee ſet forwarde, and entring into Englande, brente and harried the countrey, not ſtaying till hee came as farre as Newcaſtell.

The Nobles of Scotland in this army.

In this army there was with the Dowglas Murdock eldeſt ſonne to Duke Robert Earle of Fife, Thomas Earle of Murray, George Earle of Angus, with many other Lords and nobles of Scotlande.

Henry Hoteſpurre and the Earle of March aſſayle the Scottes at Homyldon.

At the laſt, when they were returning homewards with a pray of infinite goodes and riches, Henry Hoteſpurre, and George Earle of March, with a great power of men, met them, and aſſayled them ſo, with ſuch inceſſant ſhot of arrowes, that where the Earle of Dowglas with his army had the aduantage of an hill, cleped Homyldon, he was conſtreyned to forſake the ſame, and comming downe vppon the Engliſhmen, was neuertheleſſe put to the worſe, the moſte parte of his people being eyther taken or ſlayne.



It is ſayde, that after the Scottes were once put to flight, they gathered agayne, and renewed the battell by the exhortation of Adham Gordon and ſir John Swynton, but that dyd little auayle them, for they were ſtill beaten downe and ſlayne.

Amongſt other of thoſe that were ſlaine, were the ſame ſir John Swynton and Adham Gordoun: Alſo John Leuyngſton of Kalendare, Alexander Ramſay of Dalhowſy, with ſundry other gentlemen and nobles of Scotland.

Archembald Earle of Dowglas, Mordo Stewarde eldeſt ſonne to Duke Robert the gouernour, George Earle of Angus, Roberte Erſkyn of Illeway, the Lorde Saulton, James Dowglas maiſter of Dalkeith, and his two brethren John and William, with the moſt part of all the Barons of Fyfe and Lowthian were taken priſoners.

This battell was fought on the Roode day in Harueſt, in the yeere. 1403. vpon a tuiſday.

H. B. 1402

The Caſtell of Cocklauis beſeeged.

Henry Percy righte proude of this victory, came with the Earle of March vnto the Caſtell of Cokclauis in Teuidale, and layde ſiege to the ſame, but John Greynelow Captayne thereof defended it ſo manfully, that they gote no greate aduauntage, yet at length he fell to this compoſition with them, that if he had no reſkewe within the ſpace of three monethes, the Caſtell ſhoulde be then rendred into their hands.

A compoſition.

When the gouernour of Scotlande was enformed what agreement the Captayne of Cokclauis had made, he aſſembled the Lordes in counſell to haue their aduice for the leuying of an army againſt the time appoynted.

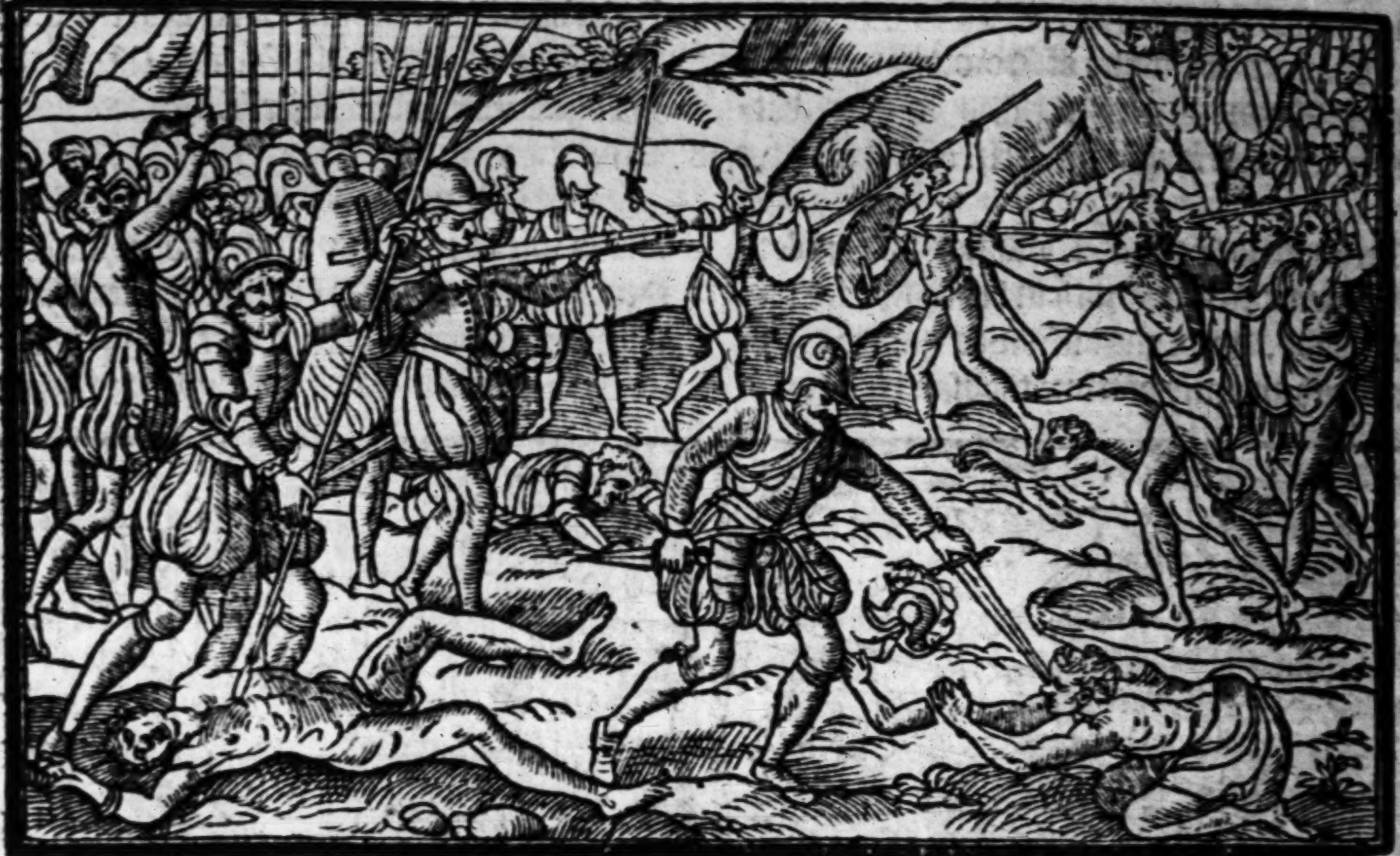
There were many of this opinion, that it was better to loſe the Caſtell than to ieoparde the liues of ſo many men as were neceſſary to furniſh that enterpriſe for the ſauing of it: but the gouernour ſhewed, that hee weyed the loſſe of it ſo much, that if none of the nobles would paſſe with him to the reſkewe thereof, he would yet put himſelfe to doe what in him might lie to ſaue it. But in the meane tyme ſuch troubles roſe in Englande, that

A conſpiracie againſt Kyng Henry by the Percies and other.

that there needed no power to be leuied for the defence of Cokclaunis. For by a conſpiracie practiſed agaynſte Kyng Henry, certayne of the Engliſh nobilitie were alyed togither to haue deſtroyed him, but amongſt the reſidue, the Percies were as chiefe.

Shrewe fielde.

They fought togither at Shrewesbury a right bloudy battell, where the King gote the victory, and ſlewe the Lorde Percy ſurnamed (as before ye haue heard) Henry Hoteſpurre.



The Earle of Dowglas at Shrewesburie field in ayd of the Percies.

At this battell was alſo the Earle of Dowglas, with a greate company of Scottiſhmen on the Percies ſide, for beeing taken priſoner at the battell of Hommyldoun (as before is ſayde) it was accorded betwixte hym and the ſayd Henry Hoteſpurre, that ayding hym and other his complices againſt King Henry, if it chaunced the ſaid Kyng Henry to be vanquiſhed and put from the Crowne, according to their intente and purpoſe, then ſhould the ſayd Earle Dowglas be releaſed of his raunſome, and haue the towne of Barwike rendred vnto hym in rewarde of hys ayde and aſſiſtaunce.

He led the foreward ther.

He fought as is reported) with ſingular manhode, and hadde the forewarde on the Percies ſide.

He is taken priſoner.

He ſlewe that day with his owne hands three gentlemen arrayed in the Kings coate armour, and finally when the battell was loſt, he was taken in the chaſe and ſaued aliue, where not one more of all his retinue of Scottes eſcaped with life, but were all ſlayne out of hande.

Neyther was this victory gotten by Kyng Henry withoute greate ſlaughter of thoſe that were on his parte, for he loſt foure right valiaunt Knights, as Stalwart, Blont, Maſſie, and Poktok, with ſeuen hundred other ſouldiers and men of warre, as the Scottiſhe writers haue, but the Engliſh authors name a farre greater number, as ſixteene hundred at the leaſt.

King Henry (as the ſame Scottiſhe writers doe recorde) vſed the councell ⁊ aduice of yͤ Earle of March in the obteyning of this victory, being fled lately before from the Rebelles ſyde vnto him.

The Earle of Dowglas in reſpect of his noble parentage and high valiancie, was right tenderly cheriſhed by King Henry, who for that hee hadde ſeene him doe ſo valiantly in the day of that battell, reputed hym worthy of all honor.

The Earl Dowglas fortunate battell. His ſurna Tinnema

This Earle of Dowglas yet was righte infortunate in moſt of his enterpriſes, ſo farre forth that he neuer wanne battell wherein he chaunced to be, ⁊ was therefore named Archebald Tinneman, though there was no default to be found at any time in his owne perſon, for he euer foughte with great manhode.

At the battell of Hommyldoun he loſt one of his eyes, and at this battell of Shrewesburie he loſt one of his ſtones.

The Earl Northum land fled Scotlande.

The olde Earle of Northumberland, hearing what euill ſucceſſe his ſonne and other his kinſmen had founde in their rebellious enterpriſe at Shrewesbury, with one of his Nephewes (that was his ſonnes ſonne) and other of his friends and kinſmen withdrewe into Scotland, where he was receyued by Henry Wardlaw biſhop of Sainte Andrews, and lodged with him at his eaſe and in good ſuretie within his Caſtell of Sainte Andrews aforeſayde.

The death the Duke Rothſay c meth to th knowledg his father.

About the ſame time, King Robert was aduertiſed, that his ſon the Duke of Rothſay was pyned to deathe in Falkland (in maner as before is expreſſed) which newes were ſo greeuous vnto him, that he grewe eache day more and more in ſorowe and melancoly.

The Duke of Albany kepte it ſo long as was poſſible from the Kings knowledge, and beeing nowe ſente for by the Kyng to aunſweare hym for ſuche treaſonable ſlaughter of hys ſonne, hee came and ſo excuſed the matter with a fayre paynted tale, as though hee had bin nothing giltie in the cauſe, and for further declaration of his innocẽcie, he promiſed if it might pleaſe the Kyng to come vnto Edynburgh, hee woulde bring in the offendors which were culpable of the murder.

The Kyng as then remaynyng in Bute (where for the moſt part he euer ſoiourned) though hee were not well able to trauell by reaſon of long ſickneſſe, yet in a chariot hee came vnto Edynburgh, vpon the earneſt deſire he had to ſee his ſonnes death puniſhed. And at his comming thither, the Duke of Albany deliuered vnto hym certayne naughty perſons; and ſuche indeede as for their haynous actes and vngratious conditions deſerued well to die (though not for thys matter) whiche neuertheleſſe by vntrue ſuggeſtions and forged accuſements, beeyng broughte afore corrupt iudges, (and ſuche as the Duke of Albany had prouided for his purpoſe) were condemned as giltie of his deathe, whome in al theyr lyfe time they neuer ſawe.

Though thys matter was handled as finely as was poſſible, and made ſo ſounde and cleere as coulde bee deuiſed, yet was not the Kyng ſo ſatiſfyed in hys mynde, but that hee hadde a greate ſuſpicion in the Duke of Albany as authour of hys ſonnes deathe: but for ſo muche as the Duke had all the Realme vnder hys obeyſance, partly by policie, & partly by authoritie of his office, beyng gouernour thereof, yͤ King durſt not attempt any thing agaynſte hym, but rather doubted, leaſt hee hauing an ambitious deſire to the Crowne, woulde compaſſe alſo to haue the lyfe of his ſeconde ſonne named Iames as then Prince of Scotlande, and therefore by the faithfull helpe and good aduice of Walter Wardlawe the Biſhop of Sainte Androwes, he prouided a Shippe, and ſente the ſayde Prince forth in the ſame to paſſe into Fraunce, deliuering hym alſo a letter written and directed vnto the King of England in his fauoure, if he chaunced to fall at vnwares by any fortune into the Engliſhmens handes.

Henry Lorde Synclare the ſeconde Earle of Orkney, was appoynted to haue the conueye of hym, who hauing all his purueyance ready, toke the Shippe that was appoynted for them at the Bas, where it lay at ancre, and lewſing from thence, they ſayled forwarde till they came to Flamburgh heade, where (as ſome ſaye,) they were taken on the Sea by Engliſhmen, the whiche hearing howe the Prince of Scotlande ſhoulde paſſe that wayes, lay in awayte for hym.

Other write, that his deſire was to be ſet on land there, bycauſe he might not away with the ayre of the ſea, being brought farre out of quiet in hys head and ſtomacke therewith. But how ſoeuer it was, the troth is, taken he was in the .ix. yeere of his age the .xxx. day of March in the yeere after the incarnation .1406. and was kept in captiuitie of the Engliſh men by the ſpace of eighteene yeeres.

Iames Prince of Scotland taken by the Engliſhmen. H. B. 1404

At his comming to the preſence of King Henry, he deliuered vnto him the letters directed from hys father Kyng Robert, the tenor whereof heere enſueth, as in Scottiſh they be written.

The tenor of a letter as it is written in the Scottiſh tong.

Robert, King of Scottes to Henry Kyng of Englaund greeting. Thy greate magnificence, humilitie, and iuſtice, are righte patente to vs, by gouernaunce of thy laſt army in Scotlande, howbeit ſic things had bene vncertayne to vs afore. For though thou ſeemed as enemie with moſt awfull incurſions in our Realme: zit wee faund mair humanities and pleaſures than dammage (be thy cũming) to our ſubdittes. Specially to yame that receyuit thy noble father yͤ Duke of Longcaſtell the time of his exill in Scotlande. We may not ceys yairfore, wuhile wee are on liue, bot ay luyſ and loif thee as maiſt noble and worthy Prince, to ioys thy Realme. For yocht Realmes and nations contende amang themſelfe for conqueſts of glory and laundes, zit na occaſion is amang vs to inuade athir Realmes or lieges with iniuries, bot erar to cõtend amang our ſelfe, quhay ſall perſew othir with maiſt humanitie and kindneſſe. As to vs we will meis all occaſion of battell, quhare any occurres at thy pleaſure. Forther, bycauſe we haue na leſſe ſollicitude in preſeruing our children fra certayne deidly enimies, than had ſometime thy nobill fader, we are conſtreyned to ſeeke ſupporte at vncowth Princes hands. Howbeit, the inuaſion of enimies is ſa greate, that ſmall defence occurres agaynſte yame without they be preſerued by amitie of nobill men. For the warld is ſa full of peruerſit malice, that na crueltie nor offence may be deuiſit in erd, bot the ſamine may be wrocht be motion of gold and ſyluer. Heirfore, bycauſe we knawe thy hieneſſe full of mony nobill vertues, with ſic pyſſaunce and riches, that na Prince in our daies may bee compard thairto. We deſire thy humanitie and ſupport at this time.

We traiſt it is not vnknowen to thy Maieſtie, howe oure eldeſt ſonne Dauid is ſlayne miſerably in Priſon be oure Brothir the Duke of Albany, quhome wee cheſit to be gouernoure (quhan wee were fallen in decrepit age) to oure ſubdittes and Realme, beſeekand thy hienes thairfore to be ſa fauorable, yͤ this bearer Iames our ſeconnd and allanerly ſonne may haue targe to leiſe vnder thy faith, and iuſtice, to be ſome memory of our poſteritie, knawaund the vnſtable condition of mans life ſa ſodanly altered: Now fluriſaund, and ſuddaynely falling to vtter conſumption.

Forthir beliefe well, quhan Kings & princes hes na other beild bot in thair awyn folkes, thayr empyre is caduke and fragill. For the minde of common pepyll, at euir flowaund and mair inconſtant than wind. Zit quhen princes ar roborat be amitie of othir vncowth Kings thair brethir and nyghtbouris, na aduerſitie may occurre to eiect thaym fra thair dignitie ryall.

Forthir gif thy hienes think nocht expedyent (as God forbeid) to obtemper to thir owr deſires.

Zit we requeſt ane thyng quhilk was ratifijt in our laſt trewes and condition of peace, that yͤ ſupplication made be ony of the two Kings of Ingland and Scotland ſall ſtaund in manner of ſaufeconduct to the bearer. And thus we deſire to be obſeruat to this our allanerly ſonne, And the gratious God conſerue ther maiſt noble Prince.

After that King Henry had cauſed theſe letters to be opened and redde, hee aduiſed himſelfe thereon with great deliberation, but in the end, he determined to ſtay this James Prince of Scotland as his lawfull priſoner, for that he was thus taken in time of warres, and that moreouer, there were diuers Rebelles of Englande ſuccoured within the boundes of his fathers dominion, to the high diſpleaſure of the ſayde Kyng Henry.

Iames the Prince of Scotland ſtayed as priſoner in England.

His bringing vp.

But ſuch was the fauour ſhewed in his bringing vp, that his captiuitie turned more to hys honor, profite, and commoditie, than any other worldly hap that might by any meanes haue otherwiſe chaunced vnto him.

An happy captiuitie.

His inſtructors in the tongs.

He had ſuch perfect inſtructors to teach hym, aſwell the vnderſtanding of tongs as the ſciences, that he became right experte and cunning in euery of them.

His trayning in warlike exerciſes.

He was taughte alſo to ride, to runne at the tilt, and to handle all kind of weapons conuenient to be vſed of ſuch a perſonage, whereunto hee was ſo apt and ready, that fewe in any poynte of actiuitie might ouermatch him.

His knowlege in muſike

He had good knowledge in muſike, and coulde play on ſundry inſtruments right perfectly.

To be briefe, it appeered in all his behauioure and manners, in what company ſo euer he came, that his bringing vp had bin according to hys nature, neyther of them differing from his birth, and the qualitie of a noble and moſt vertuous prince.

The griefe of his father king Robert.

After it was ſignifyed vnto his father Kyng Roberte, that his ſon was thus arreſted in England, he made full great and dolorous mone, ſore lamenting that euer he matched himſelfe in mariage with a woman of ſo meane degree (to the diſperagement of his bloud) as was Queene Annabell, on whome he begate his ſonnes, whiche (as he tooke it) was the onely cauſe why aſwell forayne Princes as his owne ſubiectes had hym thus in contempt.

He tooke this matter ſo ſore to hart, that within three dayes after the newes came vnto hym, he departed this world through force of ſickneſſe, now encreaſed by melancoly, whiche had vexed hym a long time before.

The d
King R
the third.

He dyed in the ſixtenth yeere of his raigne cōplete, and from the incarnation. 1408.

140

His buri

His body was buryed at Paſley, with hys wife Queene Annabell before rehearſed.

His ſta
and quali

He was a man of a mighty ſtature, very liberall and gentle, ſo that if he had not bin maymed with an Horſe, and thereby grewe lame, that hee might not trauell about the affayres of yͤ Realm himſelfe, it was thoughte the common wealthe ſhould haue proſpered vnder his gouernemente, as much as euer it did vnder any of his predeceſſors.

The Du
Albāy
firmed
noure o
Realme.

The gouernour Robert Duke of Albany, after the deceſſe of his brother King Roberte, was by new election choſen, or rather confirmed in his office of gouernoure, which he exerciſed more vprightly, and with better iuſtice now after his brothers death, than before.

Iedword
ſtell tak

In the meane time, the Caſtell of Jedworth (whiche the Engliſhmen had helde euer ſith the battell of Durham) was taken by Tyuydale men, and raſed downe to the earth.

The Ea
Dowgla
releaſed
returned
to Scotla

Archembald Earle of Dowglas, as yet remayning captiue in Englād, after he had knowledge of King Roberts death, made ſhift to agree for his raunſome, and ſo being ſet at libertie, returned with all ſpeede nowe at lengthe into Scotlande.

A motion
made fo
reſtoring
the Erle
March to
countrey.

Shortly after, there was a councell called, wherein was a motion made for the reſtoring of George Earle of Marche to his countrey, lands, and bloud.

The Earle
March re
red home.

After long debating of the matter, and harde hold too and fro both with him and againſt him, it was in the end cōcluded, that he ſhould returne into Scotland, and be receyued as a true Scottiſhman, but vnder this condition, that he ſhould forgoe his lands of Annerdale, and Lochmaben, which ſhould for euer remayne to the Dowglas, and to his heires.

All his other landes and poſſeſſions, it was accorded, that he ſhoulde enioy as in his former righte and eſtate. And thus was the Earle of Marche pardoned of all paſſed offences committed agaynſte the Crowne of Scotlande, and receyued home, to the greate comfort of hys friendes.

ebellion ſ·
oued by
onald of the
les.

About the ſame time, there roſe greate trouble in Scotlande, by the Rebellion of Donald of the Iles, who claymiug by ryght of his wife, a title to the Earledome of Ros, was defeated of the ſame, by practiſe of the gouernoure, hauyng by ſubtill conueyance, aſſured the ſayde Earledome vnto his ſecond ſonne the Earle of Buchquhane that hight Iohn.

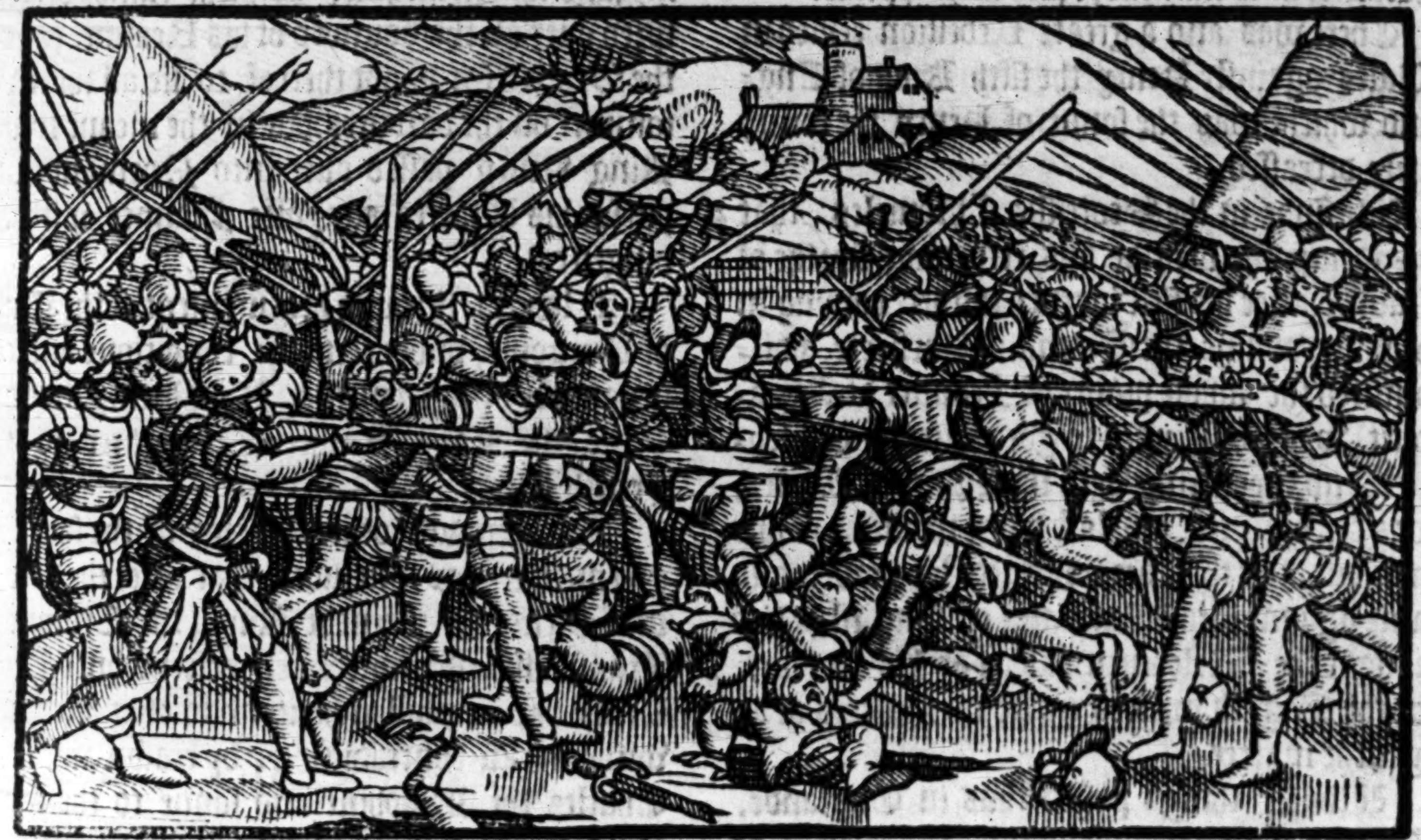
The foreſayde Donald, by way of ſupplication, beſoughte the gouernoure to doe hym reaſon, but he receyued nought, except it were frowarde ſpeeche, wherewith hee tooke ſuche diſpleaſure, that rayſing all the power of the Iles, he came into Roſſe, and ſubdued the ſame at his pleaſure, but not ſatiſfyed with this, hee paſſid thorough Murray, Boghcual, and other boundes thereaboutes, till hee came into Garioch, purpoſing to brenne Abyrdene.

Donald ſub-
dewed Ros.

The Earle of
Mar.

But Alexander Stewarde Earle of Mar, hauing gathered a power with all diligence to reſiſt this Donalde, mette with him at a Village called Harlow, and incontinently not ſtaying for more ayde that was commyng towardes hym, ſet on the enimies more raſhly than orderly, and more fiercely than diſcretely, not paſſing for keeping any accuſtomed aray of battell as had bin requiſite, by reaſon wherof, great ſlaughter was made on eyther parte, the victory in the ende beeing ſo doubtfull, that both partes were fayne to withdrawe out of the fielde, and flee to the nexte Mountaynes, as glad to be ſeuered the one from the other.

The battell
of Harlowe.



Doubtfull
ictory.

The number
layne.

There was ſlayne on Donaldes parte nine hundred menne, with Makclane and Makyntos.

On the Earle of Mars ſyde, there dyed Alexander Ogiluy Sherife of Angus, with ſeuen Knightes of name, and dyuers other gentlemen, with Commons, to the number of ſixe hundred.

This battell was ſtryken on Saint Iames euen, in the yeere. 1411.

1411

onald of the
etreth.

Donald of the Iles, after this bickering wholy graunted the victory to his enimies in ſleeyng all the night long after the battell towards Ros, and from thence with like ſpeede hee paſſed ouer into the Iles.

1412

In the yeere nexte following, the gouernoure prepared to make a iourney into the Iles, to chaſtiſe the foreſaid Donald, but he through feare of further domage, ſubmitted him ſelfe, and was ſworne neuer to procure any trouble to yͤ Realm in tyme to come.

Donald of the
Iles ſubmit-
teth himſelfe.

Not long after the battell of Harlow, Patrike Dunbar, ſeconde ſonne to the Earle of Marche, with one hundred of hardy perſons, came early one morning ſomewhat before the breake of day to Faſt Caſtell, and wanne the ſame, takyng the Captayne priſoner, whoſe name was Thomas Holdon.

Faſt Caſtell
wonne.

The bridge of
Roxburgh
broken down.

At the ſame time, was yͤ bridge of Roxburgh broken downe, and the towne brent by William Dowglas of Drumlanerike, Gawayn Dunbar, another of the Earle of Marches ſonnes, and diuers other.

1411

The firſt be-
ginning of
the vniuerſitie
of Saint An-
drowes.

In the ſame yere, (or rather in the yere before) the vniuerſitie of ſaint Androwes was firſte foũded, which afterwardes was furniſhed with dyuers notable learned men brought in and placed there by King Iames the firſte, to the ende, that by their inſtructions hys people mighte encreaſe in learning, to the further aduancemente of vertue, lawdable manners, and all ſortes of other ciuill cuſtomes.

Doctors of Diuinitie, and of the Canon Lawe.

Amongſt ſundry other expert men in all ſciences which he brought into Scotlande, there were eighteene Doctors of Diuinitie, and eight Doctors of the law Canon.

The Earle of Stratherne ſlayne.

Muchwhat about yͤ ſame time, John Drummound ſlewe Patricke Graham Earle of Stratherne, by a trayterous meane, and therevpon fled into Ireland: but as he was about to haue paſſed from thence ouer into England, the veſſel wherein he ſayled, was driuen on the coaſt of Scotlād, where hee was taken, and ſhortly after loſt hys head for the ſayd offence.

Warres betwixt England and Fraunce.

Shortly after alſo, there roſe great warres betwixt Englād and France, as in the Hiſtories of thoſe Realmes may more playnely appeare.

Rebellion in Wales.

There was alſo a greate Rebellion reyſed in Wales againſte Henry the fifth King of England, whiche was the ſonne of Henry the fourth lately deceaſſed.

Henry the fifth diſcomfited by the Welchmen. He ſubdueth them.

We finde in the Scottiſhe Chronicles, that this Henry the fifth at hys returning forthe of Fraunce, after his firſt iourney thither (hauyng in the ſame wonne the Towne of Harfleete, & diſcomfited the whole power of Fraunce at Agyncourt) was conſtreyned to goe againſt yͤ Welchmen, and encoūtring with the Prince of Wales, was diſcomfyted, and loſt tenne thouſand of hys men, but after this, hee reenforced his power, and came agayne into Wales, not ceaſſing, til he had brought the Welchmen ſubiect at his pleaſure, but the Engliſh writers make no mention of any ſuche matter.

The Caſtell of Werke wonne.

Whileſt things paſſed thus in Englande, William Halyburtoun wanne the Caſtell of Warke, and ſlew all ſuch as he found within it, howbeit, ſmall while endured the ioy of thys fortunate ſucceſſe to the Scottes: for ſundry Engliſhmen that knewe all the ſecretes of the houſe, found meanes to enter through a gutter, that ſerued in manner of a Sinke, to auoyde al the filthe of the Kitchin into the Riuer of Tweede, breaking downe a pane of an olde wall, and ſo made entrie for the reſidue of their fellowes, by reaſon whereof, they eaſily recouered the Caſtell, and in reuenge of them that were ſlayne there when the Scottes wanne it, they likewiſe ſlew al thoſe whiche were as then within it, withoute any reſpect of one or other.

It is againe recouered.

1419

The deceaſſe of Roberte Duke of Albany.

After this, in the yeere. 1419. the thirde daye of September, Robert Duke of Albany, that hadde bin gouernour of Scotlande for the ſpace of. xv. yeeres, after the death of King Robert the thirde, departed out of this life, hauing borne hymſelfe in all his time, as a righte valiaunte and noble Prince.

Ambaſſadors from the French King.

A little before his deceaſſe, there came from Charles the Frenche King, the Earle of Vandoſme, and chauncelor of France, both to renewe the auncient league betwixt the two Realmes of Scotland and Fraunce, and alſo to get ſome power of Scottes to paſſe into Fraunce, to ſupport the ſayd Charles againſt the Engliſhmen, whiche as then ſore inuaded his Realme.

An army of Scottes ſent into Fraunce.

Whereupon ſhortly after by decree of councell it was ordeyned, that John Stewarde Earle of Buchquhane, ſecond ſonne to Duke Robert, and Archimbald Dowglas Earle of Wigton, ſhould paſſe into Fraunce with. vij. thouſande armed men.

The King of England menaceth the Scottes.

The King of Englande enformed hereof to cauſe the Scottes to keepe their menne at home, menaced to inuade Scotland with a puiſſant army, and that in all haſt. Whiche rumor beeyng ſpred ouer all the boundes of his Realme, cauſed the Scottes for doubt thereof, to lie all the nexte ſommer on the bordures: but in the meane tyme, King Henry paſſed ouer into Normandy, to purſue his Warres agaynſte Fraunce with all diligence.

The King of Englande marieth the daughter of Fraunce.

At length, through procurement of the Duke of Burgoine, vnder certayne conditions and couenauntes of agreemente, King Henry tooke to Wife the Lady Katherine daughter to the French King.

The articles of agreement.

And amongſt other Articles of the ſame agreement it was concluded, that after the deceſſe of Charles the Frenche King, the Crowne of Fraunce ſhould immediately deſcend vnto King Henry, as lawfull inheritour to that Realme, withoute all contradiction, by reaſon whereof, Charles the Dolphine and ſonne to the ſayde King Charles, was cleerely excluded from all clayme to the ſame: but this notwithſtandyng, the Dolphine did not only refuſe to ſurrender hys title, but alſo ſoughte to mainteyne the warre againſte King Henry, as his aduerſarie and open enimie to the Realme.

The Dolphin of Fraunce maynteyneth the warre againſt the Engliſhmen.

Scottiſh ſouldiours arriued in Fraunce.

In the meane while alſo, the Earles of Buchquhan and Wigton with Alexander Lindſay brother to the Earle of Crawford, and Thomas Swyntoun Knightes, accompanyed with ſeuen thouſand well armed men, arriued in Fraunce, to the greate reioycing of the Dolphine, as hee well declared in the thankfull receyuing and moſt hartie welcomming of them. Finally, the towne & Caſtell of Chatelone in Tourayne was deliuered to them, that they might haue a place at all times to reſorte vnto, at their owne will and pleaſure.

Chatelon in Touraine deliuered to the Scottiſhmen.

The battell of Bauge. The Duke of Clarēce ſlaine.

Shortly after, they were employed in ſeruice at the battell of Bauge, foughte on Eaſter euen, where yͤ Duke of Clarence brother to the King of Englāde, the Earle of Riddiſdale, otherwiſe called the Earle of Angus, the Lord Roſſe, yͤ Lorde Gray, & diuers other great Barons were ſlayne, beſide other of the meaner ſort, in all to the number

ber of ſixteene hundred.

Priſoners taken.

There wer alſo a great company of priſoners taken at the ſame iourney, amongſt whome as principall were theſe, the Earle of Huntington, and the Earle of Sommerſet, with his brother, both of them being breethren to the Lady Jane that was after married to King James the firſt, Kyng of Scotlande. For the high valiauncie of the Scottiſhmen ſhewed in this battel, the Dolphin created the Earle of Buchquhan high Conneſtable of Fraunce, & gaue him ſundry townes, Caſtels, and Lands, therwith the better to maintayne his eſtate.

The Earle of Buchquhane created Conneſtable of Fraunce.

The King of Englande ſore moued for the death of his brother, came ouer with all ſpeede into France with a mighty hoſt, and had with him James the Scottiſhe King, or rather Prince of Scotland, for all this while the Scottes reputed him not as King, for yͭ he was not as yet crowned, nor ſet at libertie out of the Engliſhmens hands, into the which as before ye haue hearde, he chaunced to fall by his fathers life time.

The King of England taketh the Prince of Scotland ouer with him into Fraunce.

The cauſe why King Henry did take thys James ouer with him at yͤ preſent into Fraunce was, for that he hoped by his meanes to procure all the Sccottiſhmen that were in ſeruice with the Dolphin to forſake him, and to returne home into their owne countrey: but when he had broken thys matter vnto the ſaide James, and promiſed, that if he could bring it to paſſe, he woulde not only remitte his raunſome, but alſo ſend hym into Scotlande highly rewarded with greate riches. James aunſwered herevnto, that hee maruelled much, why he did not conſider how he had no auctoritie ouer the Scottes ſo long as he was holden in captiuitie, and as yet had not receyued the Crowne, but (ſayeth he) if it were ſo that I might be ſet at libertie & had receyued yͤ Crowne according to the accuſtomed manner, togyther with the othes and homages of my ſubiectes, I could thē in thys matter do, as ſhould be thought to ſtande with reaſon, but in the meane time I ſhall deſire your grace, to holde mee excuſed, and not to will mee to doe that whiche I may in no wiſe performe.

The anſwere of James the King or rather Prince of Scotlande.

King Henry maruelling at the high wiſedome which appeared to be planted in the head of that yong Prince, left off to trauell with hym any further in this matter.

King Henry taketh it for a ſufficient aunſwere.

In the meane time the warres continuing betwixte the King of Englande and the Dolphin of Fraunce, many townes were beſieged, wonne, and ſacked, and ſundry light bickerings and ſkirmiſhes chaunced betwixte the parties as occaſion ſerued.

The crewell dealing of the Engliſhmen towardes the Scottes.

But the Engliſhmen ſhewed themſelues to beare ſuche hatred towarde the Scottes, that ſo many as fell into their handes neuer needed to ſtrayne their friendes for their raunſomes, which crueltie they put not in practiſe againſt their enimies being of any other nation.

At length, King Henry fell into a greeuous diſeaſe, whiche in ſhorte time made an ende of hys lyfe, notwithſtanding all the helpe that eyther by Phiſicke or otherwayes, myght be miniſtred vnto him.

The death of Henry King of Englande.

The ſame yeere, that is to witte. 1422. the French King Charles the ſyxt of that name deceaſſed, after whome ſucceeded his ſonne Charles the ſeuenth, before named the Dolphin, as the cuſtome there is.

1422

The death of Charles the French King.

By the death of theſe Kings, the warres were not altogither ſo earneſtly followed as before, wherevppon the Earles of Buchquhane and Wigtoun returned into Scotlande, and ſhortly after was an army leuyed, and ſiege layde, both to Roxburgh and to Barwike, but for that they lay long abroade and did no good, returnyng home withoute gayne, this iourney in deriſion was called the durty rode, or as the Scots terme it, the dirtin rayde.

Roxburgh and Barwike beleeged.

The Dyrtin rayde.

But now to ſpeake ſomewhat, concerning the order of the common wealth in Scotlande, yee ſhall vnderſtande, that after the deathe of Roberte Duke of Albany, his ſonne Mordo Stewarde Earle of Fife and Mentrith, was made gouernoure, continuing in that office for the ſpace of foure yeeres, though (to confeſſe the trouth) hee was farre vnmeete thereto, differyng muche from the wiſedome and manhoode of hys Father, for in him remayned ſundry vices, greatly variable and contrary one to another.

Mordo Steward Earle of of Fyfe elected gouernour of Scotlande.

The repugnaunt vices reigning in Mordo Stewarde.

In time of any aduerſitie hee ſhewed hymſelfe as a man deſpayring of all comforte or helpe: In proſperitie ſo lifte vp in careleſſe inſolencie, that he hadde no ſtay of himſelfe, by reaſon whereof, ſometymes he ſuffered haynous offenders through dread of theyr puiſſant friendes (a thyng not to bee ſuffered in Scotlande) to eſcape vnpuniſhed, and at other tymes agayne, hee ſhewed hymſelfe more ſeuere and cruell in executyng of iuſtice than the matter required.

Thus was hee ſtill in extremities, keepyng no temperaunce nor laudable meane in any of hys doings. Heereto was hee ſo negligente in chaſtiſing hys ſonnes Walter and Alexander, (whether through ſoftneſſe and lacke of witte, or by reaſon he bare ſuche a fonde and tender fatherly loue towardes them) that they hauyng hym in ſmall regarde, played many outragious partes, to the ſore offendyng of a number. At length, one of them taking diſpleaſure with hys Father, for that hee woulde not gyue hym a Faulcone, the whyche hee hadde long before greatly deſyred, ſtepped to hym, and

His negligēce in chaſtiſing his ſonnes.

An inſolent part of one of his ſonnes.

The words of Duke Mordo to his ſonne.

plucking hir beſide his fiſt, wrung hir necke from hir body euen preſently before his face. Wherevpon the father ſomewhat kindled with this preſumptuous deede of the ſon: Walter (ſaid hee) for ſo was his name that had thus miſuſed him, ſith it is ſo that thou and thy brother will not be ruled by my ſoft and gentle gouernemente, I ſhall bring him home ere ought long, that ſhall chaſtiſe both you and me after another manner. And after this, he reſted not to trauell ſtill for the redeeming of Iames the firſt out of captiuitie, till at length hee broughte hym home indeede, to the greate wealthe, ioy, and good happe of all the Scottiſhe nation.

Duke Mordo trauelleth for the redeeming of Iames the firſt.

In the meane time, yͤ French King Charles the ſeuenth, beeing ſore vexed with warres by the Engliſhmen, ſente to the Earle of Buchquhan his conneſtable, requiring him to returne againe with all ſpeede into Fraunce, and to bring ſo many Scottiſhmen with him, as hee conueniently myghte.

The Earle of Buchquhan returneth into Fraunce.

This Earle therefore, founde meanes to perſwade Archimbald Earle of Dowglas father to the foreſaide Earle of Wigtoun to paſſe with him into Fraunce, whiche two Earles with an army of fiue thouſand mẽ (or after ſome writers tenne thouſand) tooke the Seas, and arriued with proſperous winde and weather at Rochell, and comming to the Frenche King, were receyued of him with all ioy and gladneſſe.

The Earle of Dowglas made Duke of Tourayne.

The Earle of Dowglas was made incontinently Duke of Tourayne, thereby to aduance him in further honor.

The ſlaughter of Scottes, at the battell of Vernoill.

But ſhortly after, at the battell of Vernoill, both the Earle of Buchquhan, the conneſtable of Fraunce, and this Duke of Touraine, with his ſonne the Earle of Wigtoun, and the moſt parte of all their retinewes were ſlayne by the Engliſh puiſſance, as in the French and Engliſh hiſtores more plainely may appeare.

Enuy and diſcorde.

The Scottiſh Chronicles declare, that yͤ loſſe of this fielde, chaunced ſpecially through enuy & diſcorde, which reigned amongſt yͤ chieftaines.

For the Duke of Alanſon enuying that the Scots ſhuld dayly riſe in honor within Fraunce, kept himſelfe backe, till time the Scottes were ouerthrowen and brought to vtter deſtruction.

Againe, euen vpon the ioyning, ther roſe great ſtrife and contention betwixt the Conneſtable & the Duke of Tourayne, who ſhoulde haue the ſupreme rule of the Scottiſhe legher, the one diſdayning to giue place to the other.

Thus yee may perceyue, how the Scots with loſſe of many of their liues, and much bloudſhed, ſupported the ſyde of Charles King of Fraunce, agaynſte the Engliſhmen. And though there came dayly newes of dyuers great ouerthrowes giuen by yͤ Engliſhmen vnto ſuch Scottiſhmen and other as ſerued the ſayde King Charles, yet did not the Scottes therefore ſtay at home, but at ſundry times, and vnder ſundry Captaynes repayred into Fraunce: as amongſt other one Robert Patillock of Dundee, with a newe power of Scottes, went ouer to King Charles the ſeuenth aforeſayde, ſhewing ſuche proofe of his ſingular manhoode and valiancie in thoſe warres, as in recouerie of the Realme of France out of yͤ Engliſhmens hands, his ſeruice ſtoode King Charles in notable ſteede.

Robert Patlock Captaine of a power of Scottiſhmen ſente into Fraunce.

Chiefely, his diligence and prowes well appeared in reducing the parties of Gaſcoigne vnto the Frenche ſubiection, whiche hadde remayned a great number of yeeres vnder the dominion of the Engliſh Kings.

Robert Patlock cleped Le Petit roy de Gaſcoigne.

And herevpon was he called by the inhabitãts euer after, *Le petit roy de Gaſcoigne.*

Archimbalde the third, Erle of Dowglas.

But now to returne to the buſineſſe of Scotland as the ſame paſſed in this meane time, here is to be noted, that after the ſlaughter of Archimbald earle of Dowglas and Duke of Towrain, his ſonne Archimbald the third of that name, ſucceeded in the Earledome of Dowglas.

Scottiſhe Ambaſſadours ſent into Englande.

This Earle of Dowglas, and William Hay Conneſtable of Scotlãd, with Henry Biſhop of Abirden, were ſente Ambaſſadours into England, to make ſute for ſome agreement to be had, concerning the redemption of King Iames.

The raunſome of King Iames.

These Ambaſſadours behaued themſelues ſo ſagely in this matter whiche they had in charge, that in the end, they brought it to good concluſiõ: As thus, Firſte it was agreed, that King Iames ſhoulde be ſet at libertie, and to pay for his raunſome, yͤ ſumme of one hundreth thouſand marks ſterling, the one halfe to be payd in hand, and for the other halfe, to leaue ſufficient pledges behinde him, till it were payde.

Iane daughter to the Earle of Sommerſet married to King Iames the firſte.

Albeit ſome writers alledge, that leauing pledges for the payment of the one halfe, he was diſcharged of the other, in conſideration that hee toke to wife the Lady Iane, daughter to yͤ Earle of Sommerſet.

The ſaide Earle, and the Cardinall of Englande hys brother, conueyed hym with hys Queene their neece, vnto the bordures of both the Realmes.

Giftes giuen to king Iames by his wiues friendes.

And at their taking leaue eache of other, there was preſented vnto King Iames and to the Queene hys wife, beſides a Cupborde of maſſie plate, ſundry faire clothes of rich and coſtly arras by his wiues friendes, with many other iewelles and things of great price and valure.

King Iames commeth to Edynburgh.

King Iames then departed on this wiſe from his wiues brethren, and other ſuche his deere friends as his vertue and princely behauiour had procured him during his abode here in England, entred into Scotlande, and came to Edynburgh on Care ſunday, otherwiſe called Paſſiõ ſunday in Lent, where he was receyued with all honour, ioy, and triumph that might be deuiſed.

ames.

is crowned
Scone togy-
with his

AND after yͭ, aſſoone as the ſolemnitie of yͤ feaſt of Eaſter was fyniſhed, hee came to Perth, and ſhortly after to Scone, where he was crowned king, and his wife Queene, by Duke Mordo the gouernor, and Henrie Biſhop of S. Androwes, the xxi. day of May, after the incarnation. 1424.

1424

There came forth of Englande with thys James the fyrſt, diuerſe Engliſhe Gentlemen, which remayning euer after in ſeruice with him, were aduaunced to certaine landes, poſſeſſions, and liuings in Scotlande. Amongſt whome (as one of the chiefeſt) was Androw Gray, who afterwardes by the Kings ayde and good furtherance, got in maryage the daughter and heyre of Henrie Mortimer of Foulis, named Helen, and by that meanes came the Lordſhip of Foulis vnto the handes of the Grayes, whoſe ſurname and poſteritie continueth yet in Scotlande, inueſted with great landes and dignities, both in Gowry and Angus.

drow Gray.

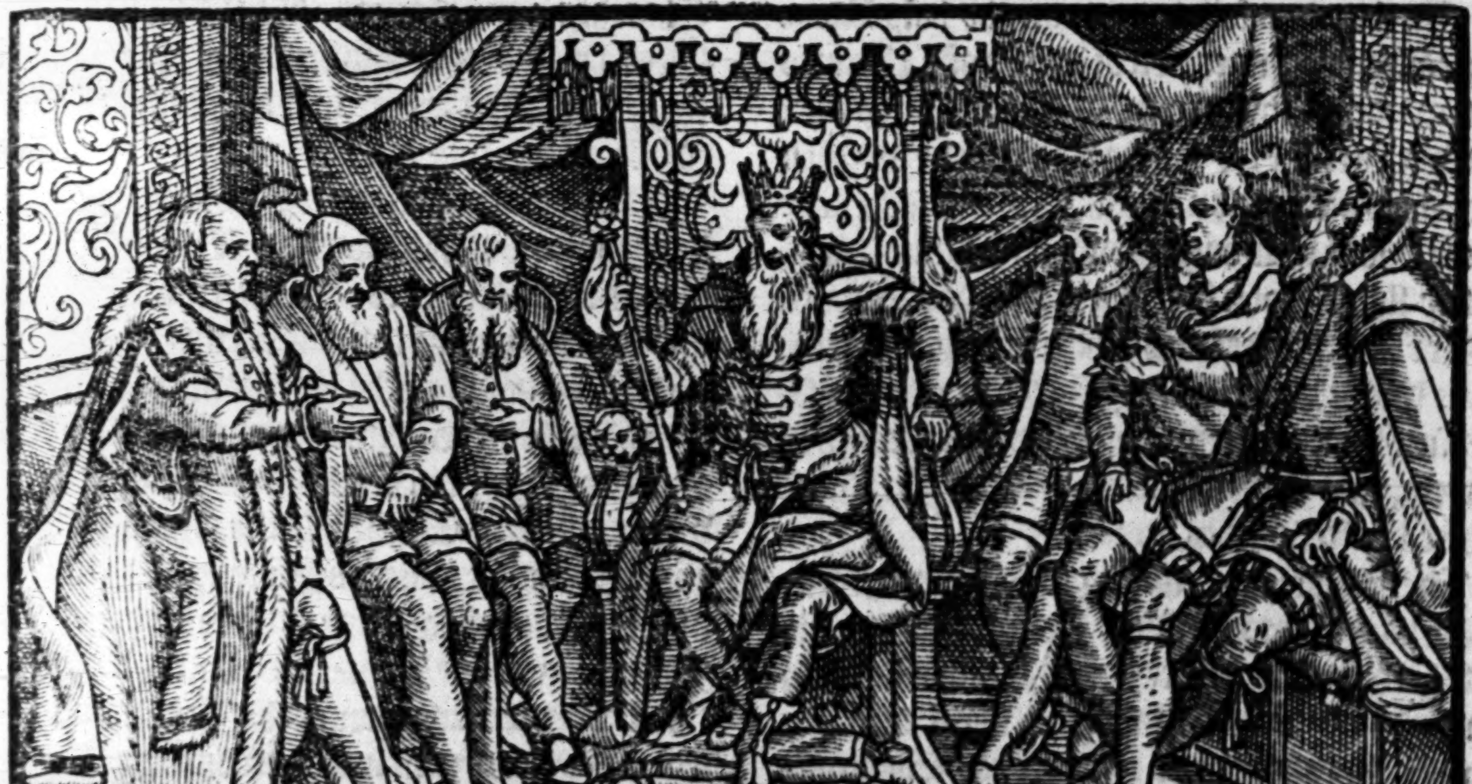
e ſurname
e Grayes
cotland,

King James keepeth an audite.

King James after his coronation returned from Scone to Edenburgh, where he called afore him all thoſe that bare any authoritie in the adminiſtration of the common wealth during the time of the gouernours Duke Robert, and Duke Mordo, namely the Chancellour, the Treaſurer, the Clearkes of the Regiſter, the Comptroller, the Auditors, and Receyuers, with all other that had borne offices, or had any thing to do concerning the kings rents.

At length, when hee perceyued by theyr accompts made, that the moſt part of all the lands, rents, and reuenues perteyning to the Crowne, were waſted, beſtowed, aliened, and tranſported by the two foreſayd gouernors, vnto their friends and fautours, contrary to all right or good conſideration (the cuſtomes of Burrowes and good townes onely excepted) hee was not well content herewith, though for the tyme he paſſed ouer his diſpleaſure, in ſhewing outwardly no ſemblaunce, but as if hee had lyked all things well.

A Parliament at Edenburgh.



In the meane tyme, he aduiſedly peruſed all euidences, rolles, and Charters perteyning to the Crowne, and ſhortly therevpon called a Parliament a Edenbourgh, in the which, by aduice of the three eſtates, a generall taxe was ordeyned and graunted, to be rayſed through the Realme: as xij. pence of the pounde to be payed of al lands within Scotlande, both ſpirituall and temporall, and foure pence for euery Cowe, Oxe, and horſe, to be payde for the ſpace of two yeares togither.

This payment was leuyed the fyrſt yeare without any trouble, but the ſeconde yeare there roſe ſuch murmure and grudging amongeſt the poore commons about the payment thereof, that hee remitted the reſidue that was behinde, and tooke neuer any taſke after of hys ſubiectes, tyll hee maryed his daughter wyth the Dolphyn of Fraunce.

Bylles of complaynt exhibited againſt the ſonnes of duke Mordo.

Amongeſt other bylles put vp in this laſt mencioned Parliament, there were diuerſe complayntes exhibited by the people, for ſundrie oppreſſions vſed and done by the ſonnes of Duke Mordo, and other great Peeres of the Realme, before the kings returne into Scotlande.

Walter Stewarde put in priſon.

Wherevpon Walter Stewarde one of the ſonnes of the ſayde Duke Mordo, was arreſted, and ſent to a Caſtell ſituated vpon a rocke within the ſea called the Bas, there to remaine in ſafe keeping.

Alſo Malcolme Flemming of Cumernalde, and Thomas Boys of Kylmarnoke, were committed to warde in Dalkeith, but theſe two at the interceſſion of diuerſe noble men were pardoned of all offences for an eaſie fine, with condition, that they ſhoulde ſatiſfie all ſuch perſons as they had in any wiſe wronged.

The othe of king Iames.

In the foreſayd Parliament alſo, king Iames tooke a ſolemne othe, to defende as well the liberties of his Realme, as of the Church, during the courſe of his naturall life.

The like othe by his enſample did all the reſidue of the Barons take at the ſame preſent time.

A Parliament holden at Perth. Duke Mordo with his ſonne Alexander, and diuerſe other Peeres of the Realme arreſted.

Not long after, an other Parliament was called & holden at Perth, in the which Duke Mordo with his ſonne Alexander, were areſted and committed to ward. So was alſo Archymbalde Earle of Dowglas, with his brother William Earle of Angus, George Earle of Marche, Adam Hepborne of Hales, and many other great Barons of Scotland, euery of them being put in ſundrie Caſtels and ſtrengthes to remaine there vnder ſafe keeping.

Duke Mordo was ſent to Carlaurok, and his Duches was put in Temptalloun.

1425

In the yeare following, on the holy Roode day called the Inuention of the Croſſe, Iames Stewarde the thirde ſonne of Duke Mordo moued with great yre, for that his father & brethren were holden in priſon, came with a great power to the towne of Dounbrytaine, and brunt it after he had ſlaine Iohn Stewarde of Doundonalde and .xxxij. other perſones which were found in the ſame towne, but the king kindled in greate diſpleaſure for this attempt, purſued this Iames ſo fiercely, that he was faine to flee into Irelande, where he afterwardes deceaſſed.

The towne of Dunbrytaine burnt.

A Parliament holden at Sterling.

1426

Walter and Alexander the ſonnes of duke Mordo beheaded.

Duke Mordo and Duncane Steward Erle of Lennox beheaded.

In the yeare next enſuing, king Iames called a Parliament at Sterling, in the which he himſelfe ſitting with ſcepter, ſworde, and crowne in place of iudgement, Walter Steward with hys brother Alexander were condemned, and incontinently were led forth to a place before the Caſtell, and there beheaded.

On the Morrow after, Duke Mordo hymſelfe, and Duncane Stewarde Earle of Lennox were conuicted of highe treaſon, and beheaded afore the Caſtell in ſemblable maner.

Thus by the attainder of Duke Mordo and his ſonnes, the Erldomes of Fife, Menteith, and Lennox came into the kings handes.

The reſidue of the Lordes and Barons remayning as then in priſon, and abyding the kings pleaſure, were ſore afrayd when they heard what rygorous iuſtice had beene executed on Duke Mordo and his ſonnes: notwithſtanding within a tweluemonth after they were all ſet at libertie, and receyued into the kings fauour, on promiſe of their loyall demeanour and ductifull obedience euer after to be ſhewed during their naturall lyues.

1427

Alexander Lorde of the Iles areſted.

In the yeare next following, which was after the incarnation. 1427. Alexander Lorde of the Iles, was areſted by the king at Inuernes, for that he was accuſed to be a ſuccorer & mainteyner of theeues and robbers in the countrey: but foraſmuch as he promiſed in tyme comming to refourme his former miſdemeanors, he was pardoned and ſet at libertie, whereof enſued greate trouble immediatly after.

He is ſet at libertie.

He rebelle

The towne of Inuernes burnt.

For ſhortly vpon his deliuerance, he gathered a power of wicked ſcapethriftes, and with the ſame comming vnto Inuernes, burnt the towne, and beſieged the Caſtell, enforcing with all diligence to wynne the ſame, tyll he was aduertiſed, that the King was comming towardes him with a great power, wherevpon he fledde incontinently to the Iles, and finally hauing knowledge that a great number of people lay dayly in awayte to take him, that they myght preſente him to the Kings handes, he came diſguyſed in poore aray to the holy Rood houſe, and there fynding the King on Eaſter daye deuoutly in the Churche at hys prayers, he fell downe on hys knees before hym, and beſought hym of grace for hys ſake that roſe as that day from death vnto lyfe.

Alexander the Iles commeth to the king and aſketh pardo

At requeſt of the Queene, the King pardoned him of lyfe, but he appoynted William Dowglas Erle of Angus to haue the cuſtodie of him, and that within the caſtel of Temptalloun, that no trouble ſhould riſe by his meanes thereafter.

His mother Eufame, daughter to Walter ſometime Earle of Ros, was alſo committed to warde in Saint Colmes Inche, bycauſe it was knowne that ſhe ſolicited hir ſonne to rebell in maner as is aforeſayd agaynſt the king.

Donalde Balloche inuade Lochquhabe

Not long after, Donald Ballocht, brother to the ſayd Lord Alexander of the Iles, came with a great power of men into Lochquhaber.

The Erles of Mar and Cathnes, came with ſuch number of their people as they could rayſe to defend the countrey againſt the inuaſion of thoſe Ilandmen, and fought with the ſaid Donald at Innerlochtie, where the Earle of Cathnes was ſlain, and the Erle of Mar diſcomfited.

The Earle of Cathnes ſla

Herewith did Donald returne with victorie & a great pray of goodes and riches into the Iles.

Donalde Balloche returneth with vitorie & ſpoil into the Iles.

The king ſore moued with the newes hereof, came with a great armie vnto Dunſtafage, purpoſing with all ſpede to paſſe into the Iles.

The Clannes and other chiefe men of the ſaid Iles aduertiſed hereof, came to Dunſtafage, and

ſubmitte

ſubmitted themſelues vnto the King, excuſing their offence, for that (as they alledged) the ſayde Donald had conſtreyned thẽ againſt their willes to paſſe with him in the laſt iourney.

The Clannes ... the ... ſub- ... the m ſel- ... to the king.

All thoſe Clannes vpon this their excuſe, were admitted to the kings fauour, and ſworne to purſue the ſayd Donald vnto death.

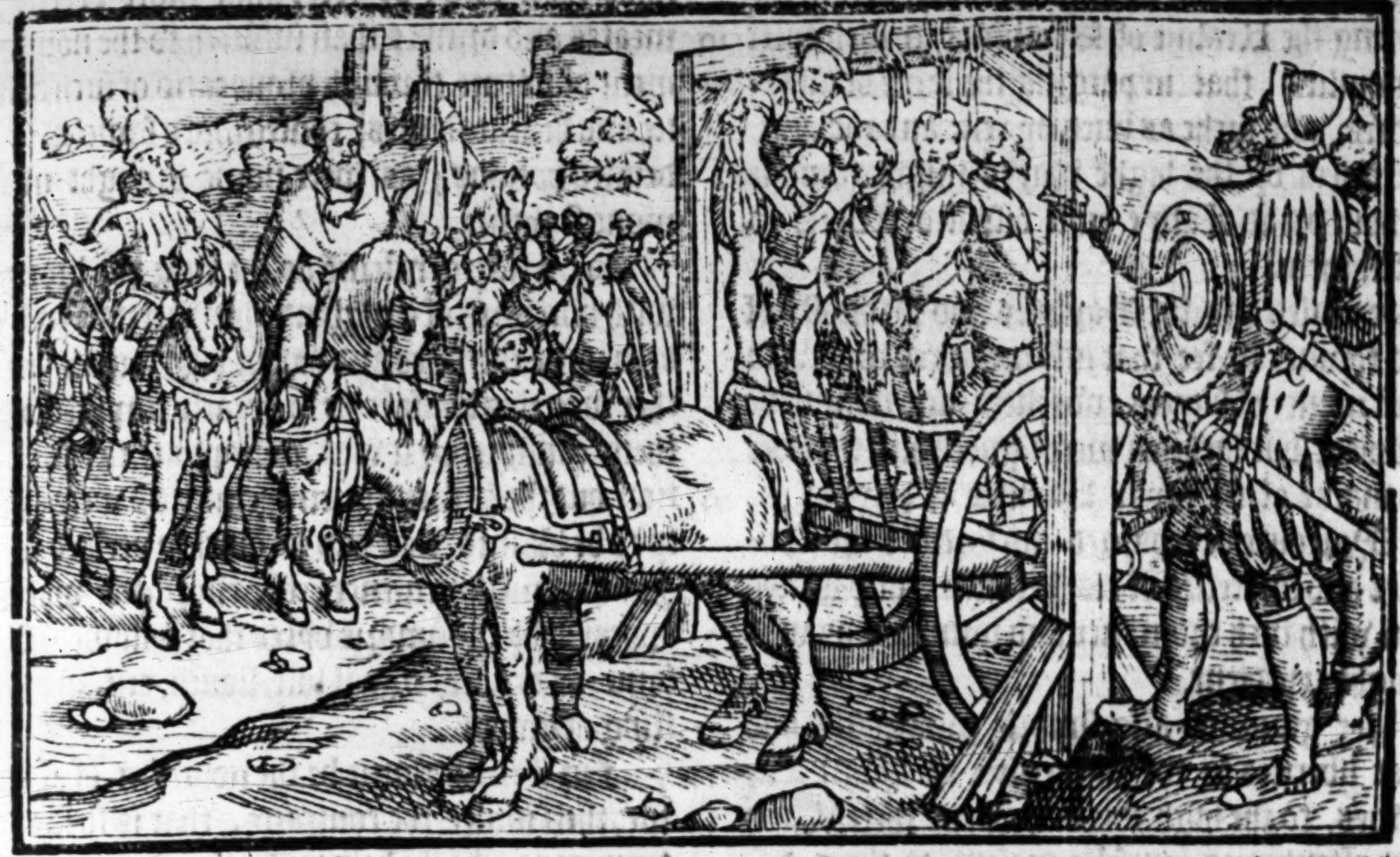
Shortly herevpon, this Donald fled into Irelande, where he was ſlaine, and his head ſent by one Odo a great Lorde of Irelande (in whoſe countrey he lurked) as a preſent to the king that lay as then at Sterling.

Donald fleeth into Ireland.

His heade is ſent as a preſent to the king.

There were alſo three hundred of his adherents taken, and by the kings cõmaundement hanged for theyr offences within three weekes ſpace, after his fyrſt fleeing into Irelande.

Three hundred of Donalds complices hanged.



This trouble being thus quieted, king James paſſed through all the boundes of his Realme to puniſh all offenders and miſruled perſons, which in any wiſe wronged and oppreſſed the poore people.

He allowed no pardon graunted afore by the gouernour, alledging the ſame to be expyred by his death. For he thought indeede it ſtoode neyther with the pleaſure of God, nor wealth of the Realme, that ſo many ſlaughters, reiffes, and oppreſſions, as had beene done afore in the countrey, ſhoulde remayne vnpuniſhed through fault of iuſtice.

...dons gran- ...by the go- ...nour are ...de.

It is ſayde, that within the fyrſt two yeares of his raigne, there were three thouſande perſons executed by death, for ſundrie olde crymes and offences.

...thou- ... offenders ... to death ... two ... ſpace.

And though ſuch extreeme iuſtice might haue bene thought ſufficient to giue enſample to other to refourme their naughtie vſages, yet one Angus Duffe of Strathern nothing afrayd therof, came with a company of theeues and robbers, and tooke a great pray of goodes out of the countreys of Murray and Cathnes: for recouerie whereof, one Angus Murrey followed with a great power, and ouertaking the ſayde Angus Duffe neare to Strachnauern, fiercely aſſayled hym. Who with like manhoode made ſtoute reſiſtance, by reaſon whereof, there enſued ſuche a cruell fight betwixt the parties, that there remayned in the ende but onely. xij. perſons aliue, and thoſe ſo wounded, that they were vneth able to returne home to theyr houſes, and lyued but a few dayes after.

...Duffe.

About the ſame tyme, there was alſo another notable theefe named Makdonalde Ros, whiche grew with ſpoyles and robberies to great riches.

Makdonalde Ros, a notable robber.

This wicked oppreſſor ſhod a poore widowe with horſe ſhoone, bycauſe ſhe ſayd ſhe would go to the king, and reueale his wicked doings.

He ſhodde a wydow.

As ſoone as ſhe was whole and recouered of hir woundes, ſhe went vnto the king, and declared the cruelties done vnto hir by that vngracious perſon Makdonalde.

The king made ſuch diligent ſearche to haue him, that in the ende hee was taken with. xij. of his complices, and put to moſt ſhamefull death, as they had well deſerued.

He was taken and executed.

In the thirde yeare after, which was from the incarnation. 1430. on the. xj. day of October, Jane the Queene of Scottes was delyuered of two ſonnes at one byrth, Alexander and James.

1430

The Queene deliuered of two ſonnes at one byrth.

The firſt deceaſſed in his infancie. The other ſucceeded after his fathers deceaſſe in the kingdome, and was named James the ſeconde.

At the baptiſme of theſe two infantes there were fiftie knightes made.

Fiftie knighes dubbed.

Amongſt the which, and firſt of all other was William the ſonne of Archembalde Earle of Dowglas, that ſucceeded his father in the Earledome of Dowglas.

His father the ſayde Archymbalde Dowglas

ſomewhat

Archymbalde Earle of Dowglas, arreſted and put in priſon.

ſomewhat before this time, or as other Authors haue, in the yeare nexte enſuing, was arreſted by the Kings commaundement, and put in warde, remayning ſo a long time, till at length by ſupplication of the Queene and other Peeres of the Realme, the king pardoned him of all offences, and ſet both him and alſo Alexander Erle of Ros at libertie.

King James deſirous to purge his realme of vnruly perſons.

King James in this ſort did what in him lay to bring the Realme of Scotlande in ſuch quiet tranquilitie, that (in purging the ſame of all offenders, and ſuche as liued by reife and robbing) paſſengers by the highe wayes might trauaile without dread of anye euill diſpoſed perſons to moleſt them.

An ordinance for meaſures.

He cauſed alſo the Baylyfes and Prouoſts of good townes to ſee that iuſt meaſures were vſed by all maner of buyers and ſellers, and none to be occupied, but ſuche as were ſigned with the note and marke of the ſayde Baylifes or Prouoſtes.

Caſtels repayred and munited.

Moreouer he repayred and fortified the Caſtelles and fortreſſes of his Realme, and ſtuffed them with ſuch ordinance and munition as was thought expedient.

Priuiledges graunted to the vniuerſitie of S. Androwes

Hee graunted alſo ſundrie priuiledges and great liberties to the vniuerſitie of Saint Androwes, to the high aduauncement thereof, and was oftentymes himſelfe preſent at theyr diſputations, taking great pleaſure therein.

Suche as were knowne to bee learned men, and were preſented to him by the Uniuerſitie, he preferred to great benefices and other eccleſiaſticāll lyuings, ſtyll as the ſame chaunced to bee vacant.

Organes brought into Scotlande.

By ſuche meanes, all maner of vertue and good learning encreaſed dayly through the realme during his time, and namely Muſicke was had in great price, which he appoynted to bee vſed in Churches with Organes, the which before hys time were not muche knowne amongeſt the Scottiſh men.

A Parliament at Perth.

Biſhop Wardlaw inueyeth agaynſt ſuperfluous fare.

Much what about the ſame time, there was a Parliament holden at Perth, in the which Henrie Wardlaw Biſhop of Saint Androwes, in name of al the three eſtates there aſſembled, made a long and right pithie Oration to this effect, that where by the highe policie and prudent diligence of the kings Maieſtie there preſent, iuſtice, and all maner of due adminiſtratiō of lawes and good ordinances were ſo reuiued, that nothing ſeemed to be ouerpaſſed that might aduaunce to the profite and cōmoditie of the common wealth, yet was there one wicked vſage crept in of late, increaſing ſo faſt, that if ſpeedie remedie were not had in time, all thoſe commodities brought into the Realme by his comming, ſhoulde be of ſmall auaile, and that was ſuche ſuperfluous ryot in banketting cheare, and numbers of coſtly diſhes, as were then taken vp and vſed after the Engliſh faſhion, both to the great hinderaunce of mans health, and alſo to the vnprofitable waſting of their goodes and ſubſtance.

If the laudable temperancie vſed amongeſt the Scottiſhe men in olde time were well conſidered, nothing might appeare more contrary and repugnant thereto, than that new kinde of gluttonie then vſed, by receyuing more exceſſe of meates and drinkes than ſuffiſeth to the nouriſhment of nature, through prouocatiō of ſuch daintie and delicate diſhes, confectioned ſawces, and deuiſed potions, as were nowe brought in amongſt them.

As for ſuch gentlemē as the king had brought with him forth of England, they were worthie in deed to be cheriſhed and had in high fauour, neyther was this abuſe to be ſo greatly imputed vnto them, conſidering it was appropriate to their nation: but the Scottiſhmen themſelues were chiefly to be blamed, that had ſo quickly yeelded to ſo great an inconuenience, the enormitie whereof appeared by the ſundrie vyces that followed of the ſame, as exceſſe, ſenſual luſt, ſlouth, reif, and waſting of goodes.

Vices follo wing delic fare.

For if temperancie be the nouriſher of al vertue, then muſte the contrarie, that is to ſay, intemperancie, be the bringer forth and prouoker of all vice.

If it might therfore pleaſe the kings highneſſe to ſhewe his accuſtomed wiſedome and prouidence in repreſſing this abuſe of coſtly fare, ſo much domageable to his people, he ſhoulde do the thing that was meritorious before God, and no leſſe profitable & neceſſary for the publike weale of all his ſubiects.

By theſe and many other the like perſwaſions, Biſhop Wardlaw vſed to diſſwade the king and his people from all ſuperfluous courſes of delicate diſhes and ſurfetting bankets. Inſomuch that euen then there was order taken, that fewer dyſhes and more ſpare dyet ſhould be vſed through the Realme, licencing Gentlemen only, and that on feſtiuall dayes, to be ſerued with Pies, the vſe of them not being knowne in Scotland tyll that ſeaſon.

Order ta for ſuppre of coſtly

Vſe of ba meates in land whe began.

Neuertheleſſe, ſuch intemperancie is riſen in proceſſe of time following, that the greedie appetite of gluttons in this age may be ſatiſfied with no competent feeding, till their bellies be ſo ſtuffed with immoderate gurmandice, that they may vneth fetch breath, through which their noyſome ſurfetting, they fall dayly into ſundrie ſtraunge and lothſome kindes of diſeaſes, being oftentimes killed by the ſame in their flouriſhing youth, as by dayly experience plainly appeareth.

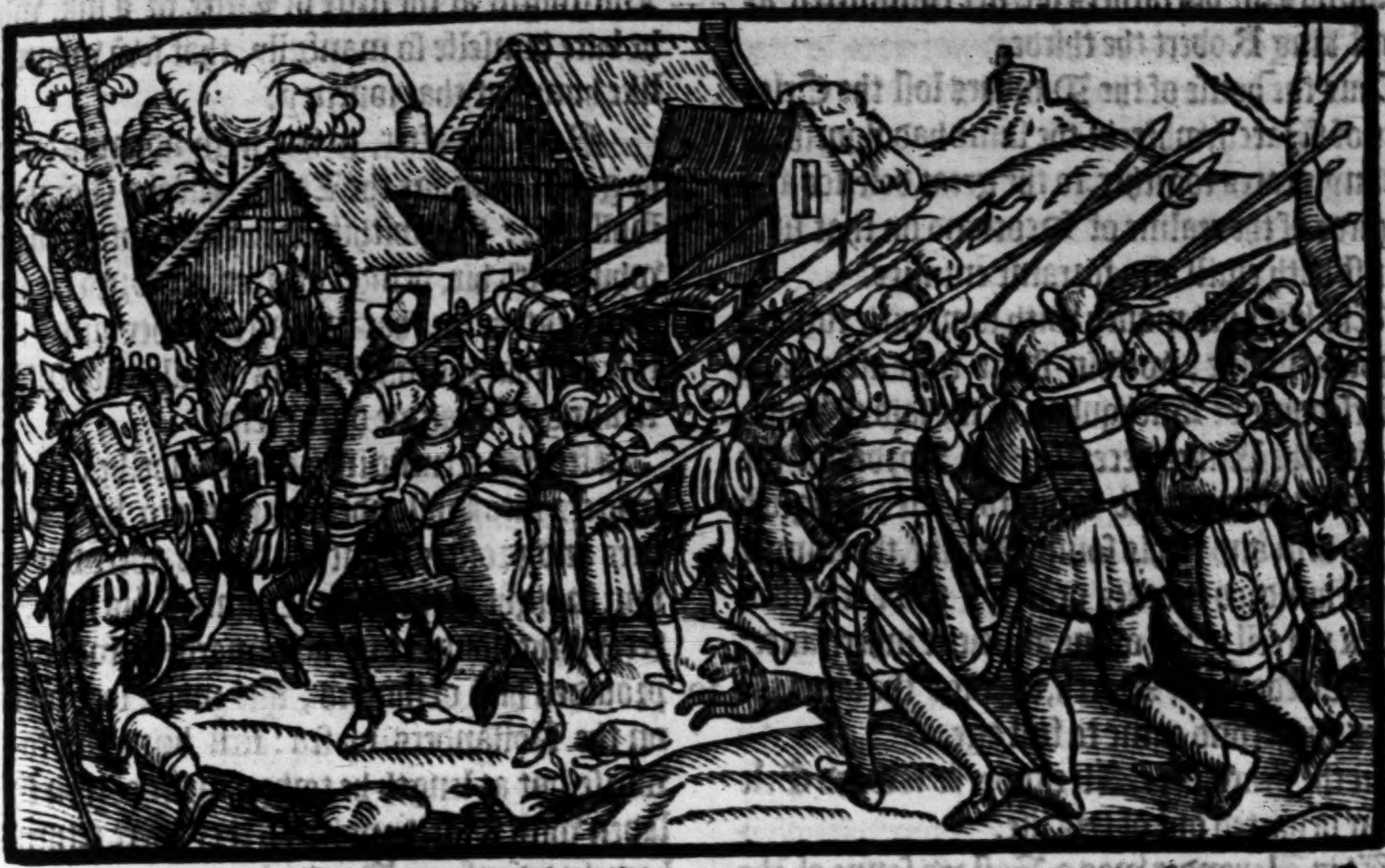
The gre appetite o gluttons ſatiſfied.

A terrible Eclipſe.

In the ſame yeare the .xvij. day of June, was a terrible Eclipſe of the Sunne at three of the clocke at after noone, the day being darkned ouer heade for the ſpace of one halfe houre togither, as though it had beene night, and thervpon it was called the blacke houre.

At the next Lammas after, the king rayſed an armie, and came with the ſame to Rorburgh, beſieging the Caſtell for the ſpace of .xv. dayes togyther.

Roxbourgh beſieged.



He had in this armie (as the report went) the number of two hundred thouſande men, accounting caryage men and all other ſuch as followed the campe: yet notwithſtanding all this huge multitude, hauing waſted his powder and other munition before he coulde doe any great hurt to his enimies, hee was conſtreyned to rayſe hys fielde, and leaue the Caſtell in the Engliſh mens handes as he found it.

After this, King James perceyuing how the knowledge of handicraftes and manuall occupations was decayed in Scotlande, through continuall exerciſe of warres, ſithe the dayes of Alexander the thirde, to the further aduauncement of the common wealth, and that his ſubiects might haue occaſion to auoyde slouth and ydleneſſe (the roote of all miſchiefe) he brought a great number of cunning crafteſmen out of Germanie, Fraunce, and other parties, to inſtruct his people in theyr artes and faculties.

Not long after, one Paule Craw a Bohemian borne, was burnt at Saint Androwes, for preaching and ſetting forth the doctrine of John Hus, and John Wikclife.

John Fogo beeing one of them that helped chiefely to condemne him, was made for his great and earneſt diligence therein ſhewed, Abbot of Melros.

About the ſame time was the Abbay of Charturare Monkes founded beſydes Perth, by king James, with great coſt and magnificence.

Alſo the Lord Scrope and other aſſociat with him, came in Ambaſſade from Henrie the ſixte, king of England.

The effect of whoſe meſſage was, to haue the auncient league betwixt the Scots and French men diſſolued, promiſing that if the Councell of Scotland would conſent thereto, and ioyne in league with the Engliſhe men, that both the towne and Caſtell of Berwike with all the lands lying betwixt Tweed and the Recroſſe (as the Scots write) ſhoulde be deliuered into the Scottiſh mens handes.

The offer of the Engliſhme to haue the Scots to ioyne with them in league.

King James hauing ſmall credite in ſuche fayre promiſes, perceyued the ſame to tende only to this ende, that the league betwixt the French men and Scottes might be once clearly broken, and then to vſe the matter as occaſion ſhoulde ſerue their turne.

This matter therefore being proponed before the Counſell, it was concluded that in no wyſe the ſayde league betwixt the Frenche men and Scottes ſhould be diſſolued, and ſo thervpon the Engliſh Ambaſſadors were diſpatched without more talke concerning that matter.

In the ſame yeare, that is to wit. 1433. the king cauſed George Dunbar Earle of March, ſonne to that Erle which rebelled agaynſt his father King Robert the thirde, to be areſted and put in ſafe keeping within the Caſtell of Edenbourgh.

1433

George Erle of March areſted and put in warde.

He ſent alſo the Earle of Angus with his Chauncellor William Creichtoun, and Adam Hepborne of Hales to the Caſtell of Dunbar, deliuering them letters ſigned with his hande, and directed to the keepers of the ſayde Caſtell, that they ſhould deliuer vp the houſe immediatly vpon ſight of thoſe his letters vnto the bringers of the ſame. The keepers durſt not diſobey his commaundement, but ſuffered them to enter accor-

ping

ding to theyr commiſſion.

A Parliament at Perth.

Within a twelvemonth after a Parliament was holden at Perth, where the foreſayd George Earle of March was diſinherited of al his landes and liuings for his fathers offence committed agaynſt king Robert the thirde.

The Erle of March diſinherited.

Thus the houſe of the Dunbars loſt the Erledome of March, wherein the ſame had flouriſhed ſo many yeares togither, to the great defence and ſafegarde of the realme of Scotland on that ſide, againſt both ciuill and forraine enimies.

The Erledome of Buchquhan giuen to George Dunbat.

The king yet moued with ſome pitie toward ſo noble a linage, within ſhort time after gaue the Erledome of Buchquhan to the ſaid George, and after the Kings deceaſſe, the Lordes of the Councell thinking the ſame to little, aſſigned forth to him and to his ſonne Patrike, the ſumme of foure hundred markes yearely, to be receyued out of a parcell of his owne auncient inheritance, of the Erledome of March, to enioy the ſame till James the ſecond came to full age.

1435

The death of Alexander Stewarde Earle of Mar.

In the yeare. 1435. Alexander Steward Erle of Mar departed out of this life.

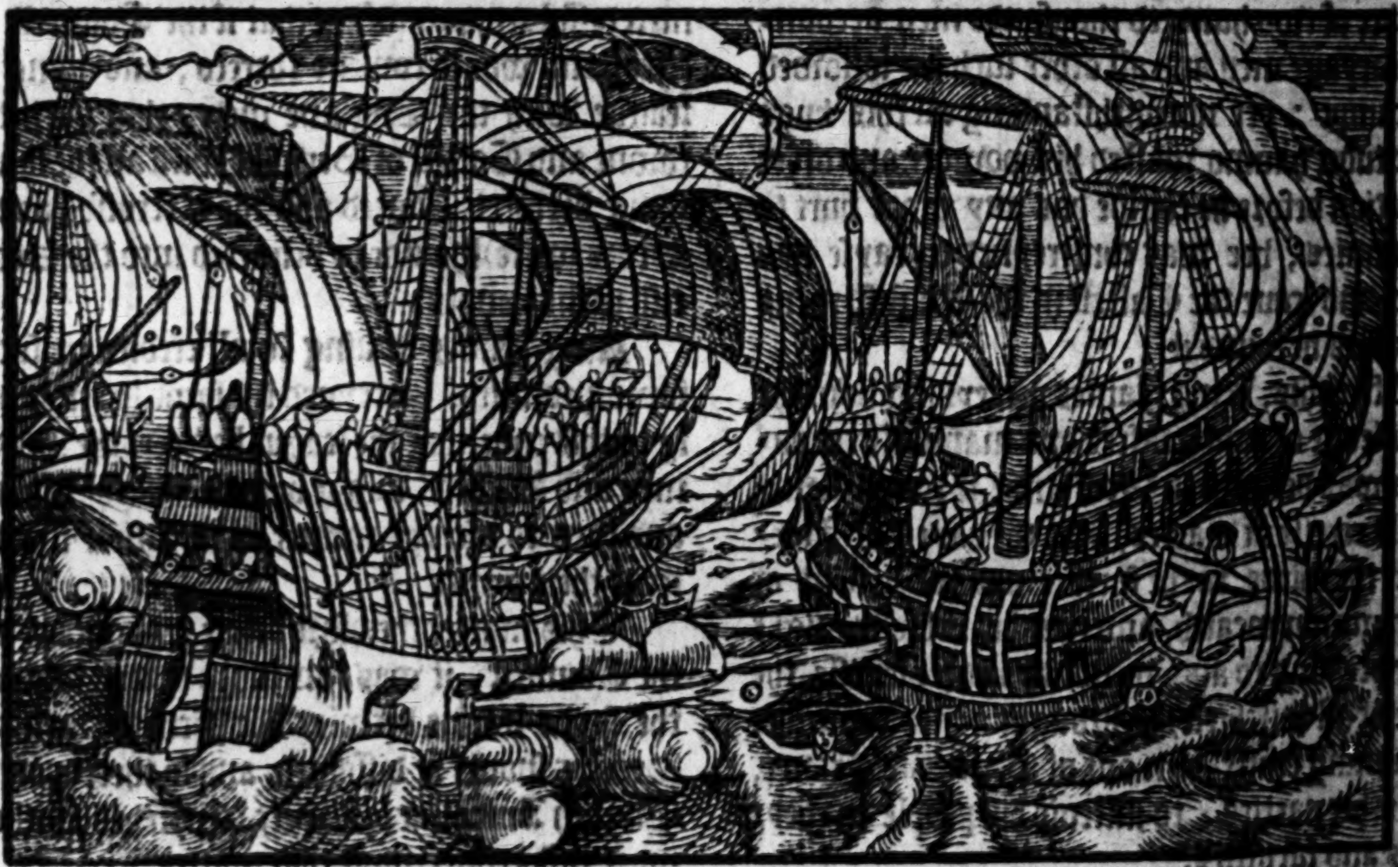
This Alexander was a Baſtard ſonne of the Erle of Buchquhan, that was one of the ſonnes of king Robert the ſeconde. He was a man of right ſingular prowes, and in his youth following the warres, was with Philip Duke of Burgoigne at the ſiege of Liege, or Luik, where he bare himſelfe ſo manfully, that few wanne the like honor at that iourney.

Leodium.

Not long after, to his high aduauncement, he got in mariage the Lable Jacoba Countes of Hollande: Notwithſtanding, he continued but a while with hir, being enforced to forgo hir companie, eyther for that ſhe had an other huſband, either for that the inhabitants woulde not ſuffer a ſtraunger to raigne ouer them.

Warres betwixt the of Mar and Hollanders

After his returne into Scotlande, he ſent meſſengers into Hollande, requyring to haue the iſſues and profites of ſuch landes as were due vnto him in right of the ſayde Counteſſe his wife, but receyuing nought but a frowarde anſwere, hee prouided him of ſhippes, and made ſore warres on the Hollanders by ſea: firſt being put to the worſe, but at length he tooke a nūber of their ſhips laden with Marchandiſe, as they were returning homewardes from Dantzicke.



Truce betwixt the Scots and Hollanders for terme of one hundred yeares.

The Mariners were drowned, and the ſhips brent. Through which loſſe, the Hollanders being ſore abaſhed, fell to a compoſition wyth him, and tooke truce with the Scottes for an hundred yeares.

This Earle of Mar ſo long as he lyued had the gouernaunce of the North partes of Scotlande vnder king James the firſt, for he was a right prudent perſon, aſwell in warlike enterpriſes, as in ciuill adminiſtration.

Stood Mares brought out of Hungarie into Scotlande for breede.

He brought forth of Hungarie ſundrie great Horſes and Mares for generation, that by ſuche meanes the countrey might be prouided of great horſes of their own race, where til that time there was none bred within Scotland, but ſmal nags, more meet to ſerue for iourneying hackneis than for any ſeruice in the warres.

Ambaſſade out of Denmarke.

Their requ

Not long before this time, there came an Ambaſſade from the King of Denmarke vnto king James, requiring him to make payment of ſuch yearely tribute as was due to the ſayde king of Denmark, being alſo king of Norway, for the weſterne Iles, according to the promiſe and agreement made by Alexander ſometime king of Scotland, the thirde of that name, vnto his predeceſſor Magnus, at that time king of Norway.

The Ambaſſadours that came with this meſſage, were honourably receyued, and in like ſort enterteyned by king James, who at their departure gaue to thē ſundry rich giftes, and appointed

Sr William Creighton ſent into Denmark.

ſir William Creichtoun to goe with them into Denmarke, Imbaſſadour from him, to the king there, who vſed himſelfe ſo ſagely in this buſineſſe which he thus went about, that renuing the olde league betwixt the two Realmes of Denmarke and Scotlande, ſtedfaſt peace and aſſured amitie without any more ado thereof enſued.

Peace and amitie betwixt Scotland and Denmarke.

Ambaſſadours forth of France

The old league renewed betwixt France and Scotland.

The Dolphin marrieth Margaret daughter to K. James.

Much what about the ſame time, there came Imbaſſadors from the French king Charles the vij. not onely deſiring to haue the olde league betwixt France and Scotland to be ratified at that preſent by a new confirmation, but alſo to confyrme the ſame with better aſſurance, Margaret eldeſt daughter to King James, at requeſt of the ſayde King Charles, was giuen in mariage vnto Lewes the Dolphin, and eldeſt ſonne to the ſayde king Charles.

English men in awayte for the Scottiſh fleete.

The Engliſh men encounter a fleet of Spaniardes.

Many great Lordes of Scotlande were appoynted to haue the conueyaunce of hir into Fraunce, and great prouiſion of ſhippes made for that voyage, bycauſe the king was aduertiſed that the Engliſh men had a fleete abrode on the ſeas, to take hir if they might meete with hir by the way. But as the hap fel, it chaunced the ſame time, as the Scottiſh ſhippes ſhoulde paſſe, there appeared on the coaſt of England, a great fleete of Spaniardes, which the Engliſh men ſuppoſing to be the Scots, they came vpon them with lxxx. veſſels of one and other, thinking verely to haue had theyr wiſhed pray, euen according to theyr expectation: but beeing receyued with as hote a ſtorme as they brought, they quickly vnderſtode how they were in a wrong boxe, and ſo ſhrewdly amazed (as Hector Boetius hath) they ſuſteyned great loſſe both in men and ſhips, and in the meane time the Scottiſhe nauie paſſed by quietly without domage, encountring not one ſhippe by the way that ſought to impeache theyr paſſage.

The arriual of the Lady Margaret of Scotland in France.

There went. Cxl. Ladies and Gentlewomen forth of Scotland to attende this Ladie Margaret into France, amongeſt which number there were fiue of hir owne ſiſters.

Henry Percie inuadeth Scotlande.

In the meane time, whileſt ſuch things were a doing, Henry Percy of Northumberland inuaded Scotland with foure thouſande men, not being knowne whether he had commiſſion ſo to do from the king of Englande, or that he made that enterpriſe of himſelfe.

William Dowglas Erle of Angus to reſiſt this inuaſion, gathered a power of choſen men, amongſt whom were Adam Hepborne of Hales, Alexander Ramſey of Dalchouſy, and Alexander Elphingſton, with other.

The battayle of Pyperdene fought betwixt Henrie Percie and the Earle of Angus.

The Scots get the victorie.

The number of Engliſh men ſlaine.

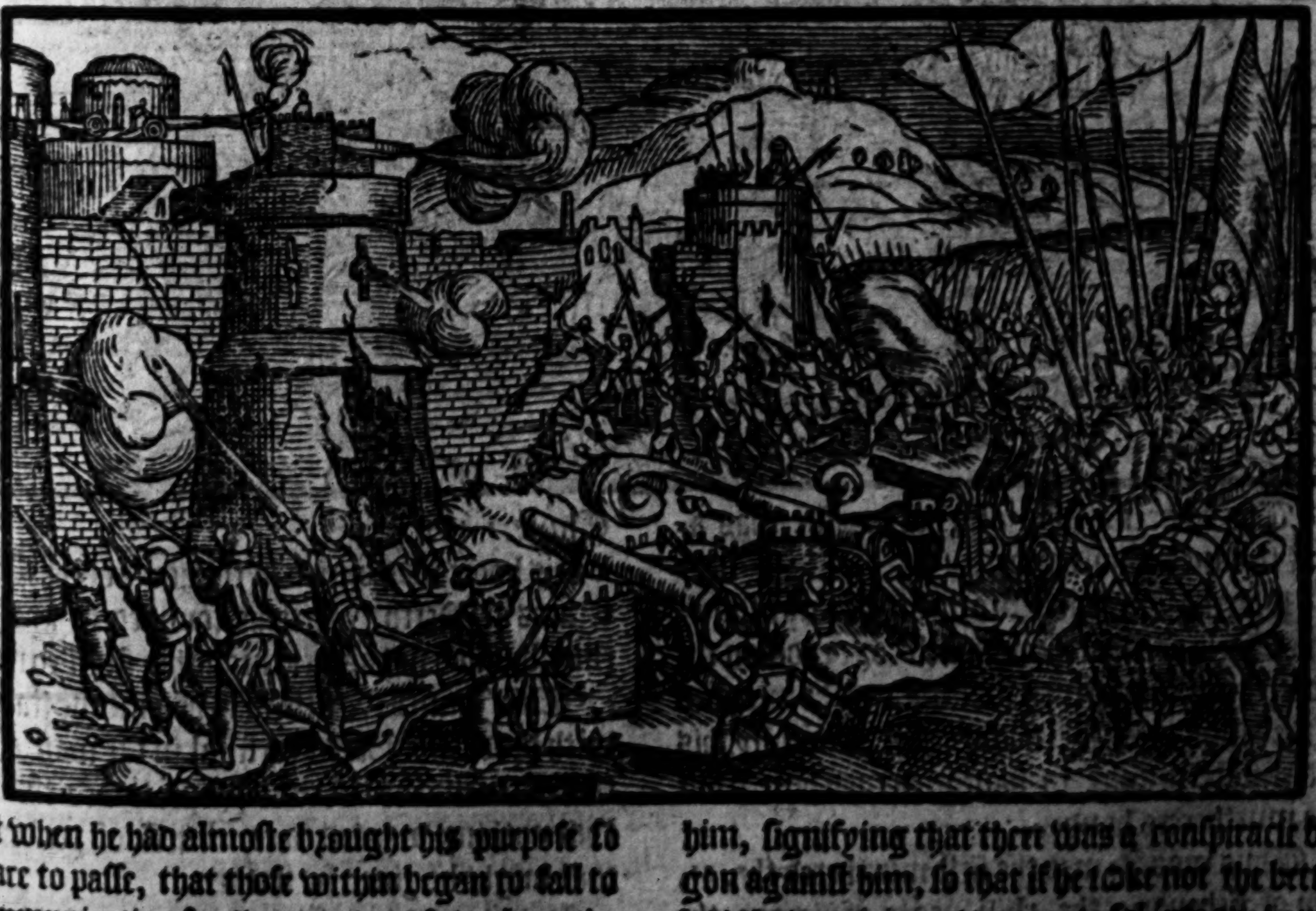
The Erle of Angus being thus aſſociat, met the Percie at Pyperdene, where a ſore battaile was foughten betwixt them, with great ſlaughter on both ſides, but at length the victorie fell to the Scottes, though there were ſlaine togyther with Alexander Elphynſton two hundred Gentlemen and commons of Scotlande: and of the Engliſh part, there dyed Henrie of Clyddeſdale, John Ogyll, and Richarde Percie, with xv. C. other of Gentlemen and commons, of the which Gentlemen. xl. were knightes.

Priſoners taken.

There were taken alſo and brought home by the Scottes as priſoners, to the number of foure hundred.

Roxbourgh beſieged.

Shortly herevpon king James rayſed a mightie armie, and beſieged the Caſtel of Roxbourgh, but when he had almoſte brought his purpoſe ſo neare to paſſe, that thoſe within began to fall to communication for the rendring of the place, the Queene came to the campe in great haſt vnto him, ſignifying that there was a conſpiracie begon againſt him, ſo that if he toke not the better heed, he was in great danger to fal into the handes of thoſe that ſought his life.



The king informed of a conſpiracie made againſt him, rayleth his ſiege.

The Earle of Athol head of the cõſpiracy.

The king doubting the matter, raiſed hys ſiege and returned home to prouide the better for his owne ſuretie: but that preuayled litle, for Walter Stewarde Earle of Athole, and heade of the whole conſpiracie, pretending euer a right to the Crowne, by reaſon that hee was procreate by king Robert the ſeconde on his firſt wife, procured his nephew Robert Stewarde, and his couſin Robert Graham, to ſlea the King by one meane or other, which finally they accompliſhed in this wiſe.

Robert Graham.

This Robert Graham for diuerſe wicked acts before committed, contrarie to the lawes and ordinances of the Realme, was driuen to an outlawrie, ſo that if he were taken, he looked for nothing but preſent death, and therefore hated the king moſt deadly: and though by the Queenes diligence both his and other of the conſpirators purpoſes were now diſappointed, hauing contriued to diſpatch the king at ẏ ſiege of Roxbourgh, yet forſomuch as their names were not knowne, they hoped ſtill to finde occaſion to atchieue their deteſtable intention, ſith they were no more miſtruſted than the others.

Robert Steward and Robert Graham murtherers of the king.

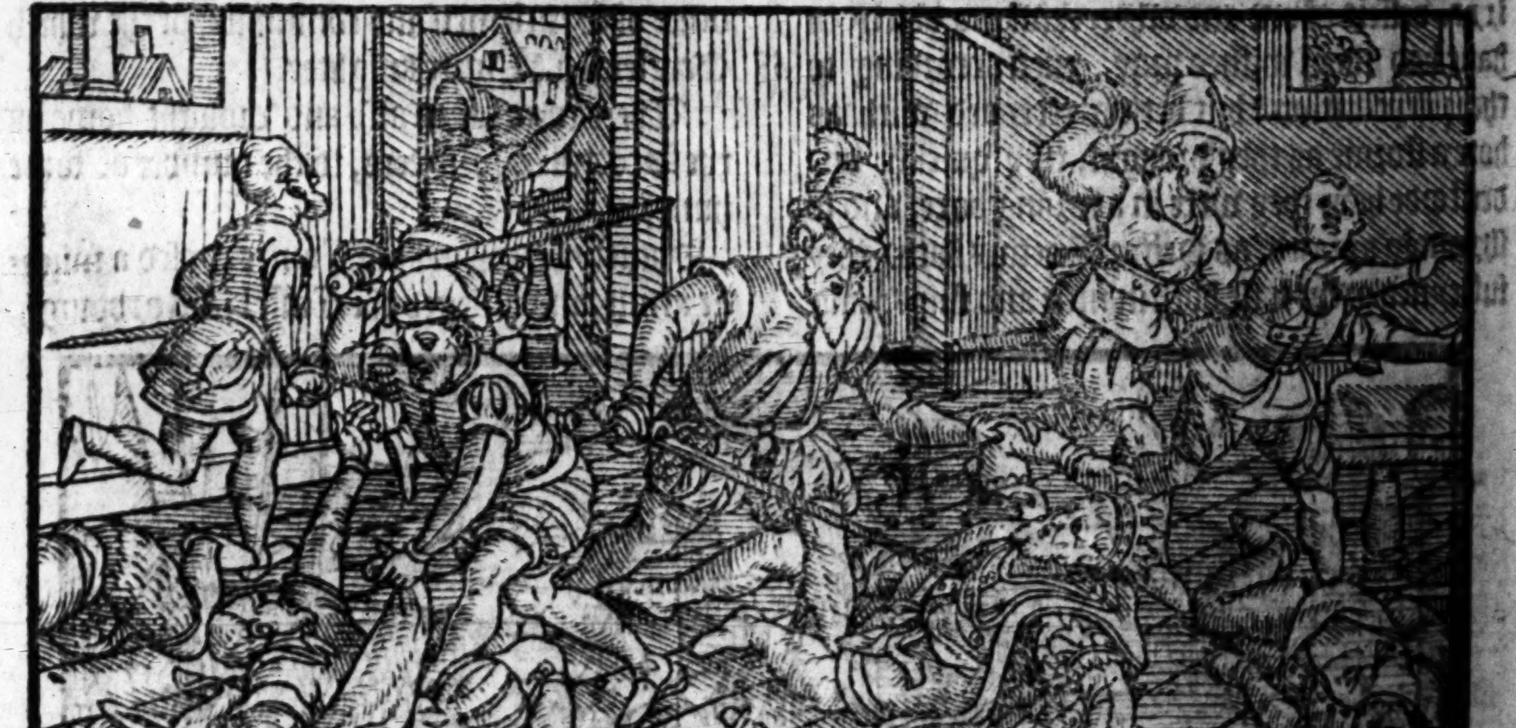
Hereupon the ſayde Stewarde and Graham came one Euening to the blacke Friers of Perth where the king as then was lodged, and by lycence of the Porters comming into the houſe, entred vp into the Gallerie before the kings chãber dore, mynding to haue ſtayed there till one of the kings ſeruants that was priuie to their diueliſh purpoſe ſhould come, by whoſe helpe they were promiſed to haue entrie into the Chamber. But before the comming of this Judaslike traytor, an other of the kings ſeruants named Walter Strayton came forth of the chamber dore to haue fetched wine for the king: but being aduiſed of theſe two traytors ſtanding there at the dore, either of them hauing a long ſworde gyrded to him, he ſtept backe, and cried treaſon: but ere hee could get within the dore to haue made it faſt, they leapt vnto him, and ſlue him there outright.

Walter S ton is ſl

Katherin Dowgla

Whileſt this was a doing not without great noyſe and rumbling, a yong virgin named Katherin Dowglas, that was after maried to Alexander Louel of Bolunny got to the dore, & ſhut it: but bycauſe the barre was away that ſhoulde haue made it faſt, ſhe thruſt hir arme in the place where the barre ſhoulde haue paſſed, ſhe was but yong and hir bones not ſtrong, but rather tender as a gryſtle, and therefore hir arme was ſoone craſht in ſunder, and the dore broken vp by force. Herewyth entring the Chamber, they ſlue ſuch of the ſeruaunts as made defence, and then the King himſelfe with many cruell and deadly woundes.

The mur ters ente kings ch ber, and ſ the king



The Queene is hurt.

The Queene was alſo hurt as ſhe was about to ſaue hir huſbande.

Patrike Dunbar wounded and left for dead in the kings defence.

Patrike Dunbarre, brother to George ſometime Earle of March, was left for deade on the floore, by reaſon of ſuch woundes as he receyued in the kings defence, doing moſt manfully his vttermoſte deuoire to haue preſerued him from the murtherers handes.

James the firſt murthered.

1436

Thus was James the firſt murthered the. 21. day of Februarie, the. xliiij. yeare of his age, the xiij. of his raigne, and from the Incarnation of Chriſt. 1436.

His bodie was buried in the houſe of the Charterares at Perth, which he founded in hys lyfe time, but had not as yet throughly finiſhed it.

His ſtatur forme of b

This James the firſt was of a meane ſtature, with brode ſhoulders, and ſmal in the waſt, all other his members ſo well proportioned therto, that nothing wanted to comlineſſe of perſonage that might be giuen by nature.

An vpright iuſticier.

How vpright a iuſticier he was, and [illegible] in all his demeanours, it maye appeare by that which before is wrytten of hys gouernment.

The ſearche made for the traytors.

The Nobles and Peeres of the Realme right ſorrowfull for his death, aſſembled togyther, and made ſuche earneſt and diligent ſearche for the Traytours before mentioned, that at the length they were apprehended and brought to Edenbourgh, where they were executed on thys maner.

The Earle of Athole, whiche was not onely principall in practiſe of thys treaſon concerning the kings death, but alſo in tymes paſt was chiefe of counſell with Robert Duke of Albanie in the making awaye of Dauid the Kings eldeſt brother, and after the Kings returne forth of Englande, did moſte earneſtly ſolicite him to put Duke Mordo to death, with all other of hys lynage, truſting that when they were diſpatched, he ſhoulde finde meanes to rid the King alſo, and his children out of the way, and ſo at length attayne to the crowne without any obſtacle. This Earle (I ſay) was firſt ſtripped of all his clothes, ſaue only his ſhyrt, and then was an inſtrument of wood made like to the drawer of a well, ſet faſt in a Cart with a frame.

The execution of the Earle of Athole.

At the one ende of whiche Inſtrument, was the Earle faſtened and bounde, and ſo caryed aboute the towne, ſometyme rayſed on high, that the people might ſee hym aloft in the ayre, and ſometyme let fal againe with a ſway downe vpō the pauement.

The prophecie of a Witche.

After this, beeing brought to an open place, where moſte reſort of people was, they crowned him with an hote Iron, for that (as was ſayde) a Witche had tolde him, that before hys death he ſhoulde be crowned openly in ſight of the people. Through whoſe illuſion being deceyued, hee lyued vnder vayne hope to attaine the Crowne, dyrecting all hys ymaginations to compaſſe the meanes thereto. Thus was hee ſerued on the fyrſt day.

On the ſecond, he was drawne with his complyces layde on Hyrdels, rounde about the towne at an horſe tayle.

The thirde day, hys belly was rypt, and his bowelles taken forth, and throwne in the fyre flickering before hys eyes, and then was hys heart pulled forth of his bodie, and throwne likewiſe in the fire: and laſt of all, his heade was cut off, and his bodie deuided in foure quarters.

Robert Stewarde executed.

The ordering of Robert Grahams execution.

His nephew Robert Stewarde was not altogither ſo cruelly executed: But Robert Graham, for that it was knowne that he ſlue the king wyth his owne handes, was put into a Carte, the hande that did the deede being faſtened to a payre of Gallowes, whiche were reared vp in the ſame Carte, and then were three perſons appointed to thruſt him through in all partes of his bodie wyth hote Irons, beginning firſte in thoſe places where it was thought no haſtye death woulde thereof enſue, as in the legges, armes, thighes and ſhoulders, and thus was hee caryed through euery ſtreete of the towne, and tormented in moſt miſerable wiſe, and at length had his belly ript, and was bowelled and quartered as the other were before.

Chriſtopher Clawn.

Chriſtofer Clawn alſo, and other that were of counſayle in the conſpiracie, were putte to moſte ſhamefull kyndes of deathes, as they had iuſtlye deſerued, fewe or none lamenting theyr caſe.

Strange ſightes.

In the dayes of King Iames the firſt, ſundrie ſtraunge and monſtruous things chaunced in Scotland.

Pigges with heades like to Dogges.

At Perth there was a Sowe that brought forth a lytter of Pygges with heades lyke vnto Dogges.

A Calfe with a heade like a Colte.

A Cow alſo brought forth a Calfe, hauing a head like a Colt.

A blaſing ſtarre.

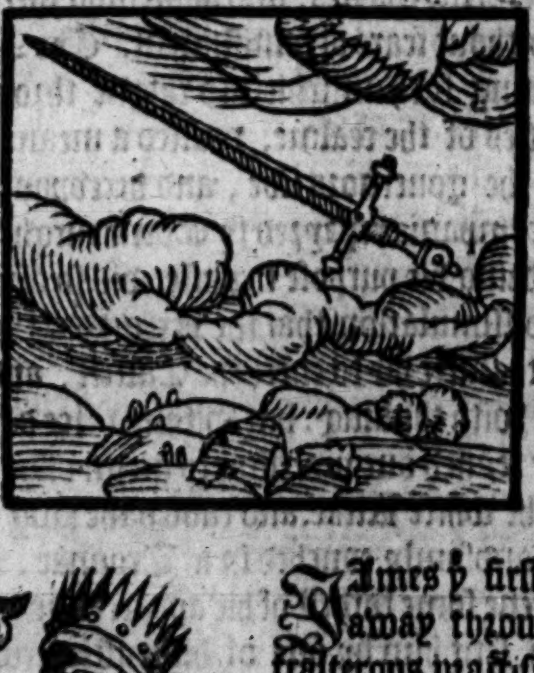
In the Harueſt before the Kings death, a blaſing Starre was ſeene wyth long ſtreaming beames.

A great froſt. Ale and wine ſold by pound weight.

And in the Winter following, the froſt was ſo vehement, that Ale and Wine were ſolde by pounde weight, and then melted agaynſt the fire.

A ſword ſeene in the ayre.

A ſworde was ſeene glyding vp and downe in the ayre, to the no leſſe dreade than wonder of the people.



Iames.

1436

Iames yͤ firſt made away through the trayterous practiſe of the Erle of Athole, (as before is ſpecified) hys eldeſt ſon Iames the ſecond of that name being as then but ſixe yeares of age ſucceeded to the crowne, as lawful heyre to the ſame, and by his mother and the Nobilitie of the Realme, was brought to Scone, where by the vniuerſall conſente of the three eſtates he was crowned King of Scotlande, being the. 102. King of that realme from Ferguſe the firſt. He was ſurnamed Iames with the fierie face, by reaſon of a brode red ſpot which he had in one of his checkes.

The daughter of the Duke of Gelderlād maried to James the ſeconde.

This James at his comming to mans ſtate proued a ſtoute Prince, and maried the daughter of the Duke of Gelderlande as after ſhall appeare.

In the beginning he had ſome trouble and buſineſſe, by reaſon of the great authoritie and rule which the high Barons of the Realme ſought to beare and maintaine, as the Dowglaſſes and other, but in the ende he ſubdued them all.

Sir Alexander Leuingſton gouernour. Sir William Creichton L. Chancellor.

Diſobedience in the Dowglas.

1437

Shortly after his coronation, bycauſe he was not of himſelfe able to gouerne by reaſon of his tender age, the nobles and eſtates of the Realme choſe ſir Alexander Leuingſton of Calender knight, gouernor of the king and realme, and ſir William Creichton knight, was confyrmed in his office to enioy the ſame as before he had done, the king being committed to his keeping, togyther with the Caſtell of Edenbourgh. Archebald Erle of Dowglas remayned in his countreys of Dowglas & Annardale, and would neither obey gouernor nor Chancellor, whereby great trouble was rayſed within the realme. Within a ſhort time alſo the gouernor and chancelor were deuided. The gouernor with the Queene remayned at Striueling: but the Chancelor had the K. ſtill with him in the Caſtel of Edenburgh, & what the one cōmaūded to be done, the other forbad: wherby neither of them was obeyed, nor any executiō of iuſtice put in practiſe, ſo that through all the countrey, reif, ſpoyles, and oppreſſion were exerciſed without feare of puniſhment. The Queene perceyuing ſuch miſchiefe to raigne throughout all parties of the realme, deuiſed a meane to aduance the gouernors ſide, and herevpon with a ſmall companie repayred to Edenbourgh, where ſhe to bring hir purpoſe to paſſe, did ſo muche by great diſſimulation, that ſhe perſwaded the Chācellor to ſuffer hir to enter the Caſtell, and to remaine with the king: but within three dayes after, ſhe feyned one morning to go on pilgrymage vnto the white Kirke, and cauſed the king hir ſon to be handſomly couched in a Trounke, as if he had beene ſome fardell of hir apparell, and ſo packed vp, ſent him by one of hir truſtie ſeruauntes layde vpon a Sumpter horſe vnto Lieth, from whence he was conueyed by boat vnto Striueling, where of the gouernor he was ioyfully receyued, commending the Queene highly for hir politike working, in deceyuing ſo wiſe a man as the Chauncelor was. Then rayſed hee a great power of his friendes and well willers, and beſieged the Chauncellour in the Caſtell of Edenbourgh.

A policye wrought by the Queene.

The king was conueyed vnto Striueling.

The Byſhop perceyuing in what daunger he ſtood through the womans deceyt, ſent to yͤ Erle of Dowglas, deſiring his aſſyſtaunce agaynſte the Queene and gouernor. But the Earle refuſed either to helpe the one or the other, alledging that they were both ouer ambicious in ſeeking to haue the whole gouernment of the Realme in their handes.

An agreem made.

The Chauncellor then perceyuing himſelfe deſtitute of all helpe, made agreement with the gouernor, vnder certain conditions, that he ſhould retaine ſtill the Caſtell of Edenbourgh in hys poſſeſſion, and likewiſe continue ſtill in his office of Chancellor.

The Earle Dowglas de parteth thi life at Leſte ricke.

1439

Shortly after the Earle of Dowglas deceaſed at Leſtelrig, in the yeare. 1439, agaynſt whō aſwell the gouernor as Chancellor had conceyued great hatred.

He left behinde him a ſonne (begot of the Erle of Crawfords daughter) named William, a child of fourtene yeares of age, who ſucceeded hys father in the Earledome of Dowglas, appearing at the firſt to be well inclyned of nature, but afterwardes by euill companie hee waxed wylde and inſolent.

The Quee impriſoned.

About this ſeaſon, James Stewarde ſonne to the Lorde of Lorne, maryed the Queene Dowager, and fauoured the Earle Dowglas in his vnruly demeanor, wherevpon both the ſayd James and his brother William, with the Queene, were committed to priſon in the Caſtell of Striueling by the gouernors appoyntment, but ſhortly after they were releaſed by the ſute of the lord Chancellor Sir William Creichton, and Alexander Setō of Gurdun, who became ſureties for their good abearing, vnder greate forfeyture of ſufficient bande.

Alane Stew is ſlaine.

About the ſame time, or rather ſomewhat before, Alane Steward Lord of Dernlye was ſlain at Palmais thorne, by ſir Thomas Boyd. And in the yeare following, the ſame ſir Thomas was ſlaine by Alexander Steward of Bolnet and his ſonnes, wherethrough there roſe great troubles in the weſt partes of Scotland. William Erle of Dowglas ſent Malcolm Flemming of Cumernald, and Alane of Lowder, vnto Charles the ſeuenth, king of France, to obteyne of him the Duchie of Towraine, which was giuē to Archebald Dowglas at the battaile of Vernoile in Perch, & the laſt Erle, father to this Erle Williā, had enioyed the ſame all his life time, wherevpon that ſute was the ſooner obteyned: which made yͤ yong Earle more inſolent than before. He kept ſuch a port, and vſed to haue ſuch a traine attending vpon him, ſpecially when he came to the court, that it might ſeeme he had the king in ſmal regard, for he thought himſelfe ſafe ynoughe in mainteyning the lyke ſtate and porte, or rather greater than euer hys father at anye tyme had maynteyned before hym. Inſomuche as hee woulde ryde with two thouſande horſe, of the whiche number there were diuers errant theeues and robbers, that were borne out in their vnlawfull and

The great po of the Earle o Douglas.

wicked practiſes by the ſame Erle.

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quhoyn

Certaine Captaines of the Iles, as Lachlan, Makclayn, and Murdac Gypſon, with a wicked number of the inhabitants of the ſame Iles, haried ſpoyled, and burnt the countrey of Lennox, and ſlue Iohn Colquhouen laird of Lute vnder aſſurance. They alſo ſlue women and children, without reſpect to age or ſexe.

earth.

ence.

This yeare chaunced a great dearth in Scotland, the like was neuer heard of before, and ſuch a death by peſtilence, that few eſcaped that were taken therwith, and ſo the Realme was plagued with reif, oppreſſion, dearth, and death of people.

e king
with the
cellor to
bourgh.

This yeare alſo the gouernour toke the whole adminiſtration vpõ him, wherwith the Chancellor was diſpleaſed, and leauing the king and him in Striueling, repayred to Edenbourgh, where he deuiſed the way how to recouer the king from the gouernor, & ſo one morning toke .xxiiij. men with him, & rode to the parke of Striueling where the king was then hunting, and the gouernor abſent at Perth, ſo that the Chancellor did ſo much that he perſwaded the king to goe with him to Edenbourgh. The Chancellor (as Hector Boetius hath) had cauſed the number of foure thouſande horſemen of his ſeruants, tenants, and friends, ſecretly to be readie that morning about the towne of Striueling, to reſiſt his aduerſaries if they ſhould haue vſed any force againſt him, and now vnderſtanding of the kings going thus with the Chancellor, they came to him on the way, and attẽding him, brought him ſafely and without further trouble vnto Edenbourgh.

e gouernor
d Chancel-
re made
ndes.

The gouernor when he was aduertiſed hereof, was grieuouſly diſpleaſed: but bycauſe he knew not how to remedy the matter, he went to Edenbourgh, & there got Iohn Iunes Biſhop of Murrey, and Henrie Lichton Biſhop of Abirdene, to labour ſome agreement betwixte him and the Chancelor: which they did in this wiſe. The king to remaine in keeping of the Chancellor, and the gouernor to continue his office. And ſo by this accord they were made friendes.

1440

e Earle of
glas is
headed.

The gouernor and Chancelor being thus agreed, called a counſell of the nobles of the realme to be holden in Edenbourgh caſtell, to the which amongſt other came the Erle of Dowglas, and as they were ſet to dinner, the meate was ſodenly remoued, and a Bulles head preſented to the Erle of Dowglas, which in thoſe dayes was a token of execution. And immediately therevpon the ſayde Earle with his brother Dauid, and Malcolme Flemming of Cumernald, were beheaded before the caſtell gate.

After the death of the ſayde Earle, the ſtate of the realme became more quiet, for his vncle Iames Dowglas Baron of Abircorne that ſucceded him, being a man of great ſtature, and verie fat, gaue himſelfe to quietneſſe, and liued but three yeares after. The foreſaid William had but one ſiſter, that was called the fayre mayden of Galloway, and was maried vnto one William Dowglas, ſonne to this erle Iames before his deceaſſe, that the heritage ſhoulde not be deuided, bycauſe the Earledome of Dowglas was entayled vpon the heyres male, and the landes of Wigton, Balwanye, Annardale, and Ormont remayned to hir as heyre generall.

This Earle William, after the deceaſſe of his father Erle Iames, began to wax vnruly, and to followe the maners of the other William Earle Dowglas lately beheded (as before ye haue heard) ſo that by ſupport many diſobediẽt perſons wold not obey the gouernor & Chãcellor, wherupõ ſundry great ſlaughters & oppreſſions were cõmitted

1444

The king will rule himſelfe.

The king after he came to the age of .xiiij. yeres woulde not any longer be vnder the gouernment of others, but toke the rule vpõ himſelf. The Erle of Dowglas enformed thereof, came vnto him at Striueling, and put himſelfe and all he had, to remaine at his pleaſure: wherevpon the king receiued him, pardoned all his paſſed miſdemeanors, and admitted him to be one of his ſpeciall friends and priuie Councellers in al his affayres. By his perſwaſion ſhortly after, ſir Alexander Leuingſton, and William Creichton being diſcharged of their offices, were alſo put of, from the Counſell, and all their friends baniſhed the Court, and they themſelues were ſommoned to appeare before the king, which bycauſe they refuſed to do, they were proclamed rebels, and put to the horne. The Erle Dowglas then for the olde grudge he bare them, rayſed an army & haried their lands. In reuenge wherof, ſir William Chreichton ſpoyled the Erle of Dowglas his lands, ſo that great trouble was rayſed through the whole countrey, & the lands of Strabroke, Abircorn, & the towne of Blackneſſe were burnt & deſtroyed. The Earle of Dowglas ruled wholy about the king, & made Archebald his brother Erle of Murrey, by ioyning him in mariage with a Lady of the houſe of Dunbar heretrix therof. Moreouer Hew Dowglas was made erle of Ormont. Thus the Erle of Dowglas aduanced his name, & ioyned in friendſhip with the Erle of Crawford, wͭ Donald Erle of the Iles, & with the Erle of Ros, to yͤ end that ech of thẽ ſhould be aſſiſtãt to others. In this meane time the Erle of Crawford at the requeſt of the Erle of Dowglas toke a great pray of goodes forth of the Biſhop of S. Androwes lands in Fife, which Biſhop hight Iames Keneder, ſiſters ſon to K. Iames the firſt, where through the Erle of Crawford on the one part, and the Earle of Huntley with the Ogyluies on the other, met at Arbrothe in ſette battaile, where the Erle of Crawford was ſlein, and diuerſe Barons on his ſide, although the victorie and field remayned with his ſonne the maiſter of Crawforde, who ſucceeded his father, and was called Earle Beirdy. On the Erle of Huntleys ſyde were ſlaine, John Forbes of Petſlege, Alexander Bercklev of Gartulye, Robert Maxwell of Telyne, William Gurdun of Burrowfielde, Sir John Oliphant of Aberdagie, and fiue hundred more on theyr ſyde: and one hundred of the victorers were alſo ſlaine, as Hector Boetius hath.

Who likewiſe reporteth that the occaſion of thys battayle dyd chaunce through the varyaunce that fell oute betwixt the Earle of Crawfordes eldeſt ſonne Alexander Lyndſey, and Alexander Ogilbye, or Ogiluie, (as ſome write him) aboute the office of the Baliſewike of Arbroth, the which the Maiſter of Crawforde enioying, was diſplaced and put out by the ſayde Ogiluie. Whereupon the Maiſter of Crawforde to recouer his right (as he tooke it) got a power togither with helpe of the Hamiltons, and with the ſame ſeaſed vpon the Abbay, and Ogiluie with helpe of the Erle of Huntly, came thither with an armie to recouer the place againe out of his aduerſaries handes, and ſo vpon knowledge hereof gyuen vnto the Earle of Crawforde, he himſelfe comming from Dundee vnto Arbroth at the very inſtant when the battails were readie to ioyne, cauſed firſt his ſonne to ſtay, & after calling forth ſir Alexander Ogiluie to talke with him in purpoſe to haue made peace betwixt him & his ſonne, was thruſt into the mouth with a ſpeare, by a cōmon ſouldier that knewe nothing what his demaund ment, ſo that he fel downe therewith, and preſently died in the place: wherupon togither the parties went incōtinently without more protracting of time, and ſo fought with ſuch ſucceſſe as before ye haue heard. The Erle of Huntley eſcaped by flight: but Alexander Ogiluie being taken and ſore wounded, was led to the caſtel of Fineluin, where ſhortly after he died of his hurtes.

This battaile was fought the. xxiij. of Januarie, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1445.

1445

The Caſtell of Edenbourgh beſieged.

This yeare alſo, or (as Hector Boetius hath in the yere next inſuing) the caſtell of Edenburgh was beſieged by the ſpace of. ix. monethes by the king & the Erle of Dowglas, ſir Williã Creichton being within it. At length it was giuen ouer vpon certain cōditions, & the ſaid ſir William reſtored to the office of Chancellor againe: but hee would not meddle with the ordering of the kings buſineſſe, ſtaying for a time more conuenient.

James S is baniſ the real

Sir James Stewarde ſurnamed the blacke knight, huſband to the Queene the kings mother, was baniſhed the realme for ſpeaking wordes againſt the miſgouernment of the king & realme, wherwith he offended the Erle of Dowglas. As he paſſed the ſeas towards Flanders, he was takē by the Flemings, & ſhortly after departed this life.

He dyed.

The Qu dyed.

144

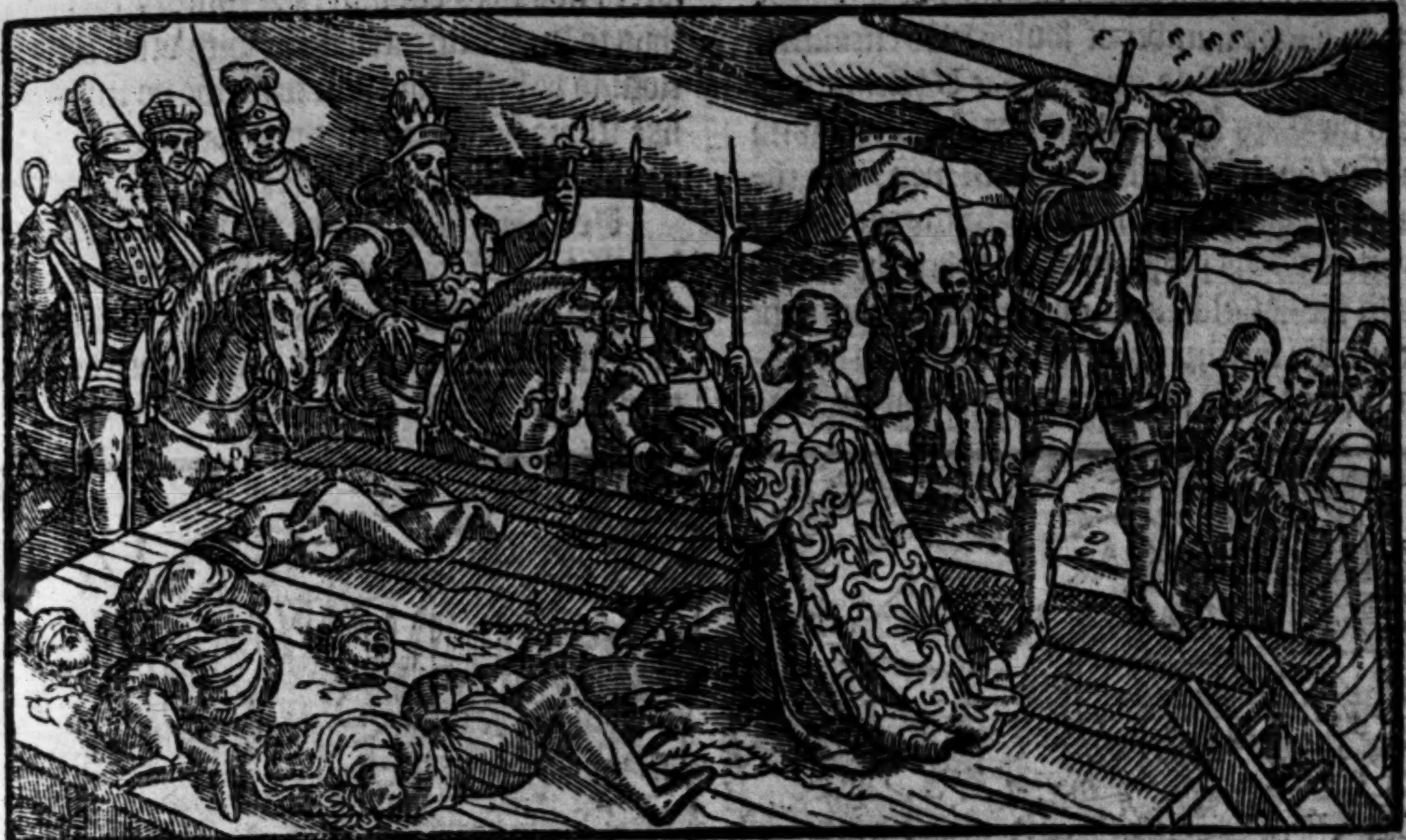
The queen his wife being aduertiſed of his death, died alſo within a while after, & was buried in the Charterhouſe of Perth the. xv. of July in yͤ yeare 1446. Hir name was Jane Somerſet, daughter to the Erle of Somerſet. James the firſt maried hir (as before ye may reade) in England. She had by him. viij. childrē, two ſonnes, & vj. daughters, which were all honourably maried, the firſt named Margaret, to the Dolphin of Fraunce: the ſeconde Eleanore, to the Duke of Brytayne: the thirde, to the Lorde of Terueer in Zelande: the fourth, to the Duke of Auſtrich: the fifth, to the Earle of Huntley: and the ſixth, to the Earle of Morton. And by James Stewarde hir ſeconde huſbande ſhe had three ſonnes: John Earle of Athole, James Erle of Buchquhan, and Androw Biſhop of Murrey. Soone after, ſir William Creichton, with the Biſhop of Dunkelde, & Nicholas Oterburn a Canon of Glaſgew were ſent in ambaſſade vnto the duke of Gelderland for his daughter called Marie, to be ioyned in mariage with K. James. Their ſuite was obteyned, & the Ladie ſent into Scotland nobly accōpanied with diuerſe Lordes both ſpirituall and temporall.

King Ja maryed a daughter Geldeila

At hir arryuall ſhee was receyued by the king with great triumph, and the maryage ſolemnized by the aſſiſtaunce of all the Nobles of Scotland, with great banketting, ioyfull myrth, and all pleaſant intertainment of thoſe ſtrangers that might be.

1447

In the yeare. 1447. ther was a Parliament holden at Edenbourgh, in the which ſir Alexander Leuingſton of Calender late gouernor, Iames Dundas, and Robert Dundas knightes, at the purſuite of the Earle of Dowglas were forfalted and condemned to perpetuall priſon in Dunbrytan, and Iames Leuingſton his eldeſt ſonne, Robert Leuingſton Treaſorer, and Dauid Leuingſton knights, loſt their heades. Iames before his execution made a very wiſe oration to the ſtanders by, declaring the inſtabilitie of fortune, & chaũge of court, exhorting al perſons to beware thereof, ſith enuye euer followed high eſtate, and wicked malice neuer ſuffred good men to gouerne long. In the ſame Parliament ſir William Creichton was alſo forfalted for diuerſe cauſes, but principally for that his ſeruants would not deliuer the houſe of Chreichton to the kings heralde, who charged them ſo to do. This forfalture was cõcluded in parliament by vertue of an act which the ſaide William (when he was Chancellor) cauſed to be made, & ſo being the firſt inuenter, was alſo the firſt againſt whom it was practiſed. The yeare next enſuing were ſundrie incurſions made betwixt Scots and Engliſhmẽ on the borders, Dunfreis was burnt, and likewiſe Anwike in Englãd: but ſhortly after a truce was concluded for. vij. yeres, great offers of friendſhip made by the Engliſh men for to haue the warres ceaſe on that ſide, bicauſe the warre betwixt thẽ & Fraunce was very hotely purſued, and ciuill diſſention diſquieted the ſtate of Englãd which was rayſed betwixt yͤ two houſes of Lãcaſter & York.



…es Leuingſton made an Oration.

W. Creichton …ondemned.

…ncurſions …ade.

1448

1450

…gliſh men …eth bootie, …t of Scot…lande.

The Engliſh borderers of the weſt Marches fetched a great bootie of cattell out of Scotlande, notwithſtanding the truce, in reuenge whereof, the Scots inuading England, waſted the countrey, burnt townes and villages, ſlue the people, and with a great praye of priſoners, goodes, and cattel, returned home into Scotland. Herewith followed dayly rodes and forrayes made on both ſides betwixt the Scottes and Engliſh men, and that with ſuch rage and crueltie, that a great part of Cumberland was in maner layde waſt: for on that ſide the Scots chiefly made their inuaſions, bycauſe that from thence the firſt occaſion of all this miſchiefe might ſeeme to haue had the beginning. Whẽ ſuch things were certified to the king of Englandes counſell, an army was appointed forthwith to inuade Scotlãd, vnder yͤ leading of the Earle of Northumberland, & of one Magnus ſurnamed redbeard, a captain of great experience, as he that had bene trayned vp from his youth in the warres of Fraunce. The Scottes bycauſe of his long red beard, called him in ſcorne and deriſion, Magnus with the red mane.

…e Scottes …uade Eng…lande.

A knight named Magnus.

The Earle of Ormont generall of the Scottiſh armie.

The Scottes hearing of the approch of thys armie towarde theyr borders, leuyed a power: George, or rather Hugh Dowlas Earle of Ormont by the kings commiſſion, hauing the conduction thereof, who vnderſtanding that the enimies woulde enter into Annardale, drew thither with the ſayd army to reſiſt their attempts. The Engliſh men paſſing ouer the riuer of Sulwey & Annande, came to another riuer called Sare, and there pight downe their tentes. And on the next day they began to robbe and ſpoyle the countrey on eche ſyde: but aduertiſed that the Scots were at hande with an army, they that were thus gone forth, were with all ſpeede called backe to the campe by ſounde of trumpet, and forthwith theyr army was brought into order of battail. Magnus with the red mane was appoynted to leade the

The Engliſh armie inuadeth Scotland.

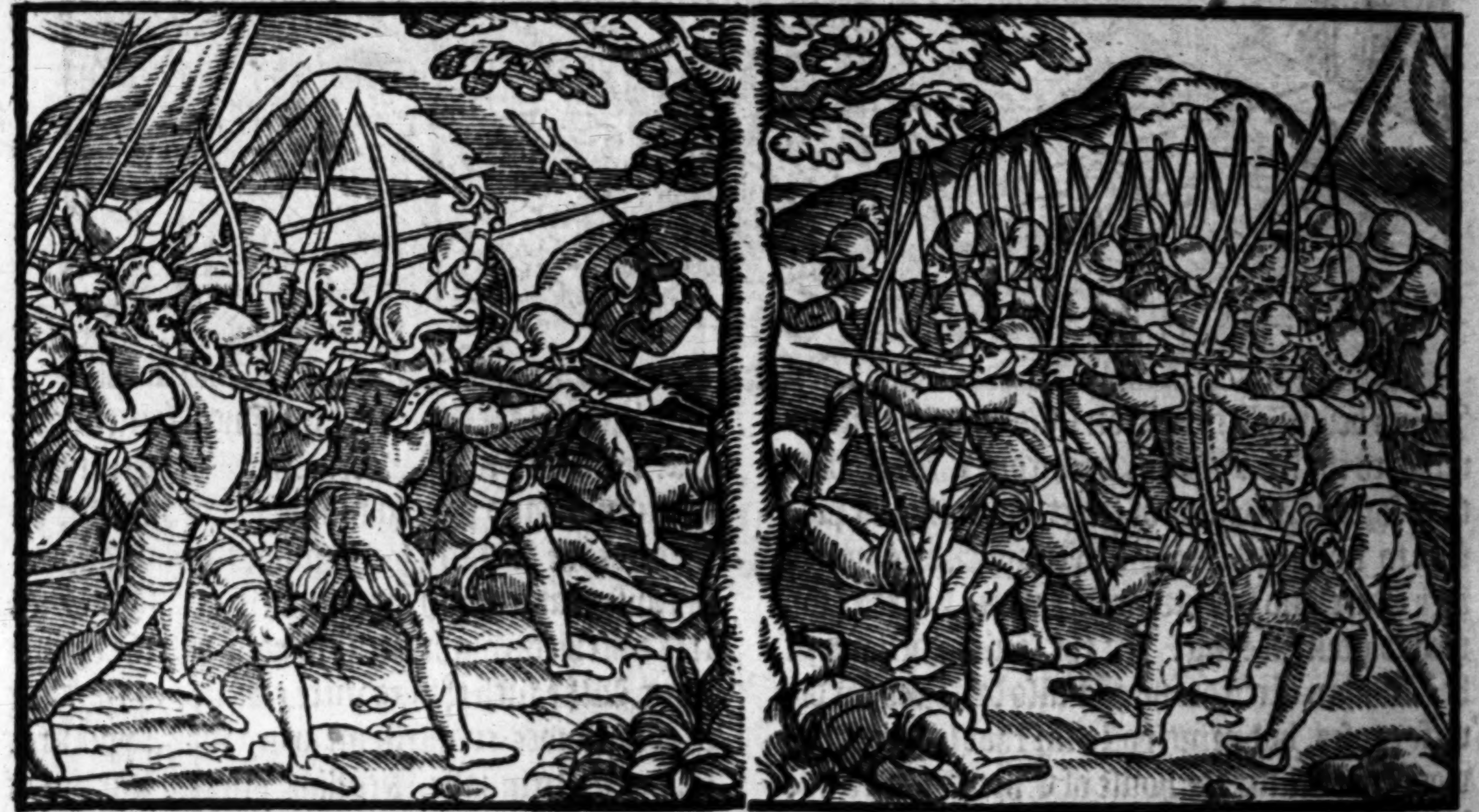
Sir Iohn Penneynton.

right wing, and ſir John Penneynton a right ſkilfull warriour gouerned the left wing in the which the Welchmen were placed. The battaile or middle warde, the Earle of Northumberlande himſelfe ruled.

Wallace of Craggy.

The Earle of Ormonte on the other ſyde ordered his battailes in this wiſe: He appointed a right valiant knight called Wallace of Craggy, with an hardie number of ſouldiers to encounter with Magnus. And agaynſt the Welchmen he placed the Lord Maxwel, & Lard Johnſton, with a choſen cōpanie of luſtie Scottiſh men, and cōmaunding himſelf in the battail or middle ward, had vneth ſet his people in aray, when the trumpets in the Engliſh armie began to ſounde to the battaile. He therfore exhorting his men to do valiantly, put them in remembrance that they had put on armor, being thereto prouoked by iniurie which their enimies had firſt offred them, whereupon they might conceiue good hope of victory by the fauour of the righteous God, who giueth the vpper hād (for the moſt part) to that ſide that hath iuſt cauſe to make warre. He willed them then to put all feare out of their heartes, and as they had force ynough to vāquiſh their enimies that came thus to brag & threaten them with vtter deſtruction: ſo he beſought them to ſhewe no leſſe manlike ſtomacks to deliuer theyr countrey by hardie fight from iniurie of the ſame enimies.

The Earle of Ormont exhorteth his armie.



The batta is begun.

He had no ſooner made an ende of his ſpeech, but that the Arrowes came ſo thicke from the Engliſhe Archers, that the Scottes beganne to looke about them, as it were to ſee whiche waye they might beſt eſcape by flight. But Wallace perceyuing theyr fayntneſſe of courage, wyth lowde voice reproued theyr cowardice, and with moſt pithie wordes exhorted them to remember theyr dueties, and to followe the example of him theyr leader, whome they ſhoulde perceyue to haue fully vowed to ſpende his lyfe in defence of his countrey.

Magnus is ſlaine.

The Engliſ men put to flight.

The Scots herewith ſeeme to be ſo encouraged that they ruſhed forward with great egernes vpon the right wing of the Engliſh men, where Magnus ſtood, & ſo laid about them with ſpeares, axes, and ſuch like hand weapons, that with great ſlaughter they driue the Engliſhe men to breake aray and to flee: Magnus herewith being more chaufed than afrayde as ſhould appeare, preaſſed forward vpon Wallace with great violence, and ſeeking to approch vnto him that he might haue wroken his grief vpon him, was incloſed among the Scottiſh troupes & ſlaine with a few other of his friends and ſeruants that followed him. The ſlaughter of this man in whom conſiſted no ſmal hope of victorie on the Engliſh part, put the reſidue of their army in ſuch feare that they were not able lōger to reſiſt the Scottiſh mens violent impreſſion, but turning their backs fled amain, who the Scots purſued in chaſe right fiercely, ſo that many of the Engliſh men died in the battail, but more now in the chaſe, for the tide being come in, ſtayed many of them that made their courſe to haue eſcaped through yͤ riuer, wherby diuerſe that ventured into the water were drowned, and other that durſt not take the water were oppreſſed by the Scottes that followed them.

The numbe ſlaine.

There died in this battaile of Engliſh men, to the number neare hand of three. M. and amongſt other, Magnus (as before ye haue heard) with .xj. other knights of no ſmall account & eſtimation. Of Scots were loſt ſomwhat aboue ſix hundred.

Priſoners taken.

The Earle o Northumbe land eſcape by flight.

There were taken priſoners of Engliſh men ſir John Penneynton, and ſir Robert Harington knightes, and the Lorde Percie, ſonne to the Earle of Northumberland, who holpe his father to horſebacke, whereby he eſcaped by flight: and beſide theſe, a great number of other were by the Scottes taken priſoners, whome the ſworde and water had ſpared.

The Erle of Ormond hauing got this honorable victorie, conueyed the chiefeſt of the priſoners to the caſtel of Lochmaben, and after repayred to the court, where he was of the king ioifully receiued, honorably feaſted, and highly rewarded.

After this, the Scottes that dwelled vpon the borders, liued for a ſeaſon in better quiet: for although the Engliſh men wiſhed to haue bene reuēged of this loſſe and ouerthrow of their people, yet by reaſon of ciuil warres that ſhortly after folowed, they were conſtrained to forbeare to make any further warres againſt the Scots, till better occaſion might ſerue. And for the auoyding of danger that might enſue in time of this inteſtine trouble by forraine enimies, they ſued to haue a truce with the Scots, which for yͤ terme of three yeres was granted. In this yeare, William Erle of Dowglas, with a great cōpanie of nobles and gentlemen, as the Lords Hamilton, Gray, Salton, Seiton, & Oliphāt. Alſo, Calder, Vrquhart, Cambel, Fraſier, and Lauder, knights, went into Italy, & was at Rome in time of yͤ Jubile which was kept there that yeare. He left behinde him to gouerne his landes in Scotlande, Hugh Earle of Ormōt that was his brother: but in his abſence (through coūſel of ſuch as were about him) the K. ſommoned the Erle to appeare before him within .xl. dayes, and bycauſe he came not within that prefixed time, he was put to the horne, & his lands inuaded & ſpoiled. The caſtel of Dowglas bicauſe they that kept it defended themſelues & the place right ſtoutly againſt the king, was razed & broken downe. But Lochmaban being yelded, was furniſhed with a gariſon of the kings friends.

ruce for
ree yeares
twixt Eng-
and Scot-
ade.

e Earle of
glas go-
into Italy.

The Earle aduertiſed of theſe things, with all ſpeed returned home, comming through Englād, & ſent his brother James vnto the king, to know his pleaſure: who cōmaunding the Erle to ſee his countreys (namely Annandal) purged of theeues and robbers, pardoned him of all offences, and receyued him into fauor againe, ſo that he was alſo eftſoones proclamed the kings lieutenant: but ſhortly after going into Englād wout the kings licence, to cōmen with the king of Englande about the recouerie of loſſes ſuſteined by the Engliſhmen by certain inrodes (as he alledged) the K. tooke the matter in very euil part, for that he ſhuld ſeme ſo to be had in cōtempt of the Erle: & withal he miſtruſted alſo, leaſt there were ſome ſecrete practiſes in hande to the preiudice of him and hys realme: ſo that he ſtormed not a little towards the Erle, who being thereof aduertiſed, came in hūble wiſe to the king, & beſought him of pardō, if he had in any wiſe offended him, aſſuring him that from thenceforth he would neuer commit any act that might tend to his Ma. diſpleaſure. Herewith the Queene alſo & other noble men, made ſuite to the king for the Earles pardon, ſo that in the ende he was receiued again into fauor, but yet diſcharged of bearing any publike office, which pinched him ſo ſore (namely for that his aduerſaries William Chrichton lord Chancellor, & the Erle of Orkney ſeemed to beare all the rule about the king) yͭ he ſought to diſpatch the Chancellor, procuring certaine of his ſeruants & friendes to aſſault him one morning as he was cōming forth of Edenburgh, but yet he eſcaped to his caſtel of Chreichton, although wounded indeed right ſore, & within few dayes after, gathering a power of his kinſmen, friends, and allies, he returned againe to Edenburgh, and had deſtroyed (as was thought) the Earle of Dowglas at that preſent, if hee had not ſhifted awaye the more ſpedily, who being thus to his great griefe, & no ſmall diſhonor chaſed out of Edenbourgh, deuiſed whiche way hee might beſt be reuenged: and for the more eaſie accompliſhment of his purpoſe, he procured the Erles of Crawford and Roſſe to ioyne with him in that quarell agaynſt Chreichton and other his complices, by force of which confederacie, they couenanted to aſſyſt one another agaynſt the malice of the ſayde Chreichton, and all other theyr aduerſaries.

e Erle of
glas go-
into Eng-
land without
licence of the
king of Scots.

e Erle of
glas sueth
pardon.

He enuleth thoſe that bare rule about the king.

He ſeeketh to deſtroy the L. Chancellor.

The Dowglas conſtrayned to flee out of Edenbourgh.

He maketh a part.

The Erle of Dowglas hauing concluded this bond of confederacie, bare himſelfe very highe, in preſuming further therof than ſtood with reaſon: and this was one great cauſe of the kings diſpleaſure nowe paſſingly increaſed agaynſt the ſayde Erle. An other cauſe was this: a ſort of theeues and robbers brake into the landes of the Lorde John Herres, a noble man, and one that had continued euer faythfull to the king, taking with the out of the ſame landes a greate bootie of Cattell. And whereas the ſayde Lorde Herres complayned vnto the Earle of Dowglas of that wrong, bycauſe the offendours were inhabyting within his rowmth, and yet coulde haue no redreſſe, he attempted to fetche oute of Annardale ſome praye, wherewith to ſatiſfie in parte the wrong which had bene offred him by thoſe lymmers and robbers. But ſuch was his euil happe, that taken he was with his retinue, and committed to pryſon, and ſhortly after by commaundement of the Earle of Dowglas, he was hanged as a fellon, notwithſtanding that the king by an Herald cōmaunded the contrarie.

The Earle of Dowglas preſumeth of the aſsiſtance at the handes of his friendes.

The Lorde Herres his lands ſpoyled.

The Lorde Herres hanged

The king being ſore offended herewith (as he had no leſſe cauſe) paſſed ouer his diſpleaſure with ſilence, til he ſaw time and oportunitie to reuenge the ſame: but in the mean ſeaſon many an honeſt man bought the bargain right dearly, being ſpoyled of that he had, & otherwiſe euil entreated, and yet durſt not the meaner ſort once complaine, for feare of further miſchief, where the higher powers alſo ſore lamented the great diſorders dayly increaſing, and were not able yet in anye wyſe

The cōfederacie miſtruſted.

to reforme the ſame, inſomuch as it was greatly doubted, leaſt the Earles of Dowglas, Crawforde, Roſſe, Murrey, and other of that faction, ment to put the king beſide his ſeate: which doubt being put into yͤ kings head, brought him into no ſmal perplexitie, wherupon by courteys meſſages he ſent for the Earle of Dowglas, wylling hym to repayre to his preſence, ſoiourning then in Striueling Caſtell, which he refuſed to do, till he had aſſurance vnder the kings great ſeale for his ſafe cõming and going (as ſome haue ſaid.) And then about Shrouetide in the yeare.1451.he came to the court at Striueling, where the king tooke him aſide, and in ſecret talk moued and requeſted him to forſake the league and bonde of friendſhip betwixt him and the Earle of Crawford, and other ſuch his confederates.

The king ſendeth for the Erle of Dowglas.

1451

There was a ſecrete murmuring amongeſt a number, that this Erle of Dowglas purpoſed to make a proofe one day to get the garlande beſyde the kings heade.

In deede by reaſon of his kinneſmen and allyes, he was of more puiſſaunce in the Realme, than (as it was thought) ſtoode wyth the ſuretie of the Kings eſtate, vnleſſe hee were the more faythfull.

Earles of the ſurname of the Dowglaſſes.

He had at the ſame time two brethren that were alſo Earles, as Archymbalde Erle of Murrey, and Hugh or (as other haue) George Erle of Ormont, beſyde the Earle of Angus, and the Erle of Mortoun, that were of his ſurname and bloud, with a great nũber of other lords, knights, and men of great poſſeſſions & linings, all of the ſame ſurname, and linked in friendſhip & aliance with other the chiefeſt linages of all the realme.

The lynage and great aliance of the Dowglaſſes.

Hereto by reaſon there had bene ſo many valiant men and worthie Captaines of the Dowglaſſes one after another, as it had beene by ſucceſſion, the people and cõmons of Scotland bare ſuch good will and fauour towardes that name, that they were ready to ride or go with thẽ, they cared not whither, nor agaynſt whom.

The loue that the people bare towarde the name of the Dowglaſſes.

It is ſayde, that the Earles of Dowglaſſes might haue rayſed.xxx.or.xl. thouſande warlike perſons readie at theyr commaundement, whenſoeuer it had pleaſed them to call.

In deede the Dowglaſſes had euer the gouernment of al matters perteyning to the defence of the realme, ſo that the men of warre had them ſtill in all the eſtimation & honor that might be.

But nowe to the purpoſe touching the conference had betwixt king Iames the ſeconde, and the Erle of Dowglas: It chaunced in the ende (vpon what occaſion I knowe not) that the Erle anſwered yͤ king ſomwhat ouerthwartly, wherwith the king tooke ſuche indignation, that the Erle herevpon was ſlaine by him and ſuch other as were then about him on Shroue euen.

The Earle of Dowglas anſwereth the king ouerthwartly, and is ſlaine.

Then after the Earle was thus made away, his brethren made open warre agaynſt the king, and ſlue all ſuch of his friendes and ſeruantes, as they might encounter with: Inſomuch that thoſe which trauailed by the high wayes were in doubt to confeſſe whether they belonged to the king, or to the Dowglaſſes.

His breth make wa gainſt th King.

The Lorde of Cadzow beeing in the towne of Striueling, with a great companie of the Erle of Dowglaſſes friendes, in reuenge of his death incontinently burnt that towne, and did many other great diſpleaſures to the King and hys ſubiectes, ſetting forth Proclamations agaynſt the King and his Councell, for the violating of the aſſurance graunted (as before is ſayde) to the Earle of Dowglas. Whereby the King was put ſo to his ſhiftes, that hee was determined to haue left the Realme, and to haue fledde by Sea into Fraunce, had not Iames Kenedee the Byſhop of Saint Androwes cauſed him to ſtay, on the hope he had of aſſyſtaunce onely by the Earle of Huntley, whiche Erle hearing that the Dowglaſſes had gathered an armie in the South agaynſte the King, rayſed another armie in the North to ayde the king.

Striueling burnt.

The king would ha fled.

On the other ſyde, the Earle of Crawford hauing aſſembled a great power, encountred him at Breithune, in purpoſe to ſtoppe the Earle of Huntleys paſſage, where betwixte them was fought a ſore battayle, and the Earle of Crawford chaſed into Fynnewyn, ſo that many noble men, gentlemen, and commons were ſlaine, and amongſt other, the Erle of Crawfordes brother was one.

Hector Boetius writeth, that Iohn Cullace of Bannamwin, whom the Erle of Crawford had appointed to lead thẽ that bare yͤ battail Axes, or as I may terme them, the Bilmen, in the left wing of his armie, fled of purpoſe in the hoteſt of the fight, and ſo left the middle ward naked on the one ſide of the chiefeſt ayde yͭ the ſaid Erle had, & ſo the victorie by that meanes only inclined to the kings ſtandard, which the Earle of Huntley had there with him. But howſoeuer it was, the ſayd Erle of Huntley had the honor of the fielde, who neuertheleſſe, loſt diuerſe of his men alſo, though nothing ſo many as his aduerſaries did.

Cullace of Bannamwi bettayeth Erle of C ford.

The Earle Huntley victorer.

This battaile was fought the.xviij. of May, being the Aſcention day.1452.

1452

The Earle of Huntly the ſame day before the battails ioyned, gaue lãds to the principal men of thoſe ſurnames that were with him, as to yͤ Forbeſſes, Leſlies, Iouings, Ogilvies, Grantes, & diuerſe other. Which bõtifulnes of the Erle made thẽ to fight more valiantly. In recõpence wherof the king gaue to the ſaid Erle the lands of Badȝenot, & Lochquhaber. In the meane time, Archbalde Dowglas Earle of Murrey, brent the pill

Landes gi to the Erle Huntley.

The Earle Murrey.

of Straboggy, perteyning to the Earle of Huntley, and harried the lands there aboutes. In reuenge whereof, the Earle of Huntley at his returning backe, brent and harried all the landes of the Earledome of Murrey. In the meane time, at a Parliament holden at Edynburgh, the Erle of Crawford was denounced a traytor, and all his lands and goodes deemed to be forfeyted into the Kings hands. Iames Earle of Dowglas, Iames Lord Hammilton, the Erles of Murrey, and Ormont, the Lord of Baluay, and many other of that faction, were by publike Proclamation made by an Herault, commaunded to appeare by a day to vnderly the law: but in the next night that folowed the day of this Proclamatiõ, certayne of the Dowglaſſes ſeruantes that were ſent priuily to Edynburgh, to vnderſtande what was done ther, faſtned writings vpõ the Church dores, ſealed with the Dowglas his ſeale in this fourme. The Earle from henceforth will neyther obey citation nor other commaundement. Beſyde this, in the ſame writings, they charged the King with many haynous crymes, callyng hym a murtherer, periured, falſe, and a bloudſucker. The King therefore aſſembled an army, and went forth againſte them: but bycauſe the tyme of the yeere was contrary to his purpoſe, he could do no great hurt to his enimies, although he burnt vp their corne, and droue away their cattell. But the Dowglas ſeemed to paſſe little for the kings malice, and the Earle himſelfe married his brothers wife the Counteſſe Beatrice, and ſente to Rome for a licence to haue that marriage made lawfull: but by the Kings agents in that Court, the Earles ſuite might not be obteyned. Neuertheleſſe, hee kepte hir ſtill in place of his wife, and continuing in Rebellion againſte the King, the nexte ſpring, and for the more part of the whole tearme of two yeeres nexte enſewing, he harried and ſpoyled the Kings poſſeſſions, and the King on the other part, waſted Annandale, and all other the landes and poſſeſſions that belonged to the ſayde Earle of Dowglas or his friendes: but ſhortly after, as the King paſſed through Angus, to goe into the Northe partes of the Realme, the Earle of Crawford came and ſubmitted himſelfe vnto him, crauing mercy in moſt humble and lamentable wiſe, and obteyned the Kings pardon, through mediation of Iames Kenedie Biſhop of Saint Androwes, and ſir William Creichton, but the ſaide Earle lyued not paſt ſixe monethes after, departing this life by force of a hote Agewe in the yeere. 1454. The ſame yeere, the King called a Parliament at Edynburgh, in the whyche Iames Earle of Dowglas, and his brothers wife the Counteſſe Beatrice (whome hee hadde taken to him by way of a pretenſed and fayned mariage) Archbald Dowglas, Erle of Murrey, George Dowglas Earle of Ormont, and Iohn Dowglas Baron of Baluay, were forfalted and condẽned of Treaſon. The Earledome of Murrey was giuen vnto ſir Iames Creichton, or rather reſtored to him, frõ whome it had bin wrongly taken by the vniuſt ſentence of William Erle of Dowglas, who had procured it to be aſſigned vnto his brother the foreſaide Archebalde, although the right remayned in the ſayd ſir Iames Creichton. But yet when the ſayd Sir Iames Creichton could not kepe that Earledome without enuy of diuers and ſundry perſons, hee handled the matter ſo, that ſhortly after it returned agayn to the kings hands. Moreouer, at this Parliamente, George Creichton was created Earle of Cathnes, William Hay Coneſtable of Scotlãd, was made Earle of Errolle. Ther were alſo diuers created Lordes of the Parliamente, whoſe titles were as folow, Darley, Halis, Boyd, Lyle, and Lorn. After the breaking vp of the Parliament, the King made a iourney againſt his aduerſaries into Galloway, and with ſmall adoe, broughte all the Caſtels of that Countrey into his poſſeſſion, and then turning into Dowglas dale bycauſe the inhabitants thereof woulde not obey him, hee abandoned the ſpoyle thereof vnto his ſouldiers, who practiſed no ſmall crueltie againſt the inhabitants. Hereupon, yͤ Dowglaſſes beeing driuen to their ſhiftes, the Lorde Iames Hamilton of Cadzow was ſente from them into England to ſewe for ayde, but in vayne, for none there would be graunted: whereupon, returnyng to his friendes, he counſelled the Earle of Dowglas to truſt to his owne forces, and ſith the ſame were farre ſuperior in number of men, to yͤ kings power, he gaue likewiſe councell without delay, to ſet vpon the King, that the matter mighte bee tryed by chaunce of battell, the only meane to aſſure them of their liues and eſtates, for otherwiſe he ſaw not how any vnfayned agreement might bee concluded, the matter beeing nowe paſſed ſo farforth to an extremity. But yͤ Earle of Dowglas vtterly (as ſome write) refuſed to fight againſt his ſoueraigne and true liege Lord, if any other meane might be founde: whereupon dyuers great Lordes whiche were with him there on his ſide, being men of greate witte and no leſſe experience, aduiſed him yet to keepe togither his hoſt, till by their trauell and aſſiſtaunce, a peace were concluded and pardon obtayned for all partes: for if the army were once broken vp, all hope was then paſt (as they alledged) for any indifferente conditions of peace to be obtayned.

The Earle of Crawford forfeited.

Lordes cited to appeare.

Writings ſet vp in cõtempt of the King.

The Earle of Dowglas marieth his brothers wife.

The Earle of Crawford ſubmitteth hym ſelfe to the King and is pardoned.

departed this life.

1454

A Parliament.

The Dowglaſſes forfalted, or as I may ſay atteynted.

Creations of noble men.

Dowglas dale giuẽ in ſpoile to the men of warre.

The counſell of the Lorde Hamylton.

Io. Maior.

Herewith alſo, the Lorde Hamylton beeing wiſer than the reſidue, bad the Dowglas farewell, and ſo departed, concluding that hee ſhould neuer ſee ſo faire a day agayne, wherein he might haue caſt the dice for the whole Kingdome. And

The Lord Hamylton departeth from the Dowglas.

being thus departed from the Dowglas, hee repayred to the King as then lying at the ſeege of Abircorne, who ſente him to the Caſtell of Roſleyn, there to remayne vnder ſafekeeping with the Earle of Orkney, to whom the ſame Caſtell belonged: but at length, yͤ King did not only pardon this Lorde Hamilton of all paſſed offences, but alſo receyued hym into ſuch fauour, that he gaue to him his eldeſt daughter in mariage, as after ſhall appeare. But now vpon the withdrawing thus of the ſayd Lorde Hamilton from the Dowglas, bycauſe the King had ſet forthe alſo an open proclamation of pardon to all thoſe that woulde forſake the Earle of Dowglas, the moſt part of the ſame Earles company departed from him, by reaſon wherof, he fledde into Englande togither with his brethren.

The Earle of Dowglas his company ſhrinketh from him.

He withdraweth into England.

The King lying at the ſeege of Abircorne loſt diuers of hys men, beſydes many that were wounded, but yet taking firſte a ſtrong Towre, being one of the chiefeſt lymmes of that fortreſſe, ſhortly after he wanne the reſt.

The Earle of Dowglas beeing withdrawen (as ye haue heard) into Englãd, within a whyle after gote togither certayne companies of men, and with the ſame returned agayne into Scotland by the weſt bordures, in hope to find friends in thoſe parties: but ſuch as the king had appointed there to defend the countrey, aſſembling themſelues togither, and ſetting vpon hym, diſcomfited his people, ſlewe his brother Archebalde, and tooke the Earle of Ormont priſoner, being firſte ſore wounded. The Baron of Baluay eſcaped into a Wood and ſo gote away. The Earle himſelf alſo as Hector Boetius hath, eſcaped by flight and gote him vnto Dunſtafage, where finding Donalde Earle of Roſſe and Lord of the Iſles, he procured him (beeing of nature enclined and ready ynough to followe ſuch counſell) to make warre in his fauoure againſte the King. And after hee hadde once ſet hym a worke, he gote hym backe agayne into Englande. Donalde waſted not only the Kings poſſeſſions that lay neere to Dunſtafage, but alſo paſſing through Argile, dyd muche hurte in all places where hee came. He inuaded alſo the Iſle of Arrane, and chaſed the Biſhoppe of Liſmore, conſtreyning hym to take Sayntuarie. This done, hee entred into Lochquhabir, and ſo into Murray lande, where he brente the towne of Inuernes, and wanne the Caſtell by a guilefull trayne.

He inuadeth Scotland.

The Earle of Dowglas diſcomfired. Archebalde Dowglas Earle of Murrey ſlayne. Earle of Ormond taken. Donald Earle of Roſſe.

In the meane time, the Earle of Ormont after he was recouered of his hurtes (as the ſayde Boetius writeth) was preſented to the Kyng, and after he had remayned in priſon a certayne tyme, hee was at length beheaded. Moreouer, the Counteſſe Beatrice, after ſhe ſawe no hope left that the Earle of Dowglas ſhoulde recouer his former eſtate, came to the King, and ſubmitted hir ſelfe, laying all the blame in the Earle, who had procured hir vnto ſuch vnlawfull marriage with him, being hir former huſbandes brother. The king receyued hir right curteouſly, and gaue to hir the Baronie of Baluay, to mayntayne therewith hir eſtate. Shortly after alſo, the Counteſſe of Roſſe fledde from hir huſbande, and came to the King for feare of hir huſbands crueltie, whereof ſhe had alredy partly taſted. The King, bycauſe hee hadde made the marriage betwixt hir and hir huſband, aſſigned hir forth ſufficient reuenewes alſo for the mayntenaunce of hir eſtate.

The Earle of Ormont beheaded.

The Cou of Dowgl Beatrice, mitteth ſelfe to th King.

The Cou of Roſſe.

About the ſame time, Patrick Thornton one of the Kings ſeruauntes, but a fauourer of the Dowglas, ſlewe John Sãdelands of Calder the Kings Couſin, and Alane Steward at Dunbriton, for that they fauored the contrary faction: but the King getting the offender into his hands, cauſed him and his complices to die for theyr wicked offence committed.

Patricke Thornton.

The vniuerſitie of Glaſgew was fouded about this tyme by one Turnebull, Byſhop of that ſea.

The vniue tie of Glaſ founded.

1455

In the yeere following, dyed William Hay, Earle of Errole, and Coneſtable of Scotlande. Alſo George Creichton Earle of Catneſe, and William Creichton chiefe of that family.

Death of no ble men.

In this meane while, the Earle of Dowglas remaining in England, procured the Engliſhmẽ diuers times to make roades into Scotlande, whereby he loſt as yͤ Scottiſh writers affirme yͤ loue of his owne cõtreymen, whẽ they ſaw him thus ioyne with the Engliſhmen to the domage of his natiue land. At one time, Henry Earle of Northumberland, & the ſaid Earle of Dowglas inuaded the Mers, but taking little heede to themſelues, and ſuffering their people to ride abroade to harrie the countrey without order. Dowglas Earle of Angus with a mightie army of Scottiſhmen ſet vppon them, and put them to flighte, ſleaing diuers, and taking to the number of ſeuen hundred priſoners.

Thus as ſhould appeare, the Earle of Dowglas in vayne ſought to diſquiet his countrey, for all his friendes in Scotlande continued faithfull to the King, who had graunted peace to all other of yͤ Dowglaſſes and their complices: for it was Gods will that the matter ſhoulde bee taken vp without more bloudſhed, that the right line of the Scottiſh Kings might be preſerued.

And though the almighty God mighte haue brought that to paſſe by other meanes, according as it ſhould haue pleaſed hys good will & omnipotent power, yet he choſe this way, whereby the effuſion of much bloud might be auoyded, whiche by ciuill battell had bin ſpylled, if the parties hauing their harts fylled with rancoure and yre, had

buckled

buckeled togyther in battayle.

ames Kenedy Archbiſhop of Saint Androws chiefe Chaun-cellor to the ing.

But the King vſing the aduiſe of his kinſman James Kenedie Archbiſhop of Saint Androwes, compaſſed his purpoſe in the end, diſpatching out of the way all ſuche as he any wayes for the miſtruſted, of which nūber namely were the Dowglaſſes, whoſe puiſſance and authoritie not without cauſe he euermore ſuſpected.

Many haue reported (as before is ſaid) that in the beginning, King James the ſecond, through feare of yͤ great power of theſe Dowglaſſes, was in mind to haue fled the Realme, but being recōforted by the counſell and authoritie of the ſayde Biſhop James Kenedy, he aduaunced his ſtudie to matters of greater importaunce.

The ſayde Kenedy turned the Earle of Angus being of the ſurname of the Dowglaſſes and brother to him by his mother, to take parte with the King.

he practiſe Biſhop Kenedy.

He procured alſo diuers other of yͤ ſame bloud and ſurname, to reuolte from the other confederates, and to ſubmitte themſelues vpon promiſe of pardon vnto the Kings mercie, and ſo enfeebling the forces of ſuch as were aduerſaries to the King, in the ende, he had them all at his pleaſure.

reat power auſe of ſuſpi-n.

It was thoughte, that for ſo muche as the Dowglaſſes had their lāds lying ſo vpon yͤ weſt and middle Marches of the Realme (that no mā might beare any rule in thoſe partes, but onely they them ſelues,) if they had happily ioined with the Engliſhmen, conſidering the greate intelligence beſide which they had in all other partes of the Realme, what by kindred and aliaunce, the Realme mighte haue falne into greate perill: for truely it is a daungerous thing (as Johannes Maior ſaith) for the eſtate of a Realme to haue men of greate power and authoritie, inhabiting on the borders and vttermoſt partes thereof, for if they chaunce (vpon any occaſion gyuen) to renounce their obedience to their naturall Prince and ſupreme gouernoure, the preiudice may bee greate and irrecouerable, that oftentimes thereof enſueth, as well appeareth in the Erles of March and other before mentioned in this hiſtory: and likewiſe in Fraunce by the Dukes of Burgundy, Brytayne, and Normandy: for till thoſe coūtreys were incorporate and annexed vnto the Crowne of Fraunce, the Kings of that Realme were oftentimes put to great hinderance through Rebellion by them whome they accompted for their ſubiectes.

But nowe to returne where I lefte, after the Dowglaſſes were once diſpatched, and thynges quieted, King James the ſeconde began then to raigne and rule really, not doubting the controlement of any other perſon. For then he ordeyned lawes for his people as ſeemed beſt to his lyking, commaunding the ſame to be kept vnder greate penalties and forfeytures. And being counſelled chiefly by the Biſhop of S. Androwes, James Kenedie that was his vncle, and the Earle of Orkney, hee paſſed through all the partes of hys Realme, graunting a generall pardon of all offences paſſed. And ſo hee ruled and gouerned hys ſubiectes in greate quietneſſe, and cauſed iuſtice ſo duely to be miniſtred on all ſides, that it was ſaid in his days, how he cauſed the raſhe buſh to keepe the Cowe.

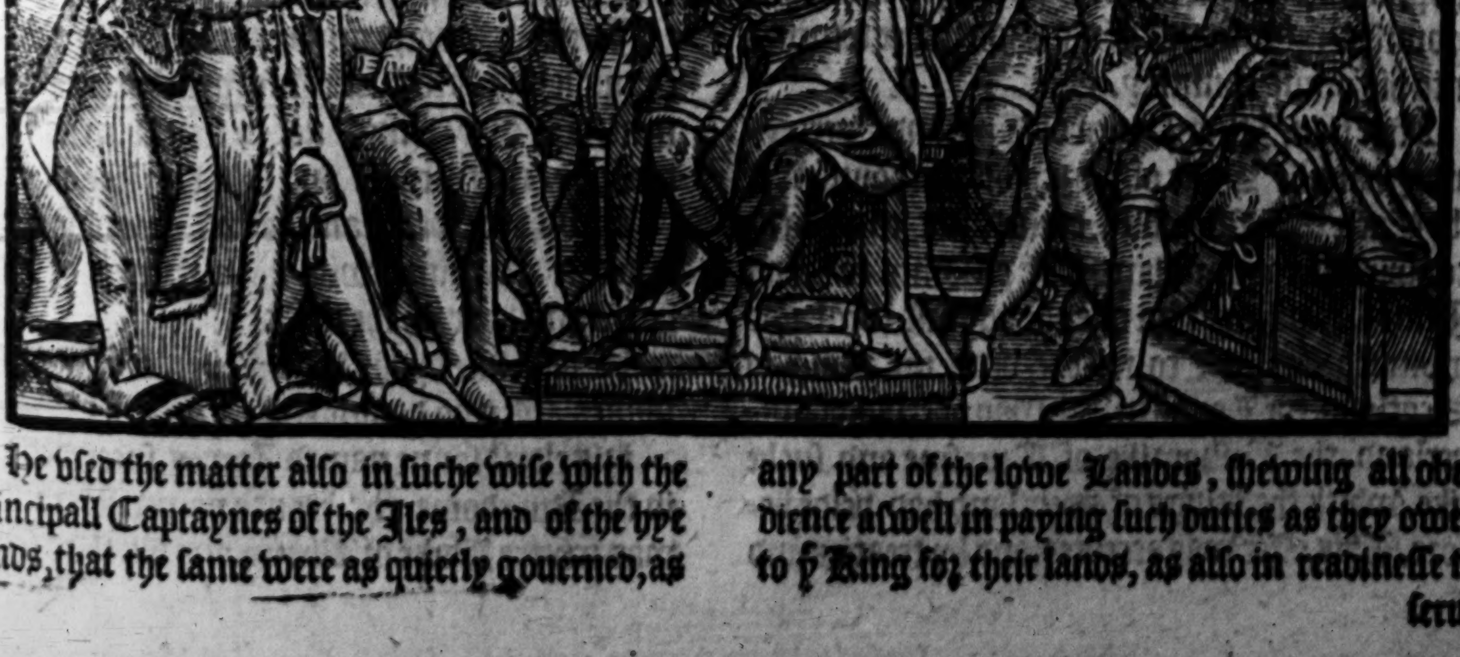
Lawes ordeyned.

A general pardon graunted.

In the yeere. 1455. the King helde a Parliamente, in whiche were many good lawes made and eſtabliſhed for the weale of all the Realm, as in the bookes of yͤ actes of Parliamēt is cōteyned.

1455

A Parliament holden.



e Iſles and gh lande tly go-ned.

He vſed the matter alſo in ſuche wiſe with the principall Captaynes of the Iles, and of the hye lands, that the ſame were as quietly gouerned, as any part of the lowe Landes, ſhewing all obedience aſwell in paying ſuch duties as they owed to yͤ King for their lands, as alſo in readineſſe to

ſerue

Donald Earle of Roſſe, and Lord of the Iſles.

Diſſencion in England.

King Iames inuadeth Englande.

ſerue in the warres with greate companyes of men as became them to do. Specially Donalde, Lord of the Iſles and Earle of Roſſe, who hadde before ioyned hymſelfe in confederacie with the Earles of Dowglas and Crawford agaynſt the King, and had taken into his hands the Kyngs houſe, and caſtel of Inuerneſſe (as before ye haue heard) naming hymſelfe King of the Iles. Neuertheleſſe, he was now at length recōciled to the King, and gaue pledges for his good demeanor, and afterwards brought to the King three thouſand men in ayde at the ſeege of Roxburgh. In this meane while greate diſſention roſe in Englande betweene the two houſes of Lancaſter and Yorke, the King being principall of the houſe of Lancaſter, was taken himſelfe at the battell of Saint Albons. But the Queene with hir ſonne the Prince, and Henry the yong Duke of Sommerſet, and diuers other, fled into yͤ North parts of England, and ſent to the King of Scotlande to deſire him of ayde, who vppon good aduice taken with his counſell, for that King Henry hadde euer kept well yͤ peace with the Realme of Scotland, and alſo for reuenge of his vncle the Duke of Sommerſet his deathe, prepared an army of twentie thouſande men to paſſe into Englande, and in the meane time all the North partes of England, hearing that King Iames was ready to ſupport the Queene of England, ioyned with hir, and paſt forward into the South partes, conſtrayning the Duke of Yorke to flee the Realme, and ſo king Henry enioyed the gouernemente of his Realme agayne, and for that time concluded an agreemente with the Duke of Yorke his aduerſarie whiche laſted not long. The Duke of Yorke remembring how ready king Iames was to prepare an armie in ſupporte of his aduerſarie King Henry, procured the borderers to make incurſions vpon the Scottiſh ſubiects, and woulde ſuffer no redreſſe to be had nor dayes of truce kept on the borders, as in time of peace the cuſtome was. Wherevpon king Iames reyſed a power, and in perſon entred with the ſame into Englād, doing great hurt by deſtroying diuers Townes, Caſtels and Pyles in Northumberland, the Biſhoprike and other partes, till at length vpon faire promiſes made by the Engliſhmen, hee returned into his owne countrey.

1458

1459

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King Ia the ſecond is ſlayne.

After this, King Henry of Englande, perceyuing that the Duke of Yorke by the counſell of the Earle of Warwike, ceaſſed not to practiſe conſpiracies againſt him, ſent eftſoones to kyng Iames, requiring him of ayde againſt them, and promiſed therefore to reſtore vnto the King of Scotland, the Lands in Northumberlād, Cumberland, the Biſhoprike of Dureſme and ſuche like, which the Kings of Scotland had helde before. This offer was accepted, and by treaties and contracts accorded, ſealed, and enterchanged betwixt the two Princes (as the Scottiſhmen alledge.) The yeere next following, at the Queene of Englandes deſire to ſupporte hir againſte the houſe of Yorke, King Iames with a great army entred England, but after that the Queene in the meane time had ſlayne the Duke of Yorke, and gote the vpper hande of hir enimies, at the ſame Queenes requeſt, hee retired into Scotlande againe. Neuertheleſſe ſhortly after, when yͤ Erles of March and Warwike ſought ſtill to mayneteyne their quarrell againſt the Queene of Englande, ſhe was conſtreyned to withdraw into the North partes, and to deſire King Iames to approche eftſoones with his armie vnto the bordures whiche he did, meaning to winne the Caſtels of Roxburgh and Warke, whiche were amongſt other things promiſed to bee deliuered vnto him by King Henry: and ſo comming to Roxburgh, laide his armie round about that Caſtell, and planted his ſeege in full warlike manner. Here the King hauing greate experience in knowledge of ſhooting greate artillerie, departed from his campe, accompanyed with the Earle of Angus and others, and came to the trenches where the great ordynaunce was planted, which he cauſed to be ſhot off. Aand here by great miſfortune, this worthy Prince Iames the ſeconde, was ſlayne by the ſlice of a great peece of artillerie, which by ouercharging chanced to breake, and ſlewe not only the King ſtanding ſomewhat neere it, but alſo hurte the Earle of Angus with other, being a notable preſident from henceforth, how ſuch great Princes approch ſo neere within daunger of ſuch peeces of ordynance when they are ſo ſhotte off.

Alias.17.

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He was thus killed the third day of Auguſt, in the yeere of his life.29. of his raigne.24. and after the incarnation.1480.

The buri of Iames ſeconde.

The lame tation of people.

His body was buried with all funerall obſequies according to his eſtate, within the Monaſterie of Holyroode houſe at Edynburgh, the people generally lamenting his deathe with no leſſe ſorowe and dolefull mone, than as is ſeene in a priuate houſe for the deceaſſe of the welbeloued maiſter and owner thereof.

The ami condition Iames the conde.

In time of warre amongſt his ſubiectes in the campe he behaued himſelfe ſo gently towards all men, that they ſeemed not to feare him as theyr king, but to reuerence and loue him like a father.

He would ride vp and downe amongſt them, and eate and drinke with them euen as he hadde bin felowlike with the meaneſt.

The iſſue Iames the ſeconde. Iames the third Ki of Scotla Alexan ter Duke of A bany.

He had iſſue by his wife Queene Mary three ſonnes, and two daughters.

His eldeſt ſonne named Iames, ſucceeded him in the Kingdome, the ſeconde named Alexander, was created Duke of Albany, and his third ſonne

Iohn Earle of Mar.

called Iohn, was made Earle of Mar.

The eldeſt of his daughters the Hamilton had in mariage, as before is, and alſo after ſhall bee mentioned.

A blaſing Starre.

Some ſtraunge ſightes there appeared before the death of this King Iames the ſecond, for the day before he was ſlayne, a blaſing Starre was playnely ſeene, which ſignified as was thought, the death of the ſayd King.

An Hermophrodite, that is a perſon being both man and woman.

In the yeere before the ſeege, there was in Dundee an Hermophrodite, that is, a perſon with both ſhapes, but eſteemed for a woman onely, till it was proued, that lying with hir maſters daughter nightly where ſhe dwelt, ſhe had gote ỹ yong Damoſell with childe, for the whiche acte, bycauſe ſhe had counterfeted hir ſelfe a woman, and yet had wrought the part of a man, ſhe was condemned to be buried quicke, and ſuffered according to that iudgement.

A wicked theefe that vſed to kill yong perſons to eate them.

Hir daughter falleth to the like practiſe.

Hir words going to execution.

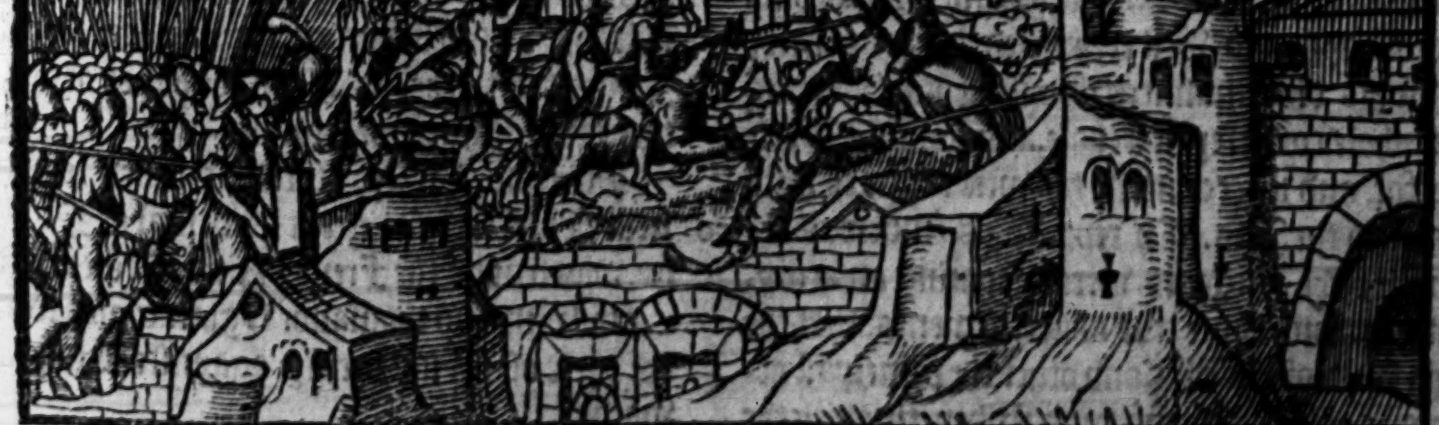
About the ſame time, there was a certayne theefe, that with his familie, liued apart from the company of men, remayning ſecretely within a denne in Angus called Feniſden, who vſed to kill yong perſons, and to feede on their fleſh, for the whiche abhominable offence, being apprehended with his wife & all his familie, they were burnt to death, one of his daughters that was vnneth. 12. monethes of age, only excepted, the which being preſerued and brought vp in Dundee, before ſhee came to the age of twelue yeeres, ſhee was taken in the like crime for the whiche hir father dyed, wherevpon ſhee was iudged to be buried quicke: and going to execution, when the people in great multitude followed hir, in wondering at ſo horrible an offence committed by one of hir age and ſexe, ſhee turned to them that thus deteſted hir wicked doing, and with a countenance repreſenting hir cruell inclination, ſayde to them: what neede you thus to rayle vpon me, as if I had done an heynous acte contrary to the nature of man? I tell you, that if you knew how pleaſant mans fleſhe is in taſt, there would none of you all forbeare to eate it. And thus with an impenitente and ſtubborne minde, ſhe ſuffered the appoynted execution.

The ſtout ſtomacke of the Queene.

Roxburgh Caſtell taken and broken downe.

Warke beſeeged and won.

After the Deathe of Iames the ſecond, his ſonne Iames ỹ third a childe of ſeauen yeeres of age ſucceded him, & forthwith was ſent for to the ſeege of Roxburgh, whither he was conueyed by the Queene, a woman of a ſtout ſtomacke, repreſenting the manlike race of hir countrey Gelderland, of the which ſhe was diſcended. For comming with hir ſonne thus to the ſeege, ſhe ſpent not time in lamenting and womaniſh bewayling the irrecouerable loſſe of hir huſbād, but rather in comforting ỹ Lords, whoſe parte had bin to haue comforted hir: and aboue al things ſhe exhorted thē with al diligence to imploy their whole indeuours and forces to ỹ winning of that Caſtel. Whoſe words ſo encouraged the Captaynes and whole army, that the ſeege was continued till the Caſtell was wonne, raced, and beaten downe flat to the grounde: and the yong King was Crowned at Kelſo, with the vniuerſall conſente and great reioycing of all the noble men, and other being there preſente in the army. This done, they beſeeged the Caſtell of Warke, whiche likewiſe they tooke, and threwe downe, and afterwardes the King with the nobles of his Realme, came to Edynburgh, to take



order

Seuen gouernours choſen.

order for the quiet gouernemente of the Realme, and bycauſe the King was yong, there were choſen ſeauen regantes to gouerne both King and Realm, as theſe, the Queene his mother, James Kenedie Biſhop of Saint Androwes, that was ſiſters ſonne to James yͤ firſt, the Biſhop of Glaſgow, the Earles of Angus, Huntley, Argile, and Orkney. Theſe ſo long as James Kenedy liued, agreed well togither about the gouernemente of the Realme, but within a while after his deceſſe, they fell at ſquare, or rather before as appeareth by Hector Boetius, who ſayeth, that in the ſecond yeere of this Kings raigne, there was diſcorde in brewing, betwixte the Queene and the Archbiſhop Kenedie, who perceyuing that the woman ſought to vſurp wholly the gouernemēt vnto hir ſelfe, withſtoode hir in that behalfe, in ſo much that it was doubted leaſt the matter would haue broken foorth into ſome ciuill warre, if the Biſhops of Glaſgow, Dunkelde, and Abirden, & certayne Abbots had not taken in hand to trauell betwixt the parties for an atonement, who dyd ſo much in the matter, that they compounded the variance in this wiſe. The Queene mother was appoynted to haue the charge of the Kings perſon, and of his brethren, Alexander Duke of Albany, and John Earle of Mar, and likewiſe of his two ſiſters, but as for the adminiſtration and gouernance of the Realme, ſhe ſhoulde leaue it vnto the peeres. There were therefore elected by common conſente as rulers, the Biſhops of Glaſgow and Dunkeld, the Earle of Orkney, the Lorde Graham, Thomas Boyd, and the Chancellor. About the ſame tyme, one Alane Keir, in hope to get the heritage of his brother John Laerd of Lorne tooke him, and kept him in priſon. But Colen Cambell Earle of Argile, taking great indignation with ſo preſumptuous a parte, gathered a power, and comming agaynſte Keir, tooke him, and ſet his brother at libertie, and brought the offendour vnto Edinburgh, where he dyed in priſon.

Donald of the Iles eftſoones rebelleth.

Moreouer, ſhortly after Donald Lord of the Iles and Earle of Roſſe, who had ſerued obediently in the army at Roxburgh and was (as outwardly appeared) well reconciled, began of newe to vſe his olde manners, ſpoyling and harrying the whole countrey of Athole, and tooke the Earle thereof, and the counteſſe his wife captiues with him into the Iles. To repreſſe his iniurious attemptes: the Regents were preparing an army, but therewith came true aduertiſements, that the ſayd Lord of the Iles, and other the principall offendors of his company, were ſtriken through the hand of God with a certayne frenſie or madneſſe, and had loſt all their ſhippes and ſpoyles in the ſea, ſo that yͤ Earle of Athole and his Lady were reſtored, and thoſe frentike perſons were brought vnto Saint Brides Kirke in Athole, for the recouery of their health, but it woulde not be. Donalde him ſelfe was afterward ſlayne in the Caſtell of Inuernes by an Iriſhman that was a minſtrell.

Donald became madde.

Hitherto h
Hector Boe
us continue
the Scottiſ
hiſtorie.
He was kil

1461

Henry Ki
of England
ſafecunduc
commeth i
to Scotland

In the yeere. 1461. Henry the ſixte King of Englande, beeing vanquiſhed by hys aduerſarie Edwarde the fourth, purchaſed of King James the thirde a ſafecunduct for him ſelfe and a thouſande Horſe to enter into Scotlande, and hereupon hee came to Edynburgh, and was lodged in the houſe of the Friers Preachours, with hys wife Queene Margaret, and hys ſonne Prince Edwarde.

There was alſo with him the Duke of Exceſtor, and the Duke of Sommerſet, with many other of the Engliſh nobilitie.

The Quee
went in to
Fraunce fo
ayde.

The Queene with hir ſon went into France, to trie what purchaſe for ayde & ſupport againſte hir huſbandes enimies, ſhe might make there amongſt hir owne friendes and kinſmen.

Barwike de
uered to th
Scottiſhme

The ſame time, King Henry deliuered the towne and Caſtell of Barwike into the Scottiſhmens hands, whether by couenant thereby to haue the foreſaid ſafecunduct graunted, or of his owne voluntary will, to the ende he mighte haue the more ſupport and fauoure amongſt them, it is vncertayne by the variable reporte of writers.

A truce for
15. yeeres.

Neuertheleſſe, ſhortly after a truce was taken betwixt King James and King Edwarde, for the tearme of fifteene yeeres, vpon what conditions or promiſes made on King Edwardes parte I fynde not.

1462

This truce was concluded in the Moneth of May, in the yeere. 1462. at the Citie of Yorke, whither had bin ſente the Biſhop of Glaſgo, the Earle of Argyle, keeper of the priuie ſeale, the Abbot of holy Roode Houſe, Sir Alexander Boyde, and ſir William Crawſton Knightes, Ambaſſadors and commiſſioners for King James.

James Ke
dy the Ar
biſhop go
neth the
Realme.

All thyngs in thys ſeaſon were ordered in Scotlande by the aduice and counſell of James Kenedy Biſhop of Saint Androwes, a man of greate wiſedome and policie, as well appeared in hys prudente and ſage gouernemente of the Realme, aſwell during the minoritie of thys James the thirde, as alſo in the dayes of hys father King James the ſeconde.

Monſieur
la Varenne
ſent foorth
Fraunce to
ayde the p
of Marga
Queene of
Englande.

Pierre de Brezey, otherwiſe called le Seigneur de la Varenne, great Seneſhal of Normandy, was ſent by the French King Lewes the eleuenth, with two thouſande fyghting men to ayde the parte of Kyng Henry agaynſte King Edwarde.

This Brezey was one, that was moſt in fauoure with King Charles the ſeuenth, father vnto the ſayde Kyng Lewes, and therefore (as many dyd ſuppoſe) hee was appointed by Kyng

Lewis (who greatly loued him not) to be chiefe in this iourney, to the end his life might be put in hazarde and aduenture, notwithſtanding after ſome danger both of tempeſt on the Sea, and alſo of the enimies handes, hee wanne the Caſtels of Bamburgh and Dunſtanburgh which he caſt to the grounde, and after tooke in hande to keepe the Caſtell of Anwike, and beeing beſeeged therein, ſent for ayde to the Scottes.

e keepeth
nwike Ca-
ll, and is
eſeeged.

George Dowglas Earle of Angus as then Warden of the Marches, immediately reyſed a power of. 23000. men, and comming with the ſaime to the bordures, choſe forth of all his numbers fiue thouſande of the moſt able horſemen in al his army, and comming with them to the Caſtell about the middeſt of the day, tooke the Frēchmen away with him into Scotlande, the Engliſh army whiche lay there at ſiege beholding the manner, and not once making profer to fyghte with him. Some Engliſhmen there were, that woulde fayne haue foughten with the Scottes, but other (whoſe counſell was followed) were otherwiſe minded, alledging, that better it were to let them paſſe without encounter, ſith they left the Caſtell voyde, than to ieoperd vpon the doubtfull chance of battell, for though their number were not greate, yet were they piked and choſen men, able to atchieue a great enterpriſe.

e is reſco-
ed by the
le of Angus.

n. 13000.

1463

e Queene
er dyed.

After this, the ſixteenth of Nouember, in the yeere. 1463. the Queene of Scottes, mother to James the thirde, dyed at Edynburgh, and was buryed in the Colledge of the Trinitie, which ſhe hir ſelfe had founded.

This woman, after the deceſſe of hir huſband James the ſeconde, liued ſomewhat diſſolutely, procuring Adam Hepborne of Hales a married mā to keepe hir ſuch familiar company, as ſounded greatly to hir diſhonor, for that ſhe could not within the whole Realme fynde ſome ſingle man amongſt all the nobilitie, with whome ſhe might haue married, and ſo in parte to haue auoyded the greater open ſlander and infamy.

Adham Hepbornes familiaritie with the Queene of Scottes, mother to James the thirde.

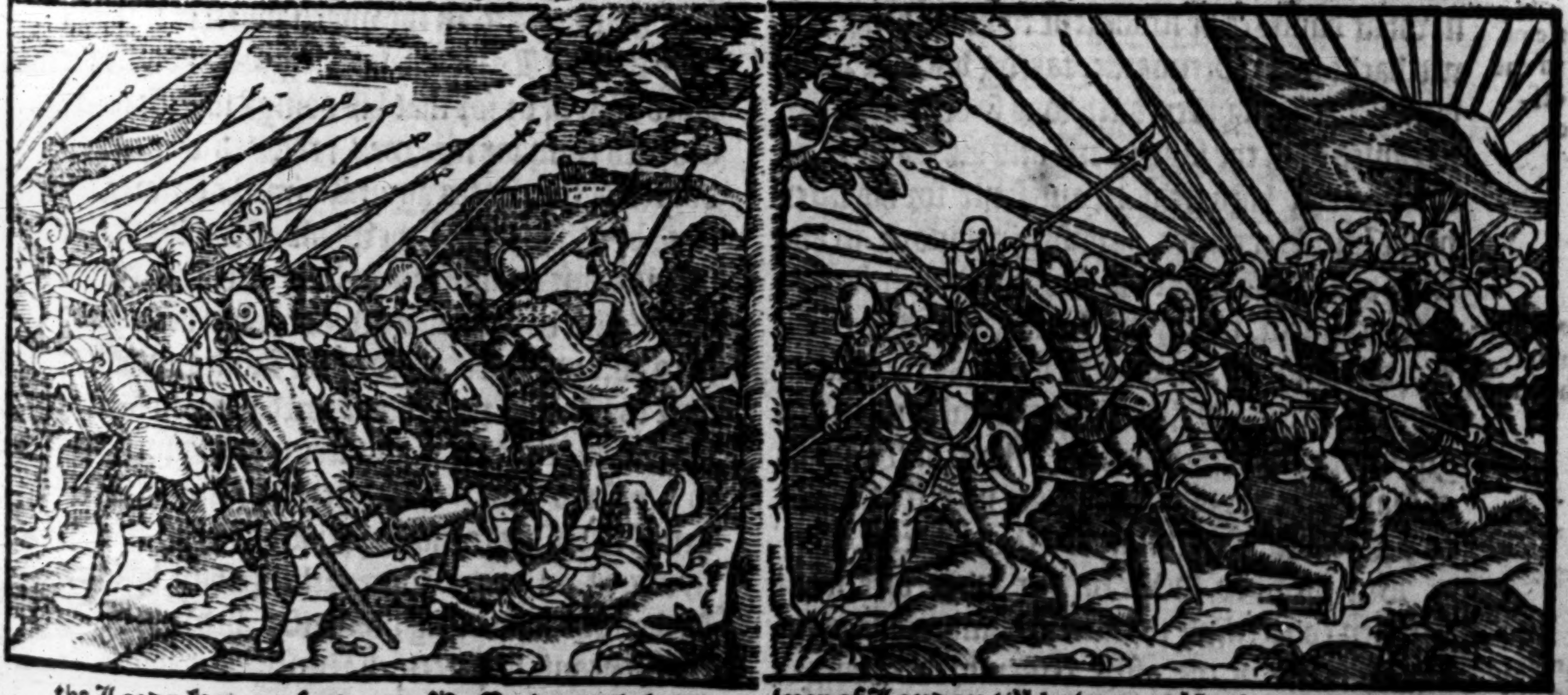
The ſame yeere, Alexander Duke of Albany, and brother to the King, was taken on the Sea by the Engliſhmen in the month of June, as hee was returning from his Graundfather the Duke of Gelder: but the Biſhop of Saint Androwes James Kenedy, cauſed both the ſayde Duke and alſo the Ship with all the goodes there inbeing, at the time of the taking of it, to bee reſtored, for otherwiſe as hee flatly proteſted, hee woulde not haue kept the truce any longer concluded betwixt the two Realmes.

Alexander Duke of Albany taken on the Sea.

1464

King Henry returneth into Englande.

The Duke of Sommerſet, in hope of great fauor which he ſhuld finde in England, perſwaded King Henry to paſſe thither, and with a greate company of Scottiſhmen he entred Englande, and many of the North parts reſorted vnto him, but at length, at his comming to Exam, yͤ Lord Montague with a greate power was ready to giue him battell, and there diſcomfited hym and his whole army. The Duke of Sommerſet and the Lords Hungerford and Roſſe, were taken & put to death, the Duke at Exham, and the Lords at Newcaſtell. King Henry eſcaped very hardly into Scotland againe, and there remayned a certayne ſpace after, till at length he thought to returne into Englande in ſuche ſecrete wiſe, as hee ſhould not haue bin once knowen, till hee mighte haue gote amongſt his friendes, whiche woulde haue ſupported him: but ſuch diligent watch was layde for him all alongſt the bordures, that hee was eſpyed taken and deliuered to King Edward his aduerſarie, who ſhut him vp in yͤ Tower of London till he was at lēgth therein made away, as in the Hiſtory of England ye may ſee more at large.



Henry is
ſoned.

1466

In the yere. 1466. that famous Biſhop James Kenedie departed this life, and was buried in the Colledge of S. Sauiour, foūded by him within yͤ town of S. Androwes in moſt ſumptuous wiſe.

This Prelate in prudent policie excelled al other Scottiſh Biſhops, of whom any writer maketh mentiō. He kept yͤ Realme in good quiet, and obſerued yͤ truce concluded with yͤ Engliſhmē, to yͤ great weale and cōmoditie of yͤ pore cōmons.

He was very rich, as appeared by ſundry buildings and workes which he left behinde him, as a memoriall of his name.

Beſide his Biſhoprike, he helde in his hands the commaundary of the Abbey of Pettinweme, whiche was worth vnto hym. 800. crownes by yeere.

1469

The mariage of Iames the thirde.

In the yeere. 1469. on the tenth day of July, king James the third being as then about twentie yeeres of age, married in the Abbey of Holy Roode houſe neere Edynburgh, the Lady Margaret, daughter to the King of Denmarke and Norway, whiche Lady was at the ſame tyme not paſt twelue yeeres of age, ſome ſay ſixteene.

The King of Norway reſigneth his title to the out Iles.

Hir father the King of Denmarke and Norway, in name of hir dower, tranſported and reſigned to King James all his right, title, and intereſt which he pretended to the out Iles. The Ambaſſadours that were ſent into Denmarke to conclude this mariage, and to conuey the Bride into Scotland, were theſe: Andrew Duſdeir Biſhop of Glaſgo, the Biſhop of Orkney, the Lorde Auandale Chancellor of Scotlande, and Thomas Boyd Earle of Arrane, who had married the kings ſiſter, and was now in his abſence rũne into the Kings diſpleaſure, whereof his wife hauing intelligence, hearing of hir huſbands arriual with yͤ other in the forth, gote out of Edinburgh, and comming a ſhipborde vnto him, gaue hym to vnderſtande what diſpleaſure the King hadde conceyued againſt him: Who perceyuing himſelfe in what daunger he ſtoode if he tooke lande, returned backe into Denmarke, taking his wife with him. The King herewith was ſo offended, that he cauſed both the ſayd Earle and his father to be atteynted of high treaſon, and ſente for his ſiſter backe into Scotlande, cauſing a diuorſe in abſence of hir huſbande to be ſewed and gote forthe betwixt them, marrying hir afterwardes to the Lord Hamilton, to whome hee gaue the Earledome of Arrane, which hir former huſband had in gift before. Of this marriage, thoſe of the houſe of Hamilton are diſcended, & are neereſt of bloud to yͤ Crowne of Scotland as they pretend.

The Earle of Arrane in the Kings diſpleaſure.

The Lord Hamilton marrieth the kings ſiſter.

Giouan Ferrerio in hys appendix of the Scottiſh hiſtory.

But nowe to ſhewe further what wee finde written concerning the manner and cauſe of the baniſhmente of the afore remembred Thomas Boyd, Giouan Ferrerio, in his appendix of the Scottiſh hiſtorie annexed vnto Hector Boetius laſtly imprinted at Paris anno. 1574. agreeth not with that which ye haue red before, for as hee telleth the tale, the ſayd Lord Boyd being one of the gouernours of the Realme, elected thereto (as before ye haue heard) within ſhorte time grewe ſo farre in fauoure with the King, that he might do all things with him at his pleaſure, although hys aſſociates in authoritie did neuer ſo much goe about to hinder his deuiſes, by reaſon whereof, hee ſeemed to vſurp the whole rule and adminiſtration of the Realme into his owne handes, ſore to the greefe of thoſe his ſaid aſſociates being ioyned with him in like office.

The Lorde Boyd beareth all the rule about the King.

Through de… fault of agre… ment in the gouernors … uill diſpoſ… men waxe bolde to w… miſchiefe.

Hereof the ſtate of the commõ wealth through the diſſention thus bred among the gouernours, was brought into a miſerable plighte: for iuſtice in moſt places wãted hir due courſe, ſo as theeues and robbers taking boldneſſe thereof not only vpon the borduers, but alſo elſe where, beganne to exerciſe greate outrage, to the breache of publike peace, and namely yͤ inhabitants of the out Iſles fell to their wonted trade of pilfering, ſo that paſſing ouer in their long boates or Barges, and landing here and there on the ſhore, they tooke prayes of Cattell and other goodes, greatly to their profite, and no leſſe domage of the people that inhabited on the coaſtes ouer againſt thẽ.

They tha… in authori… be euer … iect to th… ſpiteful … of enuie…

In the North parts alſo, ſeditious tumults amongſt the nobles gentlemen and people, were reyſed, to the great diſquieting of the whole countrey. Suche diſorders continued no ſmall time, and bycauſe the ſayde Thomas Lord Boyd bare greateſt rule about the King, the blame (as it cõmonly happeneth was imputed to him. At lẽgth when the King was growen to ripe yeeres, and able to ſee to the adminiſtration of the common wealth him ſelfe, he was admoniſhed by certaine graue perſonages to haue ſome regard, that ſuche miſorders as diſquieted the whole ſtate of the Realme, might be reformed. Whervpon he called a Parliament, in the which whether through enuy that the Lordes had conceyued againſte the Lord Boyd, or for that his doings no leſſe deſerued ſuch complaynte, was exhibited by generall voyces of the eſtates againſt him, that it was decreed by authoritie of the whole aſſembly, that he ſhould come to aunſwer in iudgemẽt ſuch crimes wherewith he was charged: but when hee refuſed ſo to do, and in contempt of the Kings authoritie gote togither a power of armed men, to defende him frõ iniurie that might ſeeme (as he pretẽded) to be offered him. At length the King was driuen of neceſſitie to make preparation for the leauying of an army to apprehende him by force. Wherof Boyd being aduertiſed, fled into England, bycauſe he perceiued himſelfe not able to reſiſt the Kings power. The King aſſured that hee was thus auoyded out of his Realme, baniſhed him for euer, and ſeaſed vpon his lands and goods as forfeted. After this, when the ſayd Boyd ſawe no hope to returne againe into the Kings fauor, and finding no great comfort among the Engliſhmen, he paſſed from thence into Denmarke, where he remayned till the mariage was concluded betwixt the King and the Lady Margaret, daughter to the King of Denmarke, as yee before haue heard: and then in hope by occaſion of thys

The Lor… Boyd is a… ſed.

He refu… to be tr… way of … ment.

He fleeth … England.

He paſſe… to Den…

marriage

is vayn hope
o obtayne
pardon.

e goeth in-
o Italy.
e is mur-
ered.

marriage to obtayne pardon, returned nowe in company of the Bride, and of thoſe Ambaſſadors that were ſent to haue the conueyance of hir into Scotlande: neuertheleſſe, vnderſtanding by hys wife that came to him a ſhipborde before he ſet foote on land, that the kings diſpleaſure continued ſtill towardes him ſo greatly, that if he came a land, he ſhuld be ſure to loſe his head, he returned into Denmarke, and tooke his wife with hym (as before is mẽtioned.) Finally he went into Italy, where at length he was murthered by one, whoſe wife he went about to allure for the ſatiſfying of his ſenſuall luſt. Before he was diuorced frõ hys wife the kings ſiſter, he begate on hir a ſonne, the which in the dayes of king Iames the fourth, in a priuate quarrell that roſe betwixte him and an other noble mã, chanced to be ſlayne. This much touching the Lord Thomas Boyd of Kalmarnock out of Ferrerio: who alſo in report of yͤ matter touching the marriage betwixt the king and the daughter of Denmarke, ſomewhat varieth from other that write thereof.

1468

e Ambaſ-
ors ſente
o Denmark
Ferrerio

e marriage
cluded.
e Iſles of
ney and
land en-
ged.

1469

The Ambaſſadors yͭ were ſent vnto Chriſtiern King of Denmarke and Norway in the yeere 1468. as yͤ ſaid Ferrerio affirmeth, were theſe, Androw Biſhop of Glaſgow, William Biſhop of Orkney, Androw Lorde of Auandale, Chancellor of the Realm, Martine Wane the great aulmoner, and the kings Confeſſor, Gilbert de Kerick Archdeacon of Glaſgow, Dauid Creichton of Crauſton, and Iohn Shaw of Haly. Theſe Ambaſſadors beeing diſpatched into Denmarke in Iuly, in the yeere aforeſaid, came at length vnto Haffnen, where king Chriſtierne then remayned, and were of him ioyfully receyued and well heard concerning their ſuite, in ſo much at length after he had proponed the matter to his counſell about the eighte of September, it was agreed in this ſorte, that the Lady Margaret, daughter to the ſayd king Chriſtierne, ſhould be giuen in marriage vnto king Iames of Scotland, and that yͤ Iſles of Orkney, beeing in number. 28. and likewiſe the Iſles of Shetland, of which there are. 18. ſhuld remayne in poſſeſſion of the kings of Scotland, till eyther the ſayd king Chriſtierne or hys ſucceſſors in name of the marriage money ſhould pay vnto King Iames, or to his ſucceſſors, the ſumme of. 50. thouſand Florens of the Rheine. This marriage was thoughte, by reaſon of thys engaging of thoſe Iſles, right profitable vnto the Realm of Sclotland, bycauſe of the controuerſie and variance whiche had continued long before thoſe dayes betwixt the Kings of Scotlande and Denmarke, about the righte of poſſeſſing thoſe Iſles. In the moneth of Nouember next enſuing, after the marriage had bin conſummate in Iuly before, within the Abbey Churche of Holy Roode houſe (as before ye haue heard) or in Saint Giles Church in Edenburgh (as other write) the three eſtates were called to aſſẽble in Edenburgh, where the Queene was Crowned, and the Parliamente holden, the moſt parte of the Lordes remayning ſtill in Edenburgh all the next Winter: And in the Sommer following, the king and Queene made their progreſſe into the Northe partes, and were honorably receyued in the principall cities and townes where they came, & likewiſe by the Nobles of the countrey, to the greate reioycing of the whole Realme. After their returning to Edenburgh, the king called a Parliament in the moneth of May. 1471. in the whyche amõg other things it was ordeyned, that Lords, Barons, and the burroughes of the Realme ſhoulde builde Shippes and boates, and prouide nettes for fiſhing. Alſo it was ordeined, that none ſhould weare ſilkes in doublet, gowne, or cloake, except Knights, Minſtrels and Heralds, excepte they mighte diſpende one hundred poundes in lands by yeere: and that yͤ footeball and other vnlawfull games ſhoulde be debarred, and the exerciſe of ſhooting mainteyned. Iames eldeſt ſonne to king Iames the thirde, was borne yͤ tenth day of March, in the yeere. 1472. who afterwardes ſucceded his father, and was called Iames yͤ fourth. Chriſtierne king of Denmarke, to congratulate the happie birth of this yong Prince beeing hys Nephewe by his daughter, releaſed all the righte, title and claym which he or his ſucceſſors might haue to the Iſles of Orkney and Shetland.

1470

1471

The like act for ſhooting was inſtituted by king Iames the firſt. Anno 1425. Iohn Maior.

1472

The right to Orkney and Shetlande reſigned.

A ſtraunge comete or blaſing Starre (as wee call it) appeared in yͤ South, from the ſeuententh day of Ianuarie, vnto the eyghteenth of Februarie, and was placed betwixt yͤ Pole and the Pleiades, that is to wit, the ſeuen Starres. A greate Ship built by the late Archbiſhop of Sainte Androws Kenedie, called the Biſhops Barge, brake and was loſt beſide Banburgh, beeing fraughte with marchandiſe, the twelfth of Marche. Many Merchant mens ſeruantes and other paſſengers wer drowned wᵗ hir, ſome eſcaped by boate, and were taken by the Engliſhmen, amongſt whome was the Abbot of S. Colme, who was cõſtreined to pay vnto his taker one Iames Kar, 80. poundes for his raunſome ere he could be ſuffered to depart. The Abbacie of Dunfermeling being vacant, the couent choſe one of their owne Monkes called Alexander Thomſon, and yͤ king promoted Henry Creichton Abbot of Paſlay thereunto, whome the Pope admitted, and Robert Shaw parſon of Minto, was preferred by yͤ king vnto the Abbacie of Paſlay, and the in ſuch wiſe began promotings of Secular Prieſts vnto Abbacies at the Princes requeſt, and the laudable elections aunciently vſed, made voyd: bycauſe the Court of Rome admitted ſuche as the Princes made ſuite for and named, getting greate re-

A blaſing Starre.

1473

A Shipwrack.

Abbayes giuen by vnlawful meanes.

wardes and notable ſũmes of mony therby, ſo that neither the biſhops durſt admit ſuch as yͤ couents elected, nor ſuch as were elected durſt purſue their righte, ⁊ ſo the Abbeys were beſtowed vpon ſuch as followed the Court, ⁊ liued courtly, ſecularly, ⁊ voluptuouſly, to yͤ great ſlãder of religious mẽ, which by yͤ naughty enſãples of their gouernors, fel to the workes of wickedneſſe, wherupon daily much euil encreaſed, ⁊ vertue in al eſtates decayd.

The Biſhop of Saint Androwes made Achbiſhop.

1474

This yere in Septẽber, yͤ indulgẽce of the ſea of S. Androws was publiſhed by Patricke Grahã, Biſhop therof, ⁊ the ſame ſea erected into the dignitie of an Archbiſhops ſea, at ſute of the ſaid Patrick, who gaue information to yͤ Pope, yͭ bicauſe yͤ archbiſhop of York was Metropolitan of Scotland, and yͭ ther was oftentimes war betwixt the realms of England ⁊ Scotlãd, the Scottiſhmen could not haue acceſſe to their Metropolitan, ſpecially in caſes of appellation.

Primate and Metropolitan. Twelue Biſhops in Scotland.

And therefore the Pope, as ſom write, thought it reſon to make S. Androws primate ⁊ Metropolitan of Scotlãd, ⁊ ordeined yͭ the twelue other Biſhops of Scotlãd ſhuld be vnder his primacie, who would not agree therunto, but promiſed yͤ K. by way of a taxatiõ xj. M. markes for his maintenãce againſt yͤ ſayd Archbiſhop: ⁊ the Prelates ſente to Rome about this matter.

1476

This yere was a greate death in the Realme of Scotland, ſo that where a Parliamẽt was called in Septẽber, it was proroged vntil yͤ twelfth day after Chriſtmas.

The Lord of the Iſles atteynted.

In January yͤ Parliament was holdẽ at Edẽburgh, in which John Lord of the Iles ⁊ Erle of Roſſe, was atteynted partly for his own euil deedes, but moſt ſpecially, for yͤ defaultes of his father Donald Lord of the Iles.

The king rayſed an army.

In May in the yere. 1477. the king rayſed a puiſſant army of the moſt able mẽ vpõ the North ſide of the water of Forth, to purſue the Lord of yͤ Iles both by ſea ⁊ land. The Erle of Crawforde was made Admirall of the army by Sea, and the Erle of Athole the kings vncle by his father, was Lieutenant of yͤ Army by land.

The Lord of the Iſles ſubmitteth himſelfe.

But ſuch means was vſed by yͤ Erle of Athole, that the Lord of yͤ Iles humbled himſelfe to the kings pleaſure vpon certayn cõditions, ⁊ therupon in the beginning of July next enſuing, the ſaid lord of the Iles came to yͤ Parliament vnto Edenburgh, ⁊ there was yͤ agreement made ⁊ confirmed betwixt the king ⁊ him:

He reſigneth Roſſe, Cantyre and Knapden.

he reſigned into the kings hands all his right which he had to the Erledom of Roſſe, yͤ lands of Cantyre ⁊ Knapden, which Earledome the king annexed to yͤ Crowne, ⁊ pardoned him ⁊ his ſeruants of al offences ⁊ tranſgreſſions before yͤ day committed, ⁊ inueſted him of new in yͤ Lordſhip ⁊ Seigniorie of the Iles, ⁊ other his lands not releaſed, to holde yͤ ſame of the king by the ſeruice of warde and releefe. The king alſo gaue vnto the Erle of Athole for his diligence ſhewed, in reducing the ſaid Lord of the Iles vnto order, the lãds and foreſt of Cloury.

1477

An inqui
ſent from
Pope.

There was an Inquiſitor this yere ſent by Pope Sextus into Scotland, to examine by vertue of his cõmiſſion Patrick Graham Archbiſhop of S. Androwes, whoſe examination and proues being ſent vnto the Pope, hee pronounced him an Heretike, Sciſmatike, ⁊ Symoniake, ⁊ declared him accurſed, condemning him to perpetual priſon:

The Archbi
ſhop is no
wel handle

Depriued.

and ſo he was degraded from all orders, cure, ⁊ dignitie of Eccleſiaſticall office, and William Schewes Archdeacõ of the ſame ſea, was promoted in his place, to whom he was alſo committed to ſee him ſafely kept in priſon.

Put in pri

He was firſt ſent vnto Saint Colmes Ins, and from thence to Dunfermling, and laſtly to Lochleuin, where he dyed, and was buried in S. Sarffis Ile in Lochleuin.

1479

william
Schewes i
ſecrated
Archbiſho

The ſayd William Schewes was conſecrate Archbiſhop of Sainte Androwes on paſſion Sunday in Lente, within Holy Roode houſe, the king being preſent, ⁊ many of the nobles of the Realm. And there yͤ ſayde Archbiſhop receiued yͤ pall, as a ſigne of his Archbiſhops dignitie, ⁊ ſo was cõfirmed primate ⁊ legate of yͤ Realm, notwithſtãding yͤ impediment made againſt Graham before by the Biſhops about yͤ ſame.

The Duk
Albany i
priſoned.

This yere alſo, Alexander Duke of Albany was committed to priſon by the king his brother, within yͤ Caſtel of Edenburgh, through euil counſel, but he brake out ⁊ eſcaped to Dũbar, wher he cauſed the Caſtel to be furniſhed with al neceſſaries, ⁊ leauing his ſeruants within it, paſſed himſelf into France, ⁊ was there of yͤ king honorably receyued and louingly intreated.

He eſcap

Edenbur
beſieged.

In the beginning of May following, the king beſieged yͤ Caſtel by his Lieutenant the Erle of Auendale, who loſt at that ſiege. 3. good knights, the Lord of Lute, ſir John Schaw of Sauche, ⁊ the Lorde of Cragiwallace, with yͤ ſhot of a gun, ⁊ John Rãſay was ſlain with a ſtone caſt by hãd. Whẽ thei within ſaw they could not lõg endure, they left yͤ Caſtel ⁊ fled away by ſea, ⁊ the Erle of Auandale entred ⁊ found it void of al things wherof any accõpt was to be made.

Doctor I
land ſen
the king
Scottes.

Doctor Irelãd being graduat in diuinitie at Paris, was ſent from yͤ Frẽch king vnto yͤ king of Scottes, to perſwade him to make war into Englãd, to yͤ end yͤ king Edward ſhuld not aid yͤ Duke of Burgundy. And moreouer, he had in charge to moue for the Pardon of yͤ Duke of Albany, and ſhortly after returned with anſwer.

1480

John Ste
a priſone

The Erle of Mar called John Steward yͤ kings yõger brother, this yeere in the moneth of December, was taken in the nighte within hys owne houſe, ⁊ conueyed vnto Cragmiller, where he was kept as priſoner by the kings commandement, and after was conuict of conſpiracie for witchcraft which he ſhuld practiſe againſt yͤ king: ⁊ herupon in Cannogate beſide Edenburgh, hys vaynes were cut ⁊ ſo he bled to death.

Wa p
death.

Ther were many ⁊ diuers Witches ⁊ ſorcerers aſwel mẽ as women cõuicted of yͤ crime, ⁊ burnt for yͤ ſame at Edẽb. The K. ſent Ambaſſadors into Englãd to make ſuite to haue the Lady Cicill daughter to king Edward, ioyned in mariage with his ſonne Iames yͤ Prince, which was grãted, and yͤ mariage concluded to be ſolemnizate, when yͤ prince of Scotland ſhould come to perfect age: as in the Engliſh hiſtorie it more playnely appeareth.

Doctor Irelande, with a knight, and another religious man, came againe to king Iames from the French king, to perſwade him to make warre againſt England: and at length, King Iames & his nobles cõdiſcended to breake the peace, wherewith Thomas Spens Biſhop of Abirdene that was full tenderly beloued of king Edwarde, and had bin euer a mediator for peace betwixte the kings of England, France, and Scotlãd, and the Duke of Burgongne, when he heard that warre would folow, he dyed through griefe of mind and melancoly at Edenburgh, in the moneth of Aprill. The king ſente two Heraldes vnto King Edwarde, requeſting him not to ayde the Duke of Burgongne, nor any other againſt yͤ King of France: for if he did, hee muſt needes ſupporte the Frenchmen by reaſon of yͤ league betwixt France & Scotland, but king Edward would not admit thoſe Heraldes to his preſence, but kept them ſtill without anſwer, till he had ſent forth a nauie of Ships into yͤ Forth before Lieth, Kingorne, and Pettenweme, & thẽ were the Heralds licenſed to returne. The Engliſhe fleete entring the Forth, tooke eight great ſhippes which they found in that riuer, and landing at Blackneſſe, brent yͤ towne, and a great Barge that lay there at rode, and ſo returned. The king aſſembled an army from all partes of the Realme, and amongſt other, yͤ Lord of the Iles came with a great cõpany: and nowe the king being ready to enter into England, there came to him a meſſenger of king Edward, ſente from a Cardinall Legate that was reſidente as then in England, commanding king Iames by authoritie apoſtolike, not to proceede any further in his purpoſed iourney, to the ende that peace being obſerued, all Chriſtian Princes might bende their powers againſte the Turke and Infidels. This commaundemente did king Iames obey, and ſo diſcharged his army, notwithſtandyng, that king Edwarde ſent forth his nauie agayne into the Forth, vnto the Ile of Ins Keith, but they did no hurt, for the countreymen kept them off. The Scottiſh borderers inuaded yͤ Engliſhe marches, deſtroyed townes, and led many priſoners away with them into Scotland. The king of Englande cauſed Berwike to be aſſeged both by ſea and lande all the winter ſeaſon, and ouerthrew a wall that was newly made about it for defence thereof: but the Scottes within it defended the towne for that time ſo ſtoutly, that the enimies might not winne it from them.

The Duke of Albany after his wife was dead which he had married in France, perceyuing himſelfe not ſo well entreated as before, came ouer into Englande, where king Edwarde receyued him righte honorably, promiſing as ſome haue written, to make him king of Scotlande: & therevpon aſſembled an army of thirtie thouſand mẽ, with a great nauie by Sea to inuade Scotland, and appoynted Captaynes and leaders of the army by land, his owne brother yͤ Duke of Glowceſter, the Duke of Albany and others. The king of Scotttes hearing of their approche to inuade his Realme, reiſed a puiſſant army to reſiſt them, and came forward with the ſame vnto yͤ town of Lowder, where beeing encamped, the principall nobles of his Realme, as Archembalde Earle of Angus, George Erle of Huntley, Iohn Erle of Lenox, Iames Erle of Buchquhã, Androw lord Grey, Robert Lord Lile, and diuers other, beeing armed, entred the kings lodging, where they accuſed him of diuers things done and practiſed by him contrary to his honor & the common weale of his Realme, and ſpecially, bycauſe he vſed yõg counſell of lewde perſons, vnworthy and baſe of birth, ſuche as Thomas Cochram, whome of a Maſon, he had made erle of Mar, through whoſe deuiſe and counſell, hee had cauſed to bee coigned certayne money of copper, not conuenient to bee currant in any Realme, which the people refuſed, and ſo great dearth & hunger was reyſed through the countrey. Moreouer, that he would not ſuffer the noble men to come neere his preſence, nor to take their counſell in gouerning the Realme, but gaue himſelfe to voluptuous pleaſure, ſetting nought by yͤ Queene his lawfull wife, keeping a naughty harlot called the Dayſie in hir place.

The Duke of Albany commeth into England.

The preſumptuous demeanor of the Scottiſh nobilitie.

Thomas Cochram.

Embaſing of coyne.

The kings concubine named Dayſie.

Alſo they layde to his charge, yͭ he had put hys brother the Earle of Mar vnto death, & baniſhed his other brother the Duke of Albany, & therefore they could not ſuffer him and the whole Realme to be longer miſledde by ſuche naughty perſons. And herevpõ they tooke Thomas Cochram Erle of Mar, William Roger, and Iames Hommill Taylor, who with others being conuict, were hanged ouer the Bridge at Lowder. Only Iohn Ramſey a yong man of eyghteene yeeres of age, for whome the king made great inſtaunce, was pardoned of life. This done, they returned to Edenburgh, and appoynted the king himſelfe to bee kept in the Caſtel by the Erle of Athole, and in yͤ meane time, the ſecond of Auguſt, they ſente Androw Steward elect Biſhop of Murray, & Iohn Lord Darnley, to the Engliſh army lying then at Tuyder, to take truce for three moneths: but yͤ Dukes of Glowceſter and Albany came forward vnto Reſtalrig, where they encamped withoute any reſiſtance. The Engliſh nauie lying alſo in the Forth, was readie to aſſiſt their fellowes by land. Herevpon certaine noble men of Scotland,

Cochram Erle of Mar and other hanged.

The king kept vnder arreſt.

as the Archbiſhop of Saint Androwes, the Biſhop of Dunkeld, Colin Erle of Argyle, and Androw Steward Lord Auendale great Chancellor of Scotland, wente to the Engliſh camp, and treating with the two Dukes, agreed vpon certayne articles, whereby the Duke of Albany was receyued into his countrey againe in peaceable wiſe, and had giuen to him the Caſtell of Dunbar with the Erledomes of March and Mar.

The Duke of Albany is reconciled.

He was proclaymed alſo generall Lieutenant to the King: And ſo the Engliſhmen returned homewards, and came to Berwike where they hauyng wonne the towne as they paſſed that wayes into Scotlãd, had left the Lord Stanley and ſir John Eldrington with foure thouſand men, to keepe a ſiege before the Caſtell, and nowe they enforced the ſame: but the Lorde of Halis then Captayne within that Caſtell, defended it right manfully, ſending to the Duke of Albany and other the Lords of the counſell, for reliefe to reiſe the ſiege.

The Caſtell of Barwike is taken.

The Duke in deede reyſed an army, and came to Lamer More, but when they within perceyued that through diſſention betwixte the King and the nobles of the Realme, they were not like to be reſkewed, they yeelded the Caſtell into the Engliſhmens handes the. 24. of Auguſt in that yeere 1482. after it had remayned nowe at this time in the Scottiſhmens handes the ſpace of. 21. yeeres.

1482

The king a priſoner.

The king remayning as priſoner in Edenburgh Caſtell, all things were ordered by the Duke of Albany, Androwe Stewarde Lord of Auendale Chancellor, & others, till the ſayd Duke, yͤ Archbiſhop of Sainte Androwes, the Chancellor, the Erle of Argile & diuers others wẽt vnto Striueling to viſit the Queene and Prince, where the Duke was perſwaded by the Queene withoute knowledge thereof giuen to the other, to goe vnto Edenburgh, and to reſtore the king vnto libertie.

The king is ſet at libertie.

The Duke accordingly to the Queenes pleaſure comming to Edenburgh, beſeeged the Caſtell & wanne it, remoued the Earle of Athole, and ſet yͤ king and all his ſeruants at libertie, for the which good turne, the king ſhewed great tokens of loue to his brother the Duke, although it laſted not long. The Earle of Argile, the Biſhop of Sainte Androwes, the Chancellor and others which remayned at Striueling, when they hearde thoſe newes, fled into their owne countreys: and ſhortly after, the Biſhop of Sainte Androwes at requeſt of the king, reſigned his Biſhoprike in fauor of maſter Androw Steward prouoſt of Glenelowden, and was content in recompence thereof, with the Biſhoprike of Murray.

The Archbiſhop reſigneth.

1483

This yeere there was great theft, reife, & ſlaughter in diuers partes of the Realme, by occaſion of the variance betwixt the king and his nobles.

Poyſon giuen.

The Duke of Albany for that he vnderſtood there was poiſon giuen to him in drinke in the kings chamber, and therefore ſtoode in feare of his life, fledde from the Court vnto the Caſtell of Dunbar, whereby enſewed great diſcord. The king fearing the diſpleaſure of his nobles, gote him alſo into yͤ Caſtel of Edenburgh.

The kin forſake

The Erles of Angus, Buchquhan, and others left the king, and aſſiſted the Duke of Albany. And the king through counſell of certain meane perſons whome he had againe taken vnto him, ſummoned the Duke and others his aſſiſtantes to come to anſwer for ſuch treaſon as hee had to lay againſt them, and withall prepared an army to beſeege Dunbar, whereof the Duke being aduertiſed fled into Englande, & afterwardes being accompanyed with the Earle of Dowglas and a great nũber of Engliſhmen inuaded Scotland vpon the weſt marches, where many Engliſhmen were ſlaine and taken by the reſiſtaunce of the Lards Cokpule, Johnſton and others, the Duke was put to flight, and the Erle Dowglas taken and brought to the king, who bycauſe hee was an aged man and had bin long baniſhed his countrey, was ſente to the Abbey of Lundoris, where hee remayned the reſt of his dayes, and at length, deparing this life, was buried there.

Lords a moned.

Scotlan uaded.

Erle Do ſent vnto Abbey.

The Du Albany i blamed.

The Duke of Albany for the loſſe of that army, was blamed of the king of England, and therevpõ taking a miſliking, ſecretely departed ouer into France by the help of John Liddell, ſonne to Sir James Liddell knighte, who afterwards loſt his life for the ſame. The Duke was well enterteyned in France by the King there: and finally running at tilt with Lewes Duke of Orleance, was hurt with the ſplint of a Speare and thereof died. He lefte behinde him two ſonnes, John Duke of Albany, that was after gouernor and tutor to king James the fift, & Alexander that was after Biſhop of Murrey and Abbot of Scone. Thys yere the Lords Hume, Torreklis, Oliphant, and Drũmmond, were made Lordes of the Parliament.

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The Arc ſhop is ſe Rome.

In the yeere. 1484. the king ſent the Archbiſhop of Saint Androwes vnto Rome for certayne priuileges which he obteyned. And yͤ ſame yeere, Pope Innocente the eighte of that name, ſent the Biſhop of Imola to treate of peace betwixt Richarde King of Englande and James king of Scotlãd.

The Pop to entrea peace.

James king of Scottes hauing not long before made diuers incurſions & roades into England, and that to his profite, hee ſewed therevpon for a truce, which came to paſſe euen as king Richarde wiſhed, ſo that condiſcending to haue a communication, commiſſioners were appoynted for both parties to meete at Notyngham yͤ ſeuenth day of September next enſuing.

Commiſ ners app ted on behalfe king of E land and Lande to for a pea Notigh

For the King of Scottes there appeared Colin Earle of Argile, the Lorde Cambell, and the Lord Chancellor of Scotlãd, William Biſhop of Abirdene, Robert Lord Lyle, Laurence Lord Oliphant, John Drummound of Stubhall, Archybald Waytelaw Archdeacon of Lawden, and Secretary to king James, Lyon king of armes, and Duncan Dundas. For king Richard, there came Richard Biſhop of S. Aſaph, John Duke of Norfolke, Henry Erle of Northumberlande, Thomas Lord Stanley, George Stanley Lord Straunge, John Gray Lord Powes, Richarde Lord Fitzhugh, John Gunthorpe, keeper of the Kings priuie ſeale, Thomas Barrow maſter of the Rolles, ſir Thomas Bryan chiefe iuſtice of ye common place, Sir Richarde Ratcliffe Knight, William Cateſby, & Richard Salkeld Eſquires. These counſellers in the latter end of September after ſundry meetings and communications had togither, concluded (as followeth) a peace to bee had betwixt both the Realmes for ye ſpace of three yeres, the ſame to begin at the riſing of the ſunne on the .29. of September in the yeere .1484. and to continue vnto the ſetting of the ſunne on the .29. of September, in the yeere .1487. during whyche tearme, it was agreed, that not onely all hoſtilitie and warre ſhuld ceaſſe betwixt ye two Realmes, but that alſo al ayde and abaitement of enimies ſhould be auoided, and by no colorable meanes or way in any caſe vſed. The towne and Caſtell of Barwike to remayne in the Engliſhmens hãds, for the ſpace of the ſayde tearme, with the ſame boundes as the Engliſhmen poſſeſſed it at that ſeaſon, when it was deliuered to the Scottiſhmẽ by king Henry the ſixt. It was likewiſe condiſcended, that all other Caſtels, holdes, and fortreſſes during the tearme of the ſayde three yeeres, ſhould abide in the hands of thoſe that held them at that preſent, the Caſtell of Dũbar only excepted. This Caſtell of Dunbar was deliuered vnto the Engliſhmen by the Duke of Albany, when he fled into Fraunce, and ſo remained in theyr hãds at that time of concluding this truce. Wherevppon (by reaſon the Scottiſh commiſſioners had not authoritie to conclude any ful agreement for that Caſtell, vnleſſe the ſame might be reſtored vnto ye king their maſters hands) it was accorded, that if the king of Scots within the ſpace of .xx. dayes next enſewing, did intimate his pleaſure, or ſeale to be agreeable, that the ſayd Caſtell ſhoulde remayne in the Engliſhmens hands about ye ſpace of ſixe monethes, that then during that tranſite of ſixe monethes, thoſe that kepte the Caſtell for the Engliſhmen ſhould remayne in quiet, and not be troubled nor moleſted by any kind of meanes by the ſayde King of Scottes, nor any other by hys procurement, ſo that they within ye Caſtell likewiſe abſteyned from making any iſſues or reiſes vpon the Scottiſhe people. And if after that the ſayd tearme of ſixe monethes were once expired, it ſhould chaunce, that any warre aroſe for defending or recouering the ſayd Caſtell, yet the truce ſhuld endure for all other rightes and poſſeſſions, notwithſtanding that it might be lawfull to do what lay in any of their powers, eyther for winning, or defending the forſaid Caſtel, as though no truce had bene concluded. It was further agreed, that no traytor of eyther Realme ſhoulde be receyued by ye Prince of ye other Realm, and if any traytor or Rebell chanced to arriue in eyther Realme, the Prince therof to deliuer him vpõ demaund made. Scottes already abiding in England & ſworne to the king there, may remain ſtil, ſo their names be certified to ye Scottiſh King, within .40. days. If any Warden of eyther Realm ſhuld inuade ye others ſubiects, he to whome ſuch Warde is ſubiect, ſhal within ſixe days proclaime him traytor, & certifie the other Prince thereof within .6. days. And in euery ſafeconduct this clauſe ſhoulde be conteyned. Prouided alwayes that the obteynor of this ſafeconduct be no traytor. If any of the ſubiects of eyther Prince do preſume to aide, help, mainteyne, or ſerue any other Prince againſt any of the contractors of this truce, then it ſhall be lawfull to him, to whome hee ſhewed himſelfe enimie, to apprehende and attach the ſayd ſubiect, going, comming, or tarying within any of hys dominions. Colleagues compriſed in this truce (if they woulde aſſente thereto) on the Engliſhe part were theſe, the king of Caſtell and Leon, the king of Arragone, ye king of Portingale, ye Archduke of Auſtrich and Burgoine and the Duke of Britaine. On the Scottiſhe parte, Charles the French king, John king of Denmarke & Norway, the Duke of Gelderland & the Duke of Britayne. The Lordſhip of Lorne in the Realme of Scotland, and the Iland of Lunday lying in the riuer of Seuerne, in the Realme of Englande, were not comprehended in this agreement. This concord, peace, and amitie thus concluded, was appoynted to be publiſhed ye firſt day of October, in the moſt notable cities and townes of both the Realmes. For ye ſure obſeruation, keeping & performance of this truce and league, there were appointed for conſeruators with ye Scottiſh ſide Dauid Earle of Crawford, John Lord Lindſey, George Erle of Huntley, Lord Gordon and Badzenach, John Lord Darnley, John Lord Kenedy, Robert Lord Lile, Patrick Lord Halcene, Laurence Lord Oliphant, William Lorde Borthwike, ſir John Roſſe of Halkhead, ſir Gilbert Johnſon of Elphinſton, ſir John Lamond, ſir John Ogiluy of Arly, ſir Robert Hamilton of Fingalton, Sir William Baily of Lammington, ſir John Kenedy of Blarquhone, ſir John Wemis, ſir Rochburn, Edward Stocton of Kirkpatry, John Dundas, John Roſſe of Mongrenan Eſquires.

It was further agreed, that Commiſſioners ſhoulde meete at Loughmaban the eyghteene day of Nouember, aſwell for redreſſe of certayne offences done on the Weſt marches, as alſo for decla-

peace con-
ed for
ee yeeres.

he Caſtell
f Dunbar in
e Engliſh-
ens hands.
n article for
e Caſtell of
unbar.

An article for Trayters.

An article for Scottiſhmen already being in England.

An article for the Wardens of the marches

A clauſe to be put in ſafeconducts.

An article for ſuch as ſhould ſerue eyther Princes in warre.

Colleagues compriſed in the truce.

Lorne and Lunday excepted.

Commiſsioners appointed to meete at Loughmaban.

declaring and publiſhing the peace. On yͤ Engliſh part, the Lord Dacres, the Lord Fitzhugh, ſir Richard Ratcliffe, ſir Chriſtopher Moreſbye, ſir Richard Salkeild, or three of thē. For yͤ Scots, the Lorde Kenedy, the Lord Mountgomery, the Lord Lile, Iohn Maxwel Steward of Annandale, Robert Creichton of Sanquhan, or three of them. Alſo, there were aſſigned commiſſioners to meete at Roydenborne for the Eaſt marches, the firſt day of December, and at Haldan Stanke for the middle marches on the fourthe daye of the ſame moneth. At which two places for Scotlād there were aſſigned to appeare the Earle of Hūtley, the Erle of Angus, the Erle of Argyle Chācellor of Scotlād, the Lord Auandale, the Lord Seyton, the Lord Oliphaunt, the Lord Stobhal with other. For Englād, the Erle of Northumberland, the Lord Greyſtocke, the Lorde Scrope of Maſſan, ſir William Gaſcoigne, ſir Roberte Conſtable and other. The ſame Commiſſioners had authoritie to aſſigne certayn perſons, to viewe and declare the boundes and limits apperteyning to Berwike, according to the true meaning of the league. For the battell grounde it was accorded, that the ſame ſhoulde remayne without ſowing, or earing, building, or inhabiting, as it had done before. Shortly after yͤ concluding of thys truce, King Richard entreated for a marriage to be had betwixte the Prince of Rothſay, eldeſt ſonne to king Iames and Lady Anne de la Poole, daughter to Iohn Duke of Suffolke, and to the Lady Anne his wife, that was ſiſter to the ſayde King Richard. For the concluding of this marriage, both the Kings ſent their Ambaſſadours agayne vnto Notyngham, where their treatie had ſuche ſucceſſe for that time, that the marriage was agreed vpon, and writings therof drawen, engroſſed, and ſealed, and affiances made and taken by proctors and deputies on both partes. The foreſayd yong Lady was immediatly called Princes of Rothſay, but by the ſhort life of King Richarde hir vncle, ſhe ſhortly after loſt that name.

Commiſsioners to meete at Roydenborne.
And at Haldan Stanke.

The batable grounde.

A marriage concluded betwixt the Duke of Rothſay and the Lady Anne de la poole.

King Iames within a while after the concluſion of this league and marriage aforeſayde, for the expreſſing and declaring of his opinion touching the Caſtell of Dunbar, whether he woulde be agreeable that the ſame ſhould remayne onely ſixe moneths, or elſe during the tearme of yͤ whole truce in the Engliſhmēs poſſeſſion, he wrote vnto King Richard a louing letter, ſignifying vnto him, that he was not minded to ſeeke the recouerie of the ſayd caſtell by force of armes, but rather to leaue it in his hand, during the whole terme of the truce, neuertheleſſe, he inſtantly required hym for the bonde of that loue and familiaritie, which nowe by treatie and aliance was ſprong vp betwixt them, that he would redeliuer the ſaid Caſtell into his handes, according as reaſon mighte moue him thereto, conſidering the Engliſhmen had no right to it, being only deliuered to them by traitors of their natiue cōtrey, without any reaſonable cauſe, or commiſſiō lawfully authoriſed.

King Iames by letters ſignifieth hys minde touching the articles of Dunbar.

King Richard dalied in this matter with pleaſant letters & faire wordes, ſo feeding forth King Iames without minding to gratiſie him in that ſuite, ſo that as long as king Richard liued, king Iames could neuer get it, for any thing he might do. In the yeere. 1486. Henry Erle of Richmont comming out of France with a power of men, of the whiche Bernard Stewarde a Scottiſhman was chiefe Captaine, landed in Wales, & paſſing through yͤ cuntrey into Englād, at lēgth encoūtred King Richard & ſlew him, ſo obtayning the Crowne of that Realm. And after he was ſomewhat quietly eſtabliſhed in the ſame, he came into the North partes where hee remayned the moſte part of the next ſommer, and regarding nothing more than to haue yͤ loue & friendſhip of his neybors, & to be confederate with the Kings & Princes ioyning next vnto him, he ſent from Newcaſtell one of his counſellors Richard Foxe Biſhop of Exceter, and ſir Richard Edgecombe knight, Ambaſſadors vnto King Iames, to treat cōtract & renew the band of peace & truce betwixt the ſaid Kings and their Realmes. Theſe Ambaſſadors were gladly receiued of King Iames, who declared vnto them, yͭ he bare great fauor & loue vnto their maiſter, & woulde be glad to pleaſure hym in al he might: howbeit, that his ſubiects were not of ſo good a mind towards the Engliſh nation as he himſelfe wiſhed, & therefore he willed them to bee contented with a truce for ſeuen yeres, for further he could not do, for doubt to offend his nobilitie & ſubiects: but he promiſed ſecretly, that when thoſe ſeuen yeeres were expired, hee woulde renue the ſame for the tearme of other ſeauen yeeres, and ſo from ſeuen yeres to ſeuen yeres ſo lōg as he liued. This he did, bycauſe he perceyued that his people had him in ſuch hatred, that they would not conſent to any band that he ſhuld make: the Ambaſſadors perceiuing his good meaning toward king Henry, confirmed the truce for thoſe ſeuen yeeres, and ſo returned home to King Henry, who was right glad of that they had done.

King Ric
would no
liuer the C
ſtell of Du
bar.

1486

King Ric
ouerthrow
by the Ea
of Richm

An ambaſ
ſente vnto
Scotlande.

The King
aunſwere.

His promi

Immediately after that this truce was thus concluded betwixt yͤ two Realmes, king Iames cauſed the three eſtates to aſſemble in Parliamēt at Edinburgh yͤ firſt of October in the yere. 1487. in the which order was takē, yͭ iuſtice eares ſhuld be holden through all partes of the Realm, & that no pardons ſhuld be granted for any great crime that ſhuld be cōmitted for the ſpace of ſeuē yeres to come, ſo that the king began to vſe ſharp execution of Iuſtice in all parts, which was righte diſpleaſant to many. The ſame time was an Ambaſſador ſent to the king of Romans, for the cal

ling

A Parliam
1487

No pardo
be graunte
offendors f
the ſpace of
ſeuen yeere
Ambaſſado
ſent to the
King of Ro
manes.

he King gi-
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King Ri-
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ſh Lords
King
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ling in of a letter of Marque, which had bin grãted againſt Scottiſh Merchants, at the ſuite and inſtance of certayne Hollanders & Burgonions, and was ſhortly after hereupon reuoked. After yͤ Parliament was ended, the King remoued vnto Striueling, leauing his wife the Queene, and hir ſonne the Prince in Edenburgh Caſtell, whileſt he keeping perſons about him of meane calling, gaue himſelfe to take his pleaſure with women, and to gather vp golde and ſiluer, greatly to the offence of his ſubiectes, Yet in the mean time now after the death of king Richarde, whether it was by treaſon or appoyntment, the Caſtell of Dunbar was deliuered to the hands of king Iames, & that to his greate ioy and high contentation: for he that ruled his kingdome more with rigor than with any tractable mean of fauorable iuſtice, ſtood euer in feare of ſome troubleſome tumult yͭ might be raiſed by his own people, if occaſiõ were miniſtred either through hope of forrayn aide or otherwiſe. So long therefore as this Caſtell was in yͤ Engliſhmens handes, he doubted, leaſt through practiſe ſome conſpiracie ſhould be contriued betwixt his own ſubiectes and the Engliſh nation, greatly to the anoyance of his eſtate, and therupon he was the more deſirous to reduce the ſame Caſtell into his poſſeſſion. But the only mean to haue aſſured himſelfe from the handes of ſuch as ſought his life, had bin to haue changed his wilful maner of gouernemẽt, and to haue leaned vnto ſuch councell as would haue aduiſed him for yͤ wealth of his whole Realme, & not vpon deſire to pleaſe, haue maynteyned his vndiſcreet opiniõs to yͤ wronging aſwel of his commõs as of yͤ nobles & peeres of his Realm: for yͤ nobilitie of Scotlãd, namely, the Earles of Angus, Argile, & Lennox, the Lords Halis, Hume, Drowmound, Grey and others, perceyuing themſelues oppreſſed by ſuche as frõ baſe birth had riſen, (without worthy deſeruing) to the degree of cõſellors, and therwith aduanced to ſo high authoritie, as al things were ordered at their appoyntment, conſpired togither, & determined by force of armes to ſee a reformation in ſuch a diſordred manner of gouernement: but yet bycauſe it ſhould not be thought that they minded the deſtruction of their countrey, but rather yͤ aduancement thereof, they made the Lorde Iames Duke of Rothſay ſonne to the King (a child borne to goodneſſe & vertue) the chiefe Captayne in this their enterpriſe, & that in manner againſt his wil, herby openly proteſting, that they minded & purpoſed the ſuppreſſing & confuſion of an euil king, & not yͤ ſubuerſion of their natiue cũtrey. By which their craftie imagined inuention, they thought to remoue all ſuſpition of their purpoſed vntroth & ſhamefull diſloyaltie. They had ſente to the Earle of Dowglas, who remayned priſoner (as ye haue heard) in the Abbey of Lundoris, and required him to aſſiſt them in their begun enterpriſe, promiſing that they would reſtore him againe to his lands and former dignitie, and honor him as principall of their faction. But that noble, wiſe, & ancient Erle, being already ſchooled with troubles, and hauing learned by experience to his great griefe what ſuch matter meant, refuſed to breake his warde, or to aſſiſt them in any wiſe, diſwading them from their enterpriſe, bycauſe it ſeemed to him neither godly nor honorable, ſithence both himſelfe and his friends had taſted for yͤ like, great hinderãce, which might be an enſample to him & others to beware in time to come. The King being once enformed of this rebelliõ & conſpiracie againſt him, was ſore diſquieted in his mind, & to meete their miſcheuous attempts, gathered an army. Yet before the vſing of any force, he ſent meſſengers to his ſon, & to the nobles wͭ him, to trie if he might come to ſome agreemente with them. He ſente alſo letters to the king of England, & to the French king, requiring thẽ to take ſome paines in yͤ mater, to procure an atonement betwixt him and his nobles. And beſides this, he wrote to Pope Innocent for yͤ ſame purpoſe, praying him to intermedle his authoritie by ſending ſome legate into Scotlãd, to apeaſe the troubles therof. But the Scottiſh nobilitie, & ſuch of the people as were vp in armour againſte him, were ſo deſperately ſet & wholly bent on reuẽge, that no wholeſom counſell nor medicinable aduice might apeaſe their furious rage, ſo that for anſwere to his meſſengers, they ſent him worde, that if he would reſigne the title of his Crowne & Realm, & depoſe himſelfe of his whole regall dignitie, then they would come to ſome cõmunication with him, or elſe not. The like anſwere was giuẽ to yͤ Imbaſſadors of England and France, that were ſente vnto them from yͤ Kings of both thoſe Realmes, which ſore lamented the fortune of their friend & alie the Scottiſh king. But Adrian yͤ Biſhop of Romes Legate came too late, as who ſhuld ſay, a day after yͤ fayre: for when their groũded malice & ſpiteful hatred cõceyued againſt him might not bee qualified by any manner of meanes, but yͭ they wer now cõming forward wͭ al their puiſſance to Striueling where he then remayned, he would not ſtay til yͤ Erles of Hũtley, Errole, Athole, Crawfort, Rothus, Sutherlãd, Cathnes, & Marſhall, the Barõs Forbes, Ogiluy, Granth, Frayſer and other, were arriued with their powers, amounting to the number of fortie thouſand men with the which they were cõming forth of yͤ North partes to his aide, but raſhly, & without good aduice he iſſued out of the town, accompanied with the Erles of Glencarne & Montros, the Lordes Graham, Ruthuen, Maxwell, and certayne others, and forthwith ioyned battell with hys aduerſaries at Bannockeſ-

King Iames gathereth an army.

He ſendeth letters to the Kings of England & France

The anſwere of the Rebels to the kings meſſage.

They meete in a pitched fielde.
The King is put to the woorſe.
He is ſlayne.

burne, within two miles of Striueling: and ſo when nothing mighte quiet them, at length they met thus in a pitched fielde, where after greate ſlaughter and murder made of an huge multitude of people, the King beeing put to the worſe fledde into a Mill, whither beeing fiercely followed and founde therein, hee was cruelly ſlayne, and vnreuerently left ſtarke naked: A notable mirror to all earthly princes, that calling to remembrance ſuch a miſerable and moſt dolorous ſight, they may take heede by what manner of perſons they ſuffer them ſelues to be led and abuſed. For if this Prince King Iames the third had not followed vpon a wilfull pretence and obſtinate minde the councell and aduice of vauntperlors, & ſuche as (being aduanced from baſe degree vnto hygh authoritie) ſtudyed more to keepe them ſelues in fauoure, than to giue true aduertiſementes, and faithfull aduiſe vnto their Prince, he myghte haue reigned longer by many dayes and yeeres, in great and high felicitie.

He was thus ſlayne neere to Sterling, on the eleuenth day of Iune, the yeere after the incarnation. 1488. being alſo in the. 29. of his raigne.

1488

Iames.

NOwe then, after that the Barons of Scotland hadde thus ſlayne their ſoueraigne Lorde and liege King Iames, the third of that name: his eldeſt ſonne Iames the fourth was crowned King of Scotlande, and beganne hys raigne the. 24. of Iune, in the yeere. 1488. being not paſt ſixteene yeeres of age, who notwithſtanding that he had bin in the fielde with the Nobles of the Realme againſte his father that contrary to his mind was ſlayne, yet neuertheleſſe afterwardes, he became a ryght noble Prince, and ſeemed to take great repentãce for that his offence, and in token thereof, he ware continually an Iron chayne about hys middle all the dayes of his life. He was greatly giuen to deuotion and prayer, viſiting religious houſes, and beſtowing on them ſundry giftes.

The Ki was re
The Ki wore an chayne.
Was gi deuotion

He was a iuſticer,

He gouerned his Realme in greate reſt, peace, Iuſtice and quietneſſe, riding him ſelfe in proper perſon diuers dayes and nightes, to ſuppreſſe and take theeues, robbers, and oppreſſors of his ſubiects in all parts of the Realm, til he had brought the countrey to great quietneſſe.

He was le ned.

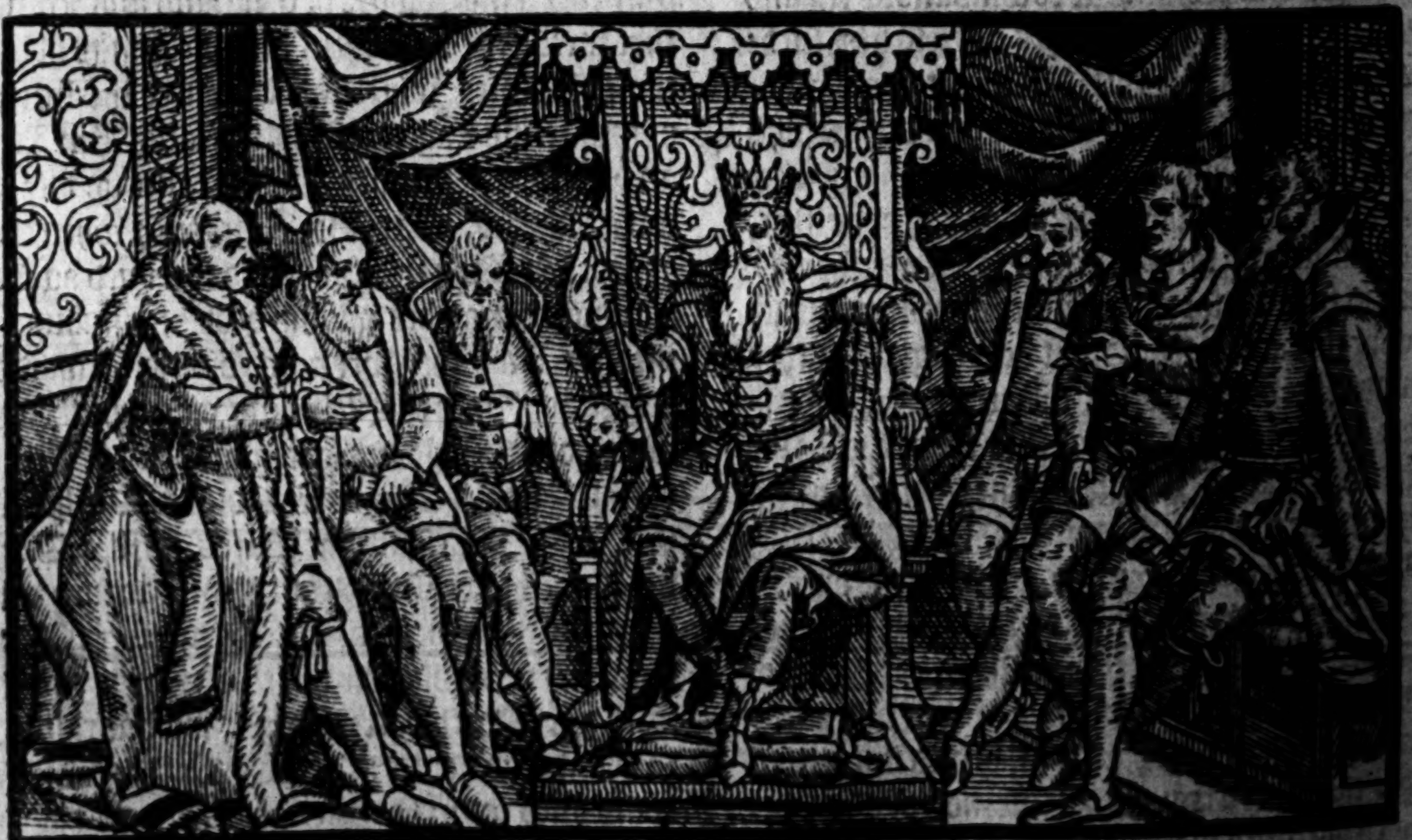
He was learned and liberal, and endewed with many other good vertues and qualities.

The nobl rayſe an agayne.
They we uerthrow

Anone after his Coronation, yͤ Earle of Lennox, and the Lord Lille, with diuers other theyr aſſiſtantes, notwithſtanding that they had bene with him at the ſlaughter of his father, ſeing that things went not as they wiſhed, reiſed an army, & cauſed the dead Kings bloudy ſhirt to be borne afore thẽ for a Banner: and comming forwards towardes Striueling againſte the yong King, were ouerthrowen at Tolymoſſe, where yͤ Lennox men, and ſundry other of the Barons ſide were ſlayne, as the Lorde of Kiltrucht and other taken and hanged for their offences.

A Parliam
A generall pardon.

The King called a Parliamẽt at Edinburgh, which was holden the ſixt of October, where hee being moued of clemencie, graunted a generall pardõ to al thoſe that came in field at Striueling wͭ his father againſt him, & appoynted euery one to haue ſpeciall pardons therupõ vnder his ſeales.



He likewiſe diſpenſed with the heires of them that were ſlayne with his father there in field, appoynting thẽ their particuler diſpenſations vnder his ſeales, after the ſame manner. Further it was ordeyned, that all Iuſtices, Sheriffes, Stewards, Baylifes, Lieuetenants, and other which had offices in heritage, and had bene with his father at the fielde, ſhoulde bee ſuſpended from the ſame offices for the tearme of three yeares: and thoſe which had offices for life, or for tearme of yeares, ſhould be vtterly excluded from the ſame.

Moreouer, he tooke order that all ſuch goodes as had beene taken from landed men and burgeſſes, ſhould be reſtored to them againe, except that which was taken from ſuch landed men and burgeſſes as were in the fielde agaynſt him, for that was deemed a lawfull pray.

It was alſo iudged that the death of his father came vppon him through his owne default, and that king James the fourth then raigning, and al his adherents and partakers in that field were innocent and guiltleſſe of all ſlaughter made there at that time, and clearely acquit of al purſuit and occaſion thereof, the three eſtates graunting to giue their ſeales to teſtifie the ſame, with ẏ kings great ſeale of the realme to be ſhewed to the Pope, the kings of France, Spaine, Denmarke, and other princes their confederates.

And for the ceaſſing of theft, reif, and ſuch other great enormities, the king was appoynted to ryde in perſon once euerie yeare through all partes of the Realme. And certaine noble men were ordeyned to exerciſe iuſtice in euerie ſhire next adioyning to the places where they had theyr chiefe reſidence: and herevnto they gaue their othes to be diligent in the adminiſtration of iuſtice.

Thoſe ordinances were right well obſerued all the dayes of king James the fourth his life tyme, ſo that the realme was reduced to great tranquillitie, and gouerned in good peace and iuſtice.

Furthermore, all giftes made by his father in preiudice of the crowne, were reuoked, from the ſeconde day of Februarie immediately preceeding his death, to the day in which he was ſlaine.

1489

A mariage ſought for the king.

Alſo an Eſquier, and an Heralde were ſente into Fraunce, Spaine, and other places, to learne where the king might bee a ſuter for ſome greate Ladie to ioyne with him in mariage.

Moreouer beſide theſe, there were ſent honourable Ambaſſadors into Fraunce, Spaine, and Denmarke, to renue the olde amities and leagues betwixt thoſe Realmes and Scotland, as had bin vſed in the dayes of this kings progenitors.

His two brethren, the Duke of Roſſay, and the Earle of Mar, he cauſed to be brought vp in good nuriture and vertuous exerciſe, appointing to them ſuch liuings for maintenaunce of their eſtates, as his father had aſſigned them.

For his Counſell he choſe a certaine number of the Prelates, noble men, and barons of his realm, ſuch as were thought moſt meeteſt, taking thys order, that ſixe of them at the leaſt ſhoulde continually remaine aboute him, by whoſe aduiſe hee ſhoulde do all things that touched the affayres of the Realme: and in caſe anye thing was done without their aduice, the ſame ſhoulde be adiudged voyde, and not to be obeyed, and this was inuiolably kept all his dayes.

1491

When the Eſquier and Heralde were returned againe into Scotland, which had beene to viſite ſtraunge Countreys, and made report of that they had ſeene, there was a Parliament holden, in which it was ordeined that the Biſhop of Glaſco, the Erle Bothwell, and others ſhould go as Ambaſſadours to ſue for the kings mariage in place where it ſhoulde be moſt expedient, and moſte to the kings lyking.

Two Archbiſhops ſtriue for the preheminence.

Great variance roſe betwixt the Archbiſhop of Saint Androwes, and the Biſhop of Glaſco, touching the preheminence of theyr iuriſdiction, which drewe the noble men into factions, tyll the king commaunded the ſame to ceaſſe, and that they ſhould trie it by law afore competent iudges.

Prouiſion is made for ſhippes.

The king about the ſame time tooke order for the encreaſe of ſome number of ſhippes to bee had in his Realme, and that euery hauen town ſhould build ſome aſwel for fiſhing, as to tranſport marchandiſe from place to place.

The Lordes and Barons, and ſuch other as woulde, were commaunded to helpe the Marchantes towarde the buylding of ſuche ſhippes: and for good enſample, the king cauſed to make certain ſhippes at his owne charges, which might vſe the trade of fiſhing.

Prouiſion made for learning.

Moreouer, the king conſidering the ignorance that was amongeſt the landed men of his realme when they ſhould paſſe vpon Inqueſts, he ordeyned that euery landed man ſhoulde put his eldeſt ſonne to ſchole, that he might learne perfitely the lawes of the realme, & this vpon great forfeyture.

Thus in the beginning of his raigne, diuerſe good lawes and conſtitutions were made for the aduauncement of the common wealth, which he cauſed to be duely obſerued and kept during hys tyme.

A Protonotary ſent into Scotlande with a Roſe.

The Pope ſent a Protonotarie called Forman into Scotland, with a Roſe and a Scepter of gold, to be preſented vnto the king, deſiring him to perſeuer in godlineſſe, honour, and vertue, as he had begonne.

1492

The king goeth on progreſſe.

The moſt part of this yeare, the king ſpent in ryding abrode through all partes of his realme to ſee iuſtice miniſtred, ſpecially in the North parts, where the people are cōmōly furtheſt out of order.

There was ſhortly after ſome appearance of warres betwixt Englande and Fraunce, whereupon king Charles ſent vnto king James, requiring him of aſſyſtance, if it came to paſſe that the Engliſh men did inuade Fraunce: and further declared, that he had one with him called Richarde Duke of Yorke, ſeconde ſonne to king Edwarde the fourth, who had beene preſerued now many yeares ſecretely by his Aunt Margaret Duches of Burgoin, and therfore was iuſt inheritor vnto the realm of England, whō he would ſend into Scotlande, praying the king to aſſyſt him to recouer his rightfull heritage, the ſaid realme of England. And ſhortlye after herevpon, the ſayde feyned Duke (whoſe ryght name was Perkin Warbecke as in the Engliſhe Hyſtorie it appeareth) arriued in Scotlande well and honourably accompanied, to trie what purchaſe he might make there for ſuccours to attayne his pretended right to the crowne of Englande.

Perkyn Warbecke.

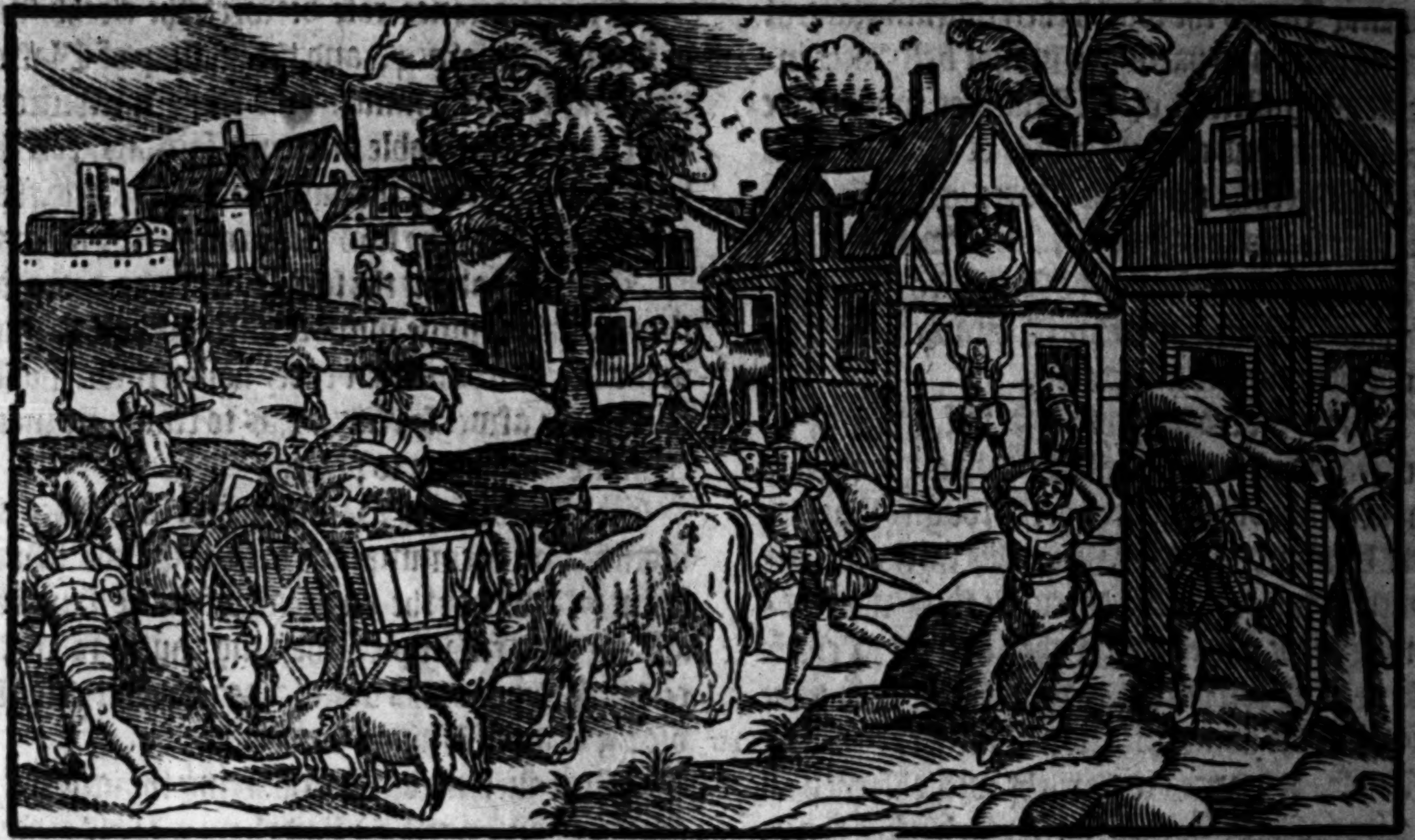
This Perkyn Warbecke did vſe the matter in ſuche ſubtill wyſe, that King James eyther gyuing, or ſeeming to gyue credite to his wordes, after aduiſe and deliberation had and taken wyth hys Counſell, receyued him in honourable wyſe, naming and reputing him Duke of Yorke, and therefore promiſed him to ayde him in all that he myght, and ſhortlye after, hee maryed hym to his neare kynneſwoman the Ladie Katheryn, daughter to the Earle of Huntley, and moreouer, rayſed a great armie, ſpecially of the borderers, and with the ſame hauing this pretenſed Duke in companie wyth him, inuaded England, burnt townes, ſpoyled houſes, tooke great booties and riche prayes both of goodes and priſoners, and allected with the ſweetneſſe of ſuch ſpoyle and gain, waſted al the Countrey of Northumberland, and had gone further, but that he coulde perceyue no ayde comming in vnto this new found Duke, cōtrarie to ſuche golden promiſes as he had made, that aſſone as they were entred into Englande, there would flocke vnto him both of the nobilitie and commons, and that in great numbers.

Perkyn Wa
becke mari
the Earle of
Huntleyes
daughter.

1495

King Iame
inuadeth N
thumberlan

1495



King James perceyuing no ſuche matter, thought it better to returne with aſſured gaine, than to tarie this newe ſprong Dukes doubtfull and vncertaine victorie.

King Iames returneth without proffer of battaile.

And ſo hauing his people laden and peſtered wyth ſpoyle and pryſoners, he drewe backe into Scotlande.

The king of England aduertiſed hereof, made preparation for the rayſing of an armie, meaning to ſend the ſame againſt the Scottes: but the rebellion of the Corniſh men which chaunced the ſame tyme about a taxe leuied then of the people, conſtrayned him to imploye that armye to repreſſe the enterpriſe of thoſe rebelles. Yet neuertheleſſe he ſent the Erle of Surrey to the borders, that with the power of the Countrey adioyning, he might defende the ſame from the inuaſions of the Scottes, if they attempted to breake in. And ſo the Earle lay on the borders all that yeare.

A rebellion in Cornwale.

The Earle of Surrey ſent in to the north.

King James then perceyuing that no maine armie came agaynſt him, inuaded eftſones the borders of England, and layde ſiege to the Caſtell of Norham, ſending hys lyght Horſemen abroade into Northumberlande, and the Byſhoprike of Durham, where they burned and ſpoyled all aboute in the Countrey: But hearing that the Earle of Surrey had rayſed an armye, and was comming towardes them, they returned to the Hoſte lying before Norham, where King James perceyuing he coulde not wynne the Caſtell, notwythſtanding hee had done greate hurte and domage thereto, hee rayſed hys ſiege, retyred into hys Countrey, and left greate companyes on the borders for defence thereof. And ſo before the comming of the Engliſhe armye, King James was returned.

1498

The Scots i
uade the bor
ders of Eng
lande.

The Earle of
Surrey rayſ
an army.

The Scottes rayſe their ſiege.

The Earle of Surrey yet (as the Engliſhe wryters affyrme) followed into Scotlande, and tooke diuerſe Caſtels & towers remayning within the Countrey, the ſpace of ſixe or ſeuen dayes, and then came backe without battaile or any notable ſkirmiſh offered.

The Earle of
Surrey went
into Scotla

About

Peter Hialas an Ambaſſador from the K. of Spaine.

Aboute the ſame time was one Peter Hialas ſent Ambaſſador from Ferdinando K. of Spaine to treate as a Mediator for the concluding of peace betwixt the kings of Englande and Scotlande, which Hialas trauayled ſo earneſtly in the matter, that at length it was agreed, that certain Commiſſioners of both the realmes ſhould meete at Melroſſe, where for the king of England, doctor Foxe, then Biſhop of Durham, with this Hialas, and other graue perſonages met the Scottiſh Commiſſioners.

Commiſſioners met at Melroſe. or Iedworth (as ſome ſay.)

A truce concluded for yeares.

After long conference and much talke had, for the concluſion of a generall peace, finally nothing but a truce might be accorded for certaine yeares, though Hialas did what hee poſſible might, to haue agreed them for all maner of matters, quarels, demaundes and cauſes, whatſoeuer the ſame had beene, that a perpetual peace might haue bene concluded, bycauſe he was cheifely ſent for that intent.

The cauſe why Hialas was ſent.

The king of Englande requyred to haue the counterfeyte Duke of Yorke (otherwiſe named Perkin Warbecke) deliuered vnto him: but king James (eſteeming his honour more than anye earthly thing) woulde in no wiſe ſeeme to betray him that fled to him for ſuccor, and with whome he had coupled one of his owne kinneſwomen in mariage, but he was contented to couenant, that the ſame Perkyn ſhoulde be conſtrayned to depart out of Scotland, and not to be further ayded by him, or by any other through his meanes or procurement.

An article for Perkin Warbeck.

The king of Scottes to keepe promiſe made in the ſayde treatie of peace, and knowing himſelf to be abuſed by the ſayde Richarde, whom he had reputed to be verily Duke of Yorke, although hee was not ſo, called him before his preſence, and declared to him the greate fauour and good wyll which he had borne towardes him, putting him in remembraunce that for his ſake he had taken warre in hande agaynſt Englande, and inuaded the Countrey in hope of aſſyſtance by his friends within the lande, where not one reſorted to him. And albeit he had maried his neare kinſwoman, yet might he not keepe longer warre with Englande for his ſake onely, except he might be ſure of ſome ayde through his meanes, wherof he could ſee no appearance.

K. Iames reaſoneth with the counterfeyt Duke of Yorke.

He deſired him therefore to withdraw forth of his Realme, eyther into Flanders to his mothers ſiſter the Ladie Margaret, or into ſome other place where it pleaſed him to abide, and expecte ſome better time more conuenient for his purpoſe. The ſayde Richarde gaue the king thankes, and obayed his pleaſure, departing ſhortly after out of Scotland, and ſayled into Ireland, from thence to tranſport into Flannders. But finally making an attempt into Englande, he was taken priſoner in the Abbay of Beaulieu togither with his wife, whoſe beautie was ſuch, as king Henrie thought hir a more meete pray for an Emperor, than for ſouldiers, and therefore vſed hir right honourably, appoynting hir to remaine in the court with the Queene his wife: where ſhee continued ſo long as the ſayde king lyued.

Perkyn Warbecke went into Irelande.

Came into Flanders.

1499

This yeare the peace being well kept betwixt England and Scotland, the ſame was neare at poynt to haue beene broken, by reaſon that the Engliſh men which lay in gariſon within the caſtell of Norham, did make a fray with certaine Scottiſh men that came ryding neare to the Caſtell as it had bene to haue viewed it, but although they ment no euill, yet diuerſe of the Scottiſhmen were ſlaine, and many wounded and ſore hurt, ſo that king James hauing information therof, was ſore diſpleaſed therwith, thinking and ſaying that there was no more vncertaine thing, than to haue peace with Englande. And herevpon he ſent his Heralde Merchmount with ſharpe and vehement letters vnto the king of Englande, making great complaint for this iniurie and wrong done to hys ſubiects by thoſe within the Caſtell of Norham, but receyuing moſte reaſonable letters for excuſe of that which was done, as well from the king of Englande himſelfe, as from the Biſhop of Durham owner of the Caſtell, hee was indifferently well appeaſed and ſatiſfied, ſo that he requyred to haue the Biſhop to come into Scotlande vppon ſafeconduct to common with him, as well for the full quieting of this matter, as for other things which he had to talke with him of.

The truce like to be broken.

King Iames requireth to talke with the Biſhop of Durham.

The Biſhop by licence of the king his maſter accompliſhed the Scottiſh kings requeſt, ſo that comming into Scotland, he was receyued by him right honourably at Melroſe, where after certain talke had betwixt them for the appeaſing of thys laſt diſpleaſure, the king brake with the Biſhop for the hauing of the Ladie Margaret, eldeſt daughter to Henrie the ſeuenth, as then king of England, to be giuen him in mariage: and further declared that he was minded to ſende his Orators vnto hir father the ſayde king Henry about the ſame matter.

King Iames purpoſeth to be a ſuter for mariage in England.

And foraſmuch as he knewe that the Biſhop was one that might doe much with king Henrie, who highly fauored him for his ſingular wiſdom, and learning, he deſired him to be a meane to further his ſute, which if it were obteyned, he truſted ſhould highly redounde to the honour and wealth of both the Realmes.

The Biſhop conſidering herein as muche as the king was able to tell him, did not onely promiſe to doe all that in him lay, but alſo encouraged him to ſende his Orators with all ſpeede, truſting that they ſhould receyue a right towardly anſwere.

Ambaſſadors ſent into Englande.

King James following the Biſhops aduiſe, anone after his returne into Englande; ſent certaine perſons Ambaſſadours vnto King Henry, to moue him to the effect aboue mentioned.

1500

A mariage cōcluded betwixt king James and the Lady Margaret.

Theſe Ambaſſadors were highly welcomed, & verie well heard, ſo that to be briefe, their requeſt ſeemed ſo agreeable to king Henries minde, that the mariage was ſhortly therevpon concluded, (but not cōſummate) betwixt the foreſaid James king of Scotlande, and the ſayd Ladie Margaret daughter to king Henrie, in the. xvij. yeare of the ſayd king Henries raigne.

A peace concluded betwixt England and Scotland.

At the ſame time, when this mariage was ſo agreed vpon, a peace alſo was concluded betwixt the kings of Englande and Scotlande, for the tearme of theyr two lyues. And to auoyde that none of eyther of the ſayde kings ſubiects that had offended the lawes ſhould be receyued into any of theyr dominions, it was accorded that no Engliſh man ſhoulde come within Scotland without his Princes letters ſupplicatorie vnto the king of Scottes, nor any Scottiſh man to come within England without the like letters from his prince, deſiring ſafeconduct and paſſeport.

1501

This was i the yeare. 1502

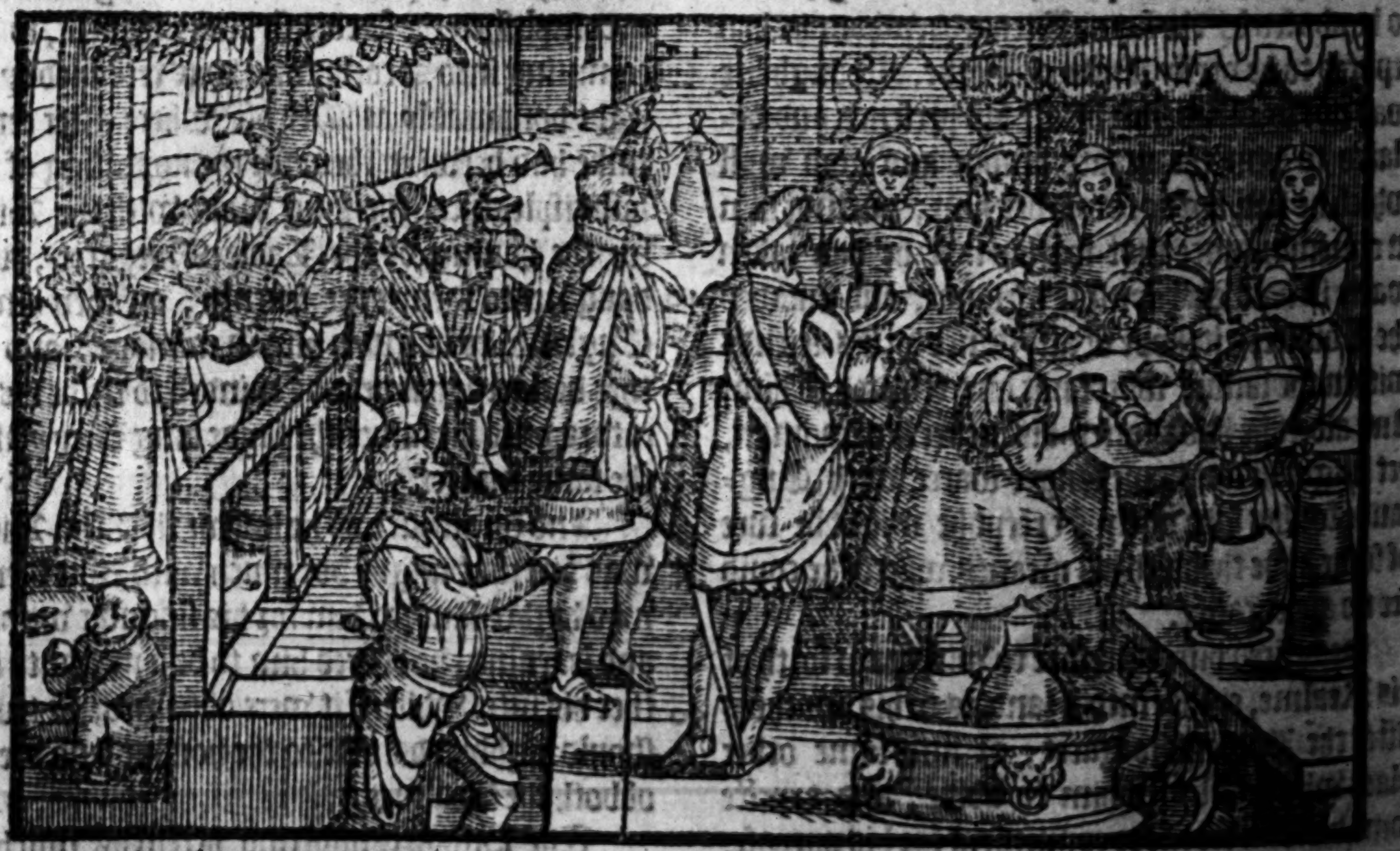
In the yeare next enſuing, the Biſhoppe of Glaſgew, the Earle Bothwell, and other noble men of Scotlande, were ſent in Ambaſſade from king James vnto the king of Englande, for the perfiting of the foreſayde mariage betwixt King James and the Ladie Margaret, eldeſt daughter to king Henrie, which Earle by letters of procuracie and Mandate, in the name of his maiſter king James, affied and handfaſted the foreſayde Ladie Margaret in all ſolemne wiſe, according to the maner: which aſſurance and contract thus made, was publiſhed at Paules Croſſe in London, on the day of the conuerſion of Saint Paule, in reioyſing whereof *Te Deum* was ſung, and Fiers made, with great feaſting and banketting throughout that Citie.

This done, the Ambaſſadors returned into Scotlande, and then afterwardes was great preparation made in Englande for the conueying of the ſayde Ladie into Scotlande: and lykewyſe great purueyance there for the receyuing of hir.

The. xvj. of June, King Henrie tooke hys iourney from Richmont with his daughter the ſayde Lady Margaret, and came to Colliweſton, where his mother the Counteſſe of Richmont then lay. And after he had remayned there certaine dayes in paſtime and great ſolace, he tooke leaue of hys daughter, giuing hir his bleſſing with a fatherly exhortation, and committed the conueyance of hir into Scotland vnto the Earle of Surrey and others.

The conſummation of the mariage betwixt king James the fourth, and the Ladie Margaret.

The Erle of Northumberlande as then warden of the Marches, was appoynted to delyuer hir vpon the borders vnto the king of Scotland. And ſo this fayre Ladie was conueyed with a greate company of Lordes, Ladies, knightes, Eſquiers, and Gentlemen, vntill ſhe came to the towne of Barwike, and from thence vnto Lambert kirke in Lamer moore within Scotland, where ſhe was receyued by the King and all the Nobles of that realme, and from the ſayde place of Lamberton kirke, ſhe was conueyed vnto Edenbourgh, where the day after hir comming thither, ſhe was maried vnto the ſayde king with great and ſolemne triumph, to the high reioyſing of all that were preſent, and verilye the Engliſhe Lordes, (as the Earle of Surrey and others, which gaue their attendance on the ſayd Ladie till the mariage and feaſt were ended) at theyr returne home, gaue greate prayſe, not onely to the manhoode of the Scottes, but alſo to theyr maners and heartie entertainment. For aſwell the Noble men as the Ladies and gentle women of Scotlande as that preſent, were nothing behind the Engliſh Lordes



and Ladies in coſtly apparel, maſſie Chaynes, & other furniture, aſwel for themſelues as their horſes, and made great bankets to the Engliſh men, and ſhewed them ſuch Iuſtes and other pleaſant paſtimes in honour of the mariage, ſo well as after the maner of the Countrey coulde be deuiſed. By reaſon of this mariage and aliance, men were in great good hope that perfite peace and ſincere amitie ſhould continue betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland a long time after: and verily during the life of king Henry the ſeuenth, no cauſe of breach was miniſtred betwixt him and his ſonne in law, but that they liued in great loue and amitie.

e king of
mark com-
th into
lande.

About this time, the king of Denmark through deuiſion that did riſe betwixt him and his Lordes, was conſtrayned to forſake his Countrey, and to come for ayde into Scotlande, where the king receyued him louingly, and vpon his earneſt ſute, for that he was both his couſin and confederate, and alſo the rather, at the contemplation of the French kings requeſt and perſwaſiō, he prepared an armie of tenne thouſande men, the whiche vnder the conduct of the Erle of Arrane, he ſent with the ſayde king of Denmarke to aſſiſt him againſt his aduerſaries.

is reſtored
his king-
me by the
le of Arrane
nmint to
g Iames.

The Earle of Arrane according to his commiſſion, attending the Daniſh king into his coūtrey, reſtored him to his kingdom and former gouernment, and ſo leauing him in peaceable poſſeſſion thereof, returned with his armie againe into Scotland, with great honour both to himſelfe, the king, and realme.

he hyeland
es obedient
lawes.

Shortly after was a Parliament called, during the which the Queene was crowned, and many good actes and conſtitutions made, eſpecially touching the lymitting of places where iuſtice ſhould be miniſtred in the Iles and hie lands, whereby it came to paſſe, that the king was aſwel obeyed, and his lawes were as duely obſerued and kept by the hie lande men as by thoſe that dwelled in any part of the low land.

1504

deuiſe to get
the king
ney.

The king then being at peace with England, and iuſtice ſo miniſtred amongeſt his owne ſubiects, that they liued in greate reſt and quietneſſe, certaine of his counſell deuiſed wayes to winne the king great profite and gaynes by calling hys barons and all thoſe that helde any landes within his realme, to ſhew their euidence by way of recognition; and if they had not writings to ſhewe, (according to the auncient inſtruments & lawes of the realm ſufficient for their warrant, the lands ſhoulde remaine at the kings pleaſure: but when the king perceyued his people to grudge herewith, and not without cauſe, as with a thing deuiſed to diſquiet his people and the whole countrey, of his owne curteous and gentle nature, he eaſily agreed with the poſſeſſors of ſuch landes: for the whiche he purchaſed great loue amongeſt his people, and the deuiſors of that ordinaunce wanne paſſing great hatred and malice.

1506

This yeare in May the king helde his court of Iuſtice at Lowder, and remouing it to Edenbourgh, there continued the ſame, where the Lord of Thornton was conuicted for killing his wife, and therefore loſt his head.

There came an Imbaſſadour this yeare alſo from the Duke of Gelderland to renue the league betwixt the King and the ſayde Duke.

Alſo an Heralde came oute of Fraunce that brought newes which the king liked well.

A great ſhip made.

This yeare alſo, the King cauſed a mightie Shippe to be made, the which was put forth into the road the ſeuenth of Iuly, and the king ſayled himſelfe into the May, an Ilande in the Forth, and was driuen in againe with tempeſt: but the ſame ſhippe was after appoynted forth, and ſent to the Sea with ſundrie valiant Gentlemen in hir to meete with the Hollanders whiche had taken and ſpoyled diuerſe Scottiſh ſhips, and throwne the Marchantes and other that were in the ſame ouer borde. For reuenge whereof Andrew Barton toke many ſhippes of the Hollanders and filled certaine Pypes with their heades, whiche he ſent vnto the king for a witneſſe how he had ſped.

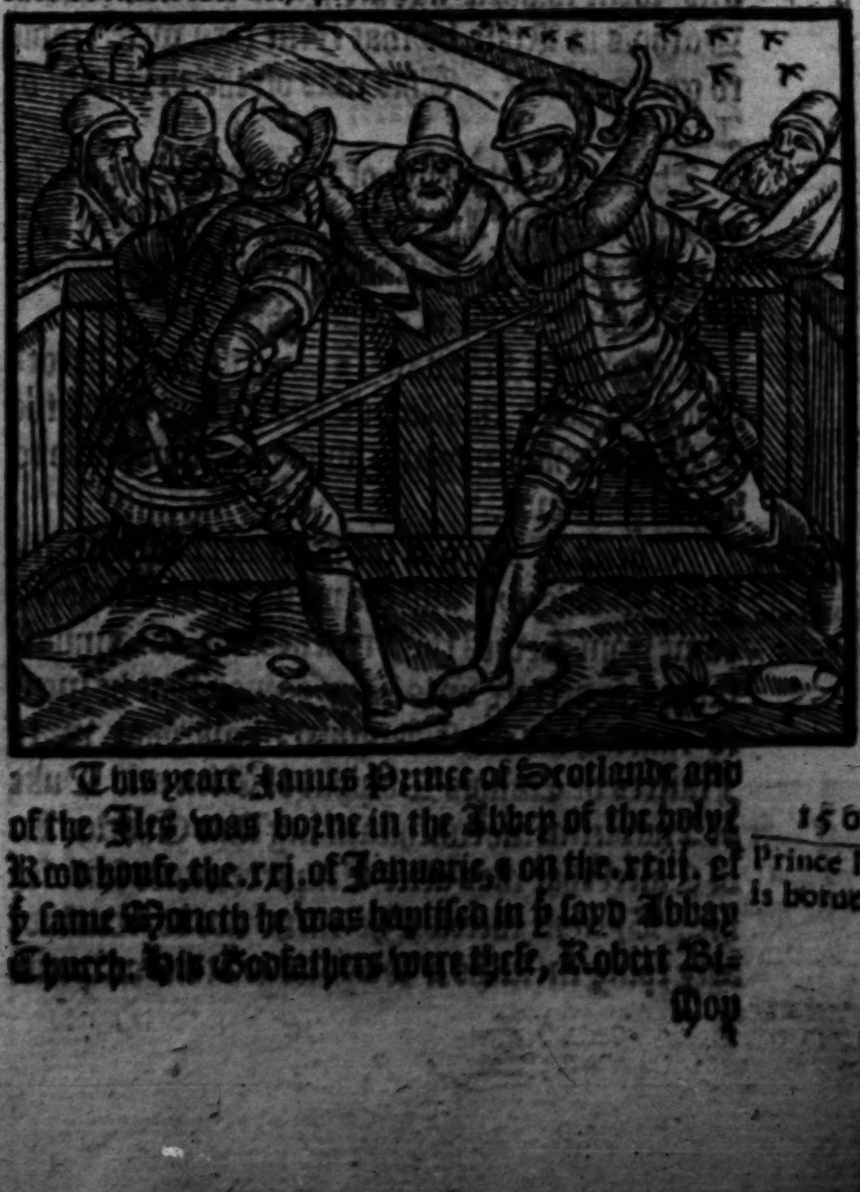
The Hollanders ſhips are taken.

A bright ſtarre appeareth in the Skie.

A ſtarre like a Comet appeared the .x. of Auguſt, giuing great light in the night ſeaſon lyke to the Sunne beames.

Anthonie Darcy.

A Frenche man named ſir Anthonie Darcie knight, called afterwarde Le ſire de la Bawtie, came through Englande into Scotland to ſeeke feates of armes. And comming to the king the .xxiiij. of September, the Lorde Hamilton fought with him in armor right valiantly, and ſo as neither of them loſt any peece of honour.



1507

Prince Iames is borne.

This yeare Iames Prince of Scotlande and of the Iles was borne in the Abbey of the holye Rood houſe, the .xxj. of Ianuarie, & on the .xxiij. of yͤ ſame Moneth he was baptiſed in yͤ ſayd Abbay Church. His Godfathers were theſe, Robert Biſhop of Glaſgew, & Patrike Erle Bothwell, and the Counteſſe of Huntley was his Godmother.

The K. went on pilgrimage

The Queene after ſhee was brought to bed, was verie weake and troubled with great ſickeneſſe, ſo that ſhe lay in great danger: for recouerie of whoſe health the king went a foote vnto Saint Ninians in pilgrymage: and afterwardes in July, both the King and the Queene went thither to viſite that Saint.

The Pope declared K. James protector of the faith.

Pope Julius the ſecond ſent an Ambaſſador vnto king James, declaring him protector & defender of the fayth, and in ſigne thereof ſent vnto him a purpure diademe or crowne wrought with floures of gold, togither with a ſword, hauing the hylts & ſkabbert of gold ſet with precious ſtones, which were preſented vnto him by the ſaide Ambaſſador, and the Abbot of Dunfermling, within the Abbay Church of holy Roode houſe, at what time the peace contracted betwixt the two kings of Scotland and England was there confirmed.

Horſes preſented vnto the king.

The Lorde of Terueer or Camfire in Sealande (whoſe aunceſters not long agone came forth of Scotland) ſent his meſſenger the Baylife of Terueer to the king, who preſented vnto him certaine great horſes and other riche preſentes, in remembrance that he came of the Scottiſh race: and the king in recompence thereof, ſent vnto the ſaid Lorde his order, and made his Ambaſſadour knight, rewarding him at his departure (whiche was in Auguſt) with right honorable gyftes.

Peace and quietneſſe in Scotlande.

The whole Realme remayned in ſuch peace and quietneſſe in theſe dayes, that the king rode one day himſelfe alone in poſt from Sterling, by Saint Johns towne, and Aberden, vnto Elgin, and repoſing a little part of the night in the houſe of maiſter Thomas Leſlie then parſon of Angus, went to horſe againe, and came to Saint Duthois in Roſſe, by that tyme they were readie to goe to Maſſe. This was on the .xxxj. day of Auguſt.

An Ambaſſag: into France.

About the latter ende of September, the Archbiſhop of Saint Androwes, and the Erle of Arrane, were ſent Ambaſſadors into France. They tooke ſhip the .xxvij. of September.

The .xvij. of Februarie, James prince of Scotlande departed this life at Striueling, and the Biſhop of Galoway alſo, who was appoynted to be his gouernor.

1508

An Ambaſſade ſent vnto the king.

The .ix. of May in the yeare next enſuing, the Lord D'obigny, and the preſident of Tholous, came from Lewes the Frenche king as Ambaſſadors, to declare vnto king James, that he ment to matche his eldeſt daughter in maryage wyth Frances de Vallois Dolphin of Vien and Duke of Angoleſme, notwithſtanding that Charles K. of Caſtel that was after Emperor, made ſuite for hir. Bycauſe therefore he ment not to conclude any thing in ſuche a weightie matter withoute conſent of his confederates, of which he eſteemed king James as chiefe: he required him of his aduiſe and counſell therein, who after aduiſement taken, made anſwere, that albeit the King of France had ſufficient Counſell about him, yet ſith he had deſired his aduiſe, he would friendly giue the ſame: which was, that he ſhould rather marie his daughter within his owne Realme, vnto ſuche one as ſhoulde ſucceede him, than to beſtowe hir vpon any forrayne Prince, ſithe otherwiſe ſome clayme myght bee made in tyme comming vnto the Crowne by ſuche as ſhoulde match with hir. And ſo with this anſwere the preſident of Tholous departed, reporting yͤ ſame at his cõming home vnto the French king, who thervpon folowed his own determination therin, confirmed and allowed thus by his confederate the king of Scotland.

The king anſwere.

The Lorde Obignie died.

The Lord D'obigny tooke a ſickneſſe and died thereof at Corſtorphyn, in the Moneth of June, and cauſed his heart to be ſent vnto Saint Ninians in Galloway, bycauſe he had vowed a pylgrimage thither whileſt he remayned the French kings lieutenant in Naples, where he had atchieued many high enterpriſes agaynſt his enimies. His name was Bernard Steward, lieutenant of thoſe men of warre whiche Charles the .viij. of that name king of Fraunce did ſend with Henrie Erle of Richmond into England, when yͤ ſame Erle came againſt king Richard, whom he vanquiſhed, and therby got the Crowne. And ſo after many noble victories and valiant acts atchieued, this Lorde D'obigny ended his life in his owne countrey of Scotland where he was borne.

This was th
king himſe

This yeare alſo in May and June, there was kept great Juſtes and tourneys in Edenbourgh, by one calling himſelfe the wilde knight, who counterfeyted the round table.

Ambaſſage
ſent.

There were diuers Ambaſſadors ſent forth this yeare alſo, as the Archdeacon of Saint Androws, and ſir Anthonie Darcie into France, and the Biſhop of Murrey into England.

The .xv. of July, the Queene was deliuered of a daughter, which ſhortly after ſhe had receyued baptiſme deceaſſed, and the Queene in that childbed was againe in great perill of death.

The Archbiſhop of Glaſgew died.

The Biſhop of Glaſgew died this yeare in his iourney to Jeruſalem, the .xxix. of July. James Beton ſucceded him in that ſea.

A bickering

The .xxx. of July, there was a great fray betwixt the Lord Maxwel, & the lord Creichton of Sanchar, where the Lord Creichton was chaſed with his company from Dunfreis, & the Laird of Daliel, and the yong Laird of Crauthlay with diuerſe other were ſlaine.

An earthqu

The .xix. of Septẽber was a great earthquake in many places both in England and Scotland, namely the ſame was perceyued in Churches.

The

rſes ſent vn king Iames.

The king of England ſent a Gentleman with horſes trymly trapped with bardes of ſteele to be preſented to king Iames, who thankfully receyued thē, & right honorably rewarded ẏ meſſenger.

he Archdea- n of S. An- owes came t of France.

The Archdeacon of Saint Androwes returned forth of Fraunce in a greate ſhippe called the Threaſourer, which ſhip was caſt away on the coaſt of England, and the Archdeacon and foure C. perſons that were in hir, were brought to the king of England: but the Archdeacon in Nouember following returned home and came to Edenbourgh. Adam Earle of Bothwell and Lorde Hales departed this life at Edenbourgh the .xvij. day of October, and Erle Patrick ſucceeded him.

he Erle Both ell dyed.

1509

ng Henrie, e eight ſuc- edeth his ther.

Henrie the ſeuenth king of England, paſſed out of this world the .xxij. of Aprill, in the yeare .1509. and his ſonne Henrie the eight ſucceeded him, after whoſe coronation king Iames ſent an honorable Ambaſſade of certaine Lordes, and a Byſhop to congratulate him at his firſt entrie into the rule of his kingdome, as to the maner in ſuch caſes apperteyneth.

etters of arke againſt e Portin- als.

About the ſame time, Iohn Barton & Androw Bartō, hauing letters of Mark of ẏ king againſt the Portingales, toke diuers of their ſhips laden with rich marchandiſe, which they brought into Scotland.

he king wēt n pilgrimage.

This Sommer the king went in pilgrimage vnto S. Duthois in Roſſe, & the Queene remayning at holy Rood houſe, was brought to bed of a prince, the .xx. day of October, the which the third day after was baptiſed and named Arthur.

ſhip with unition.

1510

Two great ſhippes came forth of Fraunce to the king, fraught with Gunnes, Speares, and all other kinde of munition for warre.

he Archbi- hop of Saint ndrowes.

Alexander, baſtard ſonne to the king, newly made Archbiſhop of Saint Androwes, who had bin long in Germany ſtudent there in the ſcholes with that famous Clearke Eraſmus Roterodamus, and had profited verie well, came from Flaunders by ſea into Scotlande, and was ioyfully receyued, bycauſe he had beſtowed his time ſo well in vertues and learning.

he Laird of aſtcaſtel went Turkie.

The Laird of Faſtcaſtell came ouer with him, who had trauailed through a great part of Chriſtendome: and moreouer paſſing into Turkey, came to the Emperour of Turkey at the Citie of Caire, who retayned him in ſeruice, and gaue him good entertaynment, ſo that hee remayned with him, tyll he heard that the lyuing of Faſtcaſtell was fallen to him by lawfull ſucceſſion, notwithſtanding that when he departed oute of Scotland, there were .viij. ſeuerall perſons before him to ſucceede one after another, which in the meane time were all deceaſſed.

Prince Arthur deceaſſed.

The .xiiij. of July, Arthur Prince of Scotlande and the Iles, departed this life in the Caſtel of Edenbourgh.

Two Scorpions founde in Scotland.

Two Scorpions were found, the one quicke and the other dead, in the Orchard of the Caſtell of Cragmyller, which thing was reputed for a marueylous great wonder, that any ſhoulde bee ſeene within the Iſle of Brytaine.

Stoupe gallāt A ſickneſſe.

In the Moneth of September, an vniuerſall ſickneſſe raigned through all Scotlande, whereof many died. It was very contageous, and they called it Stoupe gallant.

There came alſo a paſſing fayre woman into Scotlande about the ſame time, naming hirſelfe Katheryn Gordon, wife to Perkin Warbecke, that had named himſelfe Duke of Yorke, but at length beeing brought to the king, ſhe confeſſed what ſhe was, and ſo auoyded the realme. In which meane while, the Lady Katherin Gurdon hirſelfe remayned in England, and had right good maintenance, ſo that ſhe liued there very well and honourably many yeares after.

Katherin Gordon.

The Trumbils with other are taken by the king.

Furthermore, the king vpon the .viij. of Nouember comming from Edenbourgh to the water of Rule, toke diuerſe miſgouerned perſons, & brought them to Iedworth, where the principals of the Trumbils, with naked ſwordes in their handes, and wythes about their neckes met with him, putting thēſelues in the kings mercy, which were ſent to ſundry places to bee kept in warde, with diuerſe other of thoſe countreymen, whereby the marches were more quiet afterwardes: and from thence the king paſſed to S. Iohns towne, where iuſtice was holden the reſidue of ẏ winter.

1511

The next yeare in the beginning of May, the Queene went from Dunfermling toward ſaint Duthois in Roſſe, and was all the way right honourably vſed and entertayned.

An ambaſſage from the king of England.

About the .x. of July, ſhe returned to Edenbourgh, where ſhe founde the Lorde Dacres, and ſir Robert Drurie knight come thither as Ambaſſadors from the king of Englande hir brother, who were honourably receyued.

1512

In the yeare next enſuing, in Iune, Androw Barton being on the Seas to meete with Portingals (agaynſt whom he had a letter of marke) Sir Edmond Haward Lord Admirall of Englande, and the Lorde Thomas Hawarde, ſonne and heyre vnto the Erle of Surrey, were appointed by the king of Englande to go likewiſe to ſea with certaine ſhippes, and meeting with the ſayd Androw as he returned homewardes neare to the Downes, hauing with him onely one ſhippe, and one Barke. The Engliſh men at the firſt made ſigne vnto the Scots as though they mēt none euil, ſaue only to ſalute thē as friends, but getting within them, they ſet vpon thē right fiercely, & the Scots for a while did as valiantly defend thēſelues, ſo ẏ many were ſlain on both ſides: but in the end the Engliſhmen got the vpper hand, wounded Androw Barton chief captaine of the Scots ẏ he died

Two ſhippes taken by the Engliſh men.

dyed of the hurtes which he there receyued, and his ſhip called the Unicorne, and the barke called Jenny Pyrwine, were both taken, with all the Scottiſh men that remayned aliue in the ſame, which were had to Londō, & ſtayed as priſoners in the Biſhop of Yorke his houſe for a time, and after ſent home into Scotland.

King James was ſore offended with thys matter, and therevpon ſent an Heralde with letters, requyring redreſſe for the ſlaughter of hys people, and reſtitution of his ſhips, ſith otherwiſe it might ſeeme to giue occaſion of breach of the peace. But the king of England denyed that the ſlaughter of a Pirate (as he tooke Andrew Barton to be) ought to breake any bonde of peace, yet neuertheleſſe he promiſed to ſend Commiſſioners to the borders that ſhould entreate of that matter, and other enormities chaunced betwene the two realmes.

The king of France requyred ayd againſt England.

The French King, and the Duke of Gelderlande perceyuing that the king of Englande was mynded through procurement of the Pope and others, to make them warres, eyther of them ſent Ambaſſadors into Scotlande vnto king James, requyring his aſſyſtance agaynſt England: but king James mynding to mainteyne peace and concorde betwixt the parties, ſent an Ambaſſador vnto the king of Englande, deſiring him in brotherly and moſte louing wiſe to liue in peace and quietneſſe, and not to make anye warres agaynſt his confederate friendes, offring himſelfe to take in hande to agree and compound any difference that was fallen betwixt the king of Englande and the ſayde Princes.

King Iames perſwadeth to peace.

The king of Englande who had alreadie ſent ayde vnto the Ladie Regent of the lowe Countreys agaynſt the Duke of Gelderlande, made ſuch fayre anſwere herevnto as he thought ſtoode wyth reaſon, and ſo diſpatched the Ambaſſadour backe againe to his maiſter without any more a doe in that matter, aboute the which he came for that tyme.

The kings baſtard maried.

John Lorde Gordon, ſonne and heyre to Alexander Gordon Earle of Huntley, returned out of Fraunce, and was maried vnto the Kings baſtarde daughter in Nouember following in thys preſent yeare. 1512. of whom the houſe of Huntley is deſcended.

1512

A Sinode kept at Edenburgh.

There was aboute the ſame time a Synode holden in the blacke Friers of Edenbourgh, by the whole Cleargie of the Realme, as Biſhops, Abbots, Priors and other Prelates, where there was a Legate of the Popes, who cauſed all the churches that were aboue .xl. pound to be taxed. This was called Bagimunts taxe, whereby the Pope and the king might knowe the value of the benefices, and to haue taxes of the ſame accordingly, as the Pope for his annates and Bulles, and the king when he ſtoode in neede. This was conſented and agreed vnto by the Cleargie.

Beneſices were taxed.

The Biſho Murrey c home.

Shortly after came the Biſhop of Murrey home, hauing bene at Rome, in Fraunce, and England, bringing with him from the Pope, and the kings of Fraunce and Englande, many good and pleaſant letters: and with him came a clearke of Spaine in Ambaſſade vnto the king.

A yong Pri borne in Sc lande.

This yeare the .xj. day of Aprill, the Queene was deliuered of a yong Prince in the Palace of Luithgo, who was ſhortly after baptiſed, and named James the fift Prince of Scotlande and of the Iles, that after ſucceeded his father in the Kingdome.

The Frenc king ſent t perſwade t king of Sc to warres.

The Lorde Dacres, and Doctor Weſt, came in Ambaſſade from the king of Englande, and *Monſieur de la Mote* came wyth Letters from the French King, to perſwade king James to make warre agaynſt Englande, promiſing him mony, munition, and all other neceſſarie prouiſions of warre.

In his way as he paſſed the Seas towardes Scotlande, he had drowned three Engliſh ſhips, and brought ſeuen away with him vnto Lith for priſes, in the which were but three Engliſhe men left aliue.

Shortly after maiſter James Ogiluie Abbot of Drybourgh, came forth of France with letters of the like effect.

Fourtene p les of Engl men taken.

After this Robert Barton went to the Sea, and in July brought into Scotland .xiij. priſes of Engliſh men which he had taken.

About this ſeaſon, the Larde of Drumweydy was ſlain in Edenbourgh by two perſons, which tooke ſanctuarie in holy Roode houſe, and ſo eſcaped. John Earle of Athole deceaſſed the .xix. of September, and Lion Harold king of Armes deceaſſed the firſt of October.

Miſrule ex ciſed.

Great miſrule was exerciſed on the borders in this ſeaſon, and therefore the king aſſembled the Lordes in Edenbourgh for reformation thereof, & while they were there, the Queene was brought to bed of a childe, which dyed ſhortly after it was chriſtened.

The Queen brought to bed of a chi

The league renued with France.

There came a great ſhip into Scotland which the king of Fraunce had ſent vnto the king, laden with artillerie, powder and wines, and then was the league and bande renued betwixt Scotlande and France. The ſame ſhippe landed at Blackneſſe the .xix. of Nouember.

Purſeuants ſent into Eng land & Fran

King James ſent a Purſeuant called Unicorne into Fraunce, and another into Englande called Ilay, which Ilay requyred a ſafeconduct for an Ambaſſador to be ſent from the king hys maiſter vnto the King of Englande, but thys would not be graunted. Upon the ſayde Ilayes returne, *Monſieur de la Mote* was ſent backe into France, and with him ſir Walter Ogiluy, and a meſſenger a meſſenger which the Pope had ſent into Scotlande. And the .xvj. of March next enſuing, Doctor West came as Ambaſſador into Scotlande from the king of England, appoynting that certaine Commiſſioners ſhoulde meete on the borders for redreſſe of all quarels betwixt the two realms, in the Month of June next enſuing. And this appoyntment was kept: but no good could be done, as after ſhall appeare.

ctor West
ent into Scot-
d Ambaſ-
dor.

1513

The King ſent the Biſhop of Murrey into France, to ſignifie vnto the French king the meſſage of the ſayde Doctor West, and other things.

In the Moneth of May, there came certaine ſhippes out of Denmarke laden with Gunnes, powder, armour, and other kind of munition.

unition for
are ſent out
Denmarke.

Alſo *Monſieur de la Mote* landed in the weſt part of Scotlande, the .xvj. of May, with foure ſhippes fraught with wine and flower, and returned againe the .xix. of the ſame Moneth.

rouiſion ſent
ut of France.

The great Odonell of Ireland came to king James at Edenbourgh, the firſt of June, offring his friendſhip and ſeruice to him before all other Princes, and ſpecially agaynſt the king of England: wherupon he was thankfully receyued, honourably enterteyned, and richly rewarded. And ſo the band of friendſhip being with him concluded, he returned into his countrey.

Odoel profe-
d friendſhip
to K. James.

The king prepared a great nauie of ſhippes, the principall whereof were the Michael, Margaret, and James. They made ſayle towardes the ſea the .xxvij. of July, and the king ſayled in the Michaell himſelfe, till they were paſt the Jlande of May, James Gordon ſonne to George Earle of Hũtley being one of the captains of the ſame ſhip.

nauy ſent.

The Commiſſioners met on the borders in June, according to the appoyntment: but bicauſe the Engliſhmen would not conſent to make any redreſſe or reſtitution till the .xv. of October next, thinking by that delay and continuance of tyme, they ſhould vnderſtãd the ſtate of their kings proceedings in Fraunce, and in the meane time reteyne in theyr handes the Scottiſh mens goodes which they had taken both by ſea and land (as the Scottiſh writers affyrme,) the king of Scottes being thereof aduertiſed, ſent Lion king of armes vnto king Henrie then lying at ſiege before Terwine with letters of complaint, commaunding him that if King Henrie refuſed to accompliſhe the contents of his ſayde letters, hee ſhoulde denounce warre vnto him. Whereupon Lion arryuing in the Engliſhe armie with his cote of armes on his backe, about the middeſt of Auguſt, deſired to ſpeake with the king, and was within a ſhort ſpace by Garter chiefe king at Armes of England, brought to the kings preſence, hauing his nobles and counſellers about him, where with due reuerence, and ſome good wordes firſt vttered, he deliuered his letters, the tenor whereof enſueth.

Cõmiſsioners
met at the
borders.

The Engliſh
en detract
the time.

king of ar-
es ſent vnto
ng Henrie
England.

The tenor of
the king of
Scottes letter.

RIght excellent, right high & mightie prince, our deareſt brother and couſin, we cõmaund vs vnto you in our maiſt hartlie maner, & receiued fra Raff herauld your letters, quharvntil ye approue and allow the doings of your cõmiſſioners lately being with ours at the borders of bathe the realmes, for making of redreſſe quhilk is thought to you and your counſel ſhould be continuet & delact to the .xv. day of October. As ye write ſlaars by ſee aught not compere perſonally, but by their attourneys, & in your letters with our herauld Jlay, ye aſcertaine vs ye will naught enter in the treux taken betwixt the maiſt chriſtian king and your father of Aragon, bycauſe ye & others of the hale liege nether ſhould nor may take peace, treux nor abſtinence of warre with your cõmon enimy without conſent of all the confederates. And that the Emperor, King of Aragon, yea and euery of you be bounden to make actuall warre this inſtãt ſommer againſt your cõmon enimy. And that ſo to do is cõcluded & openly ſworne in Paules kyrk at London vpõ S. Markes day laſt by paſt. And farther haue denied ſafeconduit vpõ our requeſts, yͭ a ſeruitor of ours might haue reſorted to your preſence (as our herauld Jlay reports:) Right excellẽt, right high & mightie prince, our deereſt brother & couſin, the ſayd meeting of our & your cõmiſſioners at the borders was peremptorily appointed betwixt you & vs after diuerſe dietes, for reformation before continued to the cõmiſſioners meeting, to effect that due redreſſe ſhould haue bin made at the ſaide meeting, like as for our part our cõmiſſioners offred to haue made that time. And for your part no malefactor was then arreſted to the ſaid diet, & to gloſe the ſame, ye now write yͭ ſlaars by ſee need not compere perſonally, but by their attourneis quhilk is again law of god & mã. And gef in criminal action al ſlaars ſhuld naught compere perſonally, na punition ſuld follow for ſlaughter, & then vaine it were to ſeke farther meetings or redreſſe. And hereby apperes (as the deed ſhewes) yͭ ye will nouther keep gud ways of iuſtice & equitie nor kindnes with vs: the great wrongs & vnkindnes done before to vs & our leiges we põderat, quhilk we haue ſuffred this long time in vpbering, mainſwering noundreſſing of attemptates, ſo as the bil of the taken of inhalding of baſtard Heron with his cõplices in your contry quha ſlue our wardan vnder truſt of dayes of meeting for iuſtice, & therof was ſlait & ordeynit to be deliuered, in ſlaing of our liege noble mẽ, vnder color by your folks, in taking of vthers out of our realm priſonet & chaniet by the crags in your cuntry, inhalding of our wiues legacie promiſt in your diuers letters for deſpite of vs, ſlaughter of Androw Barton by your awn commaund, quha than had naught offẽded to you nor your lieges vnredreſt, and breaking of the amitie in that behalf by your deed, and with holding of our ſhips and artillarie to your vſe, quhat vpon eft our diuers requiſitions at your Wardens, Commiſſioners, Ambaſſadors, and your ſelfe, ye wrate and als ſhewe by others vnto vs, that full redreſſe ſuld be made at the ſaid meeting of Commiſſioners, and ſa were in hope of reformation, or at the leſt ye for our ſake wald haue deſiſted fra inuaſion of our friendes and couſings within theyr awne Countreys that haue naught offended at you, as we firſt requyred you, in fauour of our tender couſing the Duke of Gelder, quham to deſtroy and diſinherite ye ſent your folkes and dud that was in them. And right ſa we lately deſired for our brother and couſin the maiſt chriſten king of France, quham ye haue cauſed to tine his Countre of Millaigne, and now inuades his ſelf, quha is with vs in ſecond degree of blude, and haſe bene vnto you kind without offence, and more kindar than to vs: notwithſtanding in defenſe of his perſon we mon take part, and thereto ye bycauſe of others haue geuen occaſion to vs & to our lieges in tyme bypaſt, nouther doing iuſtly nor kyndely towardes vs, proceeding alwayes to the vtter deſtruction of our neereſt frends, quha mon do for vs quhã it ſhall be neceſſarie. In euill example that ye will hereafter be better vnto vs quhã ye lightly fauor, manifeſtly wranged your ſiſter for our ſake incõtrary our writtes. And ſaying vnto our herauld yͭ we giue you faire wordes and think the contrary, in deed ſuch it is, we gaue you wordes as ye dudde vs, truſting that ye ſuld haue emended to vs, or worthin kynder to our frends for our ſakes, & ſuld naughtight haue ſtopped our ſeruitors paſſage to labour peax that they might as yͤ Papes halines exhorted vs by his breuites to do. And therupon we were contented to haue ouerſene our harmes, & to haue remitted the ſame though other information was made to our haly father Pape July by the Cardinal of York, your Ambaſſador: & ſen you haue now put vs fra our gude beleue through the premiſſes, & ſpecially in denying of ſafeconduit to oure ſeruants to reſort to your preſẽce, as your ambaſſador Doctor Weſt inſtantly deſired we ſuld ſende one of our counſel vnto you vpõ great matters, & appointing of differences debatable betwixt you & vs furthering of peax if we might betwixt yͤ moſt chriſten king & you we neuer hard to this purpoſe ſafeconduit denied betwixt infidels. Herefore we write to you this time at lẽgth plaines of our minde, yͭ we require and deſire you to deſiſt fra farther inuaſiõ & vtter deſtruction of our brother & couſin yͤ maiſt chriſten king, to quhã by al confederation, blude & alie, and alſo by new band quhilk you haue compelled vs lately to take through your iniuries and harmes without remedie done dayly vnto vs, our lieges & ſubiects, we are boũden & obliſt for mutual defence ylk of others, like as ye & your confederates be obliſt for mutual inuaſiõs & actual war. Certifying you we will take part in defence of our brother & couſin the maiſt chriſten king, and will do what thing we truyſt may cauſe you to deſiſt fra purſute of him, & for denit & poſtponit iuſtice to our lieges we mon giue litters of marque according to the amitie betwixte you and vs, quharto ye haue had little regard in time by paſt, as we haue ordaint our Herauld the bearer herof to ſay, gif it like you to here him and gif him credence: right excellent, right highe and mightie prince, our derreſt brother & couſin. The Trinitie haue you in keeping. Geuen vnder our ſignet at Edenbourgh the. xxvj. day of July.

The Herald is ſent for.

King Henry hauing read the letter, & conſidered therof with aduice of his counſel, ſent for yͤ herald again, and told him that he had read and wel preceiued the contents of the letters which he had deliuered to him, & woulde make him anſwere with condition, that he woulde promiſe to declare the ſame to his maiſter. Whereunto Lion made this anſwere: Sir, I am his natural ſubiect, and he is my naturall Lord, and what he cõmaunds me to ſay, I may boldly ſay with fauor, but the cõmandements of others I may not, nor dare ſay vnto my ſoueraigne Lorde, but your letters ſent by me may declare you M. pleaſure, albeit your anſwere requireth doings and not ſayings, that is, that you immediately ſhould returne home. Then ſaid the king: I will returne at my pleaſure to your domage, & not at thy maiſters commonance. And herewith he cauſed an anſwere to be writtẽ vnto the king of Scots in forme as followeth.

The Heraldes anſwere.

King Henries anſwere.

RIght excellent, right highe and mightye Prince. &c. and haue receyued your writing dated at Edenbourgh the. xxvj. day of Julye by your Heralde Lion this bearer, wherein after rehearſall and accumulation of manye furnyſed iniuries, griefes and daungers done by vs and our ſubiectes to you and your lieges, the ſpecialties wherof were ſuperfluous to rehearſe, remembring that to them and euery of them in effect reaſonable anſwere founded vpõ law and conſcience hath tofore bene made to you & your counſill, ye not only require vs to deſiſt from further inuaſion and vtter deſtruction of your brother and couſin the French king, but alſo certifie vs that you will take parte in defence of the ſayde King, and that thing which ye truſt may rather cauſe vs to deſiſt from purſute of him, with many contriued occaſions & communications by you cauſeleſſe ſought and imagined, ſouning to yͤ breache of yͤ perpetuall peace paſſed, concluded, and ſworne betwixt you & vs, of which your imagined quarels cauſeleſſe deuiſed to breake to vs contrary to your othe promiſed, al honor & kindneſſe, we cannot marueil conſidering the auncient accuſtomed maners of your progenitors, which neuer kept lẽger faith &

promiſe then pleaſed them. Howbeit if the loue and dread of God, nighneſſe of bloud, honor of the worlde, lawe, and reaſon had bound you, we ſuppoſe ye woulde neuer haue ſo farre proceeded, ſpecially in our abſence. Wherein the Pope and all Princes chriſtened may well note in you, diſhonourable demeanour, when ye lying in wayte, ſeeke the wayes to doe that in our ſayde abſence, which ye would haue bin wel aduiſed to attempt we being within our Realme and preſent. And for euident approbation hereof we neede none other proues ne witneſſes, but your own writings heretofore to vs ſent, we being within our realm, wherein ye neuer made mention of taking part with our enimie the Frenche King, but paſſed the time with vs till after our departure from our ſayde Realme. And nowe percaſe ye ſuppoſing vs ſo farre from our ſayde Realme to bee deſtitute of defence agaynſt your inuaſions, haue vttered the olde rancour of your mynde, whiche in couert maner ye haue long kept ſecrete. Neuertheleſſe, we remembring the bryttleneſſe of your promiſe, and ſuſpecting though not wholy beleeuing ſo much vnſtedfaſtneſſe, thought it right expedient and neceſſarie to put our ſayd realme in a readineſſe, for reſiſting of your ſayd enterpriſes, hauing fyrme truſt in oure Lorde God and the righteouſneſſe of our cauſe with the aſſiſtaunce of our confederates & Allies we ſhall be able to reſyſt the malice of Sciſmatikes and their adherents, being by the generall counſell expreſſely excommunicate and interdicted, truſting alſo in time conuenient to remember our friends, and requite you and our enimies, whiche by ſuch vnnaturall demeanor haue giuen ſufficient cauſe to the diſheriſon of you and your poſteritie for euer from the poſſibilitie that ye thinke to haue to the Realme, which ye now atempt to inuade. And if the example of the King of Nauarre being excluded from his Realme for aſſyſtaunce gyuen to the Frenche King cannot reſtrayne you from thys vnnaturall dealing, we ſuppoſe ye ſhall haue like aſſyſtaunce of the French King as the King of Nauarre hath nowe: who is a King without a Realme, and ſo the French King peaceably ſuffereth him to continue, whereunto good regarde woulde be taken. And lyke as we heretofore touched in this our wryting, wee neede not to make any further anſwere to the manifolde griefes by you ſurmyſed in your letter: foraſmuch as if any lawe or reaſon coulde haue remoued you from your ſenſuall opinions, ye haue beene many and oftentymes ſufficiently anſwered to the ſame: Except onely to the pretended griefes touching the denying of our ſafeconduct to your Ambaſſadour to be laſt ſent vnto vs: whereunto we make this anſwere, that we had graunted the ſayd ſafeconduct, and if your Heralde woulde haue taken the ſame with him, like as he hath bin accuſtomed to ſolicite ſafeconducts for marchants and others heretofore, yee might as ſoone haue had that, as any other, for we neuer denied ſafeconduct to any your lieges to come vnto vs and no further to paſſe, but we ſee well lyke as your ſayde Heralde had heretofore made ſiniſter report contrarye to the truth, ſo hath he done nowe in this caſe, as it is manifeſt and open. Finally, as touching your requiſition to deſiſt from further attempting agaynſt our enimie the French king, we know you for no competent Iudge of ſo high aucthoritie to require vs in that behalfe: wherefore (God wylling) we purpoſe with the ayde and aſſyſtaunce of our cõfederates and Allies to proſecute the ſame, and as ye do to vs and our realme, ſo it ſhal be remembred & acquited hereafter by the helpe of our Lord and our patron S. George. Who right excellent, right high and mightie Prince. &c. Yeuen vnder our ſignet in our camp before Tyrwin, the xij. day of Auguſt.

This letter being deliuered vnto the Scottiſhe Herald, he departed with the ſame into Flanders, there to haue taken ſhippe: but for want of readie paſſage he ſtayd and returned not into Scotland till Floddon field was fought, and the king ſlain. For king Iames perceiuing al the Engliſhmens doings to tende vnto warre rather than to peace, hauing taken order for the aſſembling of his people immediately after he had ſent forth his Heralde wyth commaundement to denounce the warre, he determined to inuade the Engliſh confines, and firſt before his maine force was come togither, the Lorde Humes that was Lord Chãberlaine and warden of Scotland, the .xiij. day of Auguſt, hearing that the Engliſh men had fetched a bootie within yͤ Scottiſh ground, aſſẽbled a power and followed them into Northumberland, but ere he could returne he was forlayd by yͤ Engliſhmen, which breaking out of their embuſhes, put the Scottiſh men to the worſe, and of them tooke and ſlue many.

Engliſh men fetched a bootie in Scotlande.

In the meane tyme was the whole power of Scotlande aſſembled, with the which king Iames approching to the borders, and nothing abaſhed of the euill lucke thus at the beginning chaunced to his people, purpoſed with greater aduantage of victorie to recouer that detriment: and herevpõ he made ſuch haſt, that he would not ſtay for the whole power of his realme which was in preparing to come forwarde vnto him, but comming to the borders, he paſſed ouer the water of Tweed the .xxij. of Auguſt, & entred into Englãd, lodging that night nere to the riuer of Tuiſel: & the next day laid ſiege to the caſtel of Norham, & within ſhort ſpace wan the Brayes, ouerthrew the Barmkine, & ſlue diuers wͭin the caſtel, ſo yͭ the captain & ſuch as had charge within it, deſired the king

King Iames approched nere vnto England with his power

The king of Scots made to much haſt.

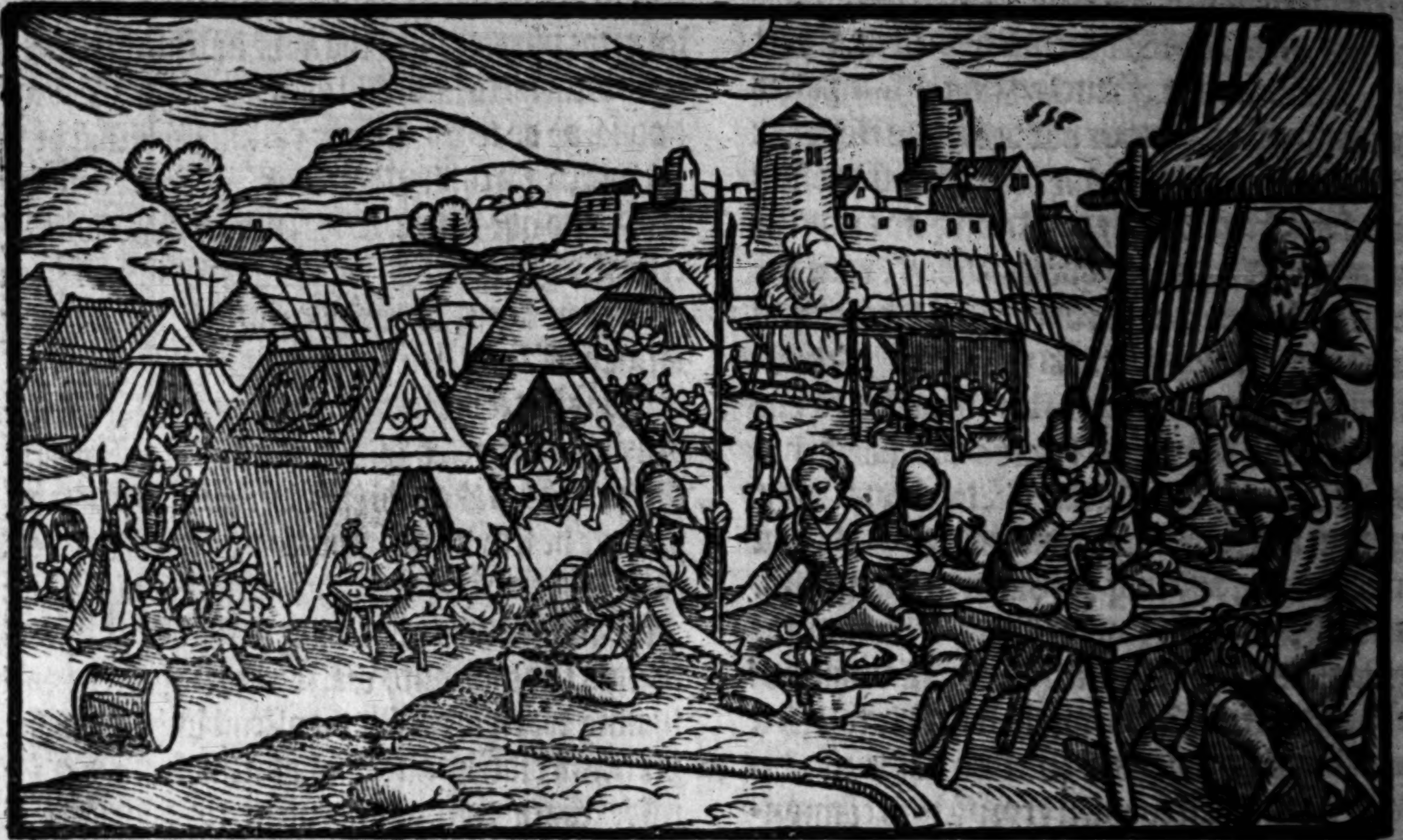
Norham.

The Brayes.

Barnekyne.

king to delay the ſiege, while they might ſende to the Earle of Surrey alreadie come with an army into the North partes, couenanting if they were not reſcued by the .xix. day of that Moneth, they ſhould deliuer the caſtel vnto the king. This was graunted: and bycauſe none came within the time to the reſkue, the caſtell was deliuered at the appointed day: a great part of it was ouerthrowen and beaten downe. After this he wanne the Caſtels of Fourd and Etell, and diuerſe other places of ſtrength, of which part were ouerthrowne. He alſo tooke many priſoners, and ſent them away into Scotland, and diuerſe he aſſured: and thus he abode an .xviij. dayes within England, til two parts of his armie were ſcaled and departed home from him.

Fourd and Etell taken.



The po
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The Engl
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campe.

King James was minded to kepe his grounde.

Paulus Iouius.

The Earle of Huntley his counſell.

His ſperſwaſions.

Foule wea

King Iame
ſent his qu
vnto the E
of Surrey.

In which meane time the Earle of Surrey Lieutenaunt to the king of Englande hauing rayſed all the power of the North partes of Englande, came with the ſame towardes the place where he heard that king James was encamped, and approching within three myles of the Scottiſh campe in full ſight of the Scottiſh men, pight downe his tentes, and encamped with his whole armie. Although king James had great deſire to fight with his enimies thus lodged in full view of his campe, yet bycauſe hee was encamped in a place of great aduantage, ſo as the enimies could not approche to fight with him but with greate loſſe and daunger to caſt themſelues away, hee thought good to kepe his ground, ſpecially bicauſe all thoſe of the nobilitie which were knowne to be of experience, did not holde with their aduiſe that counſailed him to giue battaile (at what time the Erle of Surrey had ſent an officer at armes vnto him, requiring him to come forth of his ſtrength vnto ſome indifferent ground where he would be readie to encounter him) and namely the Erle of Huntley, a mā for his high valiancie ioyned with wiſedome and policie, had in moſt reputation of all the reſidue, affyrmed in plaine wordes, that nothing could be either more fond or fooliſh than to fight at pleaſure of the enimie, and to ſet all on a maine chaunce at his wil and appoyntment, and therefore it ſhoulde be good for them to remayne there in that place of aduantage, and with prolōging the time to trifle with the enimie, in whoſe campe there was alreadie great ſcarcitie of vyttayles, neither was it poſſible that they ſhould be vitayled from the inner partes of the realme, by reaſon of the comberſome wayes for caryage to paſſe nowe after ſuch abundaunce of continuall rain as of late was fallē, & not like as yet to ceaſe, ſo that in ſitting ſtill & attempting nothing raſhly without aduiſement, the K. ſhould haue his enimies at his pleaſure, as vanquiſhed withoute ſtroke ſtriken through diſaduantage of the place, & lack of vitailes to ſuſtaine their languiſhing bodies. And ſurely beſide the want of vitails, yͤ foule and euill weather ſore annoyed both parties: for there had not beene one fayre day, no ſcarce one houre of fayre weather of al the time the Scottiſh armie had lyen within England, but great colde, wind and rain, which had not only cauſed many of the Scots to returne home, but alſo ſore vexed the Engliſh men, as well in theyr iourney thytherwards, as alſo while they lay in camp againſt the Scottiſh army. There was ſending of meſſengers betwixt them to and fro, and the king had ſent his quarell in writing vnto the Erle of Surrey by his herald Ilay the night before the battail, cõteyning as followeth: Where it is alledged that we are come in England againſt our band & promiſe, thereto we anſwere: that our brother was bound as farre to vs as we were to him, & when we ſware laſt before his ambaſſadors in preſence of our counſel, we expreſſed ſpecially in our oth, yͭ we would keepe to our brother if our brother kept to vs, and not elſe: wee ſweare that our brother brake firſt to vs, and of his breach we haue required him diuerſe tymes of amendes: and lately we warned him, as he did not vs ere we brake: and this we take for our quarell, and by Gods grace ſhall defende the ſame at your affyxed tyme, which with Gods help we ſhal abide. Thus was the K. verie deſirous to trie the matter by battail, although the wyſeſt ſort of his Nobles wiſhed not that he ſhould do any thing ouer raſhly.

rodigious ances.

e Hare

There chaunced alſo many things taken (as ye woulde ſay) for warnings of ſome great miſchance to follow, which though ſome reputed but as vaine and caſuall happes, yet the impreſſion of them bred a certaine religious feare and new terrour in his heart. For as he was in counſell wyth his Lordes, to vnderſtande their opinions touching the order of his battayles, there was an Hare ſtart amongeſt them, which hauing a thouſand arrowes, daggers, and other kinde of things beſtowed at hir, with great noiſe & ſhowting, yet ſhe eſcaped from them all ſafe and without hurt.

The buckle ather of hys emet gnawē ith mise.

he cloth of is tent of lodie color.

The English ampe remo- ed by the arle.

The ſame night alſo Miſe had gnawne in ſunder the buckle and leather of his helmet wherwith he ſhoulde faſten the ſame to his head. And moreouer, the cloth or vaile of his inner tent (as is ſayde) aboute the breake of the day appeared as though the deawie moyſture thereof had bene of a bloudie colour. Herevpon the king keeping himſelfe within his ſtrength, the Erle of Surrey conſtrayned by neceſſitie to ſeeke all wayes whereby to traine the king downe from the hill where hee was lodged, remoued his campe towardes the hilles of Floddon, where the king of Scottes lay encamped: and on the .ix. day of September paſſed the water of Tyll at Twiſell bridge, the rereward going ouer at Mylford, putting themſelues as neare as they coulde betwixt the Scottiſhe campe and Scotlande.

The Scottes campe remoued alſo.

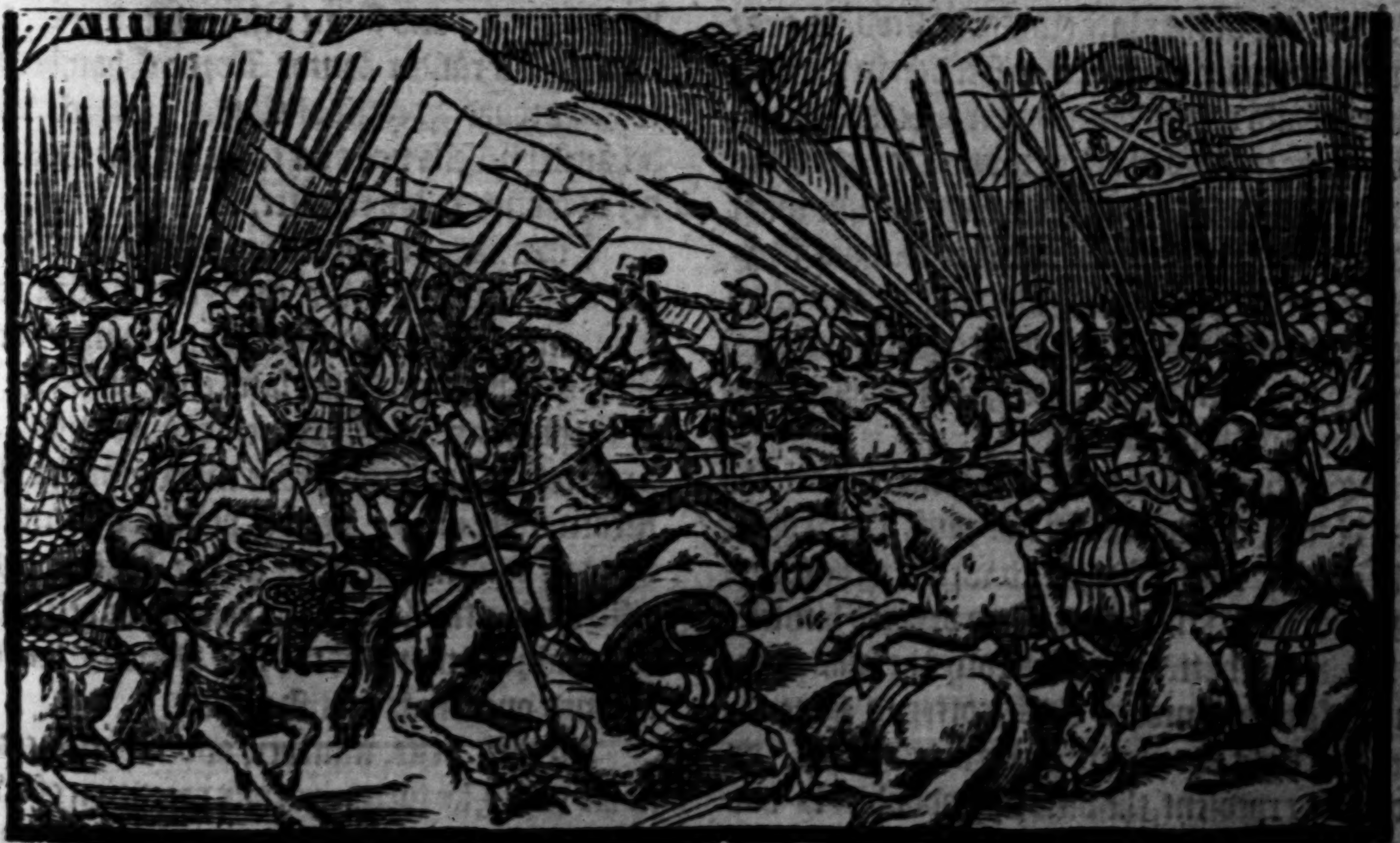
Aduauntage gotten by the grounde.

King Iames his practiſe.

Sir Edmonde Haward was fiercely aſſayled.

A good beginning had an euill ending.

King Iames perceyuing the Engliſh men to paſſe the water, iudged that they had ment to winne an hill that lay betwixt them & his campe, and therefore to preuent them, he cauſed his fielde to be rayſed, and fire to be ſet on theyr litter and cabans, which they had made of boughes, and ſo with all ſpeed remoued to the other hill being gotten thither ere the Engliſhe men coulde perceyue him to be remoued out of his former lodgings, bicauſe the ſmoke of the fiers which the Scots had made, couered all the countrey betwixt the two armies. In the meane while were the Engliſhmē aduaunced to the foote of Floddon hill, hauing thereby gotten double aduauntage: for the Scottiſh ordynance coulde not muche annoy them in marching vpwards vnder the leuell thereof, and they again might gall the Scots in ſhooting of at them, as they came downwardes vpon them. For king Iames hauing diſappoynted the Engliſh men of the hill, thought verily it ſhould be an eaſie matter for him to ouerthrow them, which being put beſide the place where they intended (as hee thought) to haue camped, would neuer abyde the countenance of his puiſſant armie, if he might attaine to ioyne with them. Therefore the Scottiſh armie making downwards, encountred with the Engliſh hoſt neare to the foote of the mountaine called Branxton, and firſt ſir Edmond Hawarde leading one of the outwings of yͤ Engliſh army, hauing with him three. M. men, being fiercely aſſayled by the Scottes on foot, hauing ſpeares and long weapons, & alſo by certain horſmen, was in the end diſcomfited, and his people beaten downe and put to flight, ſo that being of thē forſaken, he was conſtrayned to follow. But yet he & diuerſe other which eſcaped, ioyned thēſelues to the next battaile as well as they might. This ſo proſperous a beginning, who would thinke ſhould haue turned to the loſſe of yͤ Scots part & aduancemēt



of the Engliſh ſide? But ſo it came to paſſe, for K. James no ſooner ſaw that wing of the Engliſh hoſt ouerthrowne and diſcomfited, but that he deemed how al the whole power of yͤ Engliſhmē had bin fleeing away: & therefore alighting beſide his horſe, & cōmaunding thoſe yͭ were about him to folow, prepared himſelf to purſue the chaſe. His captaines did what they coulde by wordes to remoue him from his purpoſe, declaring to him the dutie of a prince, which is not raſhly to enter the fight, but to prouide and ſee that euery thing bee done in order: & where as cōming to trie the matter by hand blowes, he can do no more than an other man, yet keeping his place as apperteyneth to his perſō, he may be worth many thouſands of other. The king nothing moued wͭ theſe exhortatiōs, breaking his array of battaile, with a cōpanie of noble men, ruſhed forward into the fore ward, where accompliſhing the office of a footman, foūd the Engliſh men not fleeing, but manfully ſtanding at reſiſtance, ſo that there was a right harde reencoūter, and many arrowes ſhot on euery ſide, and great hurt done therewith. At length ſir Edward Stanley with the reregard of the Engliſhe mē came fiercely downe frō the hil of Branxston vpon the backe of the kings army, wherein they fought cruelly on both partes for a long ſpace, but at length the victory inclined to the Engliſhmen, for the king himſelf was there beaten downe and ſlaine, with all that whole battaile which firſt entred the fight.

King Iames deceyued him ſelf and alighted from his horſe.

The Captains good counſell not regarded.

The kings hardineſſe marred all.

Sir Edmond Stanley inuaded the backe of the reregarde.

King Iames ſlaine.

The other part of the Scottiſh hoſt, whereof Alexander Hume Lorde Chamberlaine had the gouernaunce, although he ſawe where the other Scottiſhmen were in daunger and cloſed in on euery ſide, yet would he not once remoue one foote forwarde out of the place (where he ſtood) to ayde them. Moreouer the lack of diſcretion in the king which would needes runne vpon his owne death, amazed the mindes of all men, and brought them into ſuch a perplexitie, that they knewe not what to do, but looked one vpon another without ſtyrring to or fro, as thoſe that were in dyſpayre now after the death of their king to recouer the victorie, which by ſo ſtrange a chaunce, ſeemed as it were ſlipped out of their handes.

The Lorde Chamberlaine ſtood ſtill.

Howbeit the Lorde Chamberlaine bare the moſt blame, for that he did not cauſe a new onſet to be giuen. But it happened well for the Engliſh men: for if king James had ordered himſelfe wiſely in this battaile, or that after he was ſlain, a newe furie had moued the Scottes to haue renued the fight in reuenge of the kings death, as had beene expedient, the victorie vndoubtedly had beene theirs (as was thought by men of great vnderſtanding.) Whereupon the Engliſh men remembring howe manifeſtly Gods goodneſſe appeared towards thē in this battail, cōfeſſed themſelues long after bounde to God for their ſafetie and deliuerance out of that preſent danger. The fight began about foure of the clocke in the after noone, and cōtinued three houres, in the which .xv. M. men were ſlaine on both partes: and of that nūber a third part at the leaſt was of Engliſhmē, (as was credibly reported) but (as our Engliſhe writers affyrme) there died of Engliſh men not paſt .xv. hundred, but yet the Scottiſh men holde, that there died more of the Engliſh men than of their nation at this field, and that many thought it was not the bodye of King James whiche the Engliſhmen found in the field and toke it for his, but rather an other Scottiſh mans corps, called the Laird of Bonehard, who was alſo ſlain there. And it was affyrmed by ſundry, that the K. was ſeene the ſame night aliue at Kelſo: and ſo it was commonly thought that he was liuing lōg after, and that he paſſed the ſeas into other Countreys, namely to Jeruſalem to viſite the holy ſepulchre, and ſo to driue forth the reſidue of his days, in doing penance for his former paſſed offences: but he appeared not in Scotland after as king, no more than Charles Duke of Burgoine did appeare in his coūtreys after the battail of Nancie, although his people had the like vaine opinion that he eſcaped from that diſcomfiture aliue.

The Lorde Chamberlane beareth the blame.

The Engliſh men thanked God for this noble victorie.

15000. men ſlaine.

But now to returne to the truth of the matter where we left. In the night following after this terrible battaile, the reſidue of the Scottiſh armie returned homewardes the ſame way they came, waſting & ſpoyling the Engliſh borders as they paſſed. At their comming home, euery man ſpake euil of thē, for that as cowards & naughtie perſōs, they neyther ſought to reuenge the death of their noble king, nor yet to ſuccor their felowes yͭ were beaten downe and ſlaine before their faces. But namely Alexander Hume Lorde Chamberlaine was reproued, as cauſe of all that miſchiefe, which behaued himſelfe not as a captaine, but as a traytor or enimie to his countrey.

The Scotti men retu home agai

They were uiled of th owne peop

Thus haue you heard how through raſhneſſe and lacke of ſkilful order, the Scottiſh army was ouercome, and that worthie Prince king James the fourth brought to his fatal ende, on the .ix. day of September, in the .xxv. yeare of his raigne, and xxxix. of his age, which was in the yeare from the incarnation. 1513. For his politike gouernment and due adminiſtration of iuſtice, which he exerciſed during the time of his raigne, he deſerued to be numbred amongeſt the beſt Princes that euer raigned ouer the Scottiſh nation.

All theft, reife, murther, and robberie ceaſſed in his dayes, by ſuch rygorous execution of lawes penall as he cauſed to bee exercyſed through all the boundes of Scotlande: Inſomuche that the ſauage people of the oute Iles ſorted themſelues through terror and dreade of due puniſhment, to

The ſauage people ref med themſelues.

liue after the order of lawes and Juſtice, where otherwiſe of themſelues they are naturally inclyned to ſedition and diſquieting of eche other. To conclude, men were in great hope, that if it had pleaſed the high determinate purpoſe of almightie God to haue lente to him longer lyfe, hee ſhoulde haue brought the Realme of Scotlande to ſuche a flouriſhing eſtate, as the lyke in none of hys Predeceſſours tymes was yet euer heard of.

There died with him in that vnfortunate battaile, of noble men, beſide other of the meaner ſort: The Archbiſhop of Saint Androwes his baſtard ſonne, the Biſhop of the Iles. The Abbots of Inchaffray and Kylwenny, the Erles of Montros, Crafford, Argile, Lenox, Glencar, Cathnes, Caſtelles, Bothwel, Arrel high Conſtable of Scotland, Iddel, Athol, & Morton: the Lords Louet, Forbos, Eluefton, Roos, Inderby, Saintcleare, Maxwel, & his three brethren, Daunley, Simple, Borthick, Bogony, Arſkil, Blackater, & Cowin: knights and gentlemen of name, ſir John Dowglas, Cutbert Hume of Faſtcaſtell, ſir Alexander Seton, ſir Dauy, maiſter John Grant, ſir Dunkin Cawfield, ſir Saunder Lowder, ſir George Lowder, maiſter Marſhal, maiſter Key, maiſter Ellot, maiſter Cawell clerke of the Chauncerie, the deane of Elleſter, Mack Kene, Mack Clene, with many other.

ames.

After the death of that worthy prince king James the fourth, ſlaine at Branxton (as before yee haue heard) his ſonne James the fifth ſucceeded him: for after the returne of thoſe that eſcaped from the ſayde field, the Queene aſſembled the Lordes and eſtates of the realme togither at Striueling, where the .xxj. day of September. 1513. hir ſonne the foreſayde James the fifth, a child of one yeare fiue Monethes, and tenne dayes of age, by vniuerſall aduice and conſent was crowned King, and his mother the Queene appoynted Regent of the Realme, vſing the counſaile of the reuerend father James Betõ Archbiſhop of Glaſgew the Erles of Huntley, Angus, and Arrane. But ſhortly after they fell at variance among themſelues about the beſtowing thoſe benefices which were vacant by the deaths of thoſe perſons which had beene ſlaine at the fielde, by reaſon whereof ſome of them writte letters ſecretely into France to John Duke of Albanie, willing him to come into Scotland to be tutor to the king, and gouernor of the Realme, as he that was next of bloud to the king, and neareſt to the crowne, in caſe the kings childrẽ deceaſſed without iſſue. He therfore ſent *Monſieur de la Bawtie* into Scotland, who in company of the Erle of Arrane, the Lord Flemming, and Lion the Herald (which long had bene in France) landed on the weſt coaſt the thirde of Nouember, and ſhortly after the ſaid *Monſieur de la Bawtie* deliuered his letters to the Queene and Lordes, who therevpon met at S. Johns towne, and there by vniuerſall conſent it was accorded, that the Duke of Albany ſhoulde be admitted tutor and gouerner to the king and realme, and that the ſame ſhoulde be confirmed in Parliament by yͤ three eſtates which ſhuld be kept at Edẽburgh the .xiij. day of March next for the ſame intent.

An aſſemble at Striueling.

1513

The king crowned, and the Queene appoynted Regent.

A debate.

The Duke of Albanie is ſent for.

Monſieur de la Bawtie is ſent into Scotland.

An aſſembly had at Striueling.

To rehearſe the troubles and great diſquietneſſe that chaunced during the minoritie of this king, through lack of due adminiſtration of Juſtice, & by diſcord and variance dayly riſing amongſt the Lords & Peeres of the realme, a man might haue iuſt cauſe greatly to wonder therat, & in waying the ſame throughly, no leſſe lament the oppreſſion done to the poore commons in that wicked and moſt miſerable time when iuſtice ſeemed to ſleep, and rapine with all the other ſortes and rabble of iniurious violence inuaded hir emptie ſeate, triumphing ouer all as a conquerour.

The great diſquietnes raigning in Scotland during the minoritie of James the fifth.

The Queene ſent louing letters vnto the king of England hir brother, requiring him of peace, wherevpõ a truce was takẽ betwixt yͤ two realmes of Englande & Scotland for the ſpace of one yere & a day. In the beginning of Februarie, the king of England hearing that a Parliament ſhould be holden in Scotlãd for the bringing in of the duke of Albanie to be tutor, wrote to his ſiſter that ſhe ſhoulde in any wiſe impeach & ſtay his comming thither, declaring howe daungerous it was, not only for hir, but alſo for hir ſonne to haue him gouernor, which was to ſucceede if hir ſonne were once out of the way. But the chiefeſt cauſe that moued the king of Englande to labour that the Duke ſhould haue nothing to doe in Scotlande, was (as many thought) for that he knew how the Duke in fauour of the king of Fraunce woulde ſhewe himſelfe an enimie agaynſt Englande with all the force he might make or procure. And ſhortly after that the peace was cõcluded betwixt him and the king of Fraunce, he ſent a letter alſo, requiring him not to ſuffer the duke to paſſe into Scotland for the reaſon firſt alledged. But notwithſtanding the labor that king Henrie made to the contrarie, it was concluded by the ſtates in Parliament aſſembled in Edenburgh at the time prefixed, that ſir Patrike Hamilton, and Lion king of Armes ſhoulde be ſent into Fraunce, to procure the Duke to come into Scotlande, being nowe confyrmed Tutor and Gouernour, according to the lawes of the Realme in ſuche caſes prouyded. Whereupon in Aprill then next

The king of England wryteth to his ſiſter.

The Duke of Albanie confirmed tutor by Parliament.

following they toke the Seas, and paſſed into Fraunce accordingly as by the eſtates had beene deuiſed.

1514

A Legate from Rome.

This yeare came a Legate into Scotlande from the Pope, with certaine priuiledges granted to the king and realme.

The Queene deliuered of hir ſecond ſon Alexander.

The .xxx. of Aprill was the Queene deliuered of a Prince in the Caſtell of Striueling, whiche was baptiſed by the poſtulate of Dunfermling, being Archedeane of Saint Androwes, and inſtantly confirmed by the Biſhop of Cathnes, by the name of Alexander. During the time that the Queene lay in childbed, great diſcord fell out betwixt the Lords of the weſt partes, and the other Lords of the realme: but ſhortly after the Queene called an aſſembly at Edenbourgh the .xij. of July, where they were all well agreed. And herewith two of the Cleargie were ſent into Englande for peace, and the .xxviij. of the ſame moneth maiſter James Ogilbie Abbot of Drybourgh, and ſir Patrick Hamilton, & Lion the Herald came forth of France with Articles in writing from the king there, and the Duke of Albanie, by the which the Dukes comming was excuſed, bycauſe the king could not want him, till ſome ende were had touching the warres betwixt him and the King of England, which was concluded in October next enſuing.

The mariage of the Queene mother.

This yeare the .vj. of Auguſt, the Queene maried Archebald Dowglas Erle of Angus, and immediately after in Saint Johns towne toke the great Seale from the biſhop of Glaſgew that was Chancellor of the realme. Whereupon the ſayde Byſhoppe got him to Edenbourgh, where many Lords aſſyſted him, & kept out the Queene and hir new huſbande, ſo that they might not enter there, whereof greate diſcorde roſe within the Realme amongeſt the Nobles and Peeres of the ſame.

The great
taken from
Biſhop of
Glaſgew.

A peace co
cluded bet
Englande
Fraunce.

In the peace contracted betwixt Lewes the .xij. of that name king of France, and Henrie the eight king of Englande, no mention was made of the Realme of Scotlande, for the whiche the Scottiſhmen thought great fault in the Frenche king, ſeeing that for his cauſe the warre had beene attempted betwixt them and England.

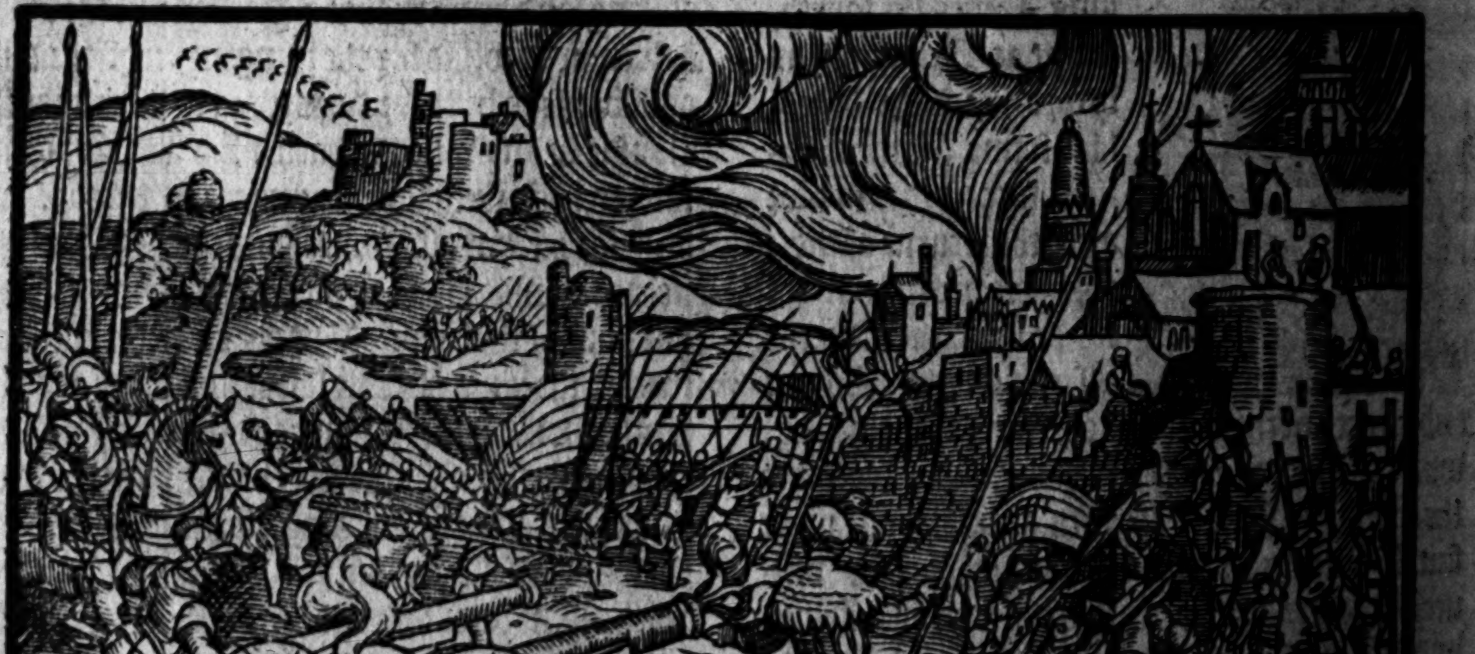
The deceaſ
the Biſhop
Aberdene.

The ſame yeare, about the .xxv. of October, William Elphingſton Biſhop of Aberdene, and Lord keeper of the priuie ſeale, departed this life at Edenbourgh. He had bene a faythfull Counſeller to James the fourth, by whoſe helpe he founded & endowed the Colledge in the olde towne of Aberdene, for the encreaſe of learning & vertue, which hath floriſhed with good wittes of ſtudents there euer ſithence euen vnto theſe our dayes.

Monſieur d
Bawtie.

The .xx. day of Nouember *Le ſire de la Bawtie* receiued the caſtell of Dunbar in the name of the Duke of Albany, at the handes of the Deane of Glaſgew brother to the Biſhop of Murrey, cleped Forman.

Alſo ſhortly after, the Prior of S. Androwes then elect Archbiſhop of that ſea, beſieged the Caſtell of Saint Androwes, and wanne it by force from the keepers of it, which were appoynted to defend it in the name of Gawin Dowglas, wherwith the Queene and the Earle of Angus were highly offended.



The Caſtell
Dunbrytain
taken.

The .xij. of Januarie being a very myrke windie night, the Earle of Lenox, and the maiſter of Glencarne vndermyned the nether groundſoyle of the Caſtell gate of Dunbrytaine, and entred thereby into the caſtel, and ſo toke it, putting out therof the Lorde Erſkin.

Shortly after, to witte the .xv. of that Moneth, a greate aſſemble was made betwixt the Earles of Angus and Arrane, the one to haue fought with the other, which was the cauſe & beginning of great trouble that enſued.

he Popes lles publiſhed.

ontention bout the enying of the ea of Saint ndrowes.

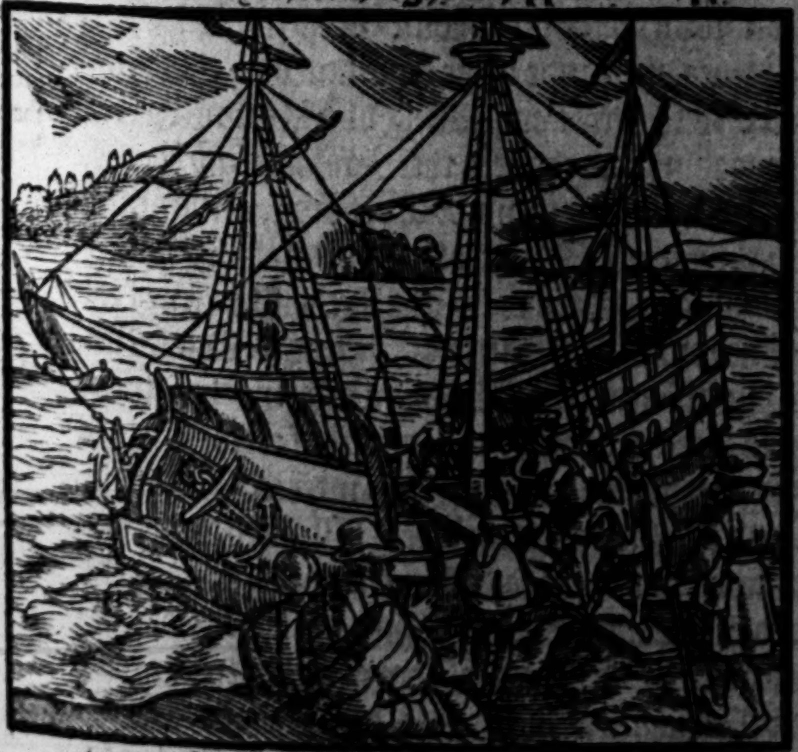
The ſame day in Edenburgh were the Bulles publiſhed which the Biſhop of Murrey Forman had purchaſed at Rome for the obteyning of the Archbiſhoprike of S. Androwes, the Abbacies of Dunfermeling, & Arbroeth, through ſupplication of the Queene and Duke of Albany: frō which Bulles, the prior of Saint Androwes appealed, pretending title to the Archbiſhops See by election and generall gift of the Lordes of the Realme. And herevpon gote togither his friends in Edenburgh, as the Maſter of Hales and other. And on the other parte, the Lord Chamberlayne, and diuers of yͤ Biſhop of Murreys friẽds gote the kings letters, by vertue whereof, they proclaymed the ſayde Maſter of Hales, and the prior of Saint Androwes rebells, with al theyr aſſiſtants, putting them to the horne: wherevpon they were cōſtreyned to depart out of Edēburgh. And in May following, the Prior wente vnto Rome, there to iuſtifie his appeale.

1515

uce betwixt gland and tland.

he Duke of bany his ivall in tland.

The foure and twentie of February, a Parliamente was aſſembled at Striueling, but bycauſe the Lordes coulde not agree amongſt themſelues, it was proroged till the comming of the Duke of Albany, which was looked for to bee in Scotland, in Aprill, or at the furtheſt in May next enſuing, as he had ſent worde by Sir John Sterling of the Keir, that was lately come from him with letters vnto the Lords and Peeres of the Realm. The fiftenth of May, truce was proclaymed betwixt England and Scotland to endure for three yeeres, but the ſame day at ſixe of the clocke in the after noone, the Engliſhmen entred the borders of Scotland vppon the water of Rule, and forrayed the countrey, doing greate hurt therein, notwithſtanding the truce. The ſeuententh day of May, John Duke of Albany, tutor and gouernor of Scotlande, arriued at the Town of Ayre, with eight Shippes well appointed and furniſhed with men and all kind of neceſſary prouiſion for his eſtate. From thence taking the Sea agayne, he ſayled alongſt the coaſt till he came to Dunbritaine, and there came a land, and on the next day paſſed forth to Glaſgo, where all the Weſtland Lords receyued him with greate ſemblance of reioycing for his arriuall. The .26. of May, he was receyued into Edenburgh, a great number of Lords meeting him on the way. The Queene alſo came from hir owne lodging and met him, to do him honor. Sundry Farces, Pageants, & playes were ſhewed by yͤ burgeſſes, for to honor his entrie in the beſt manner they coulde deuiſe. Shortly after his cōming to Edenburgh, there came thither forthe of all partes of the Realme, the Lords and Barons, where they being aſſembled in counſell, hee tooke vpon him the gouernement of the Realme, which he promiſed to vſe by their aduice, ſo that they woulde aſſiſt him in ſetting forthe of iuſtice and good orders, whiche they vndertooke to do. Herevpon was the Parliament which had bin proroged till his cōming, ſummoned to be kepte at Edenburgh the twelfth of July, in the whiche, diuers Actes were concluded and made, and the Lord Drummand was adiudged in the Dukes mercie, for ſtriking Lion King of Armes. The Duke pardoned him of life and honor, but his landes and goodes remayned in the kings hands: notwithſtanding, he was afterwards reſtored to the ſame againe. In this Parliamente alſo the Duke of Albany was confirmed by the three ſtates of the Realme tutor and gouernor to the King, the Scepter and Sword being deliuered to him, his oth alſo was taken by the Lords, and theirs giuen to him, that each of them ſhould be faithful to others, & namely, to their King and ſoueraigne Lorde, and alſo ſhould maintayn iuſtice to the vttermoſt of their powers, for the aduancemente of his honor, and ſuretie of the Realme. In the meane time, whileſt this Parliamẽt was in hand, the gouernour was aduertiſed, that the king ſhould haue bin conueyed forth of the Realme ſecretly into Englande, wherevpon he ſuddaynely departed in the nighte time from Edenburgh, with his men of warre in good order, and came to Striueling, where the King, with his brother Alexander, lay in the Caſtell with the Queene, whiche Caſtell, togither with the Kings perſon, and the other within it, were deliuered to him the thirde day of Auguſt, wherevpon hee committed them and the Caſtell to the keeping of foure Lordes of the Realme, whereof the Earles of Eglenton and Montrous were two. The Lord Hume, bycauſe he had aſſiſted the Earle of Angus and the Queene againſt yͤ gouernor, was denounced a Rebell, & the Erles of Lennox and Arrane with many other, were ſent to his houſes to ſeaze the ſame into the kings hands. In yͤ Caſtel of Hume was layd gunpowder by a trayne, whereby diuers of thē that entred firſt into the ſame Caſtell were brent. The Lord



The Duke of Albany receyued into Edenburgh.

A Parliamente ſummoned.

The king deliuered to the keeping of certayn Lords.

The Lorde Hume denounced a Rebell.

Hume himſelfe gote him into Englãd, & ſore diſquieted the Marches, ſo that no day of truce was holden, neither on the Eaſt nor middle Marches. The twelfth of Auguſt, yͤ Quene, yͤ Erle of Angus, & his brother George Dowglas, went from Temptallon vnto Berwike, & frõ thence paſſed to the Nunry of Caudſtreame, wherevpõ aduertiſemente being giuen to the king of Englande, & his pleaſure therein knowne, the .xxvj. of that moneth, ſhe was receiued by the Lord Dacres, & cõueyed to Harbottell Caſtell, where ſhe remayned till ſhe was deliuered of a daughter, called Margaret Dowglas, afterwardes maried to the Erle of Lennox, (as in place conuenient it ſhal further appeare.)

The birth of the Counteſſe of Lenox.

There was no Scottiſhman at this time receyued into Englande with hir. The gouernor perceyuing yͤ Rebellion of yͤ Lord Hume, paſſed to the borders with his Frenchmẽ, where the ſixt of October, the ſayd Lord Hume came & ſubmitted him ſelfe to the gouernors pleaſure, and his brother ſhortly after did the ſame, and they were both deliuered to the Earle of Arane, who was appoynted to keepe them in ſafetie within the town of Edenburgh.

The Lord Hume ſubmitted him ſelfe.

But the twelfth of October next enſewing, the ſayd Erle of Arrane departed from thence in the night ſeaſon, with thoſe his priſoners, ſtealing their wayes a foote.

The Earle of Arrane ſtealeth away.

Hereupon, the gouernour cauſing the Parliamente to be holden that was ſummoned to begin the .24. of October, the ſayde Lord Hume, Maſter William Hume, and Dauid Hume, were conuict of treaſon by all yͤ eſtates, to loſe their liues, lands, & goodes.

The Lord Hume and other conuicted of treaſon.

This Parliamente was proroged till a fifteene dayes after, within which time, the Earle of Arrane was appoynted to make appearance, or elſe it was agreed, that they ſhoulde proceede againſt him in like manner. And in that meane ſpace, the gouernor wente to beſeege the Caſtell of Hamilton, where that noble aged Lady, yͤ olde Counteſſe of Arrane, daughter to king James yͤ ſecond, and Mother to the Earle of Arrane, and Aunt to the Duke by his fathers ſide, cauſed not only yͤ Caſtel to be ſurrẽdred at the Dukes pleaſure, but procured alſo the Erle of Arranes peace, which Earle, the twelfth of Nouember next enſuing, came with the Biſhop of Glaſgo vnto Edenburgh, & there ſubmitted himſelfe to yͤ Dukes will.

The olde Counteſſe of Arran purchaceth hir ſons pardon.

About the ſame time, certayne Lords tooke part with the Erle of Murrey the kings baſtard brother againſt the Earle of Huntley, and reyſed a cõmotion, ſo that being gote into Edenburgh, there was muche adoe, and the Towne greatly diſquieted.

A commotion betwixt the Erles of Murrey and Huntley.

The gouernor lying in yͤ Abbey, came into the towne, and tooke the Erles of Huntley, Erroll, Murrey and others, and committed them to ward within the Caſtel while he tried yͤ cauſe, and finding that Maiſter William Hay beeing with the Erle of Murrey had rayſed yͤ ſturre, hee ſent the ſame Hay into France, there to remayne during his pleaſure, and forthwith yͤ ſayd Earles were ſet at libertie. Lion king of armes appointed to goe into England with letters to king Henry, was ſtopped at Caldſtreame by the Lord Hume, who tooke his letters from him, & kept him priſoner, til Alexãder Humes mother, yͤ remained priſoner in Dunbar was exchãged for him.

Lion king Armes, ſtay by the Lo Humes.

The .18. day of Decẽber, Alexãder duke of Roſſey yͤ kings brother, departed this life at Striueling. The .17. day of January, a truce was takẽ betwixt England & Scotlande, til the feaſt of Pentecoſt nexte.

A truce concluded betw England an Scotland.

This truce was agreed vpon at Coldingham, by certayn Commiſſioners, apointed on eyther part there, to treate for peace. For the Realm of Scotland were theſe, *Monſieur de Planes* the Frenche Ambaſſador, Archdeacon of Saint Androwes, Maſter Gawin de Dunbar, and Sir William Scot of Baluerie knightes. The Engliſh men compriſed for their part, yͤ Earle of Angus & the Lord Hume within yͤ compaſſe of this truce. In the meane time, the Erle of Arane departed frõ yͤ gouernor again, & repaired to yͤ weſt parts, where hee confederate himſelfe with certayne Lordes, notwithſtanding that Sir James Hamiltõ, and the Lorde of Cauder remayned pledges for hys good demeanor within yͤ Caſtell of Edenburgh.

The Erle of Arrane eſtſoones reuo teth from th gouernor.

The Erles of Lenox, Glencarne, and other cauſed the Caſtell of Dimbertaine and diuers other to be furniſhed, and tooke the Caſtell of Glaſgo with the kings great artillerie that lay within it, and ſpoyled the ſame.

The Earle of Lenox furn ſheth Dumb tayne.

The gouernor aduertiſed thereof, rayſed an army & went to Glaſgo, where by the labor of the Biſhop an appointment was taken, ſo that yͤ Caſtel was deliuered into yͤ Biſhops handes. The Erle of Lenox came in to the gouernor, and tooke a new reſpite, & about the beginning of Marche next following, the Earle of Arrane did the like.

The Erles Lenox and Arrane tak a reſpite.

Forman re neth his tit to the Arch biſhops Se

Forman yͤ Archbiſhop of S. Androwes, againſt whome the Prior of S. Androwes did ſtande as ye haue heard for that benefice, to the great vnquieting of yͤ Realme, by ſuch partakings as chanced therabout amõg yͤ Lords, came now to yͤ town of Edẽburgh, & reſigned all yͤ three benefices wherof he had purchaſed Bulles of yͤ Pope, that is to ſay, the Archbiſhoprick of S. Androwes, yͤ Abbacies of Arbroth & Dunfermeling in yͤ gouernors hãds, to beſtowe the ſame at his pleaſure: who by the counſel of certayn Lords to ſatiſfye ſuche as claymed intereſt to the ſame, and pacifying of all debates, beſtowed thẽ as foloweth. Firſt, the ſaid Archbiſhoprick he gaue vnto the foreſaid Forman with yͤ Abbacies of Dũfermeling, & to maſter James Hebborne, he gaue yͤ Biſhoprik of Murrey, & benefices worth a M. Markes by yere vnto yͤ Prior of S. Androws for a recõpẽce: the Abbacie of Dryburgh, he gaue vnto maſter James Ogiluy, and the Biſhopricke of

Beſtowing benefices.

Aberdene then vacant, vnto Alexãder Gurdon, & to yͤ Archbiſhop of Glaſgo called Beton, he gaue the Abbacie of Arbroth, aſſigning to the Earle of Murrey a large penſiõ out therof: one of yͤ Hamiltons was made Abbot of Kylwynning. And thus he beſtowed the benefices which had bin vacant euer ſithence Flodden fielde, vnto dyuers Lordes, or to their kinſmen, that by ſuche liberalitie vſed towards them, all debates and diſcordes might ceaſſe which had happened amõgſt them, ſpecially, about the beſtowing of the ſame benefices: this was done in the moneth of February. Shortly after, the gouernor by counſell of the Lords, to yͤ end the Realm might come to a perfect quietneſſe, and the noble men vnited togither, receyued into fauor the Erle of Angus, and maſter Patrick Pantoun Secretary, who for hys cauſe had bin kept as priſoner in Insche gay. He likewiſe receyued the Lorde Hume, and his brother, pardoning them all their offences paſt. And in Parliament holden the fift of May, they were reſtored to all their lands, heritages, fees, and honors. About that time, the Lord of Strawen in Athole, cõmitted diuers great offences & crimes, for the whiche, hee was taken by the Earle of Athole, and beheaded at Logiraith by the gouernors commiſſion.

1526

The Earle of gus and ther, receyed into uor.

All this while, the Parliament was not diſſolued but vpon prorogation, and ſo the ſame began agayne the firſt day of July, at what tyme the king of Englande, at requeſt of his ſiſter the Queene of Scotland, wrote letters to the Lords now aſſembled in Parliament, requeſting them to expell the gouernor forth of the Realme, but all the Lordes and eſtates with vniuerſall conſente, ſente Albany the Heralde with letters to the ſayd King, excuſing them, that they myghte not in any wiſe ſatiſfie his deſire therein, the ſame beeing againſte reaſon and the lawes of theyr countrey.

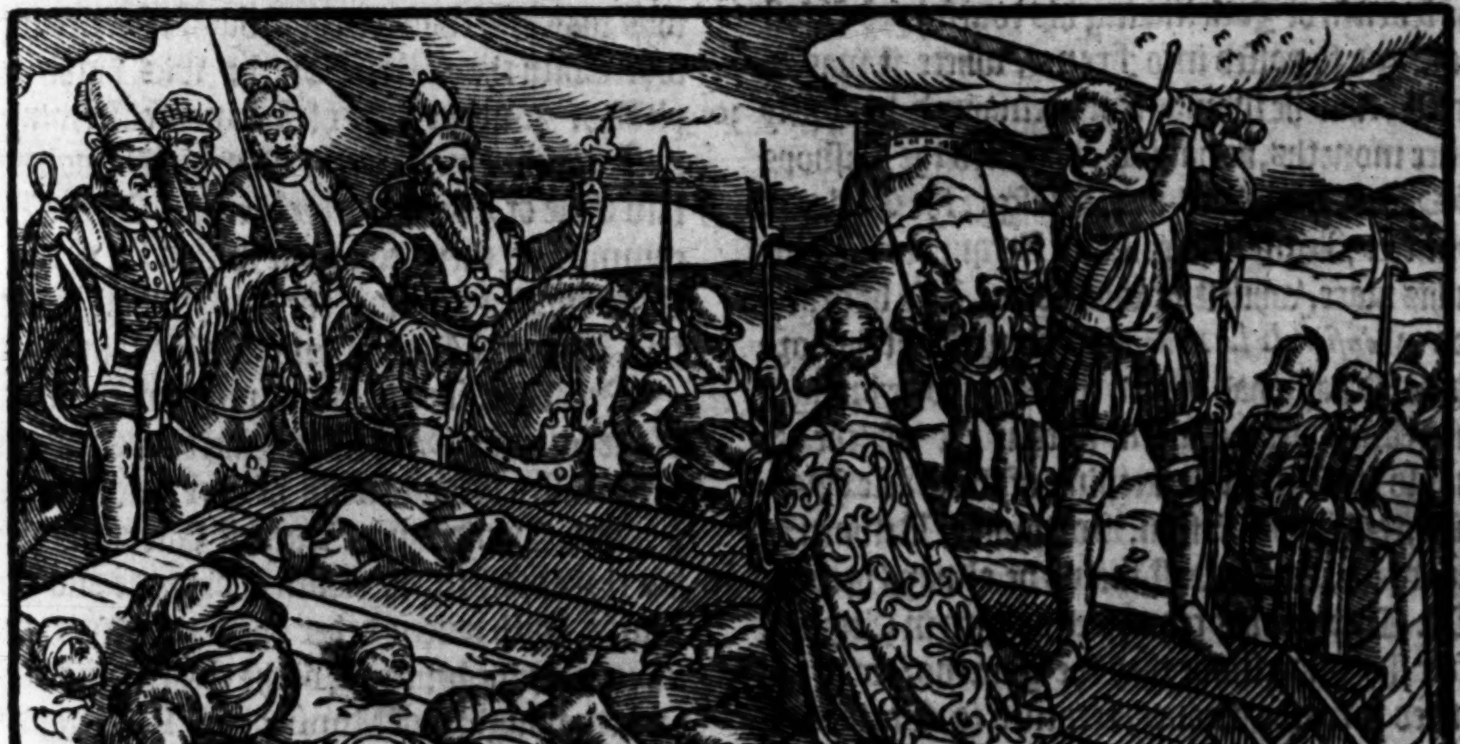
The Parliament began agayne.

The king of Englands letters to the Lords.

In the moneth of September, the gouernour commaunded the Lord Hume, with his brother Maiſter William Hume, & Dauid Kar of Fernihurſt to be arreſted and beſtowed in ſeuerall places, that better rule mighte be kept vpon the bordures, but they lying nowe in warde, ſundry informations were giuen vp againſt them, and therevpon the eyght of October, the ſaide Lorde Hume and his brother were conuict of Treaſon, for aſſiſting and mainteyning of the theeues vpõ the bordures, and other crimes, for the whiche, he was beheaded, and on the morrow after, his brother yͤ foreſaid William Hume was likewiſe beheaded, and their heads were ſet vpon the Tolbuith in Edenburgh: Dauid Kar was ſpared. And ſhortly after, the Duke rode to Jedworth with a greate company of men, and ſtayed the greate robbing and reauing which had bin vſed on the bordures, and left there good wardens to keepe good rule in thoſe partes, and ſo returned to Edenburgh. The third of Nouember, another Parliament was holdẽ, in which it was decreed, that the gouernor ſhoulde be deemed and reputed for ſecond perſon of the Realm, notwithſtanding the clayme made by his elder brother Alexander Steward, that was begotten on the daughter of the Erle of Orkney, which was alledged, to haue bin firſt maried to their father yͤ Duke of Albany, before hee was maried to the Erle of Bullognes daughter, on whome hee begote the gouernor, wherevpon this Alexander made proteſtation to be heire to his father, but they were afterward agreed, and Alexander renounced his title in hys brothers fauor, and was made Biſhop of Murrey, and Abbot of Scone. At this Parliament, the gouernor required licence to goe into Fraunce, and to be abſent there .vj. monethes, but this ſuite was not graunted till Aprill following.

The Lorde Hume, and other areſted, and cõmitted to warde.

The Lorde Hume beheaded.



e Duke of any viſith the bordures.

other Parliament.

e Duke of bany ſecond on of the ealme.

The gouerner asketh licence to goe into Fraunce.

The Erle of Lenox in warde.

Monſier de la Bautie made warden of the Marches.

1517

Ambaſſadors from France.

An Ambaſſage into France.

The gouernor goeth into France.

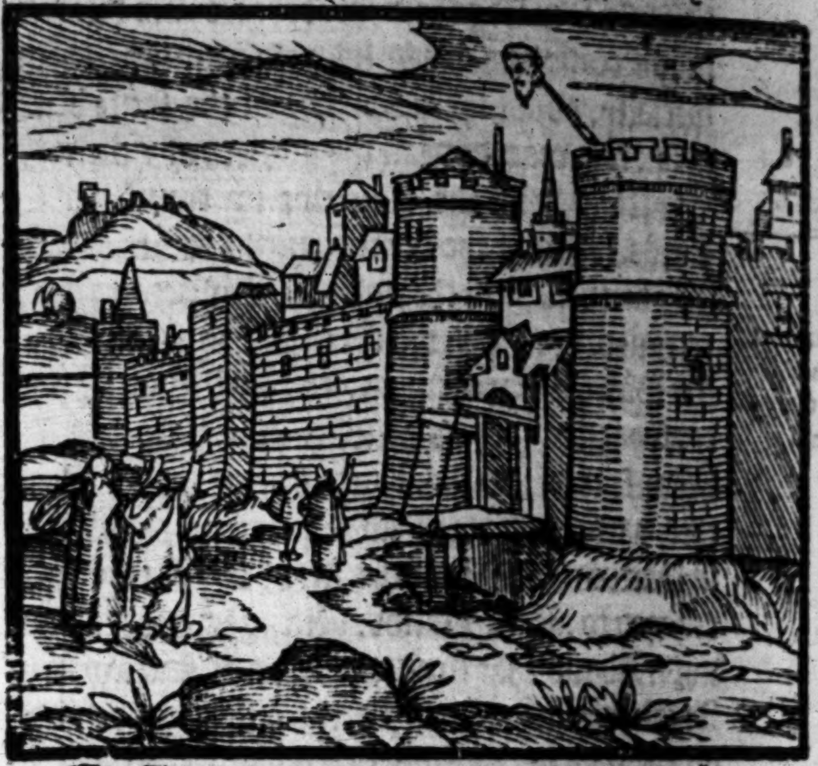
Gouernors appoynted to the kings perſon.

The king remoued.

The doubte which the Scottes had in the Quene.

Monſier de Bautie ſlain by the Lard Wedderbo

The ſame time, was the Earle of Lenox put in warde within the Caſtell of Edenburgh, till he had cauſed the Caſtell of Dunbritaine to bee deliuered vnto one Allane Steward in the Cūſtables name, and then he was ſet at libertie. In yͤ moneth of December, *Monſier de la Bautie* was made Warden of the Eaſt marches in ſteede of the Lord Hume, and kept dayes of truce, whiche procured him ſuche hatred, that it coſt him afterwardes his life. In the moneth of Januarie, the gouernor wente to S. Johns towne, and there held his ſeat of Juſtice, where the Lord Fleming for the time, was made greate Chamberlayne of Scotlande, with all the fees thereof. In the yeere 1517. there came Ambaſſadors from Francis the new French king, to deſire, yͭ the auntient league might be renued betwixt him and yͤ K. of Scotland, their Realmes, Dominions, and ſubiects: for the which cauſe, all the Lords of the Realme were aſſembled at Edenburgh, where by them it was concluded, that the gouernor himſelfe ſhuld paſſe yͤ Seas into France, & alſo, that the Biſhop of Dunkeild, the ſecretarie, & the maſter of Glencarne as Ambaſſadors ſhould goe thither, yͤ whiche the thirtenth of May, went a Shipboorde, and by the Eaſt ſeas ſayled thither, and the gouernor tooke Ship at Newmarke beſide Dunbertayne the ſeuenth of June, taking his courſe by yͤ Weſt ſeas, and ſo paſſed into France, where it was agreed, that he ſhoulde haue remayned but onely foure moneths, he hauing appointed the Biſhops of Saint Androwes and Glaſgo, the Earles of Huntley, Argile, Angus, and Arrane, to gouerne in his place, whileſt he was abſent. Alſo he ordeined *Monſier de la Bautie* Lieutenante of the bordures. He alſo had cauſed the King to be brought into Edenburgh Caſtell, within the whiche hee ſhould remaine in the keeping of the Earle Marſhall, the Lords Erſkin, Borthwike, Rithuen: of the which, two at leaſt ſhould be always preſent. The Queene that remayned as then in Englād, after ſhe vnderſtoode that the gouernor was departed towards France, returned to Edenburgh the ſeuententh of June, but ſhe was not ſuffered to ſee the King till Auguſt following, at what time, for feare of the peſtilence to be crept into the Caſtell, hee was remoued to Cragmiller, where the Queene oftentimes came vnto him, but at length, through ſome ſuſpition conceyued, leaſt the Queene might conuey him from thence into Englād, he was eftſoones brought vnto the Caſtell of Edenburgh, in whiche he was kept after, according to the order taken in that behalfe. The Lard of Wederborne & other borderers, hauing conceyued no ſmall grudge for the death of the Lord Hume, and further to ſee *De la Bautie* exerciſe his office, and to rule ouer them, they conſpired againſte him, and therevpon beſieged the houſe of Laughton, wherevpon, whē *De la Bautie* came forthe of Dunbar, to aſſemble the men of the countrey to rayſe the ſiege, as Lieutenant of the bordures, he was chaſed by the ſayde Larde of Wedderborne & other ſo fiercely, that in the end he was ſlayne, and foure Frenchmen with him: his head was cut from the ſhoulders, and ſet vp in the towne of Duns the nineteenth of January.



The Lordes regents were herewith marueilouſly offended, and choſe the Earle of Arrane to be warden of the bordures in De la Bauties place, who was alſo choſen to be prouoſt of Edēburgh: wherewith the Erle of Angus was highly diſpleaſed. But the Erle of Arrane, not ſeeming to paſſe muche thereof, tooke George Dowglas the ſaid Erle of Angus his brother, and Marke Kar, committing them to warde within the Caſtel of Edenburgh, bycauſe of the fauor he bare vnto the ſaid Lard of Wedderborne and his complices.

A Parlamen called.

The Lard o Wedderbo indited.

The Erle of Arrane com meth into Mers.

The maſter Hales.

Moreouer, for due puniſhmente of the murder of the foreſayd De la Bautie, there was a Parliament called the nineteenth of February nexte, in yͤ which, Dauid Hume Lard of Wedderborne, & his three brethr̄, William Cokborne and John Hume, with diuers other their partakers, were indited for the beſieging of the Caſtell of Laughton, the ſlaughter of Monſier de la Bautie, and for the ſetting vp of his head, intercomuning with the Engliſhmen, and diuers other miſdoings. Immediately after the end of this Parliamente, the Erle of Arrane came into the Mers, with a great Army, and hauing with him the kings great Artillerie, meante to haue beſieged ſuche places, as wold haue reſiſted him. But at his being in Louder, the keyes of yͤ Caſtell of Hume were brought vnto him, which on the next morow he receyued, and put men within it to keepe it as hee did in Laughton and Wedderborne, which he receyued at the ſame time. The maſter of Hales was alſo ſought for at that time, that hee mighte haue bin apprehended to anſwere the ſlaughter of Dauid Hume, Prior of Coldingham, whome hee had ſlayne trayterouſly. A little before this Parliamente, the Biſhop of Dunkeld was returned frō yͤ French King with a bande of yͤ league renued betwixt Scotland and France. And at that ſame time, was one Captayne Mores a Frenchman ſent forth of France, with a certayne number of men, to receyue the Caſtell of Dunbar into hys keeping, which accordingly he did, yͤ ſame beeing deliuered vnto him.

he band of ague be- ixt Scotlād France. ptayne ures.

1518

The Erle of Lenox, who had bin with yͤ gouernor in France, returned home into Scotland, and with him came a Frenche Heralt from the king with letters, and maſter Walter Stewarde Abbot of Glenluce came likewiſe from yͤ gouernoure. And about that time, bycauſe the Queene and Lords were aduertiſed that the French king had contracted newe bandes of peace and amitie with the king of England, without making mētion of Scotlande, they thought themſelues euill vſed, being his confederate friends, and thereupon ſent ſharp letters to the King of Fraunce, and to the gouernour, by Albany the Herralde.

The Abbot of lenluce

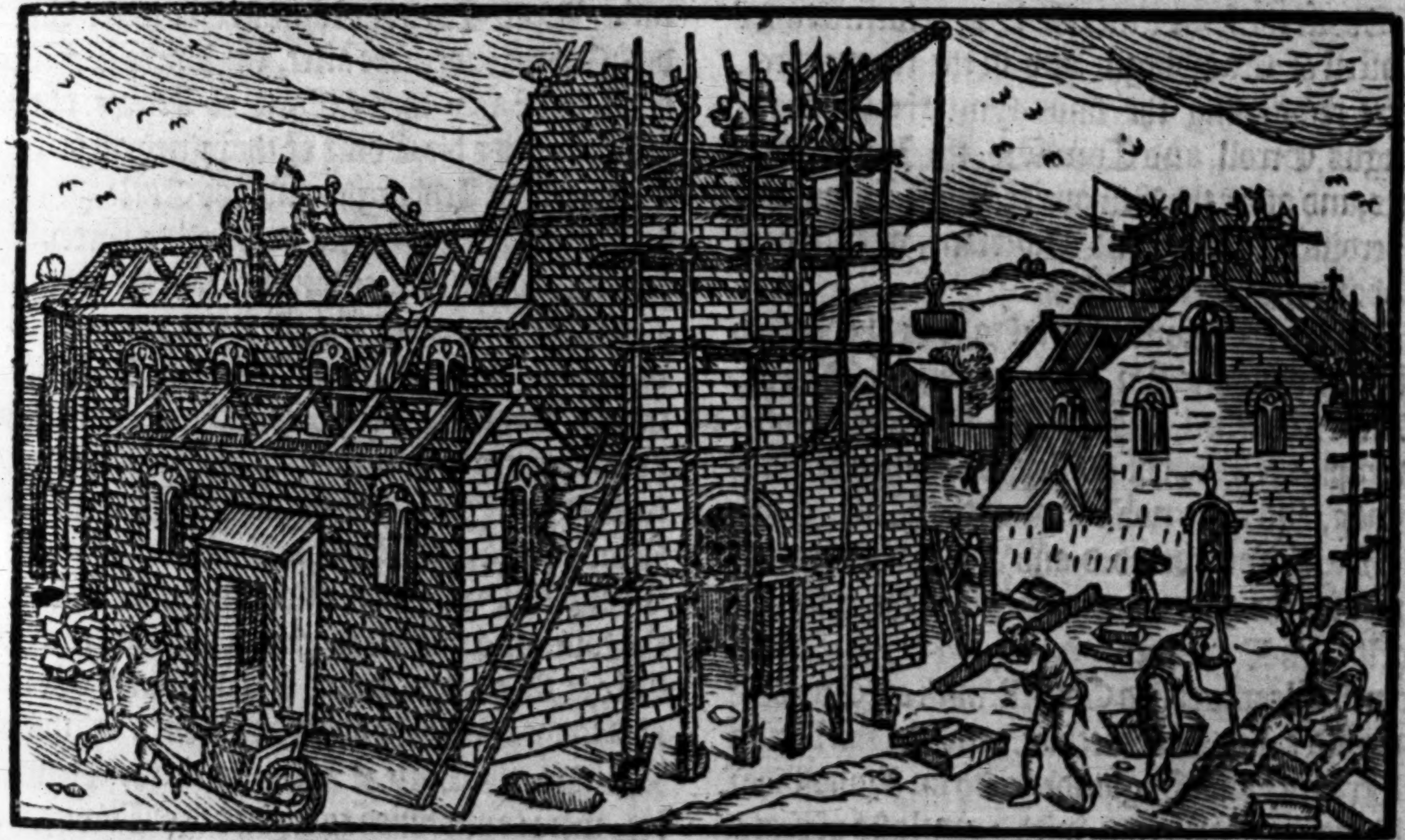
The Scots euil vſed at the French kings hands.

In the moneth of June, Maſter Gawin Dūbar, Archdeane of Saint Androwes, and Clearke of the Regiſter, was preferred to the Biſhops ſeate of Abberdene yͭ was vacant by the death of Alexander Gourdon. This Gawin founded an Hoſpitall in Abberdene, and endowed the ſame with lands for ſuſtenance of twelue poore men, with a prouoſt to haue care ouer them.

The Biſhop of Aberdine a builder.

He alſo builded a faire bridge, with ſeuen arches ouer the water of Dee beſide Aberdene, and purchaſed landes, for the perpetuall vpholding thereof.

He alſo builded two Steeples in the Cathedrall Church, with halfe of the croſſe Church and a faire Palace for the ſmall Prebendaries, called the Chaplaynes.



Moreouer, hee beſtowed many rich precious ornaments vpon the ſame Church of Abirdene, as Copes, Chalices, and other ſuche like things, which remayned there long after.

Many right commendable works were accompliſhed by this diligente Prelate, greatly to his praiſe and high renowne, for he ſpent not the frutes of his benefice in vayne, but on ſuche manner of buildings.

The ſeuenteenth of June, there roſe greate ſturre in Edenburgh, by the falling out of the Erle of Rothes, and the Lord Lindſey, about the enioying of the Sherifweeke of Fife, by reaſon whereof, they were both put in warde, the one in Dunbar, and the other in Dunbertayne.

ontention twixt the le of Rothes the Lorde ndſey.

About the beginning of Auguſt, the Queene remayning in Edenburgh, vnderſtoode that the Erle of Anguis hir huſband as then ſoiourning in Dowglas Dale, had taken a faire gentlewoman in thoſe partes, and kept hir as his concubine, for the which acte ſhe conceyued ſuch hatred againſte him, that there was neuer no perfect loue betwixt them afterwards. In the beginning of Februarie, there came a Clearke as Ambaſſador from the Frenche King with letters, concerning the concluding of the truce betwixt Scotland and England, whiche meſſage the Lords made ſmall account of, bycauſe the king had omitted to comprehend Scotlande in the league which he laſtly made with England.

e cauſe of e hatred betwixt the ueene and r huſband.

1519

The ſeuenth of June, a madde man in Dūdee ſlew in his wood fitte a Lady of inheritance, a Nunne, with two other women, the one of thē being great with Childe, and alſo two men.

A mad man.

The king of England wrote letters vnto the Frenche King, deſiring him to ſtay the Duke of Albany, that he might not come into Scotland, and furthermore, he layde Ships of warre in the

The king of England ſeeketh to keepe the Duke of Albany foorth of Scotland.

pace vpon the Seas to watche for his comming, and to take him by the way as he ſhoulde paſſe.

The Earle of Arrane.

In September, the King was remoued forth of the Caſtell of Edenburgh vnto Dalkith, for doubt of the peſtilence, which was ſuſpected to be in the Caſtell of Edenburgh. And from Dalkith the Earle of Arrane rode to Edenburgh, to haue bin eftſoones elected regent and prouoſt of that Towne: but he miſſed his purpoſe, for yͤ towneſmen woulde not ſuffer hym to enter, but repulſed hym backe, ſo that diuers were hurt on both ſides.

Diſſention betwixt the Earles of Arrane and Angus.

Herevppon, greate diſſention roſe betwixte the ſayde Earle of Arrane, and the Erle of Angus, bycauſe of his repulſe in that ſuite, whereby the whole Realme was deuided into partakings, ſo that ſundry ſlaughters thereof enſued, as of the Prior of Coldingham, and ſixe of his men murthered, by the Lard of Wedderborne at Lamerton, the ſixt of October.

About the ſame time, the king returned to the Caſtell of Edenburgh, and in the towne there, were remayning the ſame tyme the Earles of Angus, Erroll, and Crawford, the Lorde Glames, and other the Biſhops of Saint Andrewes, Aberdine, Orkney, and Dunblane, with dyuers Abbots and other Prelates.

Monſieur de la Fayot.

And in the towne of Glaſgo was the Biſhop of Glaſco Chancellor, with yͤ Earles of Arrane, Lenox, Eglentō, and Caſſels, the Lords Roſſe, Sempil, the Abbot of Paſley, the Biſhop of Galloway, and other noble men of the Weſt. Thus the Lords were deuided, and would not take any order for the good gouernemente of the common welth. In December, *Monſieur de la Fayot*, and a french Clearke called Cordell, with an Engliſhe Herrald called Clarenceaux, came frō the Kings of Fraunce and Englande, with an Imbaſſador alſo from the gouernor, with a concluſiō of peace, taken for one yeere, betwixt Scotland and England, who comming to Edenburgh, were receyued by the Earle of Angus and the other Lordes there with him, the whiche ſent for the Chancellor and the Earle of Arrane to come thither, but they wold not come any nerer, thā to Linlithgo. The Imbaſſador therefore tooke in hand to perſwade, that an aſſemble might be had in Striueling, but the Earle of Angus woulde not come there. Neuertheleſſe, the ſaid Imbaſſadors wente thither, where the Erle of Arrane and his partakers, as the Chanceller and others, receyued them thankfully, and proclaymed the peace, accordyng to the treatie which they had brought, and ſo with courteous anſwer and great rewards licenced thē to depart.

The peace proclaymed.

But in their returne towarde Englande, the Earle of Angus with a greate number of menne met thē at Carlauerok, reprouing them ſharply for their demeanor, and for taking their anſwere of the Chancellor, ſo that they were not a little afraid, leaſt yͤ Erle in his diſpleaſure, would haue vſed ſome outrage towardes them, which otherwiſe than in words it ſhould appeare, he did not.

1520

Variance
twixt the
of Angus,
the Lord of
Fernihurſt.

In January, about the keeping of a Courte at Iedworth, there was reiſing of people betwixte the Earle of Angus on the one part, and the Lorde of Fernihurſt, in whoſe ayde, Iames Hamilton came with foure hundred Mers men, but the Lorde of Seſſeforde then Warden, aſſiſting the Erle of Angus his part, met Hamilton at Kelſo with a greate company, and when they were light a foote, and ſhoulde haue foughten, the Mers men left ſir Iames Hamilton in al yͤ danger, with a fewe of his owne men about him, ſo that with muche payne he was horſed, and eſcaped in greate daunger vnto Hume, with loſſe of foure of his ſeruantes which were ſlayne, and on the other parte, there was an Engliſhman ſlayne called Raufe Car, that came in aide of the Warden. On the morrowe after, the Larde of Fernihurſt, as Bayly to the Earle of Arrane, of that regalitie helde his Court at the principall place of the forreſt of Iedburgh, and the Earle himſelfe helde his Courte likewiſe in an other parte of the ſame lande three miles diſtant from the other.

The thirtie day of Aprill, the Larde of Wedderborne, and Maiſter William Dowglas, newly made Prior of Coldingham, with theyr partakers in greate number, came to Edenburgh to ayde the Erle of Angus, who was within the Towne agaynſte the Earle of Arrane and the Chancellor, who were alſo there. But nowe by the comming of theſe ſuccours, whiche entred by force at the neather bowe, and ſlewe the Maiſter of Mountgomery, and Sir Patrick Hamilton Knighte, the Earle of Arrane, and the Chancellor, were conſtreyned to forſake the Towne, and to paſſe through the North loch.

The Lorde
Humes hea
taken dow

The one and twentie of Iuly, yͤ Erle of Angus beeing in yͤ Towne of Edenburgh, George Hume, brother to the late Lord Hume beheaded, came thither with the Abbot of Coldinghā, brother to the Earle of Angus, and Dauid Hume of Wedderborne, & a great company of Gentlemen & others, and paſſed to the Tolbuith, where they remayned till the heads of the Lorde Hume & of his brother William were taken downe beſide the place where they were faſtned on a gabil, and this was done in preſence of the prouoſt for the time being.

The next daye they went to Linlithgow, and from thence to Striueling, in hope to haue found the Chancellor, and ſome other of that faction there, but miſſing of their purpoſe, they returned to Edenburgh agayne, and cauſing ſolemne funerall obſequies to be kepte in the blacke Friers, for them that ought thoſe heads, with offerings and banquets, they afterwards returned home to their owne dwellings, without attempting any other thing for that preſent.

In Nouember, the Duke of Albany arriued in Scotlād on the weſt partes, at an Hauen called Grawzach, the nineteenth of the ſame moneth, and on the three and twentie he came to Edenburgh, accompanyed with the Queene, the Archbiſhop of Glaſgo Chancellor, the Earle of Huntley, and many other Lords, Knights, Barons, and Gentlemen, and within ſixe dayes after their cōming thither, the Prouoſt and Bayliſes were depoſed, bycauſe they had bin choſen in fauour of the Earle of Angus, and other appoynted in their roomthes. Then was there a Parliament ſummoned to be kepte at Edenburgh, the ſixe and twentie of Januarie next folowing, and on the ninth of January, a general ſommonance of forfalture was proclaimed at yͤ market Croſſe in Edenburgh, wherein were ſummoned yͤ Earle of Angus & his brother, the Prior of Coldinghā, the Lorde of Wedderborne, the Lorde of Dalehouſy, John Sommerwell of Cawdſtreme, and William Cockborne of Langton, with theyr complices, to make their appearance in the ſayde Parliament, to be tried, for ſundry great offences by them committed. Maſter Gawin Dowglas Biſhop of Dunkeld, hearing of this Proclamation, fledde into England, and remayned in Lōdon at the Sauoy, where hee departed this lyfe, and is buried in the Church there. He was a cunning Clearke, and a very good Poet: he tranſlated the twelue bookes of the Eneidos of Vergill in Scottiſh Metre, and compiled alſo the Palace of honor, with diuers other treatiſes in the Scottiſh language, which are yet extant. The Earle of Angus, fearing the ſentence of forfalture to bee layd againſt him at the Parliament, procured his wife (although there was ſmall liking betwixte them) to labor for his pardon vnto the gouernor: Whervpon it was agreed, that the Earle, and his brother George Dowglas ſhoulde paſſe out of the Realme into France, and there to remayne during the gouernours pleaſure: and ſo they departed into Fraunce, and remayned there all the next yeere following. The king of England hearing that the Duke of Albany was arriued in Scotlād, and had taken the rule vpon him, doubting leaſt he ſhoulde perſwade the Scottiſhmen to aſſiſt the French king, againſt whome, by perſwaſion of the Emperour he meante ſhortly to make warre, ſente this Herald Clarentieux into Scotlande, to require the Duke to departe from thence, alledging, that it was promiſed by the K. of Fraunce at the laſt entreuewe betwixte them, which chanced the Sommer before, that he ſhuld not come into Scotland. And moreouer, wheras the king of Englande was vncle vnto yͤ King of Scots, he conſidered with him ſelfe that by nature he was bounde to defend his Nephew as hee ment to do, & therefore he thought it not reaſon yͭ the Duke being next to yͤ Crowne to ſucceede, if ought came to yͤ yong king, ſhould haue the gouernement of him, leaſt he might be made away, as other yong kings had bin. He further complained, that yͤ Erle of Angus ſhould be ſent forth of yͤ Realme, ſo yͭ he could not enioy yͤ company of his wife, ſiſter to the ſame K. of England. Clarentieux had therefore commandement, that if yͤ Duke refuſed, to depart out of yͤ Realm of Scotland, he ſhould intimate a defiance with opē war againſt him, which the ſaide Clarentieux did, declaring his meſſage vnto the Duke from point to point at Holy Roode houſe, as he had in cōmandement. To whom yͤ Duke anſwered, that neyther yͤ king of France, nor the king of Englande ſhoulde ſtay him from comming into his countrey, and as touching the King, who was as yet yong in yeeres, hee loued him as his ſoueraigne Lord, and woulde keepe him & defend both him & his Realm againſt all other that would attempt to inuade yͤ ſame, according to his conſcience, honor & dutie. And as touching the Erle of Angus, he had vſed towards him all clemencie & mercie, notwithſtāding his euil demerites, and that principally for the Queenes cauſe, whom he woulde honor as mother to his ſoueraigne Lorde. Thys anſwer being reported to the king of Englande, cōtented him nothing at all, and therefore prepared to make warre. The tenth of Aprill, there came ſeuē great ſhips into yͤ Forth, vnto Inchkeith to haue ſpoyled yͤ Ships, & inuaded yͤ coaſt there. But they were ſo ſtoutly reſiſted & kept off, yͭ they were not ſuffered to do any great exploit, & ſo they returned without pray or priſe. In thys ſeaſon, Androw Formā Biſhop of S. Androws deceaſed, and Biſhop James Beaton Archbiſhop of Glaſgo, Chancellor of Scotlād was remoued to S. Androws, & made Abbot alſo of Dūfermeling, & the Archbiſhoprike of Glaſgo was giuē to a yong man one Gawin Dunbar, that was the kings Scolemaſter. In the moneth of May, ther was a great adoe in Edenburgh, by yͤ falling out of yͤ ſeruants of yͤ Erles of Murrey & Errol with the ſeruauntes of the Earle of Huntley, by reaſon whereof, the whole towne fell to partakings, but the Duke comming ſuddenly from the Abbey of Holy Roode houſe, ſtayed the matter, & committed the ſaid Earles vnto warde within yͤ Caſtell. The Emperour came into Englād & perſwaded yͤ K. there to moue warres againſt yͤ French K. and ſo not only yͤ Frenchmen but alſo the Scots were commanded to auoide out of Englād, their goodes conſiſked, & they cōueyd forth of yͤ land, wͭ a white croſſe ſowed vpō their vppermoſt garmēt

In

The Duke of Albany returneth into Scotlande.

The prouoſt Bayliſes of Edenburgh depoſed.

Parliamente ſummoned.

1521

Gawin Dowglas Biſhop of Dunkeilde fleeth into Englande.

The Earle of Angus feareth the ſentence of forfalture.

He and his brother baniſhed.

Clarentieux an Engliſh Herald ſent into Scotlande.

The King of Englād doubteth to haue the Duke of Albany gouernour to the king his Nephewe.

Warre denoūced by Clarētieux againſt the Duke of Albany.

The Dukes anſwere.

1522

The death of the Archbiſhop of ſaint Androwes. James Beaton ſucceded him.

A ſturre in Edenburgh.

The Emperor commeth into Englande.

Scottes and Frenchmen baniſhed forth of Englande.

The Earle of Shrewesburie inuadeth Scotland.

In July, the Erle of Shrewſburie was ſente by the king of England vnto the bordures, with commiſſion, to rayſe the power of the Northe partes to inuade Scotlande, who vpon the ſuddayne entred and came to Kelſo, where he burnt one parte of the towne, but the bordurers of the Mers and Teuidale not being halfe ſo many in number as the other, ſet vpon them, ſlewe, & tooke many priſoners, and ſo conſtreyned them to returne into Englande with ſmall honor.

The Duke of Albany reyſeth an Army to inuade Englande.

The Duke of Albany, hearing of the greate preparation that yͤ Erle of Shrewſburie made, to raiſe an army of foureſcore thouſande men to inuade Scotlande, hee likewiſe ſente vnto all the Earles, Lords, and Nobles of the Realme, willing them to raiſe all ſuche power as they coulde make in defence of their coũtrey, which they did, and ſo being aſſembled, the Duke with a mighty army of Scottiſhmen and certayne Frenchmen, with greate artillerie, marched forwarde, till hee came to the water of Eſke foreaneynſt Carlile, and perceiuing that the Engliſh armie came not then forwarde, he did what he could to perſwade the Noble men to enter into Englande, but as they were in counſell togither about that earneſt motion made to them by the Duke, a certayne graue perſonage ſayde to them in this manner: My Lords, hither be we come by the commaundement of my Lord gouernor Duke of Albany, & albeit we be ready to defende our owne natiue Realm, cõtraire yͤ inuaſiõ of our auld enimies of Englande, yet neuertheleſſe it ſeemeth not guid, nor for the weale of our realme of Scotlande to paſſe within England with our army to inuade the ſame at this time, and the earneſt perſwaſiõs whilke the gouernoure makes to vs to doe the ſame, proceedes alanerly for yͤ pleaſure of Frãce, it appeareth to be ſufficiẽt ynough for vs ſo lang as the king our ſoueraigne Lord is within age to defende our owne Realme, and not to inuade: otherwiſe, we may put the hayle countrey, and nobilitie thereof in hazard of Tinſall, for K. James the fourth brought the Realme of Scotlande to the beſt that it euer was, and by the warre, it was brought to the worſt almoſt that might bee: for by that warre, was hee and his nobilitie tinte, whilke Scotlande ſare laments. Wherefore by mine aduice, let vs goe to the gouernor, & knowe of him the cauſe why he waulde perſwade vs to inuade England.

The words of a Counſeller.

The Earle of Arrane declareth to the gouernor the mind of the Lordes.

Then they all came to the gouernours tente, and the Earle of Arrane, an auncient wiſe man ſpake for them al, and ſayd. My Lord gouernor, by your will and commandement, here is aſſembled the maiſt of the nobilitie of Scotlande with their power, vpõ a pretẽce to enter within England, my Lords here wauld know the cauſe and quarrell why this warre is begun, gif it myghte pleaſe your goodneſſe it ſhould well ſatiſfie their mindes. The Duke ſtudied a little ſpace, and ſayde, this queſtion woulde haif bin demaunded ere now, for well you know, that I for very loue I beare to the Realme of Scotland (of yͤ whilke I haue my name, honor and lignage) haife paſſed the Seas from the noble Realme of Fraunce, into this Realme of Scotlande, and great cauſe there was for me ſo to do, to bring you to a vnitie, when ye ware in diuiſion, by reaſon whereof, youre Realme was like to haue bin conquered and deſtroied. And alſo the king of France, by my ſuites & interceſſion, will ioyne with you in aide againſt yͤ Engliſh nation: and when this warre was determinate in the Parliamente, you made me Captayne, authoriſing me to inuade England with Banner diſplayde. Then was no demaund made of the cauſe or quarrell, and that I haif done, is by your aſſente and agreemente, and that I will iuſtifie. But to anſwere youre demaund, me thinke you haife iuſt cauſe to inuade England with fire, ſworde, and bloud, gif ye bee not forgetfull, and without you will beare diſhonor and reproch for euer. For yee knowe, that this Realme of Scotland is our inheritance, as a portion of the worlde allotted to our nation and aunceſtors whome we ſucceede, then where may there bee better warre, than to maintayne thys our naturall inheritance? Is it not dayly ſeene, the greate inuaſions that the Engliſhmen on vs make, the greate manſlaughter and murders, with thefts and ſpoyles that they do daily? Is not this one cauſe of warre? to defend the countrie is the office of a king, the honor of noble men, and the very ſeruice of chiualrie, and the dutie naturall of the communaltie: for I thinke it a iuſt quarrell, gif we mighte conquere the Realme of England, and annex it to our owne Realme, for the great iniuries and wrongs done by that Nation to vs and our predeceſſors: for ſeene the beginning of our habitation in this Iſle of Brytayne, the Engliſhmen and we haue euer bin enemies, and vs haif they euer hated, and yet haue we euer withſtand them. Suppoſe, we at the laſt battell of Flodden by chance, loſt our ſoueraigne Lorde, and diuers noble men, whilke was rather by treaſon of the Lorde Chamberlayne than otherwiſe, who woulde not relieue the kings army when he might. And yet I thinke we wanne the field, whilke murder all we noble men oughte to reuenge. Therefore I woulde that you ſhoulde couragiouſly aduance your ſelues in this quarrell to get honor, and to be reuenged. Then one wiſe man that was preſident of the counſell anſwered the gouernour, ſaying. My Lord, fortune of weir is led by him, that al leydes, and he ſtrikes the ſtrake, we can warke na miracles, and heare are the Lords of England ready to encounter vs.

The Dukes anſwere to the Erle of Arrane.

The reply wiſe Coun ſeller.

And gif wee inuade their Realme, ſurely they will fighte, for their power ſall encreaſe dayly, and oures will diminiſh. And gif God graunt vs the victory (as I truſt he ſhall) yet haue we not wonne the field, for ready comming is the Earle of Shrewſbury ſa mikell dread in Fraunce as ye knawe wel, with an great puiſſant army, and there is na doubt, but the King of England will ſend or bring another army gif we ſhould chance to get the firſt battayle, and gif we get the ſecond field, that will not be without great loſſe of many nobles, by reaſon whereof, the Realme ſhall be weaker, and gif we be ouercommen, how many ſould be ſlayne, God knawes. They that flie are worthy to be reputed as Traytors to the K. and ſo by wilfulneſſe and fule hardineſſe, the Realme may be in ieopardie to be vndone. I ſay, while the king is within age, we aught to moue na weir, leaſt by weir, we maye bring him to deſtruction. Then ſayd the valiant gouernour, here is an puiſſant army of Scotland, gif we returne, we ſall encourage our enimies. Therefore ſeene you thinke it not gude to inuade, my counſel is, that we camp ſtill on the bordures, while we ſee what the Engliſhmen pretends to doe againſte our Realme, to the which, the nobles conſented, and lay ſtill there in camp certayne dayes after. After this conference had betwixte the Nobles, and the gouernour, the Queene as then beeyng not with them, but aduertiſed of all the proceedings and determinations, ſent word to the gouernour, and deſired him, that there might bee a treatie of peace had, and ſhee promiſed to get the Warden of the Engliſh marches to come to the gouernours camp, vpon pledges, whereunto the gouernour condiſcended. Herevppon the Lorde Dacres, Warden of the Weſt Marches of England, came vnto the gouernours camp, and thither alſo at that time, was the Queene hir ſelfe comen, & ſo vpon the eleuenth of September, an abſtinence of war was taken and couenanted, yͭ in the meane time, yͤ Duke and Queene ſhould ſend Ambaſſadors into England, to treate and conclude a reſolute peace.

e gouer-
n words
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reply.

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peace.

e Lorde
es.

In the moneth of October next enſuing, there were three Ambaſſadors ſent into England, according to the agreemente in the laſt treatie, but there were ſo hard and extreame conditions proponed on the King of Englands behalfe, that the ſame could not be accepted, as being contrary to the honour & weale of yͤ Realme of Scotlande, as the Scottiſhmē toke the matter. And ſo thoſe Ambaſſadors returned, withoute agreemente or concluſion of peace, whereuppon folowed greate trouble betwixte them of the borders of bothe Realmes. The Earle of Northumberland was made Warden of the whole marches, but ſhortly after, he began to make ſute to bee diſcharged of that office, and ceaſſed not til he obteyned, and then was the Earle of Surrey made generall warden, & the Lorde Marques Dorſet, warden of the Eaſt and middle marches, the Lord Dacres continuing ſtill in his office of Wardenſhip ouer the Weſt marches. Aboute the ſixth day of March, the ſayd Lordes came to the borders, about which time, the Duke of Albany cōſidering that the warres betwixte Scotlande and England were yrkeſome to the nobles of the Realm, bycauſe the ſame warres were taken in hande, chiefly to ſerue the Frenche Kings turne, therefore he paſt by the Weſt Seas into France, and in the beginning of March where he was ryghte hartily and gladly receyued of the King, his requeſt was only to haue fiue thouſand horſemen, and ten M. footemen of Almaynes, to bee tranſported into Scotlande, and doubted not, if hee mighte haue this graunted, but that with that power, and the aſſiſtance of the Scottes, he ſhuld be able to ouerthrow the K. of England in battel, or elſe to driue him out of his Realme. But the French K. neyther beleued this vayne brag, nor yet myghte ſpare anye ſuch power, hauyng warre at that time both agaynſt Englande, and the Emperoure, neuertheleſſe, he promiſed hym ſome ayde, whervpon the Duke abode & wayted for the ſame a long ſeaſon. In the meane while, the Lordes of Scotland cauſed certayne noble men to lie vppon the borders monethly in defence of the ſame againſt the Engliſhmē, dayly looking for ſupport from Fraunce. Euery cōpany remayned their monethes, and then departed home as the cuſtome is, and thus they continued ſtill till September following. Much hurt was done on eyther part, and diuers houſes were ouerthrowen and deſtroyed both in Englande & Scotland. During whiche time, the King of Fraunce prepared certayne ſhippes, with men, and munition, to paſſe with the Duke of Albany into Scotland, but the King of England to catch him by the way, had layde a greate nauie of Shippes in the paſe on the Seas, as he ſhould make his courſe: but the Duke embarquing him ſelfe with his people at Breſt in Britayne, ſayled by the Weſt parts of Englande, and the one and twentith of September, landed at Kirkowbre in the Weſt partes of Scotlande: hee broughte with hym beſide a good number of Frenchmen, Richard de la Poole, a man of great parentage, borne in England, and baniſhed hys Countrey. Whileſt the Duke was on the ſea, making ſayle towarde Scotlande, the Earle of Surrey, with an army of twentye M. men, entred Scotlande, and comming to Edenburgh, brenned the Towne and the Abbey. It was thought they meant to haue paſſed further, but the Scottiſhmen aſſembling themſelues againſt

e Earle of
humber-
made
Warden.

The Earle of Surrey.

The Lorde Marques Dorſet

The Lorde Dacres.

The Duke of Albany goeth ouer into Fraunce.

His requeſt.

His vayne bragge.

1523

The borders watched.

The Duke of Albany returneth into Scotlande.

The Earle of Surry inuadeth Scotland

theyr inuaſions, they were conſtreyned to returne with loſſe (as ſome Scottiſhmẽ haue written.) The D. immediately after his ariual came to Edenburgh, where he cauſed all the Lords of the Realme to aſſemble in that towne, where he declared the great loue and affection that the K. of Fraunce bare to the Realme of Scotlande, in ſo muche, as hearing of the ſlaughters, murthers, and brennings, practiſed by the Engliſhmen, he thought that he felt the ſame done vnto him, reputing himſelfe one of their members, and for reuenging thereof, he woulde be partner with them as their member, for more credite whereof, he ſhewed the Kings letter, confirming his declaration. Hee therefore exhorted them to aſſemble an armie, in reuenge of iniuries and wrongs done to them and their Countrey. for he had brought with him money, men, and artillerie, to the furtherance thereof. Hereupon it was concluded, ẏ the army ſhould aſſemble at Dowglas dale the eyghtenth of October, the whyche concluſion they kept, & from thence they marched to Caldſtreame vpon Twede, and ſent ouer the water certayne of their greate artillerie, with a company of frenchmen and Scottes, by ẏ gayding of Dauid Car, and being got ouer, they lay ſiege to the Caſtel of Warke, which was kept by ſir Wil. Liſle Captaine therof, hauing with him a ſtrong garriſon of Engliſhe ſouldiers, & greate prouiſion of artillerie, and all things neceſſarie, yet at the firſte aſſault, the vtter Barnekin was wonne, and the ſaide company of Scottiſhmen and frenchmẽ lay within the ſame, endomaging the Caſtell in all they mighte. The Earle of Surrey and diuers other of the Engliſh nobilitie, with an army of fortie thouſande men, were at Anwyke, not farre diſtante from Warke, and the Marques Dorſet was ſente with a greate companye to keepe the Towne of Barwike, for doubt leaſt the ſame ſhuld haue bin beſieged. Alſo in the meane time, a newe aſſaulte was made to the inner barnekin of Warke, and the ſame won likewiſe as the other had bin before. After thys, was the Caſtell aſſayled, and parte of it beaten downe, with the artillerie lying on the Scottiſh ſide of the water of Twede. At which breach, the aſſault was giuen, and the ſame continued, till that through mirknes and lacke of lighte, the aſſaylants were driuen to retire.

Dauid Ca
Warke C
beſieged.

The Earl
Surrey w
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ſand men.
The n a
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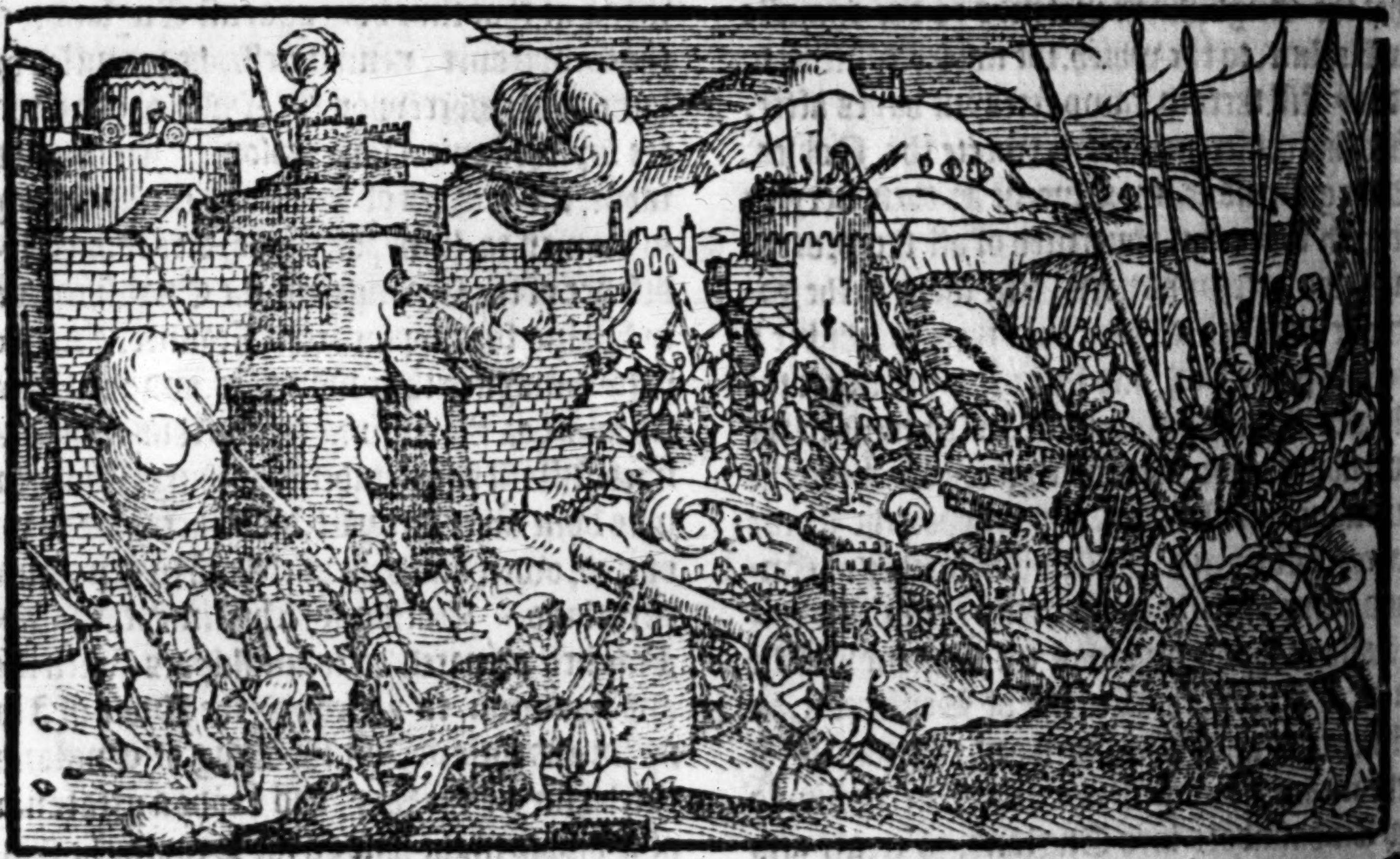
Warke aſ-
ſaulted.



Greate ſlaughter was made at that aſſaulte on both ſydes, but eſpecially of them within the houſe. The aſſaylantes meante to haue gyuen a freſhe aſſaulte the nexte day, beyng the fourthe of Nouember, but a ſore and vehemente ſtorme and tempeſt of rayne chanced that nighte, that they were conſtreyned to leaue off that enterpriſe, and to get themſelues ouer the riuer again vnto the army, leaſt by the riſing of the water of Twede, they might haue bene cutte off by theyr enimies, before they coulde haue bin ſuccoured.

The Scottes and French ſente back ouer the water.

In the meane time, whyleſt this ſiege continued, a number of Scottiſhmen made a roade into the Countrey of Glendale within the Engliſhe marches, and brente and ſpoyled dyuers Townes, caſt downe ſundry piles, and returned without anye reſiſtance: for the Earle of Surrey woulde ſuffer none of his people to depart from the army, nor breake order, for feare of more inconuenience.

Glendale
burned by
the Scotte

The Duke of Albany lying on the Scottiſhe ſyde of Twede, ſent an Herrault vnto the Earle of Surrey, willing him to call to remembrance, howe in his abſence he had inuaded Scotlande with fire and ſworde, for the whiche cruell dealing, he required him vpõ his honor to come forward, & he would meete him in ẏ cõfines of both ẏ realmes, & giue him battel, to which the Earle

An Herrault
ſent.

anſwegiue him battell, to the which meſſage the Earle aunſwered, that he had no commiſſion to inuade Scotland at that time, but only to defend, and (as ſome haue reported) hee cauſed a ſecrete meſſenger to paſſe to the Queene, as then lying a good way diſtant from the army, to moue for ſome abſtinence and truce, and further to perſwade the Duke to retire home, which hee did, ſo that by hir labour, a truce was taken for that inſtant, and afterward cõfirmed for a longer time: and thus the Duke returned with honour (as the Scottiſh men report.) This truce was wel kept all the next Winter following, and no inuaſion made, till the moneth of May. And then was the Earle of Surrey ſente agayne to the Engliſhe borders, and the Lordes of Scotlande on the other parte monethly lay on their borders by quarters, for defence of their Countrey, as the vſe is.

On Trinitie Sonday, beeing the one and twentith of May, a fiue hundred Scottes entred Englande, to ſurpriſe the Engliſhe Merchantes, and others, going that daye vnto Berwike, where yearely on that daye the fayre is kept, and ſo by reaſon thereof, they met with dyuers of them that went to this fayre, and tooke to the number of two hundred priſoners, whome they ledde with them into Scotlande, but Hall ſayeth, that by the comming of the yong Lorde of Fulbery to the ſuccours of the Engliſhmen, the Scottes were chaſed, and loſt two hundred of their numbers.

The fifth of Iuly, Sir William Fenwicke, Leonarde Muſgraue, and Baſterde Heron, with diuers other, to the number of nine hundred Engliſhmenne, entred into the Mers, and began to ſpoyle and robbe the Countrey, but they were ſhortly compaſſed about with Scottiſhmen, and ſo hardly aſſayled, that although they fought valiantly a good while, yet by fyne force they were compelled to giue grounde, and ſeeke to ſaue themſelues by flight, in whiche, a two hundred of them were taken priſoners, and Baſterd Heron with diues other ſlayne.

Engliſhmen inuade Scotlande.

Engliſhmen diſcomfited. Baſterd Heron ſlayne.

Amongſt the priſoners, were Sir Rauf Fenwike, Leonarde Muſgraue, and dyuers other Gentlemen of good calling.

The ſeuententh of Iuly, the Lord Maxwell, and Sir Alexander Iordeyne, with diuers other Scottiſhmen in great number, entred England at the Weſt marches by Carleile, with diſplayed banners, and began to harrie the Countrey, and brente diuers places. The Engliſhmen aſſembled on euery ſide, ſo that they were far more in number than the Scottiſhmen, and therupon ſet fierſly vppon their enimies, in ſo muche, that for the ſpace of an houre, there was a ſore fighte continued betwixt them, but the Lord Maxwell like a righte politique Captayne (as of all that knewe him hee was no leſſe reputed) ceaſed not to encourage his people, and after that, by the taking of Alexander Iordayne and diuers other, they hadde bin putte backe, hee broughte them in aray agayne, and beginning a newe ſkirmiſhe, recouered in a manner all the priſoners, tooke and ſlewe dyuers Engliſhmen, ſo that hee returned with victorie, and ledde aboue three hundred priſoners with hym home into Scotlande.

Four thouſand ſaith Hall.

The Lorde Maxwel inuadeth England.

After this iourney, there was an aſſemble of the Lordes in Edenburgh, with the Duke of Albany, where ſome of the Lordes were of mind that the warre ſhoulde continue: other thought it not reaſon, that for the pleaſure onely of Fraunce, the Realme ſhould ſuſtayne ſuche damage, as it had done by thoſe three laſt yeares warre now paſſed, and therefore they perſwaded peace.

An aſſemblye of the Lordes.

Moreouer, there was alſo muche debating of the matter, touching the age and gouernemente of the King, ſome of the Lordes holding, that he was now of age to take the rule vpon himſelfe, and that the gardenſhip or tutorie of a King expired, ſooner than of another priuate perſon.

The Duke of Albany perceyuing howe the Lordes were deuided amongſt them ſelues, and neyther content with his gouernement, nor willing to maynteyne the warres which hee had ſo earneſtly perſwaded for the pleaſure of Fraunce, he declared to them that hee would returne into Fraunce, and ſo taking his leaue of the nobilitie, wente to Striueling, where the King was, of whome hee tooke leaue, also giuing vnto hym ſuche louing and faithfull counſell, as to hys knowledge ſeemed expedient, and ſo wente into the Weſt Countrey, where hee tooke the Seas in September, and ſayled forth into Fraunce.

The Duke of Albany returneth into Fraunce.

The King of Englande hauing in the moneth of June ſente ouer into Fraunce, vnto Archimbald Earle of Angus, that remayned there vpon commaundement of the Duke of Alban y, perſwaded him to come from thence ſecretly into England, which accordingly he dyd, and being ſafely arriued in Englande, Kyng Henrye procured hym to paſſe into Scotlande, that with the aſſiſtance of ſuche Lordes as would bee ready to take his part, he myghte reyſe warre against the Duke of Albany, which ſought by all meanes (as the Kyng of Englande was enformed) to deſtroy hym and his, but ere the Earle could come into Scotlande, the Duke was departed toward Fraunce.

The Earle of Angus commeth into England.

The ſixe and twentith of July, the Kyng by aduice of his mother, and certayne yong Lords, came from Striueling vnto Edenburgh, and a three dayes after, the Queene tooke the whole gouernement of the King vppon hir, and entred into the Caſtell of Edenburgh with the Kyng, where they ſoiourned the moſt parte of the nexte Winter.

The Queene taketh the gouernement into hir hands.

The Prouoſt of Edenburgh was diſcharged, whome the Towne hadde choſen, and the Lorde Marwell was appoynted by the Queene, Prouoſt in his place.

There was a Parliament alſo ſommoned to be holden at Edenburgh the third day of February nexte enſuing.

A Parliament ſommoned.

The King of Englande glad to heare that the Duke of Albany was departed into France, ſent into Scotlande in Imbaſſage one maiſter John Magnus, and Roger Ratclife Eſquier, to declare vnto the Queene and Lordes, that hee would bee content that a truce might be accorded betwixte the two Realmes of England and Scotlande nowe that the Duke of Albany was returned into Fraunce, who had bin the onely procurer of the warres: herevpon, they agreed to take truce to endure for one yeare, and in the meane tyme, they appoynted to ſende Imbaſſadors into Englande to treate vpon a continuall peace, aliaunce, and amitie to be hadde betwixte both the Realmes.

A truce ta
for one ye

In this meane whyle, the Earle of Angus came into Scotlande, and bycauſe of the diſpleaſure whiche the Queene bare him, there enſued occaſion of greate diuiſions within the Realme, notwithſtanding the Queene by aduice of certaine Lordes, ſente the Lord Gilbert Earle of Caſſels, Robert Cockburne Byſhoppe of Dunkeld, and the Abbot of Cambuſkenneth, Imbaſſadors into Englande, in the moneth of December, the whiche were receyued at Grenewiche by the King of Englande the foure and twentith of the ſame moneth, where the Byſhop of Dunkeld made an eloquent oration in latine, declaring the cauſe of theyr commyng, the whiche in effect was for intreatement of peace, loue, and amitie betwixte the two Realmes, and for the more ſure eſtabliſhment thereof, they requiered that a mariage might be concluded betwixte theyr King and the Ladye Mary, daughter to the King of England.

Ambaſſad
into Eng

This requeſt was well heard by the Kyng, who therevppon appoynted commiſſioners to common thereof with the ſayde Imbaſſadors, diuers articles were proponed by the ſayd Commiſſioners on the King of England his behalfe, and in eſpeciall one, whiche was, that the Kyng of Scotlande ſhoulde renounce the league with the King of Fraunce, and that further, he ſhould come into Englande, and remayne there till hee came to perfect age to bee maried: bycauſe the Imbaſſadors had not commiſſion to conclude ſo farre, the Earle of Caſſels returned into Scotlande, to vnderſtande the myndes of the Lordes and Counſell in theſe poyntes, the other remayning at London till his returne to them agayne.

When the day of the Parliament appoynted to be holden in the Tolbuith of Edenburgh was come, the king, Queene and Lords fearing ſome tumult in the Towne to be reyſed by the Earle of Angus, woulde not paſſe forth of the Caſtell, but kept the Parliament within the ſame.

The Earle of Angus and Lennox and dyuers other, to the number of two thouſand men, came in the night ſeaſon vnto Edenburgh, bycauſe they durſt not enter the Towne in the day time, for feare of the gunnes that lay in yͤ Caſtel.

The next day, being the fourtenth day of February, the ſayd Earles with the Archbyſhop of Saint Andrewes, the Byſhop of Aberden, that by the Queenes appoyntment had bin kept before in ward, the Byſhop of Dunblane, the Erle of Arguile, and diuers other Lords and Barons being in the Towne, ſente to the Caſtell, alledging, that the King was kept as priſoner by the Queene, and iuſtice ſuppreſſed, with greate domage of the common wealthe, and therefore hee deſired, that the King might bee deliuered vnto them to be gouerned by the aduice of the three eſtates, and if they refuſed to deliuer him, they would beſiege the Caſtell, and if they wanne it, all their liues within ſhuld reſt at their pleaſures, the Kings only excepted.

Earle of gus his quest.

The Queene by the counſell of the Earles of Arrane and Murrey, refuſed not only to delyuer the King, but ſent them worde, that excepte they did departe the Towne, they woulde ſurely diſcharge all the artillerie of the Caſtell agaynſt them.

Herevppon, greate feare roſe in the towne, ſpecially among the burgeſſes, but by the diligēce of certayne perſons that trauelled betweene the parties, an aſſurance was taken on eyther ſyde for certayne dayes. In the meane time, the Erle of Angus cauſed the Caſtell to bee forſette, that neyther meate nor other thing might be ſuffered to be conueyd into it, except ſo much as myghte ſerue for the ſuſtentation of the Kings owne perſon. At length, all the parties were agreed, ſo that the foure and twentith day of February, the King came vnto the Parliament holden in the Tolbuith in moſt honorable wiſe, with the aſſiſtaunce of all the eſtates, hauing the Crowne, Scepter, and ſword borne before him, and from thence hee was brought to the Abbey, where hee remained.

beſetteth Caſtell of burgh.

parties agreede.

In this Parliament, there were eight Lords choſen to bee of the Kinges priuie counſell, the whiche tooke the gouernemente of the Kyng and Realme vpon them, as theſe: The Archbyſhops of S. Andrewes and Glaſko, the Byſhops of Aberden and Dunblane. The Earles of Angus, Argile, Arrane and Lennox: the Queene was adioyned to them as principall, withoute whoſe aduiſe nothing ſhould be done. From this Parliament alſo was the Erle of Caſſels ſente, with aunſwere vnto the King of England: hee came to Londō the ninteenth of March. But bycauſe the King had knowledge that the Frenche King was taken at the battaile of Pauie, hee woulde not proceede in the treatie of marriage betwixt the King of Scotlande and his daughter, til he had the Emperours aduice, whome he affirmed to bee his confederate friende, and ſo renuing the truce for three yeares and ſixe monethes, the Ambaſſadors returned into Scotland about the beginning of Aprill next enſuing, without anye contract of mariage at that tyme.

ſelors pointed.

Truce renued.

The agreement betwixt the Queene and Lords continued not long, for anone after dyed the Biſhop of Dunblane, whoſe benefice the Earle of Angus obteyned of the King for his brother William Dowglas, withoute the aduice of the Queene and other Lords, wherevppon, the Q. departed and went vnto Striueling, leauing the King with the Earle of Angus, who tooke the whole rule and gouernement of the Realme and King vpon him, and made his Vncle Archimbald Dowglas Treaſourer of the Realme, and beſtowed benefices, offices, and all other things, by the aduice of his brother George Dowglas, and the Earle of Lennox who aſſiſted them.

In this meane time, the Archbyſhop of Saint Andrewes, and the Earles of Arrane, Arguile and Murrey, remaynyng with the Queene at Striueling, alledged that the King was withholden from them by the Earle of Angus, ſore againſt his will, and therefore they ſent vnto the Earle, requiring him to deliuer him: but yͤ Earle cauſed the K. to giue the aunſwere himſelfe, that hee woulde not come from the Earle of Angus, albeit he would gladly haue bin out of his hādes if he might, as by ſecret meſſages ſent to ſundry of the Lords, and likewiſe at that time it appeared, for he willed them by priuie meanes to aſſemble an army, and to come and fetch him out of their hands that thus deteyned him. Herevpon ſhortly after, they reyſed a power, and comming therewith to Linlithgew, purpoſing to paſſe into Edenburgh, that they mighte get the King out of the Earle of Angus his hands: the ſayd Earle with the Earle of Lennox and other his aſſiſtāts being thereof aduertiſed, came to the fielde with the Kings banner diſplayd, and brought the K. with him, although partly agaynſt his will.

The King not in his owne power.

The Queene mother in armes.

The Queene with ſuch Lordes as were with hir there in the army, for the reuerence they bare to the Kings perſon, and fearing the daunger that myght chance vnto them if they buckled togither in a foughten field, they withdrew thēſelues to Striueling, & from thence the Queene went into Murrey lād with yͤ Erle of Murrey, and there remayned a long time after.

The Erles of Arrane and Arguile wente into the Weſt Countrey, and the Byſhoppe of Sainte Andrewes to Dunfermeling, and then the Earle of Angus tooke vpon him more boldly the gouernement of the King and Realme, and ſent to the Byſhoppe of Saint Andrewes (who was Chancellor) for the greate ſeale, which was deliuered to them that were ſo ſent for it.

The greate ſeale deliuered

The nobles of the Realme remayning thus at variance, and deuided among themſelues, there was ſmall obedience of lawes and iuſtice, diuers ſlaughters in ſundrye partes were committed, greate theftes and robberies made by the borderers vpon the Inland Countreys.

A diuorſe betweene the Queene, and the Earle of Angus.

Moreouer, a diuorſe this yeare (as ſome haue ſayd) was ſued before the Archbyſhop of Sainte Andrewes, betwixte the Queene, and the Earle of Angus hir huſbande, and then afterwardes ſhee tooke to huſband one Henrye Steward, ſonne to the Lorde of Auendale, which Henry was after created by the King Lord of Methwen.

1526

The foure and twentith of Iuly, the Kyng beeing accompanyed with the Earle of Angus, the Lorde Hume, the Karres and others, roade vnto Iedburgh, in purpoſe to haue reformed the miſgouernaunce of the borders, but after that they had remayned there three dayes with little obedience ſhewed towardes them, they returned, and on the nine and twentith day of Iuly, at the bridge of Melroſe, the Lard of Boclough, accompanyed with a thouſand horſemen, began to ſhewe himſelfe in ſight, whoſe principall purpoſe was to haue taken the King from the Erle of Angus and his aſſiſtantes, beeing requeſted and commaunded by the Kyng hymſelfe ſo to doe.

The Lard of Boclough his enterpriſe, to take the King from the Earle of Angus.

The Earle of Angus incontinently ſente an Herrault vnto the Lard of Boclough, to knowe what his intention was to doe, who aunſwered, that he came to doe the King honour and ſeruice, and to ſhewe hys friends and power as the vſe is of the borderers.

The Earle of Angus and the Lorde Hume, and the reſt, not beeing contente with thys aunſwere, bycauſe of the greate feude betwixte hym and the Humes and the Karres, ſente vnto him a commaundemente in the Kings name to departe, and not to approche neere to the Kynges preſence, vnder payne of hygh treaſon, whereunto he aunſwered, that he knew the Kings mind well ynough, and would not ſpare for this commaundemente to come to his graces preſence, which aunſwere receyued from him, incontinently the Earle of Angus, the Lordes Fleming and Hume, the Karres, the Larde of Seſſeford, with their friends, alighted on foote, the King remayning on horſebacke, accompanyed with the Erle of Lennox, the Lorde Maxwell, George Dowglas, and Ninian Crechton, Tutor of Sainquhar.

The Larde of Boclough lighted alſo on foote, but bycauſe the moſt part of his men were of the theeues and outlawes of the borders commonly called broken men, vppon their firſt comming to ioyning with their ſpeares, they fledde, leauing the Lard of Boclough with a ſmall number of hys owne ſeruauntes about him in all the daunger, yet they defended themſelues righte manfully, and ſlewe the Lard of Seſſeforde and dyuers other on the Earle of Angus hys ſyde, but finally, ouerpreſſed with multitude, they were put to flight, and fourescore of Bocloughes men ſlayne in the chaſe.

The Lard Seſſeforde ſlayne. The Lard Boclough to flight,

After thys, the King returned to Iedburgh, and remayned there the ſpace of foure dayes, and then returned to Edenburgh.

All thys whyle, the Kyng was gouerned and holden againſt hys wyll, by the Earle of Angus and his aſſiſters, although he dyd not outwardly ſhewe ſo in countenaunce, but diſſembled the matter as well as hee myghte, yet perceyuing two enterpriſes to haue quayled that hadde bene attempted for his delyuerance, he thought to aſſay the thirde, and heerevppon procured the Earle of Lennox to aſſemble an armye, with aſſiſtance of the Queene and hir friends, to helpe to deliuer hym from the handes of hys Enimies. The Earle of Lennox did ſo, and came with ſuche power as he could reiſe frō the Weſt parts vnto Linlithgew.

The Earl Lennox thereth a wer.

The Earle of Angus beeing aduertiſed, that the Earle of Lennox was gathering men, ſente to the Earle of Arrane for ayde, requiring hym to come with ſuche power as he could make, and to meete him at Linlithgew.

The Earle of Arrane immediately heerewith, gathered a power, and with the ſame came to Linlithgewe before the Earle of Lennox came thyther, who ſhortelye after comming with hys people, approched that Towne, vnto whome the Earle of Arrane ſente a meſſenger, requiring hym to turne and ſaue his enterpriſe, aſſuring hym, that albeit hee was hys ſyſters ſonne, hee woulde not ſpare hym, if he helde forward vppon hys iourney.

The Earle Arrane g reth a po

The Earle of Lennox heerewith aunſwered in a greate rage, that hee would not ſtaye, till he came to Edenburgh, or elſe dye for it by the way.

The Earle of Arrane therefore not ſtaying for the Earle of Angus hys commyng from Edenburgh, iſſued forthe of Linlithgewe at the Weſt ende of the Towne, and encountred the Earle of Lennox and hys companye, where there was a cruell onſette gyuen on bothe ſides, but ſuddaynely the Earle of Lennox hys company fledde, and he himſelfe with the Lorde of Hunſton and diuers other Gentlemen, were ſlayne.

Earle of [illegible] ſlayne

In the meane time, the Erle of Angus bringing the King with him arriued, and had come to the battell, but that the King was not willing to come forthe of Edenburgh in that quarrell (as ſome haue written) and therefore made excuſes, as he did alſo by the way, fayning himſelf ſicke, but George Dowglas droue and called vppon his horſe very ſharpely, and conſtreyned hym to ride forth with faſter pace than hee woulde haue done, giuing him many iniurious wordes, which hee remembred afterwardes, and would not forget them. They went that night to Striueling, and ſhortly after, paſſed through Fife, ſearching for the Queene, and the Biſhoppe of Saint Andrewes, and bycauſe they were kepte ſecretely in their friendes houſes, ſo that they could not bee heard of, they ſpoyled the Abbey of Dunfermeling, and the Caſtell of Saint Andrewes, taking away all the mouables which the Archbyſhoppe had within the ſame.

eQueene ...gitiue.

This done, they returned to Edenburgh.

At this ſeaſon by reaſon of this diſcord, diuers and ſundrye murthers and heynous ryots were committed in many parts of the Realme, namely, the Earle of Caſſels was ſlayne by the Sheriffe of Ayre, and greate ſpoyle done on the borders. This yeare, the Kyng by counſell of the Earles of Angus, Arrane, and others, went with eight M. men vnto Iedburgh, to ſet ſome order amongſt the borderers, for the keeping of better rule, and ſo on the eight of Iune, the principals of al the ſurnames of the clannes on the borders, came to the King, binding themſelues, and deliuering pledges for their good demeanours.

iſorders in a realm, where ciuill diſcorde goeth.

e Earle of Caſſels ſlayne.

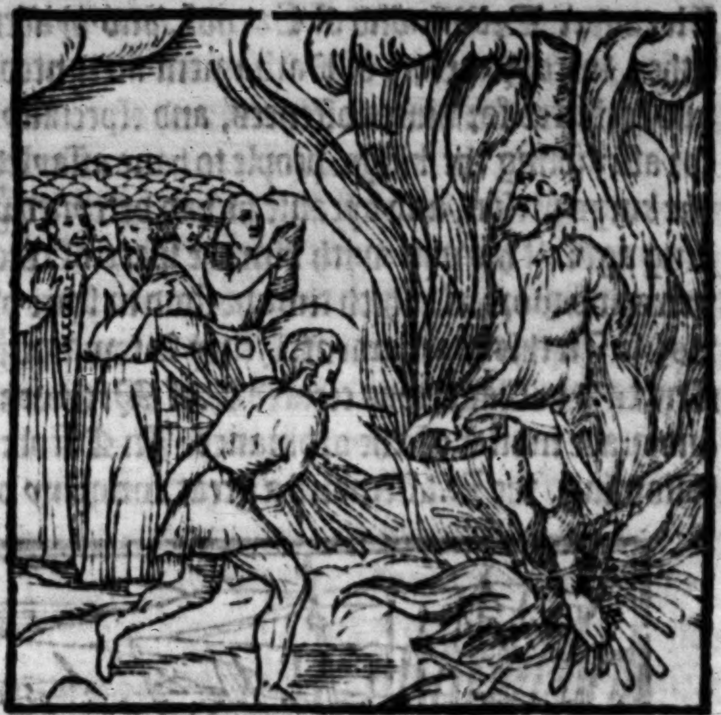
The ſeuententh of Iuly, there was a greate aſſembly of the Lordes at Holirood houſe, at what time, there came a ſimple fellowe to looke vpon, ſeruaunte ſometime to the Earle of Lennox, and in the middes of a greate companye of people in the Abbey cloſe, ſtrake Sir Iames Hamilton Knight right deſperately with a ſhorte prage or dagger in the bellie three ſeuerall ſtripes vp to the haft, and yet the ſame Sir Iames dyed not of thoſe hurtes. The man beeyng taken, ſtraight wayes confeſſed the deede withoute repentance, phy on the feoble hand quilke wald not doe that thing the hart thought, and was determinate to doe: & beeyng enquired what he was, and who cauſed him to doe the ſame, he aunſwered, that hee was an ſeruant of God, ſent by him to doe that deede: and albeit he was put to great torture and paines daily by yͤ ſpace of a moneth, yet would hee neuer giue other aunſwer, and ſo he was hanged, and hys head ſet ouer one of the gates of Edenburgh Towne.

ir Iames Hamilton hurt a deſperate ...on.

About the ſame time, there came out of Germany maſter Patrick Hamiltō, Abbot of Ferne, brother ſonne to the Earle of Arrane, who hadde bin ſcholler to Martin Luther, and others there.

Thys man beeyng conuented and examined vpon certaine articles, as of iuſtificacion, predeſtination, of free will, and ſuche like, contrarye to the doctrine taught by the Churche in that time, bycauſe hee did affirme, and conſtantlye defende them, hee was declared an Heretike and burned.

The Abbot of Ferne brent.



The eyghtenth of Marche, the Kyng beſieged the Caſtell of Edenburgh, the Queene and hir huſband Henrye Steward, with Iames hys brother beeing within it. But as ſoone as the Queene vnderſtoode, that hir ſonne the Kyng was there in perſon, ſhe cauſed the gates to be ſet open, and vpon hir knees, beſought him of grace for hir huſband and his brother, and woulde not reſt, till ſhee hadde obteyned the ſame, but yet they were kept in warde within the Caſtell, tyll the King afterwards releaſed them.

Edenburgh Caſtell beſieged.

In the yeare following, the King being now come to the age of ſeauenteene yeares, and of good diſcretion and witte for his time, would not longer remayne vnder the gouernemente of the Earle of Angus and his company, and therevpon aſſembled diuers noble men at Striueling, and by their counſell, ſent an Herraulte vnto the Earle of Angus and his aſſiſters reſident as then in Edenburgh, commaundyng them on payne of high treaſon, that they ſhoulde departe forthe of that Towne, and that none of them ſhoulde come within foure myles of the Courte, whereſoeuer the ſame chanced to bee: and ſhortly after, the Kyng hymſelfe with two thouſande menne, followed the Herraulte, wherevppon, the Earle of Angus, both beeing charged by the Herraulte, and aduertiſed of the Kynges commyng towarde the Towne, departed thence immediately.

The Kyng being ſeuentene yeares of age, refuſeth to bee longer vnder gouernement.

And ſhortly after, the ſame Herrault was ſent vnto him againe with commaundement frõ the K. that he ſhould remayne priſoner within ward in the Countrey of Murrey, till the Kings pleaſure were further knowen: whiche he woulde not obey: wherefore both he and his adherents were ſommoned to appeare in Parliament to be holden at Edenburgh, in September nexte following. In this Parliament begun at Edenburgh the ſixth of September in this yeare. 1528. yͤ Erle of Angus, with his brother George Dowglas, his Vncle by his father Archembald Dowglas, Alexander Drommond of Carnok, and dyuers other, were by decree of Parliament atteynted, and forfalted for diuers offences, and eſpecially, for aſſembling the kings people to haue aſſayled the kings perſon, and bycauſe he had deteyned yͤ king againſt his will with him the ſpace of two yeres and more, al which time he ſtood in feare of his life. In this Parliament, Henry Stewarde, yͤ Queenes huſband, was created L. of Methwen, and made maſter of the ordinance. In October following, the K. aſſembled a great company of men, with artillerie, and diuers kind of munitiõ, to beſiege the Caſtell of Tantallon, whiche the Erle of Angus helde, who aduertiſed of the preparatiõ made for yͤ ſame ſiege, furniſhed the Caſtel with mẽ, & al kind of neceſſaries, & went himſelf into England. When the ſiege thẽ was laid about the Caſtell, it was ſo ſtrong and ſo well prouided, that it might not be wonne for all that coulde bee done at that ſeaſon, in ſomuch, yͭ after Dauid Fauconer, principal gunner of the kings ſide was ſlayne, the K. cauſed yͤ ſiege to be reiſed: yet at lẽgth (though not til a lõg time after this) it was deliuered to the King by appoyntmente.

The Earle of Angus forfalted.

The Earle of Angus attainted by Parliament.

Hẽry Steward created Lorde of Methwen.

The Caſ Tantallo beſieged.

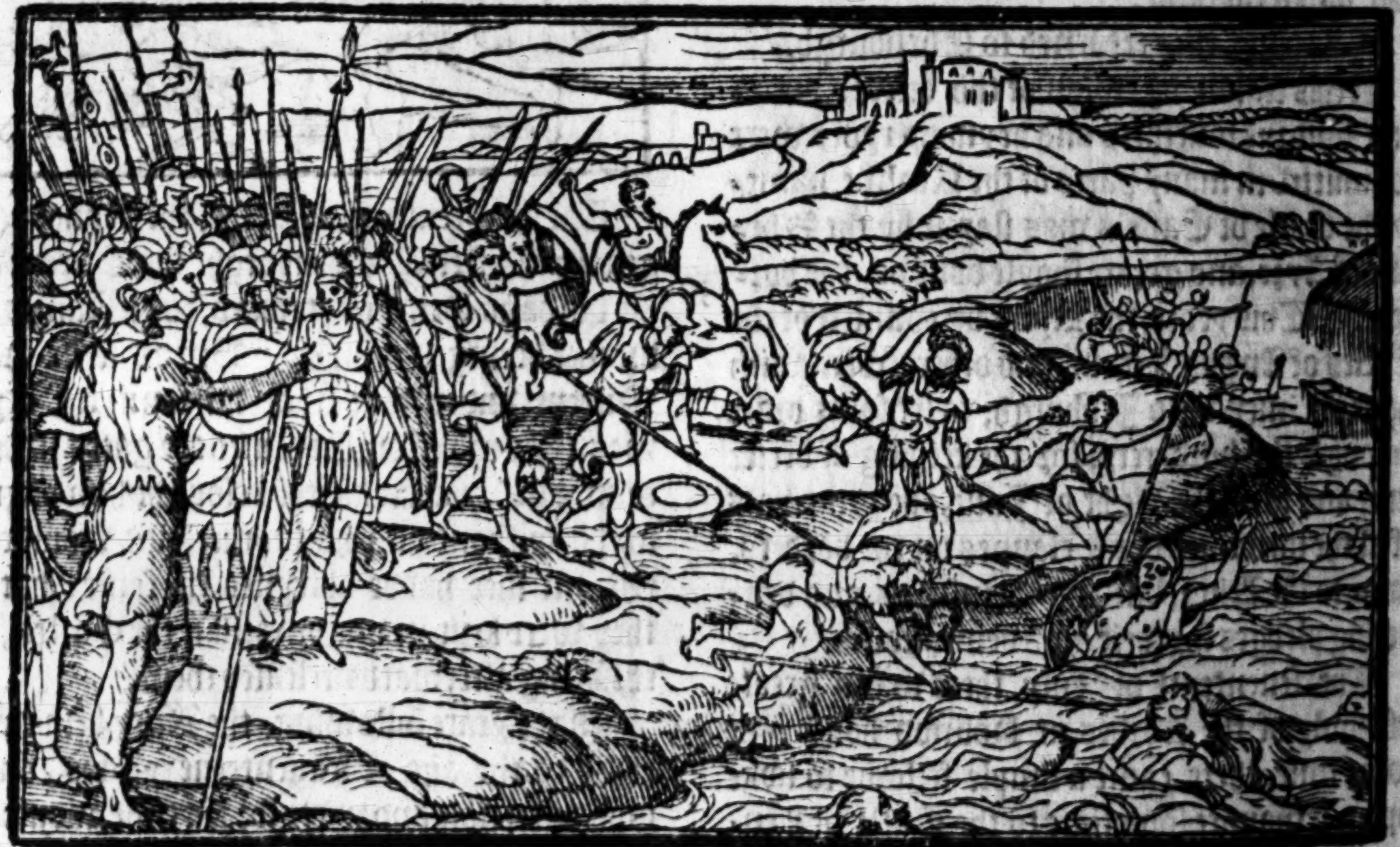
Dauid Fa ner ſlayne

1529

The eighteenth of May, in the yeare. 1529. the Earle of Cathnes and the Lord of Sincler with a greate armye by Sea, paſſed into Orkeney to haue taken that Iſle into poſſeſſion, but the people of the Countrey aſſembled at the commaundemente of James Sincler of Kirkewall their Captaine, who gaue battell to the Earle and his army with ſuch courage, that he diſcomfited the enimies: the Earle with fiue hundred of his men was ſlayne, and drowned in the Sea, vnto the which they were driuen.

The Earl Cathnes ſeth cuer Orkeney.

The Earle Cathnes



The L. Sinclar and all the reſidue wer takẽ.

The Blindnes of the Orkney men.

The Orkney men held opinion, that their patrone S. Magnus was ſeene that day to fighte in the field on their ſide againſt their enimies.

An aſſembly of the Lords.

King of Theeues.

Execution.

The Earle of Bothwell conuict.

The ſame moneth on the fifteenth day, there was a greate aſſembly of the Lordes in Edenburgh where the K. himſelfe ſate in iudgement. The Lard of Hinderlãd called Cockeborne, and one Adam Scot of Tuſhlaw, who was named king of theeues, were accuſed of theft, and of receiuing and mainteining of theeues, ſlaughters, and other crimes, of the which being conuict, they loſt their heads, which were ſet ouer yͤ Tolbuith of Edenburgh. The ſame day, yͤ Erle of Bothwel was alſo cõuict for mainteining thẽ & theyr crimes, & his life, lands & goodes wer in the kings hands. He was therfore kept in ward within Edenburgh Caſtell, and after ſente into Murrey land, and laſtly baniſhed the Realme during the kings dayes. Alſo, the Lord Marwell, the Lorde Hume, the Lards of Balglueth, Fernyherſt, Pollort, Johnſon, Marke Kar, and other principall men of the borders, were conuict by aſſiſe, and putte in warde, by reaſon whereof, the borderers kepte better rule euer after during the Kings raigne.

Baniſhed Realme.

Other Lo conuict, a put in wa

About this ſeaſon, a landed man named John Scotte, that had trauelled abroade in the world, and nowe beeyng returned into Scotland, & bycauſe it was bruted in other Countreys hee had faſted. xl. dayes without either meate or drinke,

John Scott faſted forti dayes, wit receyuing foode.

was for tryall thereof put in Dauids Tower in Edenbourgh Caſtell, and diligent watch ſet vpon him to ſee that hee had no ſuſtenaunce to relieue him withall, and ſo kept for fortie dayes, hee faſted all that tyme wythout any kinde of nouriſhment, to the greate wonder of the people.

1529

In the Sommer of this yeare. 1529. Archimbalde Dowglas, that had beene forfalted (as yee haue heard) came alone to the king while he was a hunting in Striueling Parke, and beſought his grace of pardon, which he had obteyned fully at his handes, bycauſe he fauoured him more than any of that ſurname, if hee had not beene (as hee was in deede) altogither determined that none of them ſhoulde remaine wythin the land at that tyme, and ſo he baniſhed him into France, where ſhortly after through griefe of mynde he departed this life.

chimbalde
glas ba-
ſhed.

In the Moneth of Iune, the King with an armie, went to the borders to ſet order there for better rule to be kept, and to puniſhe ſuch as were knowen to be moſt culpable, & herevpon he cauſed xlviij. of the moſt notable theeues, with their Captaine Iohn Armſtrong to bee apprehended, the which being conuict of murther, theft, and treaſon, were all hanged on growing trees, to the enſample of others.

e king com
th to the
ders.

eeues
ged.

There was one cruell theefe amongeſt the reſt, which had burned a houſe with a womã and hir children within it, he was burned to death.

heefe burnt
eath.

George Armeſtrong, brother to Iohn, was pardoned, to the ende he ſhoulde appeache the reſidue, which he did, ſo that they were apprehended by the Kings commaundement, and puniſhed for their miſdoyngs according as they had deſerued.

In Auguſt following, many marueylous ſightes were ſeene about Striueling, as Candels burning vpon the toppes of hilles in the nightes, and in the morning afore Sunne ryſing: diuerſe armed men appeared fighting vpon the ground, which was taken to be a foretoken of ſome trouble to enſue in thoſe parties.

onders ſeen
the Sima-
ere.

The. xv. day of Auguſt, a greate number of people being aſſembled at the Market in Campſeenneth. lij. perſons were drowned in the Ferrie boate: amongſt the which were diuerſe honeſt mẽ and women of the countrey.

Ferrie boat
owned.

1530

The firſt of Marche, in the yeare. 1530. the Abbot of Culroſe called Inglis, was cruellye murthered by the Lorde of Tullialian and hys ſeruants, amongeſt whome there was a Prieſt called ſir William Louthien, for the which they were apprehended, and the ſayde ſir William the xxvij. of the ſame moneth, vpon a publike ſkaffolde in Edenbourgh was degraded, (the King, Queene, and a great companie of people beeing preſent) and after his degradation, he was deliuered to the Earle of Argile high Iuſtice, and the next day the ſayd Tullialian, and the ſame prieſt were beheaded.

Abbot
rthered.

This yeare the Colledge court of Iuſtice called the Seſſions, was inſtituted in Edenbourgh by the King, with conſent of the three eſtates in Parliament aſſembled, and after confirmed in Rome, in the which are fiftene Counſaylers ordinarie, eight of them being ſpirituall perſons, of the which the moſt auncient is preſident, and ſeuen temporall men, but ſo as by this number the Chancellor of the realme is aboue the preſident, when he is preſent. There are alſo foure counſaylers extraordinarie, remoueable at the princes pleaſure.

The Seſsions inſtituted.

1531

In the yeare. 1531. I finde little done to make account of, for the Earle of Angus remayning in Englande, coulde not perſwade the King of England in his fauour to breake the peace wyth Scotlande, though the ſame Earle earneſtly laboured to bring that to paſſe.

1532

But in the yeare. 1532. ſir Arthure Darcy was ſent to the borders, who being at Barwike, by the counſaile of the Erle of Angus then being there, they made a roade into Scotlande, and burned certaine places, wherevpon the Scots aſſembling themſelues to defende their Countrey, made towardes the Engliſhmen, who retyred themſelues to Barwike againe.

Sir Arthure Darcie ſent to the borders.

He maketh a road into Scotland.

After this were diuerſe inuaſions made on euery ſide vpon the borders, and ſhippes likewiſe taken by Sea, and yet no warre was proclaimed.

1533

In September, in the yeare. 1533. certaine Commiſſioners of either Realme were at Newcaſtell to treate for redreſſe, and recompence to be made for the burning of townes and villages, taking of goodes, downe caſting of pyles, taking of ſhips, ſlaughters of men, and diuerſe other ſpoyles and iniuries done, as well by the Sea as by the lande, from the. xxiij. day of Aprill in the yere 1532. vnto the day of the meeting of the ſame cõmiſſioners, which doings were little leſſe in effect than had bene vſed in tyme of open warre, although the ſame was not proclaimed. Bycauſe therefore that the ſkath and iniuries fell out to be ſo greate on both ſides, that particuler redreſſe coulde not bee had, the order thereof was referred to the pleaſure of both the Princes.

Further it was agreed, that for a perpetuall peace to be concluded, certaine Commiſſioners ſhould be appoynted to treate thereof at London, as afterwardes they did. For the king of Scotlande there were ſent as Commiſſioners aboute this treatie, William Stewarde Biſhop of Abardine, the Abbot of Kinlos, & ſir Adam Otterburie knight, the which accompanied with diuers other knightes, barons, and gentlemen, came to

1524

A peace concluded.

London, and were there right honourably receyued the .xxv. of March, after they had beene before the kings preſence, there were certaine Commiſſioners appointed by him to treate with them of peace, the which agreed vpon certaine conditions and articles for a peace to continue betwixt both kings during their naturall liues, and one yeare after the deceaſe of that prince, which fyrſt chaunced to depart this worlde, and ſo the Commiſſioners returned into Scotland in the moneth of May next enſuing.

Ambaſsadors into France.

About the ſame tyme, were ſent into Fraunce Dauid Beton Abbot of Arbroith, and Iames Erſkyn Secretarie as Ambaſſadors to require the Duke of Vandoſmes ſiſter in mariage for the King, with which motion the Ladie and hir friendes were verie well contented, neuertheleſſe (as afterwardes ſhall appeare) the King himſelfe paſſing ſecretely into Fraunce in proper perſon, when he had once ſeene the Ladie, he liked hir not, and ſo became a ſuyter to the French king his eldeſt daughter Magdalen, whome hee obteyned, wherefore the duke of Vandoſmes ſiſter woulde neuer after match hirſelf with any other in mariage, but profeſſed hirſelf in a houſe of Religion, where ſhe remained the reſidue of hir life time.

The king him ſelfe paſſeth ſecretly into Fraunce.

The peace concluded wyth England.

The king of Englande ſente Ambaſſadors into Scotlande, the Biſhop of Duriſme, Sir Thomas Cliffordе, the Prior of Durelme, and one Doctor Magnus, who were honourably receyued in the Moneth of Iulie, and then was the peace before concluded by the Ambaſſadours at London, confirmed by the king himſelfe, and the charter thereof interchaungeably ſealed, with the great Seales of both the Realmes duryng the lyues of both the Princes, (as before yet haue hearde.)

Iuſtice miniſtred.

The ſame yeare, the king paſſed through the north partes of his realme, and holding Iuſtice eers, cauſed Iuſtice dulye to be miniſtred in places where he came agaynſt offenders.

Moreouer in Edenbourgh was great inquiſition made, and puniſhment exerciſed agaynſt ſuch as were detected to holde opinions agaynſt the religion then vſed, the king himſelfe aſſiſtant thereto. Maiſter Norman Gorley that was abiured before, and Andrew Stratton that woulde not renounce his opinion were burned.

The Sherife of Linlitgew and diuerſe other that were fled for feare of puniſhment, were conuict of hereſie.

Engliſh f
tiues rec
into Scot

Diuerſe Engliſh men that helde agaynſt the deuorce betwixt king Henrie, and the Lady Katherin dowager, fledde this yeare into Scotlande, and were receyued.

1535

The Pope
eth into
lande.

In the yeare.1535. the Pope ſent a meſſenger into Scotlande requiring king Iames to aſſyſt him agaynſt the King of Englande, whome hee had decreed an Heretike, a Sciſmatike, a wedlock breaker, a publike murtherer, and a ſacrileger, and therefore he had declared him to be depriued of the ſayd kingdome, the which he would beſtow vpon him, and other catholike Princes.

1536

The kin
voyage a
the Iſles,

In the yeare. 1536. the King toke the Sea, with fiue ſhippes without knowledge of the moſt part of the Lordes of his Realme, and ſayled aboute the Iles of Skie and Lewes, and the other Iſles, and by ſtorme was driuen to take lande at Saint Ninians in Galoway, and ſo returned to Striuelling from whence he paſſed a foote in pylgrimage vnto our Ladie Chapell of Lauret beſide Muſkelbourgh, and afterwarde ſent for dyuerſe of his Lordes, and by their counſaile toke his voyage againe by ſea with fiue ſhips to paſſe into Fraunce, as he was minded to haue done the firſt time, but what cauſed him to alter his purpoſe then, we find not.

He ſaylet
to Fraunc

This ſecond time he embarked at Kirckaldy the laſt of Auguſt, and with good and proſperous winde, he ſhortly after arriued in Fraunce, there being with him in companie the Earles of Argile, and Arane, the Lordes Boyd and Fleming, with diuerſe other barons, knights, & gentlemen, and before him there were in Fraunce the Erles of Murrey, Lennox, and Caſſels, the Lorde Erſkyn, the Abbot of Arbrothe and other.

He rydeth
Vandolm

Immediatly after his arriuall, he roade in ſecrete maner diſguiſed vnto Vandoſmes in Picardie, taking with him but one ſeruaunt named Iohn Tennent, whome he cauſed to take vppon him as he had beene maiſter, and ſo comming to the Duke of Vandoſme his place, got ſight of the Ladie who ſhuld haue bin his wife, but not liking hir, hee returned againe without talking eyther with hir or hir friendes, and comming to Roüen where his companie were abyding for him, hee paſſed from thence towarde Paris, where the Dolphin of Fraunce was appoynted by the king his father to meete him ſeuen leagues from the Citie, who brought him to the King, who receyued

ued him in ſuch heartie maner, as if he had beene his owne ſonne, and with as muche honour as might haue beene ſhewed to the greateſt Prince in earth.

e is receiued
o Paris.

There were Iuſtes, Tourneyes, and other princely paſtimes practiſed and ſet forth, in which Iuſtes and other exerciſes of warrelike feates, hee ſhewed himſelfe as hardie, cunning and valiaunt as any other perſon within all the Realme of Fraunce, for the which hee wanne paſſing great prayſe.

is a suyter
mariage.

In the meane tyme he cauſed his Ambaſſadors and the noble men that were with him, to declare vnto the king of Fraunce, that the cauſe of his comming was for maryage to be had betweene him and the Ladie Magdalen, yͤ eldeſt daughter to the King, whome he loued and fauoured aboue all other within his realme. The French king being glad hereof, that the auncient bande betwixt Scotland and Fraunce might thus with new alliance be confirmed, and therfore declared that hee woulde willingly giue him hys daughter in mariage, but herewith he let him vnderſtand that his daughter was much ſubiect to ſickneſſe, and therefore he referred that to the king of Scotland his own pleaſure, whether he would haue hir, or his yongeſt daughter the lady Margaret, whiche was after maried to the Duke of Sauoy, which offer of choiſe being reported to the king of Scotlande, hee continued in his former purpoſe, whiche was to matche with the Ladie Magdalen, who was in deede a pleaſant yong Ladie, beautifull, of good fauour, louely countenaunce, and comely maners aboue al others within that Realme. Whereupon the mariage was contracted betwixt them, and an hundred thouſand crownes of the ſunne promiſed with hir in dower, with .xxx. thouſand frankes of pencion during the life of king Iames, which mony was deliuered vnto him at his returne homewardes, beſides many rich hangings, Cupbordes of plate, ſumptuous apparell, and riche Iuels giuen to him and his wife, farre aboue the ſumme of an other hundred thouſand crownes, with two great ſhips (the one called the Salamander) and great plentie of Artillerie, powder, and other munition.

The mariage contracted betwixt the king of Scottes and the Lady Magdalen.

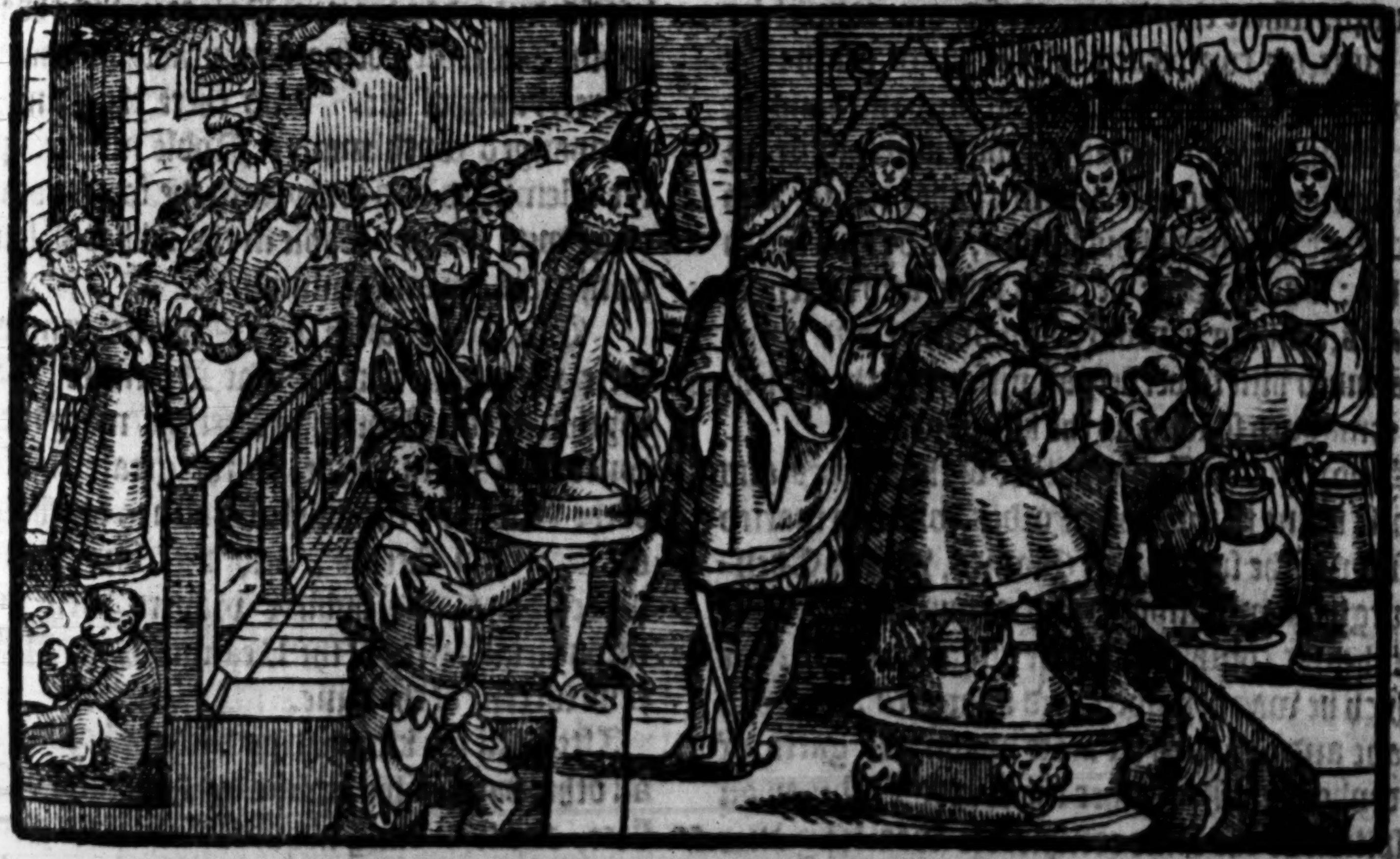
Moreouer all his charges and expenſes were borne by the French king during his being within the realme of France.

The ſame time alſo was the auncient league and bande of amitie betwixt the two realmes of Scotland and France renued, and the day of the ſolemnization of the mariage appoynted to bee holden the firſt of Ianuarie.

In the meane time great preparation for the ſame was made, and all the Nobles of Fraunce ſent for to be there at that day. On the whiche within the Church of Noſtre dame in the Citie of Paris, the King of Scotlande openly maried the ſayd Ladie Magdalen, in preſence of the king hir father, the king of Nauarre, ſeuen Cardinals, and dyuerſe great Dukes, Marquiſes, Earles, Lordes, Barons, Biſhops, and other.

1537

The mariage ſolemniſed.



After the ſolemnization of the Mariage, king Iames remayned in Fraunce, till the Moneth of May, paſſing the time with all kinde of pleaſure and diſport that might be deuiſed for his honourable entertainment.

Finally, the king and his wife Queene Magdalen tooke their leaue of the king of France their father at Paris, about the latter ende of April, and ſo roade to Rouen, where they were receyued with great triumph, and from thence they paſſed downe the ryuer to Newhauen where they embarked, being accompanied by the Admirall of France, and many other noble men of the realme appoynted by the French king to attende vpon them into Scotlande, and ſo they ſayled forth

with

The king with his Queene returneth into Scotland.

with pleaſaunt winde and proſperous weather, through the Seas, vntill they came into the Forth, and there landed at the peare of Lieth Hauen, the .xxix. of May, in the yeare .1537. where a great number of Earles, Biſhoppes, Barons, and other Noblemen and Gentlemen of Scotlande were readie to receyue them with paſſing ioy and gladneſſe, and from thence with greate tryumph they were conueyed to the Abbey of Holyroode houſe.

This noble Ladie with hir louely countenance and ſeemely demeanour, at hir firſt arriuall wanne the loues and heartie good willes of all the Nobles and people of the Realme, & withall contented ſo highly the minde and fantaſie of the king hir huſband, that there was neuer more hope of wealth and proſperitie to ſucceede within the realme, than at that preſent: but fortune enuying ſo greate felicitie, woulde not ſuffer them to continue any long tyme togyther: for aboute the ende of Iune ſhee fell ſicke of a vehement Feuer, whereof ſhee departed thys lyfe the tenth of Iulye nexte enſuyng, and was buryed in the Churche of holye Roode houſe, for whoſe death the Kyng was ryghte ſorrowfull, and ſtyrred not abroade of a long time after.

Queene Magdalen departeth this life.

The Ladye Glames and hir husbande conuict of treaſon.

In the Sommer of this yeare, the Ladie Glames, Syſter to the Earle of Angus was apprehended, and likewyſe hir Huſbande Dauid Lion, and both of them brought to Edenbourgh, where they were accuſed and conuict by an aſſiſe, for conſpiracie of the kings death: the ſayd Lady was burned, and hir huſband hanged, hir ſonne the Lord Glames, was alſo conuict for miſpriſion and concealement of that crime, and therefore forfalted of his landes, and condemned to die: but bycauſe he was yong and of tender yeares, the king pardoned him of life, and commaunded him to perpetuall priſon, in the whiche he remayned ſo long as the king liued.

The maſter of Forbes beheaded.

Shortly after Iohn maiſter of the Forbes, and eldeſt ſonne to the Lord Forbes, who had maried a ſiſter of the ſayd Ladie Glames, was at Edenbourgh likewiſe indyted and conuict by an aſſiſe for the like conſpiracie of the kings death, for the which he was beheaded and quartered, and hys heade and quarters ſet aloft vppon the gates of Edenbourgh. His father the Lorde Forbes vpon ſuſpition of the ſame conſpiracie was long after kept in priſon within the caſtell of Edenbourgh, but at length when nothing might be proued againſt him, he was releaſed and ſet at libertie.

Iuſtices appoynted to ſit in diuerſe partes of the realme.

This yere the king in September cauſed Iuſtices to ſit in the north partes of the realme, and likewiſe in October, and in the winter following he cauſed the like to bee done in the South and weſt parts.

The king himſelfe was oftentymes preſent, aſſyſting the Lordes which he had appoynted his Commiſſioners for the furtheraunce of Iuſtice, and maintenance therof through all partes of his realme.

The king i
ſuter for ma
riage to the
Dutcheſſe o
Longuile.

The king by the aduice of theſe noble men of his realme, thinking it neceſſary for him to match againe in mariage with ſome noble princeſſe, ſent into Fraunce vnto the Earle of Murrey, and Dauid Beton Abbot of Arbroth, his Ambaſſadors there reſident, willing them by the aduice of the French king, to treate for a mariage to be had betwixt him and the Ladie Marie de Lorraine, dutcheſſe of Longuile, widdow, daughter to the Duke of Guiſe, and being aduertiſed from his ſayde Ambaſſadors: that the King of France, the Lady hir ſelfe, and hir friendes, were well contented therewith, he ſent in the beginning of May the Lorde Maxwell, and the maiſter of Glencarne, well accompanied into Fraunce, to ioyne with hys other Ambaſſadours for the contracting of that maryage, the which according to their Commiſſion treated thereof, and concluded vpon reſolute articles, and ſo eſpouſed hir by procurators, as the vſe is among ſuch eſtates, with great triumph in the Citie of Paris, whereat the king and many noble men were preſent.

After this ſhe was conueyed to Newhauen, and there taking the Seas, paſſed through the ſame, till ſhe came to Carell in Fife, where ſhee landed the tenth of Iune, and from thence ſhee was conueyed to the new Palace in the Abbay of Saint Andrewes, being honourably prepared for the receyuing of hir. And there the King accompanyed wyth manye Noble menne, openlye ſolemnized and confyrmed the foreſayde mariage with the ſayd Ladie in the Abbay Church, with great ioy and triumph.

The mari
ſolemnize

The King with hys Queene remayned there the moſte part of that Sommer. And wythin a fewe Monethes after the maryage, ſhe conceyued wyth childe, to the greate comforte of the King and the whole Realme, for the hope of ſucceſſion thereby, and therefore generall Proceſſions and publike prayers were made through all partes of the Realme for the proſperous ſucceſſe of the ſame.

After that the king had pacified the borders and all other parts of his realme by exerciſing of Iuſtice, and trauailing about the ſame in his owne perſone through all places (where neede requyred) ſo that there was as greate quietneſſe, reſt, and policie vſed in Scotlande, as euer was in anye Kings dayes before him: Neuertheleſſe there were certaine diſobedient perſons in the Iſles.

Great qui
in Scotla

The King therefore to bring them to order, cauſed to prepare a good nauie of ſhippes, and in the Moneth of May went abourde the ſame in the road of Lieth, hauing with him the Earles of Arrane, Huntley, Argile, and diuerſe other Erles, Lordes, and Barons, with whom he ſayled forth by the coaſtes of Fiffe, Angus, Aberdin, by Murrey ſyrth, Southerlande, and Cathenes, tyll hee came to Orkeney, where he landing and all hys companie with him, were receyued right honourably by the Biſhop Robert Marwell. Here they furniſhed themſelues with freſh vittailes, and other ſuch things as were neceſſarie, and taking the ſeas againe, ſayled to the Iles of Skie, and Lewis, where Mac Clewd of the Lewis, a principall clan of his kin, was brought vnto the king, who ſent forth alſo a cõpanie vnto Mac Clewd haugh, who came likewiſe out of his Ile, and preſented himſelfe to the king.

king ſay- North- es to the Orkney others.

From thence the king ſayled by the coaſt of Roſſe by Kyntaile, to the Ile of Tranternes, where diuerſe of the Maconiles, ſuch as the Lord Olagarry, Iohn Moydart and others, (who aledged themſelues to be of the principall bloud, and Lords of the Iles) were brought alſo to the kings preſence.

From thence trauayling through the reſidue of the Iles, Maclane, and Iames Maconile of Kinter, being the two principal Captaines of the ſmall Iles, came likewiſe to the king, who at length landed at Dunbretaine, and ſent the captayns and ſhips with priſoners to paſſe the ſame, way he came rounde aboute the coaſt ſo to come to Edenbourgh, where the ſame priſoners beeing arriued, the chiefe heades of them were kept in ward as pledges for good rule in their Countries, and were not ſuffred to depart ſo long as the king liued, whereby there followed greate quietneſſe, and as good obedience to the lawes throughout al the Iles, as there was in any part of the realm, and as good account and payment made to the kings Comptroller in his Exchequer, for the lands of the ſame Iles pertteyning to the crowne, as for any part of the reuenues belonging thereunto within the maine land.

om Iles gh to order.

Whileſt the king was in this voyage, the Queene was deliuered of a ſonne at Saint Andrewes, whereof the king being aduertiſed at hys landing, haſted with all poſſible diligence to the Queene, and ſhortly after was the childe baptiſed, and called Iames. The Archbiſhop of S. Andrewes, and the Earle of Arrane were Godfathers, and the Queene the Kings mother was Godmother. For the byrth of this Prince, there were bonefires made through all partes of the Realme, wyth greate triumph and gyuing of thankes vnto God for the ſame.

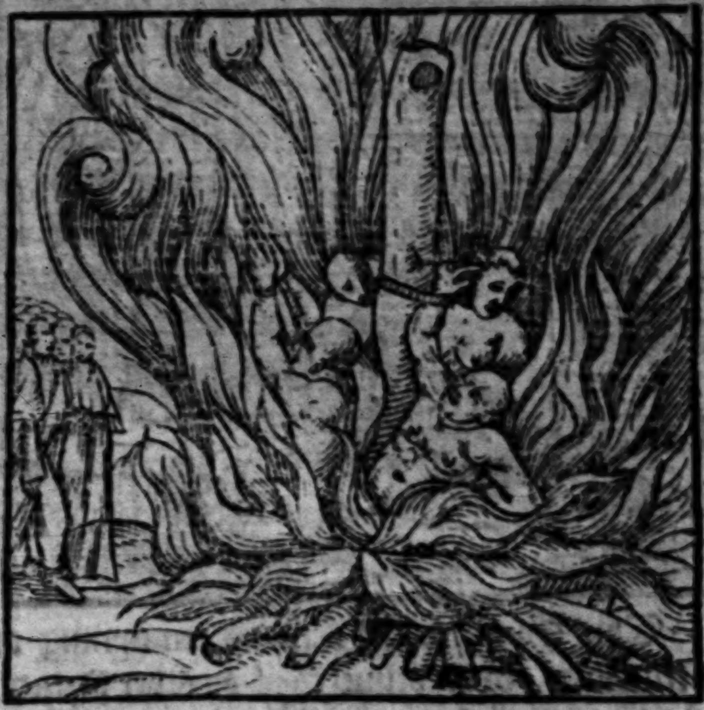
e Queene ered of ne.

After this the Queene, mother to the K. returned vnto Methwen, where after ſhe had remayned a certaine tyme, a ſickneſſe tooke hir, of the which ſhortly after ſhe departed this life, and was buried in the Charterhouſe Churche of Saint Iohns Towne, by the Tombe of King Iames the firſt. The king himſelfe and many Nobles of the Realme were preſent at the funeralles, which were kept in moſt ſolemne and pompous maner.

The Queene mother departed this life.

The ſame yeare, were burnt at Edenbourgh for hereſie, as it was then taken, a regular Chanon, two blacke Friers, and a ſecular man.

Certaine perſons burnt for religion.



Alſo two Prieſtes were degraded, and condemned to perpetuall priſon.

The ſame time there was a gray Frier in the Citie of Glaſcew burnt for the like cauſe, and many other ſummoned, and bycauſe they would not appeare, they were denounced heretikes.

About the ſame tyme, Iames Beton Archbiſhop of Saint Andrewes, a man of great age, departed this life, and was buried in Saint Andrewes. Before his departure, he had prouided ſucceſſors to all his benefices, firſt to his Archbiſhop his ſea, and to the Abbay of Arbroth, maiſter Dauid Beton, afterwards Cardinall, and to the Abbey of Dunfermling maiſter George Dury, that was Archdeane of Saint Androwes. Theſe men without any gainſaying of the King entred with his good will into the ſame benefices, immediately after his deceaſe.

The death of Iames Beton Archbiſhop of S. Andrewes.

This Iames Beton buylded a great part of the new Colledge of Saint Andrewes, and left great ſummes of money & treaſure to go through to make an ende of the ſame worke.

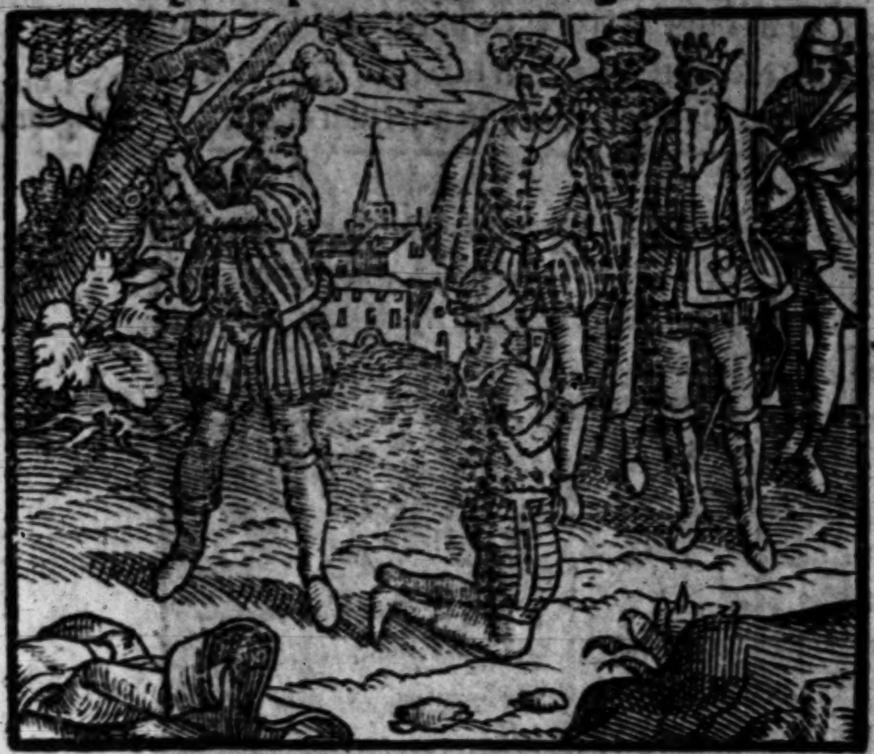
This yeare in the moneth of Auguſt ſir Iames Hamilton of Finhart knight, remayning as then in the towne of Edenbourgh, was arreſted by Dauid Wood Comptroller to the king, who charged him in the kings name to go vnto ward within the Caſtell of Edenbourgh, which commaundement he willingly obeyed, thinking himſelfe ſure ynough, as well by reaſon of the good ſeruice he had done to the king ſpecially in reparing the Palaces of Striueling & Linlitgew, as alſo for that the king had him in ſo high fauour, that

1540

Sir Iames Hamilton areſted

that he ſtoode in no feare of himſelfe at all. Neuertheleſſe ſhortly after he was brought forth to iudgement, and conuict in the Tolbuith of Edenbrough, of certaine poyntes of treaſon layde agaynſt him, which he would neuer confeſſe, but that notwithſtanding, he was beheaded the day of September next enſuing.

Sir Iames Hamilton beheaded.



The Queene deliuered of another ſonne.

The two yong princes departed this life.

This Sommer the Queene remayning at Striueling, was deliuered of an other Prince, which was baptiſed in the Chapel of Striueling, and cleped Arthure, but within eight dayes after, the ſame Prince deceaſſed at Striueling aforeſayde, and the verie ſame daye, Prince Iames the kings eldeſt ſonne being at Saint Andrews departed this life alſo, in ſuch wiſe that there was but onely ſixe houres betwixt the time of theyr departures out of this worlde: which cauſed no leſſe lamentation through the whole Realme, than there was ioy at their byrthes.

The King and Queene at Aberdine.

After this, the Queene wente vnto Saint Iohns towne, where ſhe was honourably receyued with great triumph made by the towne. She was accompanied with the principall men of the Countrey, and from thence ſhee roade to Aberdine, the king being then come vnto hir, where by the Towne and Vniuerſitie, they were receyued with great ioy, triumph, Pageants, verſes, and playes, ſet forth in yͤ beſt maner for their paſtime. They remayned there the ſpace of fiftene dayes, and were highly enterteyned by the Biſhop of that place. There were exerciſes and diſputations helde in all kinde of ſciences in the Colledges and Schooles, with diuerſe Orations made in Greeke, Latine, and other languages, to the high prayſe and commendation of the maiſters and ſtudents in that Vniuerſitie.

From thence the king with the Queene returned to Dundee, where a coſtly entrie was prepared for them alſo, & after they had bin right princely enterteined there, they came to Falkelād.

Captain Bo wike accu of hereſie.

In the Moneth of May, ſir Iohn Borthwike, commonlye called Capitayne Borthwike, ſuſpected, defamed, and accuſed of hereſie, was ſommoned to appeare in Saint Andrews before the Cardinall, and diuerſe other Biſhops and Prelates there preſent, where notwithſtanding his abſence, the ſame being proued by ſufficient witneſſe agaynſt him (as was thought) he was conuict and declared an heretike: An ymage was made to reſemble him, and at the Market croſſe of the ſayd Citie, as a ſigne and a memoriall of his condemnation, it was burned, to the feare and example of other, but he himſelfe eſcaped their handes and got into Englande, where he was receyued.

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The king Englande deth to th of Scotte

This yeare the King of England aduertiſed of the meeting of the Emperor, the French King, and Pope, at the Citie of Nice, doubting ſome practice to be deuiſed there agaynſt him, ſent to the king of Scotland, the L. William Howard, deſiring him as his moſt tender kinſman and nephew, to meete him at the citie of Yorke in Englande, where he would communicate ſuch things with him, as ſhoulde be for the weale of both the realmes: and therewith the King of Englande truſting that the king of Scotlande would haue fulfilled his deſire, cauſed great preparation to be made at Yorke for the receyuing of him. But albeit the king of Scotlande was willing of himſelfe to haue paſſed into Englande, to haue met and ſeene his Vncle, yet after long reaſoning and deliberation of his Counſaile and Prelates aſſembled for that purpoſe, caſting in their mindes (as they tooke it) what daunger might fall to him and his realme, if he ſhould paſſe into Englande, in caſe he ſhould be ſtayed and holden there, contrarie to his will, as king Iames his predeceſſor was, hauing no ſucceſſion of his bodie: and againe, for that it was certainly knowne, that the principall cauſe why the King of Englande required this meeting or enteruiew, was to perſwade the king of Scotlande to vſe the like order in Scotlande, as he had done within his realme of England, in aboliſhing the Popes authoritie, making himſelfe ſupreme heade of the Churche, expulſing religious perſons oute of their houſes, and ſeaſing the iewels of their houſes, their landes and rentes, with ſuch like information: and if it chaunced their king ſhould attempt the like, they thought he ſhould loſe the friendſhip which was betwixt him, the Pope, the Emperor and French king, that were his great friendes and confederates. Herevpon they perſwaded him to ſtay, and by their aduiſe ſent pleaſant letters and meſſages vnto the ſayd king of Englande, deſiring him to haue him excuſed, for that he could not come into Englande at that time, hauing ſuch letts and cauſes of abyding at home, as ſhortly he ſhoulde vnderſtande by his Ambaſſadors, which he meant to ſende to him, as well for this matter as other cauſes. And ſhortly after ſir James Leyrmouth was appoynted to go as Imbaſſador into England, as well to make the kings excuſe for his not comming to meet the king of England at Yorke; as alſo to make complaint vpon certaine inuaſions made by the borderers of Englande into Scotland, and alſo for the vſing of the debatable ground betwixt the two Realmes. But the king of England ſore offended that the king of Scotlande woulde not ſatiſfie his requeſt, to meete him at Yorke (as before is recited) would admitte no excuſe, but determined to make warre into Scotland, albeit as the Scottiſhmen alledge, hee would not ſuffer the ſame to be vnderſtood, till he had prepared all things in a readineſſe: and in the meane time ſent Commiſſioners to meete with the Scots cõmiſſioners vpon the debatable groũd to talk for redreſſe to be made of harmes done vpon the borders, but no good concluſion coulde be agreed vpon by theſe commiſſioners, neither touching the debatable land, nor yet for reparing of wrongs done by inuaſions.

James ...mouth ...baſſador ... England.

...542 ...king of ...land meant to make ...into ...land.

But that the truth concerning the cauſes of this warre moued at this preſent by that noble Prince king Henrie the. viij. may the better appeare, I haue thought good here to ſet downe the ſame as they were drawne forth and publiſhed in print to the whole worlde by the ſayde king in a little Phamplet vnder this title.

A declaration conteyning the iuſt cauſes and conſiderations of this preſent warre with the Scots, wherein alſo appeareth the true and right title that the kings moſt royal Maieſtie hath to his ſoueraintie of Scotlãd, and thus it beginneth.

...declaration ...iuſt cauſes ...the war ...inſt the ...of Scots.

BEing now enforced to the warre which wee haue alwayes hitherto ſo much abhorred and fled, by our neighbor & nephew the king of Scots, one who aboue al other for our manifold benefits towarde him, hath moſt iuſt cauſe to loue vs, to honor vs, and to reioice in our quietneſſe: we haue thought good to notifie vnto the worlde his doings and behauior in the prouocatiõ of this war, and likewiſe the meanes and wayes by vs to eſchew and auoyd it, and the iuſt and true occaſions whereby we be now prouoked to proſecute the ſame, and by vtterãce and demulging of that matter, to diſburden ſome part of our inwarde diſpleaſure and griefe: and the circumſtaunces knowne, to lament openly with the worlde the infidelitie of this time, in which things of ſuche enormitie do burſt out and appeare. The king of Scottes our nephew and neighbour, whom wee in his youth and tender age preſerued and mainteyned from the great daunger of other, and by our authoritie and power, conduicted him ſafely to the royall poſſeſſion of his eſtate, he now compelleth and enforceth vs for preſeruation of our honour and right, to vſe our puyſſaunce and power agaynſt him. The lyke vnkindneſſe hath beene heretofore ſhewed by other in ſemblable caſes agaynſt Gods lawe, mans lawe, and all humanitie: but the oftner it chaunceth, the more it is to be abhorred, and yet in the perſons of Princes, for the raritie of them can ſo happen but ſeldome, as it hath now come to paſſe. It hath bene verie rarely and ſeldome ſeene before, that a king of Scottes hath had in maryage a daughter of Englande. We cannot, ne will not reprehende the king our fathers acte therein, but lament and bee ſorie it tooke no better effect. The king our father in that matter mynded loue, amitie, and perpetual friendſhip betweene the poſteritie of both which how ſoone it fayled, the death of the King of Scottes, as a due puniſhment of God, for his vniuſt inuaſion into this our Realme, is and ſhal be a perpetuall teſtimonie of theyr reproch for euer, and yet in that preſent time coulde not the vnkindneſſe of the father extinguiſh in vs the naturall loue of our nephew his ſonne, being then in the miſerable age of tender youth: but we thẽ forgetting the diſpleaſure that ſhould haue worthily prouoked vs to inuade that realm, nouriſhed and brought vp our nephew, to atchieue his fathers poſſeſſiõ & gouernmẽt, wherin he now ſo vnkindly vſeth and behaueth himſelfe towards vs, as he cõpelleth vs to take armor & warre agaynſt him. It is ſpecially to be noted, vpon what groundes, and by what meanes we be cõpelled to this war, wherein among other is our chiefe griefe and diſpleaſure, that vnder a colour of faire ſpeech & flattering wordes, we be in deed ſo iniuried, cõtemned and deſpiſed, as we ought not with ſufferance to permit, and paſſe ouer: wordes, writings, letters, meſſages, ambaſſades, excuſes, allegations, could not more pleaſantly, more gently, ne more reuerently be deuiſed & ſent, than hath bin made on the king of Scots behalfe vnto vs, & euer we truſted the tree would bring forth good fruit, that was of the one part of ſo good a ſtocke, and cõtinually in appearance put forth ſo fayre buddes: and therefore would hardly belieue or giue eare to other, that euer alledged the deedes of the contrarie, being neuertheleſſe the ſame deeds ſo manifeſt as we muſt needes haue regarded them, had not we beene ſo loth to thinke euill of our nephew, whom we had ſo many ways boũd to be of the beſt ſort towarde vs, and therefore hauing a meſſage ſent vnto vs the yeare paſt from our ſayde nephew, and a promiſe made for the repayring of the ſayde King of Scottes vnto vs to Yorke, and after greate preparation on our part made therefore, the ſame meeting was not onely diſappoynted, but alſo at our being at Yorke in the lieu thereof, an inuaſion made by our ſayd nephew his ſubiectes into our lande, declaring an euident contempt and diſpite of vs: we were yet gladde to impute the default of the meeting to the aduiſe of his counſaile, and the inuaſion of the lewdneſſe of his ſubiectes, and according therevnto gaue as benigne and gentle audience to ſuch Imbaſſadours as repayred hither at Chriſtmaſſe afterwarde, as if no ſuch cauſe of diſpleaſure had occurred, ſpecially conſidering the good wordes, ſweete wordes, pleaſant wordes, eftſoones propoſed by the ſayde Imbaſſadors, not onely to excuſe that was paſt, but alſo to perſwade kindneſſe and perfite amitie to enſue.

And albeit the king of Scottes hauing contrarie to the article of the league of amitie receyued and interteyned ſuche rebels as were of the chief and principal, in ſtirring the inſurrection in the North agaynſt vs, with refuſall before time, vpon requeſt made to reſtore the ſame, yet neuertheleſſe, vpon offer made, the ſayde Imbaſſadors to ſende commiſſion to the borderers, to determin the debates of the confines in the ſame with ſo great a pretence of amitie, and ſo fayre words as coulde be in ſpeech deſired, we were content for the time to forbeare to preſſe them ouer extremely in the matter of rebels. Albeit we neuer remitted the ſame, but deſirous to make triall of oure ſayde nephew in ſome correſpondence of deedes, condiſcended to the ſending of Commiſſioners to the borders, which to our great charge wee did, and the king of Scottes our ſayde nephew the ſemblable: where after great trauaile made by our Commiſſioners, this fruite enſued, that being for our part chalenged, a peece of our grounde plainly vſurped by the Scottes, and of no greate value, being alſo for the ſame ſhewed ſuche euidence, as more ſubſtanciall, more autentique, plaine and euident, cannot bee brought forth for any part of grounde within our Realme: the ſame was neuertheleſſe by them denied, refuſed, and the euidence onely for this cauſe reiected, that it was made (as they alledged) by Engliſhmen. and yet it was ſo auncient, as it coulde not bee counterfeyt now, and the value of the ground ſo little, and of ſo ſmall weight as no man woulde haue attempted to falſifie for ſuch a matter. And yet this deniall being in this wiſe made vnto our Commiſſioners, they neuertheleſſe by our commaundement departed as friends from the commiſſioners of Scotlande, taking order as hath beene accuſtomed, for good rule vpon the borders in the meane time.

After which their receſſe, the Lorde Maxwell warden of the weſt Marches of Scotland, made Proclamation for good rule, but yet added therewith, that the borderers of Scotlād ſhould withdrawe their goodes from the borderers of Englande, and incontinent the Scottiſh men borderers, the fourth of Iuly entred into our Realme ſodainly, and ſpoyled our ſubiectes contrarie to our leagues, euen after ſuch extremitie as it had beene in the time of open warre, wherat wee much marueyled, and were compelled therefore to furniſh our borders with a garniſon for defence of the ſame. Wherevpon the king of Scots ſent vnto vs Iames Leyrmouth maiſter of his houſholde, with letters deuiſed in the moſt pleaſaunt maner, offring redreſſe and reformation of all attempts. And yet neuertheleſſe, at the entrie of the ſayd Leyrmouth into England, a great number of the Scottes then not looked for, made a forrey into our borders, to the great annoyaunce of our ſubiects, and to their extreme detriment, wherewith, and with that vnſeemly diſſimulation, we were not a little moued, as reaſon woulde wee ſhould: and yet did we not finally ſo extremely proſecute and continue our ſayde diſpleaſure, but that we gaue benigne audience to the ſayd Leyrmouth, and ſuffred our ſelfe to bee ſomewhat altered by his wordes and fayre promiſes, tending to the perſwaſion that we euer deſired to find the king of Scottes ſuch a nephew vnto vs, as our proximitie of bloud, with our gratuitie vnto him did require.

In the meane time of theſe fayre wordes, the deedes of the borderers were as extreme as might be, and our ſubiectes ſpoyled: and in a road made by ſir Robert Bowes for a reuenge thereof, the ſame ſir Robert Bowes, wͭ many other were taken priſoners, & yet deteyned in Scotlād without putting them to fine or raunſome, as hath beene euer accuſtomed. And being at the ſame time a ſurſeyance made on both ſides, at the ſuyte of the ſayde Leyrmouth for a ſeaſon: the Scottes ceaſed not to make ſundry inuaſions into our realm, in ſuch wiſe, as we were compelled to forget faire wordes, and onely to conſider the king of Scots deedes, which appeared vnto vs of that ſort, as they ought not for our duetie in defence of oure ſubiectes, ne could not in reſpect of our honour, be paſſed ouer vnreformed: and therefore put in a readineſſe our armie as a due meane whereby we might attaine ſuch a peace, as for the ſafegarde of our ſubiectes we be bound to procure.

After which preparation made, and knowledge had thereof, the king of Scottes ceaſed not to vſe his accuſtomed meane of fayre wordes, which in our naturall inclination wrought eftſoones theyr accuſtomed effect, euermore deſirous to finde in the King of Scottes ſuch regarde and reſpect to be declared in deedes, as the correſpondence of naturall loue in the nephew to ſuche an vncle as we haue ſhewed our ſelfe towarde him, doth require. Wherefore vpon new requeſt and ſuyte made vnto vs, we determined to ſtay oure armie at Yorke, appoynting the Duke of Norfolke

folke our Lieutenant, the Lorde priuy ſeale, the Biſhop of Durham, & the Maſter of our horſes, there to commen, treate, and conclude with the Imbaſſadours of Scotland, for an amity and peace, vpon ſuche condition, as by reaſon and equitie were indifferent, wherby the warre might be eſchewed, being by ſundry inuaſions of the Scottes then opened and manifeſte. In this communication betweene our and their commiſſioners, after diuers degrees of commiſſion ſhewed by the Scots, and finally one that was by our Commiſſioners allowed, matters were proponed for concluſion of amitie, nothing difficile or harde of our parte, but ſo agreeable to reaſon, as the commiſſioners of Scotland ſayde they doubted not but if it might be brought to paſſe that the King of Scottes our Nephewe might haue a meeting with vs, al matters ſhuld eaſily be componed and determined: wherevpon they left ſpeaking of any articles of amity, and the Imbaſſadours of Scotlande made muche outwarde ioy in cõmunicatiõ of meeting. They ſhewed themſelues in wordes, faſhion and behauiour much to delight in it, to reioyce in it, and therewith, thought it eaſie and facile to bee concluded and accompliſhed, and for their parte they tooke it then for a thing paſſed, a thing concluded, and moſt certayne to take effect, and only deſired ſixe dayes to obtayne anſweare from their Maſter, and our army from that time to ſtay and goe no further: wherevnto our Commiſſioners then agreed. After theſe ſixe dayes was ſent a commiſſion out of Scotland, with power to conclude a meeting preciſely at ſuch a place, as they knew wel we ſhould not, ne could not in Winter obſerue and keepe, wherewith when our Commiſſioners were miſcõtent, the Imbaſſadours of Scotlande to releue that diſpleaſure, and to temper the matter whereby to winne more tyme, ſhewed forth their inſtructions, wherein liberty was giuen to the Imbaſſadours to exceede their commiſſion in the appointment of the place, and to conſent to any other yͭ by our commiſſioners ſhould be thought conuenient: which manner of proceeding when our Cõmiſſioners refuſed, alleaging that they would not conclude a meeting with men hauing no commiſſion therevnto, the Imbaſſadours of Scotland vpon pretence to ſende for a more ample and large commiſſion, agreeable to their inſtructions for appoyntment of the place, obtayned a delay of other ſixe dayes to ſende for the ſayde ample commiſſion without reſtraint of place: And after theſe ſixe dayes they brought forth a newe commiſſion, made in a good forme and without exception: but therewith alſo they ſhewed newe inſtructions, contayning ſuche a reſtraynt as the former commiſſion did cõtaine, ſo as the liberty giuen to the Commiſſioners in the commiſſion was now at the laſte remoued and taken away by the inſtructions, with addition of a ſpeciall charge to the Imbaſſadours, not to exceede the ſame. And thus firſt the Imbaſſadours of Scotland ſeemed to haue a will and deſire to conclude a place ſeemely and conuenient, whiche for want of commiſſion they might not do, and at the laſt might haue concluded a meeting by vertue of their commiſſiõ, and then for feare of the commaundement in their ſecond inſtructions they durſt not. And ſo they ſhewed their firſt inſtructions partly to excuſe their King, who ſhould ſeeme ſecretely to will more, than in the commiſſion he did openly profeſſe. And then with an ample commiſſiõ from the King they ſhewed their ſecrete inſtructions for defence of themſelues, why they proceeded not according to their commiſſion, not caring how much they charged therin the king, whoſe faulte they diſcloſed, to diſcharge themſelues, truſtyng that by benefite of the Winter approching, and the time loſt in their communicatiõ, their Maſter ſhould be defended againſt our power for this yeere, without doing for their parte that by honour, right lawe, and leagues they be obliged and bounde to do. And in this meane time our ſubiectes being taken pryſoners in Scotlande, coulde not be deliuered vpon any raunſome, contrary to all cuſtome and vſage of the borderers in the time of peace and warre. And in this meane tyme ſtayed a great part of our army already preſſed, and in our wages to go forwarde. In this time Imbaſſadours (as ye haue heard) aſſembled to talke of an amitie, but cõcluded none. The treating of amity was put ouer by communication of a meeting. The communication of meeting was ſo handled by alteration of commiſſion and inſtructions on their behalf, as it appeareth a playne deuice only inuented for a delay, whiche hath giuen vs light, wherevpon more certaynely to iudge the King of Scottes inward affection towarde vs, whoſe deedes and wordes well wayed and conſidered, doth vs plainely to vnderſtande how he hath cõtinually labored to abuſe vs with ſweete and pleaſant wordes, & to falſifie the appetites of other at home and abrode with his vnkinde & diſpleaſant deedes. In his words he profeſſeth an indiſſoluble amity, he alledgeth kinred, he knowledgeth benefites, onely the faulte is, that hee ſpeaketh an other language to all the worlde in deedes, and thereby ſo toucheth vs in honour and denegation of Iuſtice, as we be inforced and compelled to vſe the ſworde whiche God hath put in our handes as an extreeme remedy, whereby to obtayne bothe quietneſſe for our ſubiectes, and alſo that is due vnto vs by right, pactes and leagues. Wee haue paciently ſuffered many deluſions, and notably the laſte yeere, when we made preparation at Yorke for his repaire to vs. But ſhould we ſuffer our people and ſubiectes to be ſo oft ſpoyled without remedy? this is done by the Scottes what ſoeuer their wordes be. Should wee ſuffer our rebels to be detayned cõtrary to the leagues without remedy? this is alſo done by them what ſoeuer their wordes be. Should wee ſuffer our lande to be vſurped contrary to our moſt plaine euidence, onely vpon a will, pryde, & arrogancie of the other party? this is done by them whatſoeuer their wordes be. And all theſe be ouer preſumptuouſly done agaynſt vs, and giue ſuche ſignification of their arrogancy, as it is neceſſary for vs to oppreſſe it in the beginning, leaſt they ſhould gather further courage, to the greater diſpleaſure of vs and our poſterity hereafter. And yet in the intreating of this matter, if wee had not euidently perceiued the lacke of ſuch affection as proximity of bloud ſhould require, we would much rather haue remitted theſe iniuries in reſpect of proximity of bloud to our Nephew, than we did heretofore the inuaſiõ of his father. But conſidering we be ſo ſurely aſcertayned of the lacke thereof, and that our bloud is there frozen with the colde ayre of Scotlande, there was neuer Prince more violently compelled to warre, than we be by the vnkind dealing, vniuſt behauiour, vnprincely demeanor of him that yet in nature is our Nephew, and in his actes and deedes, declareth himſelfe not to be moued therwith, ne to haue ſuch earneſt regarde to the obſeruation of his pactes and leagues, ne ſuch reſpect to the intertaynement of the adminiſtration of Iuſtice, as naturall equitie bindeth, and conſeruation of equity doth require: whiche wee much lament and be ſory for, and vſe nowe our force and puiſſance againſt him, not for reuengement of our priuate diſpleaſure (beyng ſo often deliuered as wee haue bene) but for recouery of our right, the preſeruation of our ſubiectes from iniuries, and the obſeruation of ſuche leagues as haue paſſed betweene vs, firmely truſting, that almighty God vnder whome we raygne, will aſſiſt and ayde our iuſt proceedings herein to the furtheraunce and aduancement of the right, whiche wee doubte not ſhall euer preuayle againſt wrong, falſhood, deceyte, and diſſimulation. Hitherto it appeareth howe this preſent warre hath not proceeded of any demaũd of our right of ſuperiority, whiche the Kings of Scots haue alwayes knowledged by homage & fealty to our progenitors euẽ from the beginning: but this warre hath bene prouoked & occaſioned vpõ preſent matter of diſpleaſure, preſent iniury, preſent wrong miniſtred by the Nephewe to the Vncle moſt vnnaturally, & ſupported contrary to the deſertes of our benefits moſt vnkindly, if we had minded the poſſeſſion of Scotland, and by the motion of warre to attayne the ſame, there was neuer King of this realme had more opportunitie in the minority of our Nephew, ne in any other realme a Prince that hath more iuſt title, more euident title, more certaine title, to any realme that he can clayme, than we haue to Scotland, not deuiſed by pretẽce of mariage, nor imagined by cõuenant, nor contriued by inuention of argument, but lineally deſcended from the beginnyng of that eſtate eſtabliſhed by our progenitors, and recogniſed ſucceſſiuely of the Kings of Scotlãd, by deedes, wordes, actes and writings continually almoſt without interruption, or at the leaſt intermiſſion, till the raigne of our progenitor King Henry the ſixte, in whoſe time the Scots abuſed the ciuil warre of this realme, to their licence and boldneſſe, in omitting of their duetie: whiche for the proximity of bloud betweene vs, we haue bene ſlacke to require of them, beyng alſo of our ſelfe inclined to peace, as we haue euer ben alwayes glad, rather without preiudice to omitte to demaund our right if it might conſerue peace, than by demaunding thereof to be ſeene to moue warre, ſpecially agaynſt our neyghbour, agaynſt our Nephew, againſt him whom we haue preſerued from daunger, and in ſuch a time as it were expedient for al Chriſtendome to be in vnitie and peace, wherby to be more able to reſiſt the common enimy the Turke.

But for what conſiderations we haue omitted to ſpeake hitherto of the matter, it is neuertheleſſe true, that the kings of Scottes haue alwayes knowledged the Kings of England ſuperior Lordes of the realme of Scotlande, and haue done homage & fealty for the ſame. This appeareth firſt by Hiſtory written by ſuche as for confirmation of the truthe in memory haue truly noted and ſignified the ſame. Secondly it appeereth by inſtruments of homage made by the Kings of Scottes and diuers notable perſonages of Scotlande, at diuers ſundry tymes ſealed with their ſeales, and remayning in our Treaſory. Thirdly it appeereth by Regiſters and Recordes iudicially & autentiquely made, yet preſerued for confirmation of the ſame. So as the mater of title being moſte playne, is furniſhed alſo with all manner of euidences for declaration thereof. Firſt as concernyng Hiſtories which be called witneſſes of times, the light of truth, and the lyfe of memory, and finally the conuenient way and meane, whereby the thinges of antiquity may be brought to mens knowledge, they ſhewe as playnly this matter as could bee wyſhed or requyred, with ſuche a conſent of wryters, as coulde not ſo agree vpon an vntruth, contayning a declaration of ſuche matter as hath moſte euident probability and apparance. For as it is probable and likely, that for the better adminiſtration of Iuſtice amongſt rude people, two or moe of one eſtate might be rulers in one countrey, vnited as this Iſle is: ſo it is probable and likely, that in the beginnyng it was ſo ordered for auoyding diſſention, that there ſhoulde be one Superiour, in right of whome the ſayd eſtates ſhould depend.

According whereunto we reade, how Brute of whome the Realme, then called Brytayne tooke firſt that name, (beyng before that tyme inhabited with Gyaunts, people without order or ciuility) had three Sonnes, Locrine, Albanact, and Camber, and determining to haue the whole Iſle within the Ocean ſea to bee after gouerned by them three, appoynted Albanact to rule that now is called Scotlande, Camber the parties of Wales, and Locrine that now is called Englande: vnto whome as beyng the eldeſt Sonne, the other two brethrene ſhould do homage, recognyſing, and knowledging him as their ſuperiour.

Nowe conſider if Brutus conquered all this Iland, as the hiſtory ſayth he did, and then in his owne tyme made this order of ſuperiority as afore: howe can there be a title deuiſed of a more plaine beginning, a more iuſt beginning, a more conuenient beginnyng, for the order of this Iland, at that time ſpecially when the people were rude, whiche cannot without continuall ſtryfe and variaunce contayne two or three rulers in all poyntes equall without any manner of ſuperiority, the inwarde conſcience and remorſe of whiche ſuperiority ſhoulde in ſome parte dull and diminiſhe the peruerſe courage of reſiſtence and rebellion.

The firſt diuiſiō of this Ile, wee finde written after this ſorte, without cauſe of ſuſpition why they ſhoulde write amiſſe. And according herevnto wee finde alſo in Hiſtory ſet forth by diuers, how for tranſgreſſion againſt this ſuperiority, our predeceſſours haue chaſtiſed the kings of Scottes, and ſome depoſed & put other in their places: we will here omitte to ſpeake of the rudeneſſe of the antiquity in particularity, whiche they cared not diſtinctly to committe to writing, but ſome authors, as *Anthonius Sabellicus* amongs other diligently enſearchyng what he might truly wryte of all Europe and the Ilandes adioyning, ouer and beſides that whiche he wryteth of the natures, maners, and condicions of the Scottes, whiche who ſo liſte to reade, ſhall finde to haue bene the very ſame in times paſſe, that wee finde them now at this preſent, he calleth Scotland, parte of England, whiche is agreeable to the diuiſion aforeſayde being in deede as in the lande continuall without ſeparation of the Sea, ſo alſo by homage and fealty, vnited vnto the ſame, as by particular declarations ſhall moſt manifeſtly appeere, by the teſtimony of ſuche as haue lefte wryting for proofe and confirmation therof.

In whiche matter paſſing the death of king Humber, the actes of Dunwald King of this realme, the diuiſion of Belyn and Brenne, the victories of king Arthur, we ſhall beginne at the yeare of our Lorde D.CCCC. whiche is a D.Cxlij. yeares paſte, a time of ſufficient auncienty, from which we ſhal make ſpeciall declaration & euident proofe of the execution of our right and title of ſuperiority euermore continued and preſerued hitherto.

Edwarde the firſte before the conqueſt, Sonne to Alured King of England, had vnder his dominion and obedience the king of Scots. And here is to be noted, that this matter was ſo notorious and manifeſt, as Maryon a Scot wrytyng that ſtory in thoſe dayes, graunteth, confeſſeth, and teſtifieth the ſame: and this dominion continued in that ſtate xxiij. yeares.

At whiche tyme Athelſtane ſucceeded in the crowne of Englande, and hauing by battayle conquered Scotlande, he made one Conſtantine king of that party, to rule and gouerne the country of Scotlande vnder him, addyng this Princely worde, that it was more honorable to him to make a King, than to be a King. Xxiiij. yeares after that, whiche was the yeare of our Lorde, 947, Eldred King our progenitour Athelſtanes brother, tooke homage of Iriſe then King of Scottes. Xxx. yeares after that, which was in the yeare of our Lord 977, King Edgar our predeceſſour tooke homage of Kynald kyng of Scots. Here was a little trouble in England by the death of Saint Edward kyng and Martyr, deſtroyed by the deceyte of his Mother in lawe: but yet within memory, xl. yeares after the homage done by Kynald to kyng Edgare, that is to ſay, in the yeare of our Lorde 1018, Malcolme king of Scottes did homage to Knute our predeceſſour.

After this homage done, the Scottes vttered ſome peece of their naturall diſpoſition, wherevpon by warre made by our progenitour Sainct Edwarde the Confeſſor, xxxix. yeare after homage done, that is to ſay, the yeare of our Lorde 1056, Malcolme king of Scottes was vanquiſhed, and the realme giuen to Malcolme his Sonne, by our ſayde progenitour S. Edwarde: vnto whome the ſayde Malcolme made homage and fealty, within eleuen yeares after that William Conquerour inuaded this realme, whereof hee accompted no perfect conqueſt, vntill hee had likewyſe ſubdued the Scottes, and therefore in the ſayde yeare which was in the yeare of our Lorde, 1068, the ſayde Malcolme King of Scottes did homage to the ſayde William Conquerour, as his ſuperiour by conqueſt King of England. xxv. yeares after that, whiche was in the yeare of our Lord, 1093, the ſayde Malcolme did homage and fealty to William Rufus, ſonne to the ſayde William Conquerour, and yet after that was for his offences and demerites depoſed, and his ſonne ſubſtitute in his place, who lykewiſe fayled of his duetie: and therefore was ordeyned in that eſtate by the ſayde William Rufus, Edgar brother to the laſt Malcolme, & ſonne to the firſt, who did homage & fealty accordingly.

Seuen yeares after, that was in the yeare of our Lorde, 1100, the ſayde Edgar King of Scottes did homage to Henry the firſt our progenitour. xxxvii. yeare after that Dauid King of Scottes did homage to Mathild the Empreſſe, as daughter and heyre to Henry the firſte. Wherefore beyng after required by Stephen, then obtayning poſſeſſion of the realme, to make his homage, he refuſed ſo to do, bicauſe he had before made it to the ſayde Mathild and thereupon forbare. After which Dauids death, whiche enſued ſhortely after, the Sonne of the ſayde Dauid made homage to the ſayde King Stephen. xiiii. yeares after that, which was in the yeare of our Lorde, M.C.l. William king of Scottes, and Dauid, his brother, with all the nobles of Scotlande, made homage to Henry the ſecondes ſonne, with a reſeruation of their duety to Henry the ſecond his father. xxv. yeres after, which was in the yeare of our Lord, 1175. William king of Scotlande after muche rebellion and reſiſtence, accordyng to their naturall inclination, King Henry the ſecond then beyng in Normandy, William then king of Scottes knowledged finally his errour, and made his peace and compoſition, confirmed with his great ſeale, and the ſeales of the nobility of Scotland, makyng therewith his homage and fealty.

Within. xv. yeares after that, which was the yeare of our Lorde, 1190. the ſayde William kyng of Scottes came to our Citie of Canterbury, and there did homage to our noble progenitour kyng Richarde the firſt. xiiij. yeares after that the ſayde William did homage to our progenitour king John, vpon a hil beſides Lincolne, makyng his othe vpon the croſſe of Hubert then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, beyng their preſent, a marueilous multitude aſſembled for that purpoſe. xvj. yeares after that, whiche was in the yeare of our Lorde, 1216, Alexander King of Scottes maried Margarete, the daughter of our progenitour Henry the thirde, at our Citty of Yorke, in the feaſte of Chriſtmaſſe, at whiche tyme the ſayde Alexander dyd his homage to our ſayd progenitour, who raigned in this realme lvj. yeares. And therefore betweene the homage made by the ſayde Alexander kyng of Scottes, and the homage done by Alexander, ſonne to the ſayde king of Scots, to Edwarde the firſte at his Coronation at Weſtminſter, there was aboute fifty yeares, at whiche tyme the ſayd Alexander king of Scots repayred to the ſayde feaſt of Coronation, and there did his dutie, as is aforeſayd. Within xxviij. yeares after that, whiche was the yeare of our Lorde. 1282, John Balliol Kyng of Scots made his homage and fealty to the ſayd king Edwarde the firſt our progenitour.

After this beganne Robert Bruſe to vſurpe the crowne of Scotlande, and to moue ſedition therefore, againſt them of the houſe of Balliol, whiche made for a ſeaſon ſome interruption in the ſayde homage, but yet no intermiſſion without the termes of memory, for within. xliiij. yeares after, which was the yeare of our Lorde, 1326, Edward Balliol after a greate victory had in Scotland agaynſt the other faction, and enioying the crowne of Scotlande, made homage to our progenitour Edwarde the thirde. And twenty yeares after that, which was in the yeare of our Lorde. 1346, Dauid Bruſe, who was euer in the contrary faction, did neuertheleſſe in the Title of the crowne of Scotlande, whereof he was then in poſſeſſion, make homage to our ſayde progenitour Edwarde the thirde.

Within. ix. yeres after this, Edward yͤ third, to chaſtiſe the infidelitie of the Scottes, made warre agaynſt them: when after greate victories, Edward Balliol hauing the iuſt and right title to the realme of Scotland, ſurrendred clearly the ſame to our ſayde progenitour, at the towne of Rokeſborough in Scotlande, where our ſayde progenitour accepted the ſame, and then cauſed himſelfe to be crowned Kyng of Scotlande, and for a tyme enterteyned it, and enioyed it, as very proprietary and owner of the realme, as on the one party by confiſcation acquited; and on the other part by free will ſurrendred vnto him. And then after the death of our ſayde progenitour Edwarde the thirde beganne ſedicions and inſurrections in this our realme, in the tyme of our progenitour Richard the ſecond, whiche was augmented by the alteration of the ſtate of the ſayde Richarde, and the deuolution of the ſame, to Henry the fourth, ſo as the Scottes had ſome leyſure to play their vagues, and follow their accuſtomed manner. And yet Henry the fifth for recouery of his righte in Fraunce, commaunded the kyng of Scottes to attende vpon him in that iourney. And in this time the realme of Scotlande beyng diſcended to the houſe of the Stewardes, of whiche our Nephew directly commeth.

James Stewarde kyng of Scottes in the yeere of our Lord. 1423, made homage to Henry the ſixte at Windſore, whiche homage was diſtaunt frō the time of the other homage, made by Dauid Bruſe. lx. yeares and more, but farre within the freſhe memory of man.

All whiche homages and fealties as they appeare by ſtory to haue bene made and done at times and ſeaſons as afore, ſo do there remayne inſtruments made thereupō, and ſealed with the ſeales of the kings of Scotlande teſtifying the ſame. And yet doth it appeare by ſtory, how the Scottes practiſed to ſteale out of our treaſury diuers of theſe inſtrumentes, whiche neuertheleſſe were afterwarde recouered againe.

And to the intent yee may knowe of what fourme and tenour the ſayd inſtrumētes be, here is inſerted, the effect in word and ſentence as they be made, whiche we do, to meete with the cauillation and contriued euaſion of the Scots, alleging the homage to haue bene made for the Erledome of Huntingdon, whiche is as true as the allegation of him that is burnt in the hand, to ſay he was cut with a ſickle: And therefore the tenour of the homage is this.

I John N. king of Scottes ſhalbe true and faythfull vnto you Lord Edwarde by the grace of God king of Englande, the noble and ſuperiour Lorde of the kingdome of Scotlande, as vnto you I make my fidelity of the ſame kingdome of Scotlande, the whiche I holde and clayme, to hold of you, and I ſhall beare to you my fayth and fidelity of life and limme, and worldly honour agaynſt all men, and faythfully I ſhall knowledge, and ſhall do to you ſeruice due vnto you of the kingdome of Scotland aforeſayde, as God ſo helpe and theſe holy Euangelies.

Now for the thirde part touching Recordes and Regiſters, we haue them ſo formall, ſo autentiquall, ſo ſeriouſly handled and with ſuche circumſtaunces declaryng the matters as they be and ought to be, a great corroboration of that hath bene in Stories written and reported in this matter. For amongs other things we haue the ſolempne acte and iudiciall proceſſe of our progenitour Edwarde the firſt, in diſcuſſion of of the Title of Scotland, when the ſame was chalenged by twelue competitours, that is to ſay,

Florentius comes Holandie.
Patricius de Dunbar comes de Merchia.
Willielmus de Veſci.
Willielmus de Ros.
Robertus de Pinkeni.
Nicholaus de Soules.
Patritius Galightly.
Rogerus de Mundeuile.
Ioannes de Comyn.
D. Ioannes de Haſtings.
Ioannes de Balliolo.
Robertus de Bruſe.
Ericius rex Norwegie.

And finally, after a great conſultation and mature deliberation, with diſcuſſion of the allegations propoſed on all parties, ſentence was giuen for the Title of Balliol, accordyng wherevnto, he enioyed the realme; but for confirmation of the dutie of the homage before that time obſerued by the Kings of Scottes, it appeareth in thoſe Recordes, howe when thoſe competitours of the realme of Scotlande repayred to our ſayde progenitour, as to the chiefe Lorde for diſcuſſion of the ſame, in as much as the auctoritie of the iudgement to be giuen depended thervpon: it was then ordered that the whole Parliament of Scotlande, ſpirituall, temporall, and of all degrees aſſembled for that purpoſe, and conſideryng vpon what grounde and fundation the Kings of Scotland had in times paſt made the ſayde homages and recognition of ſuperiority, the ſaid Parliament findyng the ſame good and true, ſhoulde if they ſo deemed it, yelde and gyue place, and by expreſſe conſent recogniſe the ſame.

At whiche Parliament was alleged vnto them, as appeareth in the ſame Recordes, not onely theſe Actes of the Princes before thoſe dayes, and before rehearſed: but alſo beſides the teſtimony of Stories, the wrytings and letters of forreyne Princes at that tyme recityng and rehearſing the ſame: whereupon the ſayd Parliament dyd there agree to this our ſuperioritye, and enſuyng their determination did particularly and ſeuerally make homage and fealty with proclamation, that who ſoeuer withdrew himſelfe from doing his dutie therein, ſhoulde be reputed as a rebell.

And ſo all made homage and fealty to our progenitour Edwarde the firſte. And the realme of Scotland was in the tyme of the diſcuſſion of the Title ruled by Gardians deputed by him; all Caſtels and holdes were ſurrendred to him as to the ſuperiour Lorde. In the time of vacation, benefices, offices, fees, promotions paſſed in that tyme from the meere gifte of our ſayde progenitour, as in the right of this crowne of Englande, Shyriffes named and appoynted, writtes and preceptes made, obeyed and executed: and finally all that we do now in the Duchie of Lancaſter, the ſame did our progenitour for the tyme of the contention for that Title in the realme of Scotlande, by the conſent of an agreement of all eſtates of the realme aſſembled and conſulted with for that purpoſe. At whiche tyme the Biſhops of S. Andrewes and Glaſquo, were not as they now be Archbiſhops, but recogniſed the Archbyſhop of Yorke, whiche extended ouer all that countrey.

Now if the Scottes will take exception to the homage of their Princes as made in warre, and by force whiche is not true: what will they ſay: or can they for ſhame alledge agaynſt their owne Parliament, not of ſome but of all confirmed, and teſtified by theyr writings & ſeales: whereunto nothing enforced them but righte and reaſon, beyng paſſed in peace & quiet without armour or compulſion. If they ſay they did it not, they ſpeake lyke thẽſelues: if they ſay they did it, then do they now lyke themſelfe, to withdrawe their duetie, not ſo much to be blamed, as to be amended.

Thus appeareth vnto you the beginnyng of the right of ſuperiority, with a perpetuall cõtinuance, without intermiſſion within memory, certayne omiſſions and forbearyngs vpõ the groundes and occaſions before ſpecified we denie not, whereby they haue many tymes ſought and taken their oportunities, to withdrawe the doing of their ducty in knowledge of our ſuperiority ouer them, whiche to auoyde, they haue not cared what they ſayde or alledged, though it were neuer ſo vntrue, lying alwayes in a wayte when they might annoy this realme, not without theyr owne greate daunger and perill, & alſo extreeme detriment. But as they detracted the doing of their duetye; ſo God graũted vnto this realme force to compell them thereunto within memory, and notwithſtandyng any their interruption by reſiſtaunce, whiche vnto the tyme of our progenitour Henry the ſixte, neuer endured ſo long as it made intermiſſion within tyme of minde, whereby the poſſeſſion might ſeeme to be empayred: from the tyme of Henry the ſixte vnto the ſeuenth yeare of our raygne, our realme hath bene for a ſeaſon lacerate, and torne by diuerſitie of Titles, till our tyme, and ſithence by warre outwardly vexed and troubled, the ſtory is ſo lamentable for ſome part thereof, as were too tedious to rehearſe.

Sithence the death of our progenitour Henry the ſixte, our Graundfather Edwarde the fowrth raygned, who after greate trauayles to attayne quietneſſe in his realme, finally in the tyme of preparation of warre agaynſt Scotland died.

Richarde the thirde, then vſurped for a ſmall tyme in yeares, whom the King our father by ẏ ſtrength of Gods hande ouerthrew in battayle, and moſte iuſtly attayned the poſſeſſion of this realme; who neuertheleſſe after the great tempeſtuous ſtormes, findyng all matters not yet brought to perfect quiet and reſte, ceaſſed and forbare to requyre of the Scottes to do their duety, thinkyng it policy rather for that time to aſſay to tame their nature by the pleaſant coniunction and conuerſation of affinity, than to charge them with their faulte, and requyre duety of them, when oportunity ſerued not by force and feare to conſtraine and compell them.

And thus paſſed ouer the raygne of our Father without demaunde of this homage. And beyng our raygne nowe. xxxiiij. yeares, wee were. xxj. yeares letted by our Nephew his minoritie, beyng then more carefull how to bring him out of daunger, to the place of a kyng, than to receyue of him homage, when hee had full poſſeſſion of the ſame. Wherefore beyng nowe paſſed, ſithence the laſte homage made by the King of Scottes, to our progenitour Henry the ſixte 122. yeares, at whiche tyme the homage was done at Windſore by James Steward, then King of Scots, as afore, fiftie ſixe of theſe yeares the Crowne of this realme was in contention, the trouble whereof engendred alſo ſome buſineſſe in the tyme of the King our Father, whiche was. xxiiij. yeare: and in our tyme, xxj. yeares hath paſſed in the minority of our Nephew. So as finally, the Scottes reſorting to their onely defence of diſcontinuance of poſſeſſion, can onely alledge iuſtly but. xiij. yeare of ſilence in the tyme of our raygne, beyng all the other times ſithence the homage done by James Stewarde, ſuch, as the ſilence in them (had they bene neuer ſo long) could not haue engendred preiudice to the loſſe of any right that may yet be declared and proued due. For what can be imputed, to King Edwarde for not demaundyng homage, beyng in ſtryfe for that eſtate, whereunto the homage was due? What ſhoulde Richarde the thirde ſearche for homage in Scotlande, that had neyther right nor leyſure to haue homage done vnto him in Englande? who can blame our father, knowing the Scots nature neuer to do their dutie but for feare, if he demaunded not that of them, which they would eſchew if they might, beyng his realme not clearly then purged from ill ſeede of ſedition, ſparkled and ſcattered in the cruell ciuile warres before?

Lawe and reaſon ſerueth, that the paſſing ouer of tyme not commodious, thereto purpoſe is not allegeable in preſcription for the loſſe of any right. And the minority of the King of Scots hath endured. xxj. yeares of our reigne, whiche beyng an impediment on their parte, the whole preſcription of the Scots if the matter were preſcriptible, is thus reduced onely to. xiij. yeare, whiche. xiij. yeare without excuſe we haue ceaſſed and forborne to demaunde our dutie, lyke as the Scottes haue lykewiſe ceaſſed to offer and tēder the ſame, for which cauſe neuertheleſſe wee do not enter this warre ne minded to demaunde any ſuche matter now being, rather deſirous to reioyce and take comforte in the frendſhip of our Nephew as our neighbour; than to moue matter vnto him of diſpleaſure, whereby to alienate ſuche naturall inclination of loue as he ſhoulde haue towarde vs: but ſuche be the workes of God ſuperiour ouer all, to ſuffer occaſions to be miniſtred, whereby due ſuperioritie may be knowne, demaũded & required, to yͤ intent yͭ according therevnto al things gouerned in due order here, we may to his pleaſure paſſe ouer this life to his honour and glory whiche he graunt vs to do, in ſuche reſte, peace, & tranquillity, as ſhall be meete and conuenient for vs.

iſhe ſhips
a.

When therefore the kyng of England had ſet forth this declaration of the cauſes that moued him to make warre agaynſt Scotlande, he prepared to proſecute the ſame bothe by ſea and lande, and hauing rigged and furniſhed diuers ſhips of warre, he ſent the ſame forth to the ſea that they might take ſuch Scottiſhe ſhippes as were to returne from their voyages made into Fraunce, Flaunders, Denmarke, and other countreys, whether they were gone for trade of Marchandize, with whiche the Engliſh ſhippes encountred, tooke .xxviij. of the principal ſhippes of all Scotland fraught with all kinde of Merchãdize & riche wares, which they brought with them into the Engliſh portes.

Robert
inua-
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Erle of
ey giueth
uerthrow
e Engliſh-

The king of Scotland aduertiſed therof, ſent with all ſpeede an Herrault, deſiring reſtitution of his ſhippes as he thought ſtoode with reaſon, ſeing no warre was proclaymed, but the King of England thought it no reaſon to departe with them ſo ſoone, til other articles of agreemēt might be concluded, & therefore refuſed not only to deliuer their ſhippes, but alſo ſent ſir Robert Bowes with men to the borders, giuyng him in charge to inuade Scotlande, who according to his commiſſion with three thouſand men rode into Scotland, & began to brenne and to ſpoyle certayne ſmall townes, whereupon the fray being reyſed in the countrey, the Erle of Huntley who was appointed to remaine as Lieutenant vpon the borders, for doubt of ſuch ſodden inuaſiõs, immediately gathered a number of borderers, and ſet vpon the Engliſh men, and put thē al to flight. Sir Robert Bowes and his brother Richard Bowes with diuers other to the number of vj hundred were taken priſoners, and the ſaid ſir Robert Bowes & other yͤ principal lãded men were kepte ſtill in Scotlande till after the kings death. This victory chanced to the Scots at a place called Halden Rigge in the Mers, vpõ S. Bartholomewes day, whiche is the .xxiiij. of Auguſt. After this the king of England ſent the Duke of Norffolke with the Erles of Shrewſbury, Derby, Cumberland, Surrey, Hertforde, Angus, Rutland, & the Lords of yͤ North partes of England, with an army of .xl. thouſand men as the Scots eſteemed them, though they were not many aboue .xx. thouſand, who entred into Scotland the .xxi. of October, & brent certayne townes vpon the ſide of the water of Tweede, but the Erle of Huntley hauing with him a ten thouſand of the borderers and other, ſo wayted vpon them, giuing them now & then ſkirmiſhes and allarms, that they came not paſt two miles from the water of Tweede within the Scottiſh boundes at that ſeaſon. In the meane time the king of Scotlande beyng aduertiſed hereof, gathered a greate army through all the partes of his realme, and came to Sowtray hedge, where they muſtered, & were numbred to be a .xxxvi. thouſand men, with the which he came to Falla Mure, & there encãped, determining to giue battel to the Engliſhmen, as he pretẽded: howbeit if yͤ Duke had taried longer, as it was thought he would haue done, if the time of yͤ yeere & prouiſion of vitailes had ſerued, the Scots would yet haue bene better aduiſed before they had ioyned wͭ him in a pight field: but true it is that after yͤ Duke had remayned there ſo long as vitayles might be had & recouered frõ any part, he retyred with his army backe into Englãd, not without ſome loſſe of mẽ, horſe, & ſpoiles, which yͤ Scots vnder the Erle of Huntley & others tooke fro the Engliſhmẽ in that their retire, ſpecially as they paſſed ouer the riuer of Tweede. After the Engliſhmẽ were thus departed & withdrawẽ home forth of Scotlãd, king James being of an high & manly courage, in reuenge of the harmes done by the Engliſhmẽ within his countrey, thought good yͭ his whole army ſhould paſſe forwarde & inuade England, himſelf to go therwith in proper perſon. And herein he requeſted the cõſent of his nobilitie, who after long reſoning & good aduiſement takẽ in the mater, gaue anſwere to the king in this ſort, yͭ they could not thinke it good that they ſhould paſſe within Englãd, & to ſeeke battayle, yͤ king himſelf being with thẽ, conſidering yͭ his .ij. ſonnes were lately diſceaſed, ſo yͭ he had no ſucceſſiõ of his body: for in caſe that they loſt the field, as the chaũce of battell is moſt vncertaine, then the king of England hauing great ſubſtance, might therewith folow the victory & put the realme of Scotlande in greate hazarde. Therefore they thought it ſufficiently to defend their owne boundes, & to conſtrayne the enimie for feare to leaue the inuaſion therof, as preſently they had done and declared that they were

The king breaketh vp his army.

determined to haue giuen battayle to theyr enimies if they had cõtinued within the realme, and doubted not by the helpe of God, they hauing ſo iuſt a cauſe, and being inuaded in theyr countrey, but that they ſhoulde haue obteyned the victory. The King hearyng theyr determination, albeit his high courage preſſed him to inuade, yet the approued witte of his nobles and Coũſellours cauſed him to follow their aduiſe, and ſo returned with his army backe againe the firſt of Nouember, the army of England being firſt diſcharged, and the Duke of Norffolke in his returne towardes London.

The king goeth to the weſt borders.

Oliuer Sincler.

The Lo
Wharto

The co
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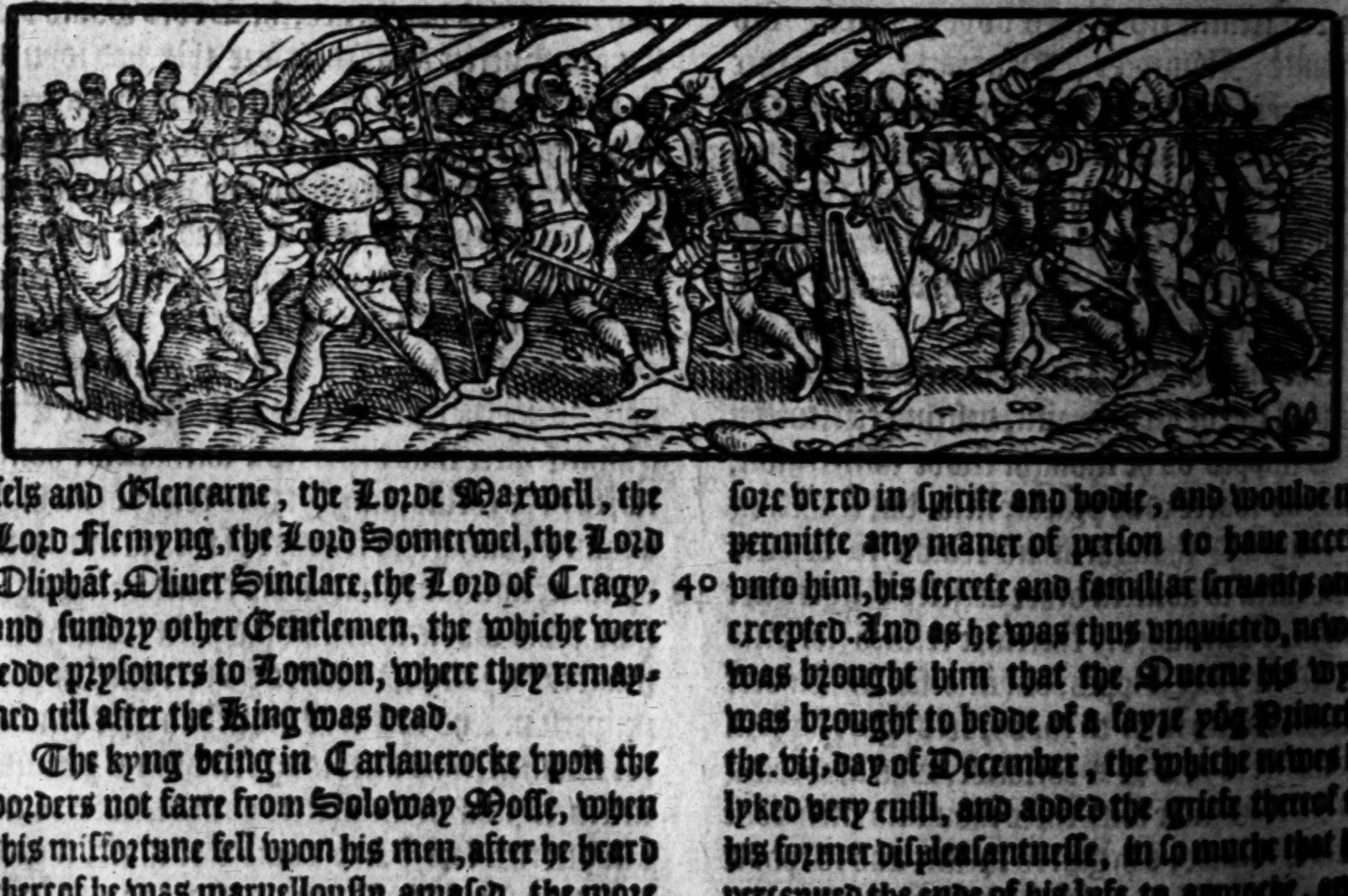
gaynſt O
Sincler.

The Sco
diſcomf
by the E
men.

Shortly after, the kyng of Scotlande went himſelf in perſon vnto the Weſt marches of his realme, where the Lord Maxwell was Warden, whom togither with the Erles of Caſſels, and Glencarne, and certaine other Lordes there with him, the king appointed to inuade the Engliſh marches on that ſide, taking with them the power of the borderers, and ſente alſo with them Oliuer Sincler, & the reſidue of the Gentlemen of his houſholde. Theſe Erles & Lordes entring into Englande on S. Katherines euen beyng the .xxiiij. of Nouember, began to burne certayne townes vpõ the water of Eſke: but as ſoone as the ſcrye was rayſed in the countrey, the Lord Wharton Warden of the weſt marches of Englande, ſodenly rayſed the power of the countrey, and came to a little hill, where they ſhewed themſelues in ſight vnto the Scottiſhe army. The Scottiſhe Lordes perceyuyng the Engliſhmen gathered, aſſembled thẽſelues togither, and enquired who was Lieutenaunt general there by the Kings appointmẽt, and incontinently Oliuer Sincler was holden vp on two mennes ſhoulders, where he ſheweth forth the Kings commiſſion, inſtituting him Lieutenant to the Kyng of that armie: but how ſoeuer that was redde, the Erles and Lordes there preſent, thought themſelues embaſed two much to haue ſuche a meane Gentleman aduaũced in authoritie aboue them all, and therefore determined not to fight vnder ſuche a Captayne, but willyngly ſuffred themſelues to be ouercome, and ſo were taken by the Engliſh men, not ſhewyng any countenaunce of defence to the contrary, and without ſlaughter of any one perſon on eyther ſide.



This rode was called Soloway Moſſe, at the whiche were taken pryſoners men of name, theſe perſons followyng: The Erles of Caſſels and Glencarne, the Lorde Maxwell, the Lord Flemyng, the Lord Somerwel, the Lord Oliphãt, Oliuer Sinclare, the Lord of Cragy, and ſundry other Gentlemen, the whiche were ledde pryſoners to London, where they remayned till after the King was dead.

The griefe of the king for the ouerthrow of his men.

The bir
the Sco
Queene.

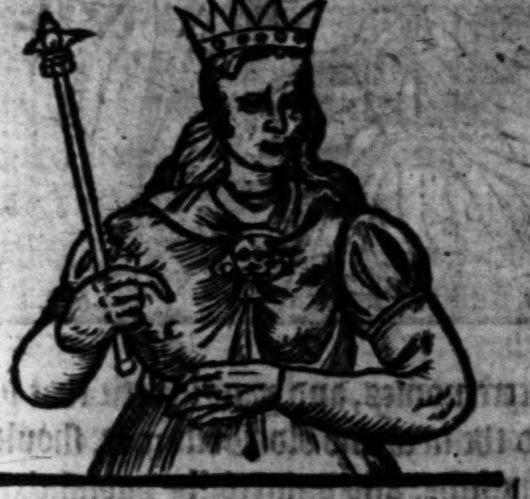
The kyng being in Carlauerocke vpon the borders not farre from Soloway Moſſe, when this miſfortune fell vpon his men, after he heard thereof he was maruellouſly amaſed, the more in calling to remembrance the refuſall made by his Nobles, aſſembled with him in campe at Fala vpon his requeſt to inuade Englande. Herewith ſuch an impreſſion entered his minde, that he thought with himſelf that all his whole nobilitie had conſpyred agaynſt him, and thereupon tooke ſuch a vehement and high diſpleaſure increaſed with a melancolious thought, that he departed ſodenly from thence to Edenburgh, and after remoued to Faulkland, where he remayned as a man deſolate of comforte, beyng ſore vexed in ſpirite and bodie, and woulde not permitte any maner of perſon to haue acceſſe vnto him, his ſecrete and familiar ſeruants only excepted. And as he was thus vnquieted, newes was brought him that the Queene his wyfe was brought to bedde of a fayre yõg Princeſſe the .vij. day of December, the whiche newes he lyked very euill, and added the griefe thereof to his former diſpleaſantneſſe, in ſo muche that he perceyued the ende of his lyfe to approche, and withall ſayde, that hee forſawe great trouble to come vpon the realme of Scotlande, for the purſuit whiche the King of Englande was like to make thereupon agaynſt the ſame, to the end hee might bryng it vnder his ſubiection eyther by mariage or by ſome other meane. It was reported that he was diſquieted with ſome vnkindly medicine: but how ſoeuer the matter was, he yeelded vp his ſpirite to almighty God, & departed this worlde the .xiiij. of December, in the yeare of oure redemption. 1542. the .xxxiij.

yeare

death of King of

yeare of his age, and .xxxij. of his raigne.

Shortly after hys departure, hys body was conueyed from Falkeland vnto Edenburgh in moſt honorable wiſe, the Cardinall, the Erles of Arrane, Arguile, Rothes, Marſhall, and dyuers other noble men being preſent, and with all funerall pomp as was requiſite, it was buried in the Abbey Church of Holy Roode houſe, beſide the body of Queene Magdalene, daughter to the King of Fraunce, his firſt wife. There was greate lamentation and mone made for his death throughout all parts of his Realme, for hee was very well beloued among hys ſubiectes.



Queene Mary.

The Eternall God calling to his mercy James King of Scotland, the fifth of that name, Mary his only daughter and heire began hir raigne ouer the Realme of Scotland the eyghtenth day of December, in the yere of our Lord. 1542. Frauncis the firſte of that name then raigning in Fraunce, and Henry the eyght ouer the Engliſhmen.

1542

She was not paſt ſeuen dayes olde when hir father departing this life, left vnto hir his kingdome, hir mother lying in childbed in the Caſtel of Lithquo, of which place, yͤ Lord Leuingſton being Captayne, had the charge committed to him, both of the daughter and mother, with the mothers good agreement and free conſent.

Lor e ngſton.

Moreouer, immediately after the Kynges death (bycauſe he deceaſſed without making any will, or taking any direction for the gouernemente eyther of the Realme, or cuſtody of the yong Queene hys daughter) Dauid Beaton, Cardinall and Archbyſhop of S. Andrewes, the ſpeciall miniſter and factor of the Frenche cauſes, to the aduauncement and continuaunce thereof, inuented and forged a will and Teſtament of the late King now departed, in whiche among other things, hee eſtabliſhed hymſelfe chiefe regent, adioyning with him the Earles of Murrey, baſe brother to the Kyng deceaſſed, Huntley and Argile, not once mentioning the Earle of Lennox, then abſent in Fraunce, nor yet James Earle of Arraine his Couſin, beeing there preſent in Scotland. Those that profeſſed the reformed Religion, being then called Proteſtantes, to whome the ſayde Cardinall was euer a cruell enimie and ſharp ſcourge, eſpyed forth his vniuſt dealing in this behalfe, and truſting by the gentle nature and good inclination of the ſayd Earle of Arraine, to haue ſome libertie to imbrace the Goſpell, ſet him againſte the Cardinall, ſo that by the helpe of his owne and their friendes, he remoued the Cardinal and his adherents from the vſurped roomth and authoritie, and therewith was the ſayde Earle of Arraine proclaymed gouernour and protector of the Realme.

id Beaton dinall.

forging of ll.

The Proteſtants eſpyed the Cardinals craftie iugling.

This Earle of Arrane made a title to haue and enioy that office and roomth, as nexte in bloud to the yong Queene, as diſcended from a ſiſter of King James the third, married to his Grandfather Lord Hamilton in the yere. 1475. by reaſon of whiche marriage, hee was created Earle of Arrane, as by acte of Parliament holden the ſame yeare at Edenburgh, it was agreed and ordeyned.

The King of Englande that noble Prince Henrye the eyght, aduertiſed of the death of the King of Scottes, conſidered with good aduiſe, that now there was offered a moſt ready meane and iuſt occaſion, whereby the two Realmes of Englande and Scotland might be broughte into one entier Monarchie, without warre or bloudſhed, by the marriage of his ſonne Prince Edwarde, beeyng then little paſt ſixe yeares of age, with the yong Queene of Scotlande. Hee therefore being reſolued fully to bring the ſame to paſſe eyther by quiet meanes or by force, and ſending for the Erles of Caſſill and Glencarne, the Lordes Maxwell, and Fleming, and other Priſoners yͭ had bin taken at Solloway Moſſe, cauſed them to bee conueyd vnto Hampton Court, where the ſeuenth and twentith of December they being right curteouſly entertained, hee made vnto them an ouerture of his purpoſe and whole intent, propoſing the whole matter vnto them, requeſting them for their partes to help with their conſents, that a contract of mariage mighte bee made betweene his ſonne the Prince, and their yong Queene, promiſing to them libertie without raunſome, beſydes other pleaſures and benefytes, if they would doe theyr indeuour to perſwade the Gouernoure, and other of the nobilitie of Scotland to be agreeable herevnto.

The King of England talketh with the Lords of Scotlād priſoners, for a marriage betwixt his ſonne, and their Queene.

The Scottiſhe Earles and Lordes accepted the Kings offer, and withall promiſed to doe their diligence to perſwade the reſt of the nobilitie in Scotland at their cōming home: whereupon they were licenced to depart, and ſo comming to Newcaſtell, remayned there with the Duke of Suffolke, then the Kings Lieutenant of the North partes, till he had receyued forthe of Scotlande certayne pledges of the chiefeſt of theſe Lordes, for performance of their promiſes.

The Earle of Angus ſente home into Scotlande.

1542

Likewiſe the King of England ſent wyth them the Earle of Angus, and his brother Sir George Dowglas with his letters to the Gouernoure, requeſting effectuouſly, ẏ they mighte be reſtored to their roomthes, lands, and poſſeſſions in that Realme. Theſe Lords arriuing at Edenburgh aboute the middes of January, declared to the Gouernoure their meſſage and propoſition made by the King of Englande, with ſuch efficacie, that the Gouernour beeyng perſwaded thereto by their wordes, ſente for the Lords and nobilitie of the Realme to come vnto Edenburgh to a conuention, there to be holden the ſeauen and twentith of that preſent moneth, where they concluded that a Parliamente ſhoulde bee kepte in Marche next enſuing, and doubting leaſt the Cardinall (beeing there preſent) ſhould goe about to perſwade the nobilitie not to conſent to their deſires, they cauſed hym to be put in warde within the Caſtell of Dalketh, the Lord Seton being appoynted to haue the cuſtody of him.

A conuention of the Scottiſh nobilitie.

The Cardinall committed to warde.

Aboute the ſame time, Sir Robert Bowes, and all other the Engliſhmen that were priſoners, and had bin taken at Halden rigge on S. Bartholmewes day (as before ye haue hearde) were ſente home by the Gouernoure into Englande, and Sir Rauſe Sadler was ſente Ambaſſador from King Henry, vnto the ſaide Gouernoure, and other the Lords of Scotland, and came thither before the Parliamente, to perſwade the Lordes to agree vnto the Kyng hys maiſters motions, trauelling ſo diligently in the matters whereabout he was thus ſent, that it was concluded by acte of Parliament to ſend Ambaſſadors into Englande, for the better ſatiſfaction of King Henries deſires, and ſo the Earle of Glencarne, Sir George Dowglas, Sir William Hamilton, Sir James Leyrmouth, and the Secretary being named and appoynted thereto, departed in the moneth of March, and comming into England vnto the King, remayned there till the latter end of July, in which meane time, ſuche couenants, contracts, and promiſes were had and concluded, paſſed and ſealed interchangeably, as ſtood with the pleaſure and good liking of King Henry, ſo as the marriage was fully contracted, and a peace concluded for tenne yeares, by authoritie of the aforeſayd Parliament. Herewith alſo the Lorde Gouernour ſhewed himſelfe to embrace the refourmed Religiō, cauſing one Frier Guilliam to Preache agaynſt Images, and fruteleſſe ceremonies, and gaue libertie that ẏ Bible, called the new and old Teſtamēt, ſhould be had in Engliſhe, and vniuerſally publiſhed through the Realme of Scotlande.

Halden rig.

Sir Rauſe Sadler.

Ambaſſadors ſent into Englande.

The Ma confirme

Alſo hee commaunded not onely the Cardinall (as before ye haue heard) but alſo ordeyned that the Queene mother ſhould remayne in Lithgow with the yong Queene hir daughter, vnder ſome manner of ſafe cuſtody, and the Cardinall to be remoued vnto his owne Caſtell of Saint Androwes, with warders about hym to ſee him ſafely kept.

The Realme beeing thus brought in quiet, and vnder good gouernement, the French King ſore miſliking this new coniunction of ẏ Scots with England, and doubting leaſt the olde former bond of aliance betwixt France and Scotland might therby be vtterly diſſolued and ſhaken off, he ſent for Mathew Earle of Leuenox, then abrode in his ſeruice in the warres of Italy, and vppon his comming backe from thence to the Court, hee declared to him the deceaſſe of the late King of Scottes, the intruſion of Arrane, and the attemptes in that Realme begun, with all the circumſtances from poynt to point as he knewe, and further diſcourſed with hym what wrong hee had to be ſette aſide, and diſplaced from hys ryghte of gouernemente, and therefore exhorted hym to repayre home to recouer the ſame, offering not only to aſſiſt him with men, money, and munition, but alſo to ioyne hys friendes in Scotlande with hym in ayde to attayne the place of regimente, and to remoue Arrane and others from it. The

The Fre King miſ keth of th match wi Englande

Mathew of Lenoo

Earle of Leuenox herevpon with commiſſion and inſtructions deliuered to him by the French King, had alſo letters from him directed to the Lordes that were of the French faction, wherein the ſayde Kyng requeſted them to remaine and continue in their former good meanings towardes him, and to aſſiſt the Erle of Leuenox in all things, as ſhould be thought expedient.

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nox paſ-
into
land.

The Earle therefore fully inſtructed by the Frenche Kyng, howe to deale and proceede, tooke his leaue, and with all ſpeede taking the Sea, directed hys courſe into Scotlande, where after his arriual, he came to Edenburgh, in which towne all the Lordes being aſſembled togither with the Gouernoure, hee declared to them the effect of hys commiſſion from the French Kyng, his requeſt to them, and good affection to mayntey ne them againſt England, if in caſe they woulde continue the olde league with him, and not ſeeke to make any new aliance with the King of Englande: but perceyuing that the Gouernour and his friends were minded to ſatiſfie the Kyng of Englandes deſires he would not tarrie for a reſolute aunſwer, but by the counſell of the Earle of Arguile, William Earle of Glencarne, and others of the French faction, he ſuddaynely departed forth of Edenburgh towarde the Weſt Countrey, highly diſpleaſed as ſhould ſeeme with the Gouernoure, and taking Lithgow in his way, hee conferred with the Queene Dowager (as they termed hir) deuiſing how to aſſemble the noble men of the Frenche ſide, to bring hir and hir daughter to libertie, out of the daunger of the Lorde Gouernoure, bycauſe it was ſuppoſed that hee meante to conuey hir into Englande.

e Earle
Lennox
erreth
ith: Q.
ager.

About the ſame time, through practiſe of the Abbot of Paſley, brother to the Gouernour, and others, the Caſtell of Edenburgh was gote out of the handes of Sir Peter Chrichton, and the keeping thereof committed by the Gouernours appoyntment, vnto James Hamilton, Lard of Stanehouſe: but the Earle of Lennox, with the aſſiſtance of the Earles of Huntley, Argile, and others of the Frenche faction in Auguſt following, conueyd the yong Queene with hir mother from Lithgow vnto Sterling. The Cardinall alſo was there with them lately before, hauing corrupted his keepers, & gotten abroade at libertie. Herewith was a day appoynted and proclaymed for the Coronation of the yong Queene. The Earle of Arrane then gouernour, with the Erles of Angus, Caſſils, the Lordes Maxwell, Someruile, and diuers others, called the Engliſh Lordes, remayning ſtill at Edenburgh, aduertiſed the King of Englãd of all the driftes of Leuenox, and other of that faction, requiring his aduice and counſell howe to deale for the diſappoynting of their purpoſes, that ſoughte to continue the amitie ſtill wyth Fraunce, to the preiudice of peace with England.

e Caſtell
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g.

The King of England aduertiſed hereof, as wel thus from the Gouernour, and other the Scottiſh Lordes, as alſo from Sir Raufe Sadler, his Maieſties Ambaſſadoure there, doubted greatly leaſt theſe Lordes, in whoſe handes the Queene then was, in reſpect of the fauour whiche they bare to the Frenche King, ſhould conuey hir ouer into Fraunce, wherevpon, he requeſted the Gouernour, and the other Lordes that fauoured his ſide, ſo to deale, that ſhe might bee ſente into Englande, there to remayne, till the marriage mighte bee conſummate betwixt hir, and his ſonne Prince Edwarde: hauing in the meane time ſuch Lordes of hir Countrey about hir to attende vppon hir, and to ſee to hir bryngyng vp, as ſhould be thought expedient. To conclude, his Maieſtie not only ſent his princely comfort by way of counſell and good aduice, but alſo according to their deſire (and as by the Duke of Suffolke his highneſſe Lieutenaunte then in the North it was thought expedient.) Thomas Lorde Wharton with two thouſande menne from the Weſt marches, and the Lord Euers with other two thouſand from the Eaſt borders, were appoynted to enter Scotland, and to ioyne themſelues with the Gouernour and hys friendes, to aſſiſt them againſte their aduerſaries, but as they were in a readineſſe to marche, through the ſecret labour of the Cardinall, wiſhing the aduauncemente of the Erle of Arrane his kinſman (whom he thought hee ſhoulde well ynough frame to be at his appoyntmente) rather than Leuenox that was knowen to be of a greater ſtomacke, the matter was ſo handled, what by the Cardinall and the Erle of Huntley of the one part, and ỹ Queene Dowager on the other, that the Earle of Arrane reuolting from the Kyng of Englande, came in to the Dowager, and ioyned himſelfe with the Cardinall, and other the Lordes of the Frenche faction, by reaſon whereof, they all concluded to mayntayne him in the eſtate of Lorde Gouernour, and not to place Leuenox as their purpoſe was to haue done, if Arrane hadde continued faythfull to the King of Englande.

The King of Englandes doubt.

The Lorde Wharton. The Lorde Euers.

The Earle of Arrane a faith breaker.

Shortlye after, the yong Queene was Crowned at Striueling, the Cardinall taking vpon him to order things as hee thought good, appoynting the Gouernour to beare ỹ Crowne as chiefe perſon, & next in bloud to the Queene, and the Erle of Lennox to beare the ſcepter. After ỹ Coronatiõ, a Parliamẽt was called and holden

The Coronatiõ of Queene Mary.

A Parliament.

The Patriarke of Aquleia.

Order for the cuſtody of the Queene.

holden at Edenburgh, at the whiche in preſence of the Patriarche of Apulia the Popes Agent, and of the Frech Kings Imbaſſadours, Monſieur la Broſſe, and Monſieur Menage lately before come into the realme, the Erle of Arrane was newly confirmed gouernour: and for the ſure preſeruation (as they pretended) of the yong Queene, it was agreed by the gouernour and the eſtates, that ſhe ſhoulde remaine with the olde Queene hir mother in Sterlyng Caſtell, during her mynoritie, and certayne rentes of that Seigniory was aſſigned for the mayntenaunce of ſuche trayne as was thought expedient to bee attendant aboute hyr: and further the Lordes Leuingſton, Erſkin, and Fleming, were apoynted to abide continually with hyr, for the better ſauegarde of hyr perſon.

The Erle of Lennox his diſpleaſure.

Thus was euery thing ordered as ſeemed to ſtand with the pleaſure of the Cardinall: wherevpon the Erle of Lennox perceyuyng how vncurteouſly he was vſed, to haue his aduerſary thus confirmed in auchoritie by the Frenchſide, and himſelfe reiected, he firſte ſente to the Frenche King, infourmyng him throughly of the iniuries to him done, putting him in remembrance of the promiſes made to him when hee departed from him: alſo the conſtantneſſe of his ſeruice, the haſarde he had put himſelfe in for his ſake, and notwithſtandyng howe hee was yet vnkindly dealte with, that through lacke of his promiſed ayde and aſſiſtaunce, he was brought out of credite in his countrey, and ſubiected vnder the commaundement and authoritie of his enimie, and wrongfully diſappoynted of his right, whiche he loked to haue recouered, and to haue bene mainteyned therein, by his ſupporte.

He renoũceth his ſeruice to the French kyng.

In conſideration whereof, he renounced his ſeruice, willing him from thenceforth not to loke for the ſame any more at his handes. Herewith Leuenax ioynyng himſelfe with the Erles of Angus, Caſſilles, and Glencarne, the Lords Maxwell, and Someruille, the Sheriffe of Ayre, the Larde of Drumlanrig and other of that ſide, called the Engliſh Lordes, ſet himſelfe agaynſt the Gouernour, the Cardinall and others of that faction, ſo that the reſidue of this yeare was ſpente in ciuill diſſention betweene them.

Ciuill diſſentiõ in Scotlãd.

French ſhips arriuyng in the riuet of Clyde.

And here is to bee noted that a little before that the Erle of Arrane reuolted to the French parte, there were arryued in the mouth of the riuer of Clyde on the weſt coaſte fiue ſhippes which the Frenche King had ſent to the ayde of his freendes in Scotland, vnder the conduction of James Stewarde of Cardonold, and of the forenamed Monſieur de la Broſſe, and Monſieur Menage, the French kings Imbaſſadors. There came with them alſo the Patriarke of Apulia, of whome ye haue lykewiſe hearde before, they had brought abord in theſe ſhippes fifty thouſande Crownes, and munition to the value of tenne thouſand Crownes. The Erle of Lennox therefore when he firſt reſolued to turne to the Engliſhe parte, with the aduiſe of his confederates, ſeyſed vpon thoſe ſhippes, got the fiftie thouſand Crownes, and the moſt parte of the munition into his handes: and brought it to the Caſtell of Dunbertayne, reteyning it to his owne vſe, where it was ſente to haue bene employed to the maintenaunce of the Frenche faction, agaynſt the King of England and the Lordes that leaned to his ſide.

The Er Lenox vpõ the ſhippes.

The Er Lennox leth an

The Erle of Lennox therefore, rayſing a power of menne of warre with the aſſiſtaunce of the Lordes of his faction, came with them vnto Leith agaynſt the Gouernour, that was then in Edenburgh: but through the diligent trauayle of the Cardinall, the Erles of Huntley, Murrey, and Argyle, the matter was taken vp and an appoyntment accorded: ſo that ſir George Dowglas was deliuered as a pledge for his brother the Erle of Angus, the Maſter of Glencarne, for his father the Erle of Glencarne, the Abbot Caſſaghole, for his brother the Erle of Caſſilles, to remayne in ſafe keepyng where it pleaſed the Gouernour to appoynt.

An app ment

Pledge uered.

The Er Lenno meth to goner

He dep from h gayne. He for Glaſquo

Glaſqu by the nour

The Erle of Lennox came vnto Edinburgh to yͤ Gouernor, but within ſixe dayes after they went bothe to Lithquo, from whence the Erle of Lennox ſecretely departed from the Gouernour without biddyng him farewell, and comming to Glaſquo, fortified both the Caſtell and Steeple there with menne and munition. The Gouernour aduertiſed thereof, paſſed thither with the power of the whole realme, entred the towne, aſſieged the Caſtell and ſteeple whiche he wanne, hanged certen Gentlemen whiche he toke there to the number of ſixtene, and pardoned the other inferiour Souldiours. The Erle of Lennox withdrewe into Dunbertayne. The Erle of Angus, and the Lorde Maxwell hearyng of thys ſturre, came vnto the Gouernour vnto Glaſquo before the ſiege was layde, to intreate of ſome accorde betwixte him and the Erle of Lennox. But the Gouernour cauſed them both to be ſecretly conueyed fro the counſell by the backſide of the blacke Fryers of Glaſquo, vnto the Caſtell of Hamilton, and from thence the Erle was ſente to Blackneſſe. The Lorde Maxwell was kepte ſtill in holde at Hamilton, and George Dowglas, and the Maſter of Glencarne in Edenburgh Caſtell: theſe perſons thus impryſoned ſtode in greate doubte of theyr lyues as ſome ſuppoſed, but as diuers other did ſuſpect, they were rather committed

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mitted for a colour than for any euill that was meant towarde them.

How ſoeuer it was with them, the Erle of Lennox by the aduiſe of his friendes, ſent the Erle of Glencarne, & a Gentlemā called Thomas Biſhop, vnto the king of Englande with offer of his ſeruice, and requeſt to haue in mariage the Lady Margarete Dowglas daughter to the Erle of Angus, and neece to the ſayde Kyng. They that were ſente ſo ſolicited the Erles cauſe, that in the ende the King beyng perſwaded that Lennox ought of right to haue the gouernement of the realme of Scotlande, and to be ſeconde perſon in the ſame, and herewith in conſideration how vniuſtly not onely his Maieſtie had bene dealt with, but alſo how vnthankefully and diſcourteouſly Lennox had bene vſed both at the handes of the French king and alſo of his adherentes in Scotland, by the Cardinall and others, he bothe thankefully receyued his gentle offer of ſeruice, and alſo promiſed to ayde him in his Title and all other lawfull cauſes: and herewith prepared an army to paſſe into Scotlande by ſea, appoynting the Erle of Hertforde, and the Lorde Liſle to haue the conduction of the ſame, who ſhippyng at Tynmouth with theyr people, arriued in the Forth vnder Wardie Caſtell, a myle and a half aboue Leith the thirde of May, the whole nauie conteyning aboue the number of two hundred ſhippes. Here at Newhauen a quarter of a myle from the ſayde Caſtell they landed theyr armie of tenne thouſande men of warre, with great artillery and all kinde of munition.

The kyng of Englād meaneth to ayde the Erle of Lennox.

The Engliſhe army landeth by Lieth.

The Lorde Gouernour beyng at that preſent within the towne of Edenburgh, hearyng of their arriuall wente forth of the towne accompanied with the Cardinall, the Erles of Huntley, Argyle, Bothwell and others, purpoſing to ſtoppe theyr landing, but perceyuing the puyſance of the aduerſaries to be ſuche, as they coulde not reſiſt the ſame, they returned to Edenburgh agayne, and ſente Maiſter Adam Otterburn prouoſt of Edenburgh, and two of the Bayliſes to the Erle of Hertforde, to vnderſtande the cauſe of his comming, and withall offered, that if there were any iniuries or wrōgs done by any of the Scottes nation, hee woulde appoynt Commiſſioners to talke with ſuche as by him ſhoulde be authorized thereto, for the full anſwearing thereof, and to that effect he woulde gladly receyue them into the towne of Edenburgh. The Erle of Hertford anſweared that he had no commiſſion to talke of any ſuche mater, but rather to take reuenge of the vniuſt dealing and breache of promiſe on thoſe that had falſified their fayth. And therfore minding to burne the towne of Edenburgh as wel as other within that realme, hee willed the inhabitantes and all thoſe that were within the ſame to come forth, and ſubmitte themſelues before him the kings Lieutenant, to ſtande vnto the Kings will and pleaſure, or els he would not faill to proceede in execution thereof. The Prouoſt anſweared that he would rather abyde all extremities than to accompliſhe his requeſt and deſire in that behalfe, and therevpon returned to the towne.

The Prouoſt of Edenburgh ſente to the erle of Hertford.

The Erles anſwere.

After the Gouernour had hearde what anſweare was made to the Prouoſt, he cauſed the Caſtell to be furniſhed with all things neceſſary for defence, and departed ſtraight wayes to Striuelyng. The Engliſh army lodging that night in Leith, marched the nexte day towarde Edenburgh, paſſing vp the Cannogate ſtreete to enter at the nether bowe, where they founde ſome reſiſtaunce made by Scottes, ſo that diuers were ſlayne on bothe partes. Towardes night, the Engliſhmen after they had continued long in ſkirmiſhyng that day with the Scottiſhmen retyred to Leith. The nexte day the whole army with the great Artillery came forwarde towardes the towne, and breakyng open the Cannogate, they entred the towne by the ſame, bryngyng their ordinaunce within ſight of the Caſtell, purpoſing to plante the ſame in battery agaynſt it, but the Capitayne of the Caſtell cauſed the Artillery within to ſhoote off at them in ſo great aboundance, and ſo good meaſure, that they ſlew diuers Engliſhmen and diſmounted one of their peeces, ſo that in the ende they were conſtrayned to drawe backe their ordinaunce and retyred, but yet in the meane time they ſet fire on the towne, and brente the moſte parte of all the houſes in the ſame. They brent alſo the Cannogate ſtreete, and the Abbey of holy roode houſe. The Gouernour at that preſent releaſed out of pryſon the Erle of Angus, the Lorde Maxwell, the Maſter of Glencarne, ſir George Dowglas and others.

Edenburgh entred by force.

See more hereof in Englād.

Edenburgh brent.

Pryſoners ſet at liberty.

In this meane time alſo there came from the Bordures by lande foure thouſande of Engliſh horſemenne, vnder the conduction of the Lorde William Euers, & his ſonne ſir Rauſe Euers, who ioyning with the army at Leith, ſkoured the countrey on euery ſide the towne of Edenburgh, finally after that the Engliſh army had layne in Leith a certayne ſpace, they brent that towne alſo, and ſent their ſhippes away fraught with pillage & ſpoyles (got aſwell in that towne as in Edenburgh, and abrode in the countrey) backe towardes England. And therewith the Erle of Hertford, the Lord Admirall and others returned by land through the coūtry vnto Barwike, as in the Engliſhe hiſtorie more at large appeareth. Whyleſt the Engliſhe army was thus occupied in that part of Scotlā the Erle of

Leith brent.

The Erle of Lennox.

of Lennox with an army of menne whiche he had rayſed was ready to come on the backes of the Gouernour and his adherentes, if they had aſſembled their forces and come forwarde to haue gyuen the Engliſh men battayle. For all this ſeaſon the ciuill contention ſtill continewed, and ſundry conflictes and ſkirmiſhes chaunced betwixt the parties.

The battayle of Glaſquo wonne by the Gouernour.

The Engliſh army hauing brente Edenburgh and harried the countrey aboute, departed from Leith (whiche towne they alſo brent) and drew homewardes, brenning and ſpoyling ſundry Caſtelles, Piles, Villages, & Townes in their way. Alſo where the Lorde Maxwell came in to the Erle of Hertforde, for his double dealyng hee was ſtayed and brought into Englande. Shortly after the returne of the Engliſh armie the Gouernour, and the Lord Boyd came with an army to beſiege the Caſtell of Glaſquo, which yͤ Erle of Lennox had lately againe recouered. The Erle of Glencarne, and other of the Erle of Lennox his friendes, being at that preſent within Glaſquo, iſſued forth, & vpon Glaſquo Moore gaue the Gouernour battayle, in the whiche the Larde of Campſketh mayſter of the houſholde to the Gouernour, and vij. ſcore others, of the ſurname of the Hamiltõs loſte their lyues, but the victory yet remayned vpõ the Gouernours ſide, Andrew Coningham ſonne to the Erle of Glencarne, & Iames Coningham, with George Cullough Captaine of the Erle of Lennox his ſhotte, being ſlayne on that parte, beſides others of the meaner ſorte.

The Erle of Lennox goeth into England.

He marrieth the Lady Margaret Dowglas

Lord Obney.

Shortely after this ouerthrow, the Erle of Lennox accompanied with Alexander the maſter of Glencarne, otherwiſe called Lord of Kilmawſe, Walter Graham brother to the Erle of Montroſe, ſir Iohn Borthwike knight, and ſundry other Gentlemen toke the ſea to paſſe into England, & arriued at Weſtcheſter aboute Midſomer: paſſing from thence to the Court, he was ioyfully receyued, and immediatly therevpon was the mariage celebrated betwixt him and the Lady Margaret Dowglas daughter & heyre to the Erle of Angus, & to Margaret his wife queene of Scottes, ſiſter to king Henry the eight, at what time there was aſſured to him by way of inheritaunce, Landes to the valewe of xvij. hundreth markes of yearely rent of aſſiſe, in conſideration of this mariage with the Kings neece, & in recompence of landes loſte by him in Fraunce, to the whiche he was inheritour after the deceaſe of Robert Steward Lorde Obenie, one of the foure Marſhals of Fraunce.

The Erle o Lennox ſe neth into land.

Moreouer kyng Henry beyng now vpon his iourney towards Bullongne, aſwell for the annoyance of his highneſſe enimies in Scotland, as for recouerie of the ſayde Erles right in that realme, appointed the ſayd Erle to enter Scotland in the moneth of Auguſt, accõpanied with ſir Riſe Maunſfield, ſir Peter Mewtas knights M. Thomas Audley, M. Thomas Brokes, old M. Winter cõptroller of the Kings ſhips, & his ſonne ſir William Winter that now is, & ſundry other Capitaynes, hauing vnder their charge two hundred hakebutters, two hundred Archers with long bowes, and two hũdred armed pikes, beſide the Mariners belongyng to thoſe ſhippes, that were appoynted to goe forth in this iourney, beyng in number aboute xij. or xiiij. ſayle, belonging to Briſtow, and other of the Weſt partes.

The Iſle o Bute take

Vpon their arriual on the coaſt of Scotland they brent the Iſle of Arrane, and raſed the gouernours Caſtell there to the grounde: And afterwardes arriuing at the Iſle of Butt, they entred the ſame, and toke the Caſtell of Roſey ſtanding therein (from whence the Stewardes kings of Scotland had theyr originall) the Capitaine they had away priſoner with them into England. Here alſo they toke two Frenche ſhippes laden with wines, and this done they entred the Firth of Clyde, thinking to finde none but their frendes in the Caſtell of Dunbertane: but the truth is, that in this meane time the Erle of Glencarne with ſundry gentlemen being left in that Caſtell, with the Capitayne therof called Houſon, to keepe it in the name and to the behouſe of the Erle of Lennox, were in his abſence perſwaded through practiſe of the queene Dowager, not onely to renounce theyr promiſed faith to him, in defrauding him of that Caſtell, but alſo to entrappe and winde him within their daunger to take him pryſoner.

The Erle o Lennox in daunger to betrayed a taken.

For whiche purpoſe they ſo diſſembled the matter, that they had gotte him a lande onely with three hundred menne, and ſo farre forth they were growen in talke, that the Erle of Lennox beyng entred into the Caſtell with a fewe other with him, the money was layde downe on the borde, to be payde to the Capitayne for his ſatiſfaction.

But in the meane tyme the Erle of Lennox and ſuche as were with him, perceyuing ſome treaſonable practiſe in hande, gotte forth of the houſe agayne vnto theyr companie below, leauing the money behinde them, and after made ſhifte to gette to theyr ſhippes, and not before it was high time, for if they had ſtayed that night, they had bene entrapped by George Dowglas, who with foure thouſande menne was ſecretely drawen thitherwardes and entred the towne of Dunbertane, ſhortly after yͤ the Erle of Lennox was thus departed, and got to his ſhips lying there at hande in the riuer of Clyde, downe the whiche he retyred to the ſea, not without daunger to haue loſt the ſame ſhippes by reaſon of the narrowneſſe of the water: for the Erle of Argyle beyng gotten betwixte him and the ſea, with a great power of men, with Baners diſpleyd bailſed the ſhippes with ſhotte of ordināce from the caſtel of Dynnune, annoying the Erle of Lennox his paſſage as much as he coulde. But he eſcaping with the Engliſh gentlemen, and the ſhippes out of daunger, tooke aduiſe togither at the Iſle of Bute what they had to do. The Erle ſore moued to haue bene thus repulſed fro Dunbretayn, & ſtomaking the matter ſore, to be ſo contenanced by his enimy the Erle of Argyle, with the aduiſe of the Engliſh Gentlemen, he returned with them, and with great ſhew of manhood taking lande beſide the Caſtel and towne of Dynnune, where the Erle of Argyle with ſeuen hundred men was ready to encounter him, and to keepe him of from landyng, but by the helpe of the ſhotte out of the ſhippes, and great ſtore of boates, the Engliſhmen landed, ſlew lxxx. of the enimies moſt part Gentlemen, & put the reſidue to flight, with the loſſe of three men onely on the Engliſh ſide. This done the towne of Dinnune was brente and the Churche ſpoyled, that was full of goods and ornamentes. When the night approched, by reaſon the Engliſhmenne had no pouder nor other prouiſion a lande, the Erle with his people returned to ſhippeborde in ſafetie, though not without offer of ſkirmiſhe made by the enimies though to theyr loſſe, namely of thoſe that aduaunced themſelues moſte forwarde. Aboute foure or fiue dayes after the Erle of Lennox with fiue hundreth menne landed in an other parte of Argyle, and remayning on lande a whole day togither, brent, ſpoyled, and waſted the countrey: the Erle of Argyle with two thouſande men giuing the looking on and not ones offering the ſkirmiſhe, ſo that the Erle of Lennox with his Souldiers retyred to his ſhippes without encounter.

The Erle of Lennox landeth at Dinnune.

The towne of Dinnune brent.

The Erle of Lennox landeth againe in Argyle.

Kinter inuaded.

After this they inuaded the Iſle of Kinter where James Macconell dwelled, brent many places in that countrey; tooke and caried away great booties of cattayle and other goodes. All the coaſtes of Kile, Carrike, and Coningham, and likewiſe of Galloway remayned in continuall feare, ſo that oftentimes theyr beakons were fyred, and many of the Noble menne conſtrayned to come to the Erle of Lennox, ſewing to him for aſſurance.

Walter Macferlane.

In theſe exploytes the Erle had with him Walter Macferlane of Tirbatt, and ſeuen ſcore men of the head of Lennox, that ſpake bothe Iriſhe and the Engliſh Scottiſh tongues, light footemen well armed in ſhirtes of mayle, with bowes, and two handed ſwordes, and beyng ioyned with the Engliſh Archers and ſhotte, did muche auaylable ſeruice in the ſtreyghts, mariſhes, and mountayne countreys.

Sir Peter Mewtas.

To conclude, after the Erle of Lennox and his company had atchieued theſe enterprices afore mencioned, he returned towards England, and ſente ſir Peter Mewtas knight, and Thomas Biſhoppe a Scottiſh gentleman, to aduertiſe the King of Englande of his proceedings, who found him at the ſiege of Bulloigne, where they declared to him the whole circumſtance of euery thing as the ſame had paſſed in the Erles iourney, which the king tooke in very good part. And vpon his returne into England, after the cōqueſt of Bullongne, the Erle of Lennox was alſo called home to the Courte by letters to him directed, he beyng then at Briſtow. About the middeſt of February, Syr Rauf Evre commonly called Evers, Lorde warden of the Engliſhe middell Marche, entred Scotland with a power of foure thouſand Engliſhmen, Iriſhmen, and aſſured Scottes, and comming firſte vnto Iedworth, lodged there that night, and therewithall vnderſtanding that the gouernour and the Erle of Angus were at the Abbey of Melros, aboute an eight myles diſtaunt from thence, the nexte mornyng he was gotte forth ſo early, that he was almoſte vpon the enimies in ſuche wiſe on the ſudden, that they fledde out of theyr lodgings, and lefte their beddes and all theyr houſeholde furniture which they had there with them, not hauing time to conuey it away at theyr departure, their warning was ſo ſhort, Syr Rauf Evre at his comming thyther finding them fledde and gone, ſpoyled the towne and Abbey, vtterly defacing the Tumbes and Monumentes of the Erles of Dowglas, greatly to the diſpleaſure of the Erle of Angus, and thoſe of his linage.

1545.

Sir Raufe Evers inuadeth Scotland.

He defaceth the Monuments of the Dowglaſſes.

The Gouernour and the ſayde Erle ſore agreeued to be thus foyled at the Engliſhmens handes, aſſembled togither all ſuche forces as they might recouer, ſo that they had quickly got vnto them aboue fiftene hundred menne, whereof eight hundreth at the leaſt were Gentlemen, and hearyng that the Engliſh men were retyring towardes Iedworth, they mette them at a place called Pannyer Hugh, where bothe the parties alighting on foote, ment to trie the quarell by playne force of hande, but as they were ready to ioyne, the aſſured Scots to the number of ſeuen or eight hundred reuolted vnto the parte of their countrey men, by reaſon whereof after a right ſharpe and fierce conflict the Engliſhe menne in the ende were conſtreyned to flee, whome the Scottes right egrely purſewed, ſlewe Sir Raufe Evre, the Lorde Ogle, Sir Bryan Layton, and other Gentlemenne and

Sir Raufe Evre and others ſlayne.

Soul-

His ſeruice agaynſt the Scottes.

Souldiers to the number of eight hũdreth, they tooke alſo about a two thouſand priſoners, with certayne pieces of Artillery and other munition. This victory fell to the Scottes the xvij. of February, the report whereof was right diſpleaſant to the Engliſh nation, but ſpecially the loſſe of that worthy Gentleman ſir Rauf Evre, was greatly bemoned, and that euen of the King him ſelfe, for the noble prowes and great loyaltie whiche at all times had bene founde in him. His ſeruice had ben ſuch in theſe warres againſt Scotland, that he had brought the more parte of all the Scottes within xx. miles ſpace of the Engliſh borders, vnto the obeyſance of the king of England, although at length they holpe to worke his confuſion as before you haue hearde: and here I haue thought (good although out of place) to ſay ſomewhat further in the dew commendation of this noble Gentleman.

His ſeruice in the rebellion tyme.

He is beſieged in Scarborough Caſtell.

Death of Byſhops.

In time of the great rebellion in the North partes, whiche chaunced in the xxviij. yeere of King Henry the eight, when many other the Noblemen and Gentlemen of thoſe parties had conſpired togither with the commons by leuying warre to reſiſt the Kings proceedings, this Sir Raufe Evre beyng then within Scarborough Caſtel, accõpaned onely with his friends, ſeruants and tenants, whiche of very good will were contented to ſerue vnder him, was beſieged in the ſame Caſtell, and kept from all reliefe & ſuccours that might come or be brought vnto him from any parte, during the terme of ſixe weekes or there about, ſo that for the ſpace of xx. dayes after theyr prouiſion was ſpent, they liued onely with bread and water, hauing little or no other ſuſtenance, whiche extremitie notwithſtanding, he kept the fortreſſe in ſafetie to the Kings vſe vnto the ende of that dangerous rebellion, and then to his high prayſe and commendation deliuered it like a faithful Gentlemã into the Kings hands. This I ſhould haue ſet downe in place where mencion is made of that rebellion, but the note came not to my hand till that parte of the booke was paſte the preſſe, and ſo rather here than not at all, I haue thought good to imparte it to the Reader. But now to returne to the purpoſe for the doings in Scotlande. About the ſame time that the victory before mencioned chanced to the Scottes, Robert Carncorſe biſhop of Roſſe departed this life, to whome ſucceeded Dauid Pantane, Secretary to the gouernour and Priour of S. Mary Ile.

Monſieur de Lorges ſent into Scot'an

Knights of S Michaels o der.

An army of Scots lieth the bordur

In Aprill William Steward biſhop of Aberden likewiſe deceaſed, and maſter William Gordon Chãcellor of Murray, vncle to George Erle of Huntley, was by the Cardinals ſuyte promoted to that ſee, greatly to the diſpleaſure of the Erle of Angus that laboured to haue preferred an other thereto. For this & other cauſes the Cardinal was greatly in hatred of yͤ Dowglaſſes. This yeere alſo Montgomery otherwiſe called Monſieur de Lorges, knight of the order of S. Michael, was ſent by the French king with iiij. thouſand Frenchmen into Scotlande to aſſiſt the Scottes againſt England, he landed at Dunbertayne, and came in good order to Edenburgh the xiij. of May: he brought with him from the French king the order of S. Michaell, to inueſt therewith the Lord gouernour, the Erles of Angus, Huntley, and Argile. Herewith alſo was an army of Scottes reyſed, and ioyning with the Frenchmen, they approched yͤ bordures where they lay for a ſeaſon, but the Erle of Hertford Lieutenant generall of the North partes comming downe, tooke ſuch direction for the ſafe keeping of the Engliſh bordures, that after the Scottes had layne there in campe a certayne ſpace without atchieuing any great enterprice, though ſome notable exploit was looked for to haue bene attempted by them at that preſent, they brake vp theyr armie and returned home.

French m and Scots o uerthrowe

The Lord Maxwelles ſonne take pryſoner.

The Erle Lennox cureth th of the Ile ſerue the k of Englan

The xvj of September about three or foure hundred Scottes and Frenchmen, attempted to enter into England on the eaſt bordures, but the Engliſhmen perceyuing where they were aboute to paſſe by a certayne ſtreyt, they ſet vpõ them with their Archers, diſcomfited them, ſleying, and taking to the number of ſeuen ſcore of them. Amongſt other that were taken, one of the Sonnes to the Lord Hume, with a French capitayne, and George Elphinſton Archer of the corps to the French king, were accompted chief. Alſo on the Weſt bordures Robert Maxwell eldeſt ſonne to the Lord Maxwels, was taken in a roade made by him & others into the Engliſh confines on that ſide, although at an other time certaine Engliſhmen making a roade into Scotlande were diſtreſſed, the more parte of them beyng taken or ſlayne. At a Parliamẽt holden at Linluchque, begonne there the xxviij. of September, and continued til the firſt of October, Matthew Erle of Lennox, and Thomas biſhop of were forfalted, & al their lãds and goodes giuen away and annexed to the Crowne. In this meane time the king of England deſirous to haue the ſeruice of the Iles of Scotland for ſundry great cauſes and reſpects, moued the Erle Lenox to deale with them to yͤ ende, whiche hee did, and his trauell tooke ſuche effect, that the Iland men were cõtented to reſt at the king of Englande his deuotion, partly for that they were in a maner ſworne enimies to the Erle of Argyle and his family, and partly for that they doubted the king of Englands puyſſance if he ſhoulde attempt to inuade thoſe parties: and againe, bearing an olde ſpeciall fauor to the Earle of Lennox and his houſe, hauing an auntient bonde of alliance and amitie with the ſame, they were the more ready to ſatiſfie his motion. Herevpon, they elected amongſt them a Lorde of the Iles, nexte of the bloud, a title long ſithence righte odious to the ſtate of Scotland, and by the inducement of the Earle of Lennox, hee was contented as the Kyng of Englands pentioner, to receyue two thouſand Crownes of him yeerely, with certayne riche apparel of cloth of golde and ſiluer from the ſaid Earle.

The firſt proofe he attempted to ſhew of hys ſeruice in the King of Englands behalfe, was this, hauing inſtructions thereto from the Erle of Lennor, vnder colour of a conference, for matters touching the eſtate of the Countrey, he had ſuborned one of his aliance and ſeruantes, called ẏ Clane Reignald, to entrappe the Erles of Arguile and Huntley, and although they eſcaped very narrowly, the Lord Louet an auntient Baron, and greate friende to thoſe two Earles, was ſlayne by the ſayd Clane, togyther with ſeauen hundred of his kinſmen and friẽds, in ſo muche, that there remayned not but one yong boy of that lignage to ſucceede in that Lords lands.

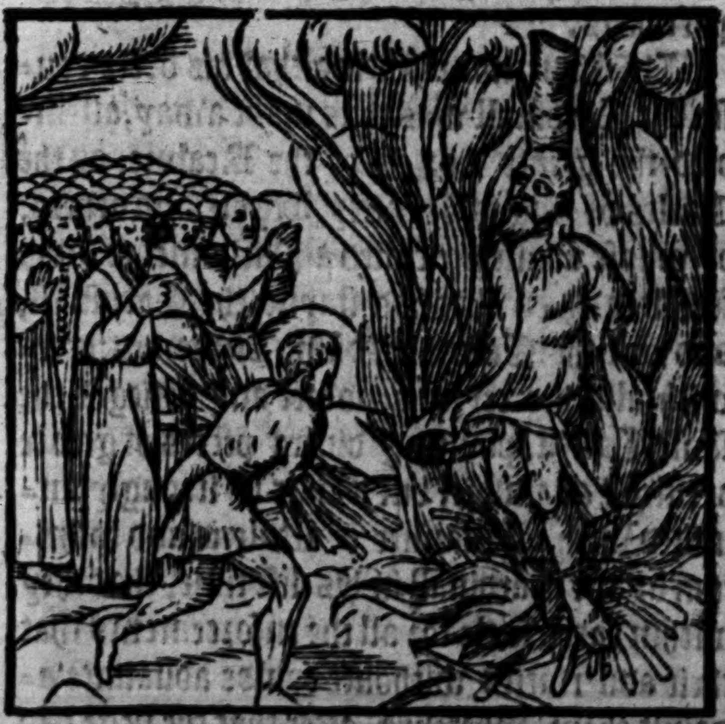
After this, the L. of the Iles with ſixe M. mẽ embarqued in certayne veſſels, paſſed ouer into Carrike, harried and brent the lands of the Erle of Caſſels, then a great enimie to the Kyng of England. In this voyage he got great ſpoiles, and ſlew many of the enimies: after which enterpriſe ſo atchieued, he came with his power by Sea, and landed in Irelande, where the Earles of Lennox and Ormonde were, with twelue hundred Iriſhmenne, appoynted to ioyne with him, that with their whole power they myghte inuade the Earle of Arguiles Countreys, and conſequently the mayne lande of Scotlande at the brode ſyde. But before the preparation could be made ready for that iourney, the newe Lord of the Iles deceaſſed, whoſe buriall in Irelande to honor the Earle of Lennox, ſtoode the Kyng of England in foure hundred pounds ſterling.

But now to returne vnto ẏ doings on the bordures betwixt England and Scotland in thys ſeaſon. Ye ſhall vnderſtand, that after the army of Scotland was broken vp, the Earle of Hertford by vertue of his cõmiſſion reyſed an army in the Countreys of the further ſide of Trente Northwardes, ſo that when the ſame was aſſembled togither with ſuch ſtraungers as were then in the Kynges wages, they were in all of Horſemenne and footemen twelue thouſande fighting men. With thys army garded with great ſtore of artillerie, munition, and all maner of furniture neceſſary, the Earle of Hertford entred Scotlande, and marching to Coldingham, paſt vp by the water of Tweed, and brent a great part of the Mers and Tiuidale, the Abbeys of Kelſey, Melros, Driborne, and Jedworth, with Townes and Villages, to the nũber of fiue ſcore, but yet he entred not farre within the countrey beyond the ſaid water, but kept alongſt neere to the ſame, & returned back without any encounter: for after the Scottiſh armye was broken vp, it was not like they woulde aſſemble agayne, and ſo the Earle of Hertford taking the time that ſerued hys purpoſe, ſore endomaged the Scottiſh bordures at that preſent.

The Earle of Hertford inuadeth Scotlande.

Many other ſmal inuaſions were made, as wel by the one parte as the other, and ſome ſkirmiſhes fell out betwixt them, ſometime to the loſſe of the Scottiſhe, and ſometime of the Engliſhe, according to the courſe of warre. In the Lent ſeaſon the Cardinall of S. Andrewes cauſed al the Biſhoppes and Prelates of the Realme to aſſemble at the towne of S. Andrewes, where a learned man, named M. George Wiſchart, that had bin in the Schooles of Germany, was accuſed of Hereſie, which he had (as was alledged againſt him) publiquely preached and priuately taught in Dundee, Brechin, and dyuers other parts of Scotlãd, ſince hys returne home. This matter was ſo vrged againſt him, that he was conuict, and brente there in the Towne of Saint Andrewes during the time of that conuention and aſſembly.

George Wiſchart a learned man brent.



The thirtith of May the Cardinall beeyng within his Caſtell of S. Andrewes, certaine of his owne friends as he tooke them, to wit. Norman, Lord Leſlie, William Kirkaudie, ẏ yong Lard of Grange, with ſixteene choſen men, entred the Caſtell very ſecretely in the morning, tooke the Porter, and all the Cardinals ſeruãts, thruſting them out of the place by a poſterne gate, and that done, paſſing to hys Chamber

The Cardinall of S Andrewes murthered.

where he lay in bedde, as hee gote vp, and was opening his Chamber dore, they ſlew him, and ſeiſed vpon the artillerie and munition, wherewith that fortreſſe was right plentifully furniſhed, and likewiſe with rich hangings, houſhold ſtuffe of all ſortes, apparell, copes, iewells, ornaments of Churches, great ſtore of golde and ſiluer plate, beſide no ſmall quantitie of treaſure in ready coyne. Sir Iames Leiremonth Prouoſt of Saint Andrewes, aſſembled all yͤ people of that Towne for the reſcue of the Cardinall, after he heard that the conſpirators were entred the Caſtel, but they ſhewed the dead body of the Cardinall ouer the walles, as a ſpectacle to the people, and ſo they made no further atttempte, ſith they ſawe no meane how to remedie or reuenge the matter at that preſent. The cauſe that moued the conſpirators thus to kyll the Cardinall, was thought to be partly in reuenge of the brenning of M. George Wiſchart, fearing to be ſerued with the ſame ſauſe, and in the ende to bee made to drinke of the ſame cuppe. Partly alſo it was thoughte they attempted it through counſell of ſome greate menne of the Realme, that hadde conceyued ſome deadly hatred againſt him.

The ſame euening, the olde Lard of Grange, Maiſter Henry Balnauis, one of the Counſell of the Realme, and ſundrye Gentlemen of the ſurname of the Meluines, Iohn Knoxes and others, to the number of ſeuen ſcore perſons, entred the Caſtell to their ſupporte, taking vppon them to keepe it againſt the gouernour and hys partakers.

The ſlayers of the Cardinall forfalted.

The Caſtell of Saint Andrews beſieged.

The ſiege reiſed.

The Gouernour hearing that his deere couſin the Cardinall was thus made away, aſſembled the greate Lordes of the Realme, as the Earles of Angus, Huntley, Argyle, and others, by whoſe aduiſe hee called a Parliamente, and forfalted them that had ſlayne the Cardinall, and kept the Caſtell of Saint Andrewes: herewith alſo hee reyſed a power and beſieged the ſame Caſtell, planting diuers peeces of greate artillerie againſt it, but it was ſo ſtrongly furniſhed with all manner of artillerie and munition by the Cardinall in his life time, that they within cared little for all the enforcements that their aduerſaries withoute coulde aduaunce againſt them, wherevpō, after that the ſiege had continued the ſpace of three monethes, the Gouernour was glad to take an appoyntmēt with them within, to the end he might get out of their handes his eldeſt ſonne, who was remayning with the Cardinall at the time when hee was murthered, and ſo kepte by them that dyd the murther, tyll nowe they agreed to delyuer hym to his father, with condition that hee ſhoulde reyſe his ſiege.

They deliuered alſo the dead bodye of the Cardinall, after it had layne buried in a dunghill within the Caſtell, euer ſithence the daye in which they ſlew him.

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ceaſed.

In the yeare next enſuing, King Henry the eyght departed this life, after whome, ſucceeded his ſonne Edward, the ſyxt of that name King of England, France and Ireland.

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Shortly after, to witte, the laſt of Marche, Francis the Frenche King deceaſſed, and hys ſonne Henry, the ſecond of that name ſucceeded him, who at yͤ deſire of the gouernoure of Scotland, appoynted Leone Strozzi Prior of Capoa, a Knight of the order of Malta, with a nauie of ſixteene Galleys fraughte with menne of warre, and munition, to paſſe into Scotlande, to help to winne the Caſtell of S. Andrewes.

The Gouernour in the meane time with an army paſt to the Weſt bordures to beſiege the Caſtell of Langham, the whiche was kepte at that preſente by Michaell Wharton, hauyng then with him but ſixteene Engliſhmenne, who neuertheleſſe abid three or foure dayes ſiege, and ſeauen Canon ſhottes, and ſo yeelded the houſe to the Gouernoure, and heereby was the peace broken, firſte by the Scottes, euen as the Engliſhmen could haue wiſhed.

Moreouer the ſame time, the Earle of Rothous was acquit by an aſſiſe as they call it of Earles & Lords, of an accuſation wherewith he was charged as confederate and partie with thē that had murthered the Cardinall.

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Whileſt the Gouernoure was thus paſſed with his armye to the Weſt bordures, hee was aduertiſed that the Prior of Capoa was arriued, and entred into the Towne of Sainte Andrewes, whereuppon the Gouernoure, with all the Nobilitie that were then about him, haſted thyther to aſſiſt the Prior, and ſo the ſiege was ſtrongly layd aboute the Caſtell there.

The Prior cauſed certaine peeces of artillerie to bee drawen vppe, and mounted on the toppe of a Churche, whiche was higher than the Caſtell, ſo that thoſe peeces ſhot plump into the Caſtell, that none durſt ſhewe themſelues on the walles, or abrode in the yarde within the Caſtell.

Hee cauſed alſo certayne Canons to bee drawen with ingins, neere to the verye walles of the Caſtell, whyche battered the ſame in ſuche ſorte, as the ditches were neere hand filled with the rubbiſhe and ſtones of the walles that fell downe.

Moreouer, the Galleys at an high water approched on the Riuer ſide ſo neere to the Caſtell, that with ſhot of Cannons and other artillerie, they ſore annoyed them within, and ſlew diuers.

The defendants perceiuing themſelues thus beſieged on all ſides, and not able long to holde out, put forth a token vpon a ſpeares poynt, to ſignifie that they deſired parlee, whiche was graunted, and certaine of them comming forth, were admitted to talke with the Gouernoure, the Queene, and the Prior of Capoa. They offered to render the Caſtell, ſo they mighte depart, and haue their liues ſaued with bagge and baggage, but this would not bee graunted, the Gouernour vtterly refuſing it, at lẽgth he was cõtented to pardon thẽ of their liues, if the french King ſhould thinke it good, elſe to ſtande to hys pleaſure. The ſpoyle of the Caſtell was giuen to the Frenchmen, who vpon the ſurrender entring the ſame, lefte nothing behinde them that might ſerue them to any vſe in taking it away. All the principall men within it were led to the Galleys, and conueyd away into France priſoners at the Frenche kings diſcretion. Diuers of them were committed to ſundry priſons on the coaſt of Britaine, and others were appoynted to rowe in yͤ Galleis till yͤ yeare. 1550. in which the priſoners were ſet at libertie, and the others that were in the Galleis were redeemed by their friends for certayne ſummes of money.

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inte An-
ews yelded.

Thus was the Caſtell of Sainte Andrewes rendred the nine and twentith of July, fourteene dayes after the arriuall there of the Prior of Capoa, whereby his greate valiancie, well knowen afore that time, was ſo renued, as hys prayſe for his ſpeedie diſpatch and good ſucceſſe therein was much aduanced.

e Prior of
apoa.

Shortly after the Duke of Somerſet, heeretofore in this Booke named Earle of Hertford, Uncle by the mother vnto the yong Kyng of England, and admitted gouernour of his perſon, and protector of all his Realmes, dominions, and ſubiectes, minding the aduancement of the yong King his nephew, thought good wyth all ſpeede to procure the conſummation of the marriage, betwixte him, and the yong Queene of Scottes, but perceyuing that the ſame could not be brought to paſſe withoute force, hee ſeemed loth to let paſſe the opportunitie of time thẽ offered (as hee tooke it) to ſerue his purpoſe: and thervpon by aduiſe of counſell leuied an army with all expedition, & came to Berwike, aboute the later ende of Auguſt, and in the beginning of September entred Scotlande with the ſame armye, conteyning a ſeauenteene or eyghteene thouſande men, whiche was deuided into three principall wardes, a vantgard led by the valiant Earle of Warwike, the battayle by the D. of Somerſet himſelfe, and the rerewarde by the Lord Dacres of the North. There were certaine wings and troupes of men of armes demilances, and light Horſemen, and alſo of harquebuſiers, that attended vpon theſe .iij. wards, garded with diuers peeces of great artillery: the lord Grey of Wiltõ high marſhall of the army, had the generall conductiõ of the men of armes and demilances. Sir Frauncis Brian, liuetenaunt of the light horſemen, with .viij. C. of them was appoynted to the vantgarde, Syr Peter Mewtas captaine of .v. C. Hagbutters, and ſir Frauncis Fleming, maiſter of the ordinaunce with a. M. light horſmen were appoynted to the battaile, and ſir Richarde Manners, with .vi. C. light horſemen attended vpon the rerewarde. In this order marchyng throughe the Mers, and Louthian, they came at length vnto a place called Buckling Brayes, neere to the Fourth ſide, in which riuer yͤ Engliſh fleete was arriued, and laye before the Towne of Leith, but now by order giuen came backe from thence, and lay neerer to the army. The gouernour of Scotland aduertiſed of the comming of this army of Englande thus to inuade Scotland, with al diligẽce ſent abrode ſolemne ſummonance for the leuying of a newe army forth of all partes of the Realme, the which being aſſembled togither, hee encamped therewith neere to Muſkelburgh water, within leſſe than two miles of yͤ place where the Engliſh army came now to encamp.

e Duke of
merſet pro-
ctor of Eng-
de.

e entreth
land with
armye.

e order of
Engliſhe
ye.

The Engl. ſhe
fleete.

The Gouer-
nour raiſeth an
armye.

Heere we haue to vnderſtãd, that the Scots light Horſemen oftentimes woulde come pricking almoſt within theyr ſtaues length of the Engliſhmen as they marched, whoouping & ſhouting, to the ende they mighte trayne them forth frõ their ſtrẽgth, and with rayling wordes would ſtil be in hand to prouoke thẽ therto, but the D. of Somerſet doubting the goodneſſe of thoſe Scottiſh prickers, gaue ſecret cõmandmẽt that no offer of ſkirmiſh by the Scottiſh Horſemen ſhould be taken: but at length the L. Grey of Wilton, not well able to beare ſuch bold preſumption in the Scots, aduẽturing as he tooke it ouer raſhly, & more thã ſtood with their owne ſuretie, made ſute to the D. of Somerſet, that if they continued in ſuch brauerie, it mighte bee lawfull for him to ſet them further off. The D. at the firſt would by no meanes aſſent thereto, telling the L. Grey, that hys deſire proceeded more of a iolitie of courage, than of any knowledge of the enimie, and ſeemed to defende the goodneſſe of the Scottiſh Horſemen, but when the L. Grey perſiſted in his ſute, and the Earle of Warwike aſſiſted his requeſt, the Duke in the ende yeelded thereto. Heerevppon when the Scottes the next time, whiche was on the Friday the ninth of September came forth to offer the ſkirmiſh after their wonted manner, the L. Grey taking with him certayne bandes of Horſemenne both menne of armes, Demilaunces,

The goodnes
of the Scottiſh
horſemen feared
of the Engliſhemenne.

The Lorde
Grey deſireth
to encounter
the Scottiſh
horſemenne.

Order gyuen by the Lorde Grey.

Nicholas Gayneſford.

The Scottes Horſemen put to flight.

Engliſh Captaynes taken.

The Scottes meant not to haue gyuen battayle.

and alſo lighte Horſemenne, deuided them in troupes, appoynting the Spaniſh and Italion hagbutters on Horſebacke to keepe on a wing, and to gard the hindermoſt troupe of the Engliſh Horſemenne, giuing order to the leaders of euery troupe, that to which ſo euer the enimie ſhould once offer, in any wiſe that no aunſwer by ſkirmiſhe were made them, but after they had drawen them to their accuſtomed play, and proffer of charge, that troupe that it was offered vnto, preſently vppon the enimies wheeling about ſhould throughly gyue it them, and that ſo giuen, the nexte troupe preſently to giue it in the face, and ſo as occaſion required, both thoſe troupes wholly togyther to help other without breaking. The Scottes comming forward, pricking and whouping after their olde wont, the Engliſhmen forbare a great whyle, tyll at the laſt, four or fyue hundred of them comming ſkattered vppon the ſpurre, with a maruellous ſhoute within their ſtaues length of the foremoſt troupe, and thinking then to haue wheeled about, Maiſter Nicholas Gayneſford, the leader of that troupe, and Lieutenant of the Lorde Greys band of his men of armes of Bulloigne, cryed a charge, whyche as ſpeedily on the Engliſh parte as vnlooked for of the Scottes beeing giuen, from charging at that time in ſport, the Scottes wer driuen to gallop away ſo faſt, as theyr Horſes myghte beare them, loſing of their companyes that were taken and ſlayne to the number of an eyght hundred or more (as ſome haue written) but yet as dyuers of the Engliſhmen aduentured too farre in following the chaſe, they were diſtreſſed, and ſundrye of them taken priſoners, among the whiche were ſome of theyr Captaynes, as Sir Ranfe Bulmer, Thomas Gower, and Robert Crouche, eache of them hauing in charge the leading of ſeueral bandes of lighte Horſemenne. Thus muche for this Fridayes ſkirmiſh, wherein the chiefeſt force of the Scottiſh Horſemen was defeated, to the great diſcouragement of the reſt. But nowe to proceede to the chiefeſt poynt of the Scottes infortunate proceedings. True it is (as the Scottes haue reported) that the Gouernoure, and the nobilitie of Scotland meant not to hazarde battayle within theyr owne Realme, but rather to lye ſtyll and defend their ground, if the Engliſhmenne ſhoulde come forwarde to gyue them battayle there.

The purpoſe of the Engliſh men.

The Engliſhmen aduertiſed therof the morrow after this great ſkirmiſh, reyſed theyr field verye earely, purpoſing to take an hyll called Pinkhill, where they myghte place their ordinance, and to ſhoote into the Scottiſh Campe, whereby they ſhoulde force the Scottes to diſlodge from theyr ground of aduantange.

The Gouernour and the Scottiſhe Lordes beholding their enimies thus marching forwarde, thoughte beſt to ſtay theyr enterpriſe, and therefore ſuddaynely notwithſtanding theyr former determination, ruſhing forthe of theyr camp, paſſed forwarde to encounter theyr enimies.

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Earle of W
wike.

The Gall
and two p
neſſes.

They were deuided into three battayles, the Earle of Angus wyth certayne Lordes with him, leading the vantgarde, the Earle of Huntley and his friendes the rerewarde, and the Gouernoure accompanyed with the Earle of Argile and the reſt of the noble menne, were in the maine battayle. The Engliſhmen hauyng gote the hyll, and perceyuing the Scottes to come forwardes with greate haſt, ſtayed for their comming, but the Scottes were ſo raſhe and haſtie paſſing firſte through the water in their armour, and ſo vp towardes the hill, that continuing their marche with ſuche ſpeede as they ſeemed, rather to trotte than to keepe anye ordinarie marching pace, before they coulde come to ioyne with the Engliſhmen, they were almoſt out of breath, yet the Earle of Angus & the other in the vantgard boldly abid the charge of al the Engliſh horſemen, & ſo rigorouſly encountred them, that ſlaying & beating downe no ſmall nūber both of mē and horſes, they put the reſt to flight, ſo that no ſmall part of them retired backe in ſuch diſorder, that they ran thorough the rankes of yͤ footemen in the fore ward, wherewith ſuche feare entred among the Engliſhmē, that as hath bin reported, they had vndoubtedly fledde, if the manfull courage of the Earle of Warwike had not bin ſhewed at that preſent, according to the wonted valure of hys often approued prowes, wherby he cauſed them to ſtay, and relie themſelues agayne. In the meane time, the battayle & the rerewarde of the Scottes, aduaunced forwarde with great courage, but ther was a Galley, and two pineſſes of the Engliſhe fleete which from the ſea ſhotte ſo terribly at the Scottiſh army, that yͤ ſame was not only ſore galled and endomaged therby, but alſo ſtayed, that they could not come eaſily forward, and herewith the Engliſh vantgard encouraged with the comfortable wordes and behauiour of the Earle of Warwike, and other the Captaynes, made towards the Scottiſhe vantgard agayne, the whyche not able of it ſelfe to reſiſt, retired in good order to the greate battayle of Scotlande, whereuppon the multitude fearing, by reaſon they ſawe them in the forewarde thus retire (albeit in good order) that all hadde bin loſt, gaue backe, and tooke them to flight, whome the Engliſhmenne followed amayne, ſlaying the Scottiſhmenne downe on heapes in paſſing great numbers.

Many were alſo drowned in the water of Vndereſke, through the whiche they tooke their flight.

Earle of
ley ta-
priſoner

of name
tes

The Earle of Huntley and the reregarde ſtoode ſtill with their enſignes and banners, tyll the chaſe was paſt by them, but at length were driuen to make away as well as the reſt, and the Earle himſelfe in the retire beeing taken a-foote, well clad in gilte armour enameled, was ledde priſoner to the Lorde Protector. Dyuers other menne of name, Barons, and Knightes, were taken priſoners. There were ſlayne no ſmall number of perſonages of good accompte. Among other, the Lorde Fleming, the Maiſter of Erſkin, the Maiſter of Graham, the Maiſter of Meſſyne, the Maiſter of Ogiluy, the Maiſter of Leuingſton, the M. of Ros, the Larde of Lochinwar, the Larde of Glencarnocke, and others. The next day, the Engliſh army remoued to Leith, where the Priſoners were put into a Church, diuers of them beeing ſore wounded, but the Earle of Huntley entring bond for them that they ſhould well and truely pay their raunſomes agreed vpon betwixt them and their takers, or elſe to come and preſent themſelues priſoners in England by a certaine daye, they were ſuffered to depart. The Gouernour eſcaping from the battayle, came to Striueling, where the Queene Regent was, togyther with hir daughter the yong Queene. Heere by the counſell and aduiſe of the Earle of Angus, and dyuers other Lords that were alſo withdrawne thither after the battayle, they were conueyd to the Countrey of Menteith, where they remayned in the Abbey of Inch Mahome, till the Engliſh armye was departed out of the Realme, and then they remoued agayne, and came to Striueling.

Earle of
ly en-
bonde
his Coun-
men.

Queene
found
Sterling.

The Engliſhe nauie wanne the Iſle of S. Colmes Ins, and did ſundry other exploytes by Sea, as in the Engliſh Hiſtorie it may appere.

Iſle of
Colmes
wonne by
liſhmen.

Moreouer, the Earle of Bodwell, whome the Gouernour had before kepte in priſon, and was the night after the battayle ſet at libertie, repayred to the Duke of Somerſet with diuers other Lords and Gentlemen of Louthian, whileſt he lay at Leith, offering themſelues to be at the King of Englands commaundement, and ſo were aſſured from receyuing hurte or domage by the Engliſh power.

Earle of
dwell.

The Duke of Somerſet hauing remayned at Leith an eight dayes, and demaunding the Caſtell of Edenburgh, could not obteyne it, departed from thence the eyghtenth of December homewardes the nexte way, ouer the Mountaynes of Soutrey, comming the thirde day before the Caſtell of Hume, where they dyd ſo muche by countenancing to win that fortreſſe, that within three or foure dayes after their comming thither, it was ſurrendred.

e Engliſhe
y retur-
homewardes.

Hume Caſtell rendred to the Engliſhmen.

This Caſtell beeing wonne, and a garniſon left therein to keepe it, they remoued to Rockeſburgh, where within the compaſſe of the ruinous walles of an olde Caſtell they builte a forte, and after returning into England, lefte a conuenient garniſon to keepe it.

They gote alſo about the ſame time a ſtrōg fortreſſe, called Faſt Caſtell, ſtanding neere to the Sea ſyde, and placed a garniſon within it.

Faſt Caſtell wonne by them.

And moreouer in this meane tyme, theyr Fleete by Sea wanne the Caſtell of Broughtie Crag, and putte in like manner a garniſon within it to keepe the ſame (as in the Engliſhe Hiſtorie it may further appeare;) and in what ſort alſo all the chiefeſt Lords and Gentlemen of the Mers and Tiuidale, came in, and ſubmitted themſelues to the Duke of Somerſet, vpon aſſurance had and giuen.

Broughtie Crag wonne.

Furthermore, whileſt the Duke of Somerſette with hys armie dyd thus inuade Scotland on the Eaſt parte, it was ordeyned by the ſayde Duke, and other of the Counſell to the Kyng of Englande, that Mathewe Earle of Lennox, and Thomas Lorde Wharton, then Warden of the Weſt Marches of Englande, ſhould with a power inuade Scotlande on the Weſt ſyde, to the end that there ſhould not any of the Weſt bordures nor Countreys come to aſſiſt the Gouernour, againſt the Duke of Somerſettes armye, but bee driuen to remayne at home to defend their owne Countrey. Hereupon, there was an army leuied to the number of fiue thouſande footemenne, and eyghte hundred light Horſemen, with whiche power, the Earle of Lennox and the Lorde Wharton entring Scotlande the eyght of September, encamped the firſte night vpon the water of Eſke, & marched the nexte daye through the nether parte of Annandale, till they came to the Caſtell of Milke, a fortreſſe of good ſtrength, yͤ walles being fourteene foote thicke. Captain of this Caſtell was one Io. Steward, brother to the Lard thereof, who vppon the approch of the Earle of Lennox, yeelded the houſe vnto him, without any ſhewe of reſiſtance, wherevppon Ferguſe Graham, brother to Richie Grahame of Eſke, was appointed with a garniſon of Souldiers to keepe that Caſtell to the vſe of the yong King of Englande, and was afterwardes confirmed Captayne there with fiftie light Horſemen, by appoyntmente of the Duke of Somerſette, and the Counſell, ſo that during the warres, he remayned there to the great annoyance of the Scottes, enimies to Englande, and preſeruation of the Countrey thereaboutes, to the King of Englands vſe.

The Caſtell of Milke yeelded

The twentith of September, the Earle of Lennox, and the Lorde Wharton encamped neere to the Towne of Annande, and the morrow after approching neerer to the ſame, gaue ſommonance vnto the Captaine thereof, called Lion, of the houſe of Glamis, who with an hundred Scottes kept the Churche and ſteeple of Annand, beeyng peeces of themſelues verye ſtrong and mightily reenforſed with earth: they within therefore refuſed to yeelde, and valiantly defended themſelues.

The Church of Annand vndermined.

The greateſt peeces of artillerie whych the Engliſhmen hadde there at that time, were certayne double and ſingle Falcons, wherewyth they beate only the battlements, till they myght with certayne engines approche harde to the walles, and vndermine the ſame, ſo as the roofe of the Church was ſhaken downe, and a greate number of them within the Church ſlayne and cruſſhed to death. Suche as eſcaped fledde into the Steeple. Two of the Engliſhmen that wrought aboute the mynes were ſlayne, but at length, the Captayne moued by perſwaſion of the Erle of Lennox, to whome hee claymed to bee of kynne, rendered the Steeple vnto hym, with hymſelfe, and. 96. Scottes Souldyers, with condition to haue their lyues onely ſaued, and the Captayne to remayne priſoner, and to goe into England. Immediately vpon theyr comming forth of the Steeple, fyre was giuen to the traines of powder in the mynes, and ſo both the Church and Steeple were blowen vp into the ayre, and raſed downe to the grounde. Thys done, they brente the Towne (after they hadde ſacked it) and left not a ſtone ſtanding vppon an other, for that the ſame Towne hadde euer bin a right noyſome neyghbour to Englande. The Engliſhmen had conceyued ſuche ſpite towardes thys Towne, that if they ſawe but a peece of timber remayning vnbrente, they would cutte the ſame in peeces with theyr bylles. The Countrey heerewith was ſtriken in ſuch feare, that the next daye all the Kilpatrickes and the Jordeynes, the Lards of Kirkmichel, Apilgirtht, Cloſbourne, Howmendes, Nuby, and yͤ Irrewings, the Belles, the Rigges, the Murrayes, and all the clanes and ſurnames of the nether part of Annerdale, came in, and receyued an oth of obeyſance, as ſubiectes to the King of Englande, deliuering pledges for their aſſured loyaltie.

The Steeple yeelded.

The Church and Steeple of Annand blowen vp with powder.

The Scottes that came to aſſure them ſelues.

The reſidue that woulde not come in and ſubmitte themſelues, hadde theyr houſes brent, their goodes and cattell fetched away by the Engliſhe lyght Horſemen, that were ſente abrode into the Countrey for that purpoſe.

Theſe things thus executed, the Earle of Lennox, and the Lorde Wharton returned backe into Englande wyth theyr priſoners, booties and ſpoyles, receyuing greate thankes and commendations by gentle letters, of the fyue and twentith of September, from the Duke of Somerſet, then lying at Rockeſburgh, aboute fortifying of that place.

The gouernour perceyuing thus that without the aſſiſtance of Fraunce hee ſhould not be able to reſiſt the Engliſhmen, hauing now gote ſuch foote hold within the Realme of Scotland, required the Queene Dowager, and Monſieur Doyſell, Liger Ambaſſador for the Frenche Kyng, to perſwade with him by letters, to ſend an army into Scotland, to the aide of his friẽds there. The Queene, and Monſieur Doyſell, perceyuing a ready way prepared to bring that to paſſe which they moſt deſired, which was, to haue the Queene of Scotlande ordred in all things by the Frenche Kyngs aduice, they vndertooke to procure an army out of Fraunce, according to the gouernours deſire, if hee wyth the ſtates of the Realme woulde agree that the Queene myghte bee ſente into Fraunce, and a contract made for hir beſtowing in marriage, as ſtoode with the French Kings pleaſure. The Gouernour condiſcending hereunto, aſſembled the ſtates, and by their aduiſes, paſſed certayne couenantes to the effect aforeſayd, and ſente the ſame in writing by certayne meſſengers into Fraunce.

The Gou nours ſu the Quee Dowager to the Fr Ambaſſa

The Que Dowager miſeth a out of Fr with co

The Frenche King gladly accepting thys meſſage, prepared a nauie of Shyppes and Galeys to tranſporte an army into Scotland the next Sommer. In the meane time, the Gouernour laid ſiege to Broughtie Crag, and the D. of Somerſet as well for meane to cauſe the Scottes to retire that ſiege, as alſo for the annoyance of Clideſdale, apperteyning to yͤ Gouernour and yͤ Erle of Angus, and other Scots yͭ would not come in to the obeyſance of the K. of England, appoynted the Earle of Lennox to make a new inuaſiõ into Scotland, & to vſe for triall of their fidelities, the help of two thouſand Scottiſh light horſemen, that were already aſſured and ſworne to ſerue the Kyng of England in all ſuch exploytes in which they ſhould be employed. The Earle of Lennox deſirous to aduaunce the King of Englands affayres, & hauing receyued letters from William Earle of Glencarne, with promiſe of hys aſſiſtance, and likewiſe of his father in lawe the Earle of Angus, the Larde of Drumlanrig, and thoſe Lardes and Gentlemenne of the Countreys of Kile, Cunningham, Renfreu, & Lennox, entred Scotlãd about the twelfth of Decẽber, accompanyed with Henry Whartõ, ſecond ſon to the L. Wharton, with two C. light horſemen of the garniſons in Scotland, and comming firſt

The Gou ncur ſe into Fra for aide.

Broughti Crag be by the Go uoure.

The Earle Lennox e treth into Scotland.

to Dunfreis, where the generall aſſemblie was appoynted of the two thouſande aſſured Scottiſhe lyght Horſemen, when the muſters ſhould bee taken, hee founde vnneth three hundred, and thoſe for the more part of the broken countreys of Annādale, Ewiſdale, Eſdale, and Liddeſdale. The Earle of Glencarne came thither indeede, but vnder a counterfeit ſhewe of good meaning, where in truth hee meante nothyng but crafte to diſcouer all the Earle of Lennox hys purpoſes, who perceyuing his double dealing, and fynding no ſuche forces ready to aſſiſt hym as he looked for, and moreouer miſtruſting the loyalties of the maiſter of Maxwell, & the Gētlemē of Nideſdale, meaning as he tooke it, to entrappe hym, and delyuer hym to the Queene Dowager, and the Lorde Gouernour, ſtoode in ſome perplexitie what way ſhould bee the beſt for hym to followe, thinking it not to ſtande wyth hys honor to returne, without atchieuing ſome enterpriſe.

Earle of
carne his
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Lord
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Earle of
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Lard of
mlanig.

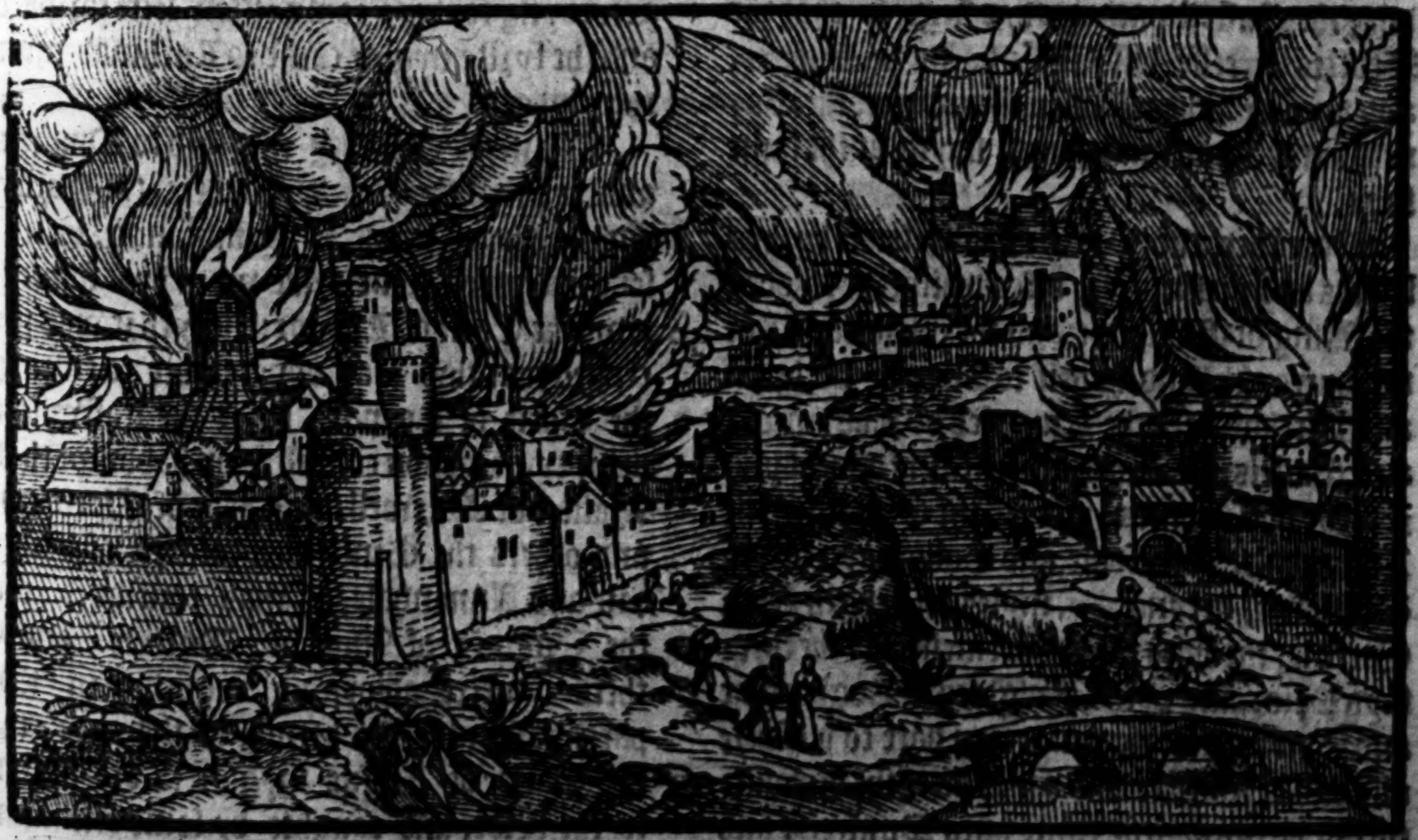
The Earle of Glencarne had ſhewed to him two letters written by the Larde of Drumlanrig, ſignifying, that if the Earle of Lennox came, accompanyed onely with Scottiſhmen, he woulde both ſerue him and honor him in the beſt wiſe hee myghte, but if hee broughte thoſe Engliſhmenne in his company, he would not onely refuſe to ayde hym, but alſo reyſe all the power hee myght make, eyther by his friends or otherwiſe to reſiſt him.

The Earle of Lennox diſſembleth with diſſemblers.

Horſemen ſent forth to ſcourge Drūlanrig.

They harry the Countrey about Drumlanrig.

The Earle thus perceyuing that hee was in daunger to bee betrayed among them, and that there was all the deuiſes practiſed that myghte bee to ſtay thoſe that ſhoulde come to the deuotion of the King of Englande, diſſembled the matter with Glencarne and other that were ſuborned to betray hym, pretendyng to them, that hee would followe the courſe of theyr deuiſes, but in the meane tyme hee gote togither the Engliſhe Captaynes that were appoynted to attende hym, and alſo ſuche Scottiſhmen as hee knewe hee myghte truſt, and meaning to ſcourge Drumlanrig, and to cutte hym ſhorte, for that hee was the chiefe inſtrument to ſtay all the Scottiſhmenne in thoſe parties from entring friendſhippe wyth the Engliſhmenne: hee gaue ſecret warning to all the Captaynes and leaders aboute nine of the clocke at night, that they ſhould be ready wyth theyr men to mount on Horſebacke at the firſte ſounde of the Trumpette, and keeping wyth them the Erle of Glencarne, the M. of Maxwel, the Lardes of Cloſborne, Kirkmichel, and others the Gentlemenne of Nideſdale and Annandale, hee ſente forthe ſyxe hundred choſen Horſemenne vppon ſounde of the Trumpette, at twelue of the clocke at nyghte, vnder the leadyng of Henrye Wharton, and other the Captaynes of the garniſons, who in the dawning of the nexte morrowe, arriued neere the place of Drumlanrig, where they appoynted foure hundred of theyr Horſemenne to paſſe to the forrey, who reyſed fyre, and brente two myles in length, both Townes and Villages on each ſide, euen harde to the gates of Drumlanrig, ſpoyled the houſes of goodes and riches, worth to the value of two thouſande markes, gote three thouſande Sheepe, two thouſande hearde of great Cattell, beſide nine ſcore horſes and mares. The Annandallers laden wyth ſpoyle and Cattaile, beeing in number a foure hundred men, departed with their pray homewards. The Lard of Drumlanrig lying al thys while in ambuſh with ſeauen hundred men, forbare to breake out to gyue anye charge vppon his enimies, doubting leaſt the Earle of Lennox hadde kepte a ſtale behynde, but nowe



after he perceyued that the moſt part of the enimies were departed, and that the reſidue of the Gentlemenne and Captaynes of the Engliſhe Horſemen were withdrawing towards Dunfreys, being not paſt a ſixe ſkore men, he fiercely followed after them with hys power, in hope not onely to ouerthrowe and diſtreſſe them, but alſo to take the Earle of Lennox at Dunfreys.

Drumlanrig purſueth the Engliſhmen.

Maiſter Henrye Wharton and thoſe ſixe ſcore Horſemen, retiring beyonde the water of Nith, and perceyuing that Drumlanrig and his mē entred the water raſhly to purſue them, returned, and gaue ſuch a deſperate charge vpon them, that Drumlanrig and his company were ſcattered and putte to flighte, yet Drumlanrig himſelfe, although there were ſome ſpeares broken vppon hym, through the goodneſſe of hys Horſe eſcaped.

He is put to flight.

Two Gentlemen of his ſurname and traine, that were in no ſmall eſtimatiō with him, were ſlayne, and ſixe ſcore priſoners taken, and ledde to Dunfreis.

The terrour of this ouerthrowe, and yͤ bruite of the Earle of Lennox hys entrie thus made into Scotland, cauſed the Gouernoure to leuie his ſiege frō Broughtie Crag, and with ſpeede to come from thence, the better to defende hys Countreys of Cliddeſdale, and Dowglaſdale.

The ſiege of Broughtie Crag reyſed.

Sir Andrew Dudley, Captayn of Broughtie Crag, bare himſelfe right valiantly, in defending the Caſtell during thys ſiege, ſo that the Scottes certeſſe loſt diuers hardy perſonages, and among other Gawen Hamilton, the Gouernoures kinneſman, was ſlayne at the ſame ſiege.

Moreouer, the Prior of Whiterne by hys letters and meſſengers, offered himſelfe to obey the King of Englande: and the inhabitantes of the burroughe and hauen townes of Wigton and Kirckowbre, the Knightes of Loghinwar and Garleis, the Laird and tutor of Bomby, yͤ Lairde of Cardines, and all the Gentlemen of Annandale, Nideſdale, and Galloway, euen to Whiterne, beeyng. 80. myles in length from Carelile, through the inducemente of the foreſayd Prior, and of the Knightes of Loghinwar and Garleis (for the fauor they bare to yͤ Earle of Lennox) within two dayes after the diſconfiture of Drumlanrig, came vnto Dunfreis, and there receyued an oth to be true to the Kyng of Englande, and afterwardes wente with the Earle vnto Carelile, leauing the Countrey in good quiet, and the King of England acknowledged for Lorde of Galloway, Nideſdale, and Annandale by the inhabitants thereof.

The Prior of Whiterne.

And after that the forenamed perſons hadde remayned for a ſpace at Carliſe, they deliuered pledges, and returned home into their Countreys, as aſſured men and ſubiects to the Kyng of England.

The Sco deliuer ges.

In thys meane whyle, the Gouernoure hauing helde ſiege before the Caſtell of Broughtie Crag, by the ſpace of thirtie daies, and nowe retiring from thence (as before yet haue hearde) by the aduice of the principall Lordes aboute hym, hee cauſed Maiſter James Halibourton, tutor of thoſe parties, to reyſe certaine companies of Horſemen, and appoynted hym wyth Captaine Leirmouth (whome he left in Dundee with certayne footemenne) to defende the Countrey againſte the Engliſhmenne, if they iſſued forthe of Broughtie crag, to atchieue anye enterpriſe anye where neere thereaboutes.

James H burton. Captayn Leirmou

The Duke of Somerſet by aduice of the reſidue of the counſell in England, mynding to bridle the Scottes that refuſed to come in and ſubmit themſelues to the King of Englande, tooke order for the building of one Forte at Lawder, and an other at Hadington, as in the Engliſhe hiſtorie it may appeare.

Forts bu

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And further it was appoynted alſo, that about the ende of February, the Earle of Lennox and the Lorde Wharton with ſeauen hundred Engliſhe horſemenne, beſyde the aſſured Scottes Horſemenne, and aboute a foure or fyue thouſande Engliſhe footemenne, ſhoulde by the Weſt bordures inuade Scotlande: they accordyng to theyr commiſſion ſette forward, and the fyrſte nyghte came to Lochmaben, and there lodged.

The Earl Lennox a the L. W ton inua Scotland.

The nexte daye they marched to Dunfreis, and whyleſt they remayned there, the Earle of Angus beeyng come to Drumlanrig, by meſſengers entred ſome talke wyth hys ſonne in lawe the Earle of Lennox: but ſyth it was perceyued that thys was done, rather to entrappe the Earle of Lennox, or at the leaſtwiſe to driue tyme, vppon conſultation hadde wyth the Maiſter of Maxwell, the Larde of Cloeſborne, and others the Gentlemen aſſured of Nideſdale and Annandale, it was concluded, that the Townes of Morton, Duſdere, and others, neere adioyning togyther in thoſe parties, ſhoulde bee brente, to the ende, that the Earle of Angus myghte ſo bee drawen to the fielde, and caughte by ſome one meane or other.

The diſſi lation of Earle of A gus.

Aboute midnighte therefore the forrey beeyng ſette forthe, vnder the leading of Maiſter Henry Wharton, to the number of twelue hundred lyght Horſemenne, the Maiſter of Maxwell, nowe Lorde Herries, and the reſidue of the aſſured menne beeyng amongſt them,

Maiſter H ry Whart

kept forewarde, and in the mornyng the Erle of Lennox, and the Lorde Wharton marched forth with the footemen, till they came tenne miles beyond Dunfreis: And where the Erle of Angus was drawen to the Caſtell of Drumlanrig vnder pretence to commune with his ſonne the Erle of Lennox (but meanyng to entrappe him) if it wer poſſible he was ſo enuironned by the Engliſh footemen ere he coulde haue ſufficient warnyng, that he was forced to flee onely with fiue perſons in his company. But nowe the Engliſhe horſemen beyng come to Duſdere. xlviij. miles within ỹ realme of Scotland, hauing paſſed ſundry great riuers, they ſet that towne on fire. But the maſter of Maxwell with the other Scottiſh gentlemen & light horſemen borderers, to the nũber of foure hundred, beyng in company of the Engliſhe horſemen, as before ye haue heard, had contriued the deſtruction of the Engliſhmen afore hande, and the better to worke their feate, they had procured as ye haue hearde, the Erle of Angus to come vnto Drumlanrig with a choſen power of men for that purpoſe. There were alſo vpon euery hil about, great numbers of footemen Scottes, with ſpeares and lance ſtaues to aſſiſt the Erle of Angus and his complices agaynſt the Engliſhmen. The Lairde of Drumlanrig with a number of choſen horſemen was aduaũced forward in ſight of the Engliſhmen as they were buſie in firyng the towne of Duſdere. The aſſured Scottes therefore thinking the enterprice to be ſurely inough conueyed for their contriued purpoſe, openly vpon the field neare to Duſdere, hoyſting vp a blacke penſill vpon a ſpeare point for a token, reuolted wholy, and ioygned themſelues to the Laird of Drumlanrig & other their coũtrey men, and thruſt in betwixt the Engliſh horſemen and footemen, to the great perill of diſtreſſing aſwell the one as the other: for making towardes the place where the Erle of Lennox, and the Lord Wharton were cõming forwarde with their footemen, neere to the olde caſtell of Dauſwynton, ſometime the houſe of the Cumynes, they bruyted it abroad that the Engliſh horſemen were quite ouerthrowen.

he Erle of ngus put to ight.

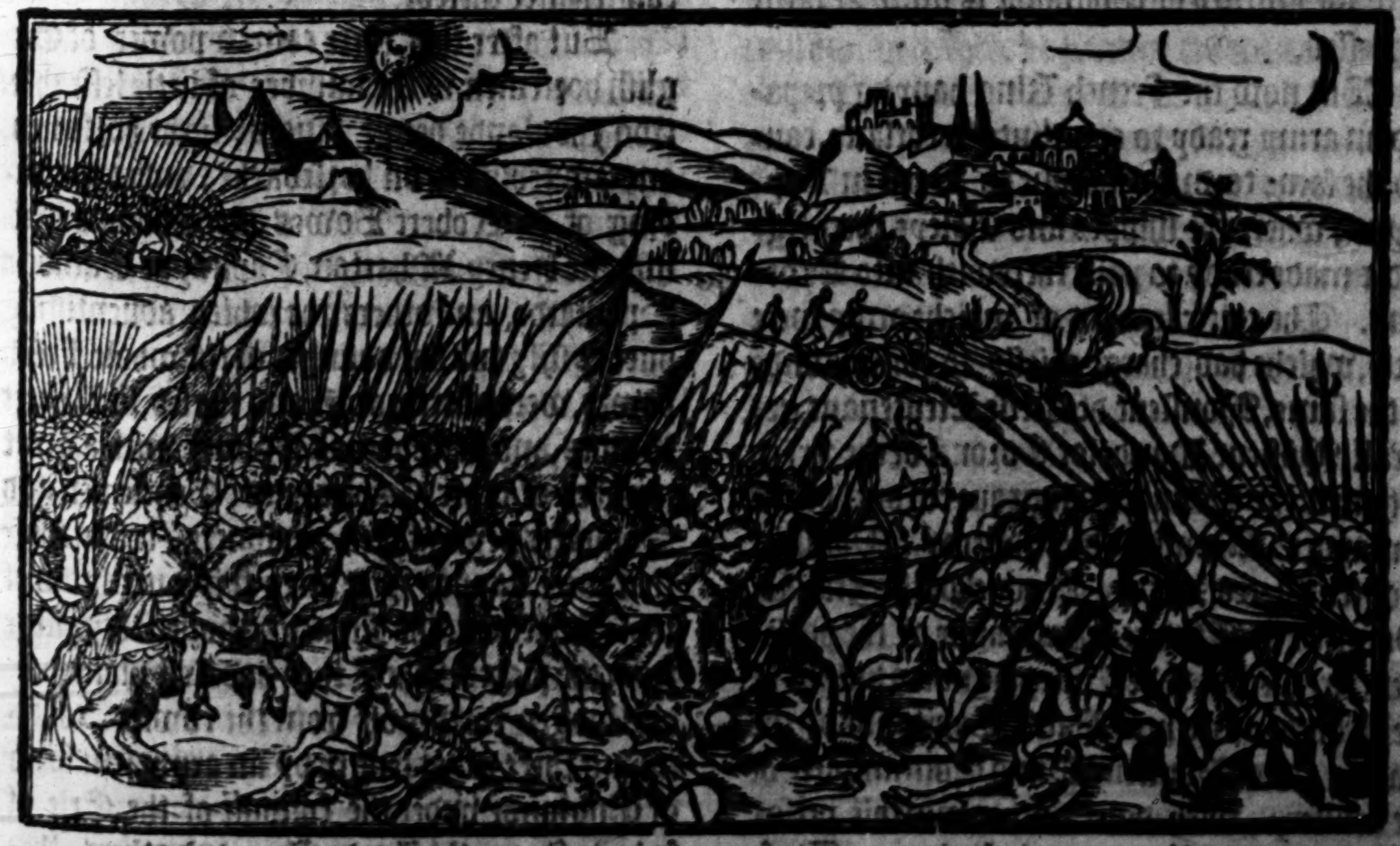
uſdere ſet fire.

The reuolting of the aſſured Scottes.

A falſe rumor ſpred.

The Erle of Lennox beholding the manner of his aduerſaris, a lighted afoote from his horſe willing the Lorde Wharton to do the like: for this day (ſayd he) I will die a true Engliſhman. At length the Engliſh horſemen fetching a cõpaſſe in retyring backe frõ Duſdere, came neare to the place where the Erle & the lord Wharton were ranged in order of battell, and thinking no leſſe but that their horſemen had bene ouerthrowen, were ready to marche backe towardes Dunfreis. But their horſemen thus commyng in, and perceyuing how the matter ſtoode, gaue a right valiant charge vpon the Scottes that ſtoode countenauncyng the footemen, and ready to take the aduantage if they might haue driuẽ them through ſhrinkyng backe into any diſorder: but ſuch was the violence of the ſhocke giuen at that inſtant with great manhoode vndoubtedly by the Engliſh horſemen, that the Scottes were therewith put out of array, ſcattered & quyte put to flight: the Lairde of Drũlanrig beyng taken pryſoner corrupted his taker and ſo gotte away. The maſter of Maxwell eſcaped in great daunger of life, for he had ſundry ſpeares broken on him in the chaſe as he fledde away. There were yet taken that day of the Scots to the number of. 400. beſide ſundry that were drowned in the water of Nyth. Amõgſt the priſoners were theſe men of name, the Abbot of new Abbey, Chriſty Irewyng of Bonſhaw, a brother of the Laird of Hempſfield, and many other Gentlemen of name. Dunfreis

e Scottes to flight.



Dunfreys ſpoyled.

was rifled and ſpoyled: as the Erle of Lennox and the Engliſhmenne returned thither, and a Marſhall courte appoynted there for execution of pledges, but yet ſuſpended and ſtayed, till the Counſels pleaſure might bee knowen in that behalfe.

There were at the firſt euill newes ſpredde abrode, and certified to the court of England of this iourney, howe the Erle of Lennox and the Engliſh army was ouerthrowē, ſo that it was by order appoynted, that the Erle of Derby, the Lords Scroupe, & Coniers, with their powers ſhould repayre to the Weſt borders to garniſhe the ſame for defence agaynſt the enimies: but vpon the true reporte how the matter had paſſed, made by Maſter Henry Wharton, and one Biſhop a Scottiſhman, ſent in poſt for that purpoſe, that appoyntment was ſtayed, and maſter Wharton was at that time made Knight, and the ſayde Biſhop richely rewarded for bringing ſo good newes. Herewith were letters directed downe from the counſell to the Lorde Wharton, for the executiō of certaine pledges, to witte the maſter of Maxwels pledge, beyng one of his neareſt kinſmen, of the houſe of the Herries, alſo the Warden of the Grey friers in Dunfreis, the Vicar of Carlauerock, and diuers other whiche were executed at Carlile.

Pledges executed.

In this meane time were the fortes at Lawder, and Hadyngton buylte, the caſtels of Yeſter and Dawkith wonne, al the Milles brent within foure myles of eche hande of Edenburgh, and other exploytes atchieued by the Engliſhmen, as in the Hiſtory of Englande is more at large expreſſed.

But now the French King hauyng prepared an army ready to come into Scotland, cauſed the ſame to draw downe to Breſt in Brytayne, where the ſhippes and Galeys were rigged & made ready to paſſe therewith into Scotland. The chiefe leaders of whiche army were theſe, whiche had charge chiefly to commaunde in the ſame, Monſieur de Deſſe Lieutenant generall, Mōſieur Dandelot Coronel of the Frēch footemen, the Counte Reingraue coronel of the Almaynes, Monſieur de Malleray, Monſieur Doyſel, Pietro Strozzi Coronel of the Italiās, Monſieur de Etauges Capitayne of the horſemen, ſir Nicholas de Villegaignon a knight of the Rodes, or rather Malta Capitayne of the Galeys, and Monſieur Duno Commiſſarie of the artillery, with diuers other worthie perſonages and men of approued valiancy. Theſe Capitaynes with theyr powers beyng embarqued at Breſt, ſayled alongſt by the Eaſt ſeas, and at length aboute the middeſt of Iune came into the Rode before Leith, where they landed theyr people and ordinaunce, and afterwardes with the aduiſe of the Gouernour, and other of the Scottiſh Lordes, they went to beſiege Hadington, and commyng thither, encamped thē ſelues in places of aduantage about the towne, caſte trenches, planted their ordinaunce, battered the rampyres, and kept them within ſtraytly beſieged on eche hande, vſing all the wayes they coulde deuiſe to cōſtrayne the Engliſhmen to yeelde: they forbeare yet to giue a generall aſſaulte, bycauſe they would not hazarde (as they haue reported) the loſſe of ſo many menne, as might haue bene ſlayne and maymed thereby, to the greate weakenyng of their power there, hauyng not mean to ſupply it whē they would, and yet they had a great army of Scottes with them for a ſeaſon, and had made the breaches ſo reaſonable, that with ſmall payne they might haue entred by the ſame, if the force of the defendants had not ſuffiſed with handeblowes to haue beaten them backe, as no doubte there was no want of good willes in them ſo to haue done, if the Frenchmen had put the matter in triall: yet during this ſiege, they within ſtoode in great neceſſitie of things behouefull for the defenſe of the towne. Wherevpon ſir Henry Wharton with a band of light horſemen of the Weſt borders and others, came and put into the towne a certayne number of men with powder, & other neceſſaries, greatly to the reliefe of the beſieged, and no leſſe diſpleaſure of the Frenchmen and Scottes, that were not aware of this enterprice till it was done in the night ſeaſon, by the good and fortunate conduction of them that had the conueyance thereof.

A nauy prepared at Breſt in Brytayne.

The chiefe capitaines of the French army that came into Scotland.

Hadyngton beſieged.

Why the Frenchme forbare to giue an aſ ſault.

But after this, there came a power of Engliſh horſemen to the number of little leſſe than two thouſande demie lances, light horſemen, and arquebuſiers on horſebacke, vnder the leading of ſir Robert Bowes, ſir Thomas Palmer, ſir Henry Wharton, Capitayne Gamboa Spaniarde, and others, the which aduenturing ouer raſhly within daunger of the whole Frēch power, were ouerthrowē, and chaſed, ſir Robert Bowes, and ſir Thomas Palmer, with a great number of other Capitaynes, Gentlemen and Souldiers beyng taken pryſoners, beſide thoſe that were ſlayne. Yet after this ouerthrow of thoſe horſemen, the French remoued theyr ſiege from the places where they had firſt planted it, and lodged further off from the towne, continuyng there till at length by an army ſent forth of Englande vnder the conduct of the Erle of Shrewſbury, the Lorde Grey, and others, they were conſtreyned to retyre from thence, as in the Engliſh hiſtory ye may finde more largely expreſſed, to the whiche for further report of the euentes chancyng duryng that ſiege, I referre the reader.

The Eng horſemen uerthrow

The Erle Shrewſb remoueth ſiege fro Hadingto

But this is to be remēbred, that whyleſt the ſiege remayned at Hadyngton, by a conuention or aſſemble of the Lordes it was decreed, that the Queene ſhoulde be ſente into Fraunce, and therevpō Monſieur de Villegaignon with foure Galleys departing from Leith, made ſemblance as though he would haue ſayled into Fraunce, but hauyng paſſed the mouth of the Fourth he turned his courſe on the left hand to paſſe alōgſt the ſhoare Northward by the Germayne ſeas, yͭ compaſſing the lande on the Eaſt ſide, he might paſſe about by the Iſles of Orkney, and ſo by the Weſt Iſles till he came to Dunbretayne where the yong Queene lay.

Nicholas Villegaig- n.

This iourney he fortunately atchieued, the ſame neuer afore that tyme to mans remembrance beyng made or attempted with Galeys. At his arriuall at Dunbretayne, he founde all things ready prouided neceſſary for the enbarquyng of the Queene, that he might conuey hir into Fraunce, for the accompliſhment whereof he had taken that iourney in hande. Herevpon ſhe beyng brought aborde into the Kings owne Galey, wherein Monſieur de Brezze was alſo appoynted to be abourde with hyr, as hee that had bene ſent with expreſſe commaundement to ſee hir conueyed into Fraunce, who togither with Villegaignon ſhewed ſuch diligēce in atchieuyng that enterpriſe, that finally they arriued with proſperous winde and weather in the hauen of Breſt in Brytaine with that yong Queene, beyng as then betwixte fiue and ſixe yeares of age.

e French leys com- e about the me of Scot e by Dun- e head.

nſieur de ze.

e yong ene of cōueyed Fraunce

But now to the doyngs in Scotlande concerning yͤ warres there, after that yͤ ſiege of Hadington was reyſed by the Engliſhe armie as before ye haue hearde, the Frenchmenne thereupon retyred themſelfes vnto Muſkelbourgh, and choſing forth a plot of grounde for theyr aduātage, kept themſelfes within the ſame, and herewith there came to them a fiftene thouſande Scottiſhmen to aſſiſte them, ſo that when the Engliſhmen came forewardes to aſſayle them, they found them ſo ſtrongly embattayled, that whether their cōmiſſion did not ſo farre extend, or whether they had no likyng of the matche, they forbare to ſet vpon them in that ground of ſo great diſauantage for the aſſaylantes, & ſo returned back to Hadington, & after homewardes, hauing furniſhed the towne with newe ſupplies of men, munition, and vitayles ſufficient.

Frēchmē mpe at ſelburgh

ore here ngland.

Here is to be noted yͭ the engliſh fleete entring into the Fourth was ready to haue ayded yͤ army by lande as occaſions might haue bene offered, but the Lord Admirall perceyuing no likelyhood of battayle by lande, tooke vpon him to atchieue ſome other enterpriſes, and firſt comming to Brent Yland ſet certaine ſhippes a fire there, of the chiefeſt in the riuer, and ſaluting the towne of Leith as he paſſed by, with Canon ſhotte, he determined to lande ſome of his men on the North ſide of the Fourth, to make ſome ſpoyle within the countrey of Fife. But Iohn Erſkin Laird of Dun, as then ſomewhat diſeaſed and returned home from the campe, cauſed ſuch dayly and nightly watche and warde to be kept, that this enterprice coulde not be ſo ſecretely cōueyed by the Engliſhmen, but that the ſame was perceyued, & ſo preuented, that vpon theyr landyng they were forced to retyre with loſſe, and happy was he that might firſt get agayne to ſhippeborde.

Lord ad- all of En- d.

The Laird of Dun.

The Engliſh men repulſed at S. Menettes.

The Erle of Shrewſbury beyng come backe from Hadington vnto Dunglas, order was giuen for the buylding of a forte there, as in the Engliſh hiſtory further may appeare, and in the meane tyme Monſieur de Deſſe remayning in campe at Muſkelbourgh, hearing that the Engliſh armie was remoued homewardes, & how diuers newe bandes of horſemen and footemen, beyng lefte in Hadington, were ready to come forth to ſkirmiſh abroade vpon ſight of the enimy, he tooke aduiſe to trie if he might drawe thē forth to their loſſe, and thervpon was Monſieur Dandelot & the Reingraue appoynted to choſe forth a thouſande of their luſtieſt footemen, the whiche with three hundred horſemen were conueyed and layde cloſely in ambuſhe, behinde a litle hill not farre from the towne. This done, a few horſemē were ſent forth to draw the Engliſhmen out of the towne to ſkirmiſh with thē. The Engliſhmē wer no ſooner aduiſed that the enimies were there at hand in the field, but that all their horſemen iſſued out of the towne backe with certayne footemen, and ſtreight had the Frenchmen in chaſe, who retyring, mainteyned the ſkirmiſh, of purpoſe to make the Engliſhmē more earneſt to come forewarde: but immediatly as Mōſieur de Deſſe ſaw his time, he gaue ſigne by ſounde of Trumpet to the footemen to breake forth, who togither with the horſemen gaue ſo fierce an onſet vpon the enimies, that they were incontinently diſcomfited, and fleyng toward the towne, were followed by the French euen harde to the Walles, diuers were ſlayne, and aboue an hundred taken pryſoners.

The Engliſh mē put to the worſe at a ſkirmiſh neare to Hadington.

After this Monſieur de Deſſe reyſed from Muſkelbourgh, and commyng to Lieth ſette in hande to fortifie that towne. The Marſhall Strozzi, and Monſieur Dandelot, with diuers other Capitaynes embarqued themſelfes in the Galey that yet remayned, tooke their courſe to returne into Fraunce, one of the ſame Galeys (they beyng eight in number, beſide a foyſt and a Brigandine) was taken by an Engliſh ſhippe called the Faucon, as ſhee paſſed through the narrow

Leith fortified.

A galley takē.

narrow ſeas at a place named the Southfurlong, ſhe beyng alone as it chanced the hindermoſt of all the companie.

After the departure of Monſieur Dandelot, Monſieur de la Chapelle de Biron remayned Coronell of the French footemen in Scotland. As to the furniture on the water there remained now but foure Galeys vnder the guiding of one capitayne Bache an Italian, a man of great experience and approued ſkill. For ye muſt vnderſtand, that before the arriuall of the Engliſh nauie and armie to the ſuccours of them in Hadington, Monſieur de Mallerie vice Admirall of Fraũce returned home with the fleete of ſhips ỹ had brought the French armie into Scotlãd.

Capitayne Bache.

Monſieur de Mallerie vice Admirall of Fraunce.

In what ſort the Lord Grey of Wilton afflicted the countreys of Tiuidale & Liddeſdale, after the returne of the Erle of Shrewſbury, is partely touched in the hiſtory of England.

About the ſame time, there chãced a mutinie to ryſe betwixt the Scottes and Frenchmen in Edenburgh, by reaſon that a French ſouldier fel a quarelling with two or three Scottiſhmen, & falling togither by the eares, diuers Scots that came to departe the fray woulde haue had the Frenchman to pryſon, but other Frenchmẽ beyng there alſo preſent, woulde not ſuffer the Scottes to take him away. Whereupon aroſe a great tumult and hurle amõg them, in ſo much that there were diuers ſlayne on bothe partes, namely James Hamilton Lard of Stanhouſe knight, capitayne of the Caſtel, and Prouoſt of the towne of Edenburgh with his ſonne, and M. William Steward one of the Queenes ſeruants beſide ſundry others. For the Frenchmen doubting ſome contriued commotion agaynſt them, aſſembled togither in order of battayle in the ſtreetes, ſo that before the mater mighte bee appeaſed by the Capitaines that ſhewed theyr diligent endeuors therein, they had inough to do to bryng it to paſſe as they wiſhed.

An affray betwixt the frẽch ſouldiers, and the towneſmen of Edenburgh.

The beginner of this buſineſſe was hanged the ſame day in the market place of Edẽburgh, where he began firſt to pyke the quarell.

Monſieur de Deſſe to ſhew that this variãce had not proceeded ſo farre as the bruyte thereof gaue forth (for it was rather increaſed ye may be ſure than diminiſhed) undertooke an enterpriſe in hand to winne the towne of Hadington by a camiſado, but in what ſorte they miſſed theyr purpoſe, and howe they were well beaten backe, and ſente away by the valiant manhood of the Engliſh capitaynes & ſouldiers thẽ within that towne, ye may reade further thereof in the Engliſhe hiſtory. There were ſeuen ſcore, ſome ſay three hundred ſlaine in the baſe court.

The Frenchmẽ giue a camiſado to Hadington, & are beaten backe.

But now for ſomuche as I haue ſayde nothing of Broughtie cragge, ſithẽce the Lord gouernour rayſed his ſiege from thence, ye ſhall vnderſtand, that (as ſome haue written) ſhortly after the Erle of Arguile came thither with an armie of his Iriſhe Scottes and beſieged it: but when he ſaw that he could not preuaile, he toke truce with them within for a tyme, and before the ſame was expyred, there came new ſuccours to the Engliſhmen, ſo that the Erle of Arguile (by reaſon his people had remayned there the ful terme of their bounden & ordinary ſeruice) was conſtrained to leaue his ſiege, and ſuffer the Engliſhmẽ to become Maſters of a litle hill, where afterwardes they buylded a forte, and nowe in the later end of this yeare, they purpoſed alſo to haue fortified Dundee, & to haue kepte the ſame with a garriſon of Souldiers, but hearing that Monſieur de Deſſe with his Frenchmen was cõming thitherwardes, they auoyded the towne of their owne accorde, hauing firſte ſpoyled the houſes and after ſet them on fire.

Vlpian Ful.

Broughtie crag beſieg by the Erle Argyle.

He rayſeth ſiege.

The fort by the E gliſhmen Broughtie crag.

Dundee a doned of Engliſhm

The Reingraue with two bandes of his Almaignes, and Monſieur de Etauges with his company of horſemen were ſent before, who cũming to Dundee and finding the Engliſhmen gone, encamped there, ſtaying till Monſieur de Deſſe was come that followed at hande with the French footemen.

Within two dayes after, they goyng forth to vew the forte, were in daunger to haue bene caught ere they coulde get backe againe, for the Engliſhmen and Lanſquenetz that were there with them (parte of Conrad Phennings bãdes) iſſued forth, & droue them to retyre, not without danger to haue bene diſtreſſed, if the Reingraue had not vſed the greater policie in retyring the troupe. To be ſhort, Monſieur de Deſſe to ſtop the Engliſhmen from entring any further into the countrey on that ſide, lefte vij. enſeignes of Frenchmen, & two enſeignes of Scottes within Dundee, with artillerie & Pioners to fortifie the town, & to keepe it in ſafetie frõ the Engliſhmẽ.

The Rei graue.

Dundee fied by th Frenchm

This done he returned to Edenburgh, & ſent the reſidew of his people abrode into the cõtrey to lodge in townes and villages here and there as was thought moſte expedient, for the better refreſhyng of them after their long trauell.

On S. Stephens day at night the caſtell of Hume was ſkaled & wonne out of the Engliſhmens hãds. One of the ſurname of the Humes a man of lx. yeares of age was the firſt that entred on the wall, ſleayng one of the watchemen that kept his walke on that ſide. About the ſame time the Reinſgraue returned into France, leauing his fiue enſeignes of Almaynes behind him vnder the charge of Capitayne Retouze a good man of warre and of great experience.

Hume recouere the Scott

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The Re graue re nto in France. Mõſieur Etauges pryſoner the Eng

Alſo Mõſieur de Etauges was takẽ in a ſkirmiſh at Broughtie crag, as I haue noted in the

Engliſh hiſtory, and about the ſame tyme there landed at Dunbrytaine foure bandes of Souldiers, Prouancois and Gaſcoignes, bryngyng money with them to pay the Souldiers theyr wages behinde as then for the ſpace of three monethes.

James
ford takẽ.

Sir James Wilforde alſo was taken about the ſame tyme by the Frenchmen in a ſkirmiſhe at Dunbar, as I haue alſo noted in the hiſtory of England.

Not long after Monſieur de Deſſe was appointed by the Queene Dowager, to go vnto Jedworth to preuent that the Engliſhmenne ſhoulde not fortifie there, whereof ſhee ſtoode in ſome doubte.

Immediatly vpon his commyng thither, the Lard of Fernihirſt requeſted him to helpe to recouer his Caſtell of Fernihirſt out of the Engliſhmens handes, whiche they had taken from him and kepte, greatly to the annoyance of all the countrey thereaboutes. Monſieur de Deſſe taking with him Mõſieur de Dyſel, and Monſieur de la Chapelle de Biton, haſted thither with the chiefeſt parte of his army, ſendyng before certayne Capitaynes with their bandes to ſuruey the houſe, who at theyr cõming thither, vſed ſuche diligence in following the offered occaſiõ, that they both repulſed theyr enimies that came forth to giue them the ſkirmiſhe, and purſuyng them with great rigour, wanne the lims of the houſe vpon them, forcing the capitayne & ſouldiers to retire within the dongeon, and kept them ſo ſhorte therein, that they had oportunitie to mine an hole through the wall, of ſuch largeneſſe as a man might eaſily enter by the ſame. Herewith a greate number of Scottes hauyng broken open the gate of the baſe court, where the Frenchmen were buſie to aſſaulte the dongeon, bruſt in on heapes vpon deſire to be reuenged vpon the Engliſhmen, and namely of their capitayne, who as they ſayde, had done them many great diſpleaſures. The Capitayne perceyuing this, and doubting if he fell into the Scottiſhmens handes he ſhould die for it, he preſented himſelfe at the hole, whiche the Frenchmen had made, and yeelded himſelfe to Monſieur de Duſſac, and la Mouthe Rouge, who myndyng to vſe him as became mẽ of warre, would haue ledde him out of the preſſe, but ſodenly a Scotte comming behinde him, whoſe wife (as was reported he had rauiſhed) ſmote of his head ſo iuſt from the ſhoulders, that it leapt a foure or fiue yeardes quyte from the body.

aſtell of
hirſt
e by the
chmen.

ruelty
Scot.

Many other cruell partes the Scottes ſeemed to ſhewe againſt other Engliſhmen taken here at Fernihirſt: but they excuſed the mater by the euill dealyngs of the Engliſhmen to the wardes before that time.

Monſieur de Deſſe returnyng to Jedworth agayne by the furtherance & counſell of the Scots ceaſſed not in occaſions of aduantage to attẽpt newe enterpryſes agaynſt the Engliſhmen, as time and oportunitie ſerued, and among other exployctes the caſtell of Cornewall an old houſe buylte after the auncient maner of fortifiyng was taken by the Frenchmen, and ſpoyled of al things worth the bearyng away.

The caſtel of
Cornewall
wonne.

Alſo Capitayne Cobios a Frenchman hauing a bande of fiftie light horſemen Scottes ſeruyng vnder him, one night had a fayre hande againſt a number of Engliſh horſemen, whom he charged ſo on the ſudden, as he ſaw them out of order, that he eaſily diſcomfited them, & toke mo pryſoners (whom he brought to Jedworth) than he had perſons in his company to aſſayle them.

Capitaine Cobios.

Monſieur de la Chapell de Biron, was ſent forth by Monſieur de Deſſe, with the company of horſemen that belonged to Monſieur de Etauges then pryſoner, and fiue hundred footemẽ beſide Scottes, to make a roade into England, whiche enterpriſe hee atchieued in brennyng townes and villages, and returned without any great loſſe ſuſtayned at that time.

A roade made
by Monſieur
de la chapelle
de Biron.

Within two dayes after his returne to Jedworth, Monſieur de Deſſe diſlodged frõ thence, and taking with him foure fielde peeces and all his men of warre, entred into Englande, toke the caſtell of Fourd, and brent it with ten ſmall villages in the cõtrey therabout, ſituate within halfe a myle eche of other. There was one tower yet parcell of that caſtel of Fourd, which was kepte by Thomas Car, ſo that the Frenchmen could not winne it, for they had no time to ſtay long about it, remouing that night ouer the water, and encamped there within the Scottiſh grounde.

An other
made by Mõ-
ſieur de Deſſe.

Fourd caſtell
wonne.

Thomas Car.

As the Scots and Frenchmen executed theſe enterpriſes, they were coaſted by certayne light horſemen, but neuertheleſſe the Frenchmen returned in ſafetie to Jedworth, hauyng ſore endomaged the Engliſhe borderers by that roade, in ſo much as it was thought the Scots (which were with them at that roade) gayned at that time, by pillage and booties to the valew of .ix. thouſand crownes.

Scottes gayne
by ſpoyle.

The Engliſhmenne ſore agreeued, that the Frenchmen lying thus in Jedworth, ſhoulde in ſuch wiſe addreſſe one enterprice after an other againſt them, ſo greatly to theyr annoyance, aſſembled a power togither at Roxburgh, purpoſing to haue aſſayled the Frenchmen in theyr campe at Jedworth: but Monſieur de Deſſe hauyng warning thereof, departed from thence firſt to Melroſe, and after farther off within the countrey, fearing to be conſtreyned to giue bat-

Monſieur de
Deſſe fleeth
out of Jed-
worth, for
feare of the
Engliſhmen.

tayle, whiche he coulde not haue done without manifeſt loſſe of his feeble army, hauing not paſt xv. hundreth footemen, and fiue hundred horſemē able to haue done ſeruice: for ſuch was the miſerie whiche they had in maner continually ſuſtayned through want of vitayles, and other neceſſary helps duryng the time of their encamping at Jedworth, that what through ſicknes and hurtes receyued in aſſaultes and ſkirmiſhes, no ſmall number of them were dead, and many other ſo feeble, that they were not able to ayde themſelfes, in ſomuch that now being got out of daunger, they thought themſelues happily eſcaped.

The miſerable ſtate of the Frenchmen in Scotland.

Shortly after, in the beginning of the ſōmer, the Engliſhmen armed a. xxv. ſayle of men of warre, the which arriuing at the Baſſe, neare to the mouth of the Fourth, aſſayed by fayre and pleaſant wordes to haue perſwaded the keepers of the caſtell there ſtanding on the height of a great rocke to haue yelded the place into theyr hands, but perceyuing their perſwaſions would not be regarded, they tooke their courſe vp into the Fourth, & finding in their way .iiij. ſhippes of Frenchmen & Scottes, ſeaſed vpon them as a wiſhed pray, & the morrow nexte enſewyng at the very breake of day they came before Leith, & ſaluting the towne with Cānō ſhot, remayned there at ancre .x. or .xij. dayes, in which meane while they landed their people at Inſkith, and beganne to fortifie with all diligence, but before the place coulde be put in any ſtrength, the ſhips departed frō thence backe towards the ſea, & left in the yland .iiij. enſeignes of Engliſhmē, & one enſeigne of Italians to defende the pioners and the Iland againſt the Scots and Frenchmen, if they ſhould attempt to aſſayle them.

Inskith fortified by the engliſhmen.

After the Engliſh nauie was thus departed, Monſieur de Deſſe & the Queene mother being at Edenburgh, determined with all diligence to employ all ſuche forces as they might make about the recouering of the yſle before the fortifications begonne by the Engliſhmen ſhoulde be brought to any perfection.

La chapelle de Biron.

Here vpō Monſieur de la Chapelle de Biron enbarqued in the Galley of Monſieur de Villegaignon, rowed forth to view the maner of the Engliſhmens dealing within the Iſle, whiche he did in ſuch effectuous wiſe, that approchyng within Harquebuſe ſhot, he brought knowledge with him not only of the ſtate & whole circumſtances of their buyldings, but alſo of the perfect number of their enſignes, & the qualitie of the mē of warre that ſerued vnder the ſame. At that preſent alſo Mōſieur de Thermes lately before arriued at Dunbrytane with an hundred men of armes, & ij. hundred light horſemen after the maner of Fraunce, & one thouſand footemē was come to the Queene, buſie nowe to further this enterpriſe. She had got togither within Leith hauē all the boates that belōged to al the creekes and hauens of the Fourth, ſo that on thurſday after Trinitie ſonday euery thing beyng prepared ready for the purpoſe, in the mornyng by the breake of day the Queene was come to Leith to ſee the embarquing of the men of warre appoynted that day to trie what ſucceſſe fortune would ſende them.

The di
of the S
Queene,

There was no diligence wanting, neither among the Scottes nor Frenchmen to beſtowe themſelfes aborde, & the cōfortable wordes of ẏ Queene greatly encouraged thē thereto beholding them, & deuiſing with Mōſieur de Deſſe & the other capitaynes til they were al ſet forward.

The for
neſſe of
ſouldie

Villegaignon with his galleys paſſed on before to keepe the Engliſhmē occupied, ſo as they ſhould not perceyue the Frenchmens meaning: but they diſcouering the veſſels at their ſettyng forth, conceyued ſtreightwayes what was intended, & therupon prepared to keepe the enimies off from landing, ſo that vpon the Frenchmens approche, they ſaluted them with arrowes and Harquebuzeſhot very hotely: at lēgth yet by fine force the Scots and Frenchmen got a land, and droue the Engliſhmen and Italians backe frō the ſea ſtronde vp to the higher grounde, where they ſtoode at defenſe on a plompe togither, doyng their beſt to defende the place agaynſt the aſſaylantes: but finally their generall named Cotton, being ſlaine with George Applebie Eſquyer a Capitayne of an enſeigne of footemen ſent forth of Derbyſhire, & one Gaſpar Pizoni, that was capitaine of the Italians beſide diuers other gentlemen and the moſt principall men of warre and ſouldiers among them: the reſidue were cōſtreyned to retyre vnto a corner or point of the Ilande, where they were taken without further reſiſtāce, although before they had made right ſtoute defenſe, hurte & ſlayne diuers Scots & Frenchmen, both at their landyng, & alſo after they were entred on lande. Among other Mōſieur de la chapelle de Biron was ſtrikē through the hand with an harquebuzeſhot, and his burguenet beaten ſo into his head, that his frendes that were about him, were fayne to conuey him into one of the Galleys to be dreſſed of his hurtes by a Chirurgian. Alſo a Gentleman named Deſbories, whiche bare the ſayde Monſieur de la Chapelle, his Coronell enſeigne was ſlayne with a pike by the hands of the forenamed Cotton the Engliſh generall.

Inskith
led by
French

Capita
Cotton
rall of I
kith an
therſla

Monſie
Chappe
hurte.

Thus was Inſkith recouered out of the Engliſhmens hands, after it had bene in their poſſeſſion by the ſpace of .xvj. dayes, the more to the highe contentation of Monſieur de Deſſe, for that the ſame time he ſtoode vpon his diſcharge

Inſketh
uered ou
the Fre

and returne into Fraunce, beyng appoynted to ſurrender vp his place to Mõſieur de Thermes, lately before arriued (as ye haue heard) with cõmiſſion to receiue the ſame. So that Monſieur de Deſſe to ende his charge with the glory of this atchieued enterpryſe, eſteemed it muche to ſtande with his honour.

Monſieur de Deſſe returneth into Fraunce.

Shortly after he returned into Fraunce with the Galleys, and Monſieur de Thermes ſucceeded in his place for the generall conduct of the French army in Scotland. Who by the aduiſe of the gouernour and other of the Scottiſh lordes determined with a ſiege volant to keepe the Engliſhmen in Hadington from vitayles and all other reliefe. Firſt therefore after that Deſſe was departed towardes Fraunce, Monſieur de Thermes with his Frenchmẽ and ſome Scots encamped at Abirladie, where they beganne the fundation of a forte, ſo to impeach the Engliſhe men from ſetting a lande any victuals there, to be conueyed from thence to Hadington as before they had done.

Monſieur de Thermes ſucceedeth in his place.

A forte buylte at Aberlady.

In this meane tyme the Engliſhmen had increaſed theyr nũbers of Almaignes and other ſtraungers, and not onely furniſhed their fortes with new ſupplies of men, but alſo had an army in the fieldes whiche lay moſt an ende at Dunglas, and one while beſieged Hume caſtell, but after they ſawe themſelues diſappoynted of the meane, wherby they ſuppoſed to haue recouered it, they reyſed from thence and ſpoyled the moſt parte of Tiuidale and other the Marches thereabout, in reuenge as they alledged, of the diſloyaltie and breache of promiſe proued in the aſſured Scottes. Generall of this army was the Erle of Rutland, Lieutenant at that preſent of the North partes, a noble man right valiaunt, wiſe, well aduiſed, and ſtayed in his dealings, very honorable & courteous in al his demeanor. He was accompanied with Capitaynes of good eſtimatiõ and approued prowes, as ſir Richard Maners, ſir Fraunces Leake, ſir Iohn Sauage, ſir Thomas Holcroft, ſir Oſwald Wulſtroppe and others. He ſo behaued himſelfe in that daungerous time of the vprores and rebellious commotions of the commõs, through the more parte of the realme of Englande, that although the appoynted forces agaynſt Scotlande were ſtayed, and turned to the ſuppreſſion of the rebelles, to the encouragement no doubte bothe of Scottes and Frenchmen in Scotland, yet they were ſo fronted and kept in awe by that army vnder the ſayde Erle of Rutland, that they rather loſt than gayned in this ſeaſon at the Engliſhmens handes.

The Erle of Rutland.

At one tyme the ſame army vnder the conduct of the ſayde Erle, paſſing forth with a conuoy of vitayles vnto Hadington, came ſo ſuddenly vpon the Frenchmen where they lay in campe, that whether through defaulte of theyr ſkowtes or other negligence vſed by them, or through the great diligence and prouident forewardneſſe ſhewed by the Engliſhmẽ, the Frẽchmen were in ſuche hazarde to haue bene vtterly diſtreſſed, that if the Engliſhmen had not doubted more than by many was thought needefull, they might haue ouerthrowen, taken and ſlaine the Frenchmen, as was ſuppoſed at theyr pleaſure. But the Engliſhmen at theyr firſt comming in ſight of them (as it ſtoode with the reaſon of warre, ſith by aduenturyng raſhly oftẽtimes in ſuch caſes to late repentance eaſily enſueth) ſtayed, the better to cõceyue of that which they had to do: whereby the Frenchmenne had leaſure to marche their wayes a mayne pace, till they were got out of daunger: for after they ones beheld the troupes of the Engliſh horſemẽ almoſt at their elbowes, and herewith the battayle of the Almaignes ſuddenly appearyng on the hill toppe ready to come downe vpon them, it was no neede to bidde them packe away.

The Frenchmen in danger to haue bene diſtreſsed.

The Frenchmen retire.

The Scottes light horſemen commyng on the backe of the Engliſh army, perceyued where the Almaignes (to make them ready to giue batayle) had throwen of their clokes and lefte the ſame with all other their baggage and ſtuffe whiche they had aboute them in the keepyng of none, but of their women and boyes, whereupon thoſe Scottes horſemen not minding to ſuffer ſuch a pray to eſcape theyr handes came gallopping in, and tooke all the beſte ſtuffe they coulde lay holde vpon, and returned in ſafetie before any enimy might come backe to the reſkew.

The baggage of the Engliſh lanſquenetz ſpoyled by the Scottiſh horſmen.

The Almaignes were in no ſmall chaufe for the loſſe of their garments and other neceſſaries, but there was no helpe then to ſeeke remedy in that behalfe, for the Scottes were withdrawen and got quite out of daunger.

The Engliſh army after that the Frenchmen were thus fledde and gone, paſſed forth to Hadington with their cariages laden with vitailes, to the great comforte of them within that fortreſſe, ſtanding in great neceſſitie before this cõuoye came. This ſommer alſo and a litle before the vittellyng thus of Hadington, vpon knowledge had that Iulian Romero with his bande of Spaniardes, wherof he was Captaine ſeruyng the king of Englande, was lodged in Coldingham a ſixe miles diſtant frõ Berwike, certaine bandes of Almaignes and Frenchmen came thither vpon the ſuddẽ, and ſurpriſing the Spanyardes before they were aware of theyr approche, ſet vpon them in their lodgings, tooke and ſlew in maner the whole number of them. Moreouer about the ſame time Faſt caſtel was recouered by a trayne out of the Engliſhmens

Hadington vitayled.

Iulian Romero diſtreſsed.

Faſt caſtell recouered by Scottes.

handes, certayne Scottiſhmen faynyng themſelues to bryng prouiſion of vittayles to them that kepte it, and getting entrie within the gate, firſt ſlewe the porters that warded at the gate, and after aſſayling the other within the houſe, ſlew the moſt parte of them, & tooke the reſidue, obteyning thereby poſſeſſion of the Caſtell.

Hadington raſed and left by the Engliſhmen.

Things paſſing in this wiſe in Scotland in yͤ ſommer of this yeare. 1549. the Engliſhmẽ were not onely in the meane time ſore troubled with commotions reyſed by the commons of that realme, but alſo with the warres which the Frencht king made agaynſt them, within the countrey of Boullongnoys, ſo that they had not meane to imploy their forces againſt Scotland as they had determined to haue done, as partely before and more largely in the hiſtory of England is mentioned, by reaſon whereof, anone after Michaelmas they gaue ouer yͤ keepyng of Hadingtõ, & raſing their fortificatiõs there, they returned into England to the great reioyſing of the inhabitantes of Louthian, to whome that towne had giuen occaſion of greate troubles & calamities. Vpon the giuing ouer thus of Hadington, the Gouernour & the Queene Dowager were aduanced, in hope to recouer againe al that the Engliſhmẽ helde within the boundes of Scotland, but firſt it was thought good to aſſay the winning of Broghtie Crag, for it ſounded (as was thought) greatly to the diminiſhing of the eſtimation, aſwell of the Scots as Frenchmen, that the Engliſhmen ſhould keepe foote ſo farre within the realme, in diſpite of their whole puyſſance.

1550.

Broughty crag wonne by the Frenchmen.

Herevpon Monſieur de Thermes about Cãdelmas, hauing all things in a readineſſe for the ſiege, came thither, and did ſo much, what with ſhot of Canon, to make batterie, & other meanes of enforcementes, that giuing the aſſault both with Scots & Frenchmen, they entred the forte the .xx. of February by fine force, ſo that al thoſe within were eyther taken or ſlayne, wherevpon thoſe Engliſhmen alſo that kept the caſtel, rendred vp the ſame without further reſiſtance, amongſt other pryſoners ſir Iohn Lutterell the Capitayne was one.

A treaty for peace.

Sir Hugh W loughbie.

A peace co cluded.

The names the commi ſioners app ted to trea of peace.

In this meane time there were certayne cõmiſſioners appointed betwixt the two kings of England and Fraunce to commune of a peace, but bicauſe they continued long in their treatie ere they could agree, the Scots and Frenchmen ſurceaſſed not in occaſions of aduantage to purſue the warre, ſo that comming before Lowder they beſieged that fortreſſe, & ſkirmiſhing with the Engliſhmen that iſſued forth, to encounter them, droue thẽ in at the gates with ſome loſſe on either parte, and this done, the French helde them within ſo ſtraytly beſieged, that if the peace had not ben the ſooner cõcluded, ſir Hugh Willoughby capitayne of that forte, muſte needes haue yeelded through lacke of ſhotte, & other neceſſary things ſeruing for defence: which were ſpent ſo, that they were conſtrayned to vſe theyr pewter veſſell in ſteede of bullets. But as it fortuned, a peace was accorded, paſſed & confirmed, that very ſelfe time betwixte the two kings of England & Fraunce, through the diligent & orderly trauell of the Commiſſioners appoynted to deale therein, whoſe names enſue: firſt for yͤ king of England, the right honorable Iohn Erle of Bedford, knight of the Garter, and Lorde priuy ſeale: Williã Paget lord of Beaudeſert, knight alſo of the Garter: ſir William Peter knight, chief ſecretary to the ſayd king: & ſir Iohn Maſon knight, ſecretary to him for yͤ French tong. For the French king were appoynted Frances de Montmorance, Lord of Rochepot, knight of the order of S. Michael, and Lieutenant for the ſame king of Picardie, in abſence of Monſieur de Vandoſme: Gaſper de Colignie, Lorde of Chaſtillon, knight alſo of the order, and Capitayne generall of the footmen of Fraunce, & the ſayde kings Lieutenant generall in the countie of Bullongne: Andrew Guillard lord of Mortier, knight alſo of the order, and one of the ſame kings priuy Counſell: & Guillaume Bouchetell lord of Saſſy, knight likewiſe of the order, and Secretary of the eſtate of the finances.

The artic of the peac

Monſieur Mourret.

Among other articles cõpriſed in this peace, it was couenanted, that all ſuch fortes, caſtels & places as the Engliſhmẽ held in any part within the Scottiſh dominions, ſhould be deliuered & reſtored to the Scots: & that the fortes of Dũglas, Roxburgh, and Aymonth, which the Engliſhmen had buylte & reyſed out of the grõude, ſhould be raſed and throwen downe, to auoyde all occaſions of new controuerſies, that might growe by reaſon of keepyng or defending the ſame, ſo as the peace nowe concluded, mighte in all poynts be firmely and truly kepte & obſerued, aſwell betwixt England and Scotland, as England & Fraunce, and betwixt all and euery the ſubiectes of the ſame realmes, bothe by ſea & lande. Monſieur de Mourret was ſente into Scotland with the copie of this peace, by whoſe meanes it was proclaymed anone after Eaſter about the beginning of Aprill, and euery thing vſed and ordered according to the articles of the agreement concluded.

The French returne ho

In May the Frenchmen & Almaignes were enbarqued at Leith in .xvj. French ſhippes, and certayne Scottiſh ſhippes, and departing from thence returned into Fraunce. A fewe there were as Nigropellice and S. Falciſe, Capitaynes of light horſemen, with others that paſſed through Englande, and ſo home into theyr

coun-

Marques Mayne.

countrey. Moreouer the Marques of Mayne, after Duke Dumalle comming ouer into England about the ſame time for an hoſtage, paſſed afterwardes through the realme into Scotland, to viſite his ſiſter Queene Dowarier, and ſhortly after returned. They mourned both for the death of theyr father Claude de Lorayne, ÿ firſt Duke of Guyſe, who deceaſſed the .xviij. of Aprill this preſent yeare. 1550.

e death of first Duke Guyſe.

e queene warier ſay- into Frãce

In September following, the queene Dowarier accompanied with the Earles of Huntley, Caſſils, Marſhall, & Southerlande, and diuers other of the Scottiſh nobilitie tooke the ſea, and ſayling to Fraunce landed at Diepe: ſhe was conueyed thither by the Prior of Capoa, Leone Strozzi, ſent and appointed with .vj. Galeys to haue the conduction of hir. From Diepe ſhe remoued to Rowen, where the king then lay, of whome ſhee was right courteouſly receyued. The maſter of Erſkin, & maſter Henry Sinclar Deane of Glaſquo ſayled into Flaũders, where they paſſed & confirmed a peace betwixt Scotlande and the lowe countreys. After that the Queene Dowarier had remayned aboute a .xij. monethes or more in Fraunce, this yeare in October, ſhe returned homewardes to paſſe thorow Englãd: ſhe landed at Porteſmouth, and the ſecond of Nouẽber ſhe came frõ Hampton courte by water, and landed at Powles wharfe in the after noone, and from thence roade to the Biſhop of Lõdons palace by Paules, and there lodged. The .iiij. of Nouember ſhe roade in hir charet to the kings palace of the white Hall, accõpanied with the Ladie Margaret Dowglas, the three Ducheſſes of Suffolke. Richmont, & Northumberland, & diuers other great Ladies & Gentlewomen both Scots and Engliſh. At the courte gate the Dukes of Northumberland and Suffolke, & the Lord Threſorer were ready to receyue hyr, and at hir entring into the Hall, the king ſtood in the vpper ende therof, & the Erle of Warwike holding the ſworde before him. She at hyr approching to him, kneeled downe, & he courteouſly tooke hir vp, kiſſed hir, & taking hyr by the hand, ledde hir vp into his owne chamber of preſence, & after into the Queenes chamber of preſence, where he kiſſed al the Ladies of Scotlande, & ſo departed for a while. She dined on the Queenes ſide that day with the King, his ſeruice & hirs cõming both togither, the kings being placed on the right hande of the table, and hyrs on ÿ left. What plẽty of all maner of coſtly meates and drinkes there was, & what riche furniture of plate & all other things was ſhewed to ſet forth the feaſt it wer ſuperfluous to write. All the Ladies both of England and Scotland dined in the Queenes great chamber. After diner the king ſhewed hyr his Galerie and gardens, with all other commodities of the place. And about foure of the clocke he brought hyr downe agayne by the hand into the hall, where he firſt receyued hir, & there kiſſing hir, ſhe tooke hir leaue, & returned to the Biſhops palayce frõ whence ſhe came. The .vj. of Nouẽber ſhe departed towardes Scotlande, riding frõ Paules through the citie, paſſing forth at Biſhops gate. The Duke of Northumberlande, the Earle of Pembroke, & the Lord Threſorer brought hir to Shordiche church, & there tooke their leaues of hir. The Duke of Northũberland had an. 100. men on horſebacke with Iauelins, whereof. xl. were gẽtlemen clad in blacke veluet coates, garded wͭ white, & hattes of blacke veluet with white feathers, & chaynes of gold about their neckes. The erle of Pẽbroke had. vj. ſcore men well apointed alſo, with blacke Iauelins & hattes with fethers, & the Lord Threaſorer had an. 100. gentlemẽ & Yemen with Iauelins, in like maner wel apparelled: which three companies of horſemen furniſhed the ſtreetes on either ſide, frõ the croſſe in Cheap, to Birchẽ lane end as ſhe paſſed ÿ way. The Sheriffes of Londõ had the conduction of hir to Waltã towne end, where ſhe lodged that night: & in euery ſhire through which ſhe paſſed ÿ Sherife with the gentlemẽ of the ſame ſhyre receiued hir, & gaue their attendãce on hir, till ſhe came to enter into the next ſhire, where ÿ Sheriffe & gentlemen there, receyued hir, & that order was obſerued till ſhe came to the borders of Scotland, & al hir charges for meate, & drinkes, aſwell for hir ſelfe, and whole trayne, as alſo the prouiſion for theyr horſes, was borne & allowed by the King. The erle of Huntley & diuers other of the Scottiſh Lordes returned home by ſea, the ſayde Earle landing at Montros, aboute the later ende of December.

eace be- t Scotlãd the lowe nteys of rchland.

1551.

e Queene warier cõ- home- rdes tho- gh Englãd.

receyuing e court.

The Archbiſhop of Armachane.

Doctor Wanthope a Scottiſhman borne, Archbiſhoppe of Armachane, ſo nominated by Pope Paule the thirde, and after created *Legatus à latere*, by Iulius the thirde, deceaſſed this yeere in Paris the .x. of Nouember. This man was blynde from his infancie, but yet gaue himſelfe ſo vnto ſtudie, that he was firſt made Doctor of Diuinitie in the vniuerſitie of Paris, and after atteyned to ſuch eſtimation in the court of Rome, that he was by the foreſayde Popes aduaunced as before ye haue heard.

1551.

1552.

Wrongs don, are by iuſtice redreſſed.

This yeere in the moneth of Iune the queene Dowarier, and the Gouernour, wente into the North partes of Scotlande, and at Inuernes, Elgin, Bamf, Abyrdene, and Perth, the Gouernour ſatte in Iuſtice for redreſſe of wrongs and adminiſtration of rightuous lawes and orders. And afterwardes they repayred to the Weſte partes, and ſatte lykewiſe in Iuſtice at Dumfreis, and in other places in that countrey, where diuers were put to their fines for tranſgreſſing the lawes, but fewe or none touched by corporall puniſhment. In this iourney the Queene ſecretly trauayled with the Lordes, bothe ſpiritual and temporall, to haue their conſentes to be regent of Scotland, immediatly after hir doughter the Queene came to ſufficient yeres, and that the time of hyr Tutoriſhip were accōpliſhed, or ſooner if the lawes of the realme would ſo permitte: and to aſſure hir ſelfe of their good willes in this behalfe, ſhe contracted ſundry priuy bādes wͭ thē, making large promiſes of great rewardes vnto euery of them.

The Queene mother ſeketh to be gouernour.

To conclude, this matter was ſo handled by hir & others to whom ſhe committed the doings therein, that in the yeare following the Gouernour agreed to ſurrender vp the gouernance into hyr handes, hyr doughter the young Queene beyng not yet full .xij. yeares of age. The Gouernour was promiſed not only a full diſcharge and a *quietus eſt* of al his doyngs, aſwell for receipt of money, iewels, and other things duryng the time of his gouernment, but alſo a confirmation of the heritable gifte of the Dukedome of Chatelerault, likewiſe an other confirmation of all giftes and reſtitutions by him made, during the time he had exerciſed the office of Gouernour. And forthwith the Queene Dowarier ſent into Fraunce to get all theſe things diſpatched with ſuche aſſuraunces of wrytings vnder handes and ſeales as was expedient, & to be ſent home into Scotlād for his ſecuritie in al things.

1553.

The gouernment is reſigned vnto the Queene.

This yeare the ſixte of July Edwarde the ſixte of that name kyng of Englande departed this life, and after him ſucceeded his ſiſter Marie, eldeſt doughter to King Henry the .viij.

In the lente, all the Lordes of the realme of Scotlande aſſembled at Striueling, where all the couenaunts and articles of agreement, betwixte the Queene and the Gouernour were perfected and fully concluded, and therevpon a Parliament appoynted to be holden in Edenburgh, the .x. of Aprill nexte enſewyng: and in the meane time ẏ gouernour deliuered the caſtel of Edēburgh, vnto the Lord Erſkin to keepe as it were by way of aſſuraunce for his parte, that al things at that Parliament ſhould be accōpliſhed accordyng to the pointes of the agreement.

The couenāts & articles are perfected.

1554.

A Parliament.

Edenburgh caſtell deliuered to the Lorde Erskin to kepe

The Lordes then aſſemblyng in Parliament at Edenburgh on the ſayde twelfth day of Aprill, all the couenants of agreement had and made betwixte the Queene Dowarier and the Gouernour, were preſented and redde, touching the dimiſſiō and giuing ouer of the Gouernours authoritie confirmed by the Queene hir ſelfe in Fraunce, with conſent of the King of Fraunce hir huſband, the Duke of Guyſe, and the Cardinall of Lorayne hir curators, with a gifte of the Dukedome of Chatelerault vnto the Gouernour, vnder the greate ſeales of Fraunce, and others to whom it appertayned. After this there was redde a confirmation of the three eſtates of Scotland touching the premiſſes, in which they bound themſelues to warrant the Queenes diſcharge made to him, & to eſtabliſh him as ſecōd perſon of the realme, with other things conteyned in the contract, to the whiche there in open Parliament all the eſtates ſubſcribed & put thervnto their ſeales: whiche done, the Gouernour gaue vp his office of Tutoriſhip, in preſence of the ſayd eſtates, the Queene mother, & Mōſieur Doyſell beyng there preſent, who receyued the ſame in the Queenes name at that time remaynyng in Fraunce: and herewith preſently was a cōmiſſion ſhewed, giuē by the Queene of Scotlande in Fraunce with conſent of hir curators, making the Queene Dowarier hir mother, regent of hir realme, whiche office ſhe tooke vpon hir, & was thereto admitted by the eſtates of the realme. Then was the Parliament newly authorized in the Queenes name, with conſent of hir curators, & in name of the Queene regēt.

The queene made gouernour by Parliament.

The go nour.ma Duke.

The gou nour re his offic the Quee

The Qu giueth uernāce realme the Qu mother.

The Queene regent ſent the Erle of Huntley to ẏ hie lāde, to take John Moydart, who returned without him, wherevpon Huntley was called before the Queene & Counſayle, & put in warde in the caſtell of Edenburgh, the .xj. day of October. The Queene chaunged al the officers, & made the Earle of Caſſels threſorer, and Veilmort a Frenchman cōtroller: alſo an other Frenchman called Mōſieur Rubie, keeper of the great ſeale, in place of the Erle of Huntley, who was Chauncellour and then in warde. Theſe mens counſell and Monſieur Doyſels ſhe vſed principally in al things. The Earle of Huntley to be deliuered out of warde, renounced his title to ẏ Erledome of Murrey, wherof he had a gift in heritage. Alſo he renoūced his intereſt to the fermes of Orkney & Sheitland, & to the Erledome to Mar, & of the queenes lādes of Straits Die. And further was cōtented to go ouer into Fraūce, there to remaine for ẏ ſpace of .v. yeres. But yet afterwardes ẏ Queene was cōtented, ẏ he ſhould ſtil remaine within the realme, for the which he gaue to hir .v. thouſād poūd in money.

Therle ley is p ner.

Officers chaunge

The Earl Huntley nounced things.

In ẏ moneth of July there was a Parliamēt holdē at Edēburgh, in ẏ which many acts and ſtatutes were made, right profitable as was thē thought for the cōmon weale of ẏ realme. The ſame yeere there came an Ambaſſadour forth of englād, to cōfirme ẏ treatie of peace before take.

1555

A Parlia

An amba cout lea

In the moneth of July ẏ queene went northward to Inuernes, accōpanied wͭ the Earles of Hūtley, Argile, Rothes, Caſſils & Merſhal, ẏ B. of Abirdene & Roſſe, M. Doyſel, Rubie & others holding iuſtice ayres (as they terme it) firſt at Inuer-

1556

The quee regēt ma a progre

Inuernes aforeſayd, & after at Elgine, Bamfe, Aberden, and Saint Johns towne.

mmiſſio-
ſent.

In the meane time there were ſent commiſſioners to the borders, as the Biſhop of Dumblane, the Lard of Lethyngton, and maſter James Macgill, where Doctor Tunſtall Biſhop of Dureſme, and certayne others for England mette them, and remayned there till the Queenes cōming backe forth of the North in September following.

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This yere was a Parliament holdē in which the Lardes of Brimſton, Ormiſton, & Grange, with M. Henry Balnaues & others, which were forfalted in the gouernours time, were reſtored. The ſame time the Queene by counſel of Mōſieur Doyſell, & Rubie, and certaine of the nobilitie of Scotland, requeſted, that a newe order might be made, whereby euery mans ſubſtance ſhould be put in an inuentorie, and according to the rate thereof to pay an yearely taxation to be put and kept in the treaſure houſe til warres began, and that then men of warre might be waged therewith to lie vpon the borders, & none in that caſe to be charged to come from their owne houſes, but when any great army came forth of England to inuade Scotlande. Diuers of the great Lords were agreed to this ordinance, but the moſt part of the Barons hearyng thereof, aſſembled togither in Edenburgh, to the nūber of two hundred and aboue, & ſent the Lardes of Calder in Louthian, and of Wemis in Fife, to the Queene and Lordes, beſeching them not to ſet ſuche newe taxations vpon them, for they could not beare ſuch burdens, but would defend the realme as before time their elders had done, not meanyng to put their goodes in inuentorie, as if they ſhould already make their laſte will & teſtaments: & ſo by this meanes that deuiſe was daſhed to the griefe of the inuentors.

1557.

Queene
ntēdeth
warres.

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ent deſi-
o haue

This yeare in July the Queene ſent for the Lordes to cōmune with them at New bottell, where ſhe opened to thē diuers wrongs done on the borders by Engliſhmen, & how no redreſſe could be got, wherfore ſhe required that warres might be moued agaynſt Englād in reuenge of thoſe iniuries, although the Biſhop of Orkeney was ẏ ſame time at Carleill in talke with Cutbert Tunſtal biſhop of Dureſme & others, commiſſioners for Englād. The principall cauſe yͭ moued the Q. Regent to ſeeke to make warre againſt England, was for that the Engliſhmē ayded ẏ Emperour in fauour of his ſonne king Philip agaynſt the French king, bycauſe their Queene had taken to huſbande the ſame King Philip, & ſent the Erle of Pembroke ouer with an army to ioyne with king Philips power. It was thought therfore, that if the Scots inuaded the Engliſh bordures, it might cauſe thē to call backe their power forth of Fraunce to defende their owne countrey. But the Scottiſh Lordes woulde not conſent in any wiſe to beginne any warres: whiche their dealing when Monſieur Doyſell perceyued, he ſpeedely went vnto Haymouth beſide Berwike, & fortified the ſame with all diligence, making inuaſions into England: wherupō the Scottiſhmen in their owne defence were conſtreyned to make warre, & the Earle of Hūtley was made Lieutenāt vpō the bordures, who came thither, and remayning there by aſſiſtāce of the Frenchmē, made ſundry inuaſions & roades into England, brent diuers townes and villages, & caſt down many ſtone houſes, piles, & ſtrengths. In this meāne while were the Scottiſh commiſſioners at Carleill, and the Maſter of Maxwell Warden of the weſt bordures, beyng there with them, with much a do got away and came home into Scotlād. The Queene aſſembled a great army out of al parts of the realme, the whiche came foreward to Kelſo in the moneth of October, where the Queene and Frēchmen perſwaded them to enter by inuaſion into England, but they meaning to take further aduiſe, paſſed ouer Tweede to Maxwell hughe, where they encamped, & afterwardes approched the caſtell of Warke, enuironing the ſame with a ſiege for the ſpace of two or three dayes. Capitayne Read at that preſent had charge of that caſtell, with three or foure hundred footemen, & one hundred horſemen, ſeemyng to care litle for the Scottiſhmens forces.

The Scottiſh Lordes refuſe to take warre in hande.

Haymouth is fortified.

Inuaſions are made into England.

An army aſſembled.

The Lordes do not cōſent thereunto:

The caſtell of Warke beſieged by Scots.

Capitayne Reade.

The Erle of Weſtmerlād being then Lieutenant of the North partes, gathered ſuch power togither as he mighte make, & came to Lowike accompanied with the Lord Talbot, ſir James Croftes, & others, to ſuccour where moſte neede ſhould appeare. The Scottiſhe army perceyuing the Engliſhmen thus in a readineſſe to reſiſte theyr attempts, tooke aduiſe togither, and concluded that it was not for the weale of the realme, at that tyme to hazarde battell forth of the boundes of theyr own land, theyr Princeſſe beyng abſent and as yet in hir minoritie, conſidering alſo that the warre was not taken in hād for their owne quarell, but for the pleaſure of Fraunce. Theſe and other the lyke reaſons beyng alledged by the Earles of Arrane, Huntley, Argile, Caſſilles, and other, to the Queene and French Capitaynes, they were nothing ſatiſfied therewith, but the Scottiſhe Lordes woulde attempte no further, but retyred backe and ſkaled their army. In remouing from Warke, they were purſued by certayne bandes of the bordurers and others, which were repulſed and ſtoode in daunger to haue bene diſtreſſed if Capitayne Read had not with noble courage iſſued forth, and in tyme relieued them that

The earle of Weſtmerlāde gathereth an army to reſiſt the Scots.

The Scottes breake vp their army.

were retiring, whereby they ſtayed and gaue a new charge, in ſuche ſorte as the Scottes were beaten backe agayne and chaſed ouer the water to theyr mayne armie that was already paſſed ouer. The Queene and Monſieur Doyſell perceyuing that they coulde not get the Scottiſhe Lordes to make any further exployte at that preſent, ſhe retired home, but Doyſell with his Frenchmen were appoynted to remayne ſtill in Haymouth to contergarriſon the Engliſhmen within Berwike. There were diuers foote bãds of Scottes waged by the French King, whiche were appoynted to lie in places aboute the bordures, as at Kelſo Rockeſburgh, and ſuche like for defence of the countrey, and the annoyance of the Engliſhmen as occaſions might ſerue.

After this, Sir Andrewe Car and diuers other entred Englande with a power of men about Martilmas, but the Earle of Northumberlande beyng then Lieutenant of the North partes of Englande, and lying on the bordures aſſembled his forces togither, and commyng to encounter the Scottes on the very bordure ſide neare to Cheuiot, at the firſt the Engliſhmenne were put to the wurſe, but yet at length the Scottes were ouerthrowen, and chaſed ſir Andrew Car and many other beyng taken pryſoners. Sir John Forſter bare himſelf very valiantly at this encoũtre, ſo that his ſeruice might not well haue bene ſpared. He was thruſt thorow the mouth into the necke, and alſo through the thigh. Moreouer his horſe was ſlayne vnder him. The conflict was ſharpe, for both the horſemen and footemen came to make prouſe of theyr forces. The warre thus being begonne and followed, the Scottes kept theyr quarterrage, and euery noble man as hee was appoynted, lay on the bordures with a thouſand horſemen, during his ordinary terme, & on the other ſide the Engliſh bordures were furniſhed with new ſupplies of mẽ of warre, ſo that there were dayly roades and incurſions made by the parties, to the greate domage and ſpoyle of the townes & villages ſituate neare to the confines of bothe the realmes.

The Scottes diſcomfited by the erle of Northumberland.

Sir Iohn Forſter.

Quarterrage kept by the Scots for defence of theyr bordures.

1558.

A Parliament

In December the Queene aſſembled a Parliament at Edenburgh, where by conſent of the whole eſtates, there were elected and choſen James Beton Archbiſhop of Glaſquo, Robert Read biſhop of Orkney, George Leſley Earle of Rothes, Gilbert Kenedy Earle of Caſſels, James Steward prior of S. Androwes, George Lord Seaton, James Flemmyng, and John Erſkin Lard of Dun, Ambaſſadours and commiſſioners to go into Fraunce, and there to contract mariage, betwixte Marie queene of Scotlande, and Fraunces Dolphyn of Fraunce, and to ſolempniſe the ſame mariage. Whereupon ſufficient commiſſions and inſtrumentes were made to them by the eſtates of the Parliamẽt, & they acceptyng the ſame, made preparatiõ for yͤ iourney, and departed in the moneth of February foorth of the roade of Leith, and with greate windes and boyſterous ſtormes, came into Fraunce, loſing in theyr iourney one of theyr ſhippes, with men and horſes before S. Ebbes head in the Forth of Scotlande, and an other with great riches and many Gentlemen, with the Capitayne called Waterton in the roade of Bullongne. The Ambaſſadours themſelues neuertheleſſe eſcaped, and commyng ſauſe vnto the French courte in the moneth of March were honorably receiued of the King at Paris, where the contract of mariage was made, and threeſcore thouſand Frankes aſſigned in Dower to yͤ Queene of Scotland, & .xxx. thouſand Frankes of yearely penſion with many riche Jewels.

Ambaſſadours ſẽt into Frãce to cõſummate the mariage betwixte the Queene of Scotlande, and the Dolphin of Fraunce.

155

Two sh
loſſe.

There was alſo a perpetuall bande of league concluded betwixte Fraunce and Scotlande, and greate preparation made for the mariage, whiche was ſolemniſed in Paris with greate triumphe and aſſiſtaunce of all the Cardinals, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Lordes, and Biſhops of the realme in the Churche of *Noſtre dame*, the xxiiij. of Aprill in that preſent yeare, 1558.

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Scots q
dower.

But now to leaue this triumphant Mariage, and the Scottiſhe Lordes Ambaſſadours there in Fraunce for a tyme, we will returne to ſhewe what happened betwixt the Scottes and Engliſhmen at home where the warres were purſued to the loſſe or litle gayne of both partes.

About Whitſontyde ſir Henry Percy with diuers bandes of the countrey garniſons, and ſir George Bowes then Marſhall of Berwike, with ſundry bandes of the garniſon of that towne paſſed forth into Scotland, they beyng in all aboute a .vij. or. viij. hundred horſemen, & two thouſand footemen. They brent the townes of Duns and Langton, & hauing got togither a great number of cattell returned homewardes.

A roade
Scotland

Duns an
Langton

The Scots that lay in Kelſo and other places keeping their quarterrage on the bordures, (for the realme as ye haue heard was quartered, euery parte keepyng theyr turne as the maner is) aſſembled togither to the number of two thouſande horſemen or fewe leſſe, and three bandes of footemen, haſting forth to defende the countrey. And perceyuing where the Engliſhmen were, followed and coaſted them as they returned with theyr bootie, till they came to Swinton, where they ouertooke them, and ſkirmiſhed with them ſharpely as they were paſſing through the towne.

e Scottes
yle the
glishmen at
ynton.

The Scottiſhe footemen beate backe parte of the Engliſhmens ſhotte into theyr battell, and preaſſed very forewarde in hope to be aſſiſted by their horſemen, the whiche (as ye haue heard) ouermatched greatly, the Engliſh horſemen in number, but the fight growyng ſomewhat hote, and the more to the diſaduantage of the Engliſhmenne, for ſomuche as their ſhotte and powder beganne to fayle them, by reaſon the miſtie mornyng had made muche of theyr powder dankiſhe, ſo that they coulde haue no vſe thereof. But herewith ſir Henry Lee, capitaine Read and others, beyng in the battell, behaued thẽſelues very ſtoutly, cauſing the footemen to ſtay, and boldly to abide the enimy, and herewith procured the horſemẽ to giue a charge in ſuch conuenient time, as if the ſame had bene protracted, it might haue turned very euil to the Engliſh ſide: but now as well the horſemen, as footemen playing theyr partes, the Scottiſhe horſemen abidyng without the towne in troupe whileſt their footemen were in ſkirmiſhe fledde away, leauyng theyr footemen to be ſlayne and ſpoyled of the Engliſhmen, and yet thoſe footemen fought it out right manfully, ſo that if the Scottes horſemen had done their partes ſo well as the footemen, it was likely to haue gone harder on the Engliſh ſide than it did. But now the Scottiſhe horſemen entring not the fight, theyr footemen were encloſed by the Engliſhmen, for thoſe that were in the fore warde and were paſſed by, returned, and commyng behind theyr enimies, holpe to beate them downe, ſo that fewe or none of the Scottes or Frenchmen (whereof there were ſome fewe amongſt them) eſcaped, but were eyther taken or ſlaine.

e Scottes
tmen flee.

e Scottes
me ſlaine.

Amongſt others, capitayne Cullane, and capitayne Kenedie two chiefe leaders of the footemen were taken: diuers of theyr horſemen alſo in the retire were taken, amongſt whome the Lorde Keith, ſonne to the Earle Marſhall of Scotland was the chiefeſt. But this victorie was not atchieued without loſſe of diuers Engliſhmenne. Amongſt other one Pel, enſeigne bearer to ſir John Markhams bande of footemẽ was ſlayne. Alſo maſter Edrington a capitayne of light horſemen, was taken pryſoner by the Lard of Edmonſton at the firſte charge giuen vpon the Scottiſh horſemen, and led away without reſcue.

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taken
ers.

M. Edrington taken.

Beſide the manfull prowes of Sir Henry Percy, and other the Engliſh capitaynes before mencioned, the forwarde valiancie ſhewed that day of ſir William Brereton, and Thomas Markham, that led his father Sir John Markhams bande of footemen, alſo of Rauſe Ellerkar a Capitayne of horſemen, is not to be forgotten, who with diuers other Capitaynes and Souldiers behaued themſelues in ſuch wiſe at that preſent ſeruice, as theyr dealings therein deſerue ſpeciall memory.

Sir William Brereton.

Moreouer at an other tyme the Scottes and Frenchmenne entryng into England, the Scottiſhe horſemenne to the number of a thouſande or there aboutes, paſſed forth to brenne and forray the countrey, but the Earle of Northumberlande, and his brother Sir Henry Percy, aſſembled togither a power of horſemenne, and Sir Henry Percy meetyng with them at Grendon, ſet vpon the Scottes and chaſed them ouer the water of Twiſell, vnto the foote battayle of the Frenchmenne, who retyring to the riuer of Tweede, paſſed ouer the ſame at Chapell Fourde, where they were aſſayled bothe by certayne foote bandes of the garniſon of Berwyke, that were come forth to ayde the Earle, and alſo by the Horſemenne, ſo as diuers were drowned in the ryuer before they coulde gette ouer, but after they were once got to the further ſide, they put themſelues in order of battayle againe, and retired in a ſquadrone very ſtrongly, ſuſteyning litle or no hurte at all, notwithſtanding that the Earle of Northumberland (beyng then come) and his brother Sir Henry Percy, with the reſte of the Capitaynes and Gentlemen of the countrey, purſued them ouer the water for the ſpace of two myles, ſkirmiſhing with them ſtill as they marched away, but coulde do them no harme, bycauſe they kepte themſelues in ſo good order, & the Engliſh footemen were not able to reache them. Whereupon the Engliſh horſemenne ſuffryng the Frenchmen to departe, left them, and paſſing into the countrey, brente Long Ednam, and diuers other Hamlettes and Villages, and ſo returned.

The Scots put to flight at Grendon.

The good order of the Frenchmen in their retire.

Long Ednam brent.

Diuers Scottes that day at the ouerthrow & chaſe of their horſemen were taken pryſoners, as the Lord Grey and others.

The Lorde Grey of Scotland takẽ pryſoner.

After this the Engliſhmen wanne the ſtrong pile of Caw milles, wherin were a.xvj. Frenchmen, that defended it for the time very ſtoutly, ſo that it coſte the liues of diuers Engliſhmen

Caw milles wonne by the Engliſhmen.

before they could take it.

A ſore ſkirmiſh on Halidone hill

Shortly after, there was a ſore ſkirmiſhe at Halidon hill: for where as the moſt parte of the Sommer it was ordeyned that euery day certayne bandes of Souldiers ſhoulde warde on the ſame hill, to giue libertie to the inhabitantes of Berwike, to mowe and carrie in theyr haye, they continued for a tyme without any trouble offered by the Scottes or Frenche, ſo that the warders ſtandyng in no doubte of the enimies, vſed out of theyr armour to ſhoote, boule, coyte, and exerciſe ſuch lyke games of pleaſure, wherof the Scottes and Frenchmen beyng aduertiſed, came one day from Aymouth in ſo ſecrete wiſe, that they were drawen very neare to the Engliſhmen, ere they had any warning of their approche, ſo that before they could be gotte into order, the Scottes and Frenchmen were almoſt at theyr elbowes, and falling in ſkirmiſhe with them, handled them very roughly, although ſir William Breretõ, ſir John Markham, maſter William Drurie, Cutbert Vawghan and other the Capitaynes of the Engliſhmen did behaue themſelues right manfully, bryngyng their men in order, encouragyng them, and doyng what appertained vnto hardie and ſkilful warriours, but yet three tymes that day the Scots and Frenchmen put them from the heigth of the hill, till at length ſir James Croft comming from Berwike, vſed ſuche diligence and policy in the mater, that the Scottes and French were repulſed and conſtreyned to retyre, withdrawing backe vnto Aymouth, after they had continued in ſkirmiſhe from one of the clocke till it was paſte foure, with no ſmall loſſe on bothe partes.

The Erle of Bothwell.

Haltwell Sweyre.

The Engliſh men put to flight.

After this the Earle of Bodwell lying on the borders as Lieutenant accordyng to the order for the time of his quarterage, entred one day into England, & ſent his forrey to brenne Fenton towne, keeping himſelfe in ambuſh at Haltwel Sweyre. Sir Hẽry Percy aduertiſed that yͤ Scottes were thus entred, got togither a thouſande horſe, and makyng forth to defende the countrey, ſet vpon the Earle at the foreſayde place of Haltwell Sweyre, but ſome feare entring into the harts of the Engliſhmen, by reaſon of certayne ſhotte whiche the Scottes had there with them, fledde, and were purſued by the Scottes ouer the water of Till. There were taken aboue ſixe ſkore Engliſhmen, amongſt whom capitayne Erington, & capitayne Car, that had the leadyng of light horſemen, were twoo, beſide diuers other men of good accompte in ſeruice, as one Vaughan a Gentleman and ſuche lyke.

The Lard
Grange c
geth the
Evre.

The Lard
Grange, a
maſter R
Evre ranne
againſt a
ther.

Aboute this time whyleſt the Lorde Evre commonly called Evers, remayned capitayne of Berwike, one Kirkaudye couſine to ſir William Kirkaudye Lard of Grange, chanced to be taken pryſoner into Berwike, and afterwardes beyng ranſoned, at his commyng home to Aymouth, he made reporte that hee had bene to ſtreytly vſed during the tyme that he remayned pryſoner, at the handes of the ſayde Lord Evre, by reaſon whereof, vpon a chalenge made by Grange to fight a combat with the Lord Evre, the mater grewe to this iſſue, that where their degrees were not equall, Rauſe Evre brother to the Lorde Evre, vndertooke in his brothers behalf to breake a ſtaffe with the Lard of Grange vpon the ſide of Halidon hill at a day appoynted, where they mette, eyther of them bringing twelue Gentlemen with them, to ſee the triall of this chalenge performed. But when they came to haue theyr armour and weapons vewed, the truth is ſo, that Grange was armed in a coate of plate, and a cuirace alofte vpon it, wherewith ſome faulte was founde, bycauſe Maſter Evre was cladde only in a ſingle coate of plate, without any other peeces of armour for defence of his body: but yet ſuche was the great courage of the ſayd Maſter Evre, that he would not refuſe the chalenge notwithſtãding his aduerſaries aduantage of armour. Whereupon they rãne togither, and brake both theyr ſtaues: and as it fortuned Maſter Evre was hurte in the flanke.

Sir Iohn
ſlayne in t
Iſle of Or

The warre beyng thus purſued betwixte Englande and Scotland, beſide the encounters and roades whiche are before mencioned, there were twoo great roades made into Scotlande, the one by the Earle of Weſtmerlande, and the other by the Earle of Northũberland, the Lord Talbot beyng there, and hauing the leadyng of certaine Demilãces. Moreouer it was thought good by the Engliſhmenne, not onely to annoy the Scottes by lande but alſo by ſea: wherevpõ ſir John Clere with certayne ſhippes of warre ſayled forth alongſt the coaſte, till at length he arriued at the Iſles of Orkenay, where goyng a lande aboute an enterpryſe, and ſtaying longer than was requiſite, he was encountred by his aduerſaries, and ſlayne with many of his people, whiche were there a lande with him.

But although the Scottes had good ſucceſſe in that parte, they ſuſteyned greate domage on the Weſt ſide of the realme, by a iourney which the Earle of Suſſex then Lorde deputie of Irelande attempted agaynſt them. For the better vnderſtãding wherof ye ſhal note, that after the Lord Clinton high Admirall of Englande had brent the towne of Cõqueſt in Brytaigne, there were ſeuen ſhippes of warre appoynted to paſſe into Irelande, as the Marie Willoughbie, the New barke, the Sacret, the Gerfaucon,

faucon, and three other that were Merchantes, and appointed that yeare to ſerue the Queene of Englande in hir warres. There were alſo beſide thoſe ſeuen ſhippes of warre, two vitaylers appoynted to attende vpon them: ſir Thomas Cotton was ordeined theyr Admirall, and one Southweke of Douer theyr vice Admirall. Vpon their arriuall in Yreland the Earle of Suſſex hauyng alſo prepared three other ſhips, with ſufficient and neceſſary prouiſion for his iourney, imbarqued with ſo many ſouldiers as conueniently might be beſtowed aborde in that fleete, contayning .xij. ſayle in the whole: and departyng towarde the Weſt of Scotland, landed in a parte of the countrey called Kentyre, with as many Souldiers & Mariners as might be ſpared out of the ſhippes, leauyng them furniſhed with competent numbers for theyr ſauegarde: and being got to land, he paſſed forth into the countrey, and brent two houſes that belonged to Iames Maconnel chiefe Gouernour of thoſe parties and a greate enimie to the Engliſhmẽ. He brent alſo diuers townes, villages, and hamlettes belongyng vnto the ſayde Maconnell, with great ſtore of corne & other things which came in theyr way. The Scottes oftentimes ſkirmiſhed with the Engliſhmenne, but durſt not aduenture to ioyne with them in battayle, they kepte ſo good order by the Earle of Suſſex his politike and valiant conduction.

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There were a ſorte of Scottes gotten into a boate meanyng to haue fled, but being apprehẽded by ẏ Engliſhmẽ, they were executed. Finally after the Earle had remayned there on lande in brennyng and ſpoylyng the countrey for the ſpace of three dayes, he returned to his ſhippes, & in ſafetie wente aborde agayne with his men, and making ſayle to the Iſle of Arrane, entred the hauen called Amalaſche, and lãdyng at that place, brente the countrey, and after wente to Cumber where he likewiſe brent & haried that Ile. This done, he meante to haue gone vnto two other Ilandes Play and Jurey, but the windes grewe ſo terrible with tempeſtes & foule weather, that they loſt one of theyr ſhippes, and ſome of the reſt were ſo rent and ſpoyled of their tagle and furniture, as they eſcaped in great hazarde of beyng caſte away alſo. There were xxvj. Mariners drowned, the which perceyuing the ſhippe to be in daunger of ſinkyng, fled into the boate and ſo periſhed. The other that remayned in the ſhippe were ſaued, as Maiſter Fraunces Randoll and others. By reaſon therfore of ſuch foule weather the Earle of Suſſex was conſtrayned to returne into Yrelande, arriuing at Cragfergus, where he landed with his Souldiers, and appoynting the ſhips to returne into England, he paſſed by land vnto Dublyn, ſpoyling the enimies countreys by the way, and takyng from them a greate pray and bootie of cattell, notwithſtanding the paynefull paſſage whiche he had to make through the combreſome wayes, bowgges, and woddes, without reliefe of all neceſſarie things in that ſo troubleſome a iourney.

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...de.

Thus farre for thoſe two yeares warre in the dayes of Marie Queene of Englande, betwixt the Engliſhmen and Scots, whereof ſith I finde none that hath written any thing at all, I haue yet ſette downe theſe odde notes, as I haue learned the ſame of ſuch as had good cauſe to knowe the truth thereof, beyng eye witneſſes themſelues of ſuche enterpryſes and exploytes as chanced in the ſame warres, namely capitayne Read, capitayne Wood, capitayne Errington, and captaine Gurley, capitaine Markham, with others, whiche of their courteſie haue willingly imparted to me the reporte of diuers ſuch things, as I wiſhed to be reſolued in, which accordingly ſo farre as my remembrance hath ſerued, I haue here deliuered, to the end the ſame may giue occaſion to others (that may happely light vpon more full inſtructious) to imparte to poſteritie a more perfect diſcourſe, where otherwiſe the mater might peraduenture wholy paſſe in forgetfulneſſe.

And now to returne vnto the Scottiſh Ambaſſadours that were ſent into Fraunce, for the cõcluſiõ of the mariage betwixte their Queene & the Dolphin: after that ẏ ſame mariage was cõſummate, & euery thing ordered & brought to paſſe accordyng to the effect of theyr commiſſion, in the moneth of Auguſt they tooke their leaue of the Frenche King, the Queene, and Nobilitie there, to retourne homewardes into Scotland, albeit fewe of thẽ came home, for the Biſhop of Orkeney departed this life in Diepe, the .xv. of September: the Earle of Rothes deceaſſed there the .ix. of Nouember: the Erle of Caſſiles departed in the ſame place the .xiiij. of Nouember: and the Lorde Flemming deceaſſed in Paris the .xviij. of December. And ſo onely the Archbiſhoppe of Glaſquo, the Prior of ſainct Andrewes, and the Larde of Dun retourned into Scotland in October. After whoſe commyng, there was a Parliament ſommoned by the Queene, to be holdẽ in December next.

The Embaſſadours died almoſt all.

Three came home agayne.

Lorde of Dun.

A Parliament.

This yeare alſo in Auguſt the Earle of Argile deceaſſed, and likewiſe in September Andrew Durry Biſhoppe of Galloway, departed in Edinburgh, and Dauid Panton Biſhop of Roſſe deceaſſed the firſt of October in Striueling. In the Parliament holden in Edinburgh in December, the proceedings of the Ambaſſadours were allowed, and a diſcharge giuen to them for the ſame.

The Queenes requeſt in the Parliament.

After this the Queene regẽt requyred to haue a crowne matrimoniall graunted to the Dolphin of Fraunce, that he ſhoulde be called king of Scotlande during the Matrimonie: to the which when the aſtates had agreed, the Erle of Argile, & the Prior of S. Andros, were appointed to paſſe into Fraunce, but they went not, bicauſe of other weighty buſineſſe whiche ſhortly after they attempted.

An aſſemble of the clergy.

Cõmon prayers to be had in the vulgare tongue.

Marie Queene of Englande departed this life, the. xvij. of Nouember, & then the moſt excellẽt & noble Queene Elizabeth ſucceded. In July & Auguſt there was a conuention of al the prelates & Clergie holden at Edenburgh, in the which certaine men and women of Edenburgh were accuſed of Hereſie, & abiured at the towne croſſe with faggottes on their backes. In this aſſemble it was required, that the cõmon prayers might be red in the Scottiſh tong in Churches, with certaine other articles of reformatiõ, wherof the anſwere was deferred till March, in whiche moneth a prouinciall counſell was appointed to be holden at Edenburgh.

A prouinciall counſell.

Requeſtes made by the Laytie.

The. ij. of Marche, the ſayde prouinciall counſell of all the Prelates and Clergie of Scotlande began, wherein diuers Articles were proponed by the temporalty, as to haue the prayers and adminiſtration of the Sacraments in the Scottiſh lãguage, the election of Biſhops and all beneficed men to paſſe by the voyces of the temporall Lordes & people of their Dioceſſes and pariſhes, with diuers other reformations, al the which the Biſhops refuſed to graunt, wherethrough there aroſe ſhortly after great trouble in Scotlande.

1559.

John Knox with other are ſummoned.

Images and Frierhouſes pulde downe.

The Queene regent cauſed ſummonance to be giuen vnto John Knox, John Wullock, & Paule Meſſane, to appeare at Striuelyng the x. day of May, and for lacke of appearance they were denounced rebelles, and put to the horne. Wherevpon the ſayde John Knox beyng in Perth, perſwaded the maſter of Lyndſay, the lardes of Tulibardin, Dun Pettarrow, and diuers other beyng there aſſembled with the burgeſſes of ẏ townes of S. Johns towne & Dũdee, to pull downe the images and altares in all Churches, and to ſuppreſſe the houſes of Frears and other religious places, who after a Sermon made by him to that effect, the ſame. x. day of May they began in S. Johns towne, and caſt downe the Abbay of the Charterhouſe, and the blacke & Carmelite Frears, called the Tullelum, & reformed all other Churches thereabout, breaking downe the images and altars in Fife, Angus, Mernis, and other parties there nexte adioyning.

The Queene regent came to Perth.

The Queene regent being aduertiſed thereof, ſent for the Duke of Chatellerault & diuers other of the nobilitie, as the Erles of Atholl, Argile and others, who came with hir to Perth, otherwiſe called S. Johns towne, hauing with them. ij. thouſand Frenchmen, who entred the towne vpon appointment, & ſo receyuing it, gaue it in keeping to Capitaine James Stewarde, and capitaine Cullane, with their bandes of men of warre.

S. Andro

Cowper.

Twoo a
were pa

In the meane time the Erle of Argile, & the prior of S. Andros left the Queene in Perth, & went to S. Andros, ioyning themſelues with the other, & made reformation of the Churches, caſting downe Altars, images, houſes of frears, & Abbeys in that towne and in Cowper and other places thereabout: & aſſembling a great cõpany of cõtrey men, came to Cowper to make reſiſtance againſt the Frenchmen that were in Falkelande with the Queene. But when they ſhould haue met on Cowper More in battayle, the Duke of Chatellerault, the Erle Marſhal, and others laboured betwixte them, ſo that the battayle was ſtayed, and the Queene with the Frenchmen returned vnto Edenburgh.

S. Iohns
beſieged

Scone
brente.

The frie
Steruely
deſtroye

The Qu
departed
Edenbur

The Erle of Argile, the priour of S. Andros & theyr aſſiſters came to S. Johns towne & beſieged it, till it was to thẽ ſurrendred. The Erle of Huntley was ſent to them from the Queene to treat with them of ſome accord, but he profited not. At the ſame time a certayne number of perſons of the townes of Dundee and Perth, came to the Abbey of Scone, and ſpoyling the Church, brẽt it with the moſt part of the houſe, the Erle of Argile, and the priour of S. Andros beyng with them in company. After this, they wẽt to Striueling, where they cauſed ẏ houſes of the black Friers, & gray Friers to be throwen downe. From thẽce they paſſed to Edenburgh, where the Queene hearyng of theyr comming, departed with the Frenchmenne vnto Dunbar, the Duke of Chatelleraut, & the Erle of Huntley being with hyr in company.

The Fri
houſes o
throwen

The Erle of Argile, & his cõpany, called the Lordes of the congregation, were receyued into Edenburgh by the baylifes of the towne, where the places of the blacke & Grayfriers were ſuddenly ouerthrowen, & the Churche a Field, and Trinitie colledge, & S. Giles church were reformed, and the images and altares pulled downe. The Lordes remaynyng thus in Edenburgh, tooke the Abbey, the coygning houſe, & the coygning yrons, and ſeaſed vpõ the Queenes moueables which they found in the Palayce, and kept the ſame.

Two arm
pacified.

Monſieur Doyſell and the Frenchmenne came from Dunbar to the Linkes of Leith, accompanied with the Duke of Chatelerault, the Erles of Huntley, Bothwell, Mourton, and others, and the Lordes of the Congregation came forth of the towne of Edenburgh of purpoſe to haue gyuen battayle to the Frenchmen,

men, albeit they were not ſufficiente partie to reſiſt them: but the Earle of Huntley trauelled betwixte them, by whoſe meanes there mette twelue on euery ſide, who agreed vpon certaine articles, & ſo the Queene and Frenchmē entred into Leith, and forthwith began to fortifie it.

Leith fortified.

Duke Chatellereault taketh part with the reformers e the Churches.

Shortly after this, the Duke of Chatellerault, partly through perſwaſion of the Earle of Arguile his ſiſters ſonne, and the Weſt lande Lordes, and partly bycauſe he vnderſtoode that his ſonne the Earle of Arrane was fled forth of Fraunce to Geneua for the Religion, hee tooke parte with the Lordes from that time forthe againſt the aduice of the Biſhop of Sainte Andrewes, and diuers other his friends.

ing Henry as hurted nd dyed.

rancis the Dolphin ſuc ed his father.

This yeare in June, Henrye the Kyng of France, at the trumph of the mariages betwixt the King of Spaine and his daughter, and the Duke of Sauoy and his ſiſter, was wounded in Juſtes at the Tourneillis in Paris by the Counte Montgomerie, and dyed of the hurtes the tenth of July nexte enſuing, beeing the eleuenth day after he was wounded. Then Francis his ſonne, that hadde married the Queene of Scotland, was crowned King at Sainte Denis, and annoynted at Reymes in September following.

ith beſie d.

he Scottiſh enne are quiſhed.

Heerewith the Duke of Chatellerraulte, and the Lordes of the congregation, ſent to the Queene, beſieching hir to leaue off from making of forts within the Realme, but ſhe would not graunt ſo to doe: wherefore they aſſembled their whole forces in Edenburgh, and beſieged the Towne of Leith in October, the Queene and Frenchmenne, with the Biſhops of Sainte Andrewes, Glaſquo, Dunfreys, the Lorde of Seton, and diuers other Scottiſhmen beeyng within it, but the Frenchmē of war iſſued forth of Leith, and mette neere to the Abbey of Holy Roode houſe, with the Scottiſhe Lordes and their company, where many Scottiſhmē were ſlayne, and the reſt chaſed into Edenburgh: the Frenchmen alſo following them to the gates of Edenburgh, hadde entred, if thoſe within the Caſtell had not ſhot off the artillerie at them, to ſtay the ſlaughter and purſute.

In the time of this ſiege, the yong Larde of Lethington, Secretary to the Queene, beeyng with hir in Leith, left the Towne, and ſecretely departing, gote him to the Lordes, and holp greately afterwards to obteyne ayde forthe of England.

e Queene e to Edē rghe.

After this, the Queene and Frenchmē came to Edenburgh, whiche was peaceably rendred to them, where they remayned all that winter.

men into ance.

About the ſame time, the Biſhop of Amiẽs, Monſieur de la Broſſe, and two Doctors of Diuinitie, came into Scotland in September, and La Broſſe was made Leuetenaunt of the Frenche armye: Monſieur Martigues, coronell of the footemen, and with them came a greate company of Frenche Souldiers to the Queene Regent, ſo that then the Frenche power was thirtie fiue hundred good men of warre, beſyde two bands of Scottes ſouldiers, vnder the leading of Captayne Anthony Kenedie, & James Steward of Cardonald. The Lords of Scotlande perceyuing the Frenchmen encreaſed, ſo that they by their owne forces onely, were not able to reſiſt them, ſente to the Queene of Englande Elizabeth for aſſiſtaunce, to expell the Frenchmen, which the Queene of Englande graunted, not onely for to ſerue the Scottiſhmens turne, but ſpecially for the ſuretie of hyr owne Realme and ſtate, whiche as then was thought ſtoode in daunger of trouble, in caſe the Frenchmen were ſuffered to remayne in Scotland, conſidering the euill dealing of the french King and his counſell in ſome pointes alreadye ſhewed. The Queene of England therefore ſent the Duke of Northfolke to Berwike, whither came to him the Earle of Argile, the Prior of Sainte Andrewes, the Maiſter of Maxwell, and the yong Lorde of Ledington Secretarie, and made agreement to haue ayde of Englande, to the effect aforeſaide. And for ſure keeping heereof, the Scottiſh Lords deliuered pledges into England, there to remaine during the life of the King of Fraunce, and one yeare after his deceaſe. The pledges were theſe: Dauid Hamilton, ſonne to the Duke of Chatellerault, an other called Campbell, Couſin to the Earle of Argile, Robert Dowglas, brother to yͤ Prior of S. Andrews, and the Lard of Lochleuin, and a ſonne of the Lord Ruthuenne.

The lords ſēt for aide vnto the Queene of Englande.

They had theyr requeſte graunted thē.

Pledges ſente into England.

Lorde Hamilton taketh parte with the erle of Argile.

Aboute the ſame tyme, James Hamilton Earle of Arraine, eldeſt ſonne to the Duke of Chatellerault, and Captaine of the Scottiſhe Companie of mē of armes & archers in France, being fledde for Religion ſecretely to Geneua, from thence came by the conuoy of M. Randall Engliſhman into England, which at hys comming into Scotlande hee performed, and ioyned himſelfe with the Earle of Argile, and other Lords in the cauſe aforeſayd.

The towne of Glaſquo is taken.

The Duke of Chatellerault, the Earles of Arguile, Arrane, and others, came to the towne of Glaſquo, and cauſed yͤ Images and Altares to be taken downe, ſeiſing the Biſhops liuing into their hands, and tooke the Caſtell of Glaſquo perteyning to the Biſhoppe, and put certayne Gentlemenne into it to keepe it, whereof the Frenchmen beeing aduertiſed, marched forward to Glaſquo, to the number of fiue thouſande men, the Biſhop of Glaſquo, the Lordes Sempell, Seton, Ros, and diuers other wyth them, tooke the Caſtell againe, and ſlaying one night in the Towne, returned on the next morrowe to Kirkintulloch, and frõ thence to Lithquo and Edenburgh.

Certaine frenchemenne ſlaine.

After their returne from Glaſquo, a certaine number of Frenchmenne went to Striueling, and paſſing by the bridge ouer the water of Firth, came into Fiffe, in purpoſe to haue gone vnto Saint Andrewes, and to haue fortified the Towne, but they being in Kingcorne, there aſſembled togyther in Fiffe the Earles of Arrane and Rothes, the Prior of Saint Andrewes, the Lord Ruthuen, the Maiſter of Lindſey, and diuers other, hauing with them no greate number, but yet they daylye ſkirmiſhed with the Frenchmen, and would not ſuffer them to come from the Sea ſyde, where diuers Frenchmenne were ſlayne, and one of their Captaynes, with thirtie of his Souldiers, and few Scottiſhmen or in manner none, excepte that the Earle of Southerland, who chanced to be with them at the pricking, was ſore hurt in the arme with the dredge of a calliuer ſhot.

The Towne Burnt Ilande is fortified.

An Engliſhe nauye.

As the Frenchmen were in their progreſſe, at the mouth of the water of Leuin in Fiffe, there arriued in their ſight a nauie of Shippes, which at the firſt kenning, they tooke to be frẽch Shippes, but ſhortly after, perceyuing them to be the Engliſh nauie, they returned with greate diligence to Brunt Iland, where they paſt the ferrie of Kingcorne in boates and crayers to Leith, and inſtantly beganne to fortifie that Towne, caſting greate trenches about it, and making great blockhouſes for their deffẽce. The Engliſh Shippes came to the roade of Lieth, where they caſt ancars the day of January.

The Queene Regente ſente vnto the Vice Admirall of that fleete, named Maiſter Winter, requiring to knowe of him, for what cauſe hee was come into thoſe waters, who aunſwered, that he had bin abrode on the Seas ſeeking after Pirates, and in caſe anye of them came thither, hee was arriued there in the Forthe to waite on them, where the principall cauſe indeede was to impeache, that no Frenchman ſhoulde lande there, in caſe any came forthe of Fraunce, and alſo to keepe thẽ that lay in Inſkeith from vittayles, and that no Frenchman ſhould paſſe by Sea forth of Leith.

A Scottes Herrault ſent to the Duke of Norffolke.

An Engliſh Herrault ſen to the Quee of Scottes.

Aboute the ſame time, the Queene Regent, hearing that the Duke of Norffolke was come to Newecaſtell, as generall Lieutenaunt of the Northe, ſente an Herrault with a letter to him, in whiche letter it was ſignified, that the Herrault had credite to declare further matter than was conteyned in the ſame letter, but when hee was demaunded what hee had to ſaye, he denyed to haue anye credit at all, wherevpon William Flower, then Cheſter Herraulte, and now Norrey Kyng of Armes, was ſente vnto the Queene, who commyng to Holy Roode houſe neare to Edinburgh, was receyued by ſundry Herraultes, and ſo was had to one of theyr houſes, and there kepte for that nyght.

The nexte daye after hee had dyned, he was brought to the Court, and at his entryng within the gates, there were a number of Harquebuſiers readye wyth their peeces that diſcharged, and ſhot off the ſame.

At hys commyng to the preſence of the Queene, hee with ductifull obeyſaunce, deliuered his letters, and after the ſame had bin redde, he was demaunded what credit he had to vtter, whervpon he declared, that the Duke of Norffolke being the Queenes Maieſties liuetenaunt in the Northe partes of Englande, marueyled greately that ſhe woulde ſend an Herrault with letters, and write therein howe ſhee had giuen credite to hym, and yet when he was demaunded to vtter his credite, hee ſhoulde confeſſe that he had none.

The Queene heerewith called for the Herrault, to vnderſtande whether he had credite or not, who denyed to haue had any at all, wherewith the Queene ſeemed to be ſomewhat abaſhed, but neuertheleſſe ſhe brake forth and ſayd, that ſhe maruelled greately that the Queene of Englande ſhoulde ſend hir ſhippes into hir Riuer, without giuing hir knowledge aforehand. Cheſter aunſwered thereto, that where it was certaynely knowen that the French King had prepared to ſend a power of men of Warre into Scotlande, without aduertiſing hir thereof, ſhee coulde not but thinke that dealing verye ſtrãge, & therfore had in very deede ſent certaine of hir Shippes with vittayles, for prouiſion to be laid within hir Townes and Caſtels on the fronters, the whiche Shippes by tempeſt beeing diſperſed, mighte happily be driuen into the riuer there, albeit hee hadde not ſpoke with any of them ſince their comming forthe, but yet as hee had hearde by others, they had bin very vncurteouſly vſed: for comming in after that manner for ſuccour, the Canon had bin bent againſt them.

Martigue forwarde taine, but vntrew p phet.

Herewith the Counte Martigues ſtandyng by, beganne to ſpeake very ſtowte wordes vnto Cheſter, alledging, that where it was perceyued well enoughe, that the Queene of Englande mente to make warre againſte his Maiſter the Frenche Kyng, hee truſted ſhee ſhoulde gaine as little thereby, as his ſiſter had done in breaking with hir father Henry the late French King. Cheſter heerevnto aunſwered, that hee thought to haue found but one regent in Scotland

land, to whome he ſhoulde neede to make aunſwere, whereupon Martigues was commaunded to ſilence.

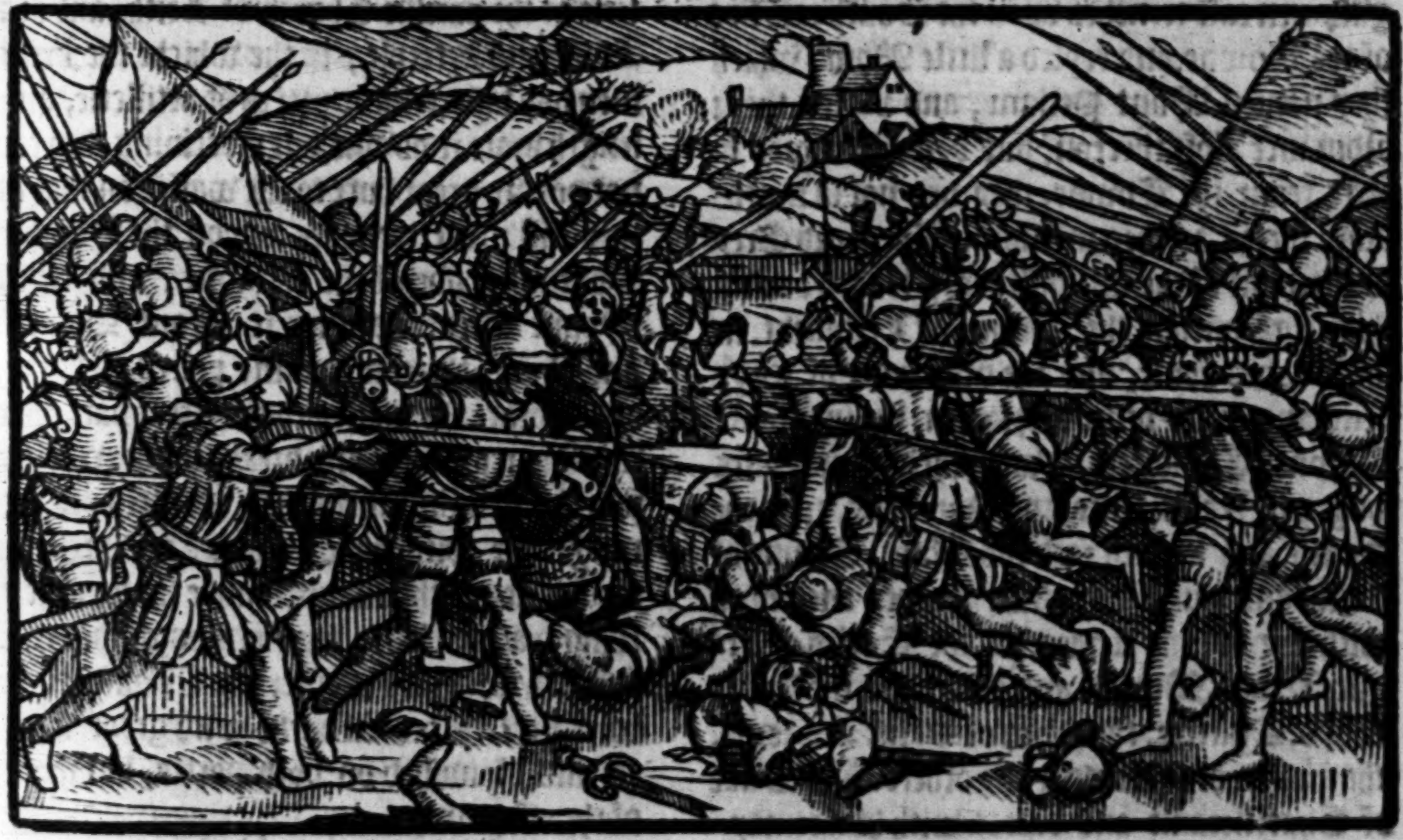
All this while the Queene had talked with Cheſter in the Scottiſhe tong, and bycauſe hee did not ſo well vnderſtande hir, hee beganne to ſpeake in the French language, whereat the Q. ſeemed greatly to reioyce, and beganne agayne to diſcourſe with hym of hir grieſes, & he on the other part made hir aunſwer as fell to purpoſe, and at length, when hee was demaunded what further credite he hadde, he declared, that where ſhe hadde requeſted a ſafeconduct for Monſieur la Broſſe to paſſe through Englãd into Frãce, if ſhee woulde ſee hym ſafely conueyd to Berwike, he durſt aſſure hir of a ſufficient ſafeconduct for his ſafe paſſage: through the Queene his miſtres Realme, but at length, there was another Gentleman commended to him, in lieu of La Broſſe, that was his Couſin. And nowe when Cheſter ſhould take his leaue, he declared that he had not bin courteouſly dealte with, for ſithence his comming thither, hee coulde not bee ſuffered to paſſe anye where abrode out of hys Chamber, but at meale times, and therefore if any of hir meſſengers ſhould chance to come into the Queene his miſtreſſe dominions, hee would procure (if he might) that they ſhould taſt of the like enterteynement: but the Queene ſeemed not to vnderſtande that he had bin in anye wiſe ſo hardly dealt with, ſhewing that ſhe was not well contented therewith, and ſo Cheſter tooke his leaue, and returned backe into England, without any reward for his paynes taken in that iourney, at the handes of the Scottiſh Queene, howſoeuer ſhe liked of his meſſage.

1560

A Engliſhe armye.

In the meane time, there was an army prepared in England, of ſeauen or eight thouſande men, who were ſent into Scotland, the Lorde Grey of Englande beeing appointed generall, who came to the Linkes, beſide the Towne of Leith, on Saterday the ſixth of Aprill: before they pight downe their field on the ſaid Linkes, Monſieur Martigues, coronell of the Frenche army, iſſued forthe of Leith, with nine hundred Harquebuſiers of Frenchmen, to a little knolle, called the Halke hil, where a ſore continual and hote ſkirmiſh was begun betwixt the Engliſhmen and Frenchmen, with hagbuttes, caliuers, and piſtoletz, which ſkirmiſh continued fyue or ſixe houres, in the whiche there were manye ſlayne on both parties, and diuers hurte. At length, Martigues was forced with his cõpany to retire backe to the Towne of Leith, and the Engliſhmẽ pight downe their Campe, and planted their ordinance beſide the ſaid hill.

They were backed wyth a fiue. C pikes whiche kepte aloofe.



lord Grey
t vnto the
ene.

The Lord Grey being in Muſkelburgh, ſent to the Queene Regente, that lay as then in the Caſtell of Edenburgh, deſiring an abſtinence of warre for foure and twenty houres, that in the meane time he might ſende ſome of his Counſell to declare vnto hir the cauſe of his comming with that army, and to cõmune of ſuche things as might ſtaunch the ſhedding of bloud. The Queene graunted hereunto, and ſent an Herrault to Leith, to cauſe the ſaid aſſurance to bee taken, but ere he came to the Towne, the Skirmiſh aforeſayd was begun.

Men are ſente to ſpeake with the Queene mother.

In this meane time, the Lord Grey ſent ſir George Howard, and Sir James Crofts to ẏ Caſtell of Edenbugh, to ſpeake with ẏ Queene to that effect, who had long conference with hir vppon the Blockhouſe, at the vtter gate of the Caſtell, during the time of the ſkirmiſh, where they declared, that the occaſiõ of the cõming of the armye, was for the cauſe aboue mentioned, deſiring the Queene to procure the Frenchmen to departe the Realme of Scotlande: and they

The Frenchmẽ to departe the Realme.

they promiſed in that caſe to returne againe into their owne Realme, and neyther to diſquiet Frenchmen nor Scots, wherupon the Queene tooke time to be aduiſed till the nexte daye, that ſhe might conſult with yͤ principall perſonages within the Towne of Leith, requiring that it might be lawfull for hir to ſend to them to that effect, which was graunted, and ſo the next day ſhe ſent one Drummond a Trumpetter with a letter to Monſieur de la Broſſe, to the effect aforeſaid, directing him to paſſe to the Engliſhe Campe, and to get a guide with him to goe to the Towne of Leith, as was agreed: and there was one appointed to goe with him. But immediately after his departing from the Engliſh Camp, he was ſuddainely called backe againe, and his letters taken from him, was commanded to repaire to the Caſtell of Edẽburgh to the Queene, and to declare to hir that they woulde not haue any talke, but woulde bee reuenged on the Frenchmen, for the ſlaughter of their men the night before. Thus the parlee ceaſſing, the ſiege was enforced with righte ſharpe purſute, and ſtrong defending on either parte. The Engliſhmen caſt trenches vpon the South eaſt ſide of the Towne, and reyſed a little Mont, which they named Mont Pellam, and placed theyr ordinance aloft thereon, but bycauſe it was ſo farre from the Towne, they dyd not ſo muche ſkath therto, as they intended. The Lord Grey Lieutenant of the Engliſh army lodged during this ſiege within the Towne of Leſtalrike, in the Deanes houſe, and the moſt parte of theyr demilances and other Horſemen, lay in yͤ ſame Towne. The footemen with their Captaynes lodged in Hales, tents, and Pauilions, vpon the South and South eaſt ſyde of the Towne of Leith, and diuers Scottiſhe Lordes encamped with them in the fieldes, as the Earles of Argile, Arrane, Morton, and Glẽcarne, the Lords Boyd, Ogiltree, the Prior of Saint Andrews, the maiſter of Maxwell, and others. The Duke of Chatellerault and diuers with him remayned in Holy Roode houſe. And with yͤ Queene in the Caſtell, the Biſhop of Saint Andrews, the Biſhoppe of Dunkeld, the Earle Marſhall, the Lorde Erſkin, Captaine of the Caſtell, M. James Macgill, Clearke of the Regiſter, the Prouoſt of Dunglas, called Maiſter Abraham Crichton, and diuers other.

The Engliſhe are deſirous to reuenge the iniuries done vnto them.

A trench caſt to little purpoſe.

On Eaſter Euen, Captaine Wood, and Captaine Dethicke, ſeruing on the Sea vnder M. Winter the Engliſh Admirall there, were appointed by him to paſſe vp yͤ riuer to Blackneſſe, who with their bands going aboorde into a Barke, prepared for that purpoſe, ſayled forward, and on Eaſter daye in the morning preſenting themſelues before the Caſtell, it was yeelded to them by certaine Frenchmenne that were within, and thereupon it was deliuered to the keeping of James Hamilton, an auntiente Gentleman, and Captaine Wood, beeing ſet on ſhore, came to the Camp before Leith by lande. On blacke Monday, the Frenchmenne iſſuing forth of Leith, ſet vpon the Engliſhmen in their trenches, and did muche harme, as in the Engliſhe Hiſtorie it further appeareth. Duryng the ſiege thus afore Leith, the Queene Regent was ſore vexed with ſickneſſe, but neuertheleſſe, ſhe continued to labour for agreemẽt, not ceaſſing to ſend to the Lordes for to haue the matter taken vp: and for the better accompliſhing of hir deſire, ſhee procured the Earle of Huntley to come forth of the North, who tooke vp his lodging in Edenburgh, and tooke greate paynes to treate betwixt the Queene and Lords for ſome agreement: but when he perceyued his trauayle to be in vaine, hee returned into the Northe againe, and left the ſiege lying ſtill as he founde it. In this meane while, the Engliſhmen lodging on the South ſyde of the Towne beſide Mont Pellam, battered with their greate artillerie at the pariſhe Church of Leith, and at S. Anthonies Steeple, in the whiche the Frenchmen had laid certaine peeces of artillerie, and at length beate it downe, but perceiuing they could not do any great hurt to the walles on that ſide, they caſt newe trenches vppon the South and Southweſt ſide of the Towne, and reyſed a Mount there, naming it Mont Somerſet, and placed thereon certaine peeces in batterie, and ſo beate the walles, that a great part thereof was ouerthrowen, and breach made, wherevpon the Engliſhmenne and Scottes one morning came with their ladders, and preſenting themſelues to the aſſault, founde the breache nothing reaſonable, ſo that although they egerly preaſſed foreward to enter the Towne, yet they were fiercely beaten backe with great ſlaughter and bloudſhed on both partes, but namely of the aſſaylants.

The Caſt
Blackeneſſ
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See more
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Saint An
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They are
ten backe

The Engliſhmen perceyuing that they were too raſh in aſſaulting the Towne, beeing not aſſaultable, deuiſed other ſhifts to obteyne theyr purpoſe, reyſing an other Mount of earth on the Weſt ſide of the water of Leith, and named it Mont Faulcon. Aloft on this Mount when it was brought vp to a great heigth, they planted their greate artillerie, whiche continually beate into the Towne, ſore annoying them within, but ſpecially beating the houſes and places by the ſhore ſide, ſo that none mighte goe vppe nor downe the Towne on that part, without danger to be ſlaine with ſhot from that Mount.

Mont Fa

The Frenchmenne during the time of the ſiege, many times iſſued forthe towardes the ſands, and ſometimes towards the trenches, ſo that ſundry ſore ſkirmiſhes chanced betwixte the Engliſhmen and them, with the ſlaughter of diuers, both of the one part and the other.

Amongſt other of them within, there were ſlayne two Scottiſhmenne of name, to witte, Captayne Kenedie, and yong Henry Drummond: and of them without, there was ſlayne a Scottiſh Gentlemã, called the Lard of Cleiſch.

The Engliſh army was throughly furniſhed with vittayles forth of all parts of the Realme, and that vpon reaſonable priſes, but the Frẽchmenne within the Towne could get none, more than they had prouided before the comming of the Engliſh army, whiche when it beganne to fayle them, they were conſtreyned to eate theyr owne Horſes, whoſe fleſhe ſeemed to them in that neceſſitie more delitious, than before that time any manner of veniſon. Thoſe within Inſkeith alſo were in greate neceſſitie of vittayles, but yet neither they within the one place nor thoſe within the other, woulde render theyr ſtrengthes, looking ſtil for ayde forth of France.

he towne of eith was vnuided of ctuales.

In the meane time the Queene Regent perceyuing hir ſickneſſe ſo to encreaſe, that ſhee looked for preſent death, ſent for the Duke of Chatellerault, and all the Lords of Scotland that were in the Towne of Edenburgh, and in the Camp, who came vnto hir altogither into the Caſtell of Edenburgh, where ſhee made vnto them a graue and pithie exhortation, perſwading them to vnitie and concorde with theyr auncient friendes of Fraunce, and nowe more ſtedfaſt to them than at any time before, by reaſon of the marriage of their Queene their Soueraigne, with the King of France: and heerewith brake out with certaine wordes, to diſſuade them from the amitie contracted with the Engliſhmen, declaring that the Engliſhmen aided them not for any other reſpecte, than for theyr owne tourne and commoditie. Moreouer for hir owne parte ſhee ſayd, that ſhee fauoured the weale of the Realme of Scotland, aſmuche as Fraunce, conſidering ſhee had the honour to be Queene and Regent thereof, and hir daughter heritable Queene of the ſame: and if ſhee hadde attempted any thyng, that ſeemed or appeared to the noble men contrarie therevnto, the ſame came to paſſe rather for lacke of wiſedome, and iudgemente, than for wante of any good will: and if it pleaſed God to prolong hir dayes, ſhee woulde bee glad to amende that had bene done amiſſe: and if hee called hir to his mercy, ſhee prayed them moſt hartily to acknowledge their duetie vnto the Queene their ſoueraigne, and to maintaine their auncient amitie with the King and Realme of Fraunce, and to make ſome good accorde with the Frenchmenne that were within the Towne of Leith, who would gladly accepte the ſame, to the end that as well they as the Engliſhmẽ ſhould departe this Realme, for ſhee feared greatly (as ſhee ſaide) leaſt if the Frenchmen departed, the Engliſhmenne would ſtill remaine, and ſubdue the land to theyr obedience, and therfore ſhe beſought all good Scottiſhmen to haue reſpect to the libertie and weale of their Countrey.

e Queene de for the des.

e Queenes tion vnto nobles.

A miſtruſtfull minde.

After ſhe had talked thus a good while with many teares, ſhee deſired the Lordes to forgiue hir in any thing wherein ſhe had offended anye of them during the time of hir beeing in Scotlande, whiche they gladly ſeemed to doe: and on the other parte ſhee forgaue them with all hir heart (as it appared) all offences which they had committed againſt hir, and thus diuers of them weeping, ſhee tooke euery of them by the hande, and ſo they taking leaue of hir departed, and returned into Edenburgh, and to their Campe.

The Queene taketh hir leaue.

Whileſt the ſiege thus lay before the Towne of Leith, diuers great troubles roſe in ſundrye partes of the Realme, and ſpecially betwixt the Erle of Huntley, and the Erle of Atholl, ſo that there was taking of Priſoners, and ouerthrowing of houſes on either part, and greate preparation made, and armies put in a readineſſe to inuade either others Countreys: but this buſines was pacified by the trauaile and good mediation of Maiſter Alexander Gordõ, then Poſtulat of Galloway, Maiſter John Leſlie, official of Aberdene, and William Leſlie, the yõg Lard of Buchquhane, who agreed thẽ for all matters in controuerſie, and cauſed them to goe to eyther others houſe.

The Earle of Huntley and Atholl are at variance.

The matter is pacified.

The ſame time, one Maiſter Donald Fraſher, Archdeacon of Roſſe, tooke the Byſhoppes Caſtell of the Chanourie of Roſſe, and kept the ſame againſte Maiſter Henrye Sincleir, then Biſhop there, and the chiefeſt men of authoritie in that Dioceſſe, as Machenzee, Balnagoun, Foulis, and the Sheriffe Tramercy, who aſſẽbled aboute the ſame, and beſieged the Caſtell, where great force was vſed, both by them without to winne it, and of them within to defende it.

The Caſtell of Roſſe taken.

The Caſtell is beſieged.

The Biſhop being then reſident in Cromercy Caſtell, hearing that the houſe would not be gotten withoute great ſlaughter, thought it againſt his conſcience, his profit, and honor, to winne it in that manner, and therefore ſending for Maiſter John Leſlie, officiall of Aberdene, and Maiſter Alexander Dunbarre, Subchauntour of Murrey, by their labour, & diligent treating in the matter, the Biſhop by reaſonable apoyntmente recouered his Caſtell of them that held it againſt him.

The Caſtell was reſtored againe.

The Frenche K. vnderſtanding in what diſtreſſe

Ambaſsadors ſente.

Monſieur Monluc Biſhoppe of Valence.

ſtreſſe his menne remayned that were beſieged within Leith, and perceyning himſelfe not able to ſend an army to ſuccour them within yͤ time that their neceſſitie required, thought good to trie if the matter might be taken vp, and to that effect ſent two Ambaſſadors, the Earle of Randon, and Monſieur Monluc Biſhoppe of Valence, who declared to the Queenes Maieſtie of Englande the cauſe of their comming, whiche was, to deſire hir to retire hir armye forthe of Scotland, vpon ſome ſuche reaſonable conditions as might be agreed vpō, and herewith they declared, that they were ſent to the Queene, and not vnto the ſubiectes of Scotlande, for it was not meete that the king ſhould ſend to his owne ſubiectes (as they were by the marriage of theyr Queene) to require peace, or to condition with them for agreement. The Queenes Maieſtie of Englande therefore ſente Sir William Cecill Knighte, hir principall Secretarie, and Doctor Wotton, Deane of Canterbury and of Yorke, one of the priuie Counſel, with the frēch Ambaſſadors into Scotland.

An Ambaſſage ſent by the Queene of Englande.

The Scottiſhe Queene mother departed 1560

Whileſt they were yet vpon their iourney, the Queene Regent (whome they thoughte to haue found aliue, and to haue vſed hir helpe as an inſtrumente to haue furthered the treatie to ſome good ende) conſumed partly through melancolie, thought, and greeuous diſpleaſure, and partly with long and incurable ſickneſſe, departed this life in the Caſtell of Edenburgh the tenth of June, in the yeare of our Lord. 1560.

Hir body afterwards was conueid by ſea into Fraunce, and buried in the Abbey of Feſcamp.

The praiſe of the Queene Dowager.

She was a wiſe and righte prudente Princeſſe, and in hir time had learned good experiēce of the nature and inclination of the nobilitie and people of Scotland.

During the time that ſhe was Regent, ſhee kepte good iuſtice, and was well obeyd in all partes of the Realme in Orkney, and the Weſterne Iſles: and if ſhee had to hir owne experience ioyned the Counſell of the Nobles and wiſe men of the Realme of Scotland, without following the aduiſe of ſtraungers, there hadde bin neuer queſtion nor debate betwixt hir and the nobilitie as ſome deemed: but bycauſe that others, and namely, Monſieur Doyſell and Rubee were adioyned to hir by the eſtates of Scotland, who dayly preſſed hir to deuiſe new alterations of lawes, impoſitions, taxations, & ſuche things as were not in vſe in Scotlande: therefore the eſtates and people of the lande did grudge, although not for anye miſliking they hadde of hir, who ſurely deceaſſed, to the great griefe and lamētation of the whole number of the eſtates and people of the Realme.

The Amba dours cam Edinburgh

The deathe of that noble Princeſſe, made the Frenchemen within Leith, and alſo the Ambaſſadours more diſcouraged, than otherwiſe they woulde haue bin. But neuertheleſſe theſe foure Ambaſſadours of Englande and Fraunce comming to Edinburgh, entred in conference amōg themſelues, vppon articles proponed aſwell for reliefe of the Scottiſhemen, as for the weale and ſuertie of the Queene of England and hir Subiectes, wherevpon certaine Lordes of Scotland were admitted to talke wyth them alſo: and after long treatie, a peace was concluded the tenth of Julye, in the yeare of God. 1560, wyth certaine articles touching aſwell Scottes, and Frenche, as Engliſhemen, the effect whereof here enſueth.

They hau conferenc Peace is c cluded.

Articles peace.

Frenche diers dep the Realm

Fyrſte, it was agreed, that all the Frenchemen ſhould departe forth of the realme of Scotlande by Sea into Fraunce, and to that effect ſhould embarke, & make ſaile within yͤ ſpace of xx. days next following: and bycauſe yͤ Frenchmen hadde no ſhips, the Engliſhemen ſhoulde lende them ſhips, and certayne of the Frenchemenne remaine as pledges in Englande till the ſame ſhips were retourned.

Leith the ſhoulde der it.

Item, that they ſhould render the Towne of Leith: and the Frenchemen to haue their munition, bagges, and baggages, to conuey away with them at their pleaſure, and that the walles of the Towne ſhoulde be throwen downe and demoliſhed.

The forte fore Dun to bee ra

Item, they ſhoulde cauſe Monſieur Charleboys Capitaine of Dunbarre to demoliſhe and race the forte, whiche they had builte before the Caſtell there.

The Eng men ſho departe

Item that the Engliſhemenne ſhoulde raiſe theyr ſiege and departe forthe of Scotland, after the departure from thence of the Frenchmenne, and raſing of the walles of Leith and Dunbarre.

An acte liuion to made.

Item, that there ſhoulde bee made an acte of obliuion, in which the Q. of Scotlād, wyth cōſent of the french K. hir huſbande ſhoulde forget and burie in obliuion all attemptes made by the Lordes of Scotland, againſt their authoritie, frō the tenth daye of March. 1558. to the firſt day of Auguſt, in the yeare of grace. 1560. And for cōfirming thereof, a Parliament ſhould be holden in Edenburgh, in the moneth of Auguſt nexte enſuing. in which Parliamente the ſame ſhould bee ratified and allowed by the aduice of the eſtates of the Realme of Scotland.

A Parli to be kep

Alſo it was agreed, that there ſhoulde bee a commiſſion ſent from the Frenche King, and the Queene of Scotlāde, to hold the ſame Parliament to the effect aforeſaide.

To put the arme clayme o Englande

Item, that the Queene of Scotlande and King of France, ſhould cauſe to blot out and

put

and put away the bearing of the armes of Englande out of theyr ſkutchens.

Item it was agreed, that there ſhoulde remayne ſtill in the Ile of Inſkith threeſcore Frenchmenne, and as manye in the Caſtell of Dunbar, to keepe (as it were) poſſeſſion to the Queenes vſe.

ſſion to
kepe with
ldiours.

The whole number of the Frenchmenne (a few except that paſſed through England) went abord the Engliſh Shippes in July, and ſayled into Fraunce, and in companye with them went the Biſhop of Glaſquo and the Lord Seton. The Engliſhmen departed alſo, & in their way cauſed the forte of Dunbar to be raſed, as by the agreemente of the peace it was appoynted.

e Frenche
departe
Scot

A Parliamente holden in Auguſt, and the acte of obliuion ratified by the eſtates, and a cõfeſſion of faith publiſhed in the ſame: it was cõcluded alſo to ſend Imbaſſadors into Englãd, which was done.

Parliament.

And ſhortly after, the Lordes ſummoned the Principall learned men of the Realme, for the of the Vniuerſities of Saint Andrewes, Aberdin, Glaſquo, and other partes, to giue a reaſon of their faith: and amongſt other, thoſe of Aberden tooke vppon them to diſpute with Iohn Knox, Iohn Willock, and Maiſter Goodman.

putation.

In the Winter, the Lordes of the Counſell gaue faculties of benefices to dyuers of theyr friends, who put forthe the Prelates, and receyued the fruites.

The Erle of Argile diſpoſed Dunkelde and Dunblan.

The Earle of Arran had the ordering of the Byſhopprickes of Saint Androwes: alſo of the Abbacies of Dunfermlyng, and Melros, and other ſmall benefices. The like was vſed by other noble menne, throughe all partes of the Realme.

Shortely after Fraunces the Frenche King, huſbande to the Queene of Scotlande departed this life in December, and Charles his brother was crowned in his place. The Queene beyng then widowe, and Dowager of Fraunce, departed from Orleaunce (where the Courte laye when hir huſbande deceaſſed) and wente to the Towne of Reimes in Champaigne, where ſhe remained till the fifteenthe daye of Aprill following, & then purpoſing to retourne into Scotlande, ſhe tooke hir iourney towardes Ianville, and ſo into Loraine, there to take leaue of hir kinſfolke by hir mothers ſide. The Biſhoppe of Glaſquo, & the Abbot of Dunfermlyng Scottiſhemen, were ſtill attendaunt on hir in this iourney.

kottiſhe
wente
Loraine.

There were with hir alſo the Cardinals of Lorayne and Guyſe, the Duke Daumale, and the Marqueſſe Dalbeuf hir Vncles.

Before this, in the beginning of the Winter this yeare, the Lords ſent the Earle of Morton and Glencarne, and the yong Lard of Ledington Secretarie, Imbaſſadors into England, to giue thankes to the Queenes Maieſtie of England, for the aide whiche they had receyued of hir, to expulſe the Frenchmen.

Ambaſſadors ſent into Englande.

1561

The Earle of Murrey paſſed through Englande into Fraunce. He departed from Edenburgh the eyghtenth of Marche, and in Aprill came to Vitrie, where he founde the Queene.

The daye before, Maiſter Leſlie official of Aberdene was come thither, who was ſent from the Earle of Huntley, and other the Lordes ſpirituall and temporall of the North partes: hee tooke ſhippe in the Rode of Abberdene, and landing at Brule in Hollande, paſſed through the lowe Countreys in poſt till hee came to Paris, and from thẽce vnto Vitrie aforeſaid, where he knew to find the Queene.

The Earle of Murrey wente with the Q. vnto Ianuille, and tarried there a fiue or ſyxe dayes, and then taking his leaue, returned into Scotland.

The Duke of Chatellerault, the Earles of Huntley, Atholl, Merſhall, and all other the noble mẽ of the realme, aduertiſed of the Queenes comming, aſſembled at Edinburgh wyth all poſſyble diligence.

The Nobles aſſemble at Edenburgh.

In the meane time whiles the Queene was preparyng to take hir iourney, and to come into Scotlande, the Queene of Englande ſet forth ſome of hir greate ſhippes to the ſeas to watche and garde the coaſtes of hyr Realme. Wherof they beyng aduertiſed in Fraunce, ſent the Abbot of S. Colmes Inche to the Queene of Englande, to deſire of hir a ſafeconduit, in caſe by winde or tempeſt ſhee chaunced to land in Englande: but before hee was retourned to Calais therewyth, as hee was appoynted, the Queene and hir retinue were ſafely landed in Scotlande: neuertheleſſe, the Engliſh ſhippes tooke ſome of the Scottiſh Lords, as the Earle of Eglenton his ſhippe and others, whiche were brought into Englande, and ſtayed for a tyme, but were after releaſſed, and ſente home into Scotland.

Shippes waite in the narrowe Seas.

A ſafeconduit required.

Certain Ships taken.

The Queene alſo by the aduiſe of the King of Fraunce, ſente Monſieur Doyſell into England, to paſſe through the ſame into Scotland before hir comming, there to haue receyued the fortes of Dunbar and Inſkeith, of Monſieur Charleboys, and to haue kepte the ſame till hir comming, but he was ſtayed, and paſſed no further than to London, for it was thoughte that his going into Scotlande woulde turne to no great benefite of that Realme, bycauſe that hee

Monſieur Doyſell.

and Monſieur Rubey were the principall authours of all the troubles in Scotlande, betwixte the Queene Regente, and the nobilitie there.

The Queene was companyed vnto Calais.

She was attended on from Paris vnto Calais with many noble menne, namely hir ſyxe Uncles, the Dukes of Guiſe, and Daumale, the Cardinals of Lorayne and Guyſe, the Grand Priour, and yͤ Marques Dalbeuf, alſo yͤ Duke de Nemours, and other of hir friends and kinſmen.

She taketh hir iourney towards Scotlād.

There were two Galleys prepared, and certaine other Shippes to goe with hir into Scotland, and there went with hir three of hir ſayde Uncles, the Duke Daumale, the Graund Priour, and the Marques Dalbeuf: alſo Monſieur Danuille the Conneſtables ſonne, and dyuers other.

The Queene arriued at Leith.

Shee arriued at Leith the twentith daye of Auguſt, in the yeare of our Lord. 1561. where ſhe was honorably receyued by the Earle of Argile, the Lorde Erſkin, the Prior of Saint Andrewes, and of the burgeſſes of Edenburgh, and conueyghed to the Abbey of Holy Roode houſe.

Coſtly iewels.

She brought with hir into Scotland many rich and coſtly iewelles of gold worke, precious ſtones, orient pearle, and ſuch like, as excellente and faire as were to bee found within Europe, with riche furniture of houſholde, as hangings, carpets, counterpointes, and al other neceſſaries for the furniſhing of hir princely houſes.

Hir houſhold ſtuffe.

The chiefeſt parte of the hangings and other furniture of houſholde, was ſhipped at Roane, and arriued at Leith in the moneth of October next following.

An acte made concerning Religion.

After the Queene of Scottes had remayned the ſpace of foure or fiue dayes at Holy Roode houſe, the Duke of Chatellerault, the Earle of Argile, and diuers other of the nobilitie beeyng preſent, there was an acte made by the Lords of the Counſell, with conſent of the Queene, that to remoue all cauſes of trouble in time to come, for the matter of Religion, it was ordeined, that no alteration of the eſtate of Religion publikely ſtanding within the Realme, at hir arriuall in the ſame, ſhoulde bee made, and that nothing ſhoulde bee attempted, eyther publikely or priuately to the contrary, vpon great payne, which was ſet forth and publiſhed through all partes of the Realme with great diligence.

Some appointed to be of the Queenes Counſell.

Secretary. Comptroller. Lords of the priuie Counſel

After this, there were eleuen temporal Lords and one Biſhop choſen, to be of the Queenes ſecret counſell, by whoſe aduice ſhee ſhoulde rule and gouerne things, ſixe of them to remayne continually with hir, in roomth of officers, as the Secretary, Comptroller, and others. The Lordes of the priuie Counſell were theſe, the Duke of Chatellerault, the Earle of Huntley Chancellor, the Earle of Argile, the Earle of Atholl, the Earle Marſhall, the Earle of Glencarne, the Earle of Morton, the Erle of Montroſe, the Earle of Erroll, Maiſter Henrye Sinclar Biſhoppe of Roſſe, and the Lorde Erſkin.

Daumall w
with the t
Gallys in
France.

The Duke Daumalle, after he had remayned with the Queene a certayne time, tooke leaue of hir, and with the Galleys returned into France.

The reſt w
through E
gland into
France.

The Graunde Priour, and Monſieur Danuille, tarried ſomewhat longer, and paſt through England into France.

The Marqueſſe Dalbeuf, tarried in Scotlande all the nexte Winter, till the ſpring of the yeare, and then returned into France, through England.

A prepar
of trium

The Towne of Edenburgh prepared greate and coſtly triumphes for the Queenes entring whiche ſhee made into that Towne the day of September.

The Qu
viſited th
Townes.

After this, ſhe paſſed vnto Striueling, and from thence to Perth, and then to Dundee, and after to Sainte Andrewes, into which townes ſhee was receyued with greate honor and triumph.

From Saint Andrewes ſhee returned vnto Edenburgh, where ſhee remayned all the nexte Winter.

An aſſem
of the Lo

The thir
p rt o th
Spirituall
uings de
ced.

In December, there was a great aſſemble of all the principall Lords, Spirituall and temporall of the Realme, where it was demaunded of the Prelates, to graunte the third part of the fruites of their benefices to yͤ Queene, towards the bearing of hir charges, for the maintenance of hir trayne, and to ſuſteyne the Miniſters, tyll ſome order were taken to maynteyne hir houſholde, and a garde to attende on hir, by the aduiſe of the eſtates.

The Prelates agreed, for the Queenes pleaſure to ſupporte hir with the fourth parte of the fruites of their benefices, for one yeares ſpace only, to help to beare hir charges, and to ſuſteine hir garde, and in the meane time order myghte bee taken by the aduiſe of the whole eſtates for the ſame.

An acte f
the Clea

But notwithſtanding the refuſall of the Prelates to pay the third part, the Lords of the priuie Counſell made an acte, and ſet forth letters, that all the Prelates and beneficed menne ſhould be charged to pay yeerely to yͤ Queenes Comptroller and his Collector, the hole thirds of all fruites of their benefices: and that it ſhould be lawfull to the Controller and his deputies to take the thirde of what parte of euerye benefice where he beſt pleaſed, and to deale therewith at his pleaſure.

Alſo to haue to doe with the rentes of Brotherhoodes of common Churches, and ſuch like.

This order hathe bin obſerued euer ſithence, not without greate grudge of the Prelates, and other beneficed menne of the Realme, and theyr friends, as well thoſe that profeſſed the reformed Religion, as others.

1562

es Steward
e Earle of
rey.

The Sunday before Shroueteweſday, being the eyghth day of Febzuary, as ſome write, James Stewarde then Priour of Sainct Androwes, and Earle of Mar, baſe brother to the Queene, was made Earle of Murrey by the Queenes ſpeciall gifte, and was married the ſame daye vnto Agnis Keith, daughter to the Earle Marſhall, wyth greate feaſtes and triumphe, laſtyng three dayes.

Queene
glan de-
to
te wyth
Queene of
lande.

The Queene of Englande deſirous to haue a meeting beetwixt hir & the Queene of Scotts hir couſin, ſent dyuers meſſengers with letters, deſiring hir moſt inſtãtly to come vnto Yorke, where ſhee woulde meete hir, to talke wyth hir of dyuers matters, that myght make to the confirmation of the amitie and friendeſhippe, whiche nature hadde knitte beetwixt them, by coniunction and affinitie of bloud: and after conſultation hadde wyth hir counſell, the Queene of Scottes agreed thereto: and ſo they were appoynted to meete at Yorke in the Monethe of Julye nexte followyng: but when thyngs were prepared, and put in a redineſſe for the iourney, the Queene of England ſente worde to the Q. of Scottes, that ſhee coulde not keepe the appointemente made for theyr meeting, deſiring hir to haue hir excuſed for that time, whyche meſſage was accepted, and ſo ẏ iourney ſtayed.

meeting
was diſ-
inted.

Queene
e hir pro-
e into
Northe
es of Scot-

Shortely after the Queene of Scotts tooke hir iourney towards the North partes of Scotland, and ſette from Striueling in the Moneth of Auguſt.

e Ogilwy
John Gor-
fight togi-

Aboute this tyme it chaunced that the lord Ogilwy, and John Gordon of Finnater, ſonne to the Earle of Huntley mette on the Calſey of Edenburgh & fought, where after many blowes & ſtripes gyuen and taken, the Lorde Ogilwy, and his companye were hurte, wherefore John Gordon was taken, and putte in warde at the Tolbuith of Edenburgh, out of whyche hee eſcaped, after he hadde remayned priſoner therein aboute twentye dayes, and gotte his waye Northewarde, whereuppon followed greate trouble ſhortely after to the houſe of Huntley.

Gordon
es pryſõ.

Gordon
mmaunded
the Q.

The Queene accompanyed with ẏ Earles of Argile, Murrey, and Morton, the Lord Erſkin, and others, paſſed forwarde in hir iourney towardes the Northe partes, and cauſed John Gordon of Finnater to bee ſommoned to appeare, and aunſwere the lawe at Aberdine for breaking priſon, and hurting the L. Ogilwy.

The Queene comming to the Towne of Aberdine, was honorably receyued with dyuers Orations, and Latine Enterludes, before the Grammer ſchoole and Colledge.

Gordon is accõpanied with a greate companye.

The Earle of Huntley hearyng that hys ſon was thus ſommoned, aſſembled the principall Earles, Lordes, Barons, and Gentlemenne of the Northe, who came wyth hym to Aberdene to helpe his ſonne at the lawe daye appointed for his appearaũnce, whyche was in September.

Gordon is cõmaunded to Striueling Caſtell.

Hee diſobeyed

The Earle came to the Queene hymſelfe, and at length it was agreed, that his ſonne the ſayd John Gordon ſhould returne to priſon againe in Striueling Caſtell, there to remaine during the Queenes pleaſure: but hee followyng the euill counſell of ſome yong heades that were wyth hym, neyther fulfilled the Queenes pleaſure, nor his fathers appointment, but attempted to reuenge his extreame handling (as he tooke it) vpon the Earle of Murrey, whome he put moſt in blame, for the rigor ſhewed againſte him, but his enterpriſe tooke not effect: and the Queene aduertiſed of his diſobedience, went not to Strabogy, notwithſtanding there was greate preparation made for hir in ẏ place, for the receiuing of hir and hir trayne: but ſhee wente vnto Balwany, the Earle of Athols place, and from thẽce to Kinlos, to Tarneway, and ſo came to Jnuerneis, and there lodged.

The Queene ſuſpected the Earle of Huntley.

In this meane while, the Earle of Huntley purpoſing to attende on the Queene at Jnuernes, cauſed prouiſion to be made in the Caſtell for his lodging.

The Queene ſuſpecting hys dealing, leaſt this ſhoulde bee done vppon ſome policie, commaunded the keepers of the Caſtell to render the ſame to one of hir Herraultes, but it was not deliuered till the nexte daye, and therefore the Captayne of that Caſtell called Alexander Gordon, for refuſing to deliuer it, was hanged vpon the towne bridge.

Alexãder Gordon was hãged

The Lorde Gordon, and his brother John Gordon of Finnater, came that night within a little ſpace diſtant from the Towne of Jnuerneis, which cauſed great feare in the Towne, ſo that there was a diligente watch all that night.

The Earle of Huntley beeing come to Kinlos, and hearing that the Caſtell of Jnuerneis was commaunded to be giuen vp to the handes of an Herrault, ſente with all diligence to the keepers, that they ſhould deliuer it, and returned himſelfe to Strathbogy.

The Queene remayned in Jnuerneis the ſpace of foure or fyue dayes, where the principal Captayne of the Clanis of the Countrey came to hir, and with a greate company conueyd hir to Spyne, where ſhee was enformed that the Erle of Huntley had gathered an army to come againſte hir, and made their aſſemble at Spey.

Herevppon, they tooke wyth them all the artillerie ouer Spanye, and carried the ſame in cartes, and all other kynde of munition, and paſt forwarde to Bamf that nighte.

The Earle of Huntley all this while came not forth of Strathbogy.

The Queene as ſhee paſſed forwarde, rode to the place of Findlater, and there in hir owne preſence, cauſed the keepers thereof to bee charged to deliuer it, whyche they refuſed to doe.

From Bamf, the Queene rode to the Lairde of Geychtis place, called Geicht, and the nexte daye, there was greate preparation for hir entrie into the newe Towne of Aberdene.

She came vnto Aberdyne.

She lodged one night in the Biſhops palace, and the next daye ſhee was honorably receyued, and lodged in the Prouoſts houſe of the towne, where ſhe remayned all the tyme of hir abode in Aberdene.

After this, the Lorde John, Prior of Coldingham, with dyuers Gentlemenne, was ſente agaynſte the Earle of Huntley to Strathbogy, but hee was eſcaped before they approched.

The Earle of Huntley is ſẽte for.

The Ladye Huntley receyued them verye courteouſly, and gaue them good entertaynement, and ſo they returned.

There was charge giuen to Louthian, Fiffe, Angus, Stratherne, the Mernis, and to the Shire of Abirdene, to come to Aberdene quarterly, euerye Countrey to remayne there a fifteene dayes, and ſo they dyd duryng the time of hir abiding there.

The Earle of Huntley ſente hys wife in meſſage to the Queene and Counſell, but ſhee was not admitted to come wythin a mile of them, but commaunded to retourne.

The Lad Huntley vnto the

After thys, hee ſente a Miniſter, offering to enter in warde vntill his cauſe mighte be tried by the whole nobilitie: but this was refuſed.

In the meane time all the principall of the Gordons that were landed men, were chardged to enter into warde.

The Gor are impri ned.

About the ſame time the Erle of Bothwell, who (vpon diſpleaſure conceyued againſte hym aboute a quarrell betwixte hym, and the Earle of Arrane, hadde bin committed to priſon in Eaſter weeke laſt before paſt) eſcaped out of Dauids Tower in Edenburgh at a window.

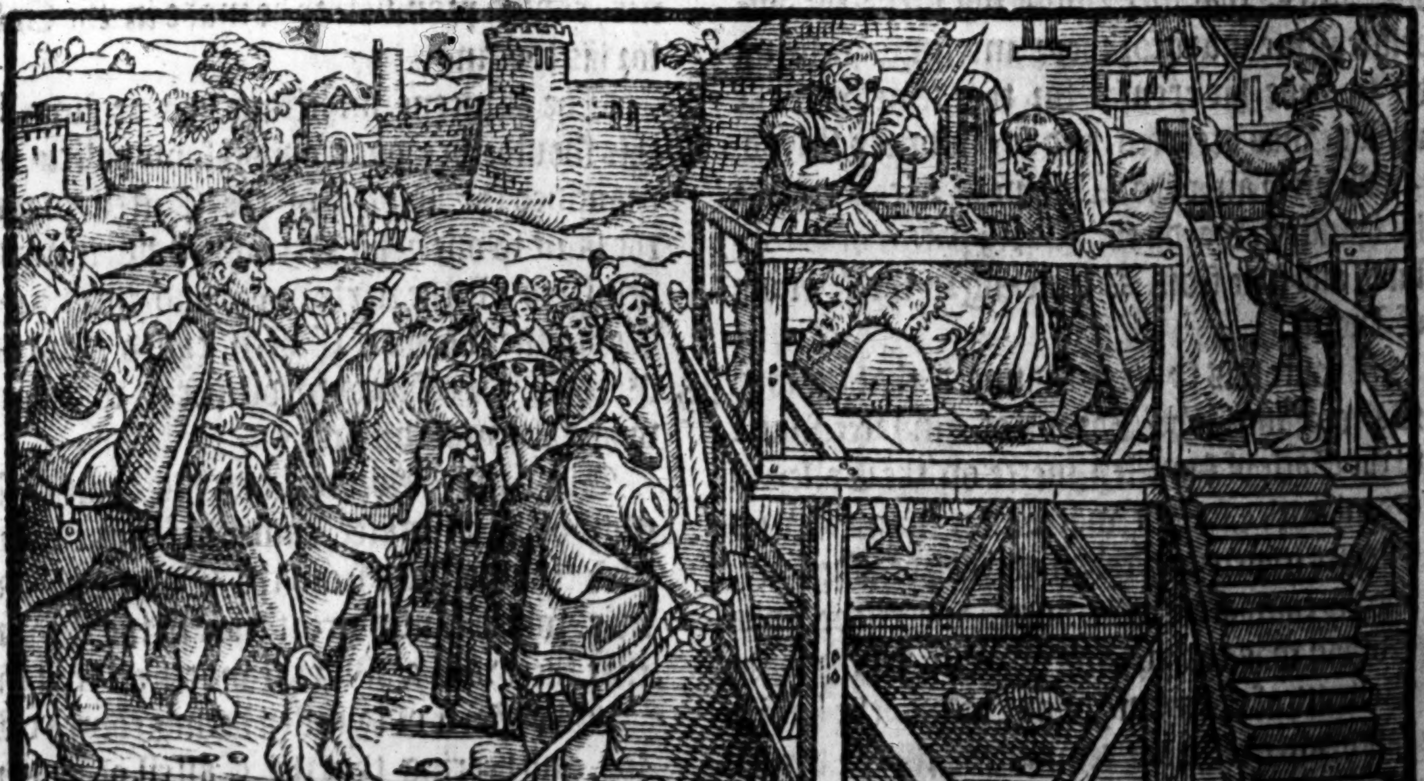
The Ear Bothwell ped out priſon.

In October the Earle of Huntley came with an armye to Cornethie in Mar, where hee was ſlaine, and John Gordon hys ſonne taken priſoner, and broughte to Aberdene the nine and twentith daye of October.

The Ear Huntley ſlayne.

The Queene ſeemed ſory for the erles death, but in Nouember John Gordon was beheaded in Aberdene, and ſhortly after the Queene returned Southwards, leauing foure Commiſſioners in Aberdene: the Treaſourer, Maiſter James Macgill, maiſter John Spens of Cundye, and the Larde of Pettarro, to compound for the eſcheites of them that were in the fielde wyth the Earle of Huntley.

John Go is behea



Greate Summes of money were taken and leuied of them for that treſpaſſe.

The Lorde Gordon was taken by the duke of Chatellerault hys father in lawe, at Cumernoul, and brought to Edenburghe, where hee was putte in the Caſtell, and after by a iurye conuicte forfalted, and condempned to dye, and ſente to Dunbarre Caſtel, there to remayne in warde, where hee continued till the yeare of God. 1565.

The Lor Gordon i taken pri ner.

The

1563
Parliament.

The Queene helde a Parliament in Edenburgh, where the Earle of Huntleys dead body was broughte preſente before the eſtates in the Talbuith, and forfalted.

e acte of
liuion rati-
d.

The Earle of Sutherland was forfalted alſo, and diuers other of their friendes: and in thys Parliamente the acte of obliuion was ratified and approued, and dyuers other newe actes made.

e Queene
h a Pro-
ſſe.

This yeare in Auguſt, the Queene wente a progreſſe into Argile.

This yeare deceaſſed diuers counſellors or Senators of the Colledge of Iuſtice, as maiſter Iohn Stephãſon, Chancellor of Glaſquho, and the Prouoſt of Corſtrophine.

e Offi-

In place of the firſte, Maiſter Iohn Leſlie, officiall of Aberdene, was promoted, and in the Prouoſts place Maiſter Iames Baulfour ſucceeded.

1564
aſſadors
Sweden.

There came an Ambaſſador from the king of Sweden, to treate of marriage to bee contracted with the Queene, but his meſſage was not regarded.

Biſhoppe
oſſe went
Fraunce.

The ſeconde of Iuly, Henrye Sinclar, Byſhoppe of Roſſe, ſhipped at Leith to paſſe into France, to procure ſome helpe of his diſeaſe. He was cut of the ſtone in Paris, and dyed the ſecond of Ianuary next after.

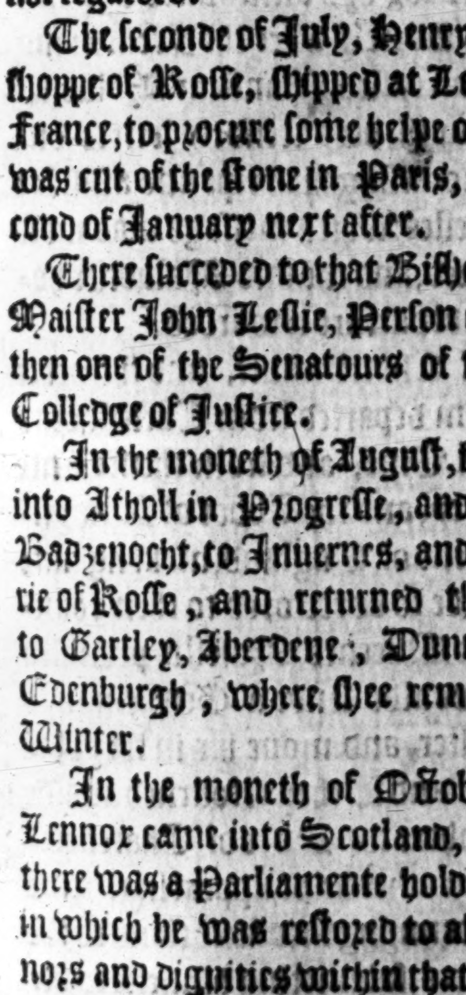
There ſucceded to that Biſhopricke of Roſſe, Maiſter Iohn Leſlie, Perſon of Ouen, beeing then one of the Senatours of the ſeſſion, and Colledge of Iuſtice.

Queenes
greſſe.

In the moneth of Auguſt, the Queene paſt into Atholl in Progreſſe, and from thence to Badzenocht, to Inuernes, and to the Chanonrie of Roſſe, and returned through Murrey to Gartley, Aberdene, Dunnoter, and ſo to Edenburgh, where ſhee remayned the next Winter.

Erle of
x came
Scotland.

In the moneth of October, the Earle of Lennox came into Scotland, and for his cauſe there was a Parliamente holden in December, in which he was reſtored to all his landes, honors and dignities within that Realme.



In December alſo, the Byſhop of Dunblane deceaſed, and after hym ſucceeded maiſter William Cheſholm his brothers ſon.

In Ianuary, ẏ Queene toke hir iourney through Fiffe, and in manye Gentlemens places was banquetted: in whiche time, Henry Stewarde, Lorde Darneley, a goodly man of perſonage, and ſonne to the Earle of Lennox, came into Scotlande, where hee came to the Queenes preſence in the Weames the ninth day of February.

Lord Darnley
came into
Scotland.

1565
A Parliament.

The Queene ſo well liked him, that ſhe aſſembled all the temporall Lordes togyther at Striueling in the moneth of Aprill, and there obteyned of them their conſents, that ſhe might marrie the ſayd Lord Darneley.

Lord Darneley
is made earle
of Roſse.

After this, he was made Earle of Roſſe.

The Queene
of Englande
diſwaded that
marriage.

In the meane time, the Queene of England ſent Sir Nicholas Throckmorton into Scotlande, to vnderſtande the proceedings in the Queenes marriage with the Lord Darneley, and for other affaires, who came to the aſſemble at Striueling to that effect.

Ambaſſage
ſente into En-
glande.

The Queene of Scottes ſent maiſter Iohn Hay Abbot of Balmerinoch into Englande to the Queene, to mitigate hir diſpleaſure towards the Lorde Darnlie, and to obtaine hir conſent to the marriage, who aunſwered, that ſhe ment to ſend an Ambaſſador of hir owne into Scotlande, for that and other cauſes, and according to hir promiſe ſhee ſente one.

The Earle of
Murrey a ſui-
ter vnto the
Queene.

Shortely after, certaine captaines and men of warre in Saint Andrews, Dundee, and ſaint Iohns towne, receyued money about the ſame time of the earle of Murrey, to take parte wyth hym, for the which they were after puniſhed.

After the aſſemble at Striueling, the Queene ſeemed not to like of the Earle of Murrey ſo well as ſhee had done beefore, wherevppon hee departed the Courte, and repaired vnto Sainct Androws, where throughe the counſell of certayne perſons hee ſoughte wayes to ſtoppe the marriage.

Diſpenſation
hadde from
Rome for to
marrye.

The Queene neuertheleſſe ſente the Byſhoppe of Dunblane to Rome for a diſpenſation to marrie wyth the Lorde Darnelie, beeyng hir couſin in the ſeconde degree of cõſanguinitie, whiche hee obtayned, and ſente it home ſhortely after.

The Queene was then principally counſelled by the Erles of Atholl, and Lennox, the Lord Ruthuen, and their friends.

Conſultation
to ſtoppe the
marriage.

In the meane time, the Earle of Murrey perſwaded the Duke of Chatelleraulte, the Earle of Argile, and ſundrye other, to meete at Striueling, where they made a bande to ſtoppe the marriage, alledging the ſame to bee made for mayntenance of the Religion.

Gordon is
created Earle
of Huntley.

The Queene aduertiſed thereof, releaſſed the Lorde Gordon forthe of priſon, wherein hee hadde bene kepte within the Caſtell of Dunbar, and reſtoring hym to hys fathers landes, created hym Earle of Huntley.

Bothwell is ſent for.

She alſo ſent foꝛ the Erle of Bothwel to returne home, who was baniſhed, and was then in Fraunce.

Lord Darneley is made Duke of Albany.

Lord Darneley is proclaymed King.

The Queene is married.

In the moneth of July, the Loꝛd Darnely Earle of Roſſe, was made Duke of Albany, and on Saterday at euen, the eyght and twentith daye of the ſame moneth, befoꝛe the marriage, he was pꝛoclaymed King by yͤ Queenes commaundemente at the Market croſſe of Edenburgh, and on the nine and twentith daye of the ſame moneth, he was married to yͤ Queene in the Chappell of Holy Roode houſe, at fiue of the clocke in the moꝛning.

Certaine lords refuſe to appeare before the Queene.

Shoꝛtly after, the Duke of Chatellerault, the Earles of Argile, Murrey, and their complices, were ſommoned to appeare befoꝛe the Queene and hir Counſell within ſixe dayes, and bycauſe they refuſed ſo to do, they were put to the Hoꝛne.

An army gathered againſt them.

The L. wente vnto Dunfreis.

The Queene aſſembled an army, and wente to Glaſquo to purſue them, and the Duke and Erles, with other of their company came to Edenburgh, where the Caſtell ſhotte off at them, and therefoꝛe they departed towards Dunfreis, and were receyued by the Loꝛd Heris.

The Queene hearing thereof, by aduiſe of hir Counſell, aſſembled foꝛth of all the partes of the whole Realme an army, appointing yͤ ſame to bee at Beggar in the beginning of October, to purſue the Rebels.

Certayne Townes are puniſhed.

In the meane tyme, ſhee hearing that the Townes of Sainte Andꝛewes, Dundee, and Sainte Johns Towne, had helped the Loꝛdes to reiſe men of Warre foꝛ their ſuppoꝛte, paſſed thither hirſelfe, and tooke inquiſition thereof, gyuing oꝛder in thoſe Townes, that no ſuch thing ſhoulde afterwardes be put in pꝛactiſe: but there were none that ſuffered deathe foꝛ that matter, but diuers were committed to pꝛiſon in the Noꝛth partes of the Realme, as the Pꝛouoſt and Bailzeis of Sainte Andꝛewes, alſo certaine of the Towne of Dundee, and Sainte Johns Towne, and other were baniſhed, and diuers Barons, as Lundy, Lango, and Balward, were ſent to Aberden, and to other partes, where they remayned the winter following.

Aboute this time, the Queene tooke the Caſtell of Tantallon from the Earle of Moꝛton, bycauſe he was ſuſpected to fauoꝛ the Rebelles.

The keeping thereof was giuen to the Earle of Atholl.

A greate army.

The Queene returning to Edenburgh in September, pꝛepared al things neceſſary foꝛ the army, and departing from Edenburgh, came to Beggar, where all the noble men with theyꝛ retinues were aſſembled the eyght of October.

From thence they paſſed foꝛwarde to Dunfreys.

The Lord fle de into England.

In the meane time the Duke of Chatellerault, the Erles of Murrey, Glencarne, Rothes, the Loꝛd Ochiltre, the Abbot of Kilwinning, yͤ Lardes of Grange, Cunningham, Herdy, Pittarro, Maiſter James Holiburton tutoꝛ of Petcur, and others, hearing of the Queenes comming with an armye, fled into Englande, and came to Carleill, where they were receyued, the Earle of Bedfoꝛde at that time beeyng Loꝛde Liuetenant of the Noꝛth.

Their cō ers gote t pardon.

The loꝛde Heris then maiſter of Marwell conueyed them to the water of Sulwey, and afterwards returned to Dunfreiſe to the Queene, where of hir clemencie he gotte pardon of his offence: and the Lards of Lochinwar, and Dꝛūlanrig likewiſe.

The Que retu ned a gayne to E deoburg

After the armye had tarryed certayne dayes putting directiō foꝛ obſeruing of good oꝛder in yͤ Countrey, the Queene returned to Edinburgh, where ſhee remained all the nexte Winter.

The Qu ſent into France fo ayde.

The Queene ſente Mayſter David Chalmer Chauncelloꝛ of Roſſe into Fraunce to the King wyth letters foꝛ hys aſſiſtaunce againſte hir Rebelles, and ſhoꝛtely after the French king ſente a Gentleman called Monſieur Maluiſier into Scotlande wyth very frendely letters vnto the Queene, pꝛomiſing his helpe and aſſiſtāce againſte the Rebelles: which meſſage was moſt thankfully receyued, and the ſaid Maluoiſier honourably at his departure rewarded.

The Lo ſ nd to Queene Englad

The Q of Eng ſent vn Queene Scottes.

The Duke of Chatellerault, and the other Loꝛdes wyth him departed from Carleill vnto Newcaſteil vpon Tine, and from thence ſente the Erle of Murrey, and the Abbot of Kilwynnyng to the Queene of England, makyng ſuite to hir grace foꝛ aide to be reſtoꝛed to their countrey againe. The Queenes Maieſtie pꝛomiſed them, that ſhee woulde ſende a Gentleman to the Queene hir ſiſter, and moue hir in theyꝛ fauours as ſhee did, and ſo they retourned againe to Newcaſtell, where the Duke of Chatellerault perceyuing no other helpe appearing, ſente the Abbot of Kilwinnyng into Scotland to the Queene with letters, ſubmitting himſelfe to hir graces will, and ſo he obteigned pardon foꝛ him and his friends, with licence to paſſe into Frāce, there to remayne the ſpace of fiue yeares, and ſhoꝛtely after hee paſſed thꝛough Englande, and ſo ouer into France, accoꝛdyng to his appointment.

The Ki went Ha king.

The King paſt the moſt part of that Winter in the Countreys of Fiffe, Stratherne, Striuelingſhire, and Louthian, ſpending hys time in Hawking.

The Queene remained at Edinburgh wyth the Nobilitie, and bycauſe ſhee was conceyued wyth childe, trauailed little abꝛoade.

A Parl

In the meane time a Parliament was called

e Lords
exiled are
moned.

to bee holden in the moneth of Marche nexte enſuing, and ſommonaunce decreed agaynſte the Earle of Murrey, and the other Lordes that remayned in Englande, and alſo againſte the Earle of Argile, lying then in hys Countrey of Argile to heare them forfalted.

e King re-
ued the
er of Sainte
chaell.

1566

The Frenche King ſent Monſieur Rambeueillet into Scotlãd, as Ambaſſador from him to the Queene, with commiſſion, to make the King hir huſbande Knighte of the order of S. Michaell, which with great ſolemnitie and reuerence, was accompliſhed in the Chappell of Holy Roode houſe the tenth of February, beeing Sonday. After the which, the ſaid Rambeuellet returned into Fraunce, being hyghly rewarded.

e per-
ue with
e King.

e King
e perſwa-

From yͤ time that the Parliament was proclaymed, and the ſommonance publiſhed, the Earle of Murrays friends being in Scotlande, neuer ceaſſed to ſeeke all the wayes and meanes they coulde deuiſe to ſtay the ſame, in ſo muche that the Earle of Morton, the Lorde Ruthuen, and the Lorde Lindſey, ſecretely perſwaded the King to ſtay the Parliamente, and alſo to conſent to the reſtoring of the Earle of Murrey, and hys complices, makyng to hym faithfull promiſe, that if hee would followe their counſell, hee ſhoulde bee made Crowned King of Scotlande abſolutely, and the Queene ſo to haue leſſe to doe with the gouernemente afterwardes, wherethrough hee agreed to them.

e King is
into the
eenes pri-
amber.

id Ryche
ine.

And ſo after the Parliamente was aſſembled, the Lords of the Articles being choſen the ſeauenth daye of Marche, they perceyuing the forfalter like to proceede, and iudgement thereof to be giuen, the eleuenth of Marche nexte following, the King with the aſſiſtance of the ſayde Earle of Morton, the Lordes Ruthuen, and Lindſey, entred into the Queenes priuie Chãber about eyght of the clocke in the nighte, beeing Saterday, and the ninth of March, where beeing arrayed in warlike manner, the Lorde Ruthuen declared vnto the Queene, that they would not ſuffer hir any longer to haue the gouernemente of the Realme, to abuſe the ſame by the counſell of ſtraungers, as ſhe had done, and therefore pulled violentlye forthe of hir Chamber Dauid Richeo, an Italian, that was one of hir Secretaries, crying pitiouſly, *Iuſticia, Iuſticia*: and in hir vtter Chamber they ſuddaynely ſlewe hym with greate crueltie: the Kyng himſelfe was alſo preſent, and his dagger was likewiſe found ſticking in the dead body.

The Queene was ſhut vp within hir Chãber, and certaine appoynted to attende hir, and to keepe all the doores and gates aboute the Palaice.

The Earle of Huntley is fled and the reſidue alſo.

The Earles of Huntley and Bothwell eſcaped by a backe windowe forth of their chamber, whereof the Kyng and his company were right ſorye.

The Earle of Atholl and others beeing wyth hym, departed in the nyghte ſeaſon by a Ferrie ouer the Forthe, called the Queenes Ferrie, and wente to Saint Iohns Towne.

On the morrow, being Sũday (the Queene beyng ſecretely kept) proclamation was made, that all the lords that had voice in Parliament, ſhould departe forth of the towne of Edenburgh: and after noone the ſame day, the erles of Murrey and Rothes with other of their companies that came forth from Newcaſtell the Satturdaye beefore, came to the Abbey of Holy Roode Houſe, about ſixe of the clocke in the after noone, where they were thãkfully receiued by the king and his company.

The exiled Lords came in to Scotlande.

They ſpake alſo with the Queene, who had no greate comforte of their commyng.

The morrowe following, beyng Monday, the erle of Murrey and the other that were ſommoned, paſt to the Tolbuith of Edenburgh, and made their proteſtation there, that they were readye to aunſwere in Parliament, and none appeared to accuſe them.

They make their proteſtation.

After this, it was concluded to keepe the Queene in ſtraight warde, but by hir pollitike demeanor, their purpoſe in that behalf was broken: for by ſecret conference wyth the Kyng, ſhe perſwaded hym to thinke that he had ioyned himſelfe with thoſe that woulde be his deſtruction, if it happened with hir otherwiſe than well, as was no leſſe to bee doubted, by reaſon of the highe diſpleaſure that ſhee hadde taken beeyng quicke with childe: through the which perſwaſion, and other miſlikyng of things, hee departed ſecretely with hir in the night ſeaſon, accompanied onely wyth twoo men, and firſte came vnto Seiton, and from thence to Dunbar, whyther the Earles of Huntley and Bothwell haſtily repaired, by whoſe counſell, and other then with hir, ſhee cauſed Proclamation to bee made in dyuers partes of the Realme, charging al manner of menne in feate of warre, to come vnto hyr to Dunbar, to paſſe from thence vnto Edenburgh, within ſyxe dayes after.

The Queene had conference wyth the king.

The King was ſoone perſwaded.

Huntley and Bothwell.

Proclamatiõ made.

Shee alſo ſente letters to the ſame effect vnto dyuers noble menne of the Realme, who prepared themſelues with greate diligence to meete hir.

The Earle of Murrey and the reſte of the Lordes beeyng wyth hym, hearyng

Pardon is craued and obteyned.

The murtherers are excepted.

the preparation that was made agaynſt them, and perceyuing themſelues not able to reſiſte, thought good euery of thẽ to ſeke ſome particular meane, to obteyn remiſſion at the Queenes hands, which they obteyned all of them, except the erle of Morton, the Lords Ruthuen, Lindſey, and ſuche other as were wyth them at the ſlaughter of Dauid Richeo. Wherupõ they diſpairing of pardon, fled into England, where the Lorde Ruthuen died at Newcaſtell ſhortly after as in place ye ſhall heare.

Many pardoned.

The Earle of Lennox beeyng partaker with them, came to Dunbar, and gote pardon: the Earle of Glencarne and the Liarde of Cunningham head came thither alſo, and were pardoned.

Likewiſe the Earle of Rothes purchaſed his pardon the ſame time.

The Earles of Argile and Murray, and the Lord Boyd, beeing at Lithquo, ſente to the Q. for their pardon, and obteyned it, beeing commaunded neuertheleſſe to paſſe into Argile, and to remayne there during hir graces pleaſure, which commaundement they obeyd.

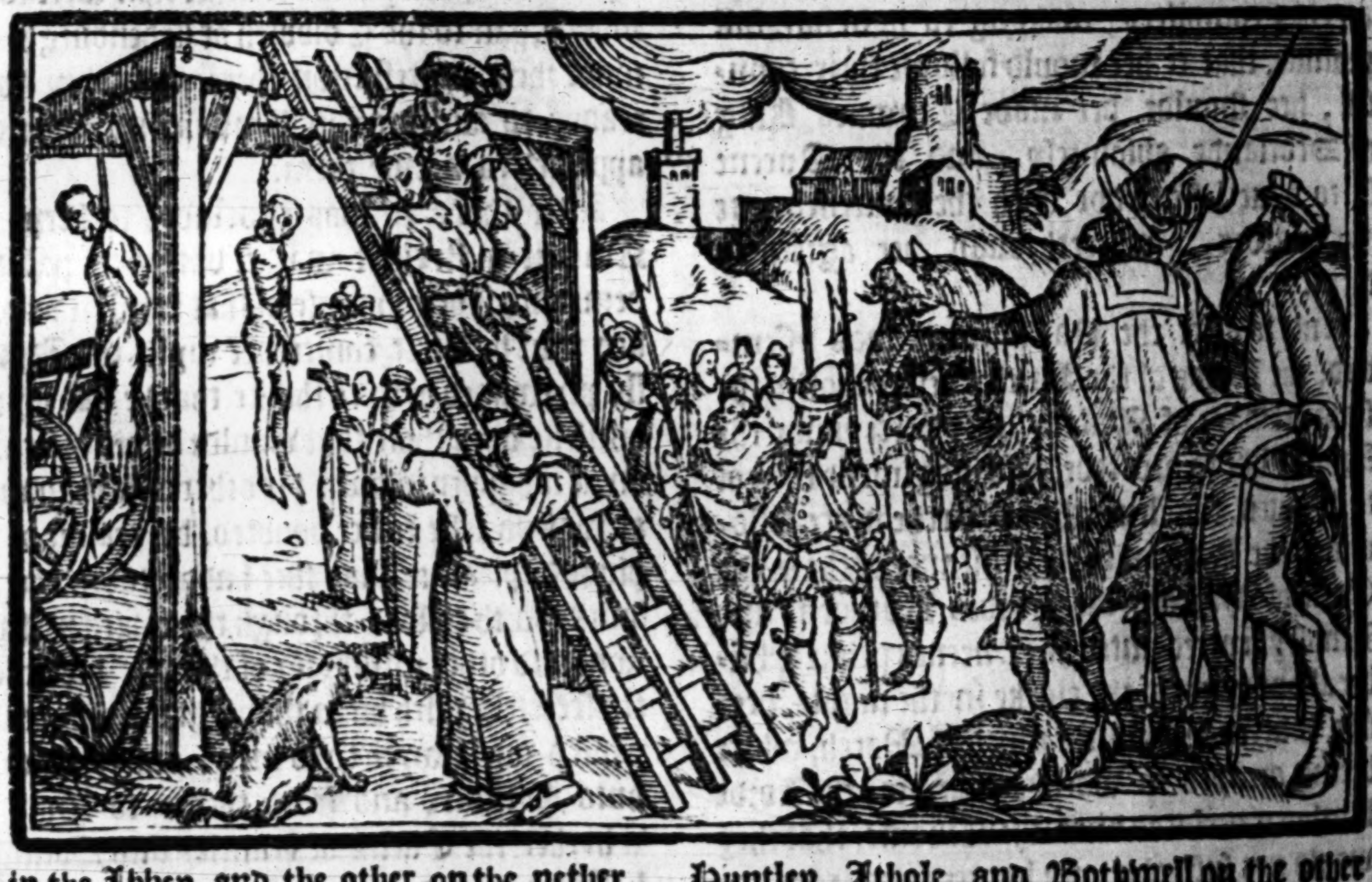
The Queene commeth to Edenburgh.

The eyghtenth of March, the Queene wel accompanyed, came to Hadington towardes nyghte, and on the nineteenth day, the Biſhoppe of Saint Andrewes, and the Hamiltons mette hir at Muſkelburgh, and ſo likewiſe dyd the Lords Leningſton, Flemming, Hume, Borthwike, and manye other noble menne, and conueyd hir vnto Edenburgh: ſhee lodged in the Byſhoppe of Dunkeldes lodging, and tarried there a certaine ſpace, hauing with hir the Erles of Huntley, Athole, Bothwell, Crawforde, Merſhall, Sutherland, Cathnes, the Biſhop of Sainte Andrewes and Roſſe, the Lordes Leningſton, Flemming, and diuers other noble men, by whoſe counſell order was taken for redreſſing of the ſtate of the Realme, whereby the ſame was ſhortly broughte to greate quietneſſe.

After this, the Queene perceyuing hirſelfe to drawe neere the tyme of hir deliuerance, wente to the caſtell of Edenburgh, there to remayne til ſhe were deliuered of hir birth.

Executio done vppo the murth ters.

In the moneth of May Thomas Scot ſheriffe deputie of Perth, and a Prieſte called ſir Henry Yair ſeruant to the Lord Ruthuen, were apprehended for being doers in the ſlaughter of Dauid, and were hanged and quartred. Their heades were ſette the one alofte on the Tower in the Abbey, and the other on the nether bow.



In the moneth of Aprill this yeare the Byſhop of Brechin preſidente of the Seſſion, deceaſſed, and in his roumth ſucceeded to that biſhoprike, a friende and Couſin to the Earle of Argile, called Campbell.

The Queene agreeth all the Lords.

In the ende of Aprill, the Queene willing to haue the Earles of Argile and Murrey ioyned with the reſidue of the Counſell, ſente for them to come to the Caſtell of Edenburgh, where all griefes and controuerſies that reſted betwixt them on the one ſide, and the Earles of Huntley, Athole, and Bothwell on the other ſide, were referred to the Queene, who agreed them, and they all remayned with hir the reſt of the Sommer.

The Queene made ſute t the Queene England.

The Queene hearing that the Earle of Morton, the Lorde Ruthuen, and the other their aſſiſtantes were receyued in Englande, and remayned at Newcaſtell, ſhe ſente Maiſter James Thornton, Chantor of Murrey, with letters to the Queene of Englande, and alſo to the King of France, and other hir friends, there declaring by the tenor of the ſame letters, the abuſe and preſumptuous attemptes of certayne hir ſubiects againſt hir, deſiring them not to receiue them within their Realmes nor Dominions: and ſhortly after, the Queene of Englande ſente a Gentleman called Henry Killigrew into Scotlande, with letters and meſſage to the Queene, promiſing to cauſe them to departe forthe of hir Realme of Englande, and withall ſente vnto them warning to departe betwixte that preſente time, and Midſommer then nexte enſuing. But in the meane time the Lorde Ruthuen departed this life at Newcaſtell, with great repentance of his former life, giuing God thankes for that he had lent him time to call to him for mercy and forgiueneſſe whereof he did aſſure himſelfe.

e Queene Englan unswere.

e Lorde thuen parted.

And from thenceforth the Earle of Morton and the maiſter of Ruthuen remayned ſecretely neere to Anwicke, and other places on the borders, till they obteyned pardon, and were reſtored.

Ambaſ- from the ng of nce.

About this time, there came from the King of Fraunce a wiſe aged Gentleman, named Monſieur la Croc, as his Ambaſſador, and remayned in Scotlande all the Winter following.

In the moneth of Iune, the Queene perceiuing the tyme of hir deliuerance to approche, wrote vnto all the principall noble men of hir Realm, to come and remaine within the towne of Edenburgh, during the time of hir deliuerance, where they aſſembled, and the King hir huſbande, with the Earles of Argile, Murrey, Atholl and Mar, remained with hir in the Caſtell, and the Erle of Huntley, Bothwel, & the remaynant of the Lords, lodged in the towne, and vppon the nineteenth daye of the ſame moneth of Iune, betwixte tenne and eleuen of the clocke before noone, hir grace was deliuered of a goodly manchild, to the greate comforte of hir highneſſe, and all hir ſubiects, whereof the nobilitie did greately reioyce, and incontinently all the artillerie in the Caſtell was ſhotte off, and all the Lords and people came togither in the Church of Saint Giles, to giue thankes to Almightie God for his great and beneficiall goodneſſe ſhewed to thẽ, in giuing to thẽ a Prince, and withall made their humble prayers vnto hys deuine Maieſtie, to endue hym wyth the feare of God, with vertue and knowledge to gouerne the Realme, and Subiectes thereof, whenſoeuer the ſame ſhoulde fortune to come into his handes.

Prince ne.

The ſame nyghte at euen, there were greate fyres of ioy made in the Towne of Edenburgh, and in all the Countrey aboute, and likewiſe through all the whole Realme, as the aduertiſementes were certifyed thereof.

The Queene remayned ſtill in the Caſtell of Edenburgh all the moneth of Iulie following, till ſhee hadde recouered hir healthe and ſtrength.

In the beginning of Auguſt, ſhe paſſed vppe the water of Fourth to Alloway, where ſhe remayned certaine dayes, the Earles of Murrey and Mar beeing in companye wyth hyr, and there the Kyng hyr Huſbande came to viſit hir.

The ſame time Monſieur Maluoiſir came into Scotland from the King of France, bringing letters to the Queene, who was conueyd by the Biſhoppe of Roſſe to Alloway, where he was ioyfully receyued, courteouſly enterteyned, and highly rewarded.

The Q. of Englande ſent M. Henry Killegrewe to the Queene with the like meſſage, reioyſing for hir ſafe and happye deliuerance, who likewiſe was receyued in moſt thankefull manner, and well rewarded.

The Princes Godfathers and Godmothers.

Heere is to bee noted, that ſhortly after ſhee was broughte to bedde, ſhee ſente one of hyr Gentlemen called Monſieur Clarimoich, with letters to the King of Fraunce, and to the Duke of Sauoy, deſiring them to ſende Ambaſſadors, whyche in their name as Godfathers, myghte receyue hir ſonne at the Baptiſme.

Moreouer, ſhe ſente Iames Meluine to the Queene of Englande wyth the lyke meſſage, deſyring hyr Maieſtie to bee Godmother.

Theſe Princes were glad heereof, and promiſed to ſende Ambaſſadors to that effect, as afterwards they did.

In the later ende of Auguſt, the Queene accompanyed with the Kyng hir Huſbande, the Earles of Huntley, Murrey, Bothwell, and dyuers other, wente into Meggat lande, there to paſſe the tyme in Hunting, where they remayned certayne dayes and returning to Edenburgh, cauſed the Prince to be conueyd vnto Striueling Caſtell, where he was committed in keeping to the Lord Erſkin, after Earle of Mar, and his Ladye. And from thence, the Queene wente a Progreſſe, into Glen Arknay.

1567

In Ianuary, the Kyng came to Glaſquo, where he fell ſicke, and remouing from thence, wente to Edenburgh, and the Queene accompanyed him.

She lodged at Holy Roode Houſe, but hee was lodged in a houſe within the towne neere to the Kirk a field, within the whiche, the tenth of February in the nighte, hee was ſhamefully murthered, togyther wyth one William Parat.

The Kyng murthered.

Hee was caſte into an Orcharde, and herewith the houſe was blowen vp wyth gũpowder.

The Earle of Bothwell murthered the King.

The Earle of Bothwell was euen at the firſt vehemẽtly ſuſpected to be yͤ principall offẽdor in this moſt hainous & deteſtable murther, but the matter was ſo handled, that he was not only acquite by an aſſiſe, as they call it, but alſo ſhortely after married the Queene, by reaſon whereof, the ſuſpition which mẽ had alreadye conceyued that ſhee ſhoulde be alſo priuie to the murder, was nothyng diminiſhed. But as I haue not to deale in that matter, ſo yet it is maniſeſt, that ſome of the Scottiſhe nobilitie ſore repinyng and malignyng at ſuche the ſpeedye aduauncement of Bothwell (who as euery mã perſwaded hymſelfe, was the principall author of the murther) gote them to armes on the ſuddayne, before the Queene or Bothwell were aduertiſed of their meaning, they being then at Borthwike Caſtell, eyght myles diſtante from Edenburgh.

The Lords get them to armes.

The chiefe mouers of the quarrell againſt the Q and Bothwell.

The deuiſers and procurers of this enterpriſe were knowen to bee the Lardes of Tallibardin and Grange, who moued it firſte to the Earle of Morton, then remaynyng in Dowglas: William Maitlãd the yong Lard of Lethington, principall Secretary to the Queene, beeing departed from hir eyghte dayes before had alſo procured the Lord Hume to ioine with the other in that quarrell.

Liberton Kirke.

The place of their meeting was appoynted at Liberton Kirk, two myles from Edenburgh, on Tewſday in the night the tenthe of Iune, whyther the Earle of Morton came firſt, the Lord Hume next.

And in the morning beeing Wedneſday, there came to them the Earle of Mar, who hadde the Prince in his keeping within the Caſtell of Striueling, but bycauſe the Earle of Glencarne, the Lordes Lindſey, Ruthuen and Simple, the Maiſter of Grahame and others, came not to the place at the preciſe appoynted houre, they miſſed their purpoſe to take the Queene and Bothwell at Borthwike, as they had deuiſed, and ſo the Queene and Bothwell aduertiſed of their aſſemble, ſlipte away to the Caſtell of Dunbar.

The Lordes diſappoynted of theyr purpoſe.

The Lordes herevppon came the ſame Wedneſday vnto Edenburgh, and within two dayes after, the Earle of Atholl alſo came vnto them.

The Queene gathereth forces.

The Queene in the meane time vſed what diligence ſhee mighte to gather forces, ſpecially in the Mers and Eaſt Louthian, and thinking that the enterpriſe of the Lords had bin broken and diſappoynted, marched from Dunbar on Saterday the fourteenth of Iune, firſt to Hathington, and there reſting till the euen, ſet forwarde to Gladiſmore, and taking there deliberation in the matter, they lodged that nyghte at Seaton, and in the morning marched in order of battaile towardes Carbarry hill, and there choſe foorthe a plotte of ground of greate aduantage, appoynting to fyghte on foote, bycauſe the power of the Lordes in number of Horſemenne, was ſtronger than the Queenes, and of greater experience.

Carbarry

There were with the Queene and Bothwell the Lordes Seaton, Yeſter and Borthwike: alſo the Lardes of Wauchton, Bas, Ormiſton, Weaderburne, Blackater, and Langton.

They hadde with them alſo two hundred Harquebuſiers waged, and of greate artillerie, ſome fielde pieces. Their whole number was eſteemed to bee aboute two thouſande, but the more part of them were commons and Countreymen.

The numb o the Qu Power.

The Earles of Morton, Athol, Mar, Glencarne, the Lords of Hume, Lindſey, Ruthuen, Simple and Sanquhar. The Lardes of Drũlanrig, Tulibarden, Grange, and yong Seſforde, were aſſembled togither in Edenburgh with a power like in number to the Queenes, but for the more part conſiſting of Gentlemen, although not furniſhed with anye number of Harquebuſiers, excepte a fewe of the Towneſmen of Edenburgh, that willingly ioyned with them in that quarrell.

The powe the Lord

Vpon the fiftenth of Iune, they came forthe of the Towne, and approched their aduerſaries, but there was Monſieur La Croque, the french Kings Imbaſſadors, who tooke greate paine in trauelling betwixte the parties to reduce them to ſome agreemente, but ſtill the Queenes part beganne to decreaſe, dyuers ſhrinking away from hir, ſo that after it beganne to growe towardes the euening, Bothwell fledde to the Caſtell of Dunbar, but the Queene deſirous to talke with the Larde of Grange, wente to hym, accompanyed only with one Captaine, and after ſome talke wyth hym, ſhee paſſed to the Lordes, who tooke hir with them to Edenburgh.

The Quee commeth to the Lords.

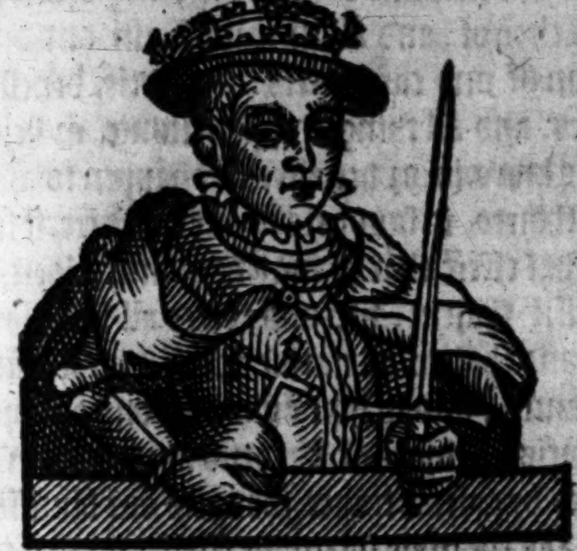
The Hamiltons were on the way commyng to aſſiſt the Queene, wyth ſeauen or eyghte hundred Horſemenne, but before they coulde reache to the place, the Queene was in the handes of the Lordes, and ſo they returned.

The Larde of Cragmiller, then prouoſt of Edenburgh, and Sir Iames Balfour, alſo the Captaine of the Caſtell, were ioyned in this cõfederacie with the Lordes, as ſhortly after it appeared. The Queene after this, was

conueyd

Th: queene ſent to ochleuen.

conueyed ouer the Forth and brought to Lochleuen, where ſhe was appoynted to remayne in warde vnder the ſaue keepyng of Williā Dowglas Lard of that place. The Erle Bothwell eſcappyng to Dunbar founde meanes to flee into Denmarke, where he was ſtayed and committed to pryſon, wherein at length he died. Diuers perſons afterwardes were apprehended as parties to the murder of the King, and thereupon condemned, were executed, confeſſing the ſayd Earle to be the principall executour of the ſame murder.



King ames he ſixt.

The nientēth of July Charles James the yong Prince of Scotlande, after a Sermon made by John Knokes, was crowned Kyng of Scottes in Sterling Church, where were redde certayne letters of commiſſion and procuration with the Queenes priuy ſeale at thē for the eſtabliſhing of the ſame coronation. The firſt for hyr reſignation of the crowne and gouernment of the yong Prince hyr Sonne. The ſeconde to authoriſe the Earle of Murrey to be regent during the Kings minoritie. The thirde, to giue authoritie, and power to ſeuen other ioynyng with the ſayde Earle of Murrey, in caſe he ſhould refuſe to exerciſe the ſame alone, that is to ſay, the Duke of Chatellerault, the Earles of Lennox, Argile, Athol, Morton, Glencarne, and Mar.

The tenors of whiche letters of commiſſion and procuration do here enſue, as we find them imprinted at Edenburgh by Robert Lekpreuic, Printer to the King of Scottes, the. vj. of Aprill *Anno Chriſti*, 1568. among the Actes of Parliament begonne, and holde at Edenburgh the xv. of Decēber in the yeare. 1567. by James Earle of Murray Lord Abernethie, &c. Regent to the ſayde King.

MArie be the grace of God Quene of Scottis, To all and ſundrie our Judgeis and Myniſteris of lawe, liegis and ſubiectis quhome it effeiris to quhais knawlege thir our letters ſall cum, greeting. Forſamekle as by lange irkſum and tedious trauell takin by vs, in the gouernament of this our realme & liegis thairof, we are ſa verit and weryit, that our bodie, ſpirite and ſencis, are altogeddir become vnhabill langer to trauell in that rowme. And thairfore we haue dimittit and renuncit the office of gouernement of this our realme and liegis thairof, in fauouris of our onely maiſt deir Sonne, natiue Prince of this our realme. And becauſe of his tender youth and inhabillitie to vſe the ſaide gouernement in his awin perſoun, during his minoritie, we haue conſtitute our deereſt brother James Earle of Murray, Lorde Abyrnethie, &c. Regent to our ſayde ſonne, realme and liegis foirſaydis. And in reſpect that our ſaide deereſt brother is actually furthe of our realme, and cannot inſtantly be preſent to accepte the ſayde office of Regentrie vpon him, and vſe and exerce ẏͤ ſamyn during our ſaydis deereſt ſonys minoritie: we quhill his returning within our Realme or in cais of his deceis haue maide, cōſtitute, namit, appointit, and ordaynit, and by thir our letteris makis, conſtitutis, namis, appointis and ordanis our traiſt couſingis and counſalouris, James Duke of Chatellerault, Earle of Arrane, Lorde Hammiltoun, Matho Erle of Leuinax, Lorde Dernley, &c. Archibald Erle of Argile, Lord Campbell and Lorne, &c. John Erle of Athole, James erle of Mortoun, Alexander Erle of Glencarne, & John Erle of Mar, Regentis to our ſaid deereſt ſonne, realme and liegis, and in cais our ſaide brother James Erle of Murray cum within our realme, and refuſis to accept the ſayde office of Regentrie vpon his ſingulare perſoun, we make, conſtitute, name, appoint, and ordeyne, our traiſt couſingis and Counſallouris foirſaydis, and our ſayd brother Regentis of our ſaide deir ſonne, realme and liegis.

Geuand, grantand and committand, to thame or ony Fiue of thame coniunctlie full power for our ſaide ſonne, and in his name to reſſaue reſignacyonnis of landis, make diſpoſitionnis of wairdis, nonentreſſis, releuis, mariageis, beneficis, eſchetis, officis and vtheris, caſualiteis and priuiledgeis, quhat ſumeuer concerning the ſaid office, Signatouris thayr vpon to make, ſubſcriue, and cauſe be paſſe through the ſeillis. And to vſe and exerce the ſaide office of Regentrie in all thingis, priuiledgeis and commoditeis, ſicklike as freelie and with als grait libertie as ony regent or gouernor to vs, or our predeceſſouris vſit the ſamin in ony tymes bygane. Promittand

to halde firme and ſtabill in the worde and faith of ane Prince to quhatſumeuer thingis our ſaidis traiſt couſingis dois in the premiſſis. Charginge heirfore zow all and ſundrie our Judgeis and myniſteris of law, lieges and ſubiectis forſaydis, to anſwer & obey to our ſaidis traiſt couſingis, Regentis forſaidis in all and ſundry things concerning the ſayde office of regentrie during our ſaide deereſt ſonis minoritie, and ay and quhil he be of the age of ſeuintene zeiris compleit. As ze and ilk ane of zow wil declair zow luiſinge ſubiectis to our ſayd maiſt deir ſone, zour natiue Prince, & vnder all paine, charge and offence that ze and ilk ane of zow maie commit and inrin agains his maieſtie in that pairt. Subſcriuit with our hande, and giuẽ vnder our priuy ſeill, at Lochleuin the .xxiiij. day of Julij, and of our reigne the twentie fiue zeir.

Marie be the grace of God Quene of Scottis. To all and ſundrie our Judgeis, and Miniſteris of Law, liegis, and ſubiectis quhome it effeiris, to quhais knawlege thir our letteris ſall cum, greting. Forſamekle, as ſen our arriuall, & returning within our Realme, we willing the commoun commoditie, welth, profeit, and quietnes thairof, lieges, and ſubiectis of the ſamin, haue employit our body, ſpirite, haill ſenceis, and forcis to gouerne the ſamin, in ſic ſort that our royall, & honorabill eſtate mycht ſtand, and continew with vs, and our poſteritie, and our luiſing, and kynde liegis mycht enioy the quietnes of trew ſubiectis. In trauelling quhairin, not onlie is our body, ſpirite, & ſencis ſa vexit, brokin, and vnquyetit, that langer we are not of habilitie be ony meane to indure ſa greit and intollerabill panis & trauellis, quhairwith we ar altogidder weryit, bot als greit commotiounis and troublis, be ſindrie occaſiounis in the meintyme hes enſewit thairin to our greit greif. And ſeing it hes bene the pleſour of the eternall God, of his kyndlie luſe, mercie, & gudnes to grant vnto vs, of our awin perſoun, ane Sone, quha in cais be the hand of God we be deceit, will, and of rycht, and of equitie man, and aucht to ſuccied to vs and to the gouernment of our Realme. And knawing that all creaturis ar ſubiect to that immutabill decreit of the eternal, anis to rander and gif vp this lyfe temporall, (the hour and tyme quhairof is maiſt vncertane) and in cais be deceis we be takin fra this lyfe, during the tyme of his minoritie, it may be dowtit greitlie that reſiſtance, and troubill may be maid to our ſaid Sone, now natiue Prince of this our Realme, in his tender zeires (being ſwa deſtitute of vs) to ſucceid to that rowme & Kingdome quhilk maiſt iuſtlie of al Lawis appertenis to him. Quhilk inconuenient be Godis help and gude prouidence, we mene to preuent, in ſic maner, that it ſall not ly in the power of ony vnnaturall ſubiectis to reſiſt Godis ordinance in that behalf. And vnderſtanding that na thing eirdlie is mair ioyous, and happy to vs, nor to ſe our ſaid derreſt Sone, in our awin lyfe time peciablie placit in that rowme, and honorabill eſtate quhairto he iuſtlie aucht & man ſucceid to. We of the motherlie affectioun we beir toward our ſaid onlie Sone, haue renuncit, and dimittit, and be thir our letteris, frelie, of our awin motiue will renuncis, and dimittis the gouernement, gyding and gouerning of this our Realme of Scotland, liegis, and ſubiectis thairof, and all intromiſſioun and diſpoſitioun of ony caſualiteis, propertie, benefices, offices, and all thingis apperteining, or heirtofoir is knawin, or heirefter ſall happen to appertene thairto, in fauouris of our ſaid derreſt ſone. To that effect, that he may be plantit, placit, and poſſeſſit thairin, vſe and exerce all thingis belangand thairto, as natiue King, and Prince of the ſamin, and ſiclyke as we or ony our predeceſſouris, Kingis of Scottis, hes done in ony tymes bypaſt. Attoure, that this our dimiſſioun may tak the mair ſolempne effect, and that nane pretend ignorãce thairof, we haue geuin, grantit, and committit, and be thir our letters geuis grantis, and committis our commiſſioun full, frie, and plane power, generall, and ſpeciall cõmand, to our traiſt couſingis, Patrik Lord Lindeſay of the Byris, and Williame Lord Ruthuen, and to ilk ane of thame coniunctly & ſeuerally, to compeir before ſa mony of the Nobilitie, Clergie, Burgeſſis, & vther pepill of our Realme, as ſall happin to be aſſemblit to that effect in our Burgh of Striuiling or ony vther place, or placis quhair it ſalbe thocht maiſt conuenient, at ony day or dayis, and thair publictlie in thair preſence, for vs, in our name, and vpon our behalf dimit, and renunce the gouernement, gyding, and reuling of this our Realme, liegis, and ſubiectis thairof, all intromiſſioun with the propertie, caſualitie, or vtheris thingis appertening to vs thairby, and all rycht, and tytle that we had, hes, or may haue be ony maner of way thairto, in fauouris of our ſaid Sone, to that effect, that he may be inaugurat, placit, and rowmit thairin, and the Crowne royall deliuerit to him, and be obeyit in all thingis concerning the ſamin, as we, or our predeceſſouris hes bene in tymes bypaſt. And in likewiſe be thir preſentis geuis, grantis, and committis our full, frie, and plane power, to our rycht traiſt couſingis, James Erle of Mortoun, Lord of Dalkeith. Johne Erle of Athole. &c. Johne Erle of Mar. &c. Alexãder Erle of Glencairne, Williame Erle of Menteith, John Maiſter of Grahame, Alexander Lord Hume, Adam Biſchop of Orknay, the Prouoſtis of Dundie, Montrois, or ony of thame, to reſſaue the ſaid renunciatioun, and dimiſſioun in fauouris of our ſaid Sone, & thaireſter the reſſauing thairof, to plant, place, and inaugurat him in the Kingdome, and with all ceremonies requyſit to put the Crowne royall vpon his heid, in ſigne and takin of the eſtableſing of him thairin, and in his name to mak, and gif to the ſaidis Nobilitie, Clergy, Burgeſſis, and vtheris our liegis, his Princely and Kingly aith deſully, and lauchfully as efferis. And to reſſaue thair aithis, for dew and lauchfull homage to be maid be thame to him, in all tymes cuming, as becummis ſubiectis to thair natiue King and Prince. And generally all and ſundrie vther thingis to do, exerce, and vſe, that for ſure performance and accompliſhment heirof may, or can be done, firme and ſtable haldand, and for to hald all and quhatſumeuer thingis in our name, in the premiſſis leidis to be done, in the word and faithfull promis of ane Prince. And ordanis thir our letters (gif neid beis) to be publiſt at all places neidfull. Subſcriuit with our hand, and geuin vnder our preuie Seil, At Lochleuin the. xxiiij. day of Julij. And of our Regne the. xxv. zeir. 1567.

MArie be yͤ grace of God, Quene of Scottis, to all and ſindrie our Jugeis, and Miniſteris of our Lawis, liegis, and ſubiectis quhome it efferis, to quhais knawlege thir our letteris ſall cum, greting, Forſamickle, as efter lang, greit, and intollerabill panis, & laubouris takin be vs ſen our arriuall within our Realme, for gouernement thairof, and keping of the liegis of the ſame in quyetnes, we haue not onlie bene vexit in our ſpirite, body, and ſences thairby, bot als at lenth ar altogidder ſa vexit thairof, that our habilitie, and ſtrenth of body is not habill langer to indure the ſamin.

Thairfore, and becauſe nathing eirdlie can be mair confortabil and happy to vs in this eird, nor in our lyfetime to ſe our deir Sone, the natiue Prince of this our Realme, placit in the Kingdome thairof, and the Crowne royall ſet on his heid, we of our owin fre will, and ſpeciall motiue, haue dimittit, and renuncit the gouernment, gyding, & gouerning of this our Realme, of Scotland, liegis, and ſubiectis thairof, in fauouris of our ſayd Sone, to that effect, that in all times heirafter, he may peciablie, and quietly enioy the ſamin without troubill, and be obeyit as natiue King, and Prince of the ſamin be the liegis thairof. And vnderſtāding that be reſſoun of his tender zouth, he is not of habilitie in his awin perſoun to adminiſtrate in his Kinglie rowme, and gouernement, as equytie requyris, quhill that heirefter he cum to the zeires of diſcretioun. And als knawing the proximitie of blude ſtandand betuix vs, our ſaid Sone, & our derreſt brother James Erle of Murray, Lord Abirnethie. &c. And hauand experience of the naturall affectioun, and tenderly lufe he hes in all tymes borne, and preſently beiris towardis vs, honour, and eſtate of our ſaide Sone. Of quhais lufe, and fauour towardis him we can not bot aſſure our ſelf. To quhome na greter honour, ioy, nor felicitie in eird can cum, nor to ſe our ſaid Sone inaugurat in his Kingdome, feirit, reuerencit, and obeyit be his liegis thairof. In reſpect quhairof, and of the certanetie, and notoritie, of the honeſtie, habilitie, qualificatioun, and ſufficiencie of our ſaid derreſt brother, to haue the cure and Regiment of our ſaid Sone, Realme, and liegis foirſaidis, during our ſaid Sonis minoritie. We haue maid, namit, appointit, conſtitute, and ordanit, and be thir our letteris namis, appointis, makis, cōſtitutis, and ordanis our ſaid derreſt brother James erle of Murray, Regent to our ſaid derreſt Sone, Realme, and liegis foirſaidis, during his minoritie and les age, and ay and quhill he be of the age of ſeuintene zeiris compleit. And that our ſaid brother be callit during the ſaid ſpace, Regent to our ſaid Sone, his Realme, and liegis. Swa that our ſaid Sone efter the completing of the zeiris foirſaidis, in his awin perſoun may tak vpon him the ſaid gouernement, and vſe, & exerce all and ſindrie priuilegis, honouris, and vtheris immuniteis that appertenis to the office of ane King, alſweill in gouerning his Realme & pepill, according to the Lawis, as in repreſſing the violēce of ſic as wald inuaid, or iniuſtlie reſiſt him or thame, or his authoritie Royal. With power to our ſaid derreſt brother James Erle of Murray, in name, authoritie, and behalf of our ſaid maiſt deir Sone, to reſſaue reſignatiounis of quhatſumeuer landis haldin of him, or zit of offices, Caſtellis, Towris, Fortalices, mylnis, fiſchingis, woddis, benefices, or pertinentis quhatſumeuer, the ſamin againe in our ſaid Sonis name to gif, and deliuer ſignaturis thairvpon, & vpon the giftis of wairdis, nonentreſſis, and releues of landis, and mariageis of airis falland, or that ſall happin to fall in our ſaid Sonis handis as ſuperiour thairof. And als vpon preſentatioun of landis, benefices, eſchetis of guids mouabil and vnmouabill, dettis and takkis, reſpittis remiſſiounis, ſuperſedereis, and vpon the diſpoſitioun of offices vacand, or quhen thay ſall happin to vaik, to ſubſcriue, and cauſe be paſt the Seillis the ſaid office of Regentrie, to vſe & exerce in all thingis, priuilegis, and commoditeis, ſiclyke as frelie, and with als greit libertie, as ony Regent, or Gouernour to vſe, or our predeceſſouris vſit in ony tymes bygane,

The kings othe.

A Parliament holden at Edenburgh.

An acte for the aboliſhing of the Popes authoritie in Scotland.

The caſtell of Dunbar, and the fort of Inchkeith to be raſed.

gaue, and ſiclyke as gif euerie heid, priuilege and article concerning the ſaid office wer at lenth expreſſit, and amplifyit in thir our letteris.

Promiſand to hald firme and ſtabill in the word and faith of ane Prince, to quhatſumeuer thingis our ſaid derreſt brother in the premiſſis happinnis to do. Chargeing heirfoir zow all, and ſindrie our Jugeis, & Miniſteris of Law, liegis, and ſubiectis foirſaidis, to anſwer and obey to our ſaid derreſt brother, in all and ſindrie thingis concerning the ſaid office of Regentrie, as ze and ilk ane of zow will declair zow luifing ſubiectis, to our ſaid maiſt deir Sone, and vnder all paine, charge, and offence that ze and ilk ane of zow may commit, and incur againis his Maieſtie in that pairt. Subſcriuit with our hand, and geuin vnder our priuie Seill, At Lochleuin the .xxiiij. day of Julij. And of our Regne, the twentie fyue zeir.

The kings othe.

These Commiſſions being redde, the Biſhop of Argile with two ſuperintendentes proceeded to the Coronation, the Erle of Morton, and the Lord Hume tooke the othe for the king, that he ſhould rule in the faith, feare, and loue of God, and to mainteyne the religion then preached & exerciſed in Scotlande, and to perſecute all aduerſaries to the ſame. The whole ceremonie was done in the Scottes Engliſhe tongue, the Queene mother to the King remaynyng at that tyme pryſoner in Lochleuin.

A Parliament holden at Edenburgh.

The .xv. of December a Parliament begonne being holden at Edenburgh before the Earle of Murrey Lord Regent, in the which diuers actes and Statutes were deuiſed, made and ratified: as firſte concernyng the Queenes demiſſion of hir Crowne, and reſignation thereof made to hyr Sonne King James the ſixte. And likewiſe concernyng the inſtituting of the Earle of Murrey in the Regencie of the Realme, which he tooke vpon hym the two and twentie day of Auguſt laſte paſte, accordyng to hir letters of commiſſion and procuration aboue ſpecified.

An acte for the aboliſhing of the Popes authoritie in Scotland.

Alſo there was an Acte made for the aboliſhyng of the Pope, and his vſurped authoritie, and an other Acte for the annullyng of former Actes made in Parliament for mayntenaunce of ſuperſtition and Idolatrie, and hereunto was annexed a confeſſion of the fayth and doctrine receyued by the Proteſtantes of the Realme of Scotlande, authoriſed in the ſame Parliament. There was alſo an acte made for the indempnitie of thoſe that had leuied warre, and apprehended the Queene at Carbarrie hill, the fifteenth of July laſt paſt, and concernyng the deteyning of hir in Lochleuin.

The caſtell of Dunbar, and the fortreſſe of Inchkeith to be raſed.

Moreouer it was ordeyned by an acte paſſed in this Parliament that the Caſtell of Dunbar, and the fortreſſe of Inſkeith, ſhoulde bee demoliſhed and raſed downe to the earth. To be briefe, there were one & fourtie Actes or Statutes made and eſtabliſhed in this Parliament, as by the Regiſter thereof it may appeare.

1568.

The quee eſcape out Lochleui

On Sunday the ſeconde of May, in the yeare 1568. at ſupper tyme the Queene eſcaped out of Lochleuyn, by the meanes and helpe of George Dowglas brother to the Laird of Lochleuyn. The Lorde Seaton, the Laird of Ricarton and James Hamilton of Orbiſton were ready to receyue hyr, and conueyed hyr ouer the Queenes Ferry, firſte to Nudry the Lorde Seatons houſe, and from thence to Hamilton Caſtell, where ſhe remayned till the thirtenth day of May beyng thurſday, gathering in the meane time ſuch forces as ſhe might from all places.

The Quee gathereth power.

The Earle of Murrey Lorde regent was in Glaſquho, at what tyme ſhee thus eſcaped out of Lochleuin, and vpon knowledge had thereof, meant at the firſte to haue withdrawen himſelfe vnto Sterlyng, but ſuddenly changing his purpoſe in that behalf, he determined to continue at Glaſquho, whiche is not paſte an eyght myles from Hamilton, bycauſe hee was perſwaded, that if ſhe ſhould ſhrynke backe neuer ſo little, he ſhoulde encourage his aduerſaries, and diſcourage his frendes, and ſo conſequently weaken his parte greatly.

The Re determin to ſtay at quho.

Herevpon the thirtenth day of May afore mencioned, the Queene with hyr power marched from Hamilton, by the South ſide of Clede towarde Dunbertane, and out of Glaſquho on the other parte marched the Lorde Regent with his forces, ſo as at length bothe the armies mette at a place called the Langſide, neare to the houſe of Catcart within two myles of Glaſquho.

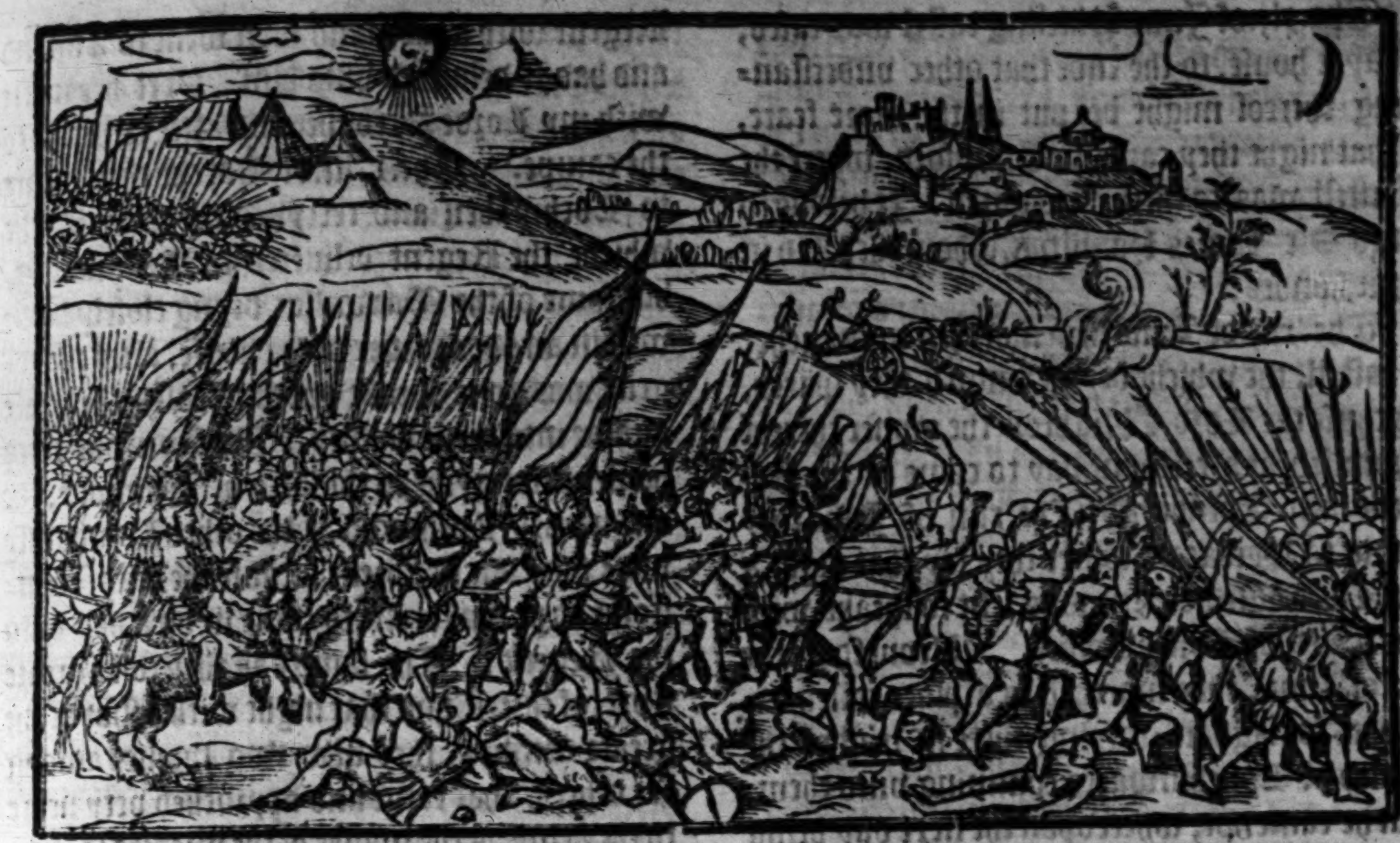
The armi meete at Langſide.

Lordes vp the Quee parte.

There were on the Queenes parte the Earles of Argile, Caſſilles, Eglinton and Rothes, Claude Hamilton ſonne to the Duke of Chatellerault, the Lordes Seaton, Somerville, Yeſter, Borthwike, Leuingſton, Heries, Maxwell, Sauquhar, Bord and Ros, Lairdes & Knights Lochinwar, Bas, Wauchtõ, Dalhowſy, Roſlen ẏ Sheriffe of Air, ſir James Hamilton & many other. On the regents part were theſe accõpted as principall, ẏ erles of Morton, Mar, Glẽcarne, Menteith, the M. of Graham, the Lordes Hume, Lindſey, Ruthuen, Simpil, Ogiltree & Cathcart, of lairdes & knights, Bargawy, Blacquhã, Drumlanrig, Seſford, Lus, Buchannane, Tullibardin, Petcur, Grange, Lochleuin, Lethington, and ſir James Balfour. At the firſte ioyning there was a righte ſharp encoũter, for after they had beſtowed their ſhotte of Harquebuſies and arrowes, they fell to it with ſpeares and ſwordes, but at length after

Lordes on Regents p

They ioy battayle.



Queenes
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ter.iij.quarters of an houres fight, the Queenes parte was put to flight, the victory remayning with the Regent, who ſuffered none to be ſlaine: but thoſe that were killed in the fighte, before they turned their backes: among the whiche were.xiiij. of the ſurname of the Hamiltōs killed. There were taken pryſoners about a three hundred, of whiche number the principall were theſe: The Lordes Seaton, & Ros, Sir James Hamilton, and many other of that ſurname. Of the Regents parte, the Lorde Hume was hurte in the legge and face, and the Lord Ogiltree in the necke, by the lord Heries: the Lorde Lindſey, and the Lards of Drumlanrig, and of Grange, bare themſelues right valiantly that day, fayling not in any poynt that belonged to the duetie of hardie Capitaines. The Queenes partie was thought to be neare at the poynt of vj.thouſande men, & the Regents was reconed to be foure thouſand, ſo that there were a tenne thouſand men on the fielde that day, what upon the one ſide and the other.

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ne.

The Earle of Huntley was comming forewardes to haue aſſiſted the Queenes parte, but the battel was ſtrike, and hir people diſconfited as ye haue heard ere he could come, and ſo he returned. In this battayle the valiancie of an Hieland Gentleman named Macferlane, ſtood the Regents part in great ſteede, for in the hotteſt brunte of the fight, he came in with two hundred of his friendes and countreymen, & ſo manfully gaue in upon the flanke of the Queenes people, that he was a great cauſe of the diſordering of them. This Macferlane had bene lately before as I haue heard condēned to die for ſome outrage by him committed, and obtayning pardon through ſuyte of the Counteſſe of Murray, he recompenſed that clemencie by this peece of ſeruice now at this battayle.

The Queene perceyuing the ouerthrow of hir people, fled from the place where ſhe ſtoode to behold the battell, and withdrew to Crawforde towne, and ſo by the Sanquhar to Dūdrenane in Galloway, and after ſhe had taried there two or three dayes, ſhe tooke ſhip and paſt to Workington in England, where ſhe was ſtayed and conueyed to Carlile, and from thence to Bolton caſtel belonging to the lord Scroupe, who with Sir Rauſe Sadler beyng ſent downe for that purpoſe, had the cuſtodie of hir, till at length ſhe was committed unto the Erle of Shrewſbury, with whom ſhe yet remayneth.

The Queene of Scots fleeth into England.

But now to the doings in Scotlande, the morrow after the battel being the.xiiij.of May, the Regent ſent to ſomon Hamilton caſtell, but the anſweare was reſpited till the next day, and then he that had the charge came to Glaſquho, and offered the keyes to the Regent. The caſtell of Draffan was alſo yeelded the ſame time unto the Regent.

The.xviij.of May the Regent made proclamatiō, that the inhabitāts of the ſhyres of Mernes, Angus, Fife, Mers, Louthian, Kile and Carrick, ſhoulde prouide themſelues of vitailes for.xv.dayes, and to meete him at Begger the tenth of June, to ride with him into the Southweſt partes of Scotlande, to chaſtiſe certayne theeues and other diſobedient perſons.

Hereupon the.xj. of June the Regent marched forth of Edenburgh, and came that night to Begger. The army being aſſembled conteyned a.iiij.or.v.thouſand horſemen very wel appointed beſide a thouſande footemen, gunners and Halberdiers, of boyes and yong men that went with the cariage, there were aboute foure thouſande.

The Regents iourney into the Southwest parts of Scotlande.

The Caſtell of Boghall perteyning to the Lorde Flemyng was ſurrendred to them.

The Caſtell of Boghall.

The

Skirling caſtell.

Crawford.

The.xij.of Iune Skirling caſtel was raſed, a fayre houſe, to the ende that other vnderſtanding thereof might bee put in the more feare. That night they came to Crawford, where the Caſtell was to them ſurrendred. It belonged vnto Sir Iames Hamilton, whom they had in their handes.

Saucher.

Barbacaſe.

Saint Iohn Sclaghan.

Kenmure.

The water of Vr.

The.xiij.of Iune they marched to Saucher a caſtell, the whiche beyng rendred they ſpared, bycauſe the Lord Chrighton the owner thereof promiſed at a certayne day to come to the Regent vnto Edenburgh. The.xiiij.of Iune they came to Barbacaſt, where they lay that night, & the Laird Wederborne was ſent to ſpeake with the Laird of Louchinware. Wedneſday the xv.of Iune, they marched to a place called S. Iohn Sclaghan, ſtaying there in truſt of the Laird of Louchinwares comming vnto them, but he came not, wherevpon the next day being the.xvj.of Iune, they raſed yͤ houſe of Kenmure & an other houſe alſo, for that the owners were frendes to the ſayde Louchinware. The.xvij. of Iune they came to a Gentlemans houſe, ſtãding by the water of Vr, where diuers Gentlemen came in, and were receyued.

Dunfreis.

The.xviij. of Iune they marched to Dunfreis, and remayned there all the nexte day. A ſtrong houſe ſtanding in that towne and apperteyning to the Lord Maxwell was offered vnto them. Diuers of the Maxwels, Iohnſtons, Yrrewines, Grahames & Belles came into the Regent, and offering themſelues to be obedient, were receyued. Two dayes before this, the lord Maxwell, the Lairdes of Iohnſton, Cowhill, & Louchinwar, had bene at Dunfreis with a thouſand men and ſpent al the vitayles. It was thought that the Lord Maxwell woulde haue come in if the other had not counſayled him to the contrary.

Hoddom yeeldeth to the Regent.
The Laird of Drumlanrig.

The.xx of Iune they marched to Hoddom, a place belonging to the Lorde Haries, a thouſand of the broken men were aſſembled and offered ſkirmiſhe, two or three were taken: they lay within a myle of the Regent that night. The.xxj. the houſe was yeelded, and the cuſtodie thereof committed to the Laird of Drumlanrig that was appoynted Warden of thoſe marches. It was thought very ſtrong, ſo that the defendants might haue kept it longer if they had bene diſpoſed. Great hunger began to pinch in the armie, a pinte of wine was ſolde at.viij. ſhillings Scottiſh, and no bread to be had for any money. The Regent ſente forth the Earle of Morton, & the lord Hume with a thouſande men, to trie if they might haue drawen the broken men to a chaſe, but it would not be, for they went theyr wayes, and would not tarrie it.

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The.xxij.of Iune the campe lay ſtill, but the Regent with a thouſand men went to Annand and had it deliuered vnto him. Here hee mette with my Lorde Scroupe, and after returned to the campe. The.xxiij.of Marche they wente to Lochmaben and receyued the Caſtell, the whiche the Regent deliuered to Drumlanrig, but ſome of the Maxwelles beyng cloſely hidde within an odde corner of the houſe, after the regent was gone, brake out and ſeaſed the houſe againe into theyr handes. The ſame day two houſes belongyng to the laird of Iohnſtone, the one named Lochwood, & the other Lowhowſy were takẽ, but not brent, bicauſe the laird Iohnſton had put in ſuretie to come in by a day vnto the Regent. The ſame day they toke greate ſtore of cattell, and that night with a ſhot of the greate artillery, they ſlew two theeues among lx. others, that came and approched very neare to the army as the maner of the prickers is. The army lay that night at Milton holmes.

The.xxiiij. of Iune they came to Peeples, & the next day to Edenburgh, ſo ending that iourney, in the whiche they had paſſed through the cotũreys of Clideſdale, Galoway, Nitheſdale, Annandale, and Tweedale.

Great tr
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Muche a doe and greate trouble aroſe within Scotlande, by reaſon that the Hamiltons and their adherents made partes againſt the Regẽt, and thoſe other Lordes that gouerned vnder the King, whereof as I haue no certayne notes, ſo I muſt paſſe the ſame with ſilence.

Rebellio
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merland.

In the yeere.1569. the Erles of Northumberlande and Weſtmerlande reyſed a rebellion againſt the Queenes Maieſtie of England, but by the good diligence and prouident circumſpection of the Erle of Suſſex, then Lieutenant of the North partes, and of ſuch direction as was giuen by hir Maieſtie and hir Counſell, for the leuying of an armie vnder the leadyng of the Erle of Warwike, & the Lord Admirall Clinton, the ſayd two Earles were kept ſo in feare, that they durſt not aduaunce farre forwarde in theyr wicked begonne enterprice, but were conſtreyned to retyre backe towardes Dureſme, wherevpon the Earle of Suſſex ſuppoſing that theyr meaning was for their laſt refuge and ſauegard to take the caſtels of Alnewike & Warkworth, he wrote vnto Sir Iohn Forſter Lord Warden of the middle Marches, eyther by force policie or ſome other meane, to gette into his handes the poſſeſſion of thoſe two Caſtels, and the ſame to fortifie with ſuche number and garniſons of menne, as to his diſcretion ſhoulde be thought conuenient, for the ſaufe cuſtodie and garde thereof. Sir Iohn Forſter beyng at his houſe neare to Alnewike, when he receiued theſe letters, accompanied with his ſeruants, frendes, and tenants, and ſome ſouldiers that were come to him from Berwike, marched vp to the caſtell on foote, where finding the houſe garded with a great number of the Earle of Northumberlãds ſeruants and tenaunts, he made Proclamation before the caſtell gate, that euery of them within the caſtell ſhould come forth and withdraw to theyr owne houſes, vpon payne to be reputed rebelles to the Queenes Maieſtie, and that which of them ſoeuer did refuſe to obey this Proclamatiõ, ſtaying either in the caſtell or els where in any vnlawfull aſſembly, it ſhould be lawfull for euery man to ſpoyle his goodes, and him to kill if he made reſiſtance. This Proclamation notwithſtanding, they within the Caſtel, at the firſt refuſed to yeelde it vp, & therevpon ſir John Forſter marched through the towne into the market place, and there made the lyke Proclamatiõ in behalf of all the inhabitants that were the Earle of Northumberlandes tenauntes, for their repayring home to their houſes, and comming herewith backe towardes the caſtell, they within perceyuing themſelues deſtitute of ſuccour, & Sir John Forſter to increace in power, they vpon better aduiſe yeelded themſelues vnto him, who ſaued all theyr liues. After the ſame maner he got alſo the caſtell of Warkworth, & fortified them bothe with ſufficient numbers of men.

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This done, he aſſembled ſuche forces as hee was able to make, ſo that he got togither to the number of .xj. hundred horſemen, & toke order to forlay, & ſtoppe the paſſages, ſo as the Erles frendes and tenants in Northumberlãd, ſhould not go vnto him. After this hauing in his company yͤ L. Ogle, and Tho. Forſter his brother and other Gentlemen, he went to new Caſtell, where with Thomas Gower Eſquire, yͭ had the principal rule therof at that preſent, he toke order for the defence of that towne agaynſt the rebelles. Hither came to him ſir Henry Percy, offeryng his ſeruice agaynſt his brother and other the rebelles to the vttermoſt of his power.

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Herevpon diuers excurſions were made forth of Newcaſtell into the Biſhoprike, where the two Earles were encamped, and ſundry ſkirmiſhes chaunced betwixte the parties, though no great hurte followed thereof. The Earles yet one day came from Durham, and with theyr army marched towards Newcaſtell. Sir John Forſter & ſir Henry Percy, hauing intelligence thereof, iſſued forth of Newcaſtell with all their forces and certayne peeces of great ordinaunce. They had alſo with them certaine bands of the Souldiers of Berwike, meanyng verily to haue ioyned battel with the Erles, Sir Henry Percy ſhewyng himſelfe as willing & forward therto as any other in all the cõpanies. At Cheſter Dean, midway betwixte Durham and Newcaſtel, the armies approched the one neare to the other, a ſmall broke renning in a hollow, deuided them in ſunder, ſo that there was no paſſage for them to conuey their ordinaunce ouer, the bankes on eyther ſide beyng ſo ſteepe and comberſome. Wherevpon the Earles perceyuing that they were diſappointed of their purpoſe, after ſome ſkirmiſhes betwixt the horſemen, they returned vnto Durham, and frõ thence the next day they went to Hexham, and after beyng in vtter diſpaire fledde into Scotlande, where the Erle of Weſtmerlande light among thoſe that ſhifted him away ſo from place to place, that he eſcaped out of that realme, when he coulde no longer remayne there in ſuertie: but the Earle of Northumberland fell into their handes, whiche deliuered him vnto the Regent, who thought he coulde do no leſſe than to put him in ſafe keeping, conſidering the amitie that was betwixte the two Princes, the Queenes Maieſtie of England and the King of Scottes.

Dean.

Therles of Northumberland & Weſtmerland flee into Scotland.

But ſhortly after the Regent (as he was riding through Lithquho,) was wickedly ſhot in with an harquebuſe by one James Hamilton, and ſo wounded, that the next day he died of the hurte. After whoſe death the Lordes of the Kings parte with generall conſent wrote letters vnto the Earle of Lennox then remaynyng in England, to repayre home with all conuenient ſpeede into Scotland. Ye may reade in the hiſtory of England, in what ſorte the Earle of Suſſex Lorde Lieutenant of the North partes entring into Tiuidale the .xvij. of Aprill, brent the Moſſe tower, the towne of Crawling, the caſtell of Ferniherſt, the towne of Howike, and the caſtell of Brauxton, that belonged to the laird of Buclewgh, with diuers other caſtelles, Piles, Townes, and Villages, and Hamlettes belongyng to the lairdes of Ferniherſt, Buclewgh and others in thoſe parties: alſo how the Lorde Scroupe inuaded the Weſt bordures of Scotlande the ſame time. And likewiſe how the ſayde Earle of Suſſex wanne the Caſtell of Hume, with diuers other maters which here I paſſe ouer, referring you to the ſayd hiſtory.

1570.

The earle of Murrey Lord Regent ſlaine.

Page. 1842.

Page. 1843.

Pag. 1844. & 1845.

But now about the ſame time the Earle of Leuenox hauing gotte licence of the Queene of Englande to make his returne into Scotlande, was ſet forwarde & came to Berwike towardes the later ende of Aprill, where being viſited with ſickeneſſe, he remayned by the ſpace of fourtene dayes or more.

The earle of Lennox ſent forewarde to returne into Scotland.

In the meane time the Duke of Chatellerault, the Earles of Huntley, and Caſſels, the Lord Flemmyng and ſundry others of that faction, ſeeyng the time ſerued well for their purpoſe, now that the Regent was ſlayne and diſpatched out of the way, gathered a power to the

The Duke of Chatelerault gathereth a power.

number

The Duke retireth to Glaſquho.

Captaynes and Gentlemenne that wente wyth the Earle of Lennox into Scotlande.

number of three thouſande men, & came downe to Edenburgh, but after they had knowledge that the Earle of Lennox was cōming out of England with a power of Engliſhmen by the Queenes Maieſties appointment, aſwel for the ſafegarde of the yong king, as alſo for the ſafeconduct of the Erle of Lennox home into Scotlande, the Duke and Erles aforeſayde retyred thēſelues from Edenburgh to Glaſquho, where they beſieged the Caſtell by the ſpace of fiue or ſixe dayes, vntill the Earle of Lennox approched thitherwardes. For ye haue to vnderſtand that after the Earle of Lennox was recouered of his ſickneſſe, there was appoynted a power of horſemen and footemen, to goe with him into Scotlād, vnder the leading of ſir Williā Drurie, as in the Engliſh hiſtory ye may reade more at large. There were diuers valiant capitaines and Gentlemen, that wente with him in that iourney, aſwell ſuch as had charge as thoſe that went with him of their owne good willes, to ſee the order of things, and to help to aduance their Princes ſeruice. With charge there were theſe: Sir George Carie Capitayne of one hundreth lances, Henry Juſtell capitaine of fiftie lances, William Gurley capitaine of fiftie lances: Maſter Henrie Carie Capitayne of two hundred light horſemen: Capitayne Caſe Lieutenant of the generals bande of light horſemen, beyng alſo two hundreth: Sir Robert Conneſtable Sergeant Maior of the footebandes: Sir Thomas Maners, capitayne Brickwell, capitayne Caruille, Capitayne Game, Capitayne Lambarde, capitayne Erington, John Conneſtable, and Humfrey Berwike leaders of the footemen. Capitayne Erington was alſo Lieutenant to ſir George Caries company of lances. Other Gentlemen that went of their owne good willes there were diuers, as Maſter George Deuereux, Sir Jerome Bowes, Maſter Williā Knolles, Maſter Robert Knolles, Maſter Michell Carie, Maſter Gawdie, Maſter William Drury of Suffolke couſin to the General, Maſter Greuille, brother to Sir Foulke Greuille, Maſter Conwey, brother to ſir John Conwey, Maſter Edmund Verney, & many other, whoſe names I coulde not learne.

The earle of Lennox wyth the Englyſhemen comme to Edenburgh.

The footemen lay the firſte night at Coldingham, the nexte day the Earle of Lennox himſelfe with ſir William Drurie and the horſemē ouertooke the footemen, and lodged that night at Dunbar. The next day they made ſuch ſpeede in their marche, that they came through to Edenburgh, where they found the Earles of Morton, Murrey, Glencarne, the Lordes Ruthuen, Lindſey, Simpil, Glamis, Methuen, Ogiltree, and Catcart, with diuers Gentlemenne of the Kings ſide, who receyued the ſayde Earle of Lennox, and the Engliſhmē very courteouſly. From Edēburgh they paſſed to Lithquho, as in the Engliſhe hiſtorie it may appeare, and from thence the footemē paſſed to Faukirke, and there lodged, but the Earle of Lennox, and the Scottiſh Lordes, with Sir William Drury, and the horſemen rode to Sterlyng where the king lay, then beyng in the cuſtodie of the Earle of Mar. From thence they went to Glaſquho, where the Duke had beſieged the caſtell, whiche was valiantly defended by the Laird of Minto and his bretherne, with their ſeruantes being not paſt an eightene perſons in all, and yet they kepte it fiue or ſixe dayes agaynſt the Duke and his whole power, ſlaying as hath bene reported aboue fourtie or fiftie of his menne, but in the ende they were in greate daunger to haue bene takē, if they had not bene yͤ more ſpeedely relieued, but the Duke and his adherentes vnderſtandyng of the commyng forewarde of the Erle of Lennox with the Engliſh forces, brake vp his ſiege and fledde away, with loſſe and diſhonour as in the Engliſh hiſtorie we haue likewiſe noted.

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After that the Earle of Lennox and his frendes were thus commen to Glaſquho, findyng the ſiege rayſed, he remayned there by the ſpace of fiue or ſixe dayes, duryng whiche tyme there came to him of his kinrede and frendes, whiche ought to him their ſeruice, accordyng to the vſe of the countrey, the number of a foure thouſande men, very well appoynted after their maner, the more parte out of the countreys of Lennox, and Darnley, whiche muſtered before the ſayde Earle, and ſir William Drurie generall of the Engliſhmen there.

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This done the Earle of Lennox accompanied with the Earles and Lordes afore mentioned, and lykewiſe with the Engliſhmenne, marched to Hamilton, where they entred into the Palayce belonging to the Duke, and lodged therein that night.

The nexte day they beſieged the Caſtell, whereof Andrew Hamilton of Merinton was Capitayne, hauing vnder him fiftie Souldiers to defende it, and woulde not therefore deliuer it till that two peeces of greate ordinaunce being brought from Sterlyng, were planted in batterie: for then perceyuing themſelues in danger to be taken by force, the Capitayne offered to yeelde the houſe to the Engliſhmenne, but not to the Lordes of Scotlande, with condition to haue the liues of al them within ſaued, which was graunted, vpon promiſe, that they ſhoulde neuer after beare armes agaynſt their King, and to departe the Realme within a certayne terme, and hereunto they were ſworne, but they kept not long their othe: for the night nexte enſuyng,

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ſuyng, they beſette the Lorde Simpil that was lodged at that preſente in a houſe not farre off, and not able to keepe it, till reſkewe came, yeelded it, and himſelfe priſoner, ſo that he was kepte by the Hamiltons in ſafe cuſtodie by the ſpace of a twelue moneth after.

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The Caſtell of Hamilton beeing yeelded (as ye haue heard) was blowen vp with powder.

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Diuers other houſes there in the Countrey about were brente alſo, as Roplocke, the Abbot of Kilwynnings houſe, with diuers other of the Hamiltons houſes in Cliddeſdale.

After the Caſtell of Hamilton was thus wonne and ouerthrowen, the Lordes returned to the Palace, and lodged there againe that nighte, and on the morrowe, they ſet fire both vpon the ſame Palace, and alſo vpon the towne of Hamilton, and therewith the Engliſhmen taking leaue of the Lords in Scotlande, departed homewards (as in the Engliſhe hiſtorie yee may reade more at large. The Earle of Morton wente with them, but the Earle of Lennox and the other Earles and Lordes with theyr companies toke their way toward Glaſquho, and from thence euery of the noble men departed home to their houſes.

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Shortly after, there was a conuention of the Lordes at Striueling, where the Earle of Lennox was made lord Lieutenant of Scotlande, and afterwardes in Auguſt followyng, there was an other conuention at Edenburgh, where by the conſent of the three eſtates of the Realme, the ſayd Earle was made Regent of Scotlande.

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And about the ſame time, the Erle of Huntley toke vpon him to be Lieutenant of Scotland for the Queene of Scottes that remayned ſtill in Englande, and therevppon in hir name ſommoned a Parliament to be holden at Lithquho the one and twentith of September then next following, vnto the which Parliament, as well the Earle of Lennox then Regente, as all the reſidue of the Lordes of both the parties were ſommoned, whereof the Regent being aduertiſed, cauſed a Parliamente to be ſommoned in the Kings name to be kept likewiſe at Lithquho, at the ſelfe ſame daye whiche was appointed by the Earle of Huntley, at which day, there appeared the Lordes of the Kings partie, and alſo ſundry greate Lairdes, Knightes, and Gentlemen, to the number of eyghte thouſand, verye well furniſhed, looking for the Earle of Huntleys commyng, according to his appointed order, but hee came no neerer than Brechin, wherevpon it was decreed by the Regent and nobilitie there to purſue hym, and to that ende the Earle of Morton was ſente before with a thouſande Horſemen to haue taken him vpon the ſuddayne in the Towne of Brechin, before he ſhould haue had any warning of their comming, the Regent following after with an army, but Hũtley hauing warning of their approch, eſcaped their handes, although very narrowly, in ſomuche, that ſome of his footemenne were ſo put to their ſhiftes, that they were driuẽ for their refuge (being ſo beſet on the ſuddayne) to take the Caſtell of Brechine, the Earle of Huntley promiſing before he went from them, to ſuccour them within eyght dayes: but they being ſtraitely beſieged, and the Earle not keeping promiſe with them, after thoſe eyght dayes were expired, they yeelded themſelues and the Caſtell vnto the Regents mercy.

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The Earle of Huntley eſcapeth.

They were in all aboute three hundred, of which number. xxxj. of the chiefeſt were executed. Some of them had borne armes agaynſte the King before that tyme, and had bin pardoned, and therefore were nowe thoughte by the Regent and his friendes the more worthy to die. After this, the Regent returned to Striueling, and from thence paſſed to the Caſtell of Downe, and beſieged it, beeing kepte by the ſeruaunts of the Lorde of S. Colmes Inch, who yeelded it to the Regent after three dayes ſiege.

Execution.

The Caſtell of Downe yeelded.

During the time of the Regents being there, he ſent one of his ſeruants called Iohn Mowne, with letters into Englande, directed to the Q. of Englands Counſell, who for his ſecret practiſing and conference had with ſuche as were enimies to the King and Regente before his departure out of Scotland, and for receyuing of their letters to be conueyd alſo, and heerewyth diſcouering ſundry ſecretes to them the whych were committed to his credite and truſt, he was apprehended, and the ſame letters which he had ſecretely receyued beeing founde vpon him, and the matters aforeſaid being proued againſt him he was executed.

About the ſame time the Erle of Morton, the Abbot of Dunfermeling, and Iames Magil, Clearke of the Regiſter, wer ſent into England Commiſſioners, vpon the Kings partie the Biſhop of Roſſe, the Abbot of Kilwinning, and the Lord Leuingſtõ, appointed for the Q. then being in Englãd. In Ianuary following, the Regent then beeing at Edenburgh, Claude Hamilton, one of the Duke of Chatelleraultes ſonnes entred the houſe of Paſlay, then beeyng kepte by the ſeruantes of the Lord Simpil, and ſeazing vpon all things which he there found as ſtoode with his pleaſure, hee fortifyed the houſe with men, munition, and vittayles, ſuch as he could get either in the towne of Paſlay, or neere thereabouts. The Regent aduertiſed therof, repaired thither with a power in all ſpeedy wiſe, and layd ſiege to the houſe. They within ſewed

Commiſſioners ſent into England.

Paſlay taken and kept by Clawde Hamilton.

The Regent beſiegeth Paſlay.

for a truce whiche was graunted to them for the ſpace of ſixe dayes, the better to aduiſe of their owne eſtate, which tearme being expired, Proclamation was made by the Regent, that if they would yeeld the houſe, ſo many of them as had not borne armes before yͤ time againſte the King and Regent, ſhoulde haue their lyues ſaued, the reſt to remaine at the Regents pleaſure.

Heerevppon contention roſe among them within the houſe: for whereas the more part of thē hauing not ſerued in any iourney or exploit againſt yͤ King before that time, would needes yeelde, the other, beeyng the leſſe number, were not able to defend it of themſelues, wherevpon they were ready to drawe their weapons one againſt another, but yet in the ende they al agreed to ſurrender the houſe, and yeelded themſelues, vpon ſuch condition as the Regente had preſcribed, wherevpon fyue of them were executed, and all the reſt were pardoned of theyr liues, the Captayne John Hamilton, Lard of Coughnall and his two brethren excepted, who were ſente to the Caſtell of Glaſquho, there to remayne in priſon, and ſhortly after the ſayd John Hamilton was executed.

Puſlay is ſurrendred to the Regent.

1571

In Marche following, the Regent returned to Glaſquho, and for that the Earles of Caſſill and Eglenton refuſed to ſhew themſelues obedient to the King, and woulde not come in to the Regent, who had ſente for them by letters, at ſundrye tymes, the Regent gathered his power at Glaſquho, and with the ſame marched towards Urwin and Air, and ſo forward to the Earle of Caſſils Countrey, who hearing of the Regents comming, ſent forth his brother to offer his ſubmiſſion, wherevpon it was concluded that the meſſenger ſhoulde remayne wyth the Regente as pledge for his brother by the ſpace of twenty dayes, and then the ſayde Earle to make his appearance before the Regente at Strueling, to aunſwere ſuch matters as ſhuld be layd to his charge.

The Regent goeth againſte the Earle of Caſſels.

The ſame time alſo the Earle of Eglenton layd his bande in alſo to appeare and aunſwere in like ſort, and as well the one as the other according to their aſſurance giuen, appeared at the day appointed, but yet not agreeing to ſuch articles as were required of them, they were both committed to priſon, the one in the Caſtell of Dunbretayne, and the other in the Caſtell of Downe.

The Earles of Caſſils and Eglenton committed to warde.

A truce for twenty dayes.

Afterwardes there was a truce taken betweene the Regent and the Hamiltons, and their adherentes for twenty dayes, viz. vntill the laſt of March, whiche truce once ended, the Regente determined with hymſelfe to giue an attempte to the Caſtell of Dunbretayne, which had bin long kepte by the Lorde Flemming againſte the King, and the Earle of Murrey, late Regente, who hadde beſieged it for the ſpace of halfe a yeare or more, but coulde not by any meanes compaſſe to winne it: but nowe the firſte of Aprill, the truce being then expired, the Regent going forwarde with his purpoſe, cauſed all the paſſages round about the Countrey to be ſtopped, as well by land as by water, and the ſame night ſente thytherwarde Captayne Crafort, and Captayne Hume, with an hundred Souldiers, choſen out for the purpoſe, who the ſeconde of Aprill, aboute foure of the clocke in the morning, came to the Caſtell, where the Souldiers with ladders, ropes, and other deuiſes, found meanes to climbe vppe the Rocke, whiche is of an exceeding great heigth, and ſo with greate paine and more daunger, at length gote vp to the wall of the Caſtell, ſtanding vpon the heigth of the Rocke, to the which wall they reared vp a ladder, by the whiche entred firſte one Ramſey, enſigne bearer to Captaine Crafort, and leaping ouer the wall, was ſtraightwayes aſſayled by three of the watchmen, of the whiche hee ſlewe one: and a Souldiour named Wederborne that followed him, beeyng the ſecond that entred, ſlewe another of them. The thirde of thoſe watchmen was alſo ſlayne, as hee was aboute to flee from them.

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taken
policy.

Heerewith Captayne Craforte and Captayne Hume gote ouer the wall, and entring the Caſtell with the reſt of their Souldiers, ſtroke vp the drumme, cryed a Derneley, beeing their watch wordes, and ſeaſing vpon the ordinance, manned the ſame.

Captay
Crafor
Captay
Hume

The Lord Flemming Captayne of the Caſtell, hearing that ſuddayne fright and tumulte within the houſe, fledde out by the poſterne gate at the neather baile, and ſo eſcaping, gote a fiſhers boate, and paſſed into Argile.

The L
Flem
eſcaped

The Souldiours of the Caſtell perceyuing theyr Captayne fledde, and the Caſtell poſſeſſed by the enimies, yeelded themſelues, and were pardoned. There were taken within the Caſtell the Archbiſhoppe of Saint Andrewes, Monſieur de Uiracke a Frenchman, ſente thyther by the French King, alſo the Lady Flemming, wife to the Lorde Flemming, and John Flemming, Laird of Boghall, and John Hall, an Engliſhman, being partner of a new intended conſpiracie in England, as was after proued agaynſte hym, for the whyche hee was arreigned, condemned, and executed at London, (as in the Engliſhe hiſtorie appeareth.) The thirde of Aprill, beeyng the morrowe after that Dunbretaine was thus ſtraungelye wonne, the Regente came

Iohn H

thither, and entred the ſame, where hee calling the Capitaines and Souldiers togither cauſed them with him to kneele down vpõ their knees, & to giue to God humble thankes for their good ſucceſſe in that enterprice, brought to paſſe rather by the prouidence of God than otherwiſe, ſithe the Caſtell ſeemed to all thoſe that knewe it impoſſible in maner to be wonne, by reaſon of the great heyght of the rocke, and the ſtrange ſituation, beyng enuironed almoſte rounde aboute with the water of Clide on the one ſide, and the water of Leuin on the other.

ſtrong ſi- tion of the of Dum- tone.

The reporte of the winnyng of this Caſtell was ioyfull to the Townes and Countries aboute, which before had bene a cõtinuall ſcourge to them, by reaſon that the Souldiers that kept it woulde iſſue out at ſundry times, robbyng ſpoyling and carying away the commodities of the inhabitants thereaboutes, aſwell by land as by water.

Lady ming ho- ably in- ed.

The Regent dealt very honorably with the Ladie Flemming, ſuffryng hir to departe away with all ſuche plate and Iewels, as apperteyned eyther to hyr or to hyr huſband. He graunted alſo a ſaufeconduct vnto Monſieur de Verack, to paſſe homewardes through the countrey, but the Archbiſhoppe of Saint Andrewes was ſent pryſoner to Sterlyng. The ſpoyle of the goodes founde in the Caſtell was giuen to the Souldiers that ventured ſo daungerouſly to atchieue ſo highe an enterpryce, bryngyng it to the wiſhed effect by policie with ſo litle bloudſhed as deſerueth perpetuall remembraunce.

The day next enſewing beyng the fourth of Aprill, the Regent appoynted Iohn Cunningham Laird of Drumwhaſſell, a man of good ſeruice, and ſeruaunt to the Regent to be Capitayne of that Caſtell, and leauyng him therein, departed to Sterlyng, where he cauſed the Archbiſhoppe of Saint Andrewes to be examined vpon certayne Articles, aſwell touchyng the murder of the late King Henry, as alſo for the death of the Earle of Murrey the late Regent, at what time there came in a Prieſt without compulſion of any, as hath bene ſayde, and before the Regent declared, that one Iohn Hamilton beyng in extreeme ſickneſſe vnder confeſſion, tolde him that the Biſhoppe did ſende him with three others to the murther of the King. And as touching the murther of the Erle of Murrey, the Biſhoppes anſwere was, that hee mighte haue letted it if hee woulde: therewith the people that hearde him, cryed away with him, hang him, and ſo for theſe and other offences, for the whiche he had bene forfalted afore that tyme, he was nowe executed on a Gibette, ſette vp in the market place of Sterlyng towne.

archbi ops An- ws execu-

A Parliament ſummoned.

After this, the Regent ſummoned a Parliament to beginne at Edenburgh the .xiiij. of May nexte enſuyng, & paſſed from Sterlyng to Lithquho, where the Earle of Morton with the reſte of the Cõmiſſioners for the kings part, beyng returned out of Englande with other of the Nobilitie mette the Regent, and then they paſſed towardes Edenburgh, where they thought to haue bene receyued, and ſo to haue kepte the Parliament there, but they were not ſuffered to enter that towne nor yet the Caſtell, the ſame beyng defended agaynſt them by the Laird of Grange, who after the death of the Earle of Murrey, was reuolted from the Kings parte to the Hamiltons ſide, and had fortified bothe the towne and Caſtell, ſo that the Regent and Nobilitie beyng kepte out there, helde theyr Parliament in the Cannogate ſtreete within the Suburbes of the towne, where ſundry of the Queenes parte were forfalted.

The caſtell of Edenburgh kept by the laird of Grãge againſt the Regent.

This beyng done, and ſundry ſkirmiſhes had with them that iſſued forth of the towne agaynſte them without, the Regent returned to Sterlyng there to remayne for a ſeaſon.

In this meane time the Earle of Morton hauing certaine ſtuffe come forth of Englande by ſea, and brought to lande at Leith, ſente the Laird of Carmichell with his houſeholde ſeruants, and two hundred ſhotte, to fetche the ſame from thence vnto Dalkith, beyng a ſixe myles diſtant from Leith. At theyr returne with the ſtuffe, they were ſet vpon by the Earle of Huntley and the Lorde Hume, who iſſued out of Edenburgh with their power, ſo that betwixte them there was a very hoate ſkirmiſhe, but in the ende the Earle of Huntley, and the Lord Hume were conſtreyned to flee, and were purſued by Carmichell and his company euen vnto the gates of Edenburgh, ſome of theyr menne beyng ſlayne and other taken pryſoners.

The laird of Carmichell.

The Erle of Huntley and Lord Hume put to flight.

For reuenge of which ouerthrow, ſhortly after the Earle of Huntley, and Claude Hamilton with theyr forces marched from Edenburgh to Dalkeith, purpoſing to haue ſpoiled the towne, but the Earle of Morton hauing knowledge of theyr intention and commyng, ſallyed forth of Dalkeith with the power whiche hee had there with hym, although not comparable in number to his aduerſaries and meetyng them in the field, there was a ſharp ſkyrmiſh betwixt them, and many hurte on bothe parties, but in the ende the Earle of Morton was put to the worſe, fourtie or more of his menne beyng taken pryſoners, and the cauſe was for that his footemen were to forewarde, wanting help of their horſemen that ſhoulde haue ſuccoured them.

The Erle of Morton put to the worſe.

About the ſixe and twentie of May followyng Capitayne Cullen iſſued forth of Edenburgh with two hundreth ſhotte, meanyng to intercept certayne Harquebuſiers which were appoynted to come out of Fife ouer the riuer of the Fourth, vnto the Earle of Morton, who kepte ſtill at Dalketh, wherevpon the ſayd Erle hauyng knowledge of Cullens enterpriſe, aduertiſed the Regent thereof, who beyng then at Sterling, the nexte day came downe to Dunfermlyng in Fife, but before his cõming thither Cullen had met wͭ a boate vpon yͤ water, wherin were aborde .xxv. ſhot, whom he toke priſoners, & led them away with him to Edenburgh.

Capitayne Cullen.

The next day the Earle of Morton came to Leith, where he met with ſir William Drurie, and there they lodged that night. The nexte mornyng Sir William Drurie paſſing forth of Leith towardes Edenburgh, accompanied with ſundry capitaynes and other Gentlemen for his conuoy thither, they within Edenburgh perceyuing them comming, imagined that they were come forth to offer a ſkirmiſh, wherevpon they iſſued out of the towne and caſtell to encoũtre them, ſo that beyng readie on eyther ſide to beginne the ſkirmiſhe, ſir William Drurie beyng come to talke with the parties for ſome accorde to be had, toke in hande with great diligence to appeaſe them, and at length procured them to agree vpon a truce to endure till eyght of the clocke at night, but yet when bothe partes ſtayed in the fieldes for the ſpace of an hower, bycauſe they coulde not agree whether companie ſhoulde firſte retyre from the fielde, they fell at length in ſkirmiſhe, notwithſtandyng the truce, and fought right ſharpely for the tyme, till in the ende they of the Towne and Caſtell had the ouerthrow, the Abbot of Kilwinnyng beyng ſlayne with diuers other, and there were taken aboue an hundred pryſoners, amongſt the whiche the Lorde Hume, and capitayne Cullen were accompted principall. Thoſe that eſcaped were chaſed and conſtreyned for theyr ſafegarde to flee into the towne of Edenburgh: capitayne Cullen was afterwardes beheaded.

A skirmiſh.

The abbot of Kilwionyng ſlayne.

The lorde Hume and capitaine Cullen taken.

The Regent immediatly after this ſkirmiſh came with all ſpeede vnto Leith, aſwell to fortifie the towne, as to make ſome further attempt againſt his aduerſaries within the towne and caſtell of Edenburgh. Herevpon was Leith entrenched rounde aboute, beyng eſteemed a place of great importance ſtandyng bothe in the face of the enimies, and ſo ready to annoy thẽ, and alſo ſeruyng well to preuent them of ſuche ſuccour as they loked for dayly out of France.

Leith fortified

In this meane time the Laird of Grange then Capitayne of the Caſtell, and Prouoſt of the towne of Edenburgh, cauſed Proclamation to be made, that all thoſe inhabitantes whiche were not willing to take parte with him in his doyngs, ſhould departe out of the towne, wherevpon many of them departed thence, togither with theyr wiues and children, and toke with them alſo ſuche goodes as they coulde ſecretly conuey, & comming to Leith, offered theyr ſeruice vnto the Regent, who thankfully accepted theyr offer, and ſo they remayned at Leith, ſeruing againſt the cõtrary factiõ vpõ their own expẽces.

A Proclamation.

After this, the Laird of Grange vnderſtandyng that reporte had bene made by ſome of the Kings parte, that he was a traytour to the king and an enimy to his countrey, offered the combatte to any that would iuſtifie the ſame: which beyng aduertiſed to them within Leith, diuers Gentlemen were deſirous to vndertake the challenge, but the Regent graunted it to the Laird of Garliſch, beyng a Stewarde, and his Kinneſman, who had earneſtly requeſted it, wherevpon after diuers meſſages by Heraultes ſente to and fro betwixte them, the tyme and place was appoynted, but the matter wente not forwarde, excuſe beyng made on the behalfe of the Laird Grange, that by reaſon of the charge which was cõmitted to him, it was not thought conuenient that hee ſhoulde hazarde the whole cauſe vpon his owne perſon.

The ch
of the La
Grange,

The Lo
Garliſch,

Shortly after, there came out of France one Iohn Cheſeholme, who was ſente with money to the Laird of Grange for the payment of his Souldiers: he brought with him alſo a certaine quãtitie of powder and three hundred caliuers. Vpon his entring into the water of Fourth, and comming vp the ſame, he learned how the Regent was in Leith, wherevpõ he lãded at Brentyland, and afterwardes for feare hid himſelf betwixte two clifes of a rocke, not farre from the Queenes ferie: but at length he was foũd out by the Abbot of S. Combes Inche, and deliuered to the Regent at Leith, in which towne the ſaid Regent lay aboue two monethes, vſing ſundry meanes, aſwell by practiſe & policie, as by force to haue taken the towne of Edenburgh. In the meane time ſundry ſkirmiſhes chanced betwixt them, & diuers pryſoners were taken on eyther part. At length the Regent cauſed a Parliamẽt to be ſummoned, appointing the ſame to be holden at Sterling the .xxij. of Auguſt nexte enſuing. And when that day approched, he lefte the Lord Lindſey at Leith in charge, as his Lieutenant to gouerne the towne, and all the men of warre appointed to remaine in garde therof, and repayred himſelfe vnto Sterling, where at the prefixed day there aſſembled the Erles of Morton, Mar, Crafort, Sotherlãd, Montros, Eglenton, Glencarne, the Lordes Ruthuen, Glamis, Methuen, Simple, Ogiltree, and Catcart, with many Lairdes and Gentlemenne.

Iohn Che
holme,

A Parliam
ſummone

The firſt day of this Parliament the King was conueyed thither, the Crowne, Scepter, & ſworde being borne before him.

When he had taken his place, he vttered certaine ſpeech as had bin taughte hym, touching the aſſembling of that Parliament, which matter the Regent more at large declared vnto the whole houſe: and this done, they proceeded further to other affayres, concerning the ſtate of the common wealth.

Moreouer in this Parliamente, the Duke of Chatellerault with his two ſonnes, the Abbot of Arbroth, and Claude Hamilton, the Earle of Huntley, the Laird of Grange, and ſundry others were forfalted.

e Duke of tellereault lted.

This Parliament continued by the ſpace of ſeauen dayes, at the ende wherof, to witte, vpon the ſeconde of September, Claude Hamilton, the Laird of Buclugh, the Lairde of Ormiſton, and diuers other, to the number of three hundred Horſemen, very early in the morning, entred the towne of Striueling, and ſuddainely beſet not only the Regent, but alſo the reſt of the nobilitie within their lodgings.

e Earle of nox taken is lodging

The Regente hearing a great vprore reyſed within the Towne, and not vnderſtanding the cauſe, nor who were the authours thereof, after hee perceyued how the houſe wherein he lodged was beſette on each ſide, he defended the ſame againſte the enimies for a good ſpace, but at length, deſpairing of ſuccoures, and doubting leaſt the houſe had bin vnderlaid with ſome barrels of powder, and that it woulde be blowen vp if hee yeelded not as ſome told him: and the enimie to encreaſe that doubte, crying ſtill blowe vp the houſe, what ſhoulde we ſtande longer about him, at length he was contented to yeelde to the Laird of Ormiſton, but not before he ſaw that ſome of his ſtouteſt Captaines had yeelded themſelues before his face. He yeelded, with condition to haue his life ſaued: but promiſe in that behalfe was not long kepte, for thoſe that hadde thus taken him, when they perceyued reſcue comming downe from the Caſtell, ſo that they ſhoulde not bee able to carrie him away, Captayne Cauder with a piſtolet, ſhotte him into the body before he could be recouered out of their handes: The reſt of the nobilitie, to witte, the Earles of Morton, Eglenton, and Glencarne, and diuers other beeing taken priſoners, were preſently reſcued by thoſe that iſſued out of the Caſtell.

e Earle of nox wou-

The Earle of Morton beeing in the handes of the Laird of Bouclugh, tooke the ſame Laird priſoner, hee yeelding himſelfe vnto him: and likewiſe the Earle of Glencarne tooke his keeper priſoner, and ſo did ſundry others take their takers: but Claude Hamilton, and others with their companies, hauing firſte got all the Horſes that were founde in the Towne into theyr handes, when they hearde that the reſcue was cõming, ſhifted for themſelues, and fled away.

The Regent beeing mortally wounded, but yet deliuered from his enimies, ridde vp to the Caſtell, and calling there vnto him the whole nobilitie, when he perceiued his ende to approch, hee vſed theſe wordes or the like in ſubſtance, as followeth.

The Earle of Lennox his words before his death.

My Lords, it is not vnknowen vnto you al, that my comming hither to take this regimente vppon me, was not of mine owne ſeeking, but at the requeſt of you all: and that which chiefely moued me hereunto, was, for the defence of the Kings perſon, beeyng yet as you ſee an infante, of whome by nature and duetie I was bounden to haue carefull conſideration, and that in hys minoritie, the good and quiet gouernement of this common wealthe might bee aduanced, and iuſtice executed vpon thoſe that moſt cruelly dyd murther the late King, my ſonne the Kyngs father, and his vncle the good Earle of Murrey, late Regent, whoſe miſchieuous and diueliſh deuiſes if in time you doe not preuent, by your wiſedomes and diſcretions, they will procure the finall ouerthrowe and deſtruction of you all.

In this action as you ſee, I haue ſpente my bloud, and haue plaid the laſt part of my Tragedie, and nowe I feele death to drawe neere at hande, wherefore I requite you all, for the due regarde that you haue of youre dueties, firſte to Almighty God, and next to the king, your moſt lawfull and naturall Prince nowe in theſe hys tender yeares, wholly to employ your ſeruice in his defence, with care to maynteyne the ſtate of this common wealthe, whereby you ſhall not onely accompliſhe youre dueties towards God, but ſhall be aſſured to find in your King in time to come (God lending him life) all that good whych you can iuſtly requite.

And I ſhall further committe to your friendly protection, my poore ſeruantes, who for theyr good ſeruice haue well deſerued, and yet remaine vnrecompenced, deſiring you all to be good vnto them.

And laſtly, I deſire you to commend me to my Lady Margaret my deere Wife, now beeing in England, vnto whome I beſeech God to be a comforter.

And now ſith my ſpirites begin to fayle, and that my life draweth neere to an ende, I take my leaue of you al, deſiring you to pray for me.

Theſe wordes beeyng ended, hee called to God for mercy, and continuing in prayer vnto the ende, within a while after hee departed thys life, and was buryed in the Kyngs Chappell

The Earle of Lennox departeth this life.

Chappell within the Caſtell of Striueling.

The Earle of Mar choſen Regent.

The Earle of Morton Regent.

After his deceaſſe, the Lordes aſſembled togither in the Towne of Sterling, and choſe the Earle of Mar to bee Regent, who continued in that office till hee dyed, and then was the Earle of Morton elected Regente, who gouerneth at this day: of whoſe doings, for that I haue no certaine inſtructions, I omitte to make further report hauing hitherto continued this hiſtorie of Scotlande not ſo largely nor perfectly as I could haue wiſhed, but ſkambled forwarde with it in ſuch ſort as you may ſee, hauing deliuered nothing vnto you to impaire the credite of the Scottiſh nation, otherwiſe than I haue founde in Authours, or learned by credible reporte, as I take it, hauyng put off the partiall affection, whiche I beare of duty to mine owne countrey, in this reſpect, that I ſhould not ſeeme to wreſt the wordes of Writers, eyther to the aduantage of the Engliſhe people, or diſaduantage of the Scottes, ſpecially in politique gouernemente, warlike exploytes, ciuill demeanor, and other vertuous exerciſes, whiche as I haue founde them eyther in anye one perſon particularly, or in the multitude in generall, ſo I haue reported the ſame, not ſparing the trueth herein as I haue found it recorded, either for loue or hatred, dread, fauor, or enuy: but yet in no wiſe preſuming (as elſe where I haue ſayde) to vſe mine owne cenſure, but rather leauing the iudgement of other mens reportes vnto the Readers diſcretion, to whome I wiſhe ſuch vnderſtanding and knowledge in yͤ truth, as may ſatiſfie himſelfe, and redounde to the publique commoditie of hys Countrey, and pleaſure of the almighty, in whoſe handes are the harts of Kings, and gouernours, guiding the ſtates of Realmes, and common wealthes, as to his diuine wiſedome ſeemeth moſt expedient. To whom be glory, honor and prayſe for euer.

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FINIS.

1577

THE

Hiſtorie of Irelande from the firſt inhabitation *thereof, vnto the yeare* 1509.

Collected by Raphaell Holinſhed,
and continued till the yeare 1547.
by Richarde Stanyhurſt.

AT LONDON,
¶ *Imprinted for George*
Biſhop.

God ſaue the Queene.

¶ The Authors out of whome this Hiſtorie of *Irelande hath bene gathered.*

Edmond Campion.
Giraldus Cambrenſis.
Flatsburie.
Henricus Marleburgenſis.
Saxo Grammaticus.
Albertus Crantz.
Rogerus Houeden.
Guilielmus Paruus Nouoburgenſis.
Polichronicon, ſiue Ranulfus Higeden.
Iohannes Bale.
Recordes and Rolles diuers.

TO THE RIGHT Honourable ſir Henry Sydney Knight, Lorde Deputie Generall of Irelande, Lorde preſident *of Wales, Knight of the moſte noble Order of the* Garter, and one of hir Maieſties priuie Counſel within hir Realme of Englande.

T*Aking in hande right Honorable*, to gather the perticular Hiſtories of diuers Countries and Nations, to ioyn vvith a Coſmographie, vvhich one Reginald VVoulſe late Printer to the Queenes Maieſtie, meant to publiſhe in our Engliſh tounge: vvhen I came to cõſider of the Hiſtories of Ireland, I founde my ſelfe ſo vnprouided of helpes, to ſet dovvne any perticular diſcourſe therof, that I vvas in diſpaire to enterprice to vvrite any thing at all concerning that realme, othervviſe thã incidently, as fell to purpoſe, to touche the ſame in the Hiſtorie of England. At length yet as Maiſter VVoulſes vſe vvas to imparte to me all ſuche helpes as he might at any hande procure for my furtherance, in the collections of the other Hiſtories, vvherevvith I ſpecially dealte, his happe vvas to light alſo vpon a copie of tvvoo Bookes of the Iriſhe Hiſtories, compiled by one Edmond Campion, fellovv ſomtime of S. Iohn Baptiſts Colledge in Oxforde, very vvell penned certenly, but ſo briefe, as it vvere to be vviſhed that occaſion had ſerued him to haue vſed more leyſure, and thereby to haue deliuered to vs a larger diſcourſe of the ſame Hiſtories: for as he himſelfe confeſſeth, hee had not paſte tenne vveekes ſpace to gather his mater: a very ſhorte time doubtleſſe for ſuche a peece of vvorke. But hovve breefe ſo euer I founde him, at the perſuaſion of Maiſter VVoulſe, vpon the hauing of that copie, I reſolued to make ſhift to frame a ſpeciall Hiſtorie of Irelande, in like maner as I had done of other Regions, follovvyng Campions order, and ſetting dovvne his ovvne vvordes, excepte in places vvhere I had mater to enlarge that (out of other Authours,) vvhich he had vvritten in briefe: and this I haue thought good to ſignifie, the rather for that I eſteeme it good dealing in no vviſe to defraude him of his due deſerued prayſe.

But novv after I had continued the Hiſtorie, and enlarged it out of Giraldus Cambrenſis, Flatsbury, Henry of Marleburgh, and other, till the yeare. 1509. in vvhich that famous Prince Henry the. viij. began his reigne, ſome of thoſe that vvere to beſtovv the charges of the Impreſſion, procured a learned Gentleman Maiſter Richard Stanyhurſt, to continue it from thence forvvarde as he ſavv occaſion, being furniſhed vvith mater to enlarge the vvorke, vvhereof for thoſe later times I founde my ſelfe vtterly voyde, more than that vvhiche Campion had deliuered. VVhat I haue done herein, your Honours diſcretion ſhall eaſily cõceyue. For the imperfection ſith it is the firſt that hath bene ſet forth in Printe, I craue moſt humbly pardon of your good Lordſhippe, beſeeching you rather to reſpect my good vvill than the perfectneſſe of the vvorke, vvhiche the vvantes conſidered for the orderly furniſhyng thereof, is not to be looked for in the skilfull, muche leſſe in me the meaneſt of all, and leaſt able to performe it. Hauing preſented the right Honorable the Erle of Leyceſter vvith the Hiſtorie of Scotlande, to vvhome (as I haue hearde) Campion made Dedication of his booke, I coulde not remember me to vvhome I might more conueniently offer this my trauell in this Hiſtorie of Ireland, than to your Lordſhip, being hir Maieſties Lieutenant in that Realme. And therfore in moſt humble vviſe I exhibite the booke to your Honour, beſeeching the ſame to beare vvith my bolde attempt therein, and to receyue it in good parte from him that vviſhed to haue more amplie ſatisfied your good Lordſhippes expectation, if abilitie might haue anſvvered good vvill.

Thus I beſeech the Lorde to guyde your harte in his holy vvayes, and to furniſh you vvith politike prudence and skilfull knovvledge, to gouerne in your eſtate and office, ſo as your doyngs may redounde to his glorie, the ſuretie of hir Maieſties dominion there, your ovvne aduancement in Honour, and conſequently to the ſure ſupporte and peaceable quietneſſe of the true and loyall ſubiectes of that Realme.

Your honours moſt humble to commaunde,

RAPHAEL HOLINSHED.

¶ A Treatiſe contaynyng a playne and perfect Deſcription of Irelande, *with an Introduction, to the better vnderſtanding of* the hyſtories, appartaynyng to that Ilande: compyled by

Richarde Stanyhurst, and written to the Ryght Honorable, Syr Henry Sydney
Knight, Lorde Deputie of Irelande, Lorde preſident of Wales,
Knight of the moſt noble order of the Garter, and
one of hir Maieſties priuie Counſell within
hir realme of England.

MY VERY good Lorde, there haue beene diuers of late, that with no ſmall toyle, and great commendacion, haue throughly imployed themſelues, in culling and packing togither the ſcrapings and fragments of the hyſtorie of Ireland. Amōg which crew, my faſt friende, & inwarde companion, M. Edmond Campion, dyd ſo learnedly bequite himſelfe, in the penning of certayne breefe notes, cōcerning that countrey, as certes it was greatly to be lamented, that eyther hys theame had not beene ſhorter, or elſe his leaſure had not beene longer. For if Alexander were ſo rauiſht with Homer hys hyſtorie, that notwithſtāding Therſites were a crabbed and a rugged dwarfe, being in outwarde feature ſo deformed, and in inwarde conditions ſo crooked, as he ſeemed to ſtande to no better ſteede, then to leade Apes in hell, yet the valiaunt capitayne weighing, howe liuely the goldē Poet ſet forth the ougly dwarfe in his coulours, dyd ſooner wyſhe to be Homer his Therſites, then to be the Alexander of that doltiſh rythmour, which vndertooke, with his woodden verſes to blaſe his famous and martiall exploytes: howe much more ought Irelande (being in ſundry ages, ſeized of diuers good and couragious Alexanders) ſore to long, & thirſte after ſo rare a clarcke, as M. Campion, who was ſo vpright in conſcience, ſo deepe in iudgement, ſo rype in eloquence, as the countrey might haue bene wel aſſured, to haue had their hyſtorie truely reported, pithily handled, and brauely poliſhed.

Howbeit, although the gloſe of his fine abridgement, being macht with other mens dooings, bare a ſurpaſſing kinde of excellencie, yet it was ſo hudled vp in haſte, as in reſpect of a Campion his abſolute perfection, it ſeemed rather to be a worke roughly hewed, then ſmoothly planed. Vpon which grounde the gentleman being willing, ÿ his ſo tender a ſuckling, hauing as yet but greene bones, ſhould haue beene ſwadled and rockt in a cradle, till in tract of tyme the ioyntes thereof were knit, and growen ſtronger, yet notwithſtanding he was ſo croſt in the nycke of thys determination, that his hyſtorie in mitching wyſe wandered through ſundry handes, and beyng therwithall in certayne places ſomewhat fyckle tongued (for M. Campion dyd learne it to ſpeake) and in other places ouer ſpare, it twitled more tales out of ſchoole, and drowned weightyer matters in ſilence, then the Auctor vpon better view, and longer ſearche would haue permitted. This much being by the ſager ſorte pondered, and the perfection of the hyſtorie earneſtly deſyred, I, as one of the moſt, that could doe leaſt, was fully reſolued to enriche M. Campion his Chronicle, with further additiō. But weighing on the other ſyde, that my courſe pack threede coulde not haue beene ſutetably knit with his fine ſilke, & what a diſgrace it were, hungerly to botch vp a riche garment, by clowting it with patches of ſundrye coulours, I was forthwith reclaymed from my former reſolution, reputing it far better, that my penne ſhoulde walke in ſuch wyſe in that craggie and balkiſhe way, as the truth of the matter being foreprized, I would neyther openly borrow, nor priuily imbezell, ought to any great purpoſe from his hyſtorie. But as I was hammering that worke by ſtealthes on ÿ anuille, I was giuen to vnderſtande by ſome of mine acquaintaunce, that others had brought our rawe hyſtorie to that rypeneſſe as my paines therein would ſeeme but needeleſſe. Whereupon being willing to be eaſed of the burden, and loath alſo in lurching wiſe to foreſtall any man his trauayle, I was contented, to leaue them thumping in the forge, and quietly to repayre to mine vſuall and priuate ſtudies, taking it not to ſtande with good maners, lyke a flittering flye, to fall in an other man his diſhe. Howbeit, the little payne I tooke therin was not ſo ſecretly mewed within my cloſet, but it ſlipt out at one chincke or other, and romed ſo farre abroade, as it was whiſpered in their eares, who before were in the hyſtorie buſied. The gentlemen conceyuing a greater opinion of mee, then I was well able to vpholde, dealt very effectually with mee, that aſwell at their inſtaunce, as for the affection I bare my natiue countrey, I would put mine helping hand, to the building and perfecting of ſo commendable a worke. Hauing breathed for a fewe dayes on this motion, albeit I knewe, that my worke was plumed with Downe, and at that time I was not ſufficientlye feathered to flée, yet I was by them weighed not to beare my ſelfe coy, by giuing mine entier friendes in ſo reaſonable a requeſt a ſquaimiſh repulſe. Wherfore, my ſingular good Lorde, here is layde downe to your Lordſhippe his view a briefe diſcourſe, with a ragged hyſtorie of a ragged Wealepublicke. Yet as naked as at the firſt bluſhe it ſéemeth, if it ſhall ſtande wyth your Honour his pleaſure (whome I take to be an experte Lapidarie) at vacant houres to inſearche it, you ſhall finde therein ſtones of ſuch eſtimatiõ, as are worthy to be coucht in riche and precious collets. And in eſpeciall your Lordſhip, aboue all others, in that you haue the charge of that countrey, may here be ſchooled, by a right line to leuell your gouernement. For in peruſing this hyſtorie, you ſhall finde vice puniſhed, vertue rewarded, rebellion ſuppreſſed, loyaltie exalted, hautineſſe diſlyked, courtiſie beloued, brybery deteſted, iuſtice embraced, polling Officers to their perpetuall ſhame reproued, and vpright gouernours to their eternall fame extolled. And truely, to my thinking, ſuch magiſtrates, as meane to haue a vigilant eye to their charge, can not beſtow their tyme better, then when they ſequeſtre themſelues frõ the affayres of the wealpublicke, to recreate & quicken their ſpirites by reading the Chronicles, that decipher the gouernement of a Wealepublicke. For as it is no ſmall commẽdacion, for one to beare the dooings of many, ſo it breedeth great admiration, generally to haue all thoſe qualities in one mã herboured, for which particularly diuers are eternized. And who ſo will be addicted to the reading of hyſtories, ſhall readily finde diuers euentes worthy to be remembred, and ſundry ſounde examples daily to be followed. Upon which grounde the learned haue, not without cauſe, adiudged an hyſtorie to be, the Marrowe of reaſon, the creame of experience, the ſappe of wyſedome, the pith of iudgement, the library of knowledge, the kernell of pollicie, the vnfoldreſſe of treacherie, the kalender of tyme, the lanterne of trueth, the lyfe of memorie, the doctreſſe of behauiour, the regiſter of antiquitie, the trumpet of chiualrie. And that our Iriſhe hyſtorie being diligently héeded, yéeldeth al theſe commodities. I truſt the indifferent reader, vpon the vntwyning thereof, will not denie. But if any man his ſtomacke ſhall be founde ſo tenderly niced, or ſo deintily ſpyced, as that he may not, forſooth, digeſt the groſe draffe of ſo baſe a countrey, I doubt not, but your Lordſhip, who is throughly acquaynted with the worthineſſe of the Iland, will be ſoone perſwaded, to leaue ſuch quaint and licourous repaſtours, to féede on their coſtly and delicate Woodcockes, & willingly to accept the louing preſent of your hearty welwiller.

The gift is ſmall, the giuer hys good wyll is great, I ſtand in good hope, that the greatneſſe of the one wyll countrepoiſe the ſmalneſſe of the other. Wherefore, that I may the ſooner vnbroyde ỹ pelfiſh traſh, that is wrapt wythin thys Treatiſe, I ſhall craue your Lordſhippe, to lende me eyther your eares in hearing, or your eyes in reading the tenour of the diſcourſe following.

The greater parte as well of Coſmographers, as Chronographers, with one accorde affirme, that Irelande (the vttermoſt Weſterne Iſle knowne) is halfe as bigge as Britannia. Which I take to be true, if the worde Britannia ſo farre diſplaye the ſignification, that it compriſe England, Wales, & Scotland. To which opinion, Giraldus Cambrienſe leuelyeth, ſaying that Britannia containeth in length 800. myles, and 200. in breadth. Ireland he taketh to be in length from the mountaynes called Torache (the author of Polychronicon termeth them Brendan hys hills) to S. Colũbe his Iland, eight dayes iourney, rating of long Iriſh myles, 40. miles to the day, and in breadth from Dublin to S. Patrike his hilles, & the ſea of Connaght foure dayes iourney, according to the former rate. So as by Cambrienſe his ſurvey (who was a curious enſearcher thereof) Ireland is 320. myles long of Iriſh myles, and 160. myles broade. And accompting 320. Iriſh myles to amount to 400. engliſh miles, which maye well be reckoned according to their iudgementes, that haue trauayled in the Iriſh territories. Ireland wil be found halfe as big as Britannia, which Giraldus Cambrienſe auoucheth, ſaying: that Irelande is as bigge as Wales and Scotland. Irelande hath on the eaſt, England, within one dayes ſaylyng: on the ſouth eaſt, it hath Fraunce: Hiſpayne on the ſouth, diſtant thrée dayes ſayling: on the weſt the mayne Ocean ſea.

The le
and bre
of Irel

Girald.
Cambri
lib.1.top
diſt.1.ru
Polich.li
cap.32.

Touching the name Ibernia, Hiſtoriographers are not yet agréed frõ whence it is deducted. Some write it Hybernia corruptly, & ſuppoſe that the eſtraungers finding it in an odde end of the world, foiſty and moiſty, toke it at the firſt for a very cold countrey, & thereof named it Hybernia, as to ſay, the Winterland. But this errour beyng vpon ſhort experience reformed, it could not be, that the name ſhould haue liued long, eſpecially the firſt im-

The na
Ibernia
whence
procede

poſitours ſurmiſing the truth, and able to alter the firſt nominatiue. Others bring a gueſſe, that it ſhould be named of Irlamale. But bycauſe I read nothing of them in any probable hiſtorie, I purpoſe not to builde vpon that coniecture. Moſt credibly it is holden, that the Hiſpaniardes, the founders of the Iriſh, for deuotion towardes Hiſpayne, called then Iberia of Iberus the ſonne of Iuball, and the rather, for that themſelues had dwelled beſide the famous riuer Iberus, named the land Iberia (for ſo Leland and many forreine chroniclers write it) or Ibernia, adding the letter N. for difference ſake. And frō Ibernia procedeth Iberland or Iuerland, from Iuerland, by contractiō, Ireland, for ſo much as in corruption of commō talke we find that V. with his vocale, is eaſily loſt, and ſuppreſſed. So we ſay ere for euer, nere for neuer, ſhoole for ſhouell, ore for ouer, ene for euen, dyle for deuil. At the ſame tyme it was alſo named Scotia in reuerence of Scotach, the wyfe of Gathelus, auncient capitayne of thoſe Iberians that flitted from Hiſpayne into Ireland, and the ſayd Scotach was olde grandame to Hiberus and Hermon after the Scottiſh Chronicles, who in any wiſe will haue their countreymen deriued from the Iriſh, and not frō the Britōs. The name Scotia is of late yeres ſo vſually taken for that parte of Britayne, that compriſeth Scotland, that diuers auncient Iriſh authours are holden to be borne in Scotland, wheras in very déede their natiue ſoyle is Ireland. As the famous ſchoole man Iohannes Duns Scotus, otherwiſe named, Doctor Subtilis, for his ſubtill quiddities in ſcholaſticall controuerſies, was an Iriſhe man borne, and yet is taken for a Scotte. Some hold opinion, that he was born in Tathmon, a market towne, fiue myles diſtaunt from Weiſeford. Others auouche, and that more truely, that he was borne in Downe, an olde auncient ciuitie in the North of Ireland, and therof they geſſe hym to be named Dunenſis, and by contraction Duns, which terme is ſo triuiall and common in all ſchooles, that who ſo ſurpaſſeth others either in cauilling ſophiſtry, or ſubtill philoſophy, is forthwith nicknamed a Duns. Wherfore as Scotlande is named Scotia minor, ſo Irelande is termed Scotia maior, as the hed from whence ỹ name of Scotia minor tooke his offſpring. The Iriſh alſo were named of the foreſayd Gathelus, or Gaudeilus, Gaudeili. In their Iriſh rythmes, they terme Ireland very often Banno. I can not deuine what reaſon ſhould lead their makers therto, vnleſſe it be the riuer in the coūtie of Weiſeford, named the Banne, where the Britons vpon the conqueſt firſt arriued.

rland.

rus the
ſpaniſhe
er.

land. in
g Cant.

otia.
otach.
Gathelus.

hn. Ma-
r. Scot.
ca.cap.9.

ohannes
Dominus
Scotus
borne in
Ireland.

hy
ſcholemen
are called
Dunſes.

Scotia ma-
ior.
Scotia mi-
nor.

Gaudeli.

nno.

The riuer
Banne.

The place otherwiſe is called Bagganbun, according to the olde auncient rithme.

At the creeke of Bagganbunne,
Ireland was loſt and wonne.

Bagganbunne.

For the remembraunce of which riuer ſo notoriouſly famouſed, it carieth great likelyhode that the name ſhould be to the whole realme generally aſcribed. Sundry latin authors write Ireland, Inuerna; others Iuerna; diuers Hierna. Claudius nameth it Iberna. The diuerſitie of which names grew, for that in theim tyme the true and certayne name was not knowen, ſo that they were contented to take it as they found it, which matter is handled by Hermolaus Barbarus.

Inuerna.
Ioan. Camertes in cap. 35. Solini.

Hermol. Barb. c. 16. in lib. 4. Plin. caſtig.

There are ſome of the ruder ſort ſo quaint in ſeuering the name Iriſh and Ireland, as that they would be named Ireland men, but in no wyſe Iriſhmen. But certes, in my fantaſie ſuch a curious diſtinctors may be very aptly reſembled to the fooliſhe butcher, that offered to haue ſold his mutton for xv. grotes, and yet would not take a crowne. Who ſo will grate vpō ſuch nice diuerſities in reſpect ỹ he is aſhamed of his country, truly in mine opinion, his country may be aſhamed of him.

The name Iriſhe and Ireland curiouſly ſeuered.

Ireland is deuided into foure regiōs, Leinſter, eaſt: Connaght, weſt: Vlſter, north: Mounſter, ſouth: and into a fift plot, defalked from euery fourth parte, and yet mearyng on eche part, called therof Media, Méeth, compriſing as well eaſt Méeth, as weſt Méeth. Leinſter butteth vpō England: Vlſter vpō ỹ Scottiſh Iſlands, which face wᵗ Hebriades ſcattered betwene both the realmes, wherein at this day the Iriſh Scot, ſucceſſor of ỹ elder Scythian, Picte, or Redſhanke dwelleth. Eche of theſe fiue, where they are framable to ciuilitie, and aunſwer the writtes of the Princes courtes, be ſundred into Shieres or Coūties in this maner. In Leinſter lyeth the Counties of Dublin, Kildare, Weiſeford or Gueiſford, Catherlach, Kilkenny, the Countyes of Leiſe and Ophaly, called the King & Quenes counties, theſe two lately ſo named by Parliament, in the raignes of Phillip and Mary, hauing thiere townes accordaunt, Phillipstowne and Maryborough. Connaght hath the countie Clare: Vlſter the countyes of Louthe, Downe, Antrim, one moyetie of the towne of Droghedagh (for ỹ reſt is in Méeth) and Carregfergus. In Mounſter, lye the Countyes of Waterforde, Lymmericke, Corcke, Countie Palentine of Typperary, Keary, and the croſſe of Typperary. Mounſter was of olde tyme deuided into eaſt Mounſter, Ormond, Weſt Mounſter, Deſmonde, South Mounſter, Toonmound. The occaſion why Ireland was parted into theſe v. principall

1. Lagenia.
2. Cōnatia.
3. Huſtonia.
4. Momonia.
5. Media.
Weſt Méeth, & eaſt Méeth

Hebriades.

The ſhires and counties of Ireland.

An.mundi. 2533.
Cambrienſ. lib.1.diſt.3. rub.5.&6.

Méeth whence it is named.

Méeth appointed for yͤ king his table.

Cantared.

Slane.

pall regions grew of this. There arriued in Ireland fiue brethren, that were fiue valiant and martiall gentlemen: to witte, Gandius, Genandius, Sagandus, otherwyſe named Gangandius, Rutheragus, or Rutheranſus, and Slanius. Theſe fiue perceiuing that the countrey was not ſufficiently peopled, were agréed, as it were, to caſt lottes, and to ſhare the whole realme betwene themſelues. The foure elder brethren ſeueryng the country into foure partes, and beyng loath to vſe theyr yongeſt brother lyke an outcaſt or ſtepſonne, condeſcended that eche of them foure, ſhould of their own portion allotte to Slanius a paryng or parcell of their enheritaunce. Which beyng as hartily receiued by Slanius, as it was bountifully graunted by them, he ſetled himſelfe therin, and of that particion it tooke the appellation of Media, Méethe. The foure partes méete at a certayne ſtone at Méethe, néere the caſtle of Kilayre, as an indifferent meare to ſeuer the iiij. regions. But although Slanius in the beginning had the leſt parcel, yet in ſhort ſpace he ſtoode ſo well to his tacklinges, and encroacht ſo far vpon his neighbors, that he obtayned the whole Monarchie of Irelãd. At which tyme he did not ſuppreſſe in obliuion his enheritance of Méethe, but did enlarge it, and decréed it ſhould be a country appendant to the Monarch his diet or table. And albeit the confines thereof were by Slanius ſtretched, yet it conteyneth not ſo much land, as any of the other foure partes comprehendeth, but rather by indifferent ſuruey, the halfe deale, wherof alſo it is not vnlikely named Méeth. For where as in the tyme of Slanius eche of the foure partes compriſeth 32. cantaredes. Méeth conteineth but xvj. cantaredes. A cantarede is named ſo much land as conteyneth an hundred towneſhips. This Slanius is entoombed at an hill in Méethe, which of hym is named Slane.

Galfride Geneuile.

There hath bene in ancient tyme one Galfride Geneuile, Lord of the liberty of Méeth. This noble man became a Frier preacher, and deceaſed in the yeare of our Lorde, 1314. the xx. of October, and was entoombed in the Abbey of the blacke Friers at Trimme.

The Engliſh pale.

Fingul excellet huſban

Collon of Fing Clown Fingall why ſo med.

The ciui litie of Ireland auncient tyme.

Weiſefor wholy Engliſh. The P

There is alſo an other diuiſion of Irelande, into the Engliſh pale and Iriſhry. For when Ireland was ſubdued by the Engliſh, diuers of the conquerors planted themſelues néere to Dublyn and the confines thereto adioyning, and ſo as it were encloſing and empalyng themſelues within certayne liſtes and territories, they feazed away the Iriſh, in ſo much as that countrey became méere Engliſh And therof it was termed, the Engliſh pale: which in auncient tyme ſtretched from Dondalke to Catherlagh or Kilkenny. But now, what for the ſlackneſſe of marchoures, and the encrochyng of the Iriſh enemy, the ſcope of the Engliſh pale is greatly empayred, and is cramperned and coucht into an odde corner of the countrey named Fingall, with a parcell of the king his land Méeth, the countries of Kyldare & Louth, which partes are applied chiefly with good huſbandry, and take for the richeſt and ciuileſt ſoyles in Ireland. But Fingall eſpecially from tyme to tyme hath bene ſo addicted to all the poyntes of Huſbandry, as that they are nicknamed by their neighbors, for their continuall drudgery, Collonnes of the latin worde Coloni, wherunto the clipt Engliſh worde, Clowne, ſéemeth to be aunſwerable. The worde Fingall, counteruayleth in engliſhe, the race or ſept of the engliſhe or eſtraungers, for that they were ſoly ſeized of that part of yͤ Iſland, grippyng with their tallantes ſo firmely that warme neaſt, that from the conqueſt to this day, the Iriſh enimy could neuer rouſe them from thence. The inhabitantes of the engliſh pale haue bene in olde tyme ſo much addicted to all ciuilitie, and ſo farre ſequeſtred from barbarous ſauageneſſe, as their only mother tongue was Engliſh. And truely as long as theſe empaled dwellers did ſunder thẽſelues as wel in land as in language, frõ the Iriſhe: rudeneſſe was day by day in the countrey ſupplanted, ciuilitie engraffed, good lawes eſtabliſhed, loyaltie obſerued, rebellion ſuppreſſed, and in fine the cyone of a yong England, was lyke to ſhoote in Ireland. But whẽ their poſteritie became not all togither ſo wary in kéeping, as their aunceſtors were valiant in conquering, and the Iriſh language was frée dennized in yͤ Engliſh pale: this canker tooke ſuch déepe roote, as the body that before was whole and ſounde, was by little and little feſtered, and in maner wholy putrified. And not onely this parcel of Ireland grew to that ciuilitie, but alſo Vlſter and the greater part of Mounſter, as by the ſequele of the Iriſhe hiſtory ſhall plainely appeare. But of all other places, Weiſeforde with the territorye bayed, and percloſed within the riuer called the Pill, was ſo quite eſtranged from Iriſhry, as if a trauailer of the Iriſh (which was rare in thoſe dayes) had picht his foote within the pile and ſpoken Iriſhe, the Weiſefordiãs would commaunde hym forthwith to turne the other ende of his tongue, and ſpeake Engliſhe, or elſe bring his trouchman with him. But in our dayes they haue ſo aquainted thẽſelues with the Iriſhe, as they haue made a mingle mangle, or gallamaulfrey of both the languages, and haue in ſuch medley or checkerwiſe kerwyſe ſo crabbedly iumbled them both togyther, as commonly the inhabitants of the meaner ſort ſpeake neyther good Engliſh nor good Iriſhe.

There was of late dayes one of the Peeres of England ſent to Weiſeford as Commiſſioner, to decide the controuerſies of that countrey, and earing in affable wiſe the rude complaintes of the countrey clownes, he conceyued here and there, ſometyme a worde, other whyles a ſentence. The noble man beyng very glad that vpon hys firſt commyng to Ireland, he vnderſtood ſo many wordes, told one of hys familiar frends, that he ſtoode in very great hope, to become ſhortly a well ſpoken man in the Iriſhe, ſuppoſing that the blunte people had pratled Iriſhe, all the while they iangled Engliſhe. Howbeit to this day, the dregs of the olde auncient Chaucer Engliſh, are kept as well there as in Fingall. As they terme a ſpider, an attercop, a wiſpe, a wad, a lumpe of bread, a pocket or a pucket, a Sillibucke, a copprouſe, a faggot, a bleaſe, or a blaze, for the ſhort burning of it, as I iudge, a Phiſition, a leache, a gappe, a ſharde, a baſe court or quadrangle, a bawen, or rather, as I ſuppoſe, a barton: ỹ houſehold or folkes, meany: Sharppe, keene, eſtraunge, vncouth, eaſie, eeth or eeſe, a dunghill, a mizen, as for the worde bater, that in Engliſh purporteth a lane, bearing to an high way, I take it for a meere Iriſhe worde, that crepte vnawares into the Engliſh, thorough the daily entercourſe of the Engliſh and Iriſh inhabitants. And where as commonly in all countreys, the women ſpeake moſt neately and pertely, whiche Tully in hys thirde booke de Oratore, ſpeakyng in the perſon of Craſſus, ſeemed to haue obſerued, yet notwithſtandyng in Ireland it falloth out contrary. For the women haue in theyr Engliſh tongue an harriſh and broade kynd of pronunciation, with vtteryng their wordes ſo peeuiſhly & faintly, as though they were halfe ſicke, and ready to call for a poſſette. And moſt commonly in wordes of two ſillables, they giue the laſt the accent. As they ſay, Markeate, Baſkeate, Goſſoupe, Puſſoate, Robart, Niclaſe, &c. which doubtleſſe doth diſbeautifie their Engliſhe aboue meaſure. And if they could be weaned from that corrupt cuſtom, there is none that could diſlyke of their Engliſh.

The ſey=ng of a noble man touching the Eng=ſhe of Weiſforde.

Od Engliſhe in Weiſford Fingall.

Bater.

The pro=nunciation of ỹ Iriſhe women.

Here percaſe ſome ſnappiſh carper will take mee at rebounde, and ſnuffingly ſnibbe me, for debacing the Iriſh language. But truely whoſoeuer ſhall be founde ſo ouerthwartly bent, he takes the matter far awrie. For as my ſkill is very ſimple therein, ſo I woulde be loath, to diſueyle my raſhneſſe, in giuing light verdict in any thing to me vnknowen. But onely my ſhort diſcourſe tendeth to this drift, that it is not expedient, that the Iriſhe tongue ſhoulde be ſo vniuerſally gagled in in the Engliſh pale, bycauſe that by proofe & experience we ſee, that the pale was in neuer more floriſhing eſtate, thē when it was wholly Engliſh, & neuer in worſe plight, thē ſince it hath enfraunchyſed the Iriſhe. But ſome will ſay, that I ſhewe my ſelfe herein as ſcrupulous, as ſome loſing gameſters ſeeme ſuperſtitious, when they play themſelues drye, they gogle wyth their eyes hither and thyther, and if they can prye out any one, that giueth them the gaze, they ſtande lumping and lowring, fretting and fuming, for that they imagine, that all theyr euill lucke proceeded of hym. And yet if the ſtander by departe, the loſer may be founde as dryſhauen, as he was before. And euen ſo it fareth wyth you, bycauſe you ſee all things runne to ruine in the Engliſhe pale, by reaſon of great enormities in the countrey, eyther openly practiſed, or couertlye wyncked at, you glaunce your eye on that, which ſtandeth next you, & by beating Iacke for Iyll, you impute the fault to that, which perhappes woulde little further the wealepublicke, if it were exiled. Now truely you ſhoote very neere the marke. But if I may craue your patience, to tyme you ſee me ſhoote my bolt, I hope you will not deny, but that as neere the pricke as you are, & as very an hagler as I am, yet the ſcantling ſhall be myne. Firſt therefore take this wyth you, that a conqueſt draweth, or at the leaſt wyſe ought to drawe to it, three things, to witte, law, apparayle, and language. For where the countrey is ſubdued, there the inhabitants ought to be ruled by the ſame law that the cōquerour is gouerned, to weare the ſame faſhion of attyre, wherewith the victour is veſted, & ſpeake the ſame language, that the vanquiſher parleth. And if anye of theſe three lacke, doubtleſſe the conqueſt limpeth. Now whereas Irelande hath beene, by lawfull conqueſt, brought vnder the ſubiectiō of Englande, not onelye in king Henry the ſecond his reigne, but alſo as well before, as after (as by the courſe of the Iriſh hyſtorye ſhal euidently be deciphered) & the conqueſt hath beene ſo abſolute and perfect, that all Leinſter, Meeth, Vlſter, the more parte of Connaght and Mounſter, all the Ciuities & Burroughes in Irelande, haue beene wholly Engliſhed, and with Engliſhe conquerours inhabited, is it decent, thinke you, that theyr owne auncient natiue tongue ſhal be ſhrowded in obliuion, and ſuffer the enemies language, as it were a tettarre, or ringwoorme, to

The ſuperſtition of Gameſters.

A conqueſt implyeth 3.thinges.

to herborow it ſelf within the lawes of Engliſhe conquerours? no truely. And nowe that I haue fallen vnawares into this diſcourſe, it will not be far amiſſe to ſtande ſomewhat roundly vpon this poynt. It is knowen, and by the hyſtorie, you maye in part perceyue, how brauely Vlſter Whillon floriſhed. The Engliſhe families were there implanted, the Iriſh, eyther vtterly expelled, or wholly ſubdued, the lawes duely executed, the reuenue great, and onely Engliſh ſpoken. But what brought it to this preſent ruine and decaye? I doubt not, but you geſſe, before I tell you. They were enuironned & cōpaſſed with euill neighbours. Neighbourhoode bredde acquaintance, acquaintance wafted in yͤ Iriſh tōgue, the Iriſhe hooked with it attyre, attyre haled rudenes, rudeneſſe engendred ignorāce, ignoraunce brought contempt of lawes, the contempt of lawes bred rebelliō, rebellion raked thereto warres, and ſo cōſequently the vtter decay and deſolatiō of that worthy countrey.

If theſe chinkes, when firſt they beganne to chappe, had beene diligently by the dwellers ſtopt, hir Maieſtie at this daye, to hir great charges, ſhoulde not haue beene occaſioned, to damme vp with many thouſand poundes, yea & with the worthy carkaſſes of valiaunt ſouldiours, the gaps of that rebellious Northren countrey. Now put the caſe that the Iriſhe tongue were as ſacred as the Hebrewe, as learned as the Greeke, as fluent as the latin, as amarous as yͤ Italian, as courtious as the Hiſpaniſh, as courtelike as yͤ French, yet truely (I know not which way it falleth out) I ſee not, but it may be very well ſpared in the Engliſhe pale. And if reaſon will not leade you to thinke it, truely experience muſt force you to graunt it. In olde time when the Romaines were firſt acquaynted wyth the Greeke tongue, as it is cōmonly the nature of mā to be delighted with newfangle wares, ſo he was accompted no gallant among the Romaines, that coulde not prattle & chatte Greeke. Marcus Cicero, father vnto Tully, being at that tyme ſtept in yeres, perceyuing hys countreymen to become changelings, in being bylwyſe and polmadde, & to ſuck with the Greeke the conditions of the Grecians, as to be in wordes talkatiue, in behauiour light, in condicions quaint, in maners haute, in promiſes vnſtedfaſt, in othes raſh, in bargaines wauering (which were reckened for Greekiſh properties in thoſe dayes) the olde gentleman not ſo much reſpecting the neateneſſe of the language, as the naughty fruite it brought wyth it, ſayde, that his countreymen, the Romaynes, reſembled the bonde ſlaues of Siria. For yͤ more parfit they were in the Greeke, the worſe they were in theyr maners and lyfe. If this gentleman had bene now liuing and had ſeene what alteratiō hath happened in Irelād, through the entrecourſe of languages, he woulde, I dare ſaye, breake patience, & woulde demaunde, why the Engliſhe pale is more giuen to learne the Iriſhe, then the Iriſhman is willing to learne Engliſhe? we muſt embrace their language, and they deteſt oures. One demaunded meryly, why O Neale, that laſt was, would not frame himſelfe to ſpeake Engliſh? what: quoth the other, in a rage, thinkeſt thou, that it ſtandeth with O Neale his honor, to wryeth his mouth in clattering Engliſhe? and yet forſoth we muſt gagge our iawes in gybbriſhing Iriſh. But I dwelt to long in ſo apparēt a matter. As all the ciuities and townes in Irelande, wyth Fingall, the king his lande, Meeth the Cōutey of Kildare, Louth, Weiſford, ſpeake to this day Engliſhe (whereby the ſimplicitie of ſome is to be derided, that iudge the inhabitantes of the Engliſhe pale, vpon their firſt repayre to England, to learne their Engliſh in three or foure dayes, as though they had bought at Cheſter a groates worth of Engliſhe, and ſo packt vp the reaſt to be caryed after them to London) euen ſo in all other places their natiue language is Iriſhe.

Cic. lib. 2. de orat.

O Neal why he would n lerne E gliſhe.

I finde it ſolemly auouched, aſwel in ſome of the Iriſh pamphlets, as in Giraldus Cambrienſe, that Gathelus or Gaidelus, and after him Simon Breck deuiſed the Iriſh language, out of all other tongues then extant in the worlde. And thereof, ſayeth Cambrienſe, it is called Gaydelach, partly of Gaidelus the firſt founder, partly for that it is cōpounded of all languages. But conſidering the courſe of enterchaunging and blending of ſpeaches togyther, not by inuention of arte, but by vſe of talke, I am rather led to beleeue (ſeeing Irelande was inhabited within one yeare after the deuiſion of tongues) that Baſtolenus a braunche of Iaphet, who firſt ſeized vppon Irelande, brought thither the ſame kinde of ſpeache, ſome of the 72. that to this familie befell at the deſolatiō of Babell. Unto whom ſucceeded the Scitians, Grecians, Egiptiās, Hiſpainyardes, Danes, of all which, the tongue muſt neede haue borowed part, but eſpecially retayning the ſteps of Hiſpaniſh, then ſpoken in Granado, as from their mightieſt aunceſtours. Since then to Henry Fitz Empreſſe the Conquerour, no ſuch inuaſion happened them, as wherby they might be driuen to infect their natiue language, vntouched in maner for the ſpace of ſeauenteene hundred yeres after the arriuall of Iberius. It ſeemeth to borow of yͤ Hiſpaniſh the cōmō phraſe,

Camb. li dist. 3. rub

The fo der of th Iriſh la guage.

Baſtolen

Epiphan. cōt. har. li 1. tom. 1.

Commeſtato, that is, how doe you? or howe fareth it with you? It fetcheth ſundry wordes from the Latine, as Argette, of Argentum, money: ſallé, of Sal, ſalt: Cappoulle, of Caballus, a plough horſe, or according to the olde Engliſh terme, a caballe, or caple: Birreate, of the olde motheaten Latine worde, Birretum, a bonnet. The tongue is ſharpe and ſentencious, offereth great occaſion to quicke apothegmes and proper alluſions. Wherefore their common ieſtours & rithmours, whome they terme, Bardes, are ſayde to delight paſſingly thoſe that conceyue the grace and propertie of the tongue. But the true Iriſhe in déede differeth ſo much from that they commonly ſpeake, that ſcarſe one in fiue hundred can eyther, reade, wryte, or vnderſtande it. Therfore it is preſerued amõg certaine their poetes and antiquaries. And in very déede the lãguage caryeth ſuch difficultie with it, what for the eſtraungeneſſe of the phraſe, and the curious featneſſe of the pronounciation, that a very fewe of the countrey can attayne to the perfection thereof, and much leſſe a forreinner or eſtraunger. A gentleman of mine acquaintance reported that he dyd ſée a woman in Rome, which was poſſeſt with a babbling ſpirite, that coulde haue chatted any language ſauing the Iriſhe, and that it was ſo difficult, as the very Deuyll was grauyled therewith. A gentleman that ſtoode by, aunſwered, that he tooke the ſpeache to be ſo ſacred & holy, that no damned fende had the power to ſpeake it, no more then they are able to ſay, (as the reporte goeth) the verſe of S. John the Euãgeliſt. Et verbũ caro factũ eſt. Nay by God his mercy, mã, quoth the other, I ſtande in doubt, I tell you, whether the Apoſtles in theyr copious marte of languages at Ieruſalem, coulde haue ſpoken Iriſhe, if they were oppoſed, wherat the company hartily laughed. As fluent as the Iriſhe tongue is, yet it lacketh diuers wordes, & borroweth the verbatim of the Engliſh. As there is no vulgare Iriſh word, (vnleſſe there be ſome odde terme) ẏ lurcketh in any obſcure ſhrowdes or other of their ſtorehouſe) for a Cote, a Gowne, a Dublet, an Hatte, a drinking Cup, but onely they vſe ẏ ſame wordes wt a little inflexion, they vſe alſo ẏ contracted engliſh phraſe, god morrow, ẏ is, God giue you a good morning. I haue oppoſed ſundry times, the experteſt menne, that coulde be had in the country, and all they coulde neuer fynde out an equiualẽt Iriſh word for knaue. The Grecians according to Tully his iudgement, were in ẏ ſame predicament, as touching the terme, Ineptus. His wordes are theſe. Ego mehercule ex omnibus latinis verbis, huius verbi vim vel maximam ſemper putaui: Quem enim nos ineptum vocamus, is mihi videtur, ab hoc nomen habere ductum, quod non ſit aptus, idque in ſermonis noſtri conſuetudine perlatè patet. Nam qui aut tempus, quo quid poſtulet, non videt, aut plura loquitur, aut ſe oſtentat, aut eorum, quibuſcum eſt, vel dignitatis vel commodi rationem non habet; aut denique in aliquo genere aut inconcinnus aut multus eſt, is ineptus eſſe dicitur. Hoc vitio cumulata eſt erudiſſima illa græcorum natio: Itaque ꝙ vim huius mali Græci non vident, ne nomen quidem ei vitio impoſuerunt. Vt enim quæras omnia, quomodo Græci Ineptum appellent, non reperies.

Bardes.

he ob- ritie of e true riſh.

he diffi- ltie.

John. 1. verſ. 14.

The want of the Iriſhe.

No Iriſhe worde for knaue.

Lib. 2. de Orat. Ineptus.

Certes, I haue béene of opinion, ſayeth Tully, that among the whole crue of Latine termes, the worde, Ineptus, hath béene of greateſt importance or weight. For he whome we name Ineptus, ſéemeth to mée, to haue the etimologie or offſpring of his name, here hence deriued, that he is not apt, which ſtretcheth farre and wyde, in the vſuall cuſtome of our dailye ſpeache or communication. For he that doth not perceyue, what is ſitting or decent for euerye ſeaſon, or gabbleth more then he hath commiſſion to doe, or that in bragging, boaſting, or peacockwiſe ſetteth hymſelfe forth to the gaze, by making more of the broth, then ẏ fleſh is worth, or he ẏ regardeth not the vocation and affayres of them, with whã he entermedleth: or in fine, who ſo is ſtale wout grace or ouer tedious in any matter, he is tearmed Ineptus, (which is aſmuch in Engliſhe, in my phantiſy, as ſauſy, or malapart) The famous and learned Gréeke nation is generally duſked with this fault. And for that the Grecians could not eſpy the innormity therof, they haue not ſo much framed a term therto. For if you ſhould ranſacke the whole Gréeke language you ſhall not finde a worde to counteruayle Ineptus. Thus far Tully, yet Budæus, woulde not ſéeme to acknowledge this barrenneſſe, but that the Gréeke word ἀπειρόκαλος, is equipolent, to Ineptus, but that I referre to the iudgement of the learned, being very willing to finde out ſome other Budæus, that coulde faſhion an Iryſhe worde for knaue, whereof this diſcourſe of Ineptus grewe. As the whole realme of Ireland is ſundred into foure principall parts, as before is ſayd, ſo eche parcell differeth very much in ẏ Iriſhe tongue, euery country hauing his dialect or peculiar maner, in ſpeaking the language: therfore commonly in Irelande they aſcribe a propertye to eche of the foure countryes in this ſorte. Ulſter hath the right Iriſhe phraſe, but not the true pronunciation: Mounſter hath ẏ true pronunciation, but not the phraſe: Leinſter is deuoyde of the right phraſe, and true pronun-

Saucineſſe.

Budæ. lib. 5. de Aſſe. & part. eius.

Iriſhe Boagh.

Foagh.

ciation. Connaght hath both the right phraſe and true pronunciation. There is a cholerike or diſdainfull interiection vſed in the Iriſhe language, called Boagh, which is as much in Engliſh as twiſh. The Iriſh both in auncient tyme and to this day commonly vſe it, & therfore the Engliſh Conquerors called them Iriſhe poghes, or pogh Maurice, which taunting terme is at this day very wrongfully aſcribed to them of the Engliſh pale. The Engliſh interiection, foagh, which is vſed in lothing, a ranke, or ſtrong ſauour, ſéemeth to be ſibbe to the other.

Of the nature of the ſoyle, and other incidentes. Chap. 2.

Aqua vitæ.

Theoric. Epiſc. Hermenenſis in Romanula iuxta Bononiam.

The commodities of Aqua vitæ.

Vlſt. in cœlo philoſ. vel de ſecret. nat. cap. 11.

THe ſoyle is lowe and watriſh, encludeth diuers little Iſlandes, enuironned wyth lakes and marriſh. Higheſt hilles haue ſtanding pooles in theyr tops. Inhabitantes eſpecially new come, are ſubiect to diſtillations, reumes and flixes. For remedy wherof, they vſe an ordinary drinke of Aqua vitæ, ſo qualified in the makyng, that it dryeth more, and enflameth leſſe then other whote confections. One Theoricus wrote a proper treatiſe of Aqua vitæ, wherein he prayſeth it to the ninth degrée. He deſtinguiſheth thrée ſortes therof, Simplex, compoſita, and Perfectiſſima. He declareth the ſimples and ingrediences thereto belongyng. He wiſheth it to be taken as well before meate as after. It dryeth vp the breakyng out of handes, and killeth the fleſhe wormes, if you waſh your handes therewith. It ſkoureth all ſkurfe and ſkaldes from the head, beyng therewith daily waſhte before meales. Beyng moderately taken, ſayth he, it ſloeth age, it ſtrengtheneth youth, it helpeth digeſtion, it cutteth fleume, it abandoneth melancholy, it reliſheth the hart, it lighteneth the mynd, it quickeneth the ſpirites, it cureth the hydropſie, it healeth the ſtrangury, it pounceth the ſtone, it expelleth grauell, it puffeth away all Ventoſitie, it kepeth and preſerueth the hed from whirlyng, the eyes from dazelyng, the tongue from liſpyng, the mouth frō mafflyng, the téeth frō chatteryng, the throte from ratling, the weaſan from ſtieflyng, the ſtomacke from wambling, the harte from ſwellyng, the belly from wirtchyng, the guts from rumblyng, the handes from ſhiuering, the ſinowes from ſhrinkyng, the veynes frō crumpling, the bones from akyng, the marrow from ſoakyng. Vlſtadius alſo aſcribeth thereto a ſinguler prayſe, and would haue it to burne beyng kindled, which he taketh to be a token to know the goodneſſe therof. And truly it is a ſoueraigne liquour, if it be orderly taken.

Poli.li
cap.31.

Wily P
Camb.
1.diſt.3.

No ve
mous
wormes
Irelan

Camb.
1.diſt.1.

The ayre is very holeſome, not generally ſo cleare and ſubtill as that of Englande. The weather is more temperate, beyng not ſo warme in Sommer, nor colde in winter, as it is in Englande and Flaunders. The countrye is ſtoared with Bées, contrarye to the opinion of ſome wryters, who both in this & other errours, touching this countrye, maye eaſily be excuſed, as thoſe that wrote by hereſay. No Vineyards, yet Grapes growe there as in Englande. They lacke the Roe buck, as Polichronicon writeth. They lack ẏ Bird called the Pye. Howbeit in the Engliſhe pale to thys daye, they vſe to tearme a ſlye coſener, a wyly Pye. Cambrienſe in his time cōplaineth, that Irelande had exceſſe of wode, and very little champayne grounde, but now the Engliſh pale is to naked. Turfe is their moſt fewell and ſeacoale. No venemous créeping beaſte is brought forth, or nouriſhed, or can liue in Irelande, being brought or ſent. And therfore the ſpyder of Ireland is wel knowen not to be venemous, onely becauſe a frogge was found lying in the medowes of Waterforde ſomewhat before the conqueſt they conſtrued it, to importe their ouerthrowe.

Bed.lib.
Angl.H
cap.1.

The co
trouerſi
of the I
of man
cided.

Orcades
appendan
to Irelā
Hector B
eth.in Sc
reg.deſcri
pag.9.Se
50.

Camb.to-
po.lib.1.
diſt.1.rub.
29.

Cam.ibid.
rub.30.31.

Bede wryteth that ſerpentes conueighed to Irelande did preſently die, beyng touched with the ſmell of the lande, that whatſoeuer came from Irelande was then of ſoueraigne vertue againſt poyſō. He exemplifieth in certayne men, ſtung of Adders, who dranke in water, the ſcrapings of bookes, that had béene of Irelande, and were cured. Generally it is obſerued, the farther weſt, the leſſe annoiance of peſtilent creatures. The want whereof is to Irelande ſo peculiar, that whereas it laye long in queſtion, to whether realme Brytayne or Irelande the Ile of man ſhould appertayne, the ſayd controuerſie was decyded: that forſomuch as venemous beaſtes were knowen to bréede therein, it coulde not be a naturall part of Ireland. And contrarywiſe the Orchades are adiudged to be appendaunt to Irelande, becauſe thoſe Iſlandes, neyther bréede nor foſter any venemous worme, as Hector Boethus aduoucheth. Giraldus Cambrienſe, writeth that he hearde certayne Merchaunts affirme, that when they had vnladen theyr ſhippes in Irelande, they founde by hap ſome toades, vnder theyr balaſt. And they had no ſooner caſt them on the ſhore, then they would puffe and ſwell vnmeaſurably, & ſhortly after turning vp theyr bellyes, they would burſt in ſunder. And not onely the earth & duſt of Irelande, but alſo the verye thonges of Iriſhe leather, haue the ſame force and vertue. I haue ſene it, ſaith Cambrieſe, experimēted, that

Iriſh leather expelleth venemous wormes.

that a toade being encompaſſed with a thong of Iriſhe leather, and creepyng thitherward, endeuouring to haue ſkipt ouer it, ſodenly reculed backe, as though it had bene rapte in the hed: wherupon it began to ſprawle to the other ſide. But at length perceiuyng that the thong did embay it of all partes, it began to thyrle, and as it were to dig the earth, where findyng an hole, it ſluncke away in the preſence of ſondry perſons.

Cambri. in eodem loco.

It happened alſo in my tyme, ſayeth Giraldus Cambrienſe, that in the North of Englād a knot of yoongkers tooke a nap in the fieldes. As one of them lay ſnorting with his mouth gaping, as though he would haue caught flies, it happened that a Snake or Adder ſlipt into his mouth, and glyded downe into his bellye, where herboring it ſelfe, it beganne to roame vp and downe and to feede on the young man his entralles. The pacient being ſore diſtracted and aboue meaſure tormented wyth the byting pangues of this greedie gueſt, inceſſantly prayed to God, that if it ſtoode wyth his gracious will, eyther wholly to berieue him of his lyfe, or elſe of his vnſpeakeable mercie to eaſe him of his payne. The worme woulde neuer ceaſe from gnawing the pacient his carkaſſe, but when he had taken his repaſt. And his meate was no ſooner digeſted, then it woulde giue a freſhe onſet in boaring his guttes. Diuers remedies were ſought, as medicines, pilgrimages to Saínctes: but all could not preuayle. Being at length ſchooled by the graue aduiſe of ſome ſage and expert father, that willed him to make his ſpeedie repayre to Ireland, would tract no time, but buſked himſelfe ouer ſea, and arriued in Irelande. He dyd not ſooner drinke of the water of that Iſlande, and taken of the victuals of Ireland, but forthwith he kilde the Snake, auoyded it downewarde, and ſo being luſtye and liuely he returned into Englande. Thus farre Giraldus Cambrienſe. There be ſome, that mooue queſtion, whither the want of venemous Wormes be to be imputed to the propertie of the ſoyle, or to be aſcribed to the prayers of S. Patricke, who conuerted that Iſlande. The greater parte father it on S. Patricke, eſpecially ſuch as wryte hys lyfe aſwell a parte, as in the legende of Iriſhe Saínctes. Giraldus Cambrienſe diſaffirmeth flatly that opinion, and taketh it to be a ſecret or hidden propertie naturally vnited to the ſoyle, from whome Polichronicon doth not ſwarue. For my part as I am wedded to neither of both the opinions, ſo I woulde haue beene eaſily perſwaded being neyther hote nor colde in the matter, to reſt as a lukewarme Neuter in omitting the one and the other vnſkande, were it not that one M. Alan Cope, or ſome other that maſketh vnder hys viſours, more ſclaunderouſly then pithily had buſied himſelfe therin. Wherfore ſith I may with better warrant defende my natiue coūtrey, then he or his betters may reprooue it, eſpecially, where his ſclaunderous reportes are vnderpropt wyth ſlimme ſlamme ſurmiſes: I purpoſe vnder M. Cope his correction to coape and buckle with hym herein, and before he beare the ball to the goale, to trippe him, if I may, in the way. And becauſe (gentle Reader) I minde to make thee an indifferent vmpyre in this controuerſie, for the better vnderſtanding of the matter, I will laye downe M. Cope his wordes, in ſuch wiſe as they are imprinted in his booke. Firſt therfore thou muſt vnderſtande, that his booke is made in dialogue wiſe, a kinde of writing as vſed, ſo commended of the learned. In theſe dialogues Ireneus an Engliſh man and Critobulus a Germaine play the partes. Ireneus entreth into the ſtage, and in this wyſe beginneth.

whether venemous wormes wer expelled Irelād through ẏ prayers of S. Patricke.

Polichr. lib. 1. cap. 32.

Alan. Copus dialog. 3. cap. 28.

Incipiā à S. Paulo: noſti in Melita (quam hodie Maltam appellant) Paulum viperam à manu pendentem in ignem excuſſiſſe. In ea inſula Scorpiones, qui alibi ſunt letales, Pauli, vt creditur, munere ſunt innoxij.

Critobulus: Fortaſſe hoc habet à naturâ.

Iren. Falleris: nam inſulani, vt Lucas refert, clamabant, delatum eo parricidā, cui cum mare pepercißet, irati dij ſerpentes, qui eum tollerēt, immiſiſſent: nec quicquam magis quàm præſentem eius mortem expectabant. A qua cùm ille tantum abeſſet, vt nihil omninò damni aut doloris inde ſentiret, in admirationem acti, dixerunt, eum longè ſupra hominem eſſe, & deum ſub humana ſpecie.

Crit. Sic eſt, vt dicis.

Iren. Cætera itaq; audi: E ſpecu, ad quem diuertiſſe dicitur, colliguntur lapides in tota fermè Europa ſalutares. Adhæc, quos naſci octauo Calendas Februarij contingit (qui dies conuerſionis eius memoriæ dicatus eſt) quæcunq; eos orbis pars in lucem proferat, non horrent nec formidant angues, imò, quod magis eſt, ſola ſaliua horum morſibus medentur. Id quod homo doctiſſimus & diligentiſſimus Thomas Fazellus nuper prodidit, vſu ipſo rerum, & certis, ni fallor, exemplis ab eo obſeruatum.

Thomas Fazellus.

Crit. Iſta quidem digna ſunt obſeruatione: & iam recordor, me legiſſe ac ſæpius audiſſe, precibus beati Patricij Hiberniæ apoſtoli, ei regioni ſimile beneficium indultum, ne ea inſula aliquid letale pariat. Dici fortaſſe inde à nonnullis ſolet, nihil eſſe in Hibernia venenati præter ipſos homines, quod propter feros & agreſtes eorum mores dictum à plæriſq; accipitur.

Iren.

Bed.lib.1. Ang.hiſt. c.1.

Sententia definitiua. Solin.c.35.

Iren. Eam regionem nihil peſtiferum aut venenatum alere, tum ex multorum ſermonibus, tum ex Beda intelligo: adeò vt terra illius regionis exportata, peſtifera ac venenata animalia extinguat. Verùm id quicquid eſt, non Patricio, ſed naturę regionis tribuo, propterea quòd longè ante Patricium natum cõſtet, eam fuiſſe eius regionis dotem, quam non eſt difficilè alibi reperiri.

“ I will begin ſayth Ireneus, with S. Paule.
“ You know that in Melita (which at this day
“ is called Malta) S. Paule flung into the fire
“ a Viper that ſtucke or did cleaue to his hand.
“ In that Iſlande, Scorpions which are elſewhere
“ deadly or venemous, are become thorow
“ the gift of S. Paule (as it is ſuppoſed)
“ harmeleſſe.

“ Tuſh, quoth Critobulus, that may be percaſe
“ incident to the nature of the ſoyle.

“ Nay then, replyeth Ireneus, you are in a
“ wrong bore. For the Iſlanders, as S. Luke
“ mencioneth, ſhowted, that a parentquellour
“ was brought thither, and becauſe he was not
“ ſwalowed in the gulfes of the ſea, the Gods
“ beyng in their fuſtian fumes, ſent ſerpentes
“ to ſlay hym. And they looked for nothyng sooner,
“ then to ſee hym euen at a twincklyng to
“ periſh. But whẽ they perceyued hym to be ſo
“ far diſtant frõ death, as that he ſuſteyned no
“ harme, ne felt any paine, the people therwith
“ amazed, ſayd, he far ſurpaſt mans eſtate, and
“ that he was a God inueſted in mã hys ſhape.

“ You haue reaſon, anſwereth Critobulus, you
“ haue hit the nayle on the hed.

“ Yea, but I pray you, clip not my tale, ſayth
“ Ireneus, but take me with you. Stones are
“ culled in the caue or denne, wherin S. Paul is
“ ſayd to haue bayted or ſoiorned, which ſtones
“ in maner in all Europe are ſoueraigne medicines
“ to cure the bityngs and ſtinges of
“ Scorpions and ſerpentes. Furthermore they
“ that are borne the xxv. of January (which day
“ is named the conuerſion of S. Paul) in what
“ part ſo euer of the world they are borne, they
“ feare not or grudge not at ſnakes: Yea, that
“ which is more to be admyred, the ſtinginges
“ of poyſoned wormes are healed by the very
“ ſpittle of this January broode. Which thyng
“ hath bene of late publiſhed by a well lettered
“ man, Thomas Fazellus, to haue bene curiouſly
“ noted of hym as well by proofe and experience,
“ as by ſure and ſubſtantiall examples, if
“ I take not the matter amiſſe. Thẽ commeth
“ in Critobulus, whom M. Cope maketh, I will
“ not ſay the vice or hickſcorner, but the pleaſaunt
“ conceited gentleman of hys enterlude,
“ and fetcheth a long leape (for I am ſure he
“ could not iumpe ſo farre) from Malta to Ireland,
“ and frameth hys tale in this ſort.

By the fayth of my body ſir, here is ſtuffe
worth the noting. And now I call to mynde, ”
that I haue red and often heard, that the like ”
benefite hath bene imparted to Ireland, thorough ”
the prayers of S. Patrike the Apoſtle ”
of the ſayd Iſland, that is to ſay, that Ireland ”
breedeth no venemous worme. And therupon ”
percaſe ſome are accuſtomed to ſay, ẏ there ”
is no poyſoned or venemous thing in Irelãd, ”
but onely the people, which is taken to haue ”
bene ſayd of moſt men for their brutiſhe and ”
ſauage maners. ”

To this ſayth Ireneus. I am done to underſtand ”
by the report of diuers, & alſo by Bede, ”
that no poyſoned or venemous thing is bred ”
in that realme, in ſo much, that the earth of ”
ẏ countrey being brought into other realms, ”
killeth all venemous and poyſoned wormes. ”
But let the matter fall out which way it wil. ”
I aſcribe that propertie not to S. Patricke, but to the nature of the ſoyle, becauſe it hath bene knowen long before S. Patricke was borne, that Irelande was indued with that property, which is elſewhere eaſy to be foũd. Hitherto M. Cope.

Iudgement.

In thys diſcourſe (gentle Reader) thou ſeeſt that M. Cope handleth two principall points, the proprety of Malta and the nature of Irelande in deſtroying venemous wormes, the one he aſcribeth to ẏ bleſſed Apoſtle S. Paule, the other he will not in any wyſe impute to S. Patricke. Touching the firſt, as I haue no occaſion to entermeddle therin, ſo I purpoſe not, for the quarell I haue to the perſon, to diſprooue hys opinion ſo farre as it ſtandeth with troth. Wherefore that God, that of his bountifull goodneſſe gaue the grace to Moſes, to turne Aaron his rod into a ſerpẽt, to turne the riuer into bloude, and to worke diuers other effectes that are mencioned in the ſcripture. To a Ioſue, to ſtay the ſonne, To b Elias to raiſe ẏ dead childe, to c Peter to make the lame go, to heale d Æneas, to reuiue e Tabytha, yea with his very f ſhadow to cure the ſicke, & the God that gaue to that Paule, of whome M. Cope ſpeaketh, his gracious gift to make the g lame go, to h quicke and rayſe the deceaſed, and for his ſake to i ſalue his fellow paſſangers: it is not to be denyed, but that God woulde imparte his goodneſſe to any region, euen the ſooner that any of his bleſſed ſeruauntes woulde herbarowe there. And as I doubt not, but Simon the Tanner his houſe was nothing ẏ worſe, for lodging ſo happie a gueſt as Peter, ſo I am ſure, Malta was far the better, for harbowring ſo bleſſed a traueyler or paſſinger as Paule. Which S. Luke letteth not to tell, declaring that all they, which were ſicke in

Exod.c.7. verſ.10.

a. Ioſu.c. 10, verſ.13.

b.1.Reg.17 verſ.22.& Eccleſ.48. verſ.5.

c. Act.3. verſ.7.

d. Act.9. verſ.34.

e. Act.9. verſ.40.

f. Act.5. verſ.13.

g. Act.14. verſ.10.

h. Act.20. verſ.10.& 11.

i. Act.27. verſ.23.

Act.9. verſ.43.

Act.28. verſ.9.

the Iſland, flocked to Paule and were cured: and alſo that the pacient that was father to Publius, in whoſe houſe they were thrée daies very courteouſly intertayned, was by Saint Paule healed. Which cure aſwell of that pacient, as of the reſidue of the Iſlanders, dyd not onely extende to their bodies, but chiefly and eſpecially to their ſoules, according to the opinion of the learned Diuines. For as our ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt was neuer thought to cure any one his bodie, but he woulde alſo heale his ſoule, ſo it muſt be thought of his Apoſtles, in whoſe ſteppes both in lyfe and myracles they traced. And therefore the learned holde opinion, that S. Paule, being in Malta, expelled from diuers of their ſoules the olde Serpent, that deceyued our Progenitours, Adam & Eue. For which God is to be magnified and glorified. Thus much I thought good here to enſert, as a clauſe not wholly ſwaruing from that we treate of, and alſo that I woulde be founde preſt and readie, as farre as my ſimple ſkill ſtretcheth, to vnderpinne any opinion, that tendeth to the honor and glorie of God. Howbeit for ſo much as M.Cope hath ſo ſtraightly dealt with Irelād, as wyth a countrey nothing appertayning to his matter, I truſt he will pardon me, to be ſomewhat bolde with him, touching the hyſtorie of Malta, that as his negligence ſhal be in the one diſſhrowed, ſo his ſclaunderous iudgemēt may be in the other reuerſed. Firſt therefore where he writeth, that the inhabitantes of Malta clamabant, that is, cryed, or ſhowted, it was not ſo. The Gréeke text runneth, ἔλεγον πρὸς ἀλλήλους. Dicebant adinuicem, that is to ſay, they muttred one to another. And S. Luke paraphraſeth his meaning after. For when they perceyued, that the Viper dyd not anoy Paule, then ſayth S. Luke, Conuertentes ſe, dicebant, eum eſſe Deum. They turning one towardes the other, whiſpered or mutterd, that Paule was a God. Nowe put the caſe they cryed, as M. Cope ſayeth, is it lyke that Paule was ſo buſie in making of a fire, or that his eares dyd wander ſo far of, as that he could not heare them? And if he heard thē, thinke you that he would haue béene whiſt, in hearing God ſo far blaſphemed, as that he woulde ſuffer himſelfe to be deified? No truely. He woulde haue taken on, as he and Barnabas dyd at Lyſtris, whē the inhabitants named them Goddes, Barnabas to be Iupiter, and Paule, for that he was well ſpoken, to be Mercurie. For when the Apoſtles hearde of their Idolatrie, renting their clothes, they ruſht into the thrōge, crying and ſpeaking, that they were mortall men. &c. In which place S. Luke putteth an expreſſe difference, as it were of ſet purpoſe, betwéene both the wordes, Clamantes & Dicentes. M.Cope addeth further, Delatum eò paricidam, and yet the Gréeke hath πάντως φονεύς. Omnino interfector, or as the Vulgar text is, Vtiq; homicida eſt homo hic. So that they tooke him to be but a manquellour, yet M.Cope maketh hym a Paricide, which is worſe. For although euerye Paricide be a manquellour, yet è conuerſo, euery manquellour is not a Paricide.

gu.tract. in Iohā. Th.p.3.q. 4.a.3.ad.3

eneſ.3. erſ.13.

ct.28. erſ.4.

S. Paule heard not the inha= bitants of Malta.

ct.14. verſ.11. 12.13.14.

M.Cope procéedeth further, Irati dij, ſerpētes, qui eum tollerent, immiſiſſent. The Gods being angry ſent ſerpents to diſpatch Paule. And yet forſooth, all theſe ſerpentes were but one Viper, as is plainely expreſt in the text, vnleſſe M.Cope would teache S. Luke, to tell his tale after the fineſt faſhiō, leaſt the Apoſtle ſhould haue bene thought to haue ſitoned. As the Parſon that preached to his Parochians of the Goſpell, wherin mention is made of them that Chriſt fed in the deſert, or wilderneſſe. O, quoth the Parſon, what a Chriſt that was, that with fiue barly loaues, & fiue fiſhes fed fiue hundred perſons. The clarcke hearing his maiſter to grate ouerlōg on that point, for he dyd often iterate that ſentence, ſtole vp to the pulpit, & plucking the perſon by his gowne, whiſpered in his eare ẏ Chriſt fed fiue thouſand. Holde thée contented thou fooliſhe fellow, quoth the Parſon, if I ſhoulde tell mine hearers of ſo great a nūber, I ſhold but diſcredite the Goſpeller, and they woulde not beléeue me. So it fareth with M.Cope, belike he miſtruſted, that if he had ſayde, that one Viper coulde haue ſlayne Paule, the reader woulde haue ſuſpected the vntruth of the matter, bycauſe it caryeth great likelyhoode with it, that one man coulde withſtande one Viper, and therefore to ſaue S. Luke hys credite, he increaſeth the number by putting the plurall for the ſingular. Whereas therefore it ſtandeth with M.Cope his pleaſure, to floriſh in his rhetoricall figure, named, Veritatis ſuperlatio, in terming muttering, ſhowting, a manquellour, a paricide, one Viper, ſerpentes: he muſt be borne withall, if in the heate of his figure he ſteppe a little awrie in the remnaunt of his diſcourſe. For thus he ſayeth.

A Parſon his ſermō.

M.Cop his rhetoricke.

And therevppon it is reported perchaſe by ſome men, that there is nothing venemous or poyſoned in Irelande, but the men and women. Which is taken to haue bene ſpoken by moſt men for their brutiſh and ſaluadge maners. Here (good Reader) thou muſt vnderſtande that M.Cope putteth the text downe & the gloſe, the text is, there is nothing in Irelande venemous but the inhabitauntes. The gloſe is, this is ſayde to haue bene ſpoken for their brutiſh and ſauage conditiõs. Now well harpt by S. Lanckfield. Here is a gloſe, I vndertake you, ſuteable to the text. But let vs ſee, how cunningly M. Cope bequiteth him ſelfe. Firſt he obſerueth not decorũ perſonæ, ſecondly he followeth not decorum dialogi, thirdlye he ſheweth herein little diuinitie. Touching the firſt point, who knoweth not, that theſe iapes and gybes are onely fitte for ruffians, vices, ſwaſhbucklers and toſpottes. And truly they beſet a diuine aſwel, as for an Aſſe to twange chypaſſa on a harpe or gyttarne, or for an Ape to friſcke trenchemore in a payre of buſkins and a dubblet. The heathen miſliked in an orature ſquirilitie, what ſhoulde be thought then of a diuine, whom S. Paule would haue to be ſober, modeſt, graue and wiſe. Vnleſſe M. Cope leaning to the letter of S. Paule his wordes woulde beare vs in hande, that S. Paule would haue modeſtie to reſt onely in byſhops. We are commaunded, in the olde and newe teſtament, to loue our neighbors as our ſelues. Which doth imply, that we ought not to ſclaunder our neighbours. And ſhall a diuine then ſpeake vncharitably, not onely of one, but of an whole rayalme, and not only ſpeake but alſo write, yea and that in the language that is vniuerſally ſpoken, through out the greater part of the worlde, vpon no ſure ground, but onely vpon hearesay weighing not what ẏ Prophet writeth, perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendaciũ, thou ſhalt deſtroye all them that ſpeake vntruthes. And were it that any ſuch flimme flamme flirtes were ſoothed by any perſonne of credite, yet, as me ſeemeth, it would ſtand more with the grauitie of a diuine, that ſuch childiſhe quippes, & ſcornefull tauntes ſhould ſooner by his meanes charitably bee whiſted, thẽ through his procuremẽt carpingly publiſhed. I will ſtand no longer on this point, but onelye craue M. Cope to reſort to the fift of Mathew, and there peruſe Chriſt his verdict, touching ſclaunderous tongues. To come to the ſeconde parte, in which he obſerueth not decorum dialogi, thou ſhalt vnderſtand (good Reader) that Critabulus, or Gritobulus, whom M. Cope maketh his bagpipe to belche out his rancour, is a Germaine borne, as M. Cope ſaith, who ſemeth to be Critobulus his godfather. Now let any one, that is acquainted wt the maners of Germaines, iudge, if it be decent, that one of thẽ ſhoulde ſcoffe & ſcorne the conditions and faſhions of other countries. I wil not ſpeake by heare ſay, as M. Cope doth, but by eyeſight. I could neuer eſpye nor probably haue I hearde it reported no not of the meere ſauage Iriſh, ſuch quaffing, ſuch ſwilling, ſuch bowling, ſuch gulling, ſuch brutiſh drunckenneſſe, ſuch ſurfetting, ſuch vomiting as I haue ſeene ſome Germaines doe. In good ſooth it is knowen, and for my part I haue ſeene it being beyonde the ſeas, that in their carowſing & cup friendſhip, they threaten ſuch kindneſſe on their companions, that leaſt their felowes ſhould miſtruſt them with double dealing, they will not ſticke to ſhewe them the botome of their ſtomackes, & to the ende they ſhould take the better view therof, they will place it now & then in their neighbours boſome.

Cic.lib.2. de Orat.

1.Timot.3 verſ.2.& 3.

Pſal.5. verſ.7. Sapient.1. Vide Auguſt.in eũdem Pſal.

Math.5. verſ.22.

The G maine friendſh

Thus whẽ they haue caſt their gorges, they clap on theyr thrumde hats, and runne lyke bedlem barretors into the ſtreetes with their naked flatchets, and there they keepe ſuch a ſtinkyng ſturre with hackyng of ſtones, with hewyng of blockes, with thwitting of ſtocks, with ſtrikyng of ſtalles, with thumpyng at dores, that it would make a horſe breake hys halter, to ſee ſo dronken a pageant. In fine, this qualitie is ſo naturally engraffed in the greater part of them, that a famous deuine did not ſticke of late to ſay openly in his Lecture that dronkennes in that countrey men, was eyther peccatum originale, or accidens inſeparabile. I write not this, I take God to record, to the reproch or ſlaunder of that coũtrey (beyng lothe to commit the ſelfe ſame fault that I reprehend in any other,) but only my meanyng is to ſettle before the Reader his eyes the abſurditie of M. Cope, in framyng poore Critabolus to flout Ireland, conſideryng that if he caſt his eye homeward, he ſhall finde as filthy puddle in his owne countrey, as in other realmes. And therfore thys quippe ſate as vnſeemely in his mouth, as for an whoore to reprehend bitchery, or for an Vſurer to condemne Simonie. For as there is nothyng leſſe to be tollerated, thẽ for any one to haue an other to accompt for his lyfe, that can yeelde no accompt of his owne: ſo there is nothyng that ought to moozell vp any one from rebuking other nations, then to ſee the miſdemeanor of hys owne natiue country. I would wiſhe M. Critabolus or M. Cope, if it ſhall pleaſe him to make vp the muſter, with indifferency to weigh the eſtate of Ireland, and ſo without parciality to frame his iudgement. Ireland, and eſpecially the ruder part is not ſtored with ſuch learned men as Germany is. If they had ſounde preachers, & ſincere liuers, that by the embawming of theyr carian ſoules with the ſweete and ſacred flowers of holy writ, would enſtruct them in the feare of God, in obeying their prince, in obſeruyng the lawes, in vnderpropping in eche man his vocation the weale publike. I doubt not,

Irelande how it may be reformed.

not, but within two or thrée ages M. Critabulus his heyres ſhould heare ſo good a reporte of the reformatiō of Ireland, as it would be reckoned as ciuill as the beſt part of Germany. Let the ſoyle be as fertile and betle as any would wiſh, yet if the huſband man wyll not manure it, ſome tyme plough and care it, ſometyme harow it, ſometyme tyll it, ſometyme marle it, ſometyme delue it, ſometyme dig it, and ſowe it with good and ſound corne, it will bryng forth wéedes, bynde corne, cockle, darnell, brambles, bryers, and ſondry wylde ſhotes. So it fareth with the rude inhabitantes of Irelande, they lacke Uniuerſities, they want inſtructors, they are deſtitute of teachers, they are without preachers, they are deuoyde of all ſuch neceſſaries as appertayne to the trayning vp of youth, and notwithſtandyng all theſe wantes, if any would be ſo frowardly ſet, as to require them, to vſe ſuch ciuilitie, as other regions, that are ſufficiently furniſhed with the lyke helpes, he might be accounted as vnreaſonable, as he that would force a cripple that lacketh both his legs to runne, or one to pipe or whiſtle a galliard that wanteth hys vpper lippe. But ſuch is the corrupt nature of vs worldlings, and me thinketh ſuch vayne humors are not vtterly dryed vp in our ſage & mortyfied diuines, we are moſt commonly giuen rather to taunt that which is amiſſe, then to prayſe that which is good, and rather we followe the ſpider in ſoakyng the poyſon, then in imitatyng the Bée by ſucking the hony. Now that it appeareth, that it was not ſittyng for the author beyng a deuine, to write ſo vncharitably, nor for M. Critabulus beyng a Germain, to carpe other countreys ſo ſnappiſhly: let vs ſée, what wholeſome diuinity hath bene here vttered, and how well the ſinewes of M. Critabulus his argument ſhall be found to hang togither, when the Anatomy therof by péecemeale ſhall be examined.

“ I call to mynd, q M. Critabulus, that I haue read & often heard that the like benefite hath bene graũted to Irelād through the prayers of ſ. Patrike. M. Critabulus hath read & heard, that by the prayers of S. Patricke, Ireland hath no venemous worme: ergo ſome holde opinion, that the poyſon reſteth onely in the people.

Truly this argument hangeth togyther by very ſtraunge gymbols. And I dare ſay, M. Cope neuer learned this kynde of reaſonyng in the famous colledge of Magdalene in Oxford, what ſo euer M. Critabulus did in Germany. But let vs put the Logique apart, and ſcan the ſingular poynt of diuinitie. I woulde gladly learne in what part of ſcripture, or in what auncient father, M. Critabulus reade or heard (for moſt of hys learning hath bene, as it ſéemeth, purchaſed by hereſay) that any holy prelate, that came of méere charity, to conuert a countrey from night to light, frō rudeneſſe to knowledge, from infidelitie to Chriſtianitie, from vice to vertue, from the deuill to God, (which doth implye an eſpeciall zeale in ſauuyng their ſoules) woulde purge the ſoyle of all venemous wormes, and leaue the ſoules, that haue more néede to be wéeded, wholy infected with the contagion of vice & ſinne. Wherby enſueth that the place is better then the inhabitaunts, and ſo conſequently the ſaying of the Machabées muſt be falſified. Non propter locum gentem, ſed propter gentem, locum Deus elegit. God did not chooſe the people for that place, but hée elected the place in reſpect of the people. Our ſauiour Jeſus Chriſt diſpoſſeſſing the pacient of the legion of deuils, permitted them to enter into an hierd of hogges. Critabulus woulde haue Chriſtes ſaintes do the cōtrary, to diſpoſſeſſe the hogs, and to leaue the men poſſeſſed with deuils. For ſo he reporteth ſ. Patrike to haue done, by riddyng the lande of all poyſoned wormes, and leauyng the rancour to lurke in the people. Truly if the matter ſtoode ſo farre out of ioynt, I doubt not, but the Iſlanders mought haue come as lawfully to hym, as the Geraſenes came ingratefully to Chriſt, requiring hym to depart their country. For ſuch a ſcoffing prelate, hys rowme had bene better thē his company, ſith his abode would tende rather to the peruerting, then the conuertyng of their Iſland.

Machab.2 c.5. verſ.19

Luc.8. verſ.32.

Luc.2. verſ.37.

Hitherto thou haſt heard (gentle Reader) how gallauntly Critabulus hath played hys parte, now ſhall I deſire thée to viewe, how ſagely Ireneus claſpeth vp all the whole controuerſie. He ſaith it is the nature of the ſoile, not to bréede any venemous worme, and that was incident thereto, before ſ. Patrike was borne. How proue you that ſir? Pleaſeth you to ſkew your eye towardes the margent, and there ſhall you finde the 35. chapiter of Solinus ſolemnly quoted. Touchyng this matter, there is nothyng in Solinus but this. Illic anguis nullus, auis rara. In Ireland is no ſnake, and ſeldome a byrde, and yet byrdes are as commonly there as in any other countrey. But I would gladly vnderſtand how this authoritie of Solinus furthereth M. Ireneus hys opinion. Ireland bred no ſnake before ſ. Patrick was borne: ergo, it engēdered no toade, no Adder, no Frogge, nor any other virulent worme. As if a man would reaſon thus. Before ſ. Patricke his tyme there was no horſemyll in Ireland: ergo, before his tyme there was no myllhorſe. Certes he that woulde winde vp his concluſion ſo fondly might be thought, to haue aſmuch witte, as a roſted horſe. This auctoritie of Solinus is ſo farre from vpholding Ireneus his aſſertion, as that it plainely ſeemeth to quite ouerthrow it, and as it were in his owne turne, it giueth him a fall.

Obiection.

For the cauſe why S. Patricke was moued, to expell all the venemous wormes out of Irelande, might probably haue beene coniectured, to haue proceeded of this, yͤ he perceyuing, the lande to breede no Snakes, therof was occaſioned, for the furthering of Chriſtian faythe, to expell other kinde of wormes, that lurcked there before his comming, as Toades, Adders, Blindwormes, Frogs. &c. Here perchaſe M Cope may blenche me, in replying that Anguis may be conſtrued generally for all kynde of Vermine, and ſo I might be taken tardie in buylding my diſcourſe vpon a miſconſtruction.

Aunſwer.

Rumour catcheth fethers.

A frien comme dation.

In good ſooth to omitte what ſtraunge and abſurde ſignification Anguis ſhould beare, by notifiyng a poyſoned ſpider and ſuch lyke, and, in mine opinion, further from the purpoſe, thē the father that diſwading his ſonne from playing on Sunday fortified his reaſon with the olde ſayde ſaw, non eſt bonum ludere cum ſanctis, it is not good, quoth he, to play on Sondayes or holy dayes, is it, thinke you, fellonie or treaſon, to bring the credit of Solinus in queſtion, for miſtaking Anguis aſwell as Auis. For as he was groſly deceyued in the one, in writing, that birdes were rare in Ireland, ſo might he haue ſtrayed as likely in the other, by diſburdening Irelande of all venemous wormes, bycauſe the Iſlande wanted in his time but one or two kindes, as a Snake and a Toade. Where a man buyldeth vpon euerye twatling and pratling rumour, and his eye is not his iudge, he may be ſure, that ſuch flying tales will catche many feathers before they come at him, that is as farre diſtaunt from their neſtes, as Solinus was frō Ireland, when he wrote his pamphlet. The proofe whereof as it is dayly tryed, ſo not many yeres paſt hath ben very pretily veryfied. There was a gentleman of mine acquaintance that mette his enemie in the fieldes, where they both vpon a tryfling quarell fought ſo friendly as they had more neede to haue beene grapled togither with cables, then parted by indifferent ſticklers. Howbeit bycauſe the gentleman was neuer before fleſht, and yet nothing at all that day, for eche of their blowes dyd commonly light on the medowe, where they fought, a friende of hys reported well of him to an other, ſaying, that he was lyke in tyme to proue a proper man of hys handes, for the well handeling of hys weapon in his late combate. Whereupon ſone after the other doubling the gentleman his prayſe, gaue notice to an other, that ſuch a gentleman, naming him, fought valiantly ſuch a day, in ſuch a place. Immediatly vpon this in a ſhyre or two of, it was noyſed that the partie prayſed fought with two at once in ſuch a place, naming the medowe. At length it was bruted, that he fought foure ſeuerall dates, and I am well aſſured that was the firſt fray that euer he made, & I thinke it will be the laſt, vnleſſe he be forced maugre his heart, to the contrarie. Not long after, it happened, that a gentilman and I traueyled abroade the countrey of ſet purpoſe to diſport our ſelues, and ſo to returne a freſhe to our bookes, where entering in communication with a blunt countrey lobbe (yet ſuch an one as tooke his halfe peny to be good ſyluer) that knew the foreſaid champion. My companion and I made wyſe, as though we were not acquainted wyth him, or euer heard of the combate, now in good fayth gentlemen, quoth he, you would doe very well to enter in acquaintaunce with him, for ouer this, that he is a gentleman aboundantly endued wyth ſingular good qualities, he is become of late ſo valiant a cutter, as he maketh blading his daylye breakefaſt. By S. Mary, quoth my companion, that is very colde roſte, & if his breakfaſtes be no better then a peece of colde Iron, I little weigh, howe ſeldome I take a repaſt in his companie at any ſuch ordinarie. Nay my meaning is, quoth the other, that he vſeth to fight freſhe and faſting euery morning, in ſo much yͭ of late, I dare byde by it, he fought eyght dayes in one weeke. At which wordes I for my part coulde not refrayne frō laughing, ſeeing how demurely the fellow kept his countenaunce, & how that he ſpake bona fide. Whereupon I ſhaped him an aunſwere, and ſayde, that I neuer hearde of any that fought eyght dayes in one weake, but onely in olde tyme, when fiue quarters made vp the yeare. The fellow perceyuing, that he ouerſhot himſelfe, replyed: Sir, you take me very ſhorte, as long and as very a lowbie as you imagine to make me: my meaning is, that he fought eyght ſeuerall tymes in one weeke. Eyght tymes? quoth my companion, then belike he fought once aboue commons. For you tolde vs right now, that he made his fray his morning breakefaſt, and whereas there are but ſeuen dayes in the weeke, and he fought, as you reporte, eyght times, and you know, that eyght maketh one aboue ſeuen, & ſeuen maketh ſixe & one vnder eight, eyther you muſt

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confeſſe that he ſought out his breakfaſt, dinner, beuer or ſupper, or elſe you muſt graunt, that there be eyght dayes in one weeke, or at the leaſt two breakefaſtes in one day, & that, I am ſure, you will confeſſe to be as great an abſurdity, as ỹ other. Nay quoth the clowne, and you intrap me with ſuch ſophiſtrie, you ſhall dine, ſuppe and breake your faſt alone for me, and therewithall departed. Wherby may be gathered, that if he had béene ſoothed vp, and his tongue let to run at libertie vncontroulde, like a bowle that runneth in a ſmooth allye without any rub, he would haue brought himſelfe to that bay, as he would not ſticke to ſay, that his friends had ſought eight dayes in one houre. Wherefore as this pudding his pricke grewe at length by reporte to an huge poſte, ſo the want of one venemous worme in Ireland, being bruted in forraine royalmes, might haue béene ſo thwytted and mangled in the caryage before it came to Solinus his eares, as he might haue béene enformed, that the countrey was deuoyde of all venemous Wormes, whereas in déede there lacked but one kinde.

Lyke as God of his iuſtice puniſheth a coũtrey, that is harde hearted, with outwarde wormes, ſo of his mercie, they are remoued from a royalme, that is plyaunt, to followe his lawes and preceptes. As when Pharao woulde not liſten to God his threates denoũced hym by the preaching of God, Moſes and Aaron, Egypt was puniſhed with frogges & diuers kinde of flyes, as is expreſt at full in holy writte, and agayne vpõ Pharao his feyned promiſes (the ſecretes of whoſe hollowe heart God perfectly knewe) at the inſtaunce of Moſes, theſe plagues were appeaſed, & the vermine quite extinguiſhed, ſo, I pray you, is it ſo abſurde a poſition to holde, that Saint Patricke finding the Iriſh prieſt to embrace the Goſpell, as he dyd in very déede, might ſtande ſo highly in God his fauor, as through his earneſt peticion made to God, the poyſoned wormes ſhoulde be abandoned? This is not ſo rare a thing vppon the implanting of Chriſtian fayth in any region, but rather a propertie incidẽt thereto, according to Chriſt his promiſe. Signa autem eos, qui crediderint, hæc ſequentur, In nomine meo dæmonia eijcient: linguis loquentur nouis: Serpentes tollent: & ſi mortiferum quid biberint, non eis nocebit: ſuper ægros manus imponẽt, & bene habebunt. And theſe tokens ſhal follow them that beléeue, In my Name ſhall they caſt out Deuils, they ſhall ſpeake with new tongues: they ſhall dryue awaye Serpentes, and if they drinke any deadly thing, it ſhal not hurt them: they ſhall lay handes on the ſicke, and they ſhall be cured. Wherefore, ſith it is ſo euidently warranted by Scripture, that in the name of Ieſus, Serpentes may be driuen away, if Irelande be found through any ſuch meanes to be deuoyde of poyſoned wormes, we are to aſcribe the glory hereof to God, according to the ſaying of the Prophete, A domino factum eſt iſtud, & eſt mirabile in oculis noſtris, That hath béene done by God, and it ſéemeth wonderfull in our eyes.

od.8.
ſ.7.
s 14.
de Apoc.
rſ.3. at
Reg. 8.
ſ.37.

epor.
el.19.
uang.
rc.16.
ſ.17.

Pſal.117. verſ.22.

Thus farre (gentle Reader) encroching vpon thy pacience I haue employed my trauaile in defending my natiue countrey, againſt ſuch as labour to diſtayne it with their ſclaunderous ſcoffes. Touching the principall queſtion, whether S. Patricke dyd expell poyſoned Wormes out of Irelande, or whether it be the nature of the ſoyle, as I ſayd in the entrie of this diſcourſe, ſo I ſaye agayne, that I weigh not two chippes, which way the winde bloweth, bycauſe I ſée no inconuenience that may inſue either of the affirmatiue or negatiue opinion. And therefore if M. Cope had dealt as modeſtly as Cambrienſe, the auctour of Polichronicon, or others, that ſtoode to the denyall, haue done, he ſhoulde haue gone ſhotfree with his complices, and haue made in Mounterbanckwyſe the moſt he coulde of his wares. But for that he woulde néedes ſée further in a milſtone, then others, & not onely ſclenderly diſproue the tryuiall opinion, but ſcornefullye ſclaunder an whole royalme, wherein he ſhall finde his ſuperiours in honour, his betters in parentage, his Péeres in learning, his mates in wiſedom, his equalles in courteſie, his matches in honeſtie: I muſt craue him, to beare it paciently, if, by crying him quittaunce, I ſerued him with a diſhe of his owne cookerie. And if for this my ſtraight dealing wyth him (whereto I was the ſooner led, for that as it is courteſie to mollifie wilde ſpeaches with milde aunſweres, ſo I recken it for good pollicie nowe and then to cleaue knurd knobbes with crabbed wedges) he wil ſéeme to take pepper in the noſe, for any recompence he is like to haue at mine handes, he may wype his noſe in his ſléeue. And if it ſhall ſtande with his pleaſure, to reply either in Engliſh, or in Latine (the occaſiõ of which is rather of him growen then by me giuen) he ſhall finde me willing, if God ſpare me health, to reioyne with him in ſo good a quarell, eyther in the one language or the other, and when both tales are hearde, I beſhrowe him, for my part, that ſhall be driuen to the wall.

The Bernacle.

Cambrienſe reporteth of hys owne knowledge, and I heare it auowed by credible perſons, that Bernacles thouſandes at once are noted along the ſhores in Ireland to hang by the beakes, about the edges of putrified tymber, as ſhips, oares, maſtes, anckerholdes, & ſuche lyke, which in proceſſe takyng liuely heate of the ſunne, become waterfoules, and at their tyme of ripeneſſe eyther fall into the ſea, or flye abroad into the ayre. The ſame do neuer couple in ẏ act of generatiõ, but are frõ time to tyme multiplied, as before is expreſt.

Sabel.part.
3.Ene.10.
lib.5.
Camb.lib.
topog.diſt.
1.rub.15.
Thom.p.3.
q.31.ar.4.
corp.

Æneas Syluius writeth hymſelfe to haue purſued the like experiment in Scotlande, where he learned the truth hereof to be found in the Ilandes Orchades. Giraldus Cambrienſe gathereth hereof a pretye concluſion againſt the Iewes in this wyſe.

Reſpice infœlix Iudæe, reſpice, vel ſerò, primam hominis generationem ex limo ſine mare & fœmina: Secundamque ex mare ſine fœmina, ob legis venerationem, diffiteri non audes: Tertiam ſolam ex mare ſcilicet & fœmina, quia vſualis eſt, dura ceruice approbas & affirmas. Quartam verò, in quâ ſola ſalus eſt ex fœmina ſcilicet ſine mare obſtinata malitia in propriam perniciem deteſtaris. Erubeſce miſer, erubeſce, & ſaltem ad naturam recurre, quæ ad argumenta fidei, ad inſtructionem noſtram noua quotidie animalia ſine omni mare vel fœmina procreat & producit. Prima ergo generatio ex limo, & hæc vltima ex ligno. Illa quidem quoniam à domino naturæ tantum ſemel, ideo ſemper obſtupenda proceſſit. Iſtam verò non minus admirabilem, minus tamen admirandam (quia ſæpe fit) imitatrix natura adminiſtrat. Sic enim compoſita eſt humana natura, vt nihil, preter inuſitatum & raró contingens vel precioſum ducat vel admirandũ. Solis ortum & occaſum, quo nihil in mundo pulchrius, nihil ſtupore dignius, quia quotidie videmus, ſine omni admiratione prætterimus. Eclipſin verò ſolis, quia rarius accidit, totus orbis obſtupeſcit. Ad idem etiam facere videtur, flatu ſolo, & occulta quadam inſpiratione citra omnem mixturam apum ex fauo procreatio.

Marke thou wretched Iew, ſayth Cambrienſe, marke yet at length, the firſt creation of man (that is of Adam) of earth without male or female. As for the ſeconde, of a man without a woman (that is to ſaye Eue) for that thou haſt the olde law in reuerence, thou dareſt not deny. As for the third, both of man and woman, becauſe it is daily vſed as ſtiffeneckt as thou art, thou doeſt acknowledge and confeſſe. But the fourth procreation, in which conſiſteth our onely iuſtification (he meaneth the incarnation of Chriſt) of a woman without man, with ſturdy and obſtinate rancor to thine vtter deſtruction thou doeſt deteſt. Bluſh therfore thou vnhappy Iew, be aſhamed of this thy folly, and at the leſt wyſe haue recourſe to nature, and ſett in hir workes before thine eyes, that for the encreaſe of fayth, & to the leſſonyng of vs, dayly breedeth and engendreth new liuing creatures, without ẏ coupling of maſcle or female. Adã was created of earth, the Bernacles are engendred of wood, becauſe Adam was once created by him, who is Lord of nature, therfore it is continually admired. But for that dame nature the counterfaytreſſe of ẏ celeſtial workman, eftſones breedeth Bernacles, therefore theyr brood is accompted more marueilous, then to be marueiled, more wonderfull then wondered. For ſuch is the framyng of man his nature, as he déemeth nothing precious or wonderfull, but ſuch thinges as ſeldome happen. What may be thought more beautifull then the courſe of the ſunne? And yet becauſe we ſée it daily riſe and ſet, we let it ouerſlip vs, as an vſuall cuſtome, without any ſtaring or gazyng. Yet we are amazed and aſtonied at the Eclipſe, becauſe it happeneth very ſeldome. The Bées that are engendred of the hony combe onely by a puffe or ſecrete breathing, without any coupling, ſeme to vphold this procreation of Bernacles. Hitherto Cambrienſe, with whome concerning the engendryng of Bées, Iohannes de ſancto Geminiano accordeth.

Bées
they a
increa

Iohan.
Gem.i
de exc
& ſimil
rum li
c.31.

The inhabitantes of Ireland are accuſtomed to moue queſtion, whether Bernacles be fiſhe or fleſhe, and as yet they are not fully reſolued, but moſt vſually the religious of ſtricteſt abſtinence doe eate thẽ on fiſh dayes. Giraldus Cambriẽſe, and after him Polichronicon, ſuppoſe, that the Iriſhe cleargy in this poynt ſtray. For they hold of certaintie, that Bernacles are fleſhe. And if a man ſay they had eaten a collop of Adam his leg, he had eaten fleſh. And yet Adam was not engendred of maſcle or female, but only created of clay, as the Bernacles of wood and rotten timber. But the Iriſhe clergy did not ſo farre ſtraye in their opinion, as Cambrienſe and Polichronicon, in their diſprooſe. For the framing of Adam and Eue was ſupernatural, only done by God, and not by the helpe of Angels, or any other creature. For like as it ſurpaſſeth natures courſe to raiſe the dead, to lighten or enſight the blynd, ſo it ſtode not with the vſuall and common linage of nature, but onely with the ſupereminent power of God, to frame a man of clay, & a woman of a mans rib. But the engendring of Bernacles is naturall, and not ſo wonderfull as Cambrienſe maketh it. And therfore the examples are not lyke. Now it ſhould ſéeme that in Cambrienſe his tyme, the Iriſhe clergy builded their reaſon vpõ thys plot. What ſo euer is fleſh, is naturally

Whe
Bern
be fiſh
fleſhe.
Camb
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Polich
1.c.31.

Adam
Eue
by Go
create
Auguſt
per Ge
ad lit.li
c.18.

turally begotten or engendred of fleſh. Bernacles are not naturally engendred of fleſhe, but onely of tymber and wode, Bernacles therfore are not fleſh, vnleſſe you would haue them to be woden fleſh. And if the reaſon be ſo knit, it may not be diſioincted by Cambrienſe his example. As if a man ſhould argue thus. She that is begotten of any man, muſt be of force daughter to that mã. Melcha was begotten of Aran: ergo, Melcha was Arans daughter. This argument is of all partes ſo fortified, as it ſeemeth of all ſides to be empregnable. Yet a buſie brayne Sophiſter cauilling on the terme (begottẽ) might ſay, that Eue was begotten of Adam, and yet ſhe is not Adams daughter. True it is that Adam was not Eues father, no more thẽ Eue was Adames mother, neither by that engendring was there any degree of conſanguinitie ſprõg betwene them. But becauſe the word (begotten) is taken in the argument for the naturall engendring of man and woman, the inſtance giuẽ of Eue doth not diſproue the maior. And for the better vnderſtandyng of the queſtion, it is to be noted that the philoſophers diſtinguiſh animalia ſenſitiua, that is, ſẽſible liuing thinges, into two ſortes, perfect and imperfect. The perfect are they that are engendred of ſeede, the vnperfect without ſeede. Thoſe that are naturally engendred with ſeede, can neuer be naturally engendred without ſeede. Albeit Auicenna very erroniouſly holdeth ẏ contrary. As for example. Becauſe man is naturally engendred of man and woman, no man may naturally be engendred without the copulation of man and womã: yet ſupernaturally it may be. As Adam was made without man and woman: Eue framed without woman: Our Sauiour Chriſt begotten without man. And therfore the Deuill could not haue attainted hym of originall ſinne. Contrarywiſe, the vnperfect may be engendred without ſeede by myre, mudde, dung, carien, rotten timber or any other thyng, and chiefly by the ſecret influence and inſtillation of the celeſtiall planets, as the ſunne and ſuch other. As if you put the heire of an horſe taile, in mire, puddle, or in a dunghill for a certaine ſpace, it will turne to a little thin ſprawlyng worme, which I haue often ſeene and experimented. And they are termed vnperfect, not in reſpect of their own nature, in which they are perfect, but in compariſon of other ſorte of liuyng thinges. Amonge this crew muſt Bernacles be ſetled. But here ſome will ſay: let them be perfect or vnperfect. What then? I would fayne knowe, whether Cambrienſe be in an errour, or the Iriſhe cleargy. For hitherto I ſee nothyng, but Cambrienſe his reaſon diſproued. And it is often ſeene that a ſound opinion may be weakened by a feeble reaſon, as we ſee many fayre garmentes marde in the makyng. It is true: And if any be deſirous, to know my mynd herein, I ſuppoſe, according to my ſimple iudgement, vnder the correction of both parties, that ẏ Bernacle is neither fiſhe nor fleſhe, but rather a meane betwene both. As put the caſe it were enacted by parliament, that it wer high treaſon, to eate fleſh on Friday, and fiſh on Sonday. Truely I think that he that eateth Bernacles both theſe dayes, ſhould not be within the compaſſe of the eſtatute: yet I would not wiſh my frend, to hazard it, leaſt the Bernacle ſhould be found in law fiſhe or fleſhe, yea and perhaps fiſhe and fleſh. As when the Lyon, king of beaſtes made proclamation, that all horned beaſtes ſhould auoyde his courte, one beaſt hauing but a bunche of fleſhe in hys forehead, departed with the reaſt, leaſt it had bene founde in law that his bunche were an horne. But ſome wyll peraduenture meruaile, that there ſhould be any liuyng thyng, that were not fiſhe nor fleſhe. But they haue no ſuch cauſe at all. Neates, fleſhewormes, bees, butterflies, caterpillers, ſnailes, graſſehoppers, beetels, earewicks, reremiſe, frogs toades, adders, ſnakes, and ſuch other, are liuyng thinges, and yet they are neither fiſhe, nor fleſh, nor yet red hering. As they that are trayned in ſcholaſticall poyntes may eaſily iudge. And ſo I thinke, that if any were ſo ſharpe ſet (the eſtatute, aboue reherſed, preſuppoſed) as to eate fryed flies, butterd bees, ſtued ſnailes, either on Friday or ſonday, he could not be therefore endited of haute treaſon, albeit I would not be his gueſt, vnleſſe I toke his table to be furniſht with more wholſome and licorous viaund. The like queſtion may be moued of the ſell, and if it were well canuaſſed, it would be found at the leaſt wyſe a moote caſe. But thus farre of Bernacles.

eneſ.11. rſ.19.

hem and ua of no inne.

Thom.p.1.q .art.2.ad. m.

Thom.p.1. 91.art.2. d 2.m

Liuing ings are two rtes.

Thom.p.1. 71.1.0.1.m uicenna.

eneſ.2. rſ.7.

eneſ.2. rſ.21.

ath.1. rſ.10.

uce.1. rſ.34.

ide Ariſt. b.1.Meter. p.3.6.7.

The Bernacle neyther fiſhe nor fleſh.

The ſell whether it be fiſhe or fleſh.

Thom.p.1.a 71.a.1.o.3.o.

Irelande is ſtored of Cowes, of excellent horſes, of hawkes, of fiſhe and of foule. They are not without wolues and grayhoundes to hunt them, bigger of bone and limme then a colt. Their cowes, as alſo ẏ reſt of their cattaile, and commonly what elſe ſo euer the countrey engendreth (except man) is muche leſſe in quantitie then thoſe of England, or of other realms. Sheepe few, and thoſe bearing courſe fleeſes, whereof they ſpin notable rug. Their ſheepe haue ſhort & curt tailes. They ſheere their ſheepe twiſe yearely, & if they be left vnſhorn, they are therwith rather pained then otherwiſe. The countrey is very fruitefull both of corne and graſſe. The graſſe (for default of good huſbandry) ſuffered vncutte,

Sheepe.

Egle.

groweth ſo rancke in the north partes, that eſtentymes it rotteth theyr cattell. Egles are well knowen to breede in Ireland, but neither ſo big, nor ſo many as bookes tell.

The Iriſh hobby.

The horſes are of pace eaſie, in running wonderful ſwift in gallop both falſe and full indifferent.

The Nagge.

The nagge or the hackney is very good for traueiling, albeit others report the contrary. And if he be broken accordingly, you ſhall haue a litle titte, that will traueyle a whole day without any bayt.

The chiefe horſe.

Their horſes of ſeruice are called chiefe horſes, being well broken, they are of an excellent courage. They reyne paſſingly, and champe vppon their bridles brauely, commonly they amble not, but galloppe and run. And theſe horſes are but for ſkirmiſhes, not for traueilyng, for their ſtomackes are ſuch, as they diſdaine to be hacknied. Thereof the report grew, that the Iriſh hobby wyll not hold out in traueilyng.

The mon= grel hobby.

You ſhall haue of the third ſort, a baſtarde or mongrell hobby, neere as tall as the horſe of ſeruice, ſtrong in traueilyng, eaſie in amblyng, and very ſwift in running. Of the horſe of ſeruice they make great ſtore, as wherin, at tymes of nede, they repoſe a great peece of ſafetie.

Volat lib. 3. Geog. Aſturcones

This brode Volaterane writeth to haue come from Aſturea, the country of Hiſpayne, betwene Gallicia and Portugall, wherof they were named Aſturcones, a name now properly applied to the Hiſpaniſh Genet.

The names of the ciuities, borroughes and hauen townes in Irelande.

Cap. 3.

Dublinium.

DUblin, the beautie and eye of Irelande, hath beene named by Ptolomie, in auncient time, Eblana. Some terme it Dublina, others Dublinia, many write it Dublinum, auctours of better ſkill name it Dublinium. The Iriſh call it, Ballæ er Cleagh, that is, a towne planted vpon hurdelles. For the common opinion is, that the plotte, vppon which, the ciuitie is buylded, hath beene a mariſhe ground, ⁊ for that by the arte or inuention of the firſt founder, the water could not be voyded, he was forced to faſten the quakemyre with hurdles, and vpon them to buylde the citie. I heard of ſome that came of buildyng of houſes to this foundation: and other holde opinion that if a carte or wayne runne wyth a round and maine pace, through a ſtreete called the high ſtreete, the houſes on eche ſide ſhal be perceyued to ſhake.

Dublyne buylded.

This Citye was builded, or rather the buildings therof enlarged, about the yeare of our Lord. 155. For about this tyme there arriued in Ireland three noble Eaſterlings that were brethren, Auellanus, Sitaracus, and Yuorus.

Auellan
the foũ
of Dubl

Auellanus beyng the eldeſt brother, builded Dublin, Sitaracus Waterforde, and Yuorus Limmerick. Of the founder Auellanus, Dublin was named Auellana, and after by corruption of ſpeache Eblana.

Auellan
Eblana

This Citie, as it is not in antiquitie inferiour to any citie in Irelande, ſo in pleaſaunt ſituation, in gorgeous buildings, in the multitude of people, in martiall chiualrie, in obedience and loyaltie, in the aboundaunce of wealth, in largenes of hoſpitalitie, in maners and ciuilitie it is ſuperiour to all other Cyties and townes in that realme. And therfore it is commonly called the Iriſhe or yong Lōdon.

Dublyn
the Ir
London

The ſc
tion of
Dublyn

The ſeate of this citie is of all ſides pleaſant, comfortable, and wholſome. If you would trauerſe hils, they are not farre of. If champion ground it lyeth of all partes, if you be delited with freſhwater, the famous riuer called the Liffie, named of Ptolome Lybnium, runneth faſt by.

The Li
fye.

If you will take the view of the ſea, it is at hande. The onely faulte of thys Citie is, that it is leſſe frequented of merchant eſtrangers, becauſe of the bare hauen.

The
ſworde
uen to D
blyne.

Their charter is large, King Henry the fourth gaue this Citie the ſworde, in the yere of our Lord 1409. and was ruled by a Mayor and two Bailifs, which were chaunged into Shirifs by a charter graunted by Edwarde the ſixte, in the yeare of our Lorde 1547.

Shyrif
of Dubl
1547

In which yeare Iohn Ryan and Robert Ians, two worſhipfull gentlemen, were colleages in that office, and therof they are named the laſt Bailifs and firſt Shirifes, that haue bene in Dublin. It appeareth by the aunciēt ſeale of thys Citie, called Signum præpoſituræ, that this Citie haue beene in olde tyme gouerned by a Prouoſt.

Dublyn
gouern
by a Pr
uoſt.

The hoſ
pitalitie
ẏ Mayor
⁊ Shiri

The Hoſpitalitie of the Mayor and the Shyriffes, for the yeare being is ſo large and bountifull, that ſoothly, London forepriced, a very few ſuch Officers vnder the crowne of Englande keepe ſo great a porte, none, I am ſure, greater. The Mayor, ouer the number of Officers, that take their daily repaſt at his table, keepeth, for his yeare, in mãner, open houſe. And albeit in tearme time his houſe is frequented aſwell of the Nobilitie as of other Potentates of great calling, yet his ordinarie is ſo good, that a very few ſet feaſtes are prouided for them. They that ſpende leaſt in their Mayoraltie (as thoſe of credite, yea and ſuch as bare the office haue informed me) make an ordinary accōpt of 5. hundred poūds for their viaunde ⁊ dyet that yeare. Which is no ſmall ſomme to be beſtowed in houſekeeping, namelye where victualles are ſo good cheape, and the preſentes of friendes diuers and ſundry.

1551. Patricke Sarceſield his hoſpitalitie.

The Mayor of Dublyne when he is ſworne.

Tom Drum his entertaynment.

There hath béene of late yeares a worſhipfull gentleman, named, Patrike Sarceſield, that bare the office of the Mayoraltie in Dublynne, who kept ſo great porte in his yeare, as his hoſpitalitie to his fame and renowne reaſteth as yet in freſh memorie. One of his eſpeciall and entyre friendes entering in cōmunication with the gentleman, his yeare being well néere expyred, moued queſtion, to what, he thought, his expenſes, that yeare, amounted? Truely, James (ſo hys friende was named) quoth M. Sarceſield, I take betwéene me & God, when I entered into mine office, the laſt S. Hierome his day (which is the morrowe of Michaelmaſſe, on which day the Mayor taketh his othe before the chiefe Baron, at the Eſchequer, within the caſtle of Dublinne) I had thrée barnes well ſtored & thwackt with corne, and I aſſured my ſelfe, that any one of theſe thrée had béene ſufficiēt, to haue ſtored myne houſe wyth breade, Ale, and béere for this yeare. And nowe, God and good companie be thanked, I ſtande in doubt, whether I ſhall rubbe out my Mayoraltie with my thirde barne, which is well nigh wyth my yeare ended. And yet nothing ſmiteth me ſo much at the heart, as that the knot of good fellowes, that you ſée here (he ment the ſergeantes and officers) are readie to ſlit from me, and make their next yeares aboade with the next Mayor. And certes I am ſo much wedded to good felloweſhippe, as if I coulde maintayne mine houſe, to my contentation wyth defraying of fiue hūdred pounds yearely, I woulde make humble ſute to the citizens, to be theyr officer theſe thrée yeares to come. Ouer this, he dyd at the ſame tyme proteſt with othe, that he ſpent that yeare in houſekeping twentie tonnes of Claret wine, ouer and aboue whyte wine, Sacke, Maulmeſey, Muſcadel &c. And in very déede it was not to be maruelled. For during his Mayoraltie his houſe was ſo open, as commonly frō fiue of the clocke in the morning to tenne at night his buttrey and cellars were with one crew or other frequented. To the haunting of which, gueſtes were the ſooner allured, for that you ſhould neuer marck him or his bedfellowe (ſuch was their buxomneſſe) once frowne, or wrinckle their foreheads, or bende their browes, or glome their countenaunces, or make a ſower face at any gueſt, were he neuer ſo meane. But their entertaynmēt was ſo notable, as they woulde ſauce their bountifull and daintie fare with heartie and amiable chéere. His Porter or any other Officer durſt not for both his eares giue the ſimpleſt man, that reſorted to his houſe, Tom drum his entertaynement, which is, to hale a man in by the heade, and thruſt him out by both the ſhoulders. For he was fully reſolued, that his worſhippe and reputation coulde not be more diſtayned, then by the curriſh entertaynement of any gueſt. To be briefe (according to the golden verſes of the auncient and famous Poet, Geffray Chauncer.

Chauncer in the prologue of his Caunterbury tales.

An houſholder, and that a great, was he,
Sainct Iulian he was in his countre.
His breade, his Ale, was alway after one.
A better viended man was no where none.
Without bakte meate was neuer his houſe,
Of fiſhe and fleſhe, and that ſo plenteouſe,
It ſnewed in his houſe of meate and drinke,
Of all deinties, that men coulde thinke.
After the ſundry ſeaſons of the yere,
So chaunged he his meate, and his ſuppere.
Full many a fat Partriche had he in mew,
And many a breme, and many a Luce in ſtew.

Some of his friendes, that were ſnudging pennyfathers, woulde take him vp verye roughly, for his lauiſhing and his outragious expenſes, as they tearme it. Twiſe, my maiſters, woulde he ſaye, take not the matter ſo hote. Who ſo commeth to my table, and hath no néede of my meate, I knowe, he commeth for the good will, he beareth me, and therefore I am beholding to thanke him for his companie: if he reſorte for néede, how may I beſtow my goodes better, then in reléeuing the poore? If you had perceyued me ſo farre behinde hande, as that I had béene like to haue brought Haddocke to Paddocke, I woulde paciently permit you, both largely to controule me, and friendly to reproue me. But as long as I cutte ſo large thonges of mine owne leather, as that I am not yet come to my buckle, and during the time I kéepe my ſelfe ſo farre a flote, as that I haue as much water as my ſhip draweth, I pray you, pardon me, to be liberall in ſpending, ſith God of his goodneſſe is gracious in ſending.

Nicholas Stanihurſt.

And in déede ſo it fell out. For at the ende of his Mayoraltie he ought no man a dotkin. What he deſpended was his owne. And euer after during his life, he kept ſo worthy ſtanding houſe, as that he ſéemed to ſurrender the Princes ſworde to other Mayors, and reſerued the porte and hoſpitalitie to himſelfe. Not long before him was Nicolas Stanihurſt their Mayor, who was ſo great and good an houſeholder, that during his Mayoraltie, the Lord Cancellour of the royalme was his dayly & ordinarie gueſt. There haue béene of late worſhipfull portes kept by M. Fyanne, who was twyſe Mayor, M. Sedgraue, Thomas Fitz Symons, Robert Cuſack. Walter Cuſack, Nicholas Fitz Symons, James Bedlow, Chriſtofer Fagan, and diuers o-

The hoſpitalitie of Dublyne.

thers. And not onely their officers ſo farre excell in hoſpitalitie, but alſo the greater parte of the ciuitie is generally addicted to ſuch ordinarie and ſtanding houſes, as it woulde make a man muſe, which way they are able, to beare it out, but onely by the goodneſſe of God, which is the Vpholder and Furtherer of hoſpitalitie.

What ſhoulde I here ſpeake of their charitable alemoyſe, dayly and hourely extended to the needie? The poore priſoners both of the Newgate and the Caſtle, with three or foure hoſpitalles, are chiefly, if not onely, releeued by the citizēs. Furthermore there are ſo many other extraordinarie beggers, that dayly ſwarme there, ſo charitablye ſuccoured, as that they make the whole citie in effect theyr hoſpitall. The great expenſes of the citizens may probably be gathered by the worthy and Fayrelike marckets weekely on Weneſday and fryday kept in Dublinne. Theyr ſhambles is ſo well ſtored with meate, and their market with corne, as not onely in Ireland, but alſo in other countreys you ſhall not ſee any one ſhambles, or any one market better furniſht with the one, or the other, then Dublinne is. The Citizens haue, from time to time, in ſundry conflictes, ſo galde the Iriſhe, that euen to this daye, the Iriſhe feare a ragged and tagged blacke ſtandarde that the Citizens haue, almoſt, through tract of tyme, worne to the harde ſtumpes. This ſtandarde they carie with them in hoſtings, being neuer diſplayed, but when they are readie to enter in battaile, and to come to the ſhocke. The ſight of which daunteth the Iriſh aboue meaſure. And, for the better training of their yougth in martial exploytes, the Citizens vſe to muſter foure times by the yere: on Blackmonday, which is the morow of Eaſter day, on Mayday, S. Iohn Baptiſt his eue, and S. Peter his eue. Whereof two are aſcribed to the Maior & Shirifes, the other two, to witte, the muſters on Maydaye & S. Peter his eue are aſſigned to the Mayor and Shirifes of the bullering. The Mayor of Bullering is an office elected by the citizens, to be, as it were capitaine or gardayne of the batchelers and the vnwedded youth of the ciuitie. And for the yeare he hath auctoritie to chaſtiſe & puniſhe ſuch, as frequent brothelhouſes, and the lyke vnchaſt places. He is termed the Mayor of the Bull ring, of an Iron ring that ſticketh in the corne market, to which the bulles, that are yearely bayted, be vſuallye tyed: which ring is had by him and his companye in ſo great price, as if any citizen batcheler happe to marry, the Mayor of the bulring & his crewe conduct the bridegrome, vpon hys returne from Church, to the market place, & there with a ſoleme kiſſe, for hys Vultimum vale, he doth homage to the bull ring.

The ſhambles and markets of Dublyne.

The black ſtandarde.

The muſterres of Dublyne.

The Maior of the bulring.

The Blackmonday muſter ſprong of hys occaſion ſoone after Irelande was conquered by the Britons, and the greater part of Leinſter pacified, diuers townes men of Briſtow flytted from thence to Dublin, and in ſhorte ſpace the ciuitie was by them ſo well inhabited, as it grew to be very populous. Whereupon the citizens hauing ouer great affiaunce in the multitude of the people, and ſo conſequently being ſomewhat retcheleſſe in heeding the mountayne enemie, that lurked vnder their noſes, were wont to roame and royle in cluſters, ſomtime three or foure myles from the towne. The Iriſhe enemyes eſpying, that the Citizens were accuſtomed to fetche ſuch odde vagaries, eſpeciallye on the holy dayes, and hauing an inckling withall by the meanes of ſome falſe claterfert or other, that a companie of them woulde haue ranged abroade, on mondaye in the Eaſter weeke, towards the woode of Cullen, which is diſtaunt two myles from Dubline, they lay in ſtale very well appointed, and layde in ſundry places for their comming. The Citizens rather minding ẏ pleaſure, they ſhoulde preſently enioy, then forcaſting the hurt, that might enſue, flockt vnarmed out of the ciuitie to the wood, where being intercepted by thē, that lay houing in ambuſh, they were to the number of fiue hundred miſerably ſlayne. Whereupon the remnaunt of the Citizens deeming that vnluckie time to be a croſſe or a diſmalle daye, gaue it the appellation of Blackmondaye. The Citie ſoone after being peopled by a freſhe ſupply of Briſtollians, to dare the Iriſhe enemie, agreede, to banket yearely in that place. Which to this daye is obſerued. For the Mayor and the Shirifes with the Citizens repayre to the wod of Cullen, in which place the Mayor beſtoweth a coſtly dinner within a mote or a roundell, & both ẏ Shirifes within an other, where they are ſo well garded with the yougth of the citie, as the mountayne enemie dareth not attempt, to ſnatche as much, as a paſtey cruſt from thence.

The blac monday.

Dublyne inhabited by ẏ Briſtollians. This wa about the yeare of our Lor 1209.

Dubline hath at this daye within the citie and in the ſuburbes theſe churches that enſue, of which the greater number are paroche churches, onely Chriſt his church with a few oratories and chappels excepted.

The churches of Dublyne.

Chriſtes his church, otherwiſe named ecclesia S. Trinitatis, a cathedrall church, the auncienteſt that I can finde recorded of all the churches now ſtandyng in Dublin. I take it to haue bene builded, if not in Auellanus hys tyme,

Chriſtchurch.

tyme, yet ſone after by the Danes. The building of which, was both repayred and enlarged by Citrius prince of Dublin, at the earneſt requeſt of Donate the biſhop, and ſone after the conqueſt it hath bene much beautified by Robert Fitz Stephens & Strangbowe the erle of Penbroke, who with his ſonne is in the body of the church entumbed. The chapell that ſtandeth in the chore, commonly called the new chappell, was builded by Girald fitz Thomas, erle of Kildare, in the yeare of our Lord 1510. where he is entumbed.

The con- trouerſie betwene Chriſt- church and S. Patriks church.

S. Patrikes churche, a cathedrall churche, endued with notable liuings, and diuers fatte benefices. It hath a chappell at the north dore which is called ẏ paroch church. This church was founded by the famous and worthy prelate John Commyn, about the yeare of our Lord. 1197. This foundation was greatly aduaunced by ẏ liberalitie of king John. There hath riſen a greate contention betwixt thys churche and Chriſtes churche for antiquitie, wherein doubtleſſe S. Patricke hys churche ought to giue place, vnleſſe they haue further matter to ſhew, and better reaſons to builde vpon, then their foundations, in whiche this churche by many yeares is inferiour to the other.

S. Nicholas.

S. Michael.

S. Werberowe, or S. Warbirge, ſo called of a Cheſhire Virgin. The citizens of Cheſter founded this church, with two chappels thereto annexed, the one called our Ladies chapel, the other S. Martines chappel. Hir feaſt is kepte the third of February. This churche, wyth a great parte of the Citie was burnt in the yeare 1301. but agayne by the parochians reedified.

S. John the Euangeliſt.

S. Audoen, which is corruptly called ſaint Ouen, or Owen. His feaſt is ſolemnized the xxiiij. of Auguſt. The paroche of this churche is accounted the beſt in Dubline, for that the greater number of the Aldermē and the worſhippes of the Citie are demurraunt within that paroche.

Fitzſy- mons.

S. Tullock, now prophaned. In this church in olde tyme, the familie of the Fitzſymons was, for the more part, buried. The paroche was meared from the Crane caſtle, to the fiſhambles, called the cockehil with Preſton hys Innes, and the lane thereto adioyning, which ſcope is now vnited to S. John hys paroche.

S. Katherine.

S. Michan, or Mighanne.

S. James his fayre.

S. James: his feaſt is celebrated the xxv. of July, on which day in ancient time was there a worthy fayre kept at Dubline, continuing ſixe dayes, vnto which reſorted diuers merchantes as wel frō England, as frō France, & Flaunders. And they afourded their wares ſo doggecheape, in reſpect of the Citie merchantes, that the countrey was yere by yere ſufficiently ſtored by eſtrangers, and the citie merchants not vttering their wares, but to ſuch as had not redy chinckes, and therupon forced to run on ẏ ſcore, were very much empouerished: wherfore partly thorough the canuaſſing of the towne merchantes, & partly by the wincking of the reſt of the Citizens beyng wan vpon many gay gloſed promiſes, by playing boepéepe to beare themſelues ouerly in the matter, that famous marte was ſuppreſt, and all foreyne ſale wholy abandoned. Yet for a memoriall of this notable faire a fewe cottages, bouthes, and alepoles, are yerely pitcht at S. James his gate.

S. Michael of Poules, aliâs, Paules.

S. Brigide.

S. Keuyn.

S. Peter de monte, or on the hil, appendant to S. Patrikes church.

S. Stephen. This was erected for an hoſpitall, for pore, lame, & impotent lazers, where they abide to this day, although not in ſuche chaſte and ſincere wiſe, as the founders wyll was vpon the erection thereof. The Maior with his brethren on S. Stephen his daye (which is one of their ſtation dales) repaireth thither, and there doth offer.

S. Andrew, now prophaned.

The names of the gates of the citie, and ſuburbes of Dublin.

Both the gates nere the white friers.
S. Keuen his gate.
Hogs gate.
Dammes gate.
Poule gate, aliâs Paules gate.
Newgate, a gaole or priſon.
Winetaberne gate.

S. Audoen his gate, hard by the church goyng downe towardes the cockeſtréete. The reaſon why this gate, and the wynde taberne gate were builded, procéeded of this. In the yeare 1315. Edward Bruiſe a Scot, and brother to Robert Bruiſe king of Scottes arriued in the north of Ireland. From whence he marched onforward with his army, vntill he came as farre as Caſtleknock. The citizens of Dubline being ſore amazed at the ſodayne & ſcarbrough appreche of ſo puiſſaunt an enemy, burned all the houſes in S. Thomas his ſtréete, leſt he ſhould vpon his repayre to Dubline haue any ſuccour in the ſuburbes.

The Mayor (named, Robert Notingham) and communaltie being in this diſtreſſe razed down an Abbay of the Fryer preachers, called S. Saluiour his Monaſtery, & brought the ſtones thereof to theſe places, where the the gates now ſtande, and all along that way dyd caſt a Wall for the better fortifying of the ciuitie, miſtruſting that the Walles that went along both the keyes, ſhoulde not haue béene of ſufficient force to outholde the enemie. The Scottes hauing intelligence of the fortifying of Dublyne, and reckening it a folye to laye ſiege to ſo impregnable a ciuitie, marched towarde a place not far from Dublyne, called the Salmon leape, where pytching there tentes for foure dayes, they remoued towardes the Naas. But when the ciuitie was paſt this danger, king Edwarde the ſeconde gaue ſtraight commaundement to the citizens to builde the Abbey they raſed, ſaying that although lawes were ſquatted in warre, yet notwithſtanding they ought to be reuiued in peace.

Gurmund his gate, harde by the cuculle, or Cockolds poſt. Some ſuppoſe, that one Gurmundus buylded this gate, and therof to take the name. Others iudge, that the Iriſhe aſſaulting the ciuitie, were diſcomfited by the Earle of Ormonde, then by good hap ſoiourning at Dublyne. And bycauſe he iſſued out at that gate, to the ende the valiaunt exployte and famous conqueſt of ſo worthy a Potentate ſhoulde be engrayled in parpetuall memorie, the gate bare the name of Ormonde his gate.

The Bridge gate.
S. Nicholas his gate.
S. Patricke hys gate.
Bungan hys gate.
The Newſtreate gate.
S. Thomas his gate.
S. Iames his gate.

The names of the ſtreetes, bridges, lanes and other notorious places in Dublyne.

The Dammes ſtréete.
The Caſtle ſtréete, ſtretching to the Pyllorie.
S. Werberoſſes ſtréete.
S. Iohn his ſtréete, aliâs fiſheſhamble ſtréete.
The Skinner rew retching from the Pyllorie, to the Tolehall, or to the high Croſſe.
The high ſtréete, bearing to the hygh Pyype.

This Pipe was buylded in the yeare 1308. by a worthie Citizen, named Iohn Decer, being then Mayor of Dublyne. He buylded not long before that tyme the bridge harde by S. Wolſtans, that retcheth ouer the Lyffie.

Iohn Decer.

The Newgate ſtréete, from the Newgate to S. Audoen his Church.
S. Nicholas his ſtréete.
The Wyne taberne ſtréete.
The Cokeſtréete.
The Bridge ſtréete. This ſtréete wyth the greater parte of the keye was burnt in the yeare 1304.
The Wodkey. The Merchant key.

Oſtmantowne, ſo called of certayne Eaſterlings or Normans, properly the Danes that were called Oſtmanni. They planted thēſelues harde by the waterſide néere Dublyne, & diſcōfited at Clontarfe in a ſkyrmiſhe diuers of the Iriſhe. 1050. The names of the Iriſhe Capitaynes ſlayne, were, Bryanne Borrough, Miagh mack Bryen, Tady O kelly, Dolyne Ahertegan, Gylle Barramede. These were Iriſhe Potentates, and before their diſcomfiture they ruled ỹ roſte. They were interred at Kilmaynanne ouer againſt ỹ great croſſe. There arriued a freſh ſupply of Eaſterlings at Dublyne in the yeare 1095. & ſetled themſelues on the other ſide of the ciuitie, which of them to this day is called Oſtmantowne, 1095. that is, the towne of the Oſtmannes, whereof there aryſeth great likelyhoode to haue béene a ſeparate towne from the Citie, being parted from Dublyne by the Liffye, as Southwarcke is ſeuered frō London by Thameſſe.

Oſtman

Oſtman towne, why ſo called.

S. Thomas his ſtréete. This ſtréete was burnt by miſhappe in the yeare 1343.
The New buyldinges.
The New ſtréete.
S. Fraunces his ſtréete.
The Rowme.
S. Patricke his ſtréete.
The backeſide of S. Sepulchres.
S. Keauen his ſtréete.
The Poule, or Paulemyll ſtréete.
S. Brigides ſtréete.
The ſhéepe ſtréete, aliâs, the ſhippe ſtréete. For diuers are of opinion, that the ſea had paſſage that way, and thereof to be called the Ship ſtréete. Thys as it ſéemeth not wholy impoſſible, conſidering that the ſea floweth & ebbeth harde by it, ſo it caryeth a more colour of truth with it, bycauſe there haue bene founde there certayne yron ringes faſtened to the towne Wall, to holde & graple boates withall.

The lanes

S. Werberoſſes lane, vp to S. Nicholas his ſtréete, now encloſed.
S. Michael his lane, beginning at S. Michael his pype.
Chriſtchurch lane.
S. Iohn his lane.
Ram lane, aliâs, the ſchoolehouſe lane.
S. Audoen his lane.

Braſers lane. This lane is ſtéepe and ſlipperie, in which otherwhyles, they that make more haſte, then good ſpéede, clincke there bummes to the ſtones. And therefore the ruder ſorte, whether it be through corruption of ſpeache, or for that they gyue it a nickename, commonly terme it, not ſo homely, as truely, kiſſe arſe lane.

Rochell lane, aliâs backlane, on the ſouthſide of the fleſheſhambles.
The Cokeſtréete lane.
Frapper lane.
Giglottes hyll.
Mary lane.
S. Tullock his lane.
Scarlet lane, aliâs, Iſoudes lane.
S. Pulchers lane.
S. Kenyn his lane.
The whyte Friers lane.
S. Stephane his lane.
Hogges lane.
The ſea lane.

S. George his lane, where in olde tyme were buylded diuers olde and auncient monumentes. And as an enſearcher of antiquities may by the view, there to be taken, coniecture, the better parte of the ſuburbes of Dublyne ſhould ſéeme to haue ſtretched that way. But the inhabitantes being dayly and hourely moleſted and preded by their prowling Mountaine neighbours, were forced to ſuffer their buyldinges fall in decay and embayed themſelues within the citie Walles.

The olde Eſcacar.

Among other monuments, there is a place in that lane called now Collets Innes, which in olde tyme was the Eſcacar, or exchequer. Which ſhoulde imply that the Princes court woulde not haue béene kept there, vnleſſe the place had béene taken to be cockſure. But in fine it fell out contrarie. For the Baron ſitting there ſolemlye, and as it ſéemed, retchleſly: the Iriſhe eſpying the oportunitie, ruſhed into the court in plumpes, where ſurpriſing the vnweaponed multitude, they cõmitted horrible ſlaughters, by ſparing none that came vnder their dynte: and withall, as far as their ſcarborough leaſure coulde ſerue them, they ranſacke the Prince his theſaure, vpon which miſhappe the exchequer was frõ thẽce remoued.

S. George his chappel

There hath béene alſo in that lane, a chappell dedicated to S. George, likelye to haue béene founded by ſome worthye knight of the Garter. The Mayor with hys brethren was accuſtomed with great triumphe and pageantes yearely on S. George his feaſt to repayre to that chappell, and there to offer. This chappell hath béene of late razed, and the ſtones thereof by the conſent of the aſſembly turned a common Ouen, conuerting the auncient monumẽt of a doughty, aduenturous, and holy knight, to the coalerake ſwéeping of a pufloafe baker.

The bridges.

The great Bridge, going to Oſtmantowne.
S. Nicholas his bridge.
The Poule gate bridge, repayred by Nicholas Stanhurſt about the yéere 1544. 1544.
The Caſtle bridge.
S. Iames his bridge.

The caſtil.

The Caſtle of Dublyne, was buylded by Henry Loundres (ſometyme Archebiſhop of Dublyne, and L. Iuſtice of Irelande) aboute the yeare of our Lorde 1220. This caſtle hath beſide the gatehouſe foure goodly and ſubſtãtiall towers, of which one of them is named Bermingham his tower, whether it were that one of the Berminghames dyd enlarge the buylding thereof, or elſe that he was long in dureſſe in that tower. This Caſtle hath béene of late much beautified wyth ſundrye & gorgious buildinges in the tyme of Sir Henry Sydney, as nowe, ſo then, L. Deputie of Irelande. In the commendacion of which buyldings an eſpeciall welwiller of his Lordſhippe penned theſe verſes, enſuing.

1220.

Bermingham his towre,

1566.

Geſta libri referunt multorum clara Virorum,
Laudis & in chartis ſtigmata fixa manent.
Verùm Sidnæi laudes hæc ſaxa loquuntur,
Nec iacet in ſolis gloria tanta libris.
Si libri pereant, homines remanere valebunt,
Si pereant homines, ligna manere queunt.
Lignaq; ſi pereant, non ergo ſaxa peribunt,
Saxaq; ſi pereant tempore, tempus erit.
Si pereat tempus, minimè conſumitur æuum,
Quod cum principio, ſed ſine fine manet.
Dum libri florent, homines dũ viuere poſſunt,
Dum quoq; cum lignis ſaxa manere valent,
Dum remanet tẽpus, dũ deniq; permanet æuũ,
Laus tua, Sidnæi, digna perire nequit.

Iſowdes towre.

There ſtandeth néere the caſtle, ouer againſt a voyde rowme, called Preſton his Innes, a tower, named, Iſoudes tower. It toke the name of La Beale Iſoude, daughter to Anguiſhe, king of Irelande. It ſéemeth to haue béene a Caſtle of pleaſure for the kinges to recreat thẽſelues therin. Which was not vnlike, conſidering that a meaner tower might ſerue ſuch ſingle ſoale kinges, as were at thoſe dayes in Irelande. There is a village harde by Dublynne, called of the ſayde La Beale, Chappell Iſoude.

Chappell Iſoude.

S. Sepulchers.

S. Pulchers, the Archbiſhop of Dublin hys houſe, as well pleaſantly cited, as gorgeouſly builded. Some hold opinion, that the beautifuller part of this houſe was of ſet purpoſe fired by an Archbiſhop, to the ende the Gouernors (which for the more part lay ther) ſhould not haue ſo good likyng to the houſe: Not far diſagréeyng frõ the pollicy, that I heard a noble man tell, he vſed, who hauing a ſurpaſſing good horſe, and ſuch one as ouerran in a ſet race other choyſe horſes, did bobtayle him vpon his returne to the ſtable, leſt any of his friends caſting a fantaſie to the beaſt, ſhould craue him. The noble man beyng ſo bountifully giuen, as that of liberalitie he could not and of diſcretion he would ſéeme to giue hys friend the repulſe in a more weighty requeſt then that were.

The names of the fieldes adioyning to Dubline.

Saint Stephens gréene.
Hoggyng gréene.
The Steyne.

Oſtmantowne gréene. In the further ende of this field is there a hole, commonly termed Scald brothers hole, a Laberinth reachyng two large myles vnder the earth. This hole was in olde tyme frequented by a notorious théefe named ſcaldebrother, wherin he would hyde all the bag and baggage he could pilfer. The varlet was ſo ſwifte on foote, as he hath eftſoones outrun the ſwifteſt and luſtieſt yong men in all Oſtmantowne, maugre theyr heds, bearing a potte or a panne of theyrs on his ſhoulders, to his den. And now and then, in deriſion of ſuch as purſued hym, he would take hys courſe vnder the gallowes, which ſtandeth very nigh hys caue (a fitte ſigne for ſuch an Inne) and ſo beyng ſhrowded within his lodge, he reckened himſelf cockſure, none beyng found at that tyme ſo hardy as would aduenture to entangle himſelfe within ſo intricate a maze. But as the pitcher that goeth often to the water, commeth at length home brokē: ſo this luſty youth would not ſurceaſe from open catchyng, forcible ſnatchyng, and priuy prowling, to time he was by certain gaping groomes that laye in wayte for him, intercepted, fléeing toward his couch, hauyng vpon his apprehenſion no more wrong done hym, then that he was not ſooner hanged on that gallowes, through which in his youth & iollitie he was woont to run. There ſtandeth in Oſtmantowne gréene, an hillocke, named little John hys ſhot. The occaſion procéeded of this.

Scald brother.

Scald brother executed.

Little John.

In the yere 1189. there ranged thrée robbers and outlawes in England, among which Robert hoode and little John were chiefetaines, of all théeues doubtleſſe the moſt courteous. Robert hoode beyng betrayed at a Nonry in Scotland, called Bricklies, the remnaunt of the crue was ſcattered, and euery man forced to ſhift for himſelfe. Wherupō little John was fayne to flie the realme, by ſayling into Ireland, where he ſoiourned for a few dayes at Dubline. The citizens beyng done to vnderſtand, the wanderyng outcaſt to be an excellent archer, requeſted hym hartily to trie how far he could ſhoote at randone. Who yeldyng to their beheſt, ſtoode on the bridge of Dublin, and ſhotte to that mole hill, leauyng behynde him a monument, rather by his poſteritie to be wondered, then poſſibly by any man liuyng to be counterſcored. But as the repayre of ſo notorious a champion, to any countrey, would ſoone be publiſhed, ſo his abode could not be long concealed: and therefore, to eſchew the daunger of lawes, he fled into Scotland, where he dyed at a towne or Village called Morany. Gerardus Mercator, in his Coſmographye affirmeth, that in the ſame towne the bones of an huge and mighty man are kept, which was called little John, amōg which bones, ẏ huckle bone or hipbone was of ſuch largeneſſe, as witneſſeth Hector Boethius, ẏ he thruſt his arme through ẏ hole therof. And the ſame bone beyng ſuted to the other partes of his body, did argue the man to haue bene 14. foote long, which was a prety length for a little John. Whereby appeareth, that he was called little John ironically lyke as we terme him an honeſt man, whom we take for a knaue in grayne. Here vnto the citie of Dubline are the foure auncient Manours annexed to the crowne, which are named to this day, the kinges lande: to wit, Newcaſtle, Taſſaggard, Eſchyre, & Crumlyn. The manour of Crumlyn payeth a greater chiefe rent to the prince, then any of the other thrée, which procéeded of this. The Seneſchall beyng offended with the tenants for their miſdemeanor toke them vp very ſharply in the court, and with rough and minatory ſpeaches began to menace thē. The lobbiſhe and deſperate clobberiouſneſſe, takyng the matter in dudgeon, made no more wordes, but knockt their Seneſchald on the coſtard, & left hym there ſprawling on the grounde for dead. For which deteſtable murder their rent was enhaunced, and they pay at this day ix. pence an acre, which is double to any of the other thrée manours.

1189.

Robert hoode.

Little John deceaſed.

The kin his land.

Crumly

Waterford was founded by Sitaracus, as is aforeſayd in the yere 155. Ptolome nameth it Manapia, but why he appropriateth ẏ name to this citye, neither doth he declare, nor I geſſe. This city is properly builded, and very well compacte, ſomewhat cloſe by reaſon of their thicke buildinges and narrowe ſtréetes. The hauen is paſſing good, by which the citizens through the entercourſe of forreine traphike in ſhort ſpace attayne to aboundaunce of welth. The ſoyle about it is not all of the beſt,

waterfor

Manapia

beſt, by reaſon of which the ayre is not very ſubtill, yet natheleſſe the ſharpneſſe of theyr wittes ſeemeth to be nothyng rebated or duld by reaſon of the groſeneſſe of the ayre. For in good ſooth the towneſmen, and namely yͤ ſtudentes are pregnant in conceiuing, quicke in takyng, and ſure in keppyng. The citizens are very heedy and wary in all their publique affairs, ſlow in determining matters of weight, louing to loke ere they leape. In choſing their magiſtrate, they reſpect not onely his riches, but alſo they weigh his experience. And therfore they elect for their Maior neyther a riche man that is young, nor an olde man that is poore. They are cherefull in the entertaynement of ſtraungers, hartye one to an other, nothing giuen to factions. They loue no idle benchewhiſtlers, nor luſkiſhe faytoures, for yong and old are wholy addicted to thriuing, the men commonly to traffike, the women to ſpinnyng and carding. As they diſtill the beſt Aqua vitæ, ſo they ſpin the choyſeſt rugge in Ireland. A friend of myne beyng of late demurrant in London, and the weather by reaſon of an hard hoare froſte beyng ſomewhat nippyng, repayred to Paris garden, clad in one of theſe Waterford rugs. The maſtiefes had no ſooner eſpyed him, but deeming he had bene a Beare, would fayne haue bayted him. And were it not that the dogs were partely mozeled, and partly chayned, he doubted not, but that he ſhould haue bene well tugd in hys Iriſhe rugge, wherupon he ſolemnly vowed, neuer to ſee Bearebayting in any ſuch weed. The city of Waterford hath continued to the crowne of Englande ſo loyall, that it is not found regiſtred ſince the cōqueſt to haue bene diſteyned with the ſmalleſt ſpot, or duſked wͭ the leaſt freckle of treaſon, notwithſtandyng the ſundry aſſaults of trayterous attemptes, and therfore the cities armes are deckt with this golden worde, Intacta manet, a poeſie as well to be hartily followed, as greatly admired of all true and loyall townes.

The poeſie of Water-ford.

Limme-ricke.

Sennan the riuer of Limmericke.

Limme-ricke why ſo called.

Limmericke, called in Latine Limmericū, was builded by Yuorus, as is before mentioned, about the yere 155. This citie coaſteth on the ſea hard vpon the riuer Sennan, wherby are moſt notably ſeuered Mounſter and Connaght: the Iriſh name this city Loumneagh, and thereof in Engliſhe it is named Limmerick. The town is planted in an Iſland, which plot, in olde tyme, before the buildyng of the citie, was ſtored with graſſe. During which tyme it happened, that one of the Iriſhe potentates rayſing warre againſt an other of his peeres, encamped in that Iſle, hauyng ſo great a troupe of horſmen, as the horſes eate vp the graſſe in xxiiij. howers: wherupon for the notorious number of horſes, the place is called Loum ne augh, that is, the horſe bare; or a place made bare or eaten vp by horſes. The very maine ſea is three ſcore myles diſtaunt from the towne, and yet the riuer is ſo nauigable, as a ſhip of 200. tunne, may ſayle to the key of the city. The riuer is termed in Iriſhe, Shaune amne, that is, the olde riuer: for ſhaune is olde, and amne is a riuer, deriued of the latine worde amnis. The buildyng of Limmericke is ſumptuous and ſubſtantiall.

Corcke.

Corcke in Latine, Coratium, or Corratium, the fourth citie of Irelande, happily planted on the ſea. Their hauen is an hauen royall. On the landſide they are encombred with euill neighboures, the Iriſhe outlawes, that they are fayne to watch their gates howerly, to kepe them ſhut at ſeruice times, at meales from ſunne to ſunne, nor ſuffer any eſtraunger to enter the citie with his weapon, but yͤ ſame to leaue at a lodge appointed. They walke out at ſeaſons for recreation wͭ power of men furniſhed. They truſt not the countrey adioining, but match in wedlock among themſelues only, ſo that the whole city is wel nigh lincked one to the other in affinitie.

Drogheda.

Drogheda, accounted the beſt towne in Ireland, and truely not far behynde ſome of their cities. The one moyetie of this towne is in Meeth, the other planted on the further ſide of the water lieth in Vlſter. There runneth a blynde propheſie on this towne, that Roſſe was, Dubline is, Drogheda ſhall be the beſt of the three.

Roſſe.

Roſſe, an hauen towne in Mounſter not far from Waterford, which ſeemeth to haue ben in aunciēt tyme a town of great port. Wherof ſondry and probable coniectures are giuē, as well by the olde ditches that are nowe a myle diſtaunt from the walles of Roſſe, betwene which walles and ditches, the reliques of the aunciēt walles, gates and towers placed betwene both are yet to be ſeene. The towne is builded in a barren ſoyle, and planted among a crew of naughty and prowlyng neighbours. And in olde tyme when it flouriſhed, albeit the towne were ſufficiently peopled, yet as long as it was not cōpaſſed with walles, they were formed with watche and warde, to keepe it from the greedy ſnatchyng of the Iriſhe enemies. With whome as they were generally moleſted, ſo the priuate coſenyng of one peaſaunt on a ſodayne, incenſed them to inuiron their towne with ſtrong and ſubſtantiall walles. There repayred one of the Iriſhe to this towne on horſebacke, and eſpying a peece of cloth on a merchants ſtall, toke holde thereof, and bet the clothe to the loweſt pryce he could. As the Merchaunt and he ſtode dodging one wyth the other in cheaping the ware, the horſman conſidering that he was well mounted, and that the merchant and he had growen to a pryce, made wyſe as though he woulde haue drawen to his purſe, to haue defrayed the money. The cloth in the meane whyle being tuckte vp and placed before him, he gaue the ſpurre to his horſe and ranne away with the cloth being not imbard from his poſting paſe, by reaſon the towne was not percloſed eyther wyth ditch or wall. The townes men being pincht at the heart, that one raſcall in ſuch ſcornefull wyſe ſhould giue them the ſlampame, not ſo much weighing the ſclenderneſſe of the loſſe, as the ſhamfulneſſe of the foyle, they put their heades togither, conſulting how to preuent eyther the ſodaine ruſhing, or the poſthaſt flying of any ſuch aduenterous rakehell hereafter.

In which conſultation a famous Dido, a chaſte wydowe, a politicke dame, a bountifull gentlewoman, called Roſe, who repreſenting in ſinceritie of lyfe the ſwéetneſſe of that herbe, whoſe name ſhe bare, vnfolded the deuiſe, howe any ſuch future miſchaunce ſhoulde be preuented, and withall opened hir coffers liberally, to haue it furthered: Two good properties in a counſaylour. Hir deuiſe was, that the towne ſhoulde incontinently be incloſed with walles, and there wythall promiſed to diſcharge the charges, ſo that they would not ſticke to finde out labourers. The deuiſe of this worthie Matrone being wyſe, and the offer liberall, the townes men agréed to follow the one, and to put their helping handes to the atchieuing of the other. The worke was begunne, which through the multitude of handes ſéemed light. For the whole towne was aſſembled, tagge & ragge, cutte and long tayle: none exempted but ſuch as were bedred & impotent. Some were taſked to delue, others appointed wt mattockes to digge, diuers allotted to the vnheaping of rubbiſhe, many beſtowed to the carpage of ſtones, ſundry occupyed in tēpering of morter, the better ſorte buſied in ouerſéeing the workemen, eche one according to hys vocation employed, as though the ciuitie of Carthage were a freſhe in buylding, as it is featlye verified by the golden Poet Virgil, and neately Engliſhed by M. Doctour Phaer.

Roſe, of Roſſe.

The Moores with courage went to worke
ſome vnder burdens grones:
Some at the walles and towers with handes
were tumbling vp the ſtones.
Some meaſured out a place to buylde
their manſion houſe within:
Some lawes and officers to make
in Parliment dyd begin.
An other an hauen had caſt,
and deepe they trenche the grounde,
Some other for the games and playes
a ſtately place had founde.
And pyllers great they cut for kings,
to garniſh forth their walles.
And lyke as Bees among the flowers,
when freſh the ſommer falles,
In ſhine of ſunne apply their worke,
when growne is vp their yong:
Or when their hiues they ginne to ſtoppe,
and hony ſweete is ſprong,
That all their caues and cellers cloſe
with dulcet liquour filles,
Some doth outlade, ſome other bringes
the ſtuffe with ready willes.
Sometime they ioyne, and all at once
doe from their mangers ſet
The ſlouthfull drones, that woulde conſume,
and nought woulde doe, to get.
The worke it heates, the hony ſmelles
of flowers and time ywet.

But to returne from Dido of Carthage, to Roſe of Roſſe, and hir worke, the laboures were ſo many, the worke, by reaſon of round and excheaquer payment, ſo well applyed, the quary of fayre marble ſo néere at hand. (For they affirme, that out of the trenches and ditches hard by their rampyers, the ſtones were had, and all that plot is ſo ſtony that the foundation is an harde rocke) that theſe Walles with diuers braue turrettes were ſodainly mounted, and in maner ſooner finiſhed, then to the Iriſhe enemies notified. Which ywiſſe was no ſmall corſie to them. Theſe walles in circuit are equall to Londō walles. It hath thrée gorgious gates, Biſhoppe his gate, on the Eaſt ſide: Allegate, on the Eaſt ſoutheaſt ſide: And South gate, on the ſouth parte. This towne was no more famouſed for theſe walles, then for a notable wodden bridge that ſtretched from the towne to the otherſide of the water, which muſt haue béene by reaſonable ſuruey xij. ſcore, if not more. Diuers of the poales, logges & ſtakes, with which the bridge was vnderpropt, ſticke to this daye in the water. A man woulde here ſuppoſe, that ſo floriſhing a towne, ſo firmely buylded, ſo ſubſtantially walled, ſo well peopled, ſo plenteouſly with thriftie artificers ſtored, woulde not haue fallen to any ſodaine decay. But as the ſecret & déepe iudgements of God are veiled within the couerture of his diuine Maieſtie, so it ſtandeth not with the dulneſſe of man his wit, to beate his braynes in the curious enſearching of hidden miſteries.

Roſſe decayed.

ries. Wherefore I, as an hyſtorian vndertaking in this Treatiſe, rather plainely to declare, what was done, then raſhly to inquyre, why it ſhoulde be done: purpoſe, by God his aſſiſtaunce, to accompliſh, as néere as I can, my duetie in the one, leauing the other to the friuolous deciding of buſie heads. This Roſe, who was the foundreſſe of theſe former rehearſed walles, had iſſue thrée ſonnes, (howbeit ſome holde opinion, that they were but hir Nephewes) who beyng bolſtered out through the wealth of their mother, and ſupported by their trafficke, made diuers proſperous voyages into forraine countreys. But as one of the thrée chapmen was imployed in his trafficke abroade, ſo the prettie popelet his wyfe began to be a freſhe occupying giglotte at home, and by report fell ſo farre acquainted wyth a religious cloyſterer of the towne, as that he gate wythin the lyning of hyr ſmocke. Bothe the partyes wallowing ouerlong in the ſtincking puddle of adulterie, ſuſpicion beganne to créepe in ſome townes mens braines, and to be briefe, it came ſo farre, through the iuſt iudgement of God, to light, whether it were, that ſhe was with childe in hir huſbande his abſence, or that hir louer vſed hir fondly in open preſence, as the preſumption was not onely vehement, but alſo the fact too too apparent. Hir vnfortunat huſband had not ſooner notice gyuen him vpon his returne of theſe ſorowfull newes, then his fingers began to nibble, hys téeth to grinne, hys eyes to trickle, his eares to dindle, his heade to dezell, inſomuch as his heart being ſkeared wyth ialouſie, & his wits enſtalde through Phrenſie, he became as madde, as a marche hare. But howe heauily ſoeuer hir huſbande tooke it, Dame Roſe and all hir friendes (which were in effect all the townes men, for that ſhe was their common benefactreſſe) were galde at their hearts, aſwell to heare of the enormyous aduoutrie, as to ſée the bedlem panges of brainſicke ialouſie. Wherevpon diuers of the townes menne grunting and grudging at the matter, ſayde that the fact was horrible, and that it were a déede of charitie vtterly to grubbe away ſuch wilde ſhrubbes from the towne: and if thys were in any diſpuniſhable wyſe rakte vp in the aſhes, they ſhoulde not ſooner trauerſe the ſeas, then ſome other woulde enkendle the like fire a freſhe, and ſo conſequently diſhoneſt their wyfes, and make their huſbands to become changelinges, as being turnde frõ ſober moode to be hornewood, becauſe rutting wyues make often rammiſhe huſbandes, as our prouerbe doeth inferre. Others ſoothing their fellowes in theſe mutynies turned the priuate iniurie to a publicke quarell, and a number of the townes men conſpiring togyther flockt in the dead of the nyght, well appointed, to the Abbeye, wherein the fryer was cloyſtered (the monument of which Abbaye is yet to be ſéene at Roſſe on the South ſyde) where vnderſparring the gates, and bearing vp the dormitorie doore, they ſtabbed the adulterer with the reaſt of the couent through wyth their weapons. Where they left them goaring in their bloude, roaring in their cabannes, and gaſping vp their ſitting goaſtes in their couches. The vproare was great, and they to whom the ſlaughter before hande was not imparted, were wonderfully thereat aſtonyed. But in eſpeciall the remnant of the cleargy, bare very hollow hearts to the townes men, and howe friendly theyr outward countenances were, yet they would not with inwarde thought forget, nor forgiue ſo horrible a murder, but were fully reſolued, whenſoeuer opportunitie ſerued them, to ſit in their ſkirtes, by making thẽ ſoulſe as ſorowfull a kyrie. Theſe thrée brethren not long after this bloudy exployte ſpedde thẽ into ſome outlandiſh countrey to continue their trade. The religious men being done to vnderſtãd, as it ſéemed, by ſome of their neighbours, which foreſayled them homeward, that theſe thrée brethren were ready to be imbarckt, ſlunckt priuily out of the towne, and reſorted to the mouth of the hauen, néere a caſtle, named Hulck tower, which is a notable marck for Pilottes, in directing them, which way to ſterne their ſhips, and to eſchew the daunger of the craggy rockes there on euery ſide of the ſhore peaking. Some iudge, that the ſaid Roſe was foundreſſe of this tower, and of purpoſe dyd buylde it for the ſaftie of hir childrẽ, but at length it turned to their bane. For theſe reuengers nightly dyd not miſſe to laye a lanterne on the toppes of the rockes, that were on the other ſide of the water. Which practiſe was not long by thẽ continued, when theſe thrée paſſengers bearing ſayle with a luſty gale of winde made right vpon the lanterne, not doubting, but it had bene the Hulck tower. But they tooke theyr marke ſo farre amiſſe, as they were not ware, to tyme theyr ſhip was daſht and paſht agaynſt the rockes, & all the paſſengers ouerwhyrled in the ſea. This heauy hap was not ſo ſorowfull to the townes men, as it was gladſome to the religious, thincking that they had in part cryed them acquittaunce, the more that they, which were drowned, were the Archebrochers of their brethrens bloude. Howbeit they would not crye hoa here, but ſent in poſte ſome of their couent to Rome, where they inhaunced

the

The panges of ialouſie.

The fryers murthered.

Hulck tower.

the ſlaughter of the fraternitie ſo haynouſly, & concealed their owne prankes ſo couertly, as the Pope excōmenged the towne, yͤ towne accurſed the Friers: ſo that there was ſuche curſing and banning of all handes, and ſuch diſcentious hurly burly rayſed betwéene thēſelfes, as the eſtate of that flouriſhing towne was tourned arſye verſye, topſide thotherway, & from abundaunce of proſperitie quite exchanged to extréeme penurye.

The preſent eſtate of Roſſe.

The walles ſtand to this day, a few ſtréets & houſes in the towne, no ſmall parcell thereof is turned to Orchardes and Gardeines. The greater part of the towne is ſtéepe and ſteaming vpwarde. Theyr church is called Chriſtchurche, in the northſide whereof is placed a monument called the king of Denmarke hys tumbe, whereby coniecture maye ryſe, that the Danes were the founders of that church. This Roſſe is called Roſſe noua, or Roſſe ponti, by reaſon of theyr brydge. That which they call olde Roſſe, beareth eaſt thrée myles from thys Roſſe, into the countrye of Weiſforde, an auncient manour of the Earle of Kyldares. There is the thyrde Roſſe on the otherſyde of the water, called Roſſe Ibarcanne, ſo named, for that it ſtandeth in the coūtrey of Kylkenny, which is deuyded into thrée partes, into Ibarcanne, Ida and Idouth.

New roſſe old Roſſe.

Roſſe Ibarcan.

Weiſforde.

Weiſford, an hauen towne not farre from Roſſe. I finde no great matters therof recorded, but only that it is to be had in great price of all the Engliſhe poſteritie planted in Ireland, as a towne that was the firſt foſtreſſe & harboreſſe of the Engliſh conquerors.

Kylkennie

Kilkenny, the beſt vplandiſh towne, or, as they terme it, yͤ propreſt dry towne in Irelād. It is parted into the high towne, & the Iriſhe towne. The Iriſh towne claymeth a corporation apart from the high town, wherby great factiōs growe daily betwene the inhabitants. True it is, that the Iriſh towne is the auncienter, and was called the olde Kilkenny, beyng vnder the biſhop his becke, as they are, or ought to be at this preſent. The high town was builded by the Engliſhe after the conqueſt, and had a parcell of the Iriſhe towne therto vnited, by the biſhop his graunt, made vnto the founders vpon their earneſt requeſt. In the yere 1400. Robert Talbot a worthy gentleman, encloſed with walles the better part of this towne, by which it was greatly fortified. This gentleman deceaſed in yͤ yeare 1415. In this towne in the chore of the Frier preachers, William Marſhal Erle Marſhal and Erle of Penbroke was buried, who departed this lyfe in the yere 1231. Richard brother to William, to whome the inheritaunce deſcended, within thrée yeres after deceaſed at Kilkenny, beyng wounded to death in a field giuen in the heath of Kyldare, in the yere 1234. the xij. of Aprill, & was entumbed wyth hys brother, according to the olde epitaph.

1400.

Robert Talbot.

William Marſhall.

1234.

Hic comes eſt poſitus Richard⁹ vulnere foſſus,
Cuius ſub foſſa Kilkenia continet oſſa.

The ch
ches of
Kylken

This town hath thre churches, S. Kennies church, our Ladies churche, aliâs S. Maries church, and S. Patrikes church, with the abbey of S. John. S. Kennies churche is theyr chiefe and cathedrall church, a worthy foundation as well for gorgeous buildinges, as for notable liuyngs. In the Weſt ende of the churchyard of late haue bene founded a Grāmer ſchoole by the right honourable Pierce or Peter Butler Erle of Ormond and Oſſery, and by his wife the counteſſe of Ormond, the lady Margarete fitz Girald, ſiſter to Girald fitz Girald the Erle of Kyldare that laſt was. Out of which ſchoole haue ſprouted ſuch proper ympes through the painefull diligēce, and the labourſome induſtry of a famous lettered man M. Peter White (ſometyme fellow of Oriall colledge in Oxford, and ſchoolemaiſter in Kilkenny) as generally the whole weale publike of Ireland, and eſpecially the ſoutherne partes of that Iland are greatly therby furthered. This gentlemans methode in trayning vp youth, was rare and ſinguler, framyng the education according to the ſcholers vaine. If he found him free, he would bridle hym like a wyſe Iſocrates frō his booke: if he perceiued hym to be dull, he would ſpur hym forwarde: if he vnderſtoode that he were yͤ worſe for beating, he woulde win him with rewardes: finally, by interlacing ſtudy wyth recreation, ſorrow with mirth, payne with pleaſure, ſowerneſſe with ſwéeteneſſe, roughneſſe with myldeneſſe, he had ſo good ſucceſſe in ſchooling his pupils, as in good ſoth I may boldly byde by it, that in the realme of Irelād was no Grāmer ſchoole ſo good, in Englande I am well aſſured, none better. And becauſe it was my happy happe (God & my parentes be thanked) to haue bene one of his crewe, I take it to ſtand with my duety, ſith I may not ſtretch myne habilitie in requiting hys good turnes, yet to manifeſt my goodwill in remembryng his paines. And certes, I acknowledge my ſelfe ſo much bound and beholding to him and his, as for his ſake, I reuerence the meaneſt ſtone cemented in the walles of that famous ſchoole. This town is named Kilkenny of an holy and learned Abbot called Kanicus, borne in the countie of Kilkenny, or (as it is in ſome bookes recorded) in Connaght. This prelate beyng in his ſuckling yeres foſtered,

The G
merſcho

Pierce
Butler
Marg
Fitz G
rald.

Peter
whyte.

Kylken
why ſo c
led.

The ho
of Kanic

through the prouidence of God, with the milk of a cow, and baptized and biſhopped by one Luracus, thereto by Gods eſpeciall appoyntment, deputed, grew in tract of tyme to ſuch deuotion and learnyng, as he was reputed of all men, to be as well a mirrour of the one, as a paragon of the other: wherof he gaue ſufficient coniecture in hys minoritie. For beyng turned to the kéeping of ſhéepe, and hys fellow ſhepeheards, wholy yelding themſelues like luſkiſh vagabonds to ſlouth and ſluggiſhneſſe, yet would he ſtill finde himſelfe occupied in framing with Oſiars and twigs, little wodden churches, and in faſhioning the furnitures thereto appertaining. Beyng ſtepte further in yeares, he made his repayre into England, where cloyſtering himſelfe in an abbey, wherof one named Doctus, was abbot, he was wholy wedded to his booke and to deuotion: wherin he continued ſo painefull and diligent, as being on a certaine time penning a ſerious matter, and hauing not fully drawn the fourth vocall, the abbey bell ringde to aſſemble the couent to ſome ſpirituall exerciſe. To which he ſo haſtened, as he left the letter in ſemicirclewyſe vnfiniſhed, vntill he returned backe to his booke. Soone after being promoted to eccleſiaſticall orders, he trauailed by the conſent of his fellowmonkes to Rome, and in Italy he gaue ſuch manifeſt proofe of his pietie, as to this day in ſome partes therof he is highly renowmed.

Thomas= towne. Thomas fitz Antonie.

Thomas towne, a proper town builded in the countie of Kilkenny, by one Thomas fitz Antony an Engliſh man. The Iriſh thereof name it Bally macke Andan: that is, ẏ town of fitz Antony. This gentleman had iſſue two daughters, the one of them was eſpouſed to Denne, the other maried to Archdeacon, or Mackodo, whoſe heyres haue at this day the towne betwéene them in coparcenary. But bicauſe the reader may ſée in what part of the countrey the cities & chiefe townes ſtand, I take not farre amiſſe to place them in order as enſueth.

The names of the chiefe townes in Vlſter,

Drogheda.
Carregfergus.
Downe.
Armach.
Arglaſh.
Gloagher.
Muncighan.

Doonnegaule.
Karreg mack Roſſe.
Newry.
Carlingford.
Ardy.
Doondalke.
Louth.

The names of the chiefe townes in Leinſter.

Dublin.
Luske.
Swordes.
Taſhaggard.
Lyons.
Newcaſtle.
Rathcoule.
Oughter arde.
Naas.
Clane.
Maynooth.
Kylcocke.
Rathaymgan.
Kyldare.
Luianne.
Caſtletowne.
Phillipstowne.
Maryborough.
Kylcullen.
Caſtle marten.
Thyſtledermot.

Balrudry.
Kylca.
Athy.
Catherlaugh.
Leighelen.
Gauranne.
Thomas towne.
Eneſtyock.
Caſhelle.
Callanne.
Kylkenny.
Knocktofer.
Roſſe.
Clonmelle.
Weiſeford.
Fernes.
Fydderd.
Eneſcorty.
Tathmon.
Wyckloa.
Ackloa.

The names of the chiefe townes in Mounſter.

VVaterford.
Liſmore.
Doongarvan.
Yoghill.

Corcke.
Lymmerick.
Kylmallock.

The names of the chiefe townes in Connaght.

Aloane.
Galuoy.
Anry.
Louaghryagh.
Clare.

Toame.
Sligagh.
Roſſecomman.
Arctlowne.

The names of the chiefe townes in Meeth.

Trymme.
Doonſhaghlenne.
Rathlouth.
Nauanne.
Abooy.
Scryne.

Taraugh.
Kemles.
Doonboyne.
Greenock.
Duleeke.

The names of the townes in Weſtmeeth.

Molingare.
Fowre.
Loughſeudle.

Kylkenyweſt.
Moylagagh.
Deluynne.

In the xxxiiij. yeare of the reigne of King Henry the eight, it was enacted in a parliament, holden at Dublynne before Syr Anthonie Sentleger knight, Lorde deputie of Irelande, 1542.

Irelande, that Meeth ſhoulde be deuided and made two ſhyres, one of them to bée called the countie of Méeth, the other to be called the county of Weſtméeth, and that there ſhoulde be two ſhryeſes and offycers conuenyent within the ſame ſhyres, as is more expreſt in the acte.

The names of the chiefe hauen townes in Irelande.

Loughfoyle.
The Banne.
Wolderfrith.
Craregfergus.
Strangforde.
Ardglas.
Lougheuen.
Carlingforde.
Kylkeale.
Dundalk.
Kylclogher.
Dunnany.
Drogheda.
Houlepatrick.
Nany.
Baltray.
Brymore.
Balbriggen.
Roggerstowne.
Skerriſh.
Ruſhe.
Malahyde.
Banledooyle.
Houth.
Dublynne.
Dalkee.
Wickincloa.
Arckloa.
Weisford.
Bagganbun.
The Paſſage.
Waterforde.
Dungaruan.
Roſſe noua.
Youghylle.
Corck mabegge.
Corck.
Kynſale.
Kyerye.
Roſſe Ilbere.
Dorrye.
Baltynymore.
Downenere.
Downeſheade.
Downelounge.
Attannanne.
Craghanne.
Downenebwyne.
Balyneskilylredge.
Daugyne Ichouſe.
Traly.
Senynne.
Caſſanne.
Kylnewyne.
Lymmerick.
Innyskartee.
Belalenne.
Arynenewyne.
Glanemaughe.
Ballywcyhan.
Bynwarre.
Dowrys.
Woran.
Roskam.
Galway.
Kyllynylly.
Innesboſynne.
Owran Moare.
Kylcolken.
Burske.
Belleclare.
Rathesilbene.
Byerweiſowre.
Buraueis hare.
Ardne makow.
Rosbare.
Kilgolynne.
Wallalele.
Rabranne.
Strone.
Burweis now.
Zaltra.
Kalbalye.
Ardnock.
Adrowſe.
Sligaghe.
Innes Bowſenne.

Camb.lib.1. Top.diſt.2. rub.3.&4.

Cambrienſe obſerued in his time, that where the ſea doth ebbe at Dublyne, it ebbeth alſo at Briſtow, and floweth at Mylford & Weiſford. At Wyckloa the ſea ebbeth when in all other partes it commonly floweth. Furthermore this be noted, that the ryuer, which rũneth by Wyckloa, vpon a lowe ebbe is ſalte, but in Arckloa, the next hauen towne, the ryuer is freſhe when the ſea is at full. He wryteth alſo, that not farre from Arckloa ſtandeth a rocke, and when the ſea ebbeth in one ſide therof, it floweth in the other ſide as faſt. Cambrienſe enſearcheth dyuers Philoſophicall reaſons in finding out the cauſe, by obſeruing the courſe of the Moone, who is the empreſſe of moyſture. But thoſe ſubtilties I leaue for the ſcholeſtréetes.

Of the eſtraunge and wonderfull places in Irelande. Cap. 4.

S. Pat his Pur gatorie.

I Thinke it góod to beginne with S. Patrike his Purgatorie, partly bycauſe it is moſt notoriouſly knowen, & partly the more, that ſome wryters, as the auctor of Polichronicon, and others that were miſcaryed by him, ſéeme to make great doubt, where they néede not. For they aſcribe the finding out of the place not to Patrike that conuerted the countrey, but to an other Patricke an Abbot, whõ likewiſe they affirme to haue bene employed in conuerting the Iſlande from heathenrie to Chriſtianitie.

Camb.lib. Topog.di 2.rub.6.

But the auctor, that broacheth this opinion, is not founde to carie any ſuch credite wyth him, as that a man may certainly affirme it, or probably coniecture it, vnleſſe we rake to the olde wythered worme eaten Legend, loded with as many lowde lyes, as lewde lines. The better and the more certaine opinion is, that the other Patricke founde it out, in ſuch wiſe as Cambrẽſe reporteth. There is a poole or lake, ſayeth he, in the partes of Vlſter that enuironneth an Iland, in the one part wherof there ſtandeth a Church much lightned with the brightſome recourſe of Aungelles: the other part is ougly and gaſtly, as it were a bedlem allotted to the viſible aſſemblies of horrible and griſly bugges. This part of the Iſlande contayneth nyne caues. And if any dare be ſo hardye, as to take one night his lodging in any of theſe Innes, which hath béene experimented by ſome raſhe and harebrayne aduenturers, ſtraight theſe ſpirites claw him by the back, and tugge him ſo ruggedly, and toſſe him ſo crabbedly, that nowe and then they make him more francke of his bumme then of his tongue, a payment correſpondent to his intertaynement. This place is called S. Patricke his purgatorie of the inhabitours. For when S. Patrike laboured the conuerſion of the people of Vlſter by ſetting

ting before their eyes in great heate of ſpirite, the creation of the worlde, the fall of our progenitours, the redemption of man by the bleſſed and precious bloude of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, the certayntie of death, the immortalitie of the ſoule, the generall reſurrection, our latter dumbe, the ioyes of heauen, the paynes of hell, howe that at length euery man, ſmall and great, young and olde, riche and poore, king and keaſer, potentate & peaſaunt muſt eyther through God his gracious mercy be exalted to the one, to floriſh in perpetuall felicitie, or through his vnſearcheable iuſtice tumbled downe to the other, to be tormented in eternall miſerie: theſe and the like graue and weightie ſentences, wherewith he was aboundantly ſtored ſo farre ſuncke into their heartes, as they ſéemed very flexible in condeſcending to hys beheſt, ſo that ſome proofe of his eſtraunge preaching coulde haue béene veryfied. Whereupon, wythout further delay, they ſpake to the prelate in this wyſe.

“ Syr, as we like of your preaching, ſo we
“ diſlyke not of our libertie. You tell vs of many
“ gyegawes and eſtraunge dreames. You
“ woulde haue vs to abandonne infidelitie, to
“ cage vp our libertie, to bridle our pleaſures:
“ For which you promiſe vs for our toyle and
“ labour a place to vs as vnknowen, ſo as yet
“ vncertayne. You ſermon to vs of a dungeon
“ appointed for offenders and miſcredentes.
“ In déede, if we coulde finde that to be true,
we woulde the ſooner be weaned from the ſwéete napple of our libertie, and frame our ſelues plyaunt to the will of that God, that you reueale vnto vs. ſ. Patricke cõſidering, that theſe ſcaly ſoules were (as all dulcarnanes for ỹ more part are) more to be terryfied from infidelitie through the paynes of hell, then allured to Chriſtianitie by the ioyes of heauen, moſt heartily beſought God, ſo it ſtoode wyth his gracious pleaſure, for the honour and glorie of his diuine name, to giue out ſome euident or glimſing token of the matter they importunatly requyred. Finally by the eſpeciall direction of God, he founde in the North edge of Vlſter a deſolate corner, hemmed in rounde, and in the middle thereof a pit, where he reared a Church, called Reglis or Reglas, at the Eaſt end of the Churchyarde a doore leadeth into a cloſet of ſtone lyke a long ouen, which they call S. Patricke hys purgatorie, for that the people reſorte thither euen at this day for pennaunce, and haue reported at their returne eſtraunge viſions of paine and bliſſe appearing vnto them.

eglaſſe.

The auctor of Polichronicon wryteth that in the reigne of king Stephane a knight named Owen, pilgrimaged to this purgatorie, being ſo appalled at the ſtraunge viſions that there he ſawe, as that vpon his returne from thence, he was wholly mortyfied, and ſequeſtring himſelfe from the worlde, he ſpent the remnaunt of his lyfe in an Abbay of Ludenſis. Alſo Dioniſius a Charterhouſe Muncke recordeth a viſion ſéene in that place by one Agneius, or Egneius, wherof who ſo is inquiſitiue; may reſorte to his Treatiſe written De quatuor nouiſsimis. Iohannes Camertes holdeth opinion, which he ſurmiſeth vpon the gueſſe of other, that Claudius wryteth of this Purgatorie. Which if it be true, the place muſt haue béene extant before S. Patricke, but not ſo famouſly knowen. The Poet his verſes are theſe.

olichr.lib.
c.36.
1138.

Dyon.Cart. in lib.de quatu. norciſſ.art.48.

Iohan Camert.in lib. Solini. cap. 35.

Eſt locus, extremũ, pandit, qua Gallia littus.
Oceani prætentus aquis, quo fertur Vliſſes
Sanguine libato populum mouiſſe ſilentum.
Flebilis auditur queſtus, ſimulachra coloni
Pallida, defunctáſq; vident migrare figuras.

Claud.lib.1. in Ruffin.

There is a place towarde Ocean ſea
from brimme of Galliſh ſhoare,
Wherein Vlyſſes pilgrime ſtraunge
wyth offred bloude ygoare,
The people there dyd mooue,
A ſkritching ſhrill from dungeon lugge
The dwellers all appale
Wyth gaſtly galpe of griſly bugge.
The[illegible] onely ſhapes are ſeene to ſtare
with viſage wannie and ſad,
From nouke to nouke, from place to place,
in elfiſhe ſkippes to gad.

They that repayre to this place for deuotion his ſake vſe to continue therin foure and twenty houres, which doing otherwhyle with ghoſtly meditacions, and otherwhyle a dread for the conſcience of their deſertes, they ſaye they ſée a playne reſemblaunce of their owne faultes and vertues, with the horrour & comfort therevnto belonging, the one ſo terrible, the other ſo ioyous, that they verily déeme themſelues for the time to haue ſight of hell & heauen. The reuelatiõs of men that went thither (S. Patricke yet lyuing) are kept wrytten within the Abbeye there adioyning. When any perſonne is diſpoſed to enter (for the doore is euer ſparde) he repayreth firſt for deuiſe to the Archebiſhop, who caſteth all pericles, and diſſuadeth the pylgrime from the attempt, bicauſe it is knowen, that diuers entering into that caue, neuer were ſéene to turne backe againe. But if the partie be fully reſolued, he recommendeth him to the Prior, who in like maner fauourably exhorteth him to chooſe ſome other kinde of pennaunce, and not

The ceremonies vſed in entering S. Patricke his Purgatorie.

not to hazard ſuch a daunger. If notwithſtanding he finde the partie fully bent, he conducteth him to the Church, enioyneth him to beginne with prayer, and faſt of fifteene dayes, ſo long togither as in diſcretion can be endured. This tyme expyred, if yet he perſeuer in his former purpoſe, the whole conuent accōpanyeth him with ſollem proceſſion and benediction to the mouth of the caue, where they let him in, and ſo barre vp the dore vntill the next morning. And then wyth lyke ceremonies they awayte his returne and reduce him to the Churche. If he be ſeene no more, they faſt and pray, fifteene dayes after. Touching the credite of theſe matters, I ſee no cauſe, but a Chriſtian being perſwaded, that there is both hell and heauen may without vanitie vppon ſufficient information be perſwaded, that it might pleaſe God, at ſometyme, for conſiderations to his wiſedome knowen, to reueale by myracle the viſion of ioyes and paynes eternall. But that altogyther in ſuch ſorte, and by ſuch maner, and ſo ordinarily, and to ſuch perſons, as the common fame doth vtter, I neyther beleeue, nor wiſhe to be regarded. I haue conferde with diuers, that had gone this pilgrimage, who affirmed the order of the premiſſes to be true, but that they ſaw no ſight, ſaue onely fearefull dreames, when they chaunced to nodde, and thoſe they ſayde, were exceeding horrible. Further they added, that the faſt is rated more or leſſe according to the qualitie of the penitent.

Camb.lib.1.
topog.diſtinct.2.rub.
5.

Cambrienſe affirmeth, that in the North of Mounſter there be two Iſlandes, the greater and the leſſe. In the greater there neuer entereth womā or any liuing female, but forthwith it dyeth. This haue beene often prowued by bytches and cattes, which were brought thither to trie this concluſion, and preſently they dyed. In this Iſland the cocke or maſcle byrdes are ſeene to chirppe, and pearche vp & downe the twigs, but yͤ hene or femalc by inſtinct of nature abādoneth it, as a place vtterly poyſoned. This Iſlande were a place alone for one that were vexed with a ſhrewd wyfe. The leſſe Iſlande is called Inſula viuentium, bicauſe none died there, ne may dye by courſe of nature, as Giraldus Cambrienſe ſayeth.

Inſula viuentium.

Howbeit the dwellers, when they are ſore cruſht with ſickeneſſe, or ſo farre wythered with age as there is no hope of life, they requeſt to be cōueighed by boate to yͤ greater Iſland, where they are not ſooner inſhored, then they yeelde vp their ghoſtes. For my part, I haue beene very inquiſitiue of this Iſland, but I coulde neuer finde this eſtraunge propertie ſoothed by any man of credite in the whole country. Neither truely would I wiſh any to be ſo light, as to lende his credite to any ſuch fayned gloſes, as are neyther veryfied by experience nor warranted by any colourable reaſon. Wherefore I ſee not why it ſhoulde be termed Inſula viuentium, vnleſſe it be that none dyeth there, as long as he liueth. Cambrienſe telleth further, that there is a Churchyarde in Vlſter, which no female kinde may enter. If the Cocke be there, the Henne dareth not followe. There is alſo in yͤ weſt part of Connaght an Iſlande, placed in the ſea, called Arēn, to which S. Brendan had often recourſe. The dead bodies neede not in that Iſland to be graueled. For the ayre is ſo pure that the contagiō of any carryen may not infect it. There, as Cambrienſe ſayeth, may the ſonne ſee his father, his graundefather, hys great graundefather. &c. This Iſland is enemie to Myze. For none is brought thither, but eyther it leapeth into the ſea, or elſe being ſtayed, it dyeth preſently.

Cambr.
codē lo

Arenn

There was in Kyldare an auncient monument named the Fyrehouſe, wherein, Cambrienſe ſayeth, was there continuall fire kept day and night, & yet the aſhes neuer encreaſed. I traueyled of ſet purpoſe to the towne of Kyldare to ſee this place, where I dyd ſee ſuch a monument lyke a vaute, which to this day they call the firehouſe.

The fy
houſe o
Kyldar

Touching the heath of Kyldare Cambrienſe wryteth that it maye not be tylde, and of a certayntie within theſe fewe yeares it was tryed, and founde, that the corne, which was ſowed, dyd not prowue. In this playne, ſayth Cambrienſe, ſtoode the ſtones that now ſtande in Saliſbury playne, which were conueyed from thence by the ſleight of Merlyne the Welſhe prophete, at the requeſt of Aurelius Ambroſius king of the Britons.

The h
of Kild

The
ſtones
Saliſb
playne.

There is alſo in the countye of Kyldare a goodly fielde called Molleaghmaſt betweene the Norrough and Kylka. Diuers blinde propheſies runne of this place, that there ſhall be a bloudie fielde fought there betwene yͤ Engliſhe inhabitantes of Irelande and the Iriſh, and ſo bloudy forſooth it ſhall be, that a myll in a vale harde by it ſhall run foure & twentie houres with the ſtreame of bloude that ſhall powre downe from the hill. The Iriſh doubtleſſe repoſe a great affiaunce in this baldocktom dreame. In the top of this height ſtande motes or roundels very formally faſhioned, where the ſtrength of the Engliſh armie, as they ſay, ſhall be encamped.

Mollea
maſt.

The Earle of Suſſex being Lorde Lieutenaunt of Irelande was accuſtomed to wiſhe, that if any ſuch propheſie were to be fulfilled, it ſhoulde happen in his gouernement, to the ende he might be generall of the fielde.

The E
of Suſſ

Not

The Giraldines throw.

1470.

Not farre from Molleagh maſt, within a myle of Caſtledermot, or Thriſtledermot, is there a place markt with two hillockes whiche is named the Giraldine his throw, or caſt. The length of which in very déed is wonderfull. The occaſion procéeded of this. One of Giraldines, who was aunceſtour to thoſe, that now are Lordes of Lackagh preded an enemie of his. The Earle of Kyldare hauing intelligence thereof, ſurpreſſing affection of kinred, and moued by zeale of iuſtice, purſued him with a great troupe of horſemen, as the other was bringing of the préde homewarde. The Giraldine hauing notice giuen him, that the Earle was in hoate purſute, and therfore being warned by the meſſenger to hye hym with all ſpéede poſſible, the gentleman being netled, that his kinſman woulde ſéeme to reſcue the prede of his deadly foe, and as he was in ſuch fretting wyſe frying in his greaſe, he brake out in theſe colericke wordes.

The Giraldines wiſh.

“And doth my coſin Kyldare purſue me in déede? Now in good faythe, wheras he ſéemeth to be a ſuppreſſour of his kinred, and an vpholder of my mortall enemie, I woulde with him no more harme, then that this dart were as farre in his bodie, as it ſhall ſticke forthwith in the grounde: and therwithall, giuing the ſpurres to his horſe, he hurlde his dart ſo farre, as he abaſht with the length thereof aſwell his champanye, as his poſteritie. The Giraldine was not very farre from thence, when the Earle with his bande made hoate foote after, & dogging ſtill the track of the predours, he came to the place, where the dart was hurld, where one pyckthanck or other lette the Earle to vnderſtande of the Giraldine his wilde ſpeaches there deliuered. And to inhaunce the haynouſneſſe of the offence, he ſhewed howe farre he hurled his dart, when he wiſhed it to be pitcht in his Lordſhip his body.

The Earl of Kyldars anſwere.

The Earle aſtonyed at the length thereof, ſayde: Now in good ſooth my coſin in behauing himſelf ſo couragiouſly is worthie to haue the prede ſhotte frée. And for my parte, I purpoſe not ſo much to ſtomacke his colericke wiſhe, as to imbrace his valiaunt proweſſe. And therewithall commaunded the retraite to be blowen and recuiled backe.

The hill of Taragh

There is in Méeth an hill called the hill of Taragh, wherein is a playne twelue ſcore long, which was named the kemp his hall. There the countrey had their méetinges and folkmoates, as a place that was accompted the high pallace of the Monarch. The Iriſh hyſtorians hammer many fables in this forge of Fin mac Coyle & his champions, as the Frenche hyſtorie doth of king Arthur and the knightes of the rounde table. But doubtleſſe the place ſéemeth to beare the ſhow of an auncient and famous monument.

Caſtleknock.

There is in Caſtleknock, a villedge not far from Dublyne, a windowe not glazed nor latized, but open, & let the weather be ſtormie, the winde bluſter bouſterouſly of euer ſide of the houſe, yet place a candle there, and it will burne as quietly, as if no puffe of wind blew. This may be tryed at this day, who ſo ſhall be willing to put it in practiſe.

The eſtraunge welles.

Touching the eſtraunge Welles that be in Ireland, I purpoſe to ſpeake little more then that which I finde in Cambrienſe, whoſe wordes I wyll Engliſhe, as they are latined in his booke.

Cambri. lib.1.topog. diſt.1.rub. 8.&10.

There is, ſayth he, a Well in Mounſter, with the water of which if any be waſht, he becommeth forthwith hoare. I haue ſéene a man that had one halfe of his bearde, being dyed, with that water, hoare, the other halfe vnwaſht was browen, remayning ſtill in his naturall coulour.

Contrarywyſe there is a fountayne in the further edge of Ulſter, and if one be bathed therewith, he ſhal not become hoare, in which Well ſuch as loath gray heares are accuſtomed to diue. There is in Connaght a Well that ſpringeth on the top of an hill farre and diſtaunt from any ſea, ebbing and flowing in foure and twentie houres, as the ſea doth, and yet the place is vplandiſhe, & the water freſh. There is an other ſpring in the ſame countrey the water of which is very wholeſome to men and women, but poyſon to beaſtes, & if a man put but the grauell of this Well into his mouth, it quencheth preſently his thirſt.

There is in Ulſter a ſtanding poole thirtye thouſande paces long, and fiftéene thouſande paces broade, out of which ſprinketh the noble Northren riuer, called the Bane. The fiſhers complayne more often for bruſing of their nettes with the ouer great lake of fiſhe, then for any want. In our time vpon the conqueſt a fiſhe ſwamme from this poole to the ſhore, in ſhape reſembling a Salmon, but it was in quantitye ſo huge, that it coulde not be drawen or caryed wholly togyther, but the fiſhmongers were forced to hack it in gobbits, and ſo to cary it in péecemeale throughout the countrey, making thereof a generall dole. And if the report be true, the beginning of this poole was eſtraunge. There were in olde time where the poole now ſtandeth vicious & beaſtly inhabitants. At which time was there an olde ſawe in euery man hys mouth, that as ſone as a Well there ſpringing (whiche for the ſuperſticious reuerence they bare it, was continually couered and ſigned) were left open & vnſigned, ſo ſone woulde ſo much water guſh out of that Well, as would forthwith ouerwhelme the whole territorie. It hapned at length, that an olde trot came thither, to fetche water, and hearing hir childe whine, ſhe ranne wyth might and mayne to dandle hir babie forgetting the obſeruaunce of the ſuperſtitious order to fore vſed. But as ſhe was returning backe to haue couered the ſpring, the lande was ſo farre ouerflowen, as that it paſt hir helpe, and ſhortly after ſhe, hir ſuckling and all thoſe that were within the whole territorie were drowned. And this ſéemeth to cary more likelyhode with it, bicauſe the fiſhers in a cleare ſunny daye ſée the ſtéeples and other pyles playnly and diſtinctly in the water. And here woulde be noted, that the ryuer of the Bane flowed from this headſpring before this floude, but farre in leſſe quantitie, then it doth in our tyme. Hitherto Giraldus Cambrienſe. Hector Boëthius recordeth an eſtraunge propertie of a poole in Irelande, and for that he maketh himſelfe an eye witneſſe of the matter, he ſhall tell his owne tale. Ac quoniam Hiberniæ incidit mentio, præter infinita in ea rerum miracula haud importunum fore exſiſtimem, ſi vnum, quod ob portentuoſam nouitatē fidem omnium excedere videatur, nos tamen veſūt experti ſumus, adiunxerimus. Lacus in ea eſt, circa quem ampliſsimo circunquaq; ſpatio nec herba, nec arbor vlla naſcitur. &c. in quem ſi lignum infigas anni circiter vnius curriculo id quod in terra fixum erit, in lapidem conuertetur, quod deinceps aquâ operietur, in ferrum: reliquum aquâ exſtans ligni formam naturámq; ſeruabit. Ita coniuncta, lapis, ferrum & lignum eodem in ſtipite inaudita nouitate conſpectātur.

Hector Boeth. in Scot. reg. deſcript. pag. 9. Sect. 50.

But for that mention is made of Irelande ouer and aboue the infinite number of wonders in that lande, it will not be wholly beſide the purpoſe, to inſert one marueylous thing, which although it may ſéeme to ſome, to haue no coulour of truth, yet bycauſe it hath béene by vs experimented, and found out to be true, we maye the better auouche it. There is a ſtanding poole in that Ilande, néere which of all ſydes groweth neyther herbe, ſhrubbe, nor buſhe. If you ſticke a rod or péece of tymber in this poole, that which ſticketh in the earth within the ſpace of one yeare turneth to a ſtone, aſmuch as is dipt in the water, is conuerted to yron, all that is aboue the water remayneth ſtill in the priſtinate and former wodden ſhape. So that you may ſée, that which is eſtrange, in one ſtocke, or ſticke, ſtone, yron and wodde lincke and knit togither. This much Hector Boëthius. In the countey of Kylkenny and in the borders thereto confining, they vſe a ſollem tryall by a water they cal Melaſchée, the propertie of this water is, as they ſay, that if a periurde perſon drincke thereof, the water will guſh out at his belly, as though the drincker his nauill were borde with an auger. The riuer, that runneth by Dubline named the Liffye hath this propertie for certayne, and I haue obſerued it at ſundry times. As long as it rayneth, yea if it ſtode powring fiue dayes, you ſhal finde diuers ſhallow brokes, and the riuer will be nothing thereby encreaſed, but within foure and twentie houres after the ſhowres are ceaſt, you ſhall perceyue ſuch a ſodayne ſpring flowe, as if the former rayne were great: a very few places or none at all will be founde paſſable. Cambrienſe wryteth, that in the ſouth part of Mounſter betwéene the mayne ſea coaſting on Hiſpanie, and S. Brendane his hilles, there is an Ilande of the one ſide encompaſſed with a riuer aboundantly ſtored with fiſh, and on the other part encloſed with a little broke. In which place S. Brendane was very much reſiant. This plotte is taken to be ſuch a Sanctuary for beaſtes as if any hare, foxe, ſtagge, or other wylde beaſt, be chaſed néere that Ilande by dogges, it maketh ſtraight vpon the broke, & aſſone as it paſſeth the ſtreame, it is ſo cockſure, as the hunter may perceyue the beaſte reſting on the one bancke, and the dogs queſting on the other brimme, being as it were by ſome inuiſible rayles embarde from dipping their féete in the ſhallowe forde to purſue the beaſt chaſed. On the other ſide of this Ilande their runneth a ryuer ſtored aboue meaſure with freſhe water fiſhe, and in eſpeciall with Salmon: Which abundance, as Cambrienſe wryteth, procéeded of God, to mayntayne the great hoſpitalitie, that was kept there. And bycauſe the dwellers thereabout ſhall not, like pinching coyſtrels make any ſale of the fiſhe, let it be poudered as artificially as may be, yet it will not kepe an though it were Manna, aboue the firſt night or day that it be taken. So that you muſt eate it wythin that ſhorte compaſſe, otherwyſe it putrifyeth and ſtandeth to no ſtede. This riuer ouerfloweth a great rocke, which is commonly called the Salmon leape, for as it is commonly the property of all fiſh to ſwim againſt the ſtreame, as for byrdes to flitter againſt the winde, ſo it is naturally giuen to the Salmon to ſtruggle agaynſt the ſtreame, and when it approcheth néere this highe rocke, it windeth his tayle to his heade, and ſometimes taketh it in his mouth, and therewithall bendeth itſelfe ouer the water, and ſodaynly it fetcheth ſuch a round whiske, that at a trice it ſkippeth to the top of the rocke. The lyke Salmon leape is néere Leyſlippe, but not ſo highe as this. There be alſo, as witneſſeth Cambrienſe, in the

Melaſchée.

The Li

Cambr. li 1. diſt. 2. ru 41.

The S mon leap

the further parte of Ulſter, certayne hilles néere to S. Bean his Church, where cranes yearely bréede. And when they haue layed their egges, if any purpoſe to ranſacke their neſtes, let him but attempt, to touch the egs, they will ſhew like young ſkrawling pullets without fether or doune, as though they were newe hatched, and preſently brought out of their ſhels. But if the partie plucke his hand from the neſt forthwith they ſhew (whether it be by any Metamorphoſis, or ſome iugling legyer de mayne by dazeling the eyes) as though they were transformed into egges. And further, ſayeth Cambrienſe, let two at one inſtaunce be at the neſt, and let the one of them onely giue the gaze, and the other attẽpt to take away the egges, they will ſéeme to the looker on as egges, and to the taker as yong red little cranettes, being as bare as a byrde his arſe.

rmach.

The towne of Armach is ſayde to be enemy to rattes, and if any be brought thither, preſently it dyeth. Which the inhabitauntes impute to the prayers of S. Patricke.

But to omitte the eſtraunge places, that eyther by falſe reportes are ſurmiſed, or by proofe and experience dayly veryfied: there are in this Iſlande ſuch notable quaries of grey marble and touch, ſuch ſtore of pearle & other riche ſtones, ſuch aboundaunce of cole, ſuch plentie of leade, yron, latten and tinne, ſo many rich mynes furniſhed withall kinde of metals, as nature ſéemed, to haue framed this coũtrey, for the ſtorehouſe or iewelhouſe of hir chiefeſt theſaure. Howbeit ſhe hath not ſhewed hirſelf ſo bountifull a mother in powring forth ſuch riches, as ſhe proueth hir ſelf an enuious ſtepdame, in that ſhe inſtilleth in the inhabitants a drowſie lythernesse to withdraw them from the enſearching of hir hourded and hidden iewelles. Wherein ſhe fareth lyke one, that, to purchaſe yͤ name of a ſumptuous francklene or a good viander, woulde bidde diuers gueſtes to a coſtly and daintie dinner, and withall for ſauing of his meat wͭ ſome ſecrete inchauntment would benumme them of their limmes, or with ſome hidden lothſomneſſe would dull their ſtomackes, as his gueſtes by reaſon of the one are not able, or for the other not willing, by taking theyr repaſt, to refreſh themſelues, in ſo much as in my phantaſie it is harde to decide whether eſtate is the better: eyther for a diligent labourer to be planted in a barrayne or ſtony ſoyle, or for a luskiſhe loyterer to be ſetled in a fertill grounde, bycauſe the one will, & may not, the other may and will not through hys paynfull trauayle reape the fruite and commoditie, that the earth yéeldeth.

rland
ſtore=
ſe of
ature.

Of the Lordes Spirituall of Irelande.

Cap. 5.

The ſpirituall iuriſdiction is ordered into foure prouinces, whereof the primacie was euer giuen (in reuerence of S. Patrike, that conuerted the countrey) to the Archebiſhop of Armach, who is called Primas totius Hiberniæ, and the Archebiſhop of Dublyne Primas Hiberniæ. This cuſtome was ſithens confirmed by Eugenius tertius, in the yeare 1148. or rather 1152. who ſent withall, thrée other palles of Archbiſhops to be placed, one at Dublyne, one at Caſhill, yͤ laſt at Tuene. To theſe are ſuffragannes in right nyne and twentie, & they all to the Primas of Armach, vnder whoſe prouince are the biſhoppes of Méeth & Deren, Ardach, Kylmore, Clogher, Doune, Coner, Clonknos, Raboo, Dromore. Under Dublyne whereunto Innocentius the thirde vnited Glandelagh, the biſhop of Elphine, Kyldare, Fernes, Oſſory and Leighlyne. Under Caſhill, the biſhop of Waterforde, to whome Liſmore is vnited, Corck & Clone, Roſſe, Ardigh, Lymmyrick, Emely, Kyllaloe, and Ardfert. Under Tuen, Kylmaco, Olfyne, Auaghdoune, Clonfert, Morroo. In this recount ſome difference hapneth by reaſon of perſonall and reall vnion of the ſées, and for other alterations. I haue obſerued in peruſing of olde bookes the names of certayne Byſhoppes and Archbiſhoppes of Dublyne, and albeit I coulde not finde a iuſt regiſter or catalogue of them, yet I tooke it to be better to place ſuch as I coulde finde, then to omitte the whole.

Armach.

Dublyn.

Caſhyll.

Tuen.

Cormachus was one of the firſt Biſhoppes that I haue reade of, but I am well aſſured, that there were dyuers others before hys time. He floriſhed about the yeare 893. of this Biſhoppe Hector Boëthius maketh mention.

Lib. 10. Scot. Hiſt. fol. 212. ſect. 40.

Dunanus was Biſhop of Dublyne long after Cormachus, for Dunanus dyed in the yere 1074. He was buryed in Chriſtchurche in Dublyne, in the vpper part on the chauncell on the right hande.

Patricius was conſecrated Biſhop of Dublyne in Paule his Church at London, by the Archbiſhoppe of Canterbury Lanfranus, or Lanfrancus. The reaſon of this conſecration was, for that as yet yͤ Metropolitanes of Irelande receiued not theyr palle. A Pall is an endowment appropriated to Archbiſhoppes, made of white ſilke the breadth of a ſtole, but it is of an other faſhion. And where you ſhall eſpie the armes of any Archebiſhoppe blazed, there you may perceyue the Pall ſet

1074 [illegible] 26 [illegible]

Pall what it is.

out in white wyth a great manye of blacke
croſſes vpon it. An Archbiſhop within thrée
c.quoniam. monethes after his conſecration or confir-
c.diſ. mation ought to demaunde his pall, other-
wyſe he may be remoued: neyther ought he
c.quod ſicut to name himſelfe Archbiſhop before the re-
de elect. ceypte, neither may he before ſummon or call,
penul. a councell, make Chriſme, dedicate churches
De priuil. giue orders, conſecrate Biſhoppes. He may
& exceſ. not were his pall without the church, neither
priuil.cap. in other prouinces, albeit in an other pro-
Archie.& uince he may be in his Pontificalibus, ſo that
in gloſ. Pontificalia differeth from the pall.

c.ex tuarũ, Furthermore, an Archbiſhop may not lend
& c.adhoc. his pall to an other, but it ought to be inter-
de auct.& red wyth him. But to returne to Patricius,
vſu pal. hys tyme was but ſhort, for ſone after, as he
was croſſing the ſeas to Dublyne warde, he
was drowned with his copaſſengers, ẏ ſame
yeare that he was conſecrated, the nynth of
October.

1075. Donatus of ſome called Bungus ſuccéeded
Patricious & likewyſe conſecrated by Lan-
francus Archbiſhoppe of Canterbury, at the
inſtaunce of Terdilnacus king of Irelande,
the biſhoppes of Irelande, the cleargie & the
Citizens of Dublyn, he deceaſed in the yeare
1095. 1095. Samuel ſuccéeded Donatus, and dyed
in the yeare 1122. Gregorius dyd not ſuccéede
immediately after Samuel for there be thir-
tie yeares betwéene them both. This Grego-
rius was the firſt Metrapolitan of Dublyne
and was conſecrated Archbiſhop in the yeare
1152. 1152. and dyed in the yeare 1162.

S. Laurentius Othothille. This Prelate
1162. was firſt Abbot of S. Keuins in Glindelagh,
and after he was ſolemnely conſecrated and
inſtalled in Chriſtchurch at Dublyne by Ge-
lacius the Primas of Armach, and not by
Canterbury as the Biſhoppes of Dublyne
were before the pall giuen them. He dyed in
Normandie, and was buryed in our Ladye
churche of Angy in the yeare 1180. the four-
téene of Nouember.

Iohanne Commin, an Engliſhman ſuccée-
ded Laurence. This famous Prelate being
cloyſtered vp in the Abbeye of Euſham in
Worceſterſhyre was highly renowmed of
all men as well for his déepe learning, as for
the integritie of his lyfe. The cleargie of
Dublyne being giuen to vnderſtande of ſo
worthie a clarcke became hũble peticioners
to the king his maieſtie, Henry the ſeconde,
that through his meanes ſuch an vnualuable
iewell ſhoulde be inſtalled in Laurence hys
dignitie. The king bowing to their earneſt
ſuite agréed, he ſhoulde be conſecrated their
1180. Archbiſhop. Which was an happy houre for
that countrey. For beſides the great trauaile
he endured in edifying his flocke in Chriſtian
religion, he was founder of S. Patricke hys
churche in Dublyne, as is before ſpecifyed.
He deceaſed in the yere 1212. and was entum-
bed in the choare of Chriſtchurch.

Henry Londres ſuccéeded Commin. This
man was nicknamed Scorchebyll, or Scor-
chevilleyn, through this occaſion. Being ſet-
led in his ſée he gaue cõmandement to all his
tenauntes to make their apparaunce before
him at a day appointed, and for that he was
rawe as yet in his reuenues, he toke it to
ſtande beſt with their eaſe and quietneſſe, and
his cõmoditie, that eche of them ſhould ſhew
their euidences, whereby he might learne, by
what tenure they héelde of him. His tennants
miſtruſting no ſluttiſh dealing, but cõſtruing
all to be ment for the beſt, deliuered their eui-
dences to their Lande lorde, who dyd ſcantly
well peruſe them, when he flung them all in
the fire. The pore tenauntes eſpying this
ſubtyll prancke to be verye vnfitting for a
Biſhoppe, coulde not bridle their tonges, but
brake out on a ſodayne: Thou an Archeby-
ſhop? Nay, thou art a Scorchevilleyn. But Scorche
it could not be gueſhed to what ende this fact billaine.
of his tended, for notwithſtanding this, the
tenants enioyed their landes, vnleſſe he did it
bycauſe they ſhould be but tenauntes at will,
and ſo to ſtande to his deuotion. This prelate
doubtleſſe was politicke & well lettered, and
for his wyſedome and learning he was elec-
ted L. Iuſtice of Irelande. He was the foun-
der of the caſtle of Dubline as is before men-
tioned. He deceaſed in the yeare 1225. & lyeth
buryed in Chriſtchurch. Wherby appeareth
that Machæus Pariſienſis dyd ouerſhote him- Math,Pa
ſelfe in writing one Hu, or Hugo, to be Arch- in vitam
biſhop of Dublyne in the yeare 1213. wheras Ioan.pag
Londres at that tyme was in the ſée, as from 316.
his conſecration to his death may be gathe-
red, being the ſpace of thirtéene yeares.

Iohanne Stamforde ſuccéeded Londres,
but not immediately, and was conſecrated
in the yeare 1285. this man, vpon the death of 1285.
Stephan Fulborne, Archbiſhoppe of Tune,
was made L. Iuſtice of Ireland in the yeare
1287. And ſone after being in Englande he 1294
was ſent from Edwarde the firſt as Ambaſ-
ſadour to the Frenche king, and vpon his re-
turne he deceaſed in England, and ſone after
was buryed in S. Patricke his Churche at
Dublyne.

Willielme Hothom is placed by ſome 1297.
antiquaries to be Archbiſhoppe of Dublyne Ioan.Ca
much about this time, but whether the man de antiqu
haue béene inſtalled in this See at all or no, I Cant.Aca
am not able to affirme, nor to denye, but cer- dem.lib.1.
tayne it is that the date is miſtaken, for vpon

Iohanne

mund
tler.
llywood
fingall.

Johanne Stamforde his death, Richard Fleringes was conſecrated Archbiſhop of Dublyne, betwéene whome & the Lord Edmund Butler there aroſe a great controuerſie in law, touching the maner of Hollywod wyth the appurtenances. Which manour the Lord Butler recouered by an arbitrement or compoſition taken betwéene them in the king his benche at Dublyne. This prelate departed this lyfe in the yeare 1306.

1306.

Richard de Haueringes was ſucceſſour to Fleringes, who after that he had continued nére the ſpace of fiue yeares in the Sée, was ſore appalled by reaſon of an eſtraunge and wonderfull dreame. For on a certayne night he imagined that he had ſéene an vglye monſter ſtanding on his breaſt, who, to his thincking, was more weightie, then the whole worlde, in ſo much as being, as he thought in maner ſquiſed or preſt to death with the heft of this huge monſter, he woulde haue departed with the whole ſubſtaunce of the worlde, if he were thereof poſſeſt, to be diſburdened of ſo heauie a loade. Upon which with he ſodaynly awoke. And as he bette his braynes in diuining what this dreame ſhould import, he bethought himſelf of the flocke committed to his charge, howe that he gathered their fléeces yearely by receyuing the reuenue and perquiſites of the Biſhopricke, and yet ſuffered his flocke to ſtarue for lacke of preaching and teaching. Wherefore being for his former ſlackneſſe, ſore wounded in conſcience, he trauayled with all ſpéede to Rome, where he reſigned vp his Biſhopricke, a burden to heauie for his weake ſhoulders, & being vpon his reſignation competently beneficed, he beſtowed the remnaunt of his life wholly in deuotion.

1311.

Johanne Leche nephew to Haueringes, vpon the reſignation, was conſecrated Archbiſhop. This prelate was at contention wyth the Primas of Armach, for their iuriſdiction, inſomuch as he did inhibite the Primas fro hauing his croſſe borne before him within the prouince of Leinſter, which was contrarie to the Canon law, that admitteth the croſſer to beare the croſſe before his Archbiſhop in an other prouince. This man deceaſed in the yeare 1313.

priui.&
ceſt.pri.
Archiep.

1313.

Alexander Bigenor was next Leche conſecrated Archbiſhop with the whole conſent aſwel of the chapter of Chriſtchurch as of S. Patrickes. Howbeit vpon the death of Leche there aroſe a ſciſme and diuiſion betwéene Walter Thornebury L. Chancellour of Irelande & Bigenor then threaſurer of the ſame countrey. The Chancellour to further his election determined to haue paſſed to Rome, but in ỹ way he was drowned with the number of 156. paſſengers. Bigenor ſtaying in Irelande, with leſſe aduenture and better ſpéede with the conſent of both the chapters was elected Archbiſhop. And in the yere 1317. there came bulles from Rome to confirme the former election. At which tyme the Archbiſhop and the Earle of Ulſter were in Englande. This prelate ſone after returned L. Juſtice of Irelande, and ſone after he had landed at Yoghyll, he went to Dublyne, where as well for his ſpirituall iuriſdiction, as his temporall promotion he was receyued with proceſſion and great ſolemnitie. In this man his tyme was there an Uniuerſitie founded in Dublin, whereof M. William Rodyarde was chauncellour, a well learned man and one that procéeded Doctor of the canon lawe in this Uniuerſitie. Bigenor deceaſed in the yeare 1349.

1318.

1320.

1349.

Johanne de ſaint Paule was conſecrated Archbiſhop vpon Bigenor his death. He deceaſed in the yeare 1362.

1363.

Thomas Mynot ſucceded Johanne, & dyed in the yeare 1376.

1375.

Robert Wykeford ſucceded Thomas, & dyed in the yeare 1390.

1390.

Robert Waldeby ſucceded Wykeforde. This prelate was firſt an Auguſtine Fryer, and a good Preacher, and accompted a vertuous and ſincere liuer. He deceaſed in the yeare 1397.

1397.

Richard Northalis was remoued from an other Sée and choſen Archbiſhop of Dublyn, who likewiſe deceaſed the ſame yeare that he was elected.

1414.

Thomas Cranly an Engliſhe man ſucceded him the ſame yeare, and came into Ireland in the companie of the Duke of Surrey. This Archbiſhoppe was choſen L. Juſtice of Ireland in the yere 1413. In whoſe gouernement the Engliſh did ſkirmiſh with the Iriſh in the countye of Kyldare nére Kilka, where the Engliſh vanquiſhed the enemie, ſlue an hundred of the Iriſhe, during which time the Archbiſhop being Lord Juſtice went in proceſſion with the whole clergye in Triſteldermot, or Caſtledermot, a towne adioyning to Kylka, praying for the proſperous ſucceſſe of the ſubiectes, that went to ſkirmiſhe with the enimie. This prelate was of ſtature tall, well featured, and of a ſanguine complexion, decking his outwarde cumlyneſſe with inwarde qualities. For he was ſo liberall to the riche, ſo charitable to the poore, ſo déepe a clarke, ſo profounde a Doctor, ſo ſounde a Preacher, ſo vertuous a liuer, and ſo great a builder, as he was not without good cauſe accompted the Phœnix of his time. In daily talke as he was ſhort, ſo he was ſwéete. Harde in promiſing,

The ſkirmiſh of Kylka.

bountifull in performing. In the yere 1417. he ſayled into England, and ended his life at Faringdō, and was buried in New colledge at Oxford.

1439. In the yere 1439. There hath bene one Richard Archbiſhop of Dubline, and L. Juſtice of Ireland, before whom a Parliament was holden at Dublin, in the xviij. yeare of the reigne of king Henry the ſixt.

1460. In the yeare 1460. Walter was Archbiſhop of Dublin, and deputie to Jaſper Duke of Bedford, lieuetenaunt of Ireland. I found in an auncient regiſter the names of certain biſhops of Kyldare, that were in that ſée ſince the tyme of S. Brigid: the names of whome I thought good here to inſert.

The Biſhoppes of Kyldare.

448. Lony was biſhoppe in S. Brigides tyme, which was about the yeare of our lord. 448.

2. Inor.
3. Conly.
4. Donatus.
5. Dauid.
6. Magnus.
7. Richard.
8. Iohn.
9. Simon.
10 Nicholas.
11. Walter.
12. Richard.
13. Thomas.
14 Robart.
15. Bonifacius.
16. Madogge.
17. William.
18. Galfride.
19. Richard.
20 James.
21. Wale.
22. Barett.
23. Edmunde Lane, who flouriſhed in the yeare, 1518.

Maurice Iak. There hath bene a worthy prelate, canon in ẏ cathedrall church of Kildare, named Maurice Iak, who among the reſt of his charitable déedes, builded the bridge of Kilcollenne,

1319. **The bridg of Kylcollenne, and Leighlinne.** and the next yeare followyng, he builded in lyke maner the bridge of Leighlinne, to the great and daily commoditie of all ſuch as are occaſioned to trauaile in thoſe quarters.

The lordes temporall, as well Engliſh as Iriſhe, which inhabite Ireland.

Chap. 6.

GIrald fitz Girald, Erle of Kildare. This houſe was of the nobilitie of Florence, came from thence to Normandy, and ſo with Erle Strangbow his kinſmā, whoſe armes he giueth, into Wales, néere of bloud to Riſe ap Griffin, prince of Wales by Necta the mother of Maurice fitz Girald and Robart fitz Stephannes, with the ſayd Earle Maurice fitz Girald remoued into Ireland, in ẏ yeare 1169. The family is very properly toucht in a Sonet of Surreys, made vpon the Erle of Kildares ſiſter, now Counteſſe of Lincolne. 1169.

From Tuſcane came my Ladies worthy race,
Fayre Florence was ſometyme hir auncient ſeate:
The Weſterne Iſle, whoſe pleaſant ſhoare doth face
Wylde Cambers cliffes, did gyue hir liuely heate.
Foſtred ſhe was with milke of Iriſh breſt,
Hir ſire an Earle, hir dame of princes blood,
From tender yeares in Britayne ſhe doth reſt
With kinges childe, where ſhe taſteth coſtly foode.
Hunſdon did firſt preſent hir to mine eyne,
Bright is hir hew, and Giraldine ſhe hight,
Hampton me taught to wiſhe hir firſt for myne,
And Wyndſor alas doth chaſe me from hir ſight.
Hir beauty of kinde, hir vertues from aboue,
Happy is he, that can obteyne hir loue.

The corrupt Orthography that diuers vſe in writing this name, doth incorporate it to houſes thereto linked in no kinrede, and conſequētly blemiſheth diuers of their exploites atchieued as well in England and Irelande, as in forreine countreis and dominions. Some write Geroldes, ſundry Geraldes, diuers very corruptly Gerrot, others Gerarde. But the true Orthography is Giralde, as may appeare both by Giraldus Cambrenſe, and the Italian authors that make mention of the family. As for Gerrot, it differeth litle from Giralde, yet there be ſome in Irelande, that name and write themſelues Gerrottes, notwithſtanding they be Giraldines, wherof diuers gentlemen are in Méeth. But there is a ſept of the Gerrots in Irelād, and they ſéeme forſoth by threatning kyndneſſe and kinrede of the true Giraldines to fetch their petit degrees from their aunceſtours, but they are ſo néere of bloud one to the other, that two buſhels of beanes woulde ſcantly counte theyr degrées.

An other reaſon why diuers ſtrange houſes haue bene ſhuffled in among this familie, was, for that ſundry gentlemē at the chriſtenyng of their children, would haue them named Giraldes, and yet their ſurnames were of other houſes, and if after it happened that Girald had iſſue Thomas, John, Robert, or ſuch lyke, then would they beare the ſurname of Girald, as Thomas fitz Girald, and thus takyng the name of their aunceſtors for their ſurname, within two or thrée diſcentes they ſhewe themſelues among the kinrede of the Giraldines. This is a generall faulte in Ireland and Wales, and a great confuſion and extinguiſhment of houſes. This noble & auncient family of the Giraldines, haue in ſundrye ages flouriſhed in the moſt renowmed countries of Europe. Warring fitz Giralde was one in great credite with king John. I finde an other Giraldine Archiepiſcopus Burdegalenſis, who flouriſhed in king Henry the thirde his tyme. There was an other Geraldine Patriarch of Jeruſalem, in the yeare 1229. as witneſſeth Mattheus Pariſienſis. There was one Girald of Berueyl an excellēt poet in the Italian tongue: an other named Baptiſt Girald, was a famous citizen of Ferrara,

Matth.pa
in vita Io
pag.116.
vers.6.

1234.

pag.480

ra, an expert phiſition, and an exquiſite philoſopher, beyng publike profeſſor of philoſophy in the ſaid city, during the ſpace of ten yeres. I haue ſéene a worke of one Gregorius Giraldus Ferrarienſis de deis gentium, dedicated to Hercules Duke of Ferraria, a pithye booke and very well penned. Alſo Siluester Giraldus Cambrienſe hath ben one of this family, néere of kinne to ſir Maurice fitz Girald. This gentleman was borne in Wales, and thereof he is named Cambrienſe, of the worde Cambria, that in olde tyme was adapted to that part of Britannia. He was very inward with Henry the ſecond, conquerour of Irelande, beyng at that tyme the kinges ſecretary. And for that eſpecial affiance king Henry repoſed in him, he was appointed to accompany prince John the kinges ſonne into Ireland, as one of hys chiefeſt and diſcreteſt counſailors. This gentleman was very well learned, a tollerable diuine, a commendable philoſopher, not rude in phiſike, ſkilfull in Coſmography, a ſinguler good antiquary, an orator, in endeuour cōparable to the beſt, in his ſtyle not in thoſe dayes taken for the worſt, rather eſchewyng the name of a rude writer, then purchaſing the fame of an eloquent chronicler. Among other hys workes, he wrote one booke of the deſcription of Ireland, other two of the conqueſt therof. John the Abbot of S. Albones ſayeth, that this Clarke was ſomewhat ſpare in wordes, and liberall in ſentences. What he meaneth by this verdit I know not, vnleſſe he taketh the man to be ouer lauiſh of his pen in ſcrimping hys aduerſaries with quippyng tauntes, which as I geſſe, flowed rather from a flaunting oſtentation of a roysting kynde of rhetoricke, then from anye greate malice hée bare anye one. Howbeit, I maye not gainesay, but as he was kind where he tooke, ſo he was ſomwhat bityng where he diſliked. But what his iudgemēt is of the Giraldines may plainly appeare in his chronicle, out of which I haue culled this ſentence enſuyng.

Giraldus Cambrieſe.

oannes de ocoſrumē- part. pri- a Grana- ij.

Cambrieſis li. 2. conqu. Hib. rub. 17.

Hoc eſt huius generis omen & hæc conditio. Semper in armata militia clari, ſemper primi, ſemper rebus in Martijs auſu nobili præſtantiſſimi. Ceſſante vero neceſſitatis articulo, ſtatim exoſi, ſtatim vltimi, ſtatim ad ima liuore depreſſi. Veruntamen tantæ generoſitatis ſyluam liuor ad plenum extirpare non potuit. Vnde & vſq; in hodiernum gens hæc nouis plantularū ſuccrementis vires in inſula non modicas habet. Qui ſunt, qui penetrant hoſtium penetralia? Giraldidæ. Qui ſunt, qui patriam conſeruant? Giraldidæ. Qui ſunt, quos hoſtes formidant? Giraldidæ. Qui ſunt, quos liuor detractat? Giraldidæ. Si principem tamen ſtrenuitatis meritis dignè penſantem reperiſſent, quàm tranquillum, quàm pacificum olim Hiberniæ ſtatum reddidiſſent? ſed horum ſine cauſa ſemper eſt ſuſpecta ſtrenuitas. This hath ben continually, ſayth Cambrienſe, a deſteny or fatall property annexed to this houſe. In warre and martiall broyles they are dandeled, they are colled, they are lulled, who but they? they rule the roſt. But when theſe martiall garboyles are appeaſed, they are either through falſe informations wrongfully hated, or els by enuious carpers ſiniſterly ſuſpected. How be it, enuy with all his malicious driftes, could neuer wholy ſupplant the fertile groue of this couragious and noble progeny. And maugre the heads of all malicious promoters, this ſept, yea euen at this day beareth, with ẏ ſeing ſlips there engraffed, no ſmall ſtroke in Ireland. Who are they that ſcale the enemies fortes? the Giraldines. Who are they, that defend their countrey? the Giraldines. Who are they that make the enimy quake in hys ſkinne? the Giraldines. And who are they whom enuy backbiteth? the Giraldines. If it had ſtood with the good fortune of the Giraldines, that ẏ king with equall balance would poiſe their valure, long ere this had all Ireland ben put in quiet and peaceable ſtay. But their valiantneſſe and power hath bene from tyme to tyme without ſufficient cauſe ſuſpected. Hitherto Cambrienſe.

And ſoothly as often as I call to mynde the ſaying of this hiſtoriographer, I may not but muſe how iumpe he hitteth the nayle on the hed. And who ſo will conferre their continual ſucceſſe from the pennyng of this ſentence (which was written aboue 400. yeares, and vpward) with this age of ours, ſhal ſone perceiue, that theſe wordes were rather propheſies of future miſhappe, then complayntes of former iniuries. At this day let them behaue themſelues valiantly in warre, and loially in peace, yet notwithſtandyng, ſuch ſlaunders are rayſed, ſuch rumors noyſed, ſuch tales bruted, ſuch fables twitled, ſuch vntrue reportes twatled, ſuch malicious inuentiōs forged, that ſuch as are in authoritie cannot but of force ſuſpect them, vnleſſe they were able like Gods, to pry in the bottome of ech mans conſcience. But who ſo wiſheth any goodneſſe to that miſerable countrey, and noble progeny, let him with all the powers of his hart beſeech God, firſt that the higher powers be ſlow in beleuyng the deſpitefull reportes of enuious backbiters. Secondly, that ẏ Giraldines beare themſelues in all their affaires ſo dutifully, that theſe curious enſerchers be not able to depaint their feygned gloſes with any probable collors. So ſhall ſuſpicion be abandoned, ſo ſhall malicious ſlaunderers be ſquatted: ſo ſhall that noble houſe be truſted, and conſequently the battered weale publique of Ireland reedified. The family is Engliſh, & it is well knowen, that the Iriſh rather feare their force, then loue their perſons. And reaſon good pardye. For the Iriſhe bearyng in mynde, that the Giraldine beyng thereto deputed by the prince, hath in all ages conquered their landes, abated their courages, diſcomfited their men, vãquiſhed theyr armies, daunted theyr power, ſuppreſſed their force, and made them become true and tributary ſubiectes to the crowne of England, they haue good cauſe to beare that ſept but holow harts, what ſhew ſo euer they make in outward apparaunce. Thus much generally of the Giraldines, now I purpoſe perticulerly to treat of the houſe of Kyldare.

Maurice fitz Girald, one of the Erles progenitors, was L. Iuſtice of Ireland in yͤ yere 1242. at which tyme he builded the caſtle of Sligagh.

The caſtle of Sligagh.

Tyrconil.

This Maurice was L. of Tyrconſile, and beyng entierly ſeiſed of the whole country, he gaue the one moyetie thereof to Cormocke, mack Dermot, mack Rory.

Baron of Ophaly.

I read the Giraldine baron of Ophaly, in the yere 1270.

I haue ſéene it regiſtred, that there dyed a Giraldine the fourth Erle of Kyldare, in the yere 1287. But I take that calender to beare a falſe date.

The firſt Erle of Kyldare.

Wherefore the truth and certaintie is, that Iohn fitz Giralde, ſonne to Thomas fitz Girald, was the firſt Erle of Kyldare, and was created Erle vpon this occaſion.

1290. Weſcy L. Iuſtice.

In the yere 1290. and in the 18. yere of Edward the firſt, William Weſcy was made L. Iuſtice of Ireland. This man beyng eyther negligent or raw in the gouernement of the country, emboldened the Iriſh enemy to endamage the kinges ſubiectes more eftſoones then they were accuſtomed to do. Theſe enormities beyng for the ſpace of foure yeres tolerated, the ſubiectes miſlikyng of the ſlackeneſſe of their Gouernour, gaue out ſuch ſiniſter ſpeaches of the L. Iuſtice, as he was gald to the hart roote. Soone after as the nobles in open aſſembly wer ripping vp by piecemeale the ſeuerall harmes their tenantes ſuſteyned, the L. Iuſtice willyng to diſburden hymſelfe of the crime, began with miſty kynd of ſpeaches to lay the whole fault on the L. Iohn fitz Giraldes ſhoulders, ſaying in parable wyſe, that he was a great occaſiõ of theſe diſorders, in that he bare himſelfe in priuate quarels as fierce as a Lyon, but in theſe publike iniuries he was as méeke as a Lambe. The Baron of Ophaly ſpelling and putting theſe ſillables together, ſpake in this wyſe.

Weſcy accuſeth the L. fitz Girald.

The L. Giraldes aunſwer.

My Lord I am hartily ſory that among all this noble aſſembly, you make me your onely marke wherat to ſhoote your bolt. And truely were my deſertes ſo hainous, as I ſuppoſe, you would wiſh them to be, you would not labour to cloude your talk with ſuch darke riddles, as at this preſent you haue done, but in playne & flat Engliſh, your Lordſhip woulde not ſticke to empeache of felony or treaſon. For as myne aunceſtours with ſpendyng of theyr bloud in their ſoueraignes quarell aſpired to this tippe of honour, in which at this day (God and my king be thanked) I ſtande: ſo your Lordſhip taking the nigher way to yͤ woode, by charging me with treaſon, would gladly trip ſo roundly on my top, that by ſhedding of my bloud, and by catching my landes into your clouches, that but ſo nere vpõ your manours of Kyldare and Rathymgan, as I dare ſay they are an eye ſore vnto you, you might make my maiſter your ſonne a proper Gentleman.

The L. Iuſtice replieth.

A Gentleman: quoth the L. Iuſtice. Thou bald Baron, I tell thée the Weſcies wer gentlemen before the Giraldines were Barons of Ophaly, yea and before that Welſh bankrupt thyne aunceſtour (he ment ſir Maurice fitz Girald) fethered his neſt in Leinſter. And where as thou takeſt the matter ſo farre in ſnuffe, I will teache thée thy lyrripups after an other faſhion, then to be thus malipertly cockyng and billing with me that am thy gouernor. Wherfore, albeit thy taunts are ſuch, as they might force the paciẽteſt philoſopher that is, to be choakte with choler: yet I would haue thée ponder my ſpeaches, as though I deliuered them in my moſt ſober and quiet moode.

I ſay to the face of thée, and I wyll auowe what I ſay vnto thée, that thou art a ſupporter of théeues, a bolſterer of the kynges enemies, an vpholder of traytors, a murtherer of ſubiectes, a firebrand of diſſention, a ranke théefe, an arraunt traytor. And before I eate theſe wordes, I will make thée eate a piece of my blade.

The Baron bridelyng with might & maine hys choler, bare himſelfe as colde in countenaunce, as the L. Iuſtice was hote in wordes, and replied in this wyſe.

My Lorde I am very glad, that at length you vnwrapped your ſelfe out of that neſte, wherein all this while you maſked. As for myne aunceſtor, whome you terme a bankerupt, how rich or how poore he was vpon his repayre to Irelãd, I purpoſe not at this time to debate. Yet thus much I may boldly ſay, that he came hither as a byer, not as a begger.

ger. He bought the enemies land by ſpending his bloud: but you lurking lyke a ſpider in his copweb to intrappe flies, endeuor to beg ſubiectes liuinges wrongfully by diſpoyling thē of their innocent lyues. And whereas you charge me with malipertneſſe, in that I preſume to chop Logike with you beyng Gouernour, by anſwering your ſnappiſh quid, with a knappiſh quo, I would wiſhe you to vnderſtand, now, that you put me in mind of the diſtinction, that I as a ſubiect honour your royall authoritie, but as a noble man I deſpiſe your dunghill gentilitie. Laſtly, whereas you charge me with the odious termes of traitor, murtherer and the lyke, & there with all you wiſh me to reſolue my ſelfe, that you reſt vpō reaſon, not vppon rage: If theſe wordes procede from your Lordſhippe, as from a magiſtrate, I am a ſubiect, to be tryed by order of lawe, and am ſory that the Gouernour, who ought by vertue of his publike autoritie to be my Judge, is by reaſon of priuate malice become myne accuſer.

But if you vtter theſe ſpeaches as a priuate perſon, then I John fitz Girald, baron of Ophaly, doe tell thée William Veſcy, a ſingle ſole gentleman, that I am no traytor, no felon, and that thou art the onely buttreſſe, by which the kinges enemies are ſupported, the meane & inſtrument by which his maieſties ſubiectes are daily ſpoyled. Therefore I as a loyall ſubiect ſay traitor to thy téeth, and that ſhalt thou wel vnderſtand when we both ſhal be brought to the rehearſall of theſe matters before our betters. Howbeit, during the tyme you beare office, I am reſolued to gyue you the maiſtry in wordes, and to ſuffer you lyke a brawling curre to barcke, but when I ſée my tyme, I will be ſure to byte.

The L. Girald poſteth into England.

Theſe biting ſpeaches paſſing to and fro, great factions on both ſides were raiſed, with high and mighty wordes, and happe [illegible] in time eyther part appeaſed his owne. The baron of Ophalye not ſléeping nor ſlacking hys matter, ſqudded with al haſte into England, where he was no ſooner enſhipped, then Veſcy, after he had ſubſtituted Wylliam Hope in his roume, was imbarckt, making as hote foote after the baron as he coulde.

Veſcy followeth.

The kyng and his counſaile vnderſtanding the occaſion of their ſodaine arriualles, to thend the truth ſhoulde be brought to light, appoynted a ſet day for the deciding of their controuerſie, and that eche of them ſhoulde ſpeake for himſelfe what he could. Whereupon Veſcy being cōmaunded to beginne, ſpake to this effect.

Veſcies oration.

My dread ſoueraigne, as I muſt acknowledge my ſelfe ſomewhat agreeued, to be entangled in ſo intricate a matter, ſo I am as glad, as heart can thinke, that ſo weightye a controuerſie is brought to the deciding of ſo vpright an vmpire. And whereas it ſtode with your Maieſties pleaſure, with the aduiſe of this your honourable counſaile, that I, as vnworthy, ſhoulde haue the gouerment of your roylme of Ireland, and during my time, your Maieſties ſubiects, haue béene, I may not deny it, diuerſly annoyed, for my diſcharge, as I ſayde in Irelande, ſo I auow here in England, that he knéeleth here before your highneſſe (poynting to the baron of Ophaly) that is the roote and crop of all theſe enormities. For it is well knowne, that he beareth that ſtroke with the Iriſh, as if he once but frown at them, they dare not be ſo hardy as once to peake out of their cabans. And whereas hys force doth greatlye amaze them, thinke you but his countenaunce doth woonderfullye encourage them. To the furtherance of which, it is apparently knowne, and it ſhall be proued, that he hath not onely in hucher mucker, by ſundry meſſages, emboldened your Maieſties enimies, to ſpoyle your ſubiectes, but alſo by his perſonall preſence, in ſecrete méetings, he gaue them ſuch courage, as neyther the royaltie of your highneſſe, nor the autoritie of your deputie, neyther the force of your lawes, nor the ſtrength of your puiſſant armye, was able to quenche the flame of theſe hurlye burlyes, that through his trayterous driftes were enkindled. Theſe and the lyke enormities though his priuye packing wyth rebels being dailye committed, to bring me, your Maieſties gouernour, in the hatred of the people, his adherentes both ſecretly muttered, and openly exclaimed againſt mée, and my gouernment, as though the redreſſe of all thoſe harmes had wholy lyen in mine handes. Whereupon being in conference wyth ſuch as were the chieftens of your roialme of Ireland, albeit I tooke it, to be expedient to point wyth my finger to the verye ſinke or head ſpring of all the treaſons, that by ſecrete conſpiracies were pretēded and practiſed againſt your Maieſtie and your ſubiects, yet notwithſtanding hauing more regarde to modeſtie, then to the deſerts of the Baron of Ophalie, I did but glaunce at his packing in ſuch ſecret ſort, as none, or a very fewe of the companye coulde gueſſe, whome with my miſtye ſpeaches I did touche. And as commonly the galde horſe doth ſooneſt kick, ſo this gentlemā being prickt, as it ſhould ſéeme with the ſting of hys guiltye conſcience, brake out on a ſodaine, and forgetting his allegeaunce to your highneſſe, and his duty to me your deputy, he tooke me vp ſo roughly, as though I had bene rather his vnderling thē his gouernour. The ſumme of which diſpitefull ſpeaches, I refer to the teſtimonye of the honourable audience where they were deliuered.

As for hys manifolde treaſons, I am aſhamed to rehearſe ſuch thinges, as hée dyd not ſticke, to commit. And if it ſhall ſtande wyth your Maieſties pleaſure, to adiourne the tryall for a fewe dayes, I will charge hym wyth ſuch apparent Items, as were his face made of braſſe, he ſhall not be able to deny any one article that ſhall be brought agaynſt him.

When Weſcye had ended, the Baron of Ophaly preſt himſelfe ſomewhat forward, and in this wiſe ſpake.

The Lord Giraldes oration.

Moſt puiſſaunt Prince, and my dread ſoueraigne, were maſter Weſcy his mouth ſo iuſt a meaſure, as what he ſpake, ſhoulde bée holden for goſpell, this had béene no fit place for ſo arraunt a traytour, as he with his feigned gloſing woulde gladlye proue me to be. But ſith it pleaſed your Maieſtie, wyth ſo indifferent ballance, to ponder both our tales, I am throughly perſwaded, that my loiall innocentie ſhall be able, to ouerpoyſe his forged treachery. Your Maieſtie haue hard many words to ſmall purpoſe. And as his complaynt hytherto hath béene generallye hudled vppe, ſo mine aunſwere thereto may not particularly be framed.

Whereas therefore he termeth me a ſupportor of théeues, a packer with rebels, a conſpiratour with traytours, if I ſhoulde but with a bare worde deny the premiſſes, all his gaye gloſe of glittering ſpeaches woulde ſodaynlye fade away. Yea, but he craueth reſpit, for the booking of his articles. Truelye ſo he hath néede. For loytring and lingring is the onely waye he maye deuiſe, to cloake hys feigning and forging. Wherein he ſheweth himſelfe as craftye, as the Philoſopher was accounted wiſe that promiſed a tyraunt, vpon menacing wordes, to ſchole his Aſſe in philoſophy, ſo he had ſeuen yeares reſpite, bycauſe that in that ſpace he was perſwaded, that eyther the tyraunt, the Aſſe or he woulde dy. In likewiſe maſter Weſcy, vpõ reſpite graunted him, woulde hang in hope, that eyther the life of your Maieſtie (which God forbid) ſhoulde be ſhortned, or that I, in tract of time, woulde be diſfauoured, or that he by one ſubtil prank or other ſhould be of this heauy loade diſburdened.

But if I haue béene as many yeares a malefactour, as he auoucheth, howe happeneth it, that his tongue was tyed, before this late diſcention begon? why did he not from tyme to time aduertiſe the counſaile of my treaſons? Whereby it may be probably coniectured, that he was egd to this ſeruice rather for the hatred he beareth mée, then for anye loue he oweth your royall Maieſtie.

Touching the wordes I ſpake in Ireland, I purpoſe not, for oght I heard as yet, to eate them in England. And when I ſhall be calde, to teſtify ſuch ſpeaches, as I deliuerd there, I will not be founde ſo raw in my matter, as to loſe my erraunt in the carriage, as maſter Weſcy hath done, or to craue further reſpite, for the regiſtring of his manifolde treaſons. As for my ſecret metings with Iriſh rebels, were I perſwaded, maſter Weſcye, that you were able to proue them, I would be founde willing, to acknowledge them. For if my cõſcience were ſo déepelye ſtonge, as you pretende, I woulde take it for better pollicie, by acknowledging my treſpaſſe, to appeale to my King his mercye, then, by denying my faultes, to ſtand to the rigour of his iuſtice.

And as for méetings, I had neuer ſo many in woods wyth rebels, as you, maſter Weſcy, haue had in your chamber with cowes. For it hath béene manifeſtlye apparented, that when the Baron of Ophalye, and the beſt of the nobilitie of Irelande, haue béene embard from entring your chamber, an Iriſhe cowe ſhoulde haue at all times acceſſe vnto you.

No, maſter Weſcye: a cowe, an horſe, an hawke, and a ſiluer cup haue béene the occaſion of your ſlackneſſe. When the ſubiects were preyed, you woulde be content, to wincke at their miſerye, ſo that your mouth were ſtopt wyth briberye. And when you had gathered your crummes ſufficiently togither, you held it for a prettye pollicie (and yet it was but a bare ſhifte) to charge the nobilitie wyth ſuch packing, as you daily did practiſe.

But you muſt not think, that we are babes, or that wyth anye ſuche ſtale deuiſe, or groſe iuggling trick, you may ſo eaſily blyſke or daſell our eyes.

Can any man, that is but ſclenderly witted, ſo farre be caryed, as to beléeue, that maſter Weſcy, being the Kinges deputie in Ireland, hauing hys Maieſties treaſure, hauing the nobilitie at his beck, the Kings armie at hys commaundement, but that, if he were diſpoſed to beſturre himſelf, he were able to [illegible] put ſuch barebreech brattes, as ſwarme in the Engliſh pale. If he ſay he could not, we muſt ſmyle at his ſimplicitie, if he could and would not, how may he colour hys diſloyaltie?

Yea, but I beare ſuch ſtroke with the Iriſh, as that vpon any priuate quarrel I am able to annoy them. What then? Bicauſe the Baron of Ophaly can reuenge his priuate iniuries without the aſſiſtance of the Deputie, therefore the Deputy may not vanquiſh weake and naked rebels, without the furtherance

“ of the baron of Ophaly, whereas the contrary
“ ought to be inferd, that if a priuate perſon
“ can tame the Iriſh, what maye then the publique
“ Magiſtrate doe, that hath the Princes
“ pay.

“ But in déede it is harde to take hares with
“ foxes. You muſt not thincke, maſter Veſcy,
“ that you were ſent gouernour into Ireland,
“ to dandle your trulles, to pen your ſelfe vppe
“ within a towne or citye, to gyue rebels the
“ gaze, to pill the ſubiects, to anymate traitors,
“ to fil your cofers, to make your ſelfe by marring
“ true men, to gather the birdes whileſt
“ others beate the buſhes, and after to impech
“ the nobilitie of ſuch treaſons, as you onelye
“ haue committed?

“ But for as much as our mutual complaints
“ ſtand vpon the one his Yea, and the other his
“ Nay, and that you woulde be taken for a champion,
“ and I am knowen to be no coward: let
“ vs, in Gods name, leaue lying for varlettes,
“ berding for ruffians, facing for crakers, chatting
“ for twatlers, ſcolding for callets, bo-
“ king for ſcriueners, pleading for lawyers, &
“ let vs try with the dynt of ſworde, as become
“ martiall men to doe, or mutuell quarrelles.
“ Wherefore to iuſtifie that I am a true ſubiect,
“ and that thou, Veſcy, art an archetraitor
“ to God and to my King, here in the preſence
of his highneſſe, and in the hearing of this honourable
aſſemblye I challenge the combat.
Whereat all the auditory ſhouted.

The com=
bat chalẽ=
ged.

Nowe, in good fayth, quoth Veſcye, with a right good will. Whereupon both the parties being diſmiſt vntill the Kings pleaſure were further knowne, it was agréed at length by the counſayle that the fitteſt tryall ſhoulde haue béene by battayle. Wherefore the parties being as well thereof aduertiſed, as the day by the King appoynted, no ſmall prouiſion was made for ſo eager a combat, as that was preſuppoſed to haue béene. But whẽ the prefixed day approched néere, Veſcy, turning his great boaſt to ſmall coſt, beganne to crye creake, and ſecretelye ſayled into Fraunce. King Edwarde, thereof aduertiſed, beſtowed Veſcyes Lordſhips of Kildare and Rathymgan on the Baron of Ophaly, ſaying that albeit Veſcy conueied his perſon into Fraũce, yet he left his lands behinde him in Ireland.

Veſcye
fled into
Fraunce.

Kyldare
beſtowed
on the L.
Girald.

The Baron returned to Ireland wyth the gratulation of all his friendes, and was created Erle of Kildare, in the ix. yeere of Edward the ſecond his raigne, the xiiii. of May. He deceaſed at Laraghbrine (a village néere to Maynooth) in the yeare 1316, and was buried at Kildare, ſo that he was Erle but one yeare.

The firſt
Earle of
Kyldare
created.

The houſe of Kyldare among diuers giftes wherwith God hath aboundauntly endued it, is for one ſingular pointe greatly to be admired, that notwithſtãdyng the ſeueral aſſaults of diuers enemies in ſundry ages, yet this Erle that now liueth, is the tenth Erle of Kildare, to whom from John the firſt erle, there hath allwayes continued a lineall deſcent frõ father to ſonne, which truely in mine opinion is a great bleſſing of God.

The num=
ber of the
Earles of
Kyldare.

And for as much as this Erle now liuyng, as hys Aunceſters before hym, haue béene ſhrewdly ſhooued at by his euill willers, ſaying that he is able, but not willyng to profite hys countrey: the Poeſie that is framed for hym, runneth in this wyſe.

Quid poſſim, iactãt: quid vellẽ, ſcire recuſant:
  Vtraq; Reginæ ſint, rogo, nota meæ.

His eldeſt ſonne is Lord Giralde, Baron of Ophaly, for whom theſe verſes are made.

L. Girald.

Te pulchrum natura facit, fortuna potentem,
  Te faciat Chriſti norma, Giralde, bonum.

Syr Thomas Butler Erle of Ormond and Offery. The Butlers were auncient Engliſh gentlemen, and worthy ſeruitors in all ages.

Earle of
Ormond.

Theobald Butler Lord of Carrick, & John Cogan were Lord Juſtices of Ireland. This Butler died in the caſtle of Arckelow, in the yere 1285.

1247.

The L. Theobald Butler the yonger, and ſonne to the elder Theobald, was ſent for by Edward the firſt, to ſerue agaynſt ỳ Scots. This noble man deceaſed at Turuy, and his body was conueighed to Weney, a towne in the countie of Lymmericke.

1299.

Sir Edmund Butler a wyſe and valiaunt noble man, was dubbed knight at London by Edward the ſecond.

1309.

This man beyng appoynted lieuetenant of Ireland, vpon the repayre of John Wogan, (who before was L. Juſtice) to England: beſieged the Obrenies in Glyndalory: and were it not that they ſubmitted themſelues to the kyng and the Lieuetenantes mercy, they had not bene onely for a ſeaſon vanquiſhed, but alſo vtterly by hym extirped. This noble mã was in hys gouernment ſuch an encourager and furtherer of ſeruitors, as that he dubd on S. Michael the Archangels day, 30. knightes in the caſtle of Dublin. He was a ſcourge to the Scottes that inuaded Irelande, when he was Lieuetenant. He diſcomfited Omourgh a notorious rebell, nere a towne named Bally lethan. After diuers victorious exploites by hym atchieued, he ſayled into England, and ſo to Hiſpayne in pilgrimage to S. James. Vpon hys returne to England, he deceaſed at London, and hys body beyng conueighed into Ireland, was entombed at Ballygauran.

1312.

1313.

1315.

1321.

James Butler Erle of Ormond, was lord Juſtice of Ireland, in the yere 1359.

1359.

The

1425. The L. Butler and Uicecount Thurles, was dubd knight by Henry the ſixt in England, in the yeare 1425. at which tyme ſir James Butler, ſir John Butler, ſir Rafe Butler, were in lyke maner knighted.

1327. The firſt Earle of Ormond. James Butler, who maried the Earle of Herfordes daughter, was preferd to the erledome of Ormond in the firſt yere of Edward the third: which fel vpon the heyres general, laſtly vpon ſir Thomas Butler Erle of Wilſhire, after whom it reuerſed to Pierce Butler, whom a little before king Henry the viij. had created Erle of Oſſery. Tipperary I read that Butler Erle of Tipperary in the yere 1300. The latin hiſtory calleth him dominum de pincerna, the Engliſh le Butler. Whereby it appeareth, he had ſome ſuch honour about ŷ prince. His very ſurname is Becket, who was aduaunced by Henry the ſecondes eldeſt ſonne, Lord Butler in recompence of the death of Thomas of Caunterbury their kinneſman. His eldeſt ſonne is Lord Butler, Uiconnte Thurles. For the erle now liuyng, theſe verſes are made.

Magnus Auus, maiorq; pater, ſed Natus vtroq;
Corporis aut animi non bonitate minor.

Deſmon. Girald fitz Girald Erle of Deſmond.

Maurice fitz Thomas a Giraldine, was created erle of Deſmond the ſame yere, ſome after that Butler became Erle of Ormonde. His eldeſt ſonne is L. fitz Girald of Deſmõd. The Erle now liuyng, thus ſpeaketh.

Euaſi tandem, iactatus fluctibus alti,
Et precor, in portu ſit mea tuta nauis.

Clenric-kard. Syr Richard Bourke Erle of Clenrickard. A braunche of the Engliſh family de Burgo. The Bourkes haue bene auncient noble men before their commyng to Ireland: and in old tyme they haue bene Erles of Ulſter. Hys eldeſt ſonne is L. Bourke Baron of Enykelline. His verſe is this.

Quam mihi maiorũ famã bona geſta dederunt,
Hanc mihi natorum barbara facta negant.

Tomõnd. Connogher Obren Erle of Tomonde: the name of Erle giuen to Murragh Obrene for terme of lyfe, and after to Donogh Obrene, 1550. in the fift yeare of the raigne of Edward the ſixt, now confirmed to the heyres males. Hys eldeſt ſonne is Baron of Ibracan. Upon the Erle now liuyng, this fantaſie was deuiſed.

Non decet externos, ſine cauſa, quærere reges,
Cum liceet in tuta viuere pace domi.

Clencare. Mack Carty More Erle of Clencare, created in the yere 1565.

Barry. Uicecount Barry.

Roche. Uicecount Roche.

Gormanſ-towne. Preſton Uicecount of Gormanſtown: whereto is lately annexed the Barony of Lawnedreſſe. One of their aunceſtours Syr Robert Preſton, then chiefe Baron of the Eſchequer was dubd knight in the field by Lionel Duke of Clarence. This gentleman matcht in wedlocke wyth Margaret Bermingham lady of Carbry, who deceaſed in the yere 1361. After whoſe death ſir Robert Preſton was ſeiſed of the ſayd lordſhip in the right of his wyfe, and beyng moleſted by rebels, placed a garriſon in the caſtle, wherby the ſubiects were greatly eaſed, and the rebels daily annoyed. 1361. 1367.

There hath bene another ſir Robert Preſton of this houſe, great graundfather to the Uicecount now liuyng. This gentlemã was deputie to Richard, ſecond ſonne to Edward the fourth, in the xvj. yere of the raigne of his father: and after likewyſe in the raign of Henry the ſeuenth, he was deputie to Jaſper duke of Bedford, Erle of Pembroke, and Lieutenaunt of Ireland, and at the ſame tyme was he appoynted by the king general receiuer of hys reuenue in Ireland. How wiſely this noble man behaued hymſelfe in peace, and how valiauntly he bequit hymſelfe in warre, ſundry of kyng Henry the ſeuenth his letters to hym, beyng deputie, addreſſed, do manifeſtly witneſſe. There was a parliament holden before hym at Drogheda, which was repealed in the x. yere of Henry the ſeuenth. 1476. 1492. 1494.

Syr Chriſtopher Preſton was dubd knight in the field by Edmund Erle of March, L. deputie of Ireland. 1397. William Preſton was L. Juſtice of Ireland in Henry the eights reign. The houſe is aunciẽt, planted in Lankaſhire, and from thence departed into Ireland, beyng to this day ſeiſed of a manour in Lankaſhire, named of the houſe, Preſton. The Uicount now liuyng, ſpeaketh in this wyſe.

Preſton came from Lanchiſhire.

Si quantum vellem, tantum me poſſe putarem,
Nota eſſet patriæ mens mea fama meæ.

Balin-glaſſe. Euſtace aliâs Powar, Uicount of Baltinglaſſe, L. of Kylcullen to hym and his heyres males, the 34. yere of Henry the eight. 1542. Their aunceſtor Robert le Powar, was ſet into Ireland with commiſſion, and hys offpring hath reſted there ſince the yere 1175. 1175.

Powar aliâs Euſtace is written Baron of Domnyle in the yeare 1317. The Uicountes poeſie now liuyng, is this.

Cùm bonus ipſe manes, an non laus magna putatur,
Prudenter cũctis poſſe placere viro?

Mount-garet. Sir Richard Butler Uicount Mountgaret to hym and his heyres males in the ſixt yeare of Edward the ſixt. 1556.

Dece. Uicount Dece.

Athenry. L. Bermingham Baron of Athenry, whiche degenerate and become meere Iriſh, againſt whome hys aunceſtors ſerued valiantly in the yere 1300.

John Bermingham was Lord of Athenry, anno 1316. John Bermingham Baron of Ardigh, called in Latine de Alrio dei, in the yere 1318.

Mack Maurice, aliâs fitz Giralde, Baron of Kery.

L. Courcy, not very Iriſhe, the auncient deſent of the Courcies, planted in Irelād wyth the conqueſt.

Flemmyng Baron of Slane. Simō Flemmyng was Baron of Slane, anno 1370. The L. now liuyng thus ſpeaketh.

Slanius inuictus princeps mihi nomē adaptat,
In bello clarum nomen & omen habens.

Pluncket Baron of Kylline, his family came in with the Danes, whereof they haue as yet ſpeciall monuments: Syr Chriſtofer Pluncket Lord of Kylline, was Lord Lieuetenaunt of Ireland, which title is to be ſéene at thys day in Kylline, engraued on hys tombe. The Baron that now lyueth, thus frameth hys poeſie.

Ornant viuentem maiorum geſta meorum.
Talia me nequeunt viua cadente mori.

Nugent, Baron of Deluyn, an auncient houſe. Syr Gilbert de Nogent, or Nugent came into Irelande, with ſir Hugo de Lacy one of the firſt and valiaunt conquerours of the countrey. This Gilbert matcht with Roſa de Lacy, ſiſter to Hugo de Lacy. He had giuen hym vpon the conqueſt the Baronies of Foure, and of Deluyn, by the ſaid ſir Hugh, of whoſe brother Richard de Nogent, otherwyſe called Richardus de Capella, the houſe of Deluin is deſcended. In a conueighance, paſt from ſir Gylbert to hys brother Richard, theſe wordes are inſerted.

Dedi & conceſſi fratri meo Richardo de Capella totum conqueſtum meum in Hybernia, & terram quam dedit mihi dominus meus Hugo de Laci, quæ vocatur Deluyn, & totam terram meam in Anglia. The Baron now liuing, thus ſpeaketh.

In patria natus, patriæ prodeſſe laboro,
Viribus in caſtris, conſilijſq; domi.

S. Laurence, Baron of Howth in this wyſe he ſpeaketh.

Si redamus, redamo, ſi ſpernis, ſperno. Quid ergo?
Non licet abſq; tuis viuere poſſe bonis?

Pluncket Baron of Dunſany. Upon the Baron now liuyng, this deuiſe was framed.

Gratia quod dederat, ſi non fortuna negabit,
Dux tam præclaro ſtemmate dignus eris.

Barnewal, Baron of Trimleſtowne. They came from little Britayne, where they are at this day a great ſurname. Upon their firſt arriuall, they wan great poſſeſſions at Beirhauen, where at length by conſpiracy of the Iriſh, they were all ſlayne, except one young man, who then ſtudied the common lawes in Englād, who returning, dwelt at Drūnagh beſides Dublin, where his heyres to this day are ſetled.

Drūmnagh.

This houſe as well for antiquitie, as for the number of worſhipfull gentlemen that be of the ſurname, beareth no ſmall ſtroke in the Engliſh pale of Ireland. Howbeit of late it hath bene greatly maymed thorough the deceaſe of thrée worthy and famous Barnewalles. The firſt was Robert Barnewall L. of Trimleſtowne that laſt was, a rare noble man, and endued with ſundry good gifts, who hauyng wholy wedded hymſelfe to the reformation of hys miſerable country, was reſolued, for the whetting of his wit, which natheleſſe was pregnant & quicke, by a ſhort trade and methode he toke in his ſtudy, to haue ſipt vp the very ſappe of the common law, and vpon this determinatiō ſayling into England, ſickened ſhortly after at a worſhipfull Matrones houſe at Cornubery, named Margaret Tyler, where he was to the great griefe of all hys countrey pierced with death, when the wealepubliks had moſt néede of his lyfe.

Robert Barnwal.

1572.

The ſecond Barnewall, that deceaſed, was M. Markus Barnewall of Dondroa, whoſe credite and authoritie had it bene correſpondent to hys valure and abilitie, he woulde, I doubt not, haue bene accompted and knowen for as good a gentleman (none diſprayſed) as any in the Engliſh pale of Ireland.

1574. Marcus Barnwal.

The third of the ſurname that departed this lyfe, was ſir Chriſtofer Barnewall knight, the lanterne and light as well of his houſe, as of that part of Ireland where he dwelt: who, beyng ſufficiently furniſht as well wyth the knowledge of the latin tongue, as of the common lawes of Englande, was zealouſly bent to the reformation of his countrey. A déepe and a wyſe gentleman, ſpare of ſpeache, and therwithall pithy, wholy addicted to grauitie, beyng in any pleaſaunt conceit rather giuen to ſimper, thē ſmile: very vpright in dealing, meaſuryng all his affayres with the ſafety of conſcience, as true as ſtéele, cloſe and ſecret, faſt to his friend, ſtoute in a good quarell: a great houſeholder, ſparing without pinching, ſpendyng without waſtyng, of nature myld, rather chooſing to pleaſure, where he myght harme, then willyng to harme, where he might pleaſure. He ſickened the 23. of July of an hote burning ague, and ended his lyfe at his houſe of Turuy the fift of Auguſt, to the great loſſe as well of his friendes as of hys countrey, vpon whoſe death a ſonne in law of his framed this epitaph.

Sir Chriſtofer Barnewal knight.

Læta tibi, ſed mœſta tuis mors accidit iſta.

Regna dat alta tibi, damna dat ampla tuis.
Lætus es in cœlis vllo ſine fine triumphans,
Mœſtus at in terris diues inopſq; iacet.
Nam ſapiente caret diues, qui parta gubernet,
Nec, qui det miſero munera, pauper habet.
Te gener ipſe caret, viduæ, te ruſtica turba,
Atq; vrbana cohors, te (ſocer alme) caret.
Non eſt digna viro talis reſpublica tanto,
Nam ſanctos ſedes non niſi ſancta decet.
Mira loquor, ſed vera loquor, nõ ficta reuoluo,
Si maiora loquar, nil niſi vera loquar.
Mortuus es? nobis hoc crimina noſtra dederũt.
Mortuus es? virtus hoc tibi ſacra dedit.
Viuus es in cœlo, dedit hoc tibi gratia Chriſti
Viuus vt in mundo ſis, tibi fama dabit.

For the L. of Trimleſtowne now liuing, this was deuiſed.

Quod mihi vita dedit, fratri Mors ſæua negauit
Quod dederat fratri, det mihi fama precor.

Dunboyn. Edward Butler Baron of Donboyne, giuen to Edmund Butler Eſquier, & his heires males, anno H. octaui. 33. 1541. For the Baron now liuyng, theſe verſes are made.

Dum ſequitur natus ſummi veſtigia patris
Filius optato tramite cuncta geret.

Upper Oſſery. Syr Barnaby fitz Patricke Baron of Upper Oſſery, giuen to Barnaby Mack gillopatricke & his heyres males in the xxxiij. yere of Henry the eight. Donat Clonnagh mackgylpatrike 1541. was a péreleſſe warriour in the yere 1219. Syr Barnaby fitz Patrike, now L. of Upper Oſſery, was dubt knight by ye duke 1558. of Northfolke at the ſiege of Lieth in Scotland: for whom theſe verſes are made.

Principis in gremio ſummi nutritus & altus
Hauſit ab illuſtri regia dona ſchola.

Louth. Plunckett, Baron of Louth, to ſir Chriſtofer 1541. Plunckett and his heyres males, anno H. 8. 33. This Barony was an Erledome perteynyng to the Berminghams, in the yere 1316. and ſóner. For the Baron now liuyng, this was deuiſed.

Nobilis, ingenuus, firmis quoq; firmus amicis,
Nubila ſeu cœlum luxue ſerena regat.

Dungauõ. Oneyle, Baron of Dongauon, to whom the Erledome of Tyrone was entayled by gifte of Henry the eight.

Curraghmore. Powar, Baron of Curraghmore.

Deſert. Mack Surtan, L. Deſert, hys aunceſtours were Lordes in the tyme of Lionel Duke of Clarence, Erle of Ulſter, in the yeare 1360. now very wyld Iriſh.

Inſirkoin. Murragh Obrene, Baron of Inſirkoyne, to 1543. hym and his heyres males an. H. 8. 35.

Baronets. There are beſides theſe noble men, certain gentlemen of worſhip, commonly called Baronets, whom the ruder ſort doth regiſter among the nobilitie, by termyng thẽ corruptly Barons, wheras in very déede they are to be named neyther Barons, nor Baronets, but Banrets. He is properly called a Banret, Banret what it ſignifieth. whoſe father was no carpet knight, but dubd in the field vnder the banner or enſigne. And becauſe it is not vſuall for any to be a knight by birth, the eldeſt ſóne of ſuch a knight with his heyres, is named a Bannerret, or a Banret. Such are they that here enſue.

Sentleger, Banret of Flemarge, méere Iriſhe.
Den, Bãret of Pormanſtown, waxing Iriſh.
Fitz Girald, Banret of Burnechurch.
Wellesly, Banret of the Norragh.
Huſey, Banret of Galtrim.
S. Mighel, Banret of Scrine.
Nangle, Banret of the Nauan.

Engliſh gentlemen of longeſt continuance in Ireland, are thoſe which at this day eyther in great pouerty or perill do kepe their properties of theyr aunceſtors landes in Ulſter, beyng then companions to Courcy, the conquerour and Erle of that part. Theſe are the Sauages, Jordanes, fitz Symons, Chamberlaines, Ruſſels, Benſons, Audeleis, Whites, fitz Urſulies, now degenerate, and called in Iriſh Mack Mahon, the Beares ſonne.

The names or ſurnames of the learned men and authours of Ireland.

Chap. 7.

Arderic ARdericus, whome Marianus Scotus termeth Barboſus, becauſe of his long beard a learned man greatly in olde time renowmed in Irelande. But for as much as in his age the countrey was not ſtored with ſuch as employed theyr labours in gatheryng together the ſayings and doyngs of ſage perſons, the diſcontinuaunce of hys fame is rather to be imputed to the ignoraunce of the tyme, thẽ to the want of hys deſertes. He flouriſhed in the yere 1053.

Alen, a learned Phiſition. Alen.

James Archer, a ſtudent of diuinitie. Archer.

Argobaſtus, the ſecond biſhop of Argentine, Argobaſtus. ſucceſſor to the holy prelate S. Amand, borne in Ireland, a learned and deuout clarke: who leauyng his country and liuyng in Heremite wyſe, in certayne ſolitary places of France, inſtructed the people of that realme in ye feare of God, and the knowledge of the ſcriptures. In hys preachyng he was noted to haue ſo ſingular a grace, and ſo proſperous ſucceſſe, that ſuch as were by any worldly miſaduenture afflicted, vpon the hearyng of his godly ſermons would ſodenly be cõforted. The French kyng Dagobertus, aduertiſed of his learnyng and vertue, cauſed hym to be ſent for, vſing hym as hys chief counſailor in all his weightie aſſayres. And after aduaunced hym to be biſhop of Argentine. He wrote a booke of Homilies. He deceaſed in the yere 658. and was buried hard by a gybbet neere the city, pitcht on the top of an hill called S. Michaels hyll, which was done by his owne appointment, in that he would follow the example of hys maiſter Chriſt, who did vouchſafe to ſuffer without the city of Jeruſalem, where offenders and malefactors were executed. 146.

Barnwal. Barnewall.

Brady. Brady, a preacher.

Brendan. Brendan, an Abbot borne in Connaght, in hys youth trayned vp vnder Hercus a biſhop: and beyng further ſtept in yeres, he traueiled into England, where he became a profeſſe Monke, vnder an Abbot named Congellus. He flouriſhed in the yere 560. and wrote theſe bookes enſuyng.

Confeſſio Chriſtiana. lib. 1.
Charta cœleſtis hęreditatis. lib. 1.
Monachorum regula. lib. 1.

Bernerdē. Edmund Bernerden a Frier, he proceeded doctor of diuinitie in Dublin in the yere, 1320.

Brigide. Brigide the virgin, borne in Leynſter, ſhe flouriſhed in the yere 510. ſhe wrote a booke of her reuelations.

Browne. Browne, a Ciuilian.

Burnell. Burnell.

Butler. Butler, a Waterfordian, ſometime ſcholer to M. Peter White. He tranſlated Maturinus Corderius hys booke of phraſes into Engliſh, in the yere 1562.

Caddel. James Caddell, he wrote diuerſa epigrammata.

Carbery. Carbery, a profound ciuilian.

Celſus. Celſus Archbiſhop of Armach, borne in Ireland and ſcholed in the vniuerſitie of Oxford, he flouriſhed in the yeare 1128. he wrote theſe bookes followyng.

Teſtamentum ad Eccleſias. lib. 1.
Conſtitutiones quaedam. lib. 1.
Ad Malachiam epiſtolæ complures.

Clére. Clére, borne in Kylkenny, and proceded M. of Arte in Oxford.

Clin. John Clinne, borne in Leinſter, beyng profeſſe a gray Frier, he beſtowed his tyme in preaching chiefly in the towne of Kylkenny. This man was a good antiquary, as appeared by a chronicle he wrote, beginnyng at the Natiuitie of Chriſt, and ſtretchyng to ÿ yere 1350. in which yeare he flouriſhed. He wrote theſe bookes followyng.

Annalium chronicon. lib. 1.
De regibus Anglorum. lib. 1.
De cuſtodijs prouinciarum. lib. 1.
De Franciſcanorum cœnobijs, & eorum diſtinctionibus. lib. 1.

Cogy. Henry Cogy, doctor of diuinitie, proceeded in the vniuerſitie of Dublynne, in the yeare, 1320.

Colme. Colme, a learned and an holy Monke. He flouriſhed in the yeare 670. he wrote a booke entituled, Pro ſocijs Quartadecimanis.

Colũbanu Columbanus, borne in Vlſter, and trayned in learnyng and knowledge as well in England as in Fraunce. For his learnyng & vertue, was elected to be Abbot. Hauyng traueiled diuers countreys, at length repayred to Italy, and there in an Abbey by hym founded, called Monaſterium Bobienſe, he ended his lyfe, the xx. of Nouember. He left to hys poſteritie theſe bookes. 598.

In pſalterium commentarios. lib. 1.
Collationes ad Monachos. lib. 1.
De moribus Monachorum metricè. lib. 1.
Monaſteriorum methodos. lib. 1.
Epiſtolas ad commilitones. lib. 1.
Aduerſus regem adulterum. lib. 1.

Congantis. Conganus an Iriſhe Abbot, of whom Saint Bernard maketh great accompt. He flouriſhed in the yeare 1150. and wrote to S. Bernarde. Bernardus in vita Malachiæ in prefat.

Geſta Malachię Archiepiſcopi. lib. 1.
Ad Bernardum Clareuallenſem epiſt. plures.

Connour. Connour.

Conton. Walter Conton. He wrote in the latin tonge diuers epigrames and epitaphes.

Coniel. Symon Coniel a deuine.

Cornelius. Cornelius Hybernus, otherwyſe named Hiſtoricus, by reaſon that he was taken in hys tyme for an exquiſite antiquary, as may appeare by the Scottiſh Hiſtorian Hector Boetius, by whom he acknowledgeth hymſelfe to be greatly furthered. He flouriſhed in the yere 1230. and wrote, Maltarum rerum Chronicon. lib. 1. Hector Boet. in preſul. Scot. Hiſt.

Creagh. Richarde Creagh borne in Lymmericke, a deuine, he wrote

Epiſtolas complures.
Reſponſiones ad caſus conſcientiæ.
De vitis ſanctorum Hyberniæ.
Topographiam Hyberniæ, with diuers other bookes.

Crumpe. Henry Crumpe borne in Ireland, & brought vp in ÿ vniuerſitie of Oxford, where he grew by reaſon of hys profound knowledge in diuinitie, to no ſmall credite. Hauing repayred to his natiue countrey, minding there to defray ÿ talent wherwith god had endued him, he was ſodenly apprehended by Symon byſhoppe of Meth, and kept in dureſſe by reaſon that he was ſuſpected to be of no ſound religion. He flouriſhed in the yeare 1392. and wrote theſe bookes.

Determinationes ſcholaſt. lib. 1.
Contra religioſos mendicantes. lib. 1.
Reſponſiones ad obiecta. lib. 1.

Curren. Edmund Curren, archdeacon of old laghlin, there hath bene an Iriſh Biſhop of the name.

Cuſack. Patricke Cuſacke, a Gentleman borne, and a ſcholler of Oxforde, ſometime ſchoolemaſter in Dublinne, and one that wyth the learning, that God did imparte hym, gaue great light to his countrey. He imployed his ſtudies rather in the inſtructing of ſchollers then in penning of bookes. He floriſhed in the yeare, 1566 and wrote in latine

Diuerſa epigrammata.

Daly. Daly, ſchooled in the vniuerſitie of Pariſe, hauing a pretty enſight in ſcholaſticall Diuinitie, he made Diuerſas Conciones.

Darcy. Sir Willielme Darcy Knight, a wiſe gentleman, he wrote a booke entituled, The decay of Irelande.

Delahide. Dauid Delahide, an exquiſite and a profoūd Clarke, ſometime fellow of Merton colledge in Oxforde, very well ſéene in the latine and gréeke tongue. Expert in the Mathematicals, a proper antiquary, & an exact Diuine. Whereby I gather, that his penne hath not bene lazie, but is dailye bréeding of ſuch learned bookes, as ſhal be auaileable to his poſteritie. I haue ſéene a proper Oration of hys, in the praiſe of maſter Heiwood being Chriſtmaſſe Lorde in Merton colledge, entituled,

De ligno et fœno, alſo

Scemata rhetorica in tabulam contracta.

Deurox. Deurox, there are two brethrē of the name learned, the elder was ſometime ſcholemaſter in Weſſeford.

Dyllon. Peter Dyllon, a Diuine, and Iohn Dyllō likewiſe a ſtudent in Diuinitie.

Doudal. Doudall, ſometime primas of Armach, a graue, a learned, and a politique prelate. Very zealouſly affected to the reformation of his countrey, he made,

Diuerſas conciones.

Dormer. Dormer, a lawyer, borne in Roſſe, ſcholler of Oxford. He wrote in ballade royall.

The decay of Roſſe.

Duns. Iohannes maior. li. 4. cap. 16. Iohannes duns ſcotus, an Iriſhe man borne, as in the forefront of this treatiſe I haue declared: Howbeit Iohanes maior, a Scottiſh Chronicler, woulde faine proue him to be a Scotte. Lelande on the other ſide ſayeth, hée was borne in England: ſo that there ſhall as great contencion riſe of him, as in olde tyme there roſe of Homers coūtrey. For the Colophoniās ſaid that Homer was borne in their citie, Cic. in orat. pro Arch. poeta. the Chyans claymed him to be theirs, the Salamymans auouched, that hée was their countrey man, but the Smyrneans wer ſo ſtifflye bent, in prouing him to bée borne in their territory, as they would at no hand take no nay in the matter, and therevpon they did conſecrate a church to the name of Homer. But what countreye man ſoeuer this Scotus were, he was doubtleſſe a ſubtil and profound clearke. The onely fault, wherewith he was dusked, was a litle ſpice of vaine glory, being giuen to carpe and taunt his predeceſſour diuines, rather for blemmiſhing the fame of hys aduerſaryes, then for aduauncing the truth of the controuerſies. Wherevpon great factions are growen in the ſcholes betwéene the Thomiſtis and yͤ Scotiſtis, Thomas being the ringleader of the one ſect, and Scotus the belweather of the other. Thomiſt Scotiſt Hée was fellowe of Merton colledge in Oxforde, and from thence he was ſent for to Pariſe to be a profeſſour of Diuinitie. Finally he repayred to Cullen wherein an Abbey of gray fryars (of which 1308. profeſſion he was one) he ended his life. The bookes he wrote, are theſe.

Commentarij Oxonienſes. lib. 4.
Reportationes pariſienſes. lib. 4.
Quodlibeta ſcholaſtica. lib. 1.
In Anialitica poſteriora. lib. 2.
In Metaphiſicam quæſtiones. lib. 12.
De Cognitione dei. lib. 1.
De perfectione ſtatuum. lib. 1.
Sermones de tempore. lib. 1.
Sermones de Sanctis. lib. 1.
Collationes pariſienſes. lib. 1.
Lectura in Geneſim. lib. 1.
De rerum principio. lib. 1.
Commentarij in euangelia. lib. 4.
In epiſtolas pauli. lib. plures.
Quæſtiones Vniuerſalium. lib. 1.
Quæſtiones prædicamentorum. lib. 1.
In Ariſtotelis phiſica. lib. 8.
In Categorias Ariſtotelis. lib. 1.
Tentagreumata quædam. lib. 1.
Commentarij imperfecti. lib. 1.

Euſtace. Euſtace, a Doctor of Diuinitie, a very good ſchooleman, he floriſhed in the yeare 1536.

Olifer, or Oliuer Euſtace, a ſtudent of the ciuile and Cannon law, a good humaniſtian, & a proper philoſopher.

Nicolas Euſtace, a Gentleman borne, ſurpaſſing birth by learning, and learning by vertue.

Maurice Euſtace, a ſtudent of Diuinitie, one that notwithſtanding he were borne to a faire liuing, yet did wholy ſequeſter himſelfe from the worlde.

Fagan. Fagan, bachylour of Arte in Oxford, and ſchoolemaſter in Waterford.

Ferrayle. Daniell Ferrayle, a Diuine, and a ſchoolemaſter.

Ferguſius Ferguſius, ſonne to Ferquhardus king of Irelande, the firſt king of Scottes, whome ſome affirme to be borne in Denmarke, the more part ſuppoſe to haue bene an Iriſhmā. He flouriſhed in the yeare of the world 3678. and before the incarnation 292. in the twenty fiue yeare of hys reigne. He was by miſaduenture drowned nere a rocke in the north of Irelande that of him is called to this daye Carregfergus. Upon whoſe miſhappe theſe verſes were made.

Carreg-fergus.

Icarus Icareis vt nomina fecerat vndis
Ferguſius petræ ſic dedit apta ſuæ.

This Ferguſius wrote a booke intituled
Leges politicæ.lib.1.

Finnanus. Finnanus, ſcholer to one Nennius and Segenius, taken for a depe Deuine in his age. He floriſhed in the yeare 660. he wrote Pro veteri paſchalis ritu.lib.1.

Fielde. Fielde, a phiſition.

Thomas Fielde, a maſter of Art.

fitz Giralde. John fitz Girald, commonlye named John fitz Edmund, a very well lettered Ciuilian, a wyſe gentleman, and a good houſeholder.

Robert fitz Girald, aliâs Robert fitz Maurice, borne in the Countie of Kyldare.

Dauid fitz Giralde, vſually called Dauid Duffe, borne in Kery, a Ciuilian, a maker in Iriſh, not ignorant of muſike, ſkilful in phiſike, a good and a generall craftes man much lyke to Hippias, ſurpaſſing all men in the multitude of craftes: who commyng one tyme to Piſa, to the great triumph called Olympicum, ware nothyng but ſuch as was of hys owne makyng. His ſhoes, his pattens, hys cloke, hys cote, the ryng that he dyd weare, with a ſignet therin very perfectly wrought, were all made by hym. He played excellently on all kyndes of Inſtruments, and ſang therto hys owne verſes, which no man could amend. In all partes of Logike, Rhetorike, & Philoſophie he vanquiſhed all men, and was vanquiſhed of none.

Hippias.

fitz Rafe. Richard fitz Rafe, primate of Armach, ſcholler in the vniuerſitie of Oxford, to Bacōthorp a good Philoſopher, and no ignoraunt diuine. He inueyed againſt Friers, namely ſuch as went begging from dore to dore, whereby he purchaſed the hatred of all religious perſons. He was by Edward the third hys meanes made Archdeacon of Lichfield, after created Primate of Armach: beyng cited before Pope Clement the ſixt, for reprouyng the beggyng Friers. In the heat of the ſayd contention he deceaſed in Italy, whoſe bones were caryed into Ireland, and buried at Dondalk, where he was borne. He wrote theſe bokes enſuing.

350.

De paupertate ſeruatoris lib.7.
Contra fratres mendicantes.lib.1.
In Extrauagantem Ioannis 22.lib.1.
Determinationes ad eundem.lib.1.
Contra ſuum Archidiaconum.lib.1.
Propoſitiones ad Papam.lib.1.
Contra fratrum appellationem.lib.1.
Sermones ad crucem Pauli.lib.1.
Sermones coram Pontifice.lib.1.
De ſtatu Vniuerſalis Eccleſiæ.lib.1.
Lectura ſententiarum.lib.4.
Quæſtiones earundem.lib.1.
Lectura theologica. lib.1.
Sermones ad clerum.lib.1.
Sermones de tempore.lib.1.
Sermones de Sanctis.lib.1.
Mariæ laudes Auenioni.lib.1.
Illuſtrationes Euangeliorum.lib.4.
De paſſione dominica.lib.1.
De peccato Ignorantiæ.lib.1.
De Iure ſpiritali.lib.1.
De Vafritijs Iudæorum.lib.1.
Propoſitionum ſuarum.lib.1.
Epiſtolæ ad diuerſos.lib.1.
Dialogi plures.lib.1.

Fitz Symons. Walter fitz Symons, Archbiſhop of Dublyn, L. Juſtice and L. Chauncellor of Irelād at one tyme, a famous clarke, and exquiſitly learned both in Philoſophy and deuinity: beyng in company with king Henry the vij. and hearyng an Oration that was made in hys prayſe, the kyng demaunded hym, what fault he found moſt in the Oration: truly quoth he, and if it lyke your highneſſe, no fault, ſauyng onely that the Oratour flattered your Maieſtie ouermuch. Now in good fayth, our father of Dublyn (quoth the kyng) we minded to find the ſame fault our ſelues.

Thomas fitz Symons, a very proper deuine. He wrote in Engliſh, a treatiſe of the Church.

Leonard fitz Symons, a depe and pithye clarke, well ſene in the Greeke and Latine tongue, ſomtyme fellow of Trinitie colledge in Oxford, perfect in the Mathematicals, and a paynefull ſtudent in deuinitie. He hath a brother that was trayned vp in learnyng in Cambridge now beneficed in Trim.

Michael fitz Symons, ſcholemaiſter in Dublyn, a proper ſtudent, and a diligent man in hys profeſſion, he wrote Orationem in aduentum comitis Eſſexiæ Dublinium.
Epitaphion in mortem Iacobi Stanihurſti.
Diuerſa Epigrammata.

Flatisbury. Phillip Flatiſbury, a worthy gentleman and a diligent antiquary, he wrote in the Latin tongue, at the requeſt of the right honourable Gerald fitz Girald Erle of Kyldare, Diuerſas chronicas. He flouriſhed in the yere 1517. and deceaſed at hys towne named Johnſtowne nere the Naas.

Flemming. Thomas Flemmyng: there is a Flemmyng now liuyng, of whome I heare great report to be an abſolute deuine, and a profeſſor therof.

Foillanus. Foillanus a learned Monke, he traueiled into Fraunce, where through the liberalitie of an holy Virgin, named Gertrude, he founded an Abbey called Monaſterium Foſſenſe, where at length he ſuffred martyrdome. 654.

Furſæus. Furſeus peregrinus, ſo called, becauſe he was borne in Ireland, and did beſtow his yeares as an eſtraunger in Fraunce, where he founded an Abbey named Cœnobium Latiniacenſe. He wrote certaine pamphlets, that by tract of tyme are periſhed. He flouriſhed in the yere 650. and was buried in his owne monaſtery. 647.

Garuye. Robert Garuy, fellow of Oriall colledge in Oxforde, a ſtudent of both the lawes, a man well ſpoken as well in the Engliſhe, as in the Latine.

Gogan. Robert Gogan a preacher.

Hardite. William Hardite a doctor of Deuinitie, proceeded in the vniuerſitie of Dublynne, in the yere 1320.

Hycky. Hicky, Phiſitions, the father and his ſonne.

Hugo. Hugo de Hybernia, ſo called becauſe his ſurname is not knowen. He was a gray Frier, and a great traueiler. He floriſhed in the yere 1360. He wrote, Itinerarium quoddam. lib. 1.

Huſey. Oliuer Huſey, a profeſſour of the Artes in Doway.

Hurly. Derby Hurly, a ciuilian, and a commendable Philoſopher: he wrote In Ariſtotelis Phyſica.

Ioſſe. Robert Ioſſe, borne in Kylkenny, a good humanitian.

Kelley. Radulphus Kelley, a Monke, brought vp in the knowledge of the latin tonge in Kyldare, in which he profited ſo well, that for hys eloquence and wiſedom, he was ſent to Clement the ſixt, as the ſpeaker or prolocutor of all hys order, and alſo was appoynted the generall aduocate or deputie vnder Petrus de Caſa, maiſter generall of the order. After he was aduaunced to be Archbiſhop of Caſhell, in which honour he deceaſed, hauyng at vacant houres written. 1342.

In iure canonico. lib. 1.

Epiſtolarum familiarium. lib. 1.

Kenedy. Thomas Kenedy, a Ciuilian.

Kerny. Kerny, he wrote in Iriſh Catachiſmum.

Tranſlationem bibliæ.

Keuannagh. Caghir, a noble man borne, in his time called Mack Murrough, deſcended of that mack Murrough that was ſomtyme king of Leinſter, he was a ſurpaſſing deuine, and for hys learnyng and vertue was created biſhop of Leighlyn, and Abbot of Grage. He flouriſhed in the yeare 1550. and was an hundred yeres olde when he deceaſed.

King. James King, borne in Dublyn, and ſcholer to M. Patrike Cuſack, vnder whome beyng commendably trayned, he repayred to the vniuerſitie of Cambridge, where he deceaſed before he coulde attayne to that ripeneſſe of learnyng, whereto one of ſo pregnaunt a wit was lyke in tyme to aſpire. He wrote 1569.

Carmina in laudem Henrici Sydnæi.

Diuerſa Epigrammata.

Ley. Ley, a learned and an expert Phiſition.

Leurouſe. Leurouſe a learned deuine, ſometyme biſhop of Kyldare, and Deane of S. Patrickes in Dublyn. 1556.

Loghlen. Æneas Loghlen, or Mackleighlen, M. of Arte, and a preacher.

Long. Thomas Long doctor of both the lawes, he proceeded at Paris, in the yeare 1576. in Auguſt. he is a proper philoſopher, no ſtraunger in ſcholaſticall deuinitie, a prety Latiniſt. He wrote

De ſpeciebus contra mendacem Monachum.

In Ariſtotelis phyſica.

Theſes ex præcipuis iuris vtriuſque partibus ſelectas Carolo Borbonio cardinali cõſecratas.

Lumbar. Peter Lumbard borne in Waterford, ſcholer to M. Peter White, hauing imploied two yeres and a halfe in the ſtudy of philoſophy at Louaine, he was choſen when he proceeded M. of Arte, Primus Vniuerſitatis, by the vniforme conſent of the foure principals, which preferment did happen to none in ſuch conſenting wiſe, in many yeres before, he wrote Carmen Heroicum in Doctoratum Nicolai Quemerfordi.

Mackcragh. Dorby Mackcragh, a ſtudent in deuinitie.

Magran. Magrane, a ſcholemaiſter in Dublinne, he wrote Carols and ſundry balades.

Malachias. Malachias borne in Vlſter. His lyfe is exactly written by S. Bernard, in whoſe Abbey he died in the yeare 1148. He wrote

Conſtitutorum communium, lib. 1.

Legum cœlibatus lib. 1.

Nouarum traditionum lib. 1.

Ad D. Bernardum, epiſt. plures.

Malachias minority. Malachias, the minorite or gray frier, a ſtudent in the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, where he attained to that knowlege in deuinitie, as he was the onely man in his tyme that was appoynted to preach before the king and the nobilitie, a ſharp reprouer of vice, a painfull embracer of vertue, enemy to flattery, friend to ſimplicitie. He flouriſhed in the yeare 1310. he wrote

De peccatis & remedijs, lib. 1.

Conciones plures, lib. 1.

Mauricius. Mauricius Hybernus, of hym Ioannes Camertes thus writeth.

Iohannes Camert. in cap. 35. Soli. Annis ab his proximis excelluit, ex ea inſula oriundus Mauricius, D. Franciſci ordinis profeſſus, In dialecticis, vtraq; phyloſophia, metaphiſicis,

ſicis, ac ſacra theologia plurimum ſtudioſus. Niſi inſuper dici poteſt, qua humanitate, quaue morum ſanctimonia præditus fuerit: Is cum annis pluribus in Patauino Gymnaſio bonas artes docuiſſet, cum ſumma omnium gratia, ob eius ſingularem eruditionem atque candidiſſimos mores, a Iulio ſecundo pontifice maximo in Tuamenſem archiepiſcopum creatus eſt. Quo cum relicta Italia bellis in ea ſæuientibus proficiſceretur, non multum poſt, magna ſtudiorum iactura, cum nondum quinquageſimum ætatis ſuæ attigiſſet annum, mortem obijt. Erant plurima ſuæ doctrinæ in manibus monumenta, quæ ob immaturam tamen eius mortem edere non licuit. Quantum vero nos inter ſe dum viueret, ſummæ neceſſitudinis vinculum iunxit, teſtantur ſexcentæ epiſtolæ, quas plenas charitatis iudicijs, varijs temporibus ad me dedit. His (quanta veræ amicitiæ vis) poſt amici obitum, [illegible] aſſiduè recreor.

There dyd (ſayeth Ioannes Camertes) of late yeres one Mauritius borne in Irelande [illegible], a gray Frier profeſſed, very well ſéene in Logike, depely grounded in philoſophy, both morall and naturall, learned in the Metaphiſikes, in diuinitie péereleſſe. Scantly may I tell with how great curtiſie and vertue he was endued. When he had profeſſed at Padua the liberall Artes many yeres with no ſmall reioyſing: he was created by Iulius the ſecond, not onely for his profound knowledge, but alſo for the ſinceritie of his lyfe, Archbiſhop of Tuen. When he was trauellyng thitherward, beyng departed from Italy, by reaſon of the vprores that there were daily encreaſing, he ended his lyfe to the great loſſe of learnyng, before he was full fifty yeres olde. He had ſundry workes in hand, which he coulde not haue finiſhed by reaſon of his vntimely death. How dere and entier frendes he and I were one to the other during his life, the letters he addreſſed me from tyme to tyme, to the number of ſixe hundred, thwackt with loue and kyndneſſe, do manifeſtly declare. And by peruſing of them after his death (ſuch is ý force of friendſhip) I am greatly comforted. Thus far Camertes. This Mauritius wrote.

Commentarios ſuper Scotum in prædicabilia.
In magiſtrum ſententiarum, lib. 4.

Mauritius Caſſilienſis. Mauricius Archbiſhop of Caſhill, he floriſhed in king Iohns raigne. Giraldus Cambrienſe, vpon his commyng into Ireland, and debacing the country in the hearyng of this prelate, ſaying that albeit the inhabitauntes were wont to brag of the number of their Saintes, yet they had no Martyrs. You ſay very well ſir (quoth the Archbiſhop) in déede as rude as this countrey is or hath bene, yet the dwellers had the ſaintes in ſome reuerence. But now that the gouernement of the countrey is come to your kings handes, we ſhall (I truſt) ſhortly be ſtared with Martyrs.

Miagh. John Miagh a deuine, he wrote a treatiſe, de poſſeſſione Monaſteriorum.

Money. Money, a Ciuilian and a good Latiniſt.

Neilan. Neylan, ſomtime fellow of Alſoules colledge in Oxford, a learned phiſition.

Nigran. Patricke Nigram a deuine.

Norrys. Phillip Norris a ſcholer of Oxford, and after Deane of S. Patrickes in Dublyn. He flouriſhed in the yeare 1446. & wrote theſe workes.

Declamationes quaſdam, lib. 1.
Lecturas ſcripturarum, lib. 1.
Sermones ad populum, lib. 1.
Contra mendicitatem validam, lib. 1.

Nugent. Nugent, baron of Deluyn, ſcholed in the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge.

William Nugent a proper gentleman, and of a ſinguler good wit, he wrote in the Engliſh tongue diuers Sonets.

Obuge. Dauid Obuge, borne in the towne of Kildare. For hys learned lectures, and ſubtile diſputations openly publiſhed in Oxford and Treuers in Germany, he was taken for the gemme and lanterne of his country. In his tyme Giraldus Bononienſis, beyng maiſter generall of ý Carmelites, was at iarre with William Lydlington, the prouinciall of the Engliſh Carmelites. Whereupon tenne of the wiſeſt and learnedſt Carmelits, that then were reſiant in Englande beyng elected to reſiſt their generall, Obuge was choſen to be the formã of al ý crew. Giraldus Bononienſis. Giraldus Bononienſis vnderſtandyng that he beyng an Iriſhman, was ſo hote in the controuerſie, was egerly bent agaynſt Obug, becauſe he aſſured hymſelf to haue had fauour at his hands, by reaſon Obuge was borne in that countrey where the Giraldines his kinſmen were planted, and therupon he was baniſhed Italy. This ſtorme in proceſſe of tyme beyng appeaſed, the outcaſt Carmelite was made the general gardien of all his fraternitie in Irelande, which country by his continual teaching & preaching was greatly edified. Ouer this he was ſo politique a counſailor, that the nobilitie & eſtates in cauſes of weight, woulde haue recourſe to hym as to an oracle. He was in philoſophy an Ariſtotle, in eloquence a Tully, in deuinitie an Auguſtine, in the ciuill law a Iuſtinian, in the canon a Panormitane. He floriſhed in the yere 1320. he deceaſed at Kyldare, leauyng theſe learned workes enſuyng to poſteritie.

Sermones ad Clerum, lib. 1.
Epiſtolæ 32 ad diuerſos, lib. 1.
Propoſitiones diſputatas, lib. 1.
Lectiones Treuerenſes, lib. 1.
Regulæ Iuris, lib. 1.
Contra Giraldum Bononienſem.

Odewhee. Owen Odewhee, a preacher, and a maker in Iriſhe.

Oheirnain Thomas Oheyrnayne, Deane of Corke, a learned deuine, he wrote in Latine,

Ad Iacobum Stanihurſtum, epiſt. plures.

Oheirligh. Thomas Ohyrligh, biſhop of Roſſe, an exquiſite deuine, brought vp in Italy.

Pander. Pander, a man zealouſly addicted to the reformation of his countrey, whereof he wrote a politike booke in Latin, entituled Salus populi.

Patricius. Patricius, who notwithſtanding he be no Iriſh man borne, yet I may not ouerſlip hym in the catalogue of Iriſh authors, for as much as hys whole workes tended to the conuerſion and reformation of that countrey, he was ſurnamed Succetus or Magonius, an abſolute deuine, adourning his deepe knowledge therin with ſinceritie of lyfe. Beyng ſent into Ireland by the appoyntment of Cœleſtinus the firſt, accompanied with Segetius a prieſt, he conuerted the Iſland from idolatry and paganiſme, to chriſtianitie. He wrote theſe bookes followyng. 432.

De antiquitate Analonica, lib. 1.
Itinerarium confeſſionis, lib. 1.
Odorporicon Hyberniæ, lib. 1.
Hiſtoria Hyberniæ ex Ruano, lib. 1.
De tribus Habitaculis, lib. 1.
De futura electorum vita. lib. 1.
Abiectoria quædam, 366. lib. 1.
Sermones, lib. 1.
Ad Cereticum tyrannum, epiſt. 1.
Ad Aualonicos incolas, epiſt. 1.
Ad Hybernicas eccleſias, epiſt. plures.
Ad Britannos, epiſt. plures.

He deceaſed, beyng 122. yeres old, in the yeare 458. or as ſome ſuppoſe 491. and lyeth buryed in an auncient city, in the North of Irelande, named Doune, accordyng to the old verſe.

Hi tres in Duno tumulo tumulantur in vno.
Brigida, Patricius, atq; Columba pius.

Patricius Abbas. Patricius Abbas, a learned man, and much giuen to the edifiyng of his countreymen. He floriſhed in the yere 850. and deceaſed at Glaſcobury. Some aſcribe the finding of S. Patrikes purgatory to this Abbot, not to Patrike that conuerted the countrey, but that errour hath bene before ſufficiently reproued. This Abbot wrote,

Homelias, lib. 1.
Ad Hybernos, epiſt. plures,

Petrus Hybernicus. Petrus Hybernicus, profeſſor of philoſophy in Naples, at which time Thomas Aquinas that after became the lantern of ſcholemen, both in philoſophy and deuinitie, was hys ſcholer, beyng therfore as highly renowmed, as Socrates is for beyng M. to Plato, or Plato is, for hauyng Ariſtotle to hys ſcholer. This Petrus flouriſhed in the yere 1230. he wrote,

Quodlibeta theologica. lib. 1.

Plunckct. Plunckett, baron of Dunſany, ſcholer in Ratough, to M. Staghens, after ſent by ſir Chriſtofer Barnewall knight, hys friendly father in law, to the vniuerſitie of Oxforde. Where how well he profited in knowledge, as ſuch as are of hys acquaintaunce, preſently perceyue, ſo hereafter when hys workes ſhall take the ayre, that now by reaſon of baſhfull modeſtie, or modeſt baſhfulnes are wrongfully empriſoned, and in maner ſtifled in ſhadowed couches, I doubt not, but hys fame and renowme in learnyng, ſhall be aunſwerable to his deſert and valure in writyng.

Pounrel Pounrell, a bacheler of deuinitie, ſometyme chapleine in newe colledge at Oxford, after returnyng to his countrey, he was beneficed in Drogheda, from thence ſlitted to Louayne, where through continuall hearyng of lectures and diſputations, more then by his priuate ſtudy, he purchaſed a laudable knowledge in deuinitie. Wherby he gaue manifeſt ſhewe of the profite that riſeth of exerciſe and conference. The fru of exercis Upon this occaſion one of hys acquaintaunce was accuſtomed to tell hym that he had all hys deuinitie by hearesay. He deceaſed at Louain in the yere 1573.

Quemerford. 1575. Nicholas Quemerford, doctor of deuinitie, proceeded the 23. of October, he wrote in Engliſh a very pithy and learned treatiſe, & therewithall exquiſitely pend, entituled,

Aunſwers to certayne queſtions propounded by the citizens of Waterford.

Diuers ſermons.

There lyued lately of the ſurname, a graue prelate in Waterford, and properly learned.

Ryan. Ryan, there lyued two brethren of the ſame name, both ſcholers of Oxford, the one a good Ciuilian, the other very well ſeene in the Mathematicals.

Richard. Richard, Archdeacon of S. Patrikes, Chauncellour of the Uniuerſitie of Dubline, proceded Doctor of the Canon law, in the yere 1320.

Rochefo Robert Rochforde, borne in the Countye of Weiſford, a proper deuine, an exact Philoſopher, and a very good antiquary. There is another Rochford, that is a ſtudent of philoſophy.

Roth. Roth, bacheler of law, proceeded in the Uniuerſitie of Oxford. There hath bene another Roth Vicar of S. Johns in Kylkenny, pretily learned.

De ſacro boſco. Ioannes de ſacro boſco, borne in Holywode, and thereof ſurnamed de ſacro boſco. He wrote an excellent introduction,

De Sphæra.

Sedgra Sedgraue, two brethren of the name, both ſtudentes in deuinitie.

Shaghe Shaghens fellow of Baliol colledge in Oxford, after ſcholemaiſter in Ireland, a learned and a vertuous man.

Sheyne. Sheyne, ſcholer in Oxforde and Paris. He wrote, De repub.

Elias

Sheth. Elian Sheth, borne in Kylkenny, ſometyme ſcholer of Oxforde, a gentleman of a paſſing good wit: a pleaſant conceyted companion, full of mirth without gall. He wrote in Engliſh diuers Sonettes.

Michael Sheth borne in Kylkenny, M. of Artes.

Skidmor. Skydmour borne in Corcke, and warden of Yoghyll.

Smith. Richard Smyth, borne in a towne, named Rackmackney, thrée myles diſtant frō Waterford, ſurnamed Smyth of hys father, who was by occupatiō a Smith, being. 14. yeres of age, he ſtole into England, and repaired to Oxford where in tract of tyme he proceeded doctour of diuinitie, and was elected reader of the chaire, taken in thoſe dayes for the peereleſſe paragon of all the deuines in Oxforde, as well in ſcholaſticall as in poſitiue diuinitie. Upon the death of Quéene Mary, he went to Louayne, where he red openly the Apocalips of S. John, with litle admiration and leſſe reprehenſiō. He wrote in Engliſh agaynſt licentious faſtyng, or the liberty of Faſtyng.

The aſſertion of the ſacrament of the aulter.
A defence of the ſacrafice of the maſſe. lib. 1.
Of vnwritten verities. lib. 1.
Retractations. lib. 1.
In the latin tongue he wrote de cœlibatu ſacerdotum. lib. 1.
De votis Monaſticis. lib. 1.
De Iuſtificatione hominis. lib. 1.

Stani- hurſt. Nicholas Stanihurſt, he wrote in latine, Dietam Medicorum, lib. 1. He dyed in the yeare 1554.

James Stanihurſt, late recorder of Dublyn, ouer hys exacte knowledge in the common lawes, he was a good oratour, and a proper deuine. He wrote in Engliſhe, beyng ſpeaker in the parliamentes. An oration made in the beginnyng of a parliament holden at Dublyn before the right honourable Thomas Erle of Suſſex, &c. in the third and fourth yere of Phillip and Mary. 1557.

An oration made in the beginnyng of the parliament holden at Dublyn, before the right honourable Thomas Erle of Suſſex, in the ſecond yere of the raigne of our ſoueraigne lady Quéene Elizabeth. 1560.

An oration made in the beginnyng of a Parliament holden at Dublyn, before the right honourable ſir Henry Sidney knight, &c. in the xj. yeare of the raigne of our ſoueraigne Lady Quéene Elizabeth. 1568. He wrote in Latin,

Pias Orationes.
Ad Corcacienſem decanum, epiſt. plures.

He deceaſed at Dublyn, the 27. of December, 1573. beyng 51. yeres olde. Upon whoſe death, I, as nature and duty bound me, made this epitaph.

Vita breuis, mors ſancta fuit (pater optime) viſa,
Vita timenda malis, mors redamanda bonis.
Vrbs eſt orba ſopho: legum rectore tribunal,
Cauſidicuſq; cliens, atq; parente puer.
Plurima plura ferrem, ſed me prohibere videtur,
Pingere vera dolor, fingere falſa pudor.
Non opus eſt falſis, ſed quæ ſunt vera loquuntur,
Non mea penna nocet, buccina fama ſonet.
Hoc ſcripſiſſe ſatis, talem quandoq; parentem
Eſt habuiſſe decus, ſed caruiſſe dolor.
Filius hæc dubitans talē vix comperit vſquam
Viſus in orbe patrem, nullus in vrbe parem.
Mortuus ergo pater, potens bene viuus haberi,
Viuis enim mundo nomine, mente deo.

Walter Stanihurſt, ſonne to James Stanihurſt, he tranſlated into Engliſh, Innocentius de contemptu mundi.

There flouriſhed before any of theſe a Stanihurſt, that was a ſcholer of Oxford, brother to Gennet Stanihurſt, a famous and an auncient matrone of Dublyn, ſhe lyeth buried in S. Michaels church. Circa annū dom. 1506.

Sutton. Sutton, one of that name, is a very good maker in Engliſh.

Talbot. Mathew Talbot ſcholemaiſter, a Student in Cambridge, William Talbot.

John Talbot, ſonne to William, a M. of Arte, he wrote in Latine

Orationem in laudem comitis Eſſexiæ,
Diuerſa Epigrammata.

Tanner. Edmund Tanner, a profound deuine, he wrote Lectiones in ſummam D. Thomæ.

Taylor. Taylor, bacheler of Arte, proceeded in the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, he wrote in Latine, Epigrammata diuerſa.

Thomas Hybernus. Thomas Hybernus, borne in Palmerſtowne nere the Naas. He proceeded doctor of deuinitie in Paris, a deepe clearke and one that red much, as may eaſily be gathered by his learned workes. He flouriſhed in the yere 1290. and wrote with diuers other workes, theſe bookes enſuyng.

Flores bibliæ.
Flores doctorum, lib. 2.
De Chriſtiana religione, lib. 1.
De illuſionibus dæmonum, lib. 1.
De Tentatione diaboli, lib. 1.
De remedijs vitiorum, lib. 1.

Toole. Laurentius Toole, Archbiſhop of Dublyn.

Trauerſe. Trauerſe doctor of deuinitie, he floriſhed in the raigne of Henry the 8. There hath bene after hym a ſcholemaiſter in Dublyn of yͤ name.

Tundalus. Tundalus Magus, a knight, after he became a charterhouſe monke, much giuen to contemplacion, wherin he is reported to haue ſéene diuers viſions of heauen and hell, and thereupon he wrote Apparitionum ſuarum, lib. 1. He floriſhed in the yere 1149.

Virgilius Soliuagus. Virgilius Soliuagus, a noble man borne, being ſtept in yeares, he trauelled into Germany,

754. where beyng knowen for a vertuous and learned prelate, he was choſen by Odilon Duke of Bauaria, to be their rectour or gardein of an auncient Abbey, named S. Peters Abbey, placed in the city of Saliſburge, after he was created Episcopus Iuuauienſis, and founded in the ſaid towne of Saliſburge a church. In his time one Bonifacius (an Engliſh man) beyng generall viſitour in Bauaria, rebaptized certaine, whome he ſuſpected not to haue bene orderly baptiſed. Virgilius deteſting the facte, hauyng conſulted with Sydonius Archbiſhop of Bauaria, withſtod Bonifacius in his fond attempt. The controuerſie beyng brought before Pope Zacharias, he decreed that Bonifacius held an error, and that Virgilius and Sydonius publiſhed in that poynte ſounde doctrine, as who ſo wyll read Zacharias hys epiſtle to Bonifacius, ſhall playnely ſee. Virgilius deceaſed in the yeare 784 and lyeth buried in hys church at Saliſburge. He wrote, — Tomo primo conciliorum.

Ad Zachariam Rom. pont. epiſt. 1.

Vltagh. Owen Vltagh a phiſition. His father proceded doctor of Phiſike in Paris.

Vltanus. Vltanus a learned monke, fellow to Foillanus, with whom he traueiled into Fraunce, & wyth continuall preachyng edified the inhabitantes of that realme. He floriſhed in the yere 640.

Vrgalius. Gilbertus Vrgalius, a profeſt Carmelite, and a ſtudent in Oxford. He floriſhed in the yere 1330 he wrote in two great Tomes,

Summam quarumdam legum.

De rebus theologicis, lib. 1.

Vſher. Vſher, or Vſcher, a ſtudent in Cambridge, and a preacher.

Wadding. Wadding, a proper verſifier, he wrote in latine vpon the burnyng of Paules ſteple.

Carmen Heroicum.

Diuerſa Epigrammata.

Walſhe. Edward Walſhe, he floriſhed in the yeare 1550. and wrote in Engliſh,

The duety of ſuch as fight for their countrey.

The reformation of Ireland by the worde of God.

James Walſh, M. of Arte, and ſtudent in diuinitie, he tranſlated into Engliſh, Giraldum Cambrienſem, he wrote in latine,

Epigrammata diuerſa.

Richard Walſhe M. of Art, and ſtudent in diuinitie. There is a learned man of the name beneficed in S. Patrikes church in Dublynne, ſtudent in Cambridge, and now a preacher.

Peter Walſhe a proper youth, and one that would haue bene an ornament to his country, if God had ſpared him lyfe. He dyed of a ſurfet at London, about the yere 1571.

There dwelleth in Waterford a lawyer of the ſurname, who writeth a very proper Latine verſe.

Welleſly [illegible] there lyueth an other learned man of the name, who is Archdeacon of S. Patrikes. — Welleſley.

Peter White, borne in Waterford, fellow of Orial colledge in Oxford, the lucky ſcholemaiſter of Mounſter. He beſtowed his tyme rather in the makyng of ſcholers, than in the pennyng of bookes, and to the inſtruction of youth he wrote, — White.

Epitom. in copiam Eraſmi.

Epitom. Figurarum rhetoricarum.

Annotationes in orat. pro Archia poeta.

Annot. in orationem pro T. Annio Milone.

Epigrammata diuerſa.

John White, bachelor of diuinitie, borne in Clonmell, he wrote in latin,

Diuerſa piaque epigrammata.

Andrew White, a good humanitian, & a prety philoſopher.

Wiſe, of this ſurname there floriſhed ſundry learned gentlemen. There liueth one Wiſe in Waterforde, that maketh very well in the Engliſh. — Wiſe.

Andrew Wiſe, a toward youth and a good verſifier.

William, an Abbate, and as it is thought a ſothſaier. He floriſhed in the yere [illegible] & wrote Prophecias rerum futurarum, lib. 1. — William.

David Wolfe, a deuine. — Wolfe.

Thus farre gentle reader, haue I endeuoured to heape vp together a Catalogue of ſuche learned Iriſhme͂, as by diligent ſearch could haue ben found. Howbeit, I am to requeſt thee not to meaſure the ample number of the learned of that countrey by this briefe abſtract, conſideryng, that diuers haue ben, yea and are yet liuyng, of profound knowledge that to me are vnknowen, and therefore in this regiſter, not recorded.

The diſpoſition and maners of the meere Iriſh, commonly called the wyld Iriſhe.

Chap. 8.

Before I attempt the vnfoldyng of the maners of the meere Iriſh, I thinke it expedient, to forewarne thee reader, not to impute any barbarous cuſtome that ſhall be here layde downe, to the citizens, townſmen, and the inhabitants of the engliſh pale, in that they differ little or nothyng from the auncient cuſtomes and diſpoſitions of their progenitors, the Engliſh and Walſhmen, beyng therfore as mortally behated of ẏ Iriſh, as thoſe that are borne in England. For the Iriſhe man ſtandeth ſo much vpon hys gentilitie, that he termeth any one of the Engliſh ſept, and planted in Irelãd, Bobdeagh Galteagh, that is, Engliſh churle: but if he be an Engliſhman borne, then he nameth — Iriſh gentilitie.

meth hym, Bobdeagh Saxonnegh, that is, a Saxon churle: ſo that both are churles, and he the onely gentleman, and therupon if the baſeſt peſant of them name hymſelfe with hys ſuperior, he will be ſure to place himſelfe firſt, as I and Oneyle, I and you, I and he, I & my maiſter, wheras the curteſie of the Engliſhe language is cleane contrary.

The inclination of the people.

The people are thus enclined, religious, frāke, amorous, irefull, ſufferable of infinite paynes, very glorious, many ſorcerers, excellent horſemen, delighted with wars, great almesgiuers, paſſing in hoſpitality. The lewder ſorte, both clearkes and lay men are ſenſuall & ouer looſe in liuyng. The ſame beyng vertuouſly bred vp or reformed, are ſuch myrrors of holynes and auſteritie, that other nations retaine but a ſhadow of deuotion in compariſon of them. As for abſtinence and faſting, it is to them a familiar kynd of chaſtiſement.

They follow the dead corpes to the graue with howlyng and barbarous outcries, pitiful in apparaunce, wherof grew, as I ſuppoſe, the prouerbe, to weepe Iriſh.

To weepe Iriſhe.

Greedy of prayſe they be, and fearefull of diſhonor, and to this ende they eſteme their Poets, who write Iriſh learnedly, and pen their ſonets heroicall, for the which they are bountifully rewarded, if not, they ſende out libels in diſprayſe, whereof the Lordes and gentlemen ſtand in great awe. They loue tenderly their foſter children, and bequeath to them a childes portion wherby they nouriſh ſure friendſhip, ſo beneficiall euery way, that commonly, v. C. kowes and better, are giuen in reward to win a noble mans child to foſter, they loue & truſt their foſter brethren, more then their owne.

Poets eſteemed.

Foſter children.

The men are cleane of ſkin & hew, of ſtature tall. The women are well fauoured, cleane coloured, faire handed, big and large, ſuffered frō their infancy to grow at will, nothing curious of their feature and proportion of body.

The ſtature of the people.

Their infances of the meaner ſort are neither ſwadled nor lapped in lynnen, but folded vppe ſtarke naked in a blanket till they can go.

Infants.

Proud they are of long criſped buſhes of heare which they terme glibs, and the ſame they nouriſh with all their cūning, to crop ỷ front thereof, they take it for a notable piece of villany.

Glibbes.

Water creſſes, which they terme ſhamrocks, rootes and other herbes they feede vpon, otemeale and butter they cramme together, they drinke whey, mylke, and biefe brothe. Fleſhe they deuour without bread, and that halfe raw: the reſt boyleth in their ſtomackes with Aqua vitæ, which they ſwill in after ſuch a ſurfet by quartes & pottels: they let their cowes bloud, which growen to a gelly, they bake and ouerſpred with butter, and ſo eate it in lumpes. No meat they fanſie ſo much as porke, and the fatter the better. One of Iohn Oneales houſhold demaunded of his fellow whether biefe were better then porke, that, quoth the other, is as intricate a queſtion, as to aſke whether thou art better then Oneale.

Their dyet.

Porcke.

Their noble men, and noble mens tenauntes now and then make a ſet feaſt, which they call, coſhering, wherto flocke all their retayners, whom they name followers, their rithmoures, their bardes, their harpers that feede thē with muſike, and when the harper twangeth or ſingeth a ſong, all the company muſt be whiſt, or elſe he chafeth like a cutpurſe, by reaſō his harmony is not had in better price. In their coſhering they ſit on ſtraw, they are ſerued on ſtraw and lie vpon mattreſſes and pallets of ſtrawe. The antiquitie of this kynde of feaſting, is ſet forth by Virgill, where Dido entertayneth the Troyā prince and his company. They obſerue diuers degrees, according to which ech man is regarded. The baſeſt ſort among them are little yong wags, called Daltines, theſe are lackies, & are ſeruiceable to the gromes or horſeboyes, who are a degree aboue the Daltins. Of the third degree is the kerne, who is an ordinary ſouldior, vſing for weapon his ſword & target, and ſometimes hys peece, beyng commonly ſo good markemen as they will come within a ſcore of a great caſtle. Kerne ſignifieth, as noblemen of depe iudgement informed me, a ſhower of hell, becauſe they are taken for no better then for rakehels, or the deuils blacke garde, by reaſon of the ſtinkyng ſturre they keepe, where ſo euer they be. The fourth degre is a galloglaſſe, vſing a kind of pollax for his weapon. Theſe men are commonly wayward rather by profeſſion then by nature, grim of countenāce, tall of ſtature, big of limme, burly of body, wel and ſtrongly timberd, chiefly feeding on beefe, porke and butter. The fift degree is to be an horſman, which is the chiefeſt next the lord and capitaine. Theſe horſemen when they haue no ſtay of their own, gad and range from houſe to houſe like arrant knights of the round table, and they neuer diſmount vntill they ride into the hall, and as farre as the table.

Coſhering.

Folowers.

Lib.pri.En. circa finem

Daltyn.

Grome.

Kearne.

Kigheyren

Gollo-glaſſe.

Horſeman.

There is among them a brotherhod of Karrowes, that profer to play at chartes all ỷ yere long, and make it their onely occupation. They play away mantle and all to the bare ſkin, and then truſſe themſelues in ſtrawe or in leaues, they wayte for paſſengers in the high way, inuite them to game vpon the grene, & aſke them no more but companions to holde them ſporte. For default of other ſtuffe, they pawne their glibs, the nailes of their fingers and toes, their dimiſſaries, which they leeſe or redeeme at the cur-

Karrow.

curteſie of the wynner.

A tale teller.

One office in the houſe of noble men is a taleteller, who bringeth his lord aſleepe with tales vayne and friuolous, whereunto the number giue ſooth & credite. Without eyther preceptes or obſeruation of congruitie, they ſpeake latin lyke a vulgar language, learned in their common ſchooles of leachcraft and lawe, whereat they begin children, and hold on 16. or 20. yeres, conning by rote the Aphoriſmes of Hypocrates, and the ciuill inſtitutes, with a fewe other parings of thoſe faculties. In their ſchooles, they grouel vpō couches of ſtraw, their bookes at their noſes, themſelues lye flat proſtrate, & ſo they chaunt out with a lowd voyce their leſſons by peecemeale, repeating two or three wordes 30. or 40. tymes together. Other lawyers they haue lyable to certaine families, which after the cuſtome of the countrey determine & iudge cauſes. Theſe cōſider of wrongs offered and receyued among their neighbors: be it murther, felony, or treſpaſſe, all is remedied by compoſition (except the grudge of parties ſeeke reuenge) and the tyme they haue to ſpare from ſpoyling and preding, they lightly beſtowe in parling about ſuch matters. The Breighon (ſo they call this kinde of Lawyer) ſitteth on a banke, the lordes and gentlemen at variance round about him, and then they proceede. To robbe and ſpoile their enemies they deeme it none offence, nor ſeeke any meanes to recouer their loſſe, but euen to watch them the lyke turne. But if neighbors and friendes ſend their purueyors to purloyne one an other, ſuch actions are iudged by the Breighons aforeſaid.

Latin ſpoken as a vulgare language.

Breighon.

Religious fauoured.

They honour and reuerence Friers and pilgrimes, by ſuffering them to paſſe quietly, and by ſparing theyr manſiōs, whatſoeuer outrage they ſhew to the countrey beſides them. The lyke fauour do they extend to their Poetes and Rithmours.

Matrimony abuſed.

In olde tyme they much abuſed the honourable ſtate of marriage, either in contractes vnlawfull, meetyng the degrees of prohibition, or in diuorcementes at pleaſure, or in retaynyng concubines or harlots for wyues: yea euen at this day where the clergy is fainte, they can be content to marry for a yeare and a day of probation, and at the yeres ende, or any tyme after, to returne hir home with hir marriage goodes, or as much in value, vpon light quarrels, if the gentlewomans friendes be vnable to reuenge the iniury. In lyke maner may ſhe forſake hir huſband.

Superſtitiō in baptiſme.

In ſome corner of the land they vſed a damnable ſuperſtition, leauyng the right armes of their infantes vnchriſtened (as they terme it) to the intent it might giue a more vngracious & deadly blowe. Others write that gentlemens children were baptized in mylke, and the infantes of poore folke in water, who had the better or rather the onely choyce.

Irelande why ſuperſtitious.

Diuers other vayne and execrable ſuperſtitions they obſerue, that for a complete recitall would require a ſeuerall volume. Wherto they are the more ſlipſy wedded, becauſe ſuch ſingle preachers as they haue, reproue not in theyr ſermons the peeuiſhneſſe and fondneſſe of theſe friuolous dreamers. But theſe and the like enormities haue taken ſo deepe roote in that people, as commonly a preacher is ſooner by their naughty lyues corrupted, then their naughty lyues by his preaching amended. Againe the very Engliſh of birth, conuerſant with the ſauage ſort of that people become degenerate, & as though they had taſted of Circes poyſoned cup, are quite altered. Such a force hath education to make or marre.

God with the beames of his grace, clarifie the eyes of that rude people, that at length they may ſee their miſerable eſtate: and alſo that ſuch, as are deputed to the gouernment thereof, bend their induſtry with conſcionable pollicye to reduce them from rudeneſſe to knowledge, from rebellion to obedience, from trechery to honeſty, from ſauageneſſe to ciuilitie, from idleneſſe to labour, from wickedneſſe to godlyneſſe, whereby they may the ſooner eſpy their blyndneſſe, acknowledge their loſeneſſe, amende their liues, frame thēſelues plyable to ẏ lawes and ordinaunces of hir Maieſtie, whom God with his gracious aſſiſtance preſerue, as wel to the proſperous gouernment of hir realme of England, as to the happye reformation of hir realme of Ireland.

FINIS.

THE HISTORIE

of Irelande.

ALthough vndoubtedlye, the Originall of all nations for the more part is ſo vncertaine, that who ſo euer ſhall enter into the ſearche thereof further than hee findeth in the holie ſcriptures, may ſeeme (as it were rather to talk with men that dreame) than to gather authorities ſufficient wherevpon to grounde any warranted opinion: yet for as muche as the authors (whom in this Iriſh hyſtorie we chiefly followe) haue ſet downe what they haue founde in the Iriſhe antiquities, concerning the firſte inhabitation of this countrey of Ireland: and bycauſe the reader alſo maye be peraduenture deſirous to vnderſtande the ſame, we haue thoughte good to recite what they haue written thereof, leauyng the credite vnto the due conſideration of the circumſpecte reader, and where the errours are to groſſe, giuing by the waye ſome cautions, in lyke ſorte as oure Authours themſelues haue done.

Edmund Campion.
Giraldus Cambrenſis.

According therfore to the order of al other nations and people that ſeeke to aduaunce the glory of their countreyes in fetching their beginnyng with the fartheſt from ſome one of auncient antiquitie: ſo lykewiſe the Iriſhmen haue regiſtred in their Chronicles, that their Countrey was firſte inhabited by one of Noes neeces after this manner.

In the yeare of the world. 1525. the Patriarke Noe began to admoniſh the people of vengeance to followe for their wickedneſſe and abhominable ſinnes, to buyld his arke, to foreſhew his kinſfolk and frendes, of that vniuerſal floud whiche was to come, wherewith the whole face of the earthe ſhoulde be couered with water, and that within fewe yeeres, except they amended in tyme. This did he before the generall Floud one hundred and xxv. yeeres. But when euery man ſeemed to neglect this wholſom admonition, one Ceſara that was neece to Noe, hearyng hir vncles fearefull prophecie, doubted leaſt the ſame ſhould come to paſſe, and therfore determined with certayne hir adherentes to ſeeke aduentures in ſome forrayne region, perſuading hir ſelf, that if ſhe might finde a countrey neuer yet inhabited, and ſo with ſinne vnſpotted, the generall ſentence of Gods wrathe ſhould not there take effecte. Wherupon rigging a nauie, ſhe committed hir ſelf to the ſeas, ſayling forth, till at length ſhe arriued in Irelande only with three men, and fiftie women, hauing loſte the reſidue of hir companie by miſfortune of ſundrie ſhipwrackes made in that hir long & troubleſome iourney. The names of the men wer theſe, Bythi, Laigria, and Fintan. The coaſt where ſhe firſt ſet foote a lande, and where alſo ſhe lyeth buried, is called *Nauicularæ littus*, ẏ is the ſhipping riuage or ſhore. The ſtones wherin the memorie hereof was preſerued from violence of waters, haue bin ſeene of ſome (as they them ſelues haue reported,) but how truly I haue not to ſay. Within. xl. days after hir comming a land there, the vniuerſall floud came and ouerflowed al that coaſt as well as all other partes of the worlde. But where this tale bewrayeth it ſelfe too manifeſtly to be a mere vntruth, if the time & other circũſtances be throughly examined, I wil not ſtãd longer about the proofe or diſprouſe therof, ſauing that it is ſufficient (as I thinke) to bring it oute of credite, to conſider, how that the Arte of ſayling was vnknowne to the world before the vniuerſall floud, and no parte inhabited excepte the continent of Syria, and thereaboutes. But to paſſe ſuch a forged fable, with the recorde thereof grauen in a ſtone (A deuiſe borowed from Joſephus, as ſome thinke) it ſhal be ſufficient for the glorie of the Iriſh antiquitie to graunt that Irelande was diſcouered and peopled by ſome of Noes kinrede, euen with the firſt Ilandes of the world (if they will needes haue it ſo, as the likelyhood is great) according to that whiche is ſette forth in their hiſtories, when aboute. 300. yeeres after the generall Floud immediately vpon the confuſion of toungs, Japhet and his poſteritie emboldened by Noes example, aduentured to cõmitte themſelues by ſhippe to paſſe the ſeas, and to ſearche out the vnknowne corners of ẏ world, and ſo finding out diuers yles in theſe weſt partes of the worlde.

Ceſara neece to Noe.

Anno mundi. 1556.

Rab. Iſaac in Gene.5.

Anno mundi. 1557.
After the beſte authours make 300. yeres: and not. 100. betwene Noes floud and Baball.

There was (ſaye they) in that retinue one of the ſame progenie named Bartolenus, or Baſtolenus, who encouraged with the late attempte and ſucceſſe of Nimrod, kinſeman to Ninus, (then newely intruded vppon the Monarchie of Aſſyria) ſtretched ſo farre weſt, intending to atteyn vnto ſome gouernement where hee mighte rule

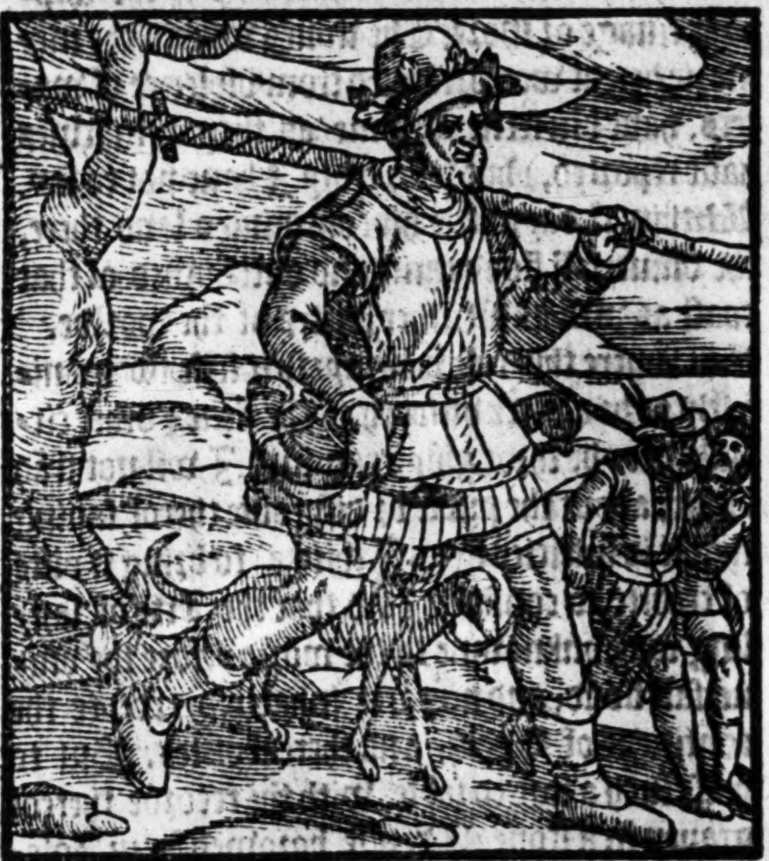
Bartolenus, or Baſtolenus.
Clem.lib.4.
Cambreid.li.2.

without any partener in authoritie) till at length Fortune broughte him and his people vppon the coaſt of Irelande. Here he ſettled himſelfe with his three ſonnes, Languinna, Salannis, and Ruthurgus, right actiue and ſtout Gentlemen, who ſearching the lande from ſyde to ſyde, and from ende to ende, lefte remembraunces of their names in certayn notable places named after them as Languini, Stragruus, and mount Salanga ſince named Sainte Dominickes hill, and Ruthurgus his poole. Little is remembred of Bartolenus, ſauing that in ſhorte ſpace with many handes working at once, he ridde and made playne a great part of the countrey ouergrowen with woddes and thickets.

Ruthergi ſtagnum.

Ireland firſt inhabited.

Thus was Irelande inhabited by this people vnder the gouernemente of thoſe three ſonnes of Bartholenus and their offspryng, aboute the ſpace of three hundred yeares.



Gyaunts.

Together wyth Bartolenus arriued in Ireland certayn godleſſe people of Nemrods ſtocke, worthily termed Giants, as thoſe that in bodily ſhape exceeded the common proportion of others, and vſed their ſtrengthe to gayne ſoueraigntie, and to oppreſſe the weake with rapine and violence. That linage (Chams brode) grewe in ſhorte whyle to greate numbres, and alway endeuored them ſelues where ſo euer they came to beare yͤ rule ouer others. One cauſe hereof was, their bodily ſtrength anſwerable to their hugeneſſe of ſtature, an other the examples of Cham or Zoroaſtres that Magicien & Nemrod grandfather to Ninus. Whiche two perſons in themſelues & their progenies were renowned through the world, as victorious princes, ruling ouer two mighty kingdoms, Egypt and Aſſyria. A thirde cauſe ther was, as this: They repined at the bleſſings beſtowed vpō Sem and Iaphet, thinking it neceſſarie to withſtand and preuent all lawfull rule and dominion, leſt the curſe of ſlauerie prophecied by Noe ſhould light vpon thē as at length it did. Herevpon rebelliouſly withdrawing their due obedience from their lawfull gouerners here in Ireland, and taking head, ſet vp a king of their own faction, mainteyning his aſtate to yͤ oppreſſion of the ſubiects, by bringing them into continual bondage. The ſucceſſe was variable on both ſides, betwixt the lawful gouernors & theſe vſurpers, with dayly reiſes & ſkirmiſhes, ſo much to yͤ grief of them that coueted to liue in quiet vnder their rightful Princes, that they determined with the chaunce of one general battayle eyther wholly to ſubdue thoſe proud rebellious tyrants, or els to end their lyues in freedom, & ſo to be rid of further miſerie. But firſt, where there had growen certain debate & enimitie amōg thēſelues, whereby they had enfebled their own forces, they thought good to make peace togither, before they put their whole ſtate in hazard of one batayle againſt the Giants, concluding therfore an agreement, & ioyning in league, with promiſe to aſſiſte eche other to ſubdue their cōmon enimies, they aſſemble their power forth of all partes of the land, and comming to ioyne batail with the Giants, after they had fought righte fiercely togither for the ſpace of certaine houres, the victorie enclined to

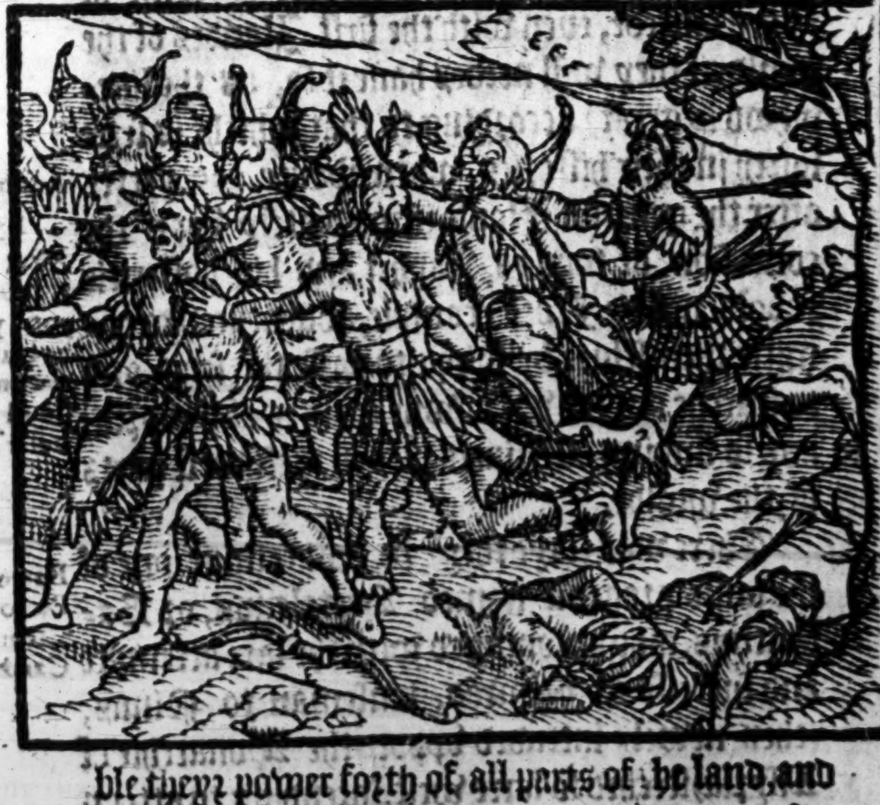
the

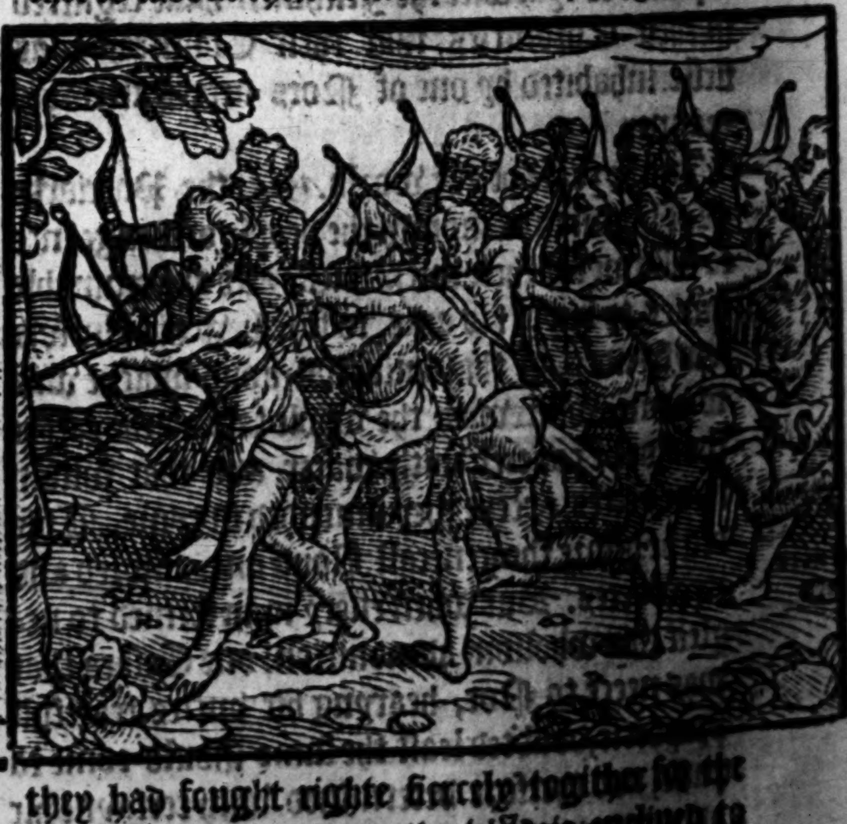
Bergon the ſonne of Nep-tune and brother to Albiō as I. Bale hath cōquered Irelande, and th Orkneys.

Euil examples ſoon folovved

Rebellion againſt gouernours.

A worthy reſolution.





Victorie too cruelly vſed.

Anno mundi. 2257.

the rightful part, ſo that the lawful kings preuayling againſt ye wicked tyrãts, gret ſlaughter was made on the whole brode of that miſcheuous generation. For the kings meaning to deliuer them ſelues of all daunger in tyme to come, vſed theyr happie victorie with great crueltie, whiche turned to their owne confuſion: for where they neyther ſpared man woman nor chylde that came in the way for more deſpite, & fuller ſatiſfying of theyr whole reuenge, they did not vouchſafe to bury the carkaſſes of their ſlayne enimies, but caſte them out lyke a ſort of dead dogges, wherof through ſtenche of the ſame, ſuche an infectiue peſtilence enſewed in all places through corruption of ayre, that fewe eſcaped with lyfe, beſyde thoſe that got them away by ſea.

Ruanus hovve long he lyued.

And hereby lyeth a vayne tale among the Iriſhmen, that one of the Giants named Ruanus chancing to be preſerued from this mortalitie, liued forſooth about. 2041. yeres, which is more thã twice the age of Methuſalem. By this man (ſay they) S. Patrike was enformed of all the eſtate of the coũtrey: and after that vpon requeſt he had receiued baptiſme of the ſayd Patrike, he deceaſed in the yere after the birth of our ſauior. 430. as in the Iriſhe hiſtories hath bene vnaduiſedly regiſtred. But ſuche fooliſhe tales and vayne narrations may warne the aduiſed reader how to beware of yelding credite vnto the lyke idle fantaſies & forged tales, when they hap to lyght vpon ſuche blynde Legendes. For where ſome of the Poets vſed for inuention ſake to fayne ſuch dreaming Fables, for exerciſe of their ſtiles and wits, afterwarde thorough errour and lacke of knowledge, they haue ben taken with the ignorant for verie true and moſte aſſured hiſtories.

Forged tales & fables vvinne credit in tyme, to paſſe among the vnskilfull people for true hiſtories.

But nowe to the matter as we fynde it recorded of an infinite number of Giants ſlayne and made away in maner afore reherſed, certain there were that got them into ſome lurking dennes or caues, and there kepte them till lacke of victuals enforced them to come forth, and make ſhift for ſuſtenaunce, and perceyuing no reſiſtance bycauſe the lande was in maner lefte deſolate, they waxed bolder, and when they vnderſtoode howe things had paſſed, they ſettled them ſelues in the beſt part of the countrey, eaſily ſubduing the poore ſillie ſoules that remayned, and ſo reuiuing theyr lignage, they became lordes of the whole Iland, keping the ſame in ſubiection for the ſpace of three ſcore yeares together.

Gene.10.

Anno mundi. 2317. Nemodus with his foure ſonnes.

Among Iaphets ſonnes we reade in Geneſis, that Magog was one, who planted his people in Scythia neere Tanais, from whence aboute the yeere of the world. 2317. Nemodus with his. iiij. ſonnes Starius, Garbaneles, Anninus, Fergusius capitaynes ouer a faire companye of people, were ſent into Ireland, who paſſing by Grecia, and taking there ſuche as were deſirous to ſeeke aduentures with them, at length they landed in Irelande, inhabited the countrey, and multiplyed therin, although not without continuall warre, which they helde with the Giantes, for the ſpace of two hundred and ſixteene yeeres, in the ende of whiche terme the Giauntes preuayling, chaſed them thence again, ſo that they retired into Syria.

Irelande eſtſones inhabited by the offſpring of Iaphet.

The Giaunts preuayle.

This was aboute the yeere after the creation (as by their accoumpte it ſhoulde ſeeme) 2533. from whiche tyme the Giauntes kepte poſſeſſion of the lande without forrain inuaſion till the yeare. 2714. but yet in all that ſpace they were not able to frame a common welth: for falling at variaunce among them ſelues, and meaſuring all things by might, ſeditiouſly they vexed ech other. Whiche thyng comming to the knowledge of the Grecians, moued fiue brethren, ſonnes to one Dela, being notable ſea men and ſkilfull Pilots to rigge a nauie, and to attempte the conqueſt of this Ilande. Theſe were of the poſteritie of Nemodus, and named Gandius, Genandius, Sagandus, Rutheranius, and Slanius. When all things were readye and their companies aſſembled, they tooke the ſea, and finally arriuing here in Irelande, founde the puiſſance of the Giants ſore weakened throughe their owne ciuill diſſention, ſo that with more eaſe they atchieued theyr purpoſe, and wanne the whole countreye, vtterly deſtroying and rootyng out that wicked generation, enimies to mankinde, and after deuided the Ilande into fyue partes, and in eche of them they ſeuerally reigned.

2533.

The ſonnes of Dela a Grecian ſkilfull in the arte of ſayling.

They paſſe into Ireland, and deſtroyed the Giaunts.

They deuide the countrey into four partes.

Farthermore to ſatiſfie all ſydes, and auoyde contention, they concluded to fixe a mereſtone in the myddle poynte of Irelande, to the whiche eche of their kyngdomes ſhoulde reache, ſo as they myght bee equally partakers of the commodities founde within that countrey ſoyle.

Theſe are alſo ſuppoſed to haue inuented the diſtribution of ſhires into Cantredes, euery cantred or baronie conteyning one hundred townſhippes. At lengthe deſyre of ſoueraigntie ſette the fyue bretherne at variance, and greatly hindered theyr growyng wealthes. But Slanius gettyng the vpper hande, and bringing his foure brethren to a lowe ebbe, tooke vpon him as chiefe aboue his other brethren, encrochyng rounde aboute the myddle ſtone for the ſpace of certayne myles, whiche plotte in tyme obteyned the priuiledge and name of one entier parte, and nowe maketh vp the number of fyue partes, (into the whiche Irelande is ſayde to bee deuided) and is called Methe, and in Latine *Media*, taking that name (as ſome haue gueſſed) for that in reſpecte of the other, it conteyned but the moytie of cantredes, that is. xvj. (where eche of the other comprehended. 32. a peece) or elſe for that it lyeth in the

A cantred.

Deſire of ſoueraintie cauſe of variance.

middeſt of the lande. This parte Slanius ioyned as a ſurpluſage ouer and aboue his inheritaunce, vnto the Monarchie, whiche parte notwithſtanding grewe to a ſeuerall kingdome. Thirtie yeares the monarchie yet continued in this order, but finally Slanius departed this lyfe, and was buryed in a mountayne of Meth, that beareth hytherto (as they ſay) the name after him.

Slanius departed thys lyfe.

Then the Princes ſubiecte to him, beganne to ſtomacke the matter, and denied their obeyſaunce to his ſucceſſour, wherevpon enſued continuall warres betwixte them, falling ſtill at debate for the lande of Methe, whiche ſtrife of long tyme might neuer fully be appeaſed.

In the necke of theſe troubles alſo there arriued in Ireland a new armie of Scythians, who made clayme to the land by a title of right which they pretended from their forfather Nemodus: & ſo taking and making partes, they ſet all in an vprore, that hauocke was made on eche ſide with fire and ſworde in moſte miſerable maner.

A nevv armie of Scythians lande in Irelande.

Partakings.

To be ſhort, they ſpent themſelues in purſuing one an other with ſuche outrage, that nowe they cared not what nation or what Souldiour they receiued to theyr ayde, to keepe vp or beate downe a ſyde.

By whiche occaſion the Brytons alſo put in a foote among them, who procured Brennus the brother of Belinus, to directe his courſe thyther with the ſame nauie whiche he had made ready to paſſe ouer into Gallia, now called Fraunce, to the ayde of Segwin then kyng of the Allobroges that inhabited the countreis called Sauoy and the Delphinate.

Brennus called into Ireland to ayde one parte of the factious people.

Segvvyne. Allobroges.

But his enterpriſe into Ireland tooke ſmal effect though there were other kings of the Britons that got dominion there, in ſo muche that Gurguntius, or Gurgwintius, the ſonne of Belinus, accompted Ireland among other his dominions, to belong to him by lineall deſcente, notwithſtanding the Brytiſh Princes neuer enioyed the quiet poſſeſſion thereof longer than they helde it by mayne force, but were often repulſed and put to the worſe with ſeekyng after it, fyndyng there ſmall gaine other than ſtripes, whereof they bare away great plentie.

But nowe to come to the Spanyards, that laſtly vnder the conducte of foure Capitains paſſed into Irelande from Biſkaye, and inhabited that Ilande, it ſhall not bee impertinent in following the order whiche oure Authour keepeth, to ſpeake ſomewhat of their originall, that it maye appeare from whence the Iriſhe nation had their firſt beginning.

2436. In the yeare of the worlde. 2436. after the vniuerſall floud. 780. whyleſt the Iſraelites ſerued in Egypte, Gathelus the ſonne of one Neale, a great lord in Grecia, was vpon diſfauor exiled his countrey with a number of his factious adherents and frendes. This noble Gentleman being right wiſe, valiant, and wel ſpoken, comming into Egipte, gote honourable entertainmente of Pharao ſurnamed Orus, as in the Scottiſhe hiſtorie more plainly appeereth. And afterwards departing that countrey, trauerſed the ſeas, and landing firſt in Portingall, after ſome bickering with the inhabitants, at lēgth yet he got by their conſent a portion of the countrey lying by the banks of the riuer auncientlly called Munda, and now Mondego, where ſhortly after he began to buyld a citie firſt named Brachara but now Barſalo, as Hector Boetius hath. After this, when Gathelus his people began to increaſe in power, thorough perſuaſion of the Spanyardes their neighbors, they remoued into Galicia, where they alſo builded a citie named Brigantium, whiche is nowe called Coruna. Finally when they grew into ſuche an huge multitude, that Galicia was not able to ſuſteyn them, Gathelus with a certain number of thē paſſed ouer into Ireland, and there grewe into ſuch eſtimatiō with the barbarous people, that for his knowledge ſpecially in all languages, he was highly honored: for he not only enriched and beautified the Iriſh toung, but alſo taught them letters, ſought vp their antiquities, practiſed their youth in warlyke feates after the manner of the Grekes and Egyptians, from whence he deſcended.

See more of this matter in the beginning of the Scottiſh hiſtorie.

The ryuer of Munda, novve Mondego. Brachara. Brachara novv Braga.

Brigantium.

See more hereof in Scotland. Gathelus paſſeth into Irelande.

To conclude, he was ſo acceptable to thē, that to gratifie ſuch a benefactor, they agreed to name the Iland after him Gathelia, and after his wyfe Scotia.

The names of Irelande, and vvherof the ſame vvere deriued, as they hold opinion.

This is one opinion but yet incredible, not onely to Humfrey Lluyd, but alſo to other learned men, and diligent ſearchers of antiquities, by reaſon of the ſundry arguments of improbabilitie, aſwel in the miſcompt of yeres, as other vnlikelyhoods found therin, when the circumſtances come to be duly examined, throughly weyed and well conſidered.

Yet certaine it is, that Irelande was auncientlye named Scotia, and the people Scottes, as by diuers olde writers it may bee ſufficiently proued, albeit by what occaſion it firſt tooke that name, or from whence they came, it is as yet doubted,

But to procede with the hiſtorie as we fynde it. The reſidue of Gathelus his people whiche remayned in Spayn, founded the citie of Bayon in the confines of Gaſcoigne, and repleniſhed the ſea coaſtes of Spayn with ſtore of inhabitants, and well neere aboute two hundred yeres after their firſt arriuall there, when they were eftſoones peſtered with multitude of people) they beganne to fanſye a newe voiage, but whether at that tyme they paſſed ouer into Irelande, or ſome whither elſe it is vncertayne.

Notwithſtanding, ſure it is, that in the days of Gurguntius kyng of the Britons the chiefe gouernour of Bayon with.iiij.brethren Spaniardes of the whiche two are ſayde to be Hyberus and Hermion not the ſonnes (ſome thynke) of Gathelus, (as Hector Boetius affirmeth) but ſome other perhappes that were deſcended from him, who vnderſtanding that diuers of the Weſterne Iles were emptye of inhabitantes, aſſembling a greate number of men, women, and children, embarqued with the ſame in. 60. great veſſels, and directing their courſe Weſtward, houered a long time in the ſea aboute the Iles of Orkeney, vntill by good happe they met with Gurguntius then returning frõ the conqueſt of Denmarke (as in the Brytiſhe hiſtorie it appeareth) whome they beſoughte in conſideration of theyr wante of victuals and other neceſſaries, being ſuche as they were not able longer to abyde the ſeas, encombred with a ſort of women and children, to directe and appoynt them to ſome place where to inhabite, promiſing to holde the ſame of hym, and to become liege people to hym and to his heyres for euer.

Gurguntius.

Gurguntius aduiſing himſelf hereof, remembred with what trouble he held the Iriſhe in ſubiection, and conceyuing hope that thoſe ſtrangers ſhould eyther ſubdue or wholly deſtroy that vnruly generation, toke the othes of thoſe Spanyardes with hoſtages, and furniſhyng them and theyr ſhippes with all things needfull ſet them ouer into Irelande, where aſſiſted with ſuch Brytons as Gurguntius had appointed to goe with them for their guides, they made a conqueſte of the whole countrey, and ſettled them ſelues in the ſame.

Gurguntius appoynteth the Spanyards ſeates in Irelande to liue vnder his ſubiection.

The arriuall of the Spanyards in Irelande.

Some write, that Ireland was before yͤ preſent, voyde of all inhabitants, yet they agree that theſe Spanyards wer guided thither by the Britons, and that vnder ſuche conditions (as before is recited) ſo that it apereth, the kings of thys our Britayn had an elder right to the realme of Ireland than by the conqueſt of Henry the ſeconde, whiche title they euer mainteyned, and ſomtimes preuayled in purſuing thereof, as in the dayes of king Arthure, to whome the Iriſhe (as in ſome hiſtories is remembred, (acknowledged their due ſubiection, with payemente of their tribute, and making their appearance at the Citye called in in the Brytiſhe toung Caer Leon. Whereunto when their owne free aſſente, the ſubmiſſion of their princes with lawfull conqueſt and preſcription are adioyned, an inuincible title muſte needes be enforced.

Geffrey Mon.

The Iriſh wer ſubiect to king Arthure.

VVeſtcheſter.

But now to oure purpoſe: The Spanyardes ſubſtanciallye ayded by the Brytons, ſettled them ſelues, and deuided theyr ſeates in quarters, yͤ foure brethren raigning ſeuerally a part in foure ſundry portions in good quiet and increaſe of wealth vntill their pryde and ambition armed two of them agaynſt the other two, as Hiberus and one of his brethren, againſte Hermion and the other brother. In this diſſention Hermion ſlewe his brother Hiberus. Of whome at the ſame tyme the countrey (as ſome holde) was named *Hybernia*, as in the deſcription therof further appeareth, althoughe ſome rather holde, that it toke the name of yron, of the plentifull mynes of that kinde of mettall wherwith that lande aboundeth: And ſo thoſe auncient writers which name it Ierna, named it more aptely after the ſpeeche of the inhabitantes than others, whiche name it *Hibernia*.

Diſſention betvvixt the brethren.

Suche are the frutes of ambition.

See more hereof in the deſcription.

But to proceede, Hermion hereupon to auoide the yll opinion of men for that he had thus attained to the ſouerantie by the vnnaturall ſlaughter of his brother in that vnhappie ciuil warre purged hymſelfe to his ſubiects, that neyther maliciouſly nor contentiouſly, but for his neceſſarie defence and ſafetie he had borne armes againſte his brethren: and to witneſſe how farre he was from all deſire to rule alone, he appointed certaine Captaines as kings, to rule vnder him ſeuerall countreys, reſeruing to hymſelfe but one fourth parte, and the portion of Meth allotted to the Monarchie for the better mayntenance of his eſtate.

No crime ſo manifeſt or deteſtable that vvanteth a colourable pretence to excuſe it.

Theſe partes appoynted forth in thys wyſe at lengthe grew to fiue kingdoms, Leyniſter, Conagh, Vlſter, and Mounſter deuided into two partes, and ſometyme to more, by vſurping or compoundyng among themſelues, but euer one was choſen to be chief ſoueraigne Monarke ouer them all.

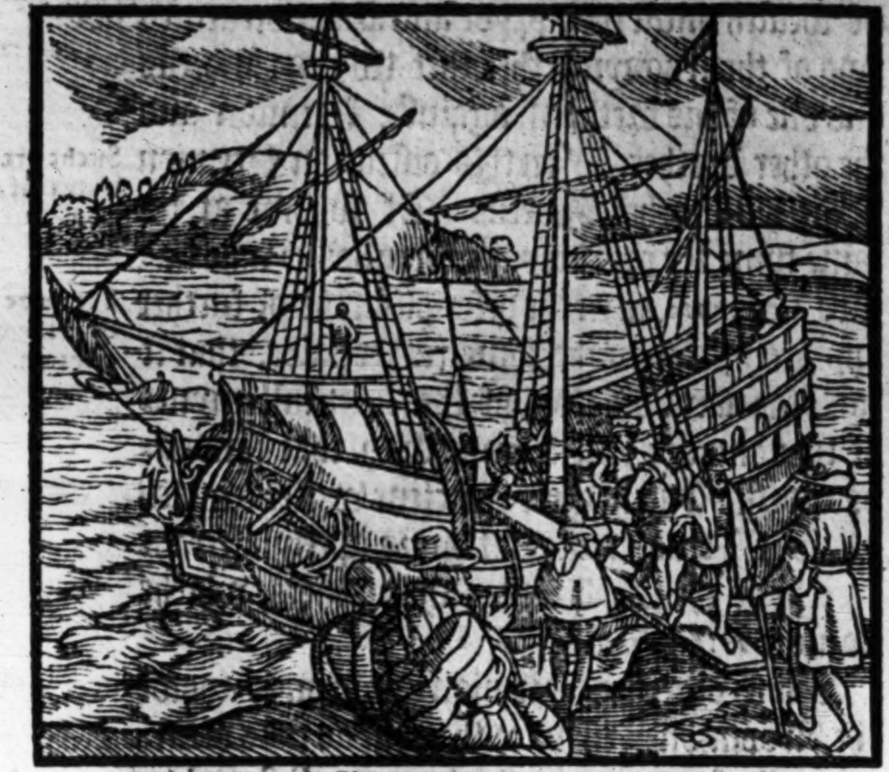
Irelande deuided into fiue kingdomes.

One ſouerayne ruler ouer the reſt.

Thus it ſeemeth that certaynely the Spanyardes of the north partes of Spayne, inhabiting the countreys about Biſkeye and Galicia, came and peopled Ireland (as both their owne hiſtories and the Britiſhe do wholly agree) but frõ whence they came firſte to inhabite thoſe countreyes of Spayne, verily I haue not otherwiſe to auouch: For no other writers that I can remember, but (ſuch as haue regiſtred the Scottiſh Chronicles) make mencion of the commyng thither of Gathelus with his wyfe Scota and their people, in manner (as by the ſayde Chronicles is pretended.

But nowe to oure purpoſe: An hundred and thirtie chief kings are reckned of this nation from Hermion to Laogirius, the ſonne of Nealus Magnus, in whoſe tyme that holye eſteemed man Patrike conuerted them to Chriſtianitie.

But nowe in the meane tyme whyleſt the Iriſhmenne lyued in ſome tollerable order and reſte vnder their ſeuerall kings, one Rodorike a Scythian Prince with a ſmall companye of men, being weather driuen rounde about the coaſts of Britayn, was by chaunce caſt vpon the ſhore of Irelande.



Picts arriue in Irelande.

Theſe were Pictes, and the firſt that hadde bin heard of in theſe parties (as ſome authors haue recorded) a people from their verie cradle giuen to diſſention, landeleapers, mercyleſſe, fierce and hardy. They being brought and preſented to the Iriſhe king, craued interpreters, which granted, Roderike their chieftain made this requeſt for him and his, as followeth :

The oration of Roderik K. of the Pictes king of Ireland

Not as degenerate from the courage of our anceſtours, but faſhioning our ſelues to Fortunes courſe, wee are become to craue of Irelande, as humble ſuppliantes that neuer beefore this preſent haue ſo embaſed our ſelues to any other nation. Beholde ſir king, and regarde vs well, no light occaſion cauſeth theſe luſty valiant bodies to ſtoupe. Scythians we are, and Pictes of Scythia, no ſmalle portion of glorie reſteth in theſe two names. What ſhal I ſpeake of the ciuill warre that hath expulſed vs from our natiue homes, or rip vp old hiſtories to moue ſtraungers to bemoane vs, let our ſeruantes and children diſcourſe therof at leyſure, if perhappes you will vouchſafe to graunt vs ſome time of abode in your land, to the whiche effecte and purpoſe our vrgent neceſſitie beſecheth your fauors, a king of a king and men of men, are to craue aſſiſtance: princes can well diſcerne and conſider howe neere it toucheth their honour and ſuretie to vphold and relieue the ſtate of a king, by treaſon decaped: And manifeſt it is to all men of reaſonable conſideration, that nothing more beſeemeth the nature of mã, than to be moued with compaſſion, and as it were to feele themſelues hurte, when they hear and vnderſtand of other mennes calamities. Admit (we beſeeche you) and receyue amongſt you theſe fewe ſcattered remnauntes of Scythia: if your roomes bee narrowe, wee are not manye: if the ſoyle of your countrey be barreyne, wee are borne and enured to hardeneſſe: if you liue in peace, wee are at commaundemente as ſubiectes: if you warre, we are readie to ſerue you as ſouldiours: we demaunde no kingdome, no ſtate, no pompous triumph in Irelande: we are heere alone, and haue lefte ſuche things behynde vs with our enimies: howſoeuer you eſteeme of vs, we ſhall content our ſelues therwith, and learne to frame our liking to yours, calling to mynd not what we haue bin, but what we ar.

Doubtfull conſultation.

The anſvvere of the Iriſhe to the requeſt of the Picts.

Great conſultation was had about this requeſt of theſe ſtrangers, and many things debated to and fro. In concluſion, the Iriſhe layde forth for anſwere the opinions of theyr Antiquaries, that is, ſuche as were ſkilfull in old hiſtories & ſayings of their elders, wherunto they gaue credite, & therfore they gathered, it coulde not be expedient to accept the Scythians into the land, for that mingling of nations in one realme, bredeth quarels: morouer that the multitude of the inhabitantes was ſuche, as roomth in the whole Ile was vneth able to receyue them, and therefore thoſe fewe newe commers being placed among ſo many olde inhabitants, might breede quickely ſome diſturbance to bring al out of ioynt. But (ſaid they) though we may not cõueniently receiue you among vs, yet ſhall you fynd vs readie to further you to be our neighbours.

The Iriſh perſuadeth the Picts to place themſelues in Britayn.

Not farre hence there lyeth the great Ile of Britayne, in the northe parte whereof, beeing voyde of inhabitantes, your manhode and policies maye purchaſe for you roomthes to place yourſelues at eaſe, we ſhall appoynt you captaines to guide you thither, we ſhall aſſiſt to ſettle you with oure forces in that countreye, make readie your ſhippes that ye maye paſſe thither with all conuenient ſpeede. Encouraged with this perſuaſion they toke their courſe towards the north parts of Britain now called Scotland, where contrarie to their expectation Marius king of Britayne was readye to awayte their comming, and with ſharp batayle vanquiſhing them in fielde, ſlewe Roderike with a greate number of his retinues. Thoſe that eſcaped with lyfe, and ſoughte to him for grace, he licenced to inhabite the vttermoſt end of Scotland. This Marius Hũfrey Lluyd taketh to bee the ſame whome the Romain writers name Aruiragus, and reigned about the yere of our Lord. 70. a Prince of a noble courage and of no ſmall eſtimation in his dayes (as ſhould ſeeme by that which is written of him.) His right name (as the ſayde Humfrey Lluyd auoucheth) was Meurig.

Marius otherwiſe called Aruiragus king of Britons.

But now concerning the Pights, whether that thoſe that eſcaped with lyfe, got ſeates by king Meurigs graunte (as aboue is ſpecified,) or that getting to their ſhippes, they withdrew into the Iles of Orkeney, and there remayned. Wyues they wanted alſo to increaſe their iſſue: and bycauſe the Britons thoughte ſkorne to matche their daughters with ſuch an vnknowen and newe comen nation, the Pictes continued theyr firſte acquaintaunce with the Iriſhe, and by entreatie obteyned wyues from them, with condition, that if the crowne ſhould happe to fall in contention, they ſhoulde yelde thus muche to the prerogatiue of the woman, that the Prince ſhoulde be elected rather of the bloud royall of the female kind than of the male. Which order (ſayth Beda) the Pictes were well knowne to keepe vnto his tyme.

Picts mariyng vvith the Iriſh, do couenaunte the ſucceſsion of their kings.

But howe ſoeuer wee ſhall giue credit to this hiſtorie of the firſt comming of Pictes into this lande, if we grant that to be true which Geffrey of Monmouth reporteth of this victorie obteyned by Marius agaynſt the Pictes, yet haue I thought good to aduertiſe the Reader, that the Brytons of this Ile were diſquieted by yͤ nation long before the ſuppoſed tyme of the ſayde king Marius. For Mamertinus in his Oration entitled *Panægiricus*, Max. Dictus hathe theſe wordes, (ſpeakyng of the conqueſt whiche Iulius Ceſar had heere agaynſt the Brytons) but in that age (ſayeth he) Brytayn was neyther furniſhed with anye ſhippes of warre for battayle on the Sea; and the Romaynes after the warres of Affrike and Aſia, were well practiſed wyth the late warres agaynſte Pyrates, and after that agaynſte Mithridates, in whiche they were exerciſed as well by ſea as lande.

Moreouer, the Brytiſhe Nation was then vnſkilfull, and not trayned to feates of warre, for the Brytons then beeyng onely vſed to the Pictes and Iriſhe enimyes, people halfe naked through lacke of ſkill, eaſily gaue place to the Romayns force, ſo that Ceſar myght onely as it were glorie in this, to haue paſſed in that iourney ouer the Ocean ſea.

Hereby it ſhoulde ſeeme, that the Pictes and Iriſhe, did diſquyet the Brytons before the commyng of Iulius Ceſar into thys Ile of Brytaine: But whether they inhabited at that tyme in ſome parte of Irelande, or in ſome of the out Iles by Scotlande, eyther in any parte of Germanye, or Scandinauia, or elſe whether they were already ſettled in the fartheſt partes of Scotlande, as in Cathneſſe, towardes Dungeſoie heade, wee haue not to affirme, other than that whyche in Scotlande wee haue written, in followyng Hector Boetius, whoſe opynion howe farre it is to bee ſuſpected in matters of antiquitie, I leaue to the conſideration of others.

See Diodorus Siculus lib.6. cap.9. vvho ſayeth they ſhould inhabite a portion of. Britayne.

Hector Boetus.

But for the fyrſte comming as well of the Pictes as Scottes, (whome hee maketh inhabitauntes within thys Iſle ſo long before) eyther the name of the one nation or the other is remembred to haue had any gouernement heere, by any auncient or approued writer. I can not perſwade my ſelfe, that eyther Scottes or Pictes hadde any ſettled ſeates within the boundes of this Ile of Britayne, till after the birthe of oure Sauiour: but that rather the Scottes, as yet inhabiting in Irelande, and in the weſterne Iſles called by the Romayne writers Hebrides, and the Pightes, in the Iſles of Orkneye called in Latin *Orchades*, dyd vſe to make often inuaſions vppon the Britons, dwelling vpon the coaſtes that lye neere to the ſea ſyde ouer againſte thoſe Iſles.

From whence they comming ouer in ſuche veſſells or boates, as the Fiſhermenne yet vſe, at length the Pightes firſt aboute the yeare of our Lord. 290. as Humf. Lhuyd hath noted, entred generally into Cathneſſe, and other the north partes of Britaine, where they ſetled them ſelues, and remoued the Britons that there inhabited before that time: and ſhortely the Scottes likewiſe came ouer and got ſeates in the weſt partes ouer againſte the Northe of Irelande, and in thoſe Weſtern Iles, which Iles they firſt got into their poſſeſſion. And in this ſorte thoſe nations Pightes and Scottes came firſt to inhabite here in this our Iſle of Britayn, as the ſayd Humfrey Lhuyd not without aduiſed coniectures grounded vpon good reaſon and ſufficient authoritie to leade him ſo to eſteeme, hath written in his ſhort commentaries of the deſcription of Britayn.

See more here of in England.

The Pictes vvhen they firſt inhabited Britayn.

The Scottes in Britayne.

Hũfrey Lhuyd.

And verily I thinke we maye more ſafely beleue that whiche he auoucheth in this behalf than that which Hector Boetius ſetteth down, ſith for any thing I can perceiue, his authorities bryng no ſuche warrant with them, but wee may with good reaſon ſuſpecte them. But for the man himſelfe, euen as he hath verie orderly, and with no leſſe cunning than eloquence, ſet downe dyuers thinges incredible, and reported ſome other contrarie to the truth of the hiſtorie, for the glorie of his nation, as we may take it, ſo in his excuſe it may be alledged, that hee was not the Authour of thoſe matters, but wrote what hee founde in Cambell, Veremounde, Cornelius Hibernenſis, and ſuche other in lyke caſe, as Geffreye of Monmouth wrote what hee founde in olde auncient Brytiſhe monumentes, and was not the deuyſer him ſelfe (as ſome haue ſuſpected) of ſuche thinges as in hys Booke are by hym expreſſed.

Geffrey Monmouth the trãſlater not the authour of the Britiſh hiſtory.

But now to returne to the Pictes. It may be that they came at ſeuerall tymes in like manner as the Scottes didde out of Irelande, of whome the fyrſte is remembred to be Ferguſe, the ſonne

The doubt of the tyme of the cõming of Picts & Scots into Britayne.

Ferguſe kyng of Scots.

The marble ſtone.

of Ferquhard, a man right ſkilful in blaſon of armorie, hee himſelfe bare a Lion gules in a field of gold. The marble ſtone wherof in the Scottiſhe hiſtorie is mencioned, brought into Ireland by Symon Brechus, and kepte tyll thoſe dayes as a precious iewell, this Ferguſe obteyned towardes the proſpering of his iourney, for that it was thoughte, who ſo had the ſame in poſſeſſion, coulde not but obteyne ſoueraynetie and rule ouer others as a king, namely thoſe of the Scottiſhe nation.

Knockfergus.

This ſtone Ferguſe bryngyng into Scotland left it there. But although that Ferguſe be put in ranke among thoſe Scottiſhe kings that ſhuld reigne in Britayn, yet he bare ſmal rule there, and was diuers tymes beaten back into Irelande, where finally he was drowned by myſfortune within the creeke of Knockfergus.

124.

That hee encountred with Coilus king of Britons (as the Scots write) is not poſſible, as oure author hathe verie well noted, excepte they myſtake the name of Coilus for Cailus, with whome the age of Ferguſe mighte well meete: the rather for that in the firſte yeare of Cailus reigne the Pickes entred, Ferguſe immediately after them. 330. yeeres ere Chriſte was borne, where Coilus reigned in the yeare after the incarnation. 124. about whiche tyme befell the ſecond arriuall of the Pickes in Britayne.

And thus it maye bee they miſtake, by errour of the name, Coilus for Cailus, and the ſecond arriuall of the Picks for the firſt.

But now to the courſe of the hiſtorie. Whileſt the Picks were ſeated in the north of Britaine, and grew to a great multitude, the Iriſh made ſundry errandes ouer, to viſite theyr daughters, nephues and kinſfolk: and by their often comming and going, they were aware of certayn waſte corners, and ſmall Ilandes voyd of inhabitants, as that which ſeemed rather neglected and ſuffred to lye waſte.

Reuther, or Reuda.

Hereof they aduertiſed their princes, namely Reuther or Reuda, who beeing deſcended of Ferguſe, determined to inueſt himſelf in certaine portions of lande beſide the Pickes. He therfore wel appointed, paſſed ouer, and partly by compoſition, & partely by force, got poſſeſſion of thoſe quarters, whiche were deſolate, and began to erecte a kingdome there, by little and little encreaſing his limites: and finally got betwixte the Pickes and Britayns, poſſeſſing that countrey which tooke the name of him called Rheuderſdahal, and now Riddeſdale, (as you would ſay) Rheudas part, for dahal in yͤ old Scottiſh tong, ſignifieth a part.

The amitie betwixt Scotte and Picks.

In theſe quarters he coulde not ſettle hymſelfe, but that he was oftentymes aſſayled by the Britons that bordered next vnto him, and at length his chaunce was to be ſlayne, but the kingdome continued ſtill in the handes of his ſucceſſours: and the Pickes and Scottes grew in frendſhip togither, permitting eche other to lyue in quyet.

Their fallyng out.

The Scots neſtled them ſelues in the Iles and coaſts alongſt the ſea ſide. The Picks held the middle part. But ſhortely after, the peace began to hang doubtfull betwixt them: for the diuerſitie of people, place, cuſtom & language, together with the memorie of olde grudges, moued ſuch iealoſy and inward hate betwixte thoſe nations, that it ſeemed they were redy to breake out into open diſſention vpon the firſte occaſion. And as in ſuche caſes there neuer wanteth one deuiſe or other to rayſe tumults: it chaunced that certaine of the Scottiſh nobilitie had got out of Greece (as ſome write) a Moloſſian hound, which both in ſwiftneſſe of foot, and pleaſantneſſe of mouth, was accompted peerleſſe.

Stryfe about a dogge.

This hounde being ſtollen by a Picke, was cauſe of the breache of peace, ſo that cruell warres therof enſued (as in the Scottiſh hiſtorie more at large appeareth. But where ſome write, that Eugenius ſhoulde reigne ouer the Scottes when this quarell fell out for ſtealing of this hound, Hector Boetius ſayeth, it was in king Crathlinths dayes.

Moreouer it ſhould ſeme by that which the ſame Boetius writeth, that the hound or greihound for the which this trouble roſe, was not fetched ſo far as out of Grecia, but rather bred in Scotland: notwithſtãding bicauſe the Latiniſts call ſuch kinde of dogs *Moloſsi*, for that the firſt generation of them, or the like, came from a citie of Gretia called Moloſſe, it may be, that ſome haue thoughte, that this greyhounde came from thence, for that he was ſo called after the name of that place frõ whence the breed of him firſt came. But to returne to the hiſtorie.

Carauſius agreeth them. Anno Chriſti 288.

After the Scottes and Pickes had tugged togither a whyle, at lengthe one Carauſius a Bryton, labored a frendſhip betwixt them, and bringing his purpoſe to paſſe, perſwaded them to lend him their help to expulſe the Romaines out of Britayne: but his happe was ſhortly after to be ſlayne by the Romaine capitayne Alectus. And ſo newe ſturres were in hand betwixt the Britons and Romaines, the Scottes and Pickes for the moſt parte taking parte with the Britons, till at length Maximus the Romayne lieutenant founde meanes to ſet the Scots and Picks at variance, & ioyning with the Picks in league, vſed their ayde

againſt

The Scots expulſed. See more of this matter in Scotlande. 376.

The Picts rooted foorth by the ſcots.

againſt the Scots, whome he ſo earneſtly purſued with all the power he might make, that in the end they were vtterly expulſed out of all the coaſtes of Britayne, ſo that they fledde ſome into one parte, ſomme into an other, but the moſte number gotte them ouer into Irelande, and the Iles, wher they remained for the ſpace of.43. yeares, and then at length returned thither, vnder the leading of their prince Ferguſe, being the ſecond of that name, as they accompt him. From thenceforth the Scots kepte ſuche foote in Britayn, that they encroched vpon their neighbors, in ſuche wyſe as they waxed ſtronger than the Pictes, whom in the end they quite rooted forth, and neſtled themſelues in their ſeates, althoughe nowe at their firſte retourne, they concluded a firme amitie with the ſame Pictes, that ioyning theyr forces together, they might the better make head agaynſt bothe Romayns and Brytayns, whome they reputed as common enimies to them bothe.

Thus the Scots a liuely, cruell, vnquiet, ancient and victorious people, got place within this Iſle of Britayne, mixed firſt with Britons, ſecondly with Pictes, thirdly and chiefly with the Iriſhe, whiche after this tyme lefte theit name of Scots vnto thoſe in Britayne, and choſe rather to be called Iriſhe: and then came vp the diſtinction of the name, as *Scotia maior* for Irelande, *Scotia minor*, for the countreye inhabited by the Scots within Britayne.

Giraldus Cambrenſis.

But Cambrenſis ſayth, that the Scots chiefly preuailed vnder the leading of.6. valiant gentlemen, ſonnes to Muridus king of Vlſter, who in the time of Neale, ſurnamed the greate, that enioyed the Monarchie of Ireland, paſſing ouer into Scotlād to ſuccour their coūtreymen there, at length tooke vp for themſelues certain parcels of ground, which their poſteritie were owners of in the time that Cambrenſis liued, to wit, about the yeare of our Lord.1200. who treateth hereof more largely in his Booke intitled *Topographia Britanniæ*. Sith which time they haue bene euer taken, reputed and named Scots, the Pictiſh nation beeing driuen into corners, albeit the mountaine partes and out Iles euen vnto thys day are inhabited with a wilde kinde of people called Redſhankes, eſteemed by ſome to be mingled of Scots and Pictes.

Gregorie king of Scots ſubdueth Ireland. 875.

The Scottes write, that their king Gregorie the ſonne of Dongall, who began his reigne in the yeare of oure Lorde.875. pretending a title to Irelande, as belonging to hym by ryghte of lawfull ſucceſſion, made a iourneye thither, and wythin a ſmall tyme made a conqueſte of the countrey.

Thys Gregorie lyeth buryed in one of the out Iſles called Iona, or Colmekyll, where they ſpeake naturally Iriſhe: and therefore ſome of the Scottes woulde ſeeme to make the conqueſt of Henry the ſeconde in Irelande, a reuoltyng from the righte inheritours, although they confeſſe they can not tell howe they came from the poſſeſſion of it, otherwyſe than by forging a tale that they willingly forewent it, as reaping leſſe by reteyning it, than they layde forthe, and ſo not able to diſcharge that whiche was to bee defrayed aboute the keeping of it, they gaue it ouer, perſwading themſelues, that the Kyngs of Englande haue gayned little or nothyng by the hauyng of Irelande. And yet in the tyme whyleſt ſyr Henry Sydney was gouernor there, when the Countie of Vlſter was auouched to belong to the Crowne, it was proued in open Parliament, that the reuenues of that Erledom, in the dayes of Edwarde the thirde were reckened, and founde to amounte vnto the ſumme of xxxj. thouſande markes yearely, the ſame being but a fyfte parte of Irelande: ſo that if thinges were well looked vnto, and ſuche emprouemente made as mighte bee, Irelande woulde ſuffice to beare the neceſſarie charges, and yelde no ſmall ſurpluſage vnto the Princes coffers.

Sir Henry Sydney.

Ireland inſtructed in the faithe by S. Iames the Apoſtle.

But nowe as it falleth forthe in the hiſtorie. We haue thoughte good heere to ſhewe in what ſorte Irelande came to receyue the Chriſtian fayth. We fynde in deede that immediatly after Chriſtes tyme, Saynt Iames the Apoſtle, and other, trauayling into theſe Weaſt partes, didde firſt inſtructe the Iriſhe people, and teache them the glad tidyngs of the Goſpell, ſo that dyuerſe amongeſt them euen then were chriſtened, and beleeued, but not in ſuche numbers (as maye be thought) wherby it ſhould be ſayd, that the coūtrey was generally conuerted.

Notwithſtanding, the Scottiſhe Chronicles auouche, that in the dayes of their king Fincomarke, who departed this lyfe in the yeare of our Redemption three hundred fyfty and eyght, Irelande was conuerted to the faithe by this meanes.

A woman of the Pictiſh bloud, chaunced (ſay they) to ſerue in thoſe dayes the Queene of Irelande, whiche woman being a chriſtian hir ſelfe, firſt inſtructed hir miſtreſſe in the faith and true pointes of Chriſtianitie, and the queene hir huſbande, who conuerted the whole Iriſhe nation. Howbeit, by report of yͤ Iriſh writers thēſelues, this ſhoulde not ſeeme altogether true: for they affirme, that their countrey was rather ſtil eſteemed as one of the vnchriſtened Iſles, tyll about the yeare foure hundred twentie and ſixe, whileſt Celeſtine the firſt of that name, gouerned the ſea of Rome, who vpon conference hadde wyth his Clergie, touching the reſtoring of the chriſtian Faythe in the Weaſte partes of the Worlde greatly decayed there by the hereſie of Pelagius, vnderſtode that Ireland alſo by reſon of diſtance from the hart of Chriſtendome, and rudeneſſe of the nation, had receyued little fruite at all of true religion, a thing muche to be lamented.

Paladins offeeth to go into Irelande.

Among other that then were aſſembled to treate of thoſe matters was one Paladius Archdeacon of Rome, who offered his charitable trauayle towardes the conuerſion of any of thoſe landes whether it ſhould pleaſe them to appoynt hym to goe.

He is conſecrated biſhop.

Celeſtine knowing the ſufficiencie of the mã, conſecrated him Biſhop, authoriſed his iourney by letters vnder his ſeale, furniſhed his wantes, and aſſociating to him ſuche Religious perſones and other, as were thoughte neceſſarie to aſſiſte him, deliuered to him the Bible with greate ſolemnitie and other monumentes in furtherance of his good ſpeede.

Paladins landed in Irelande.

At length he landed in the north of Irelande, from whence he eſcaped ryght hardely with hys lyfe into the Iles adioyning, where hee preached the Goſpell, and conuerted no ſmal number of Scots to the chriſtian beleef, and purged that part that was chriſtened from the infection of the Pelagians, as in the Scottiſhe hiſtorie more at large apereth. He was required by yͤ Scots that inhabited here in Britayne, to leaue the Iles & to come ouer vnto them, there to inſtruct the people in the way of true ſaluation, to the whiche with the Popes licence, he ſeemed willyng ynough, and the Biſhop of Rome the more readily condeſcended thereto, for that in the inſtante tyme when Paladius was to departe, one Patrike attended at Rome ſuyng for licence to be ſent into Irelande.

Patrike ſente into Ireland.

Paladius apointed to go into Scotland.

The tovvardneſſe of the Irishmen to hear Patrikes preaching.

The Pope therefore graunted, that Paladius might paſſe ouer to the Scottes in Britayn, and appoynted Patrike to goe with authoritie from hym into Ireland, where vpon his arriuall hee founde the people ſo well bent to heare his admonitions, contrarye to their accuſtomed frowardneſſe, that a man woulde haue thought that had ſeene their readineſſe, howe that the lande hadde bin reſerued for him to conuerte, and bycauſe it pleaſed God to beſtow ſuche an vniuerſall benefite to thys lande by his meanes, we haue thoughte good in following our Authour herein to touche ſome part of the courſe of his life.

VVhere ſaint Patrike vvas borne.

This Patrike in Latin called Patricius, was borne in the marches betwixte Englande and Scotland, in a towne by the ſea ſyde called Eyburne, whoſe father hight Calphurnius, a Deacon and ſonne to a Prieſt. His mother named Conches, was ſiſter to Saint Martine that famous Biſhoppe of Towers in Fraunce.

The life of S. Patrik in brief.

Patrike of a chylde was brought vp in learning, and well inſtructed in the faith, and muche giuen to deuotion.

The Iriſhmenne in thoſe dayes aſſiſted with Scottes and Pictes were become archpyrates, ſore diſquieting the ſeas about the coaſts of Britayne, and vſed to ſacke little ſmall villages that laye ſcattered along the ſhore, & wold often leade awaye captiue the inhabitantes home into theyr countrey.

S.Patrike vvas taken priſoner vvhen he vvas yong.

And as it chaunced, Patrike being a ladde of xvj. yeares olde, and a ſcholer then in ſecular lerning, was taken among other, and became ſlaue to an Iriſh lord called Mackbuain, from whom after. vj. yeares terme he redeemed himſelfe with a peece of gold which he found in a clod of earth, that the ſwyne had newly turned vp as he followed them in that tyme of his captiuitie, beeyng appointed by his maiſter to keepe them.

Affliction maketh meñ religious.

And as affliction cõmonly maketh men religious, the regarde of his former education, printed in him ſuche remorſe and humilitie, that beyng thenceforth weaned from the worlde, he betooke himſelfe to contemplation, euer lamenting the lacke of grace and truthe in that land: and herewith not diſpairyng, but that in continuaunce, ſome good might bee wrought vpon them, he lerned their tong perfectly, and alluring one of that nation to beare him companie for exerciſe ſake, he departed from thence, & got him into France, euer hauing in his mynd a deſire to ſee the conuerſion of the Iriſhe people, whoſe babes yet vnborne ſeemed to him in his dreames (from oute of theyr mothers wombes) to call for chriſtendome.

He paſſeth into Fraunce.

In this purpoſe he ſought out his vncle Martine, by whoſe meanes he was placed with Germanus the biſhop of Auxerre, continuing wyth him as ſcholer or diſciple for yͤ ſpace of. xl. yeres: All whiche tyme he beſtowed in like ſtudie of the holie ſcriptures, prayer, and ſuch godly exerciſes. Then at the age of. lxij. yeares, being renoumed through the Latine Churche for his wiſedome, vertue and ſkill, he came to Rome, bringing letters with him in his commendation, from the Frenche biſhops vnto Pope Celeſtine, to whome he vttered his full mynde and ſecrete vow, which long ſithence he hadde conceyued touching Irelande.

Patrike is inueſted archbiſhop of Irelande.

Celeſtine inueſted him Archbiſhoppe and primate of the whole Ilande, ſette him forwarde with all fauor he could deuiſe, and brought hym and hys diſciples onwarde of theyr countrey.

420.

In the 23. yere therfore of the Emperor Theodoſius the yonger, beyng the yeare of our Lorde 430. Patrick landed in Irelande, and bycauſe hee ſpake the tong perfectly, and withall beeing a reuerente perſonage in the eyes of all menne, many lyſtened and gaue good eare to hys preachyng, the rather for that as wryters haue

Albius an Iriſh biſhop, diſciple to Paladius.

haue recorded) hee confirmed his doctrine wyth diuers miracles: but ſpecially thoſe regarded his wordes before all other that had ſome taſte of the chriſtian faith aforehande, eyther by the cõming into thoſe parties of Paladius and his diſciple one Albius an Iriſhe Biſhoppe, or otherwyſe, by ſome other: for it is to be thought, that continually there remayned ſome ſparke of knowledge of Chriſtianitie, euer ſith the firſte preaching of the Goſpel, (whiche was ſhortly after the Aſcention of our Sauior) by S. Iames, (as before is mencioned.) In continuaunce of time Patrike wan the better part of that kingdom to the faith.

Laigerius ſon of Neale the great Monarke of Ireland permitteth the Iriſhmen to become chriſtiãs.

Laigerius ſon of Neale the great Monark, although he receyued not the Goſpell him ſelfe, yet permitted all that would to embrace it. But ſith he refuſed to be baptiſed, and apply to his doctrin, the Biſhop denounced agaynſt him a curſe from God accordingly, but tempered yet with mercye and iudgement, as thus: that during his lyfe he ſhoulde be victorious, but after him neyther the kingdom ſhould ſtande, nor his lignage inherite. From thence he toke his way vnto Conill lorde of Conagh, who honourably receyued him, and was conuerted with al his people. And after ſent hym vnto his brother Logan king of Leyniſter, whome he likewyſe conuerted.

Conill lorde of Connagh. Logan king of Leyniſter.

The Erle of Daris.

In Mounſter he found great frendſhippe and fauour by meanes of an Erle there, called the erle of Daris, who honoured him highly, and gaue hym a dwelling place in the eaſt angle of Ardmagh called Sorta, where he erected many celles and monaſteries both for religious men and women. He trauailed .xxx. yeres in preachyng thorough the lande, planting in places conuenient Biſhops and Prieſtes, whoſe learning and vertuous conuerſation by the ſpeciall grace and fauour of GOD, eſtabliſhed the faypth in that rude nation. Other thirtie yeares he ſpent in his prouince of Ardmagh among his brethren, placed in thoſe houſes of Religion, whiche by his meane were founded, and ſo he liued in the whole about one hundred twentie two yeares, and lyeth buryed in Downe.

S. Patrikes Purgatorie.

Religious houſes & churches founded.

Mens doinges miſtaken.

Of Saint Patrikes Purgatorie, ye ſhal fynd in the deſcription of the countrey, and therefore we doe here omitte it: but yet bicauſe we are entred to ſpeake of the fyrſt fundation of Churches and religious houſes here in Irelande, in following our Authour in that behalfe, wee will ſpeake ſomewhat of ſuche other holye men and women as are renoumed to haue liued in Irelande, as ornamentes to that Ile, more glorious than all triumphes and victories of the worlde, if their zeale hadde bin ſeazoned with true knowledge of the Scriptures, as it maye well be, that in ſome of them it was, howſoeuer myſtaken by the iudgement and report of the ſimple, which hath reiſed not only of theſe perſons, but alſo of the very Apoſtles themſelues, certaine fantaſticall tales which with the learned are out of all credite.

But this matter I will leaue to diuines to diſcuſſe, truſting that the Reader will contente himſelfe to heare what we fynde recorded by olde writers, whiche we ſhall ſette downe, and offer to their conſiderations to thinke therof, as reaſon may beſt moue them.

Giraldus Cambrenſis.

Giral. Camb. telleth, that in S. Patriks tyme flouriſhed Sainte Bride the Virgine, and S. Colme, which two, with the ſame Patrike, were buryed in Downe, (as in the Scottiſhe hiſtorie ye may fynde) and (as the ſame Giraldus ſayth) their three bodies were founde there ſhortly after the conqueſt.

Sir Iohn Convvey preſident of Vlſter.

Saint Colme.

Peet, that is, Magus in latin or (as vve may ſay) a Magitian or ſoothſayer in Engliſh.

Sir Iohn Conway being preſidẽt of Vlſter, in viewyng the ſepulture, teſtifyed to haue ſeene three principall iewels, whiche were then tranſlated, as honourable monumentes worthie to be preſerued. Of ſaincte Colme it is doubted in what age he lyued. Brigide, otherwyſe called Bride, was baſe daughter to one Dubtactius, a Capitayne in Leyniſter, who perceyuyng the mother wyth chylde, ſolde hir ſecretely (fearing the iealouſie of his wyfe) to an Iriſhe Peet, reſeruing to himſelfe the fruite of hir wombe.

She was there delyuered of thys Bridget, whome the Peet trayned vp in learning, and vertuous education, and at length broughte hir home to hir father.

An.do.430.

The damoſell alſo was inſtructed in the faith by ſaynte Patrike, that preached then in thoſe quarters, wherevpon ſhe became ſo religious and ripe in iudgement, that not only the multitude of people, but alſo a whole Synode of Biſhops aſſembled neere to Diuelyn to heare hir aduiſe in weightye cauſes. Suche eſtymation they had of hir. One fact of hir beyng yet a childe, made hir famous.

The eſtimation vvherin she vvas had.

The king of Leyniſter.

The king of Leyniſter had giuen to hir father Dubtactius as a tokẽ of his good liking towardes him for his valiant ſeruice a riche ſworde, the furniture wherof was garniſhed with many coſtly iewels. And as it chaunced, the Damoſel viſiting the ſicke neighbours, diuerſly diſtreſſed for wante of neceſſarie reliefe (hir father beeing a ſterne man and his ladie a cruell ſhrew) ſhe could deuiſe no other ſhift to helpe to relieue the wante of thoſe poore and needye people, but to imparte the ſame iewelles of that ydle ſworde among them.

This matter was heynouſly taken, and being brought to the kings eares, it chaunced that ſhortely after he came to a banket in hir fathers houſe, and calling the maide afore him that was not yet paſt .ix. yeres of age: He aſked hir howe ſhee durſte preſume to deface the gyfte of a king in ſuc wiſe as ſhe had done his. She anſwered that the ſame was beſtowed vpon a better king than he was, whom (quoth ſhee) finding in ſuch extremitie, I woulde haue giuen all that my father hath, and all that you haue, yea your ſelues to and all, were ye in my power to giue, rather than Chriſt ſhould ſtarue.

She profeſſed virginitie.

She profeſſed virginitie, and allured other noble yong Damoſels vnto hir felowſhip, with whō ſhe continued in hir owne Monaſterie, where ſhe was firſt profeſſed, vnto the yere of our lord. 500. and then departing this life, ſhee was buryed in Downe in Saint Patrikes tombe.

Anno 500 Brigit departed this life.

A concordance of the foure Euangeliſtes.

Geraldus Cambrenſis reporteth of his owne knowledge, that among other monumentes of hirs, there was founde a Concordaunce of the foure Euangelyſtes, ſeeming to be written with no mortall hande, beautifyed with myſticall pictures in the Margent, the colours and cunning workemanſhippe whereof, at the firſt bluſh appeared darke and nothing delectable, but in the heedfull viewe of the diligent beholder, very liuely and wonderfull artificiall.

Cenanus firſt a man of war, and after a biſhop.

Cenanus that was firſt a Souldier, ſucceeded Saint Patrike in the Sea of Ardmagh, after he had certaine yeares followed the warres.

Abbot Brendan.

Brendan Abbot, at the age of tenne yeares was of ſuch incomparable holyneſſe (as they ſay) and therewith ſo wiſe and learned, that hys father and mother thinking themſelues to haue gayned the moſte worthie fruite that myght enſue of theyr maryage, by mutuall conſent profeſſed continencie, and abandone d matrimoniall companie. He flouriſhed in the dayes of Saint Brydget, and lyued in familyer ſocietie wyth Saynt Arons the Byſhoppe, and Fyntan the Abbot.

Madoc.

Madoc, alias Edan of noble parentage taken pryſoner by the king of Temore and kept in his Court with dyuerſe yong men his ſchoolefellowes, openly adiured the king to licence him and them to depart, that they might ſerue God as they were accuſtomed, yͤ which being now kept in ſunder and reſtrayned of libertie, they were forced to diſcontinue. Herevpon immediately they were diſmiſſed.

He dyed Biſhoppe of Fernes, and layde the foundation of that Borow.

Melingus.

His ſucceſſor Melingus, although hee was Biſhop, gaue himſelfe yet to voluntarie labour, and with his owne handes deriued and brought a running ſpring to his Monaſterie, induring that trauayle dayly after prayer and ſtudie, for the ſpace of. viij. yeares togither.

Colm king of Leyniſter.

Fyntan Abbot was had in ſuch reuerence, that where as Colm king of Leyniſter kept Cormake the kings ſonne of Tenſil priſoner, he went boldly with. xij. of his diſciples through the preaſe of all the ſouldiers, and in ſight of the king was ſuffered to borow the yong Prince. For the Iriſhe are not ſterne agaynſt thoſe of whome they haue conceyued an opinion of holineſſe.

I remember (ſayth our Author) that Cambrenſis writeth himſelfe merily to haue obiected to Morice then Archbiſhop of Caſſhell, that Ireland in ſo many hundred yeares had not brought forth one Martyr. The Biſhop anſwered pleaſantly (alluding to the late diſpatching of Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury) our people (quoth he) notwithſtanding their other enormities, yet haue ſpared euer the bloud of vertuous men. Marie now we are deliuered to ſuch a nation that is well acquainted with making Martyrs, ſo that from henceforth I truſt no complaynt ſhall need for want of Martyrs.

The anſwere of the archbiſhop of Caſſhell to Geraldus Cābrenſis.

Malachias.

Malachias was borne in Ardmagh of noble progenie, brought vp in vertue by the example of his mother, and trayned forth in learning, profited greatly in deuotion, ſo that beeing yet a very babe, he was eſpied dyuerſe tymes to ſteale away from his companions to pray in ſecrete. He was ſo graue and modeſt, that of himſelfe he choſe the moſt graue and ſeuere Schoolmaiſters, refuſing an excellent Clearke, bycauſe he ſawe him ſomewhat lightly demeaning himſelfe at game.

In the beginning of his youthfull yeares, he became the diſciple of Imarius an olde recluſe, whoſe auſteritie of conuerſation the whole towne had in great reuerence.

There hee became a Deacon, and at. xxv. yeares a Prieſt. The Archbiſhop for the fame and opinion of his worthineſſe receyued him to be aſſiſtant to him in office, in the which he ſo behaued himſelfe, that he reformed ſuperſtitions, and reuiued yͤ force of religion, namely in the vniformitie of their Church ſeruice, wherein before time they iarred.

The Monaſtetie of Banchor repaired.

The famous Monaſterie of Banchor he reedified of the patrimonie and legacies by his vncle left him. The ſame Monaſterie was of old time gouerned by Congellus, and after him by Columbanus the father of many religious houſes in Fraunce.

This Abbey being ſpoyled, and nintie of the brethren murthered in one day by the Prior, the poſſeſſions whereof being come to the handes of Malachias by his vncles aſſignement, he reſtored forthwith and aduaunced the foundation. At the age of. xxx. yeares, he was by canonicall election forced to accept the Biſhoprike of of Conereth, a people of all the Iriſh then moſt ſauage and wild, whome with ineſtimable trauaile he reclaymed from theyr beaſtly maners.

In the meane while died Celſus Biſhop of Ardmagh, after whom ſucceeded Malachias, at the age of. xxxviij. yeares. But before this neare

hande

Married biſhops held the ſea ſucceſsiuely and of one familie, neither vvoulde the Iriſhmen haue had any other than of the houſe. See S. Bernard in vita Malachi Bale &c.

The Bible and ſtaffe.

lande the ſpace of two hundred yeares togither, a cuſtome had crepte into the countrey, that the Metropolitane ſea was conferred vpon ſuch Biſhops as were maried, and were of the bloud royall) in maner by way of inheritance: Wherfore Nigellus or Neale the next of kinred, animated by the parcialitie of ſome princes, and getting into his cuſtodie the Bible and ſtaffe, & other monumentes of S. Patrike, wherevnto opinion of the common people tyed the prelacie, came to his Palace with a bande of ſouldiors to haue ſlayne the Biſhop: When al the people wept and howled for his perill, he alone ſtepped into the boſome of his enimies, demaunding what was their purpoſe: The bloodie ſouldiers letting fall their weapons in ſted of executing the pretenced murder, fell to reuerence him, and at length departed from him as freendes.

For lineall deſcent of biſhops.

Three yeares he ſate in the primacie rather to diſcontinue the horrible corruption before vſed, than with intent to ſettle himſelfe there.

After he hadde remoued the abuſe, he procured Gelaſius to ſuccede him in the Archbiſhops ſea, and he returned to his former ſea of Downe, to the which as then was annexed the Biſhoprike of Coner, but Malachias vnderſtanding that in tymes paſt they were. vj. ſeuerall ſeas, he deuided them againe, & ordeined an other to the Biſhoprike of Coner, deſirous rather to leſſen his cure than to enlarge the frutes by taking more charge vpon hym.

Malachias being demaunded of his brethren the Monkes of Benchar, where and when hee would wiſh to die and to be buried, if it lay in his choyce, he anſwered: If in Ireland, beſide the bodie of S. Patrik, if beyond the ſeas at Clareuale where S. Bernarde was then reſiant, and in the feaſt of all ſoules. He purpoſed within few dayes to ſue to Pope Eugenius for increaſe of the number of Metropolitans, whiche requeſt was ſhortly after accompliſhed. And in this voyage which he thus made, hee ſtayed at Clareuale, and there many tymes openly foreſhewed, that the yere of his departure forth of this world was come, and accordingly when he had taken leaue of Sainte Bernarde and the brethren, hee wente downe from his chamber to the churche, and there didde communicate: Whiche done, hee returned to his lodgyng, and there on All Soule daye in the yere of his age. 54. he gaue vp the ghoſt ſo myldlye and quietlye that it ſeemed rather a ſleepe than a death.

Malchus.

Malchus, though borne in Irelande, yet he ſpente the moſte parte of his tyme in the monaſterie of Wyncheſter in Englande, and from thence was taken & admitted biſhop of Liſmore. Saint Bernard remembreth of him by occaſion, he cured a lunatike childe in confirming, or elſe (as they termed it, in biſhopping him.) This miracle ſeene and confeſſed by many hundredes of people was blowen through the world.

Diſcorde betvvixt the king of Mounſtor and his brother.

The ſame tyme happened diſcord betwixt the king of Mounſter and his brother, and as the matter was handled, the king was ouermatched and fled into England, wher he viſited Malchus in his Abbey, and would by no meanes departe from hym, but remayne there vnder his rule and gouernmente ſo long as it pleaſed God to denie hym quiet returne into his countrey: hee contented himſelfe with a poore celle, vſed dayly to bathe himſelfe in colde water, to aſſuage the wanton motions of his fleſhe, and for his dyet receyued none other delicates than breade, water and ſalte, daye and nyghte ſobbing and bewayling with greate remorſe of conſcience his former myſdemeaned lyfe.

At length the other Kings and people of Irelande beganne to repine at the vſurper, ſet vpon him with open warre, vanquiſhed him in a pight fielde, and called home the rightefull Prince his brother agayne, to reſume his kingdome, who with many erneſt perſwaſions of Malchus and Malachias coulde vneth bee broughte to forſake that trade of lyfe and companye, the whyche he had wyth ſuche delectation enured him ſelfe vnto.

Thus farre of the Iriſhe Sainctes. Of the whyche (as ſome of them are to bee eſteemed right vertuous and godlye menne, ſo other of them are to bee ſuſpected, as perſons rather holye by the ſuperſtitious opinion of the people, than endued with any ſuche knowledge of true godlyneſſe and ſyncere Relygion, as are worthye to be Regiſtred in the number of thoſe that of right ought to paſſe for Sayntes, as by certayne late writers may appeare.

Foxe. Bale.

But this we leaue to the iudgemente of the aduiſed Reader, for that in ſuche matters wee mynde not to preiudice any mans opinion, but onely wiſhe the Reader to take heed howe he giueth credite to that whych oftentymes is found written by Authoures touching feigned miracles, and other vayne ſuperſtitious dealings, wherethorough many zelous perſons haue often bene deceyued.

Nowe therefore to leaue Sayntes, and returne to other matters, touchyng the Iriſhe hiſtorie.

586. The Norvvegians ſkoure the ſeas, and inuade the yles of Orkney.

In the yeare. 586. the Norwegians had got dominion ouer the Ilandes in the north Weaſt Ocean called the Iles of Orkeney, and ſkoured the Seas that none other nation durſte vnnethe appeare in ſight for dread of them. A people giuen greately to ſeeke the Conqueſtes of other Realmes, as they that coulde not fayle to fynde more warme and fruitefull places for

them-to inhabite than theyr owne.

They inuade Irelande.

Theſe fellowes chaunced to light into Irelande by this meanes, Caraticus king of Brytaine ranne into ſuche hatred of his people that they rayſed warres agaynſt him.

The Saxons that poſſeſſed now ſixe ſeuerall kingdomes in the Ile of Brytayne, reioyſed not a little at this ciuill diſcorde betwixt the Brytayne king and his ſubiects, wherevpon meaning to make a full conqueſt of the Brytaines, and vtterly to expulſe them forth of the whole Ile, aſſembled their powers & ioyned to the ſame Gurmundus, a notable rouer of the Norwegians, who hauing at all tymes a Nauie in a readineſſe, and men to furniſhe it, holpe the Saxons to chaſe the Brytaynes into the Marches of Wales. For from thence (being retyred into the Mountaynes and Woddes) they coulde not dryue them.

Gurmundus an Archpyrate of the nation of Norway.

This Gurmound (as ſome thinke) buylded at the ſame tyme the towne of Gurmondcheſter, and after beeing aſſyſted by the Saxons, hee made a voyage into Irelande, where hee ſpedde not greatly to his deſire, and therefore the Iriſhe account not this for any of theyr conqueſts, as ſome of their antiquaries infourmed oure Authour.

Champion.

Gurmounde therefore fynding but ſorie ſucceſſe, buylt a fewe ſleight Caſtelles and Fortes in the frontiers, and ſo lefte the lande, and ſayled from thence into Fraunce, where at length hee was ſlaine. Our Chronicles in deede name him King of Irelande, but the Iriſhe affyrme that before Turgeſius there was none of the Eaſterne people that obteyned dominion in theyr Countrey.

Turgeſius.

Geraldus Cambrenſis, to make the matter whole, (a Gods name) thinketh Turgeſius to haue conquered the lande as Lieutenaunt or Deputie vnder Gurmundus. But thys being graunted, there ryſeth a more manifeſt contradiction than the former, for hee hymſelfe numbreth betwixte Laogirius King of Irelande, that lyued in the yeare. 430. and Edlumding, whom Turgeſius vanquiſhed, xxxiij. Monarkes, whoſe raignes comprehended foure hundred yeares, ſo that Turgeſius lyued in the yeare after the incarnation. 830.

Laogerius.
430

Then it is too playne, that hee coulde not haue any doyngs wyth Gurmundus, who ioyned with the Saxons agaynſt Carcticus, in the yeare. 586.

The doubt reſolued.

This knotte (ſaith our Authour) might be vntwyned with more facilitie thus. Gurmundus made much of that little he gotte, and wrote himſelfe King, which tytle our Hyſtories doe allowe him, bycauſe hee made the waye playne, enioyed it a whyle, and ſet open the gate vnto his Countreymen.

Turgeſius atchieued the whole exployte, and brought it to perfection, and in theſe reſpectes eyther of them may bee called King and Conquerour of Irelande.

Turgeſius what he did.

Turgeſius therefore with hys Norweygans the ſeconde tyme inuaded Irelande, ſuſteyned diuerſe loſſes and ouerthrowes: but in the ende fortefying himſelfe by the Sea coaſtes, and receyuing thereby hys friendes at hys pleaſure, waxed ſo ſtrong that hee ſubdued the whole Ile, ſtyll erecting Caſtelles and Fortreſſes as hee wanne grounde, ſo to mayſter the Iriſhe, that with ſuch maner of ſtrengthes of Walles and Rampyres had not as yet beene acquaynted, for tyll thoſe dayes they knewe no defence but Woods, Bogs, or ſtrokes.

He buyldeth Fortreſſes.

Turgeſius ſo brydled the Iriſhe Kinges, and kepte them in awe, that without interruption hee raigned lyke a Conquerour thirtie yeares.

Turgeſius raigned in Ireland. xxx. yeares.

He cryed hauocke and ſpoyle where anye riche pray was to bee had, ſparing neyther thoſe of the laytie, nor of the Cleargie, neyther Church nor Chappell, abuſing hys victorie verie inſolently, Omalaghlilen King of Methe, was in ſome truſt with the tyrant. His onely daughter Turgeſius craued for his Concubine.

Omalaghlilen king of Meth.

The father hauing a readie witte, and watching his tyme, beganne to breake with Turgeſius in this wiſe, ſauing your fancie (my Lorde quoth he) there are dyuerſe Ladyes of bloud in thys Countrey meeter bedfellowes for a King than that browne gryſtle, and therewyth he beganne to recken vppe a number of hys Neeces and Couſins, indowed (as he ſet them forth) with ſuch ſingular beautie, as they ſeemed rather Angels than mortall creatures.

The tyraunt as it were rauiſhed, and doting in loue of thoſe Peereleſſe peeces before hee ſawe them, by reaſon of ſuch exceeding prayſes as hee thus heard of them, doubted yet leaſt Omalaghlilen extolled them to preſerue his daughter out of hys handes, and the ſubtile father cloked his drift with modeſt behauiour, lyngering tyme to enflame the Leachers folly, as he that wiſhed anye thing more to bee ſuſpected than that which hee ment moſt earneſtly to bring to paſſe.

The policie of Omalaghlilen.

At length when Turgeſius ſeemed to take his delaying thus of tyme ſomewhat dyſpleaſantly, he vſed thys or the like ſpeech.

If I ſhoulde ſaye (quoth hee) that I gaue you my ſole daughter wyth good wyll to be deflowred, your highe wiſedome woulde ſone geſſe that I didde but flatter you, and yet if tenne Daughters were dearer to mee than your good pleaſure and contentation, by whoſe bountifull goodneſſe both thee and I, and wee all are ſupported, I were vnworthie that ſecrete and neare frendſhip wherin it lyketh you to vſe me. As for the wenche it will be in parte honourable to hir to be required to the bedde of ſuch a prince, ſith Queenes haue not ſticked to come from far and yelde the vſe of their bodyes to noble conquerors, in hope by them to haue iſſue: and howſoeuer it be taken, tyme will weare it out, and redeeme it: but ſuche a friende as you are to mee and myne, neyther I nor myne ſhall lyue to ſee. And verily I mean not to hazard your diſpleſure if it were for a greater matter than the value of twentie maydenheads, ſeeyng fathers haue not ſticked to giue vp their own wiues to quench the luſtes of their ſonnes. Therefore am I thus agreed, name the daye and place, ſeparate youre ſelfe from the viewe of your court, conferre with thoſe that haue a deyntie inſight and ſkilfull eyes in diſcerning beauties, I wil ſend you my daughter, and with hir the choyce of .xij. or .xvj. gentlewomē, the meaneſt of the which may be an Empreſſe in compariſon; when they are before you, make youre game as you lyke. And then if my chylde pleaſe your fantaſy, ſhe is not too good to be at your cōmaundement. Only my requeſt is, that if any other ſhall preſume vpon youre leauings, your maieſtie will remember whoſe chyld ſhe is. This liberal proffer was of Turgeſius accepted (whoſe deſire was inſaciable) with many good wordes, thankes and faire promiſes.

To be ſhorte, the ſame day Omalaghlen put his daughter in princelyke apparell, attired after the trimmeſt wyſe, and with hir .xvj. proper yong men, beautifull and amiable to behold: and ſo being ſent to the king were preſented vnto him in his priuie chamber, hauyng none aboute him but a fewe diſſolute youthfull perſons wherupon thoſe diſguiſed yong ſtriplyngs drew forth from vnder their long womanniſhe garmentes theyr ſkeynes, and valiauntly beſturring them ſelues, firſt ſtabbed their weapon poyntes, thorough the bodie of the tyrant, and then ſerued all thoſe youthes that were aboute him with the lyke ſawce, they making ſmall or no reſiſtance at all.

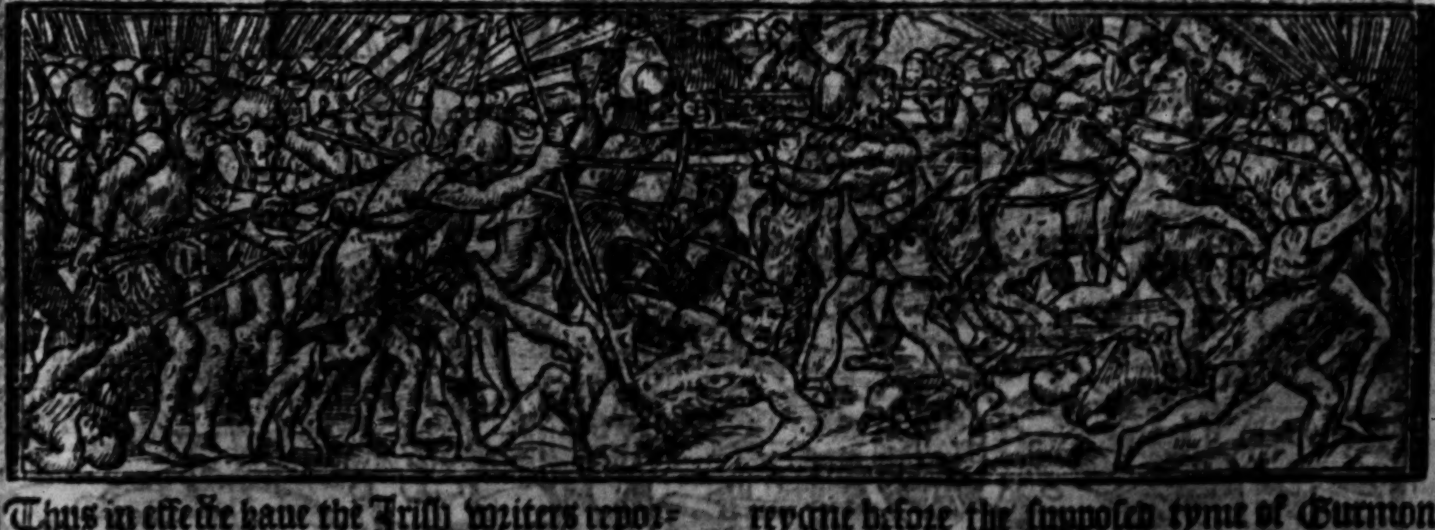
The lyke vvas practiſed by Alexander, ſon to Amyntas king of Macedonie agaynſte the Perſian ambaſſadours. Caron. lib.3. fol.102.

The bruite of this murder was quickly blowen abroade thorough all Irelande, and the Princes readye to catche holde on ſuche aduauntage, roſe in armes wyth one aſſente in purpoſe to delyuer themſelues from bondage, and recouer libertie.

The perſuaſion of Omalaghlen.

All Methe and Leyniſter were ſpeedyly got together, reſortyng vnto Omalaghlen the authour of this practiſe, who lyghtly lept to horſſe, and commending their forwarde readyneſſe in ſo naturall a quarrell, ſayd: My lordes and frends, this caſe neyther admitteth delaye, nor requireth a policie, harte and haſte is all in all, whyleſt the matter is freſhe and greene, and that ſome of oure enimies lye ſtill and ſleepe, ſome lamente, ſome curſe, ſome are togither in counſell, and all the whole number diſmayed, lette vs preuente theyr furye, diſmember theyr force, cut off their flyght, ſeyſe vppon theyr places of refuge and ſuccoure. It is no victorie to plucke their feathers, but to break their neckes: not to chaſe them in, but to rouſe them out: to weede them, not to rake them: not to treade them downe, but to roote them vp. This leſſon the tyraunt himſelfe did teache me: I once demaunded of him as it were in a parable, by what good huſbandrie the lande might be ridde of certayne rauening fowles that anoyed it. He aduyſed vs to watch, where they bredde, and to fyre their neſts aboute their eares. Flye wee then vpon theſe Cormorantes whyche ſhrowde themſelues in oure poſſeſſions, and let vs ſo deſtroye them, that neyther neſt nor roote, neyther ſeede nor ſtalke, neyther braunche nor ſtumpe ſhall remayne of this vngratious generation.

Scarce hadde he ended his tale, but that wyth greate ſhoutes and clamoures they extolled the kyng, as defendoure of theyr lyues and liberties, aſſuring hym both of theyr bolde and hardye ſtomackes and ſpeedfull expedition ioyned with theyr confederates, and with a runnyng Campe ſwepte euerye corner of the lande, raſed the Caſtelles to the grounde, chaſed away the ſtraungers, ſlewe all that abode battayle, eche man recouerying hys owne, wyth the ſtate of gouernement.



Thus in effecte haue the Iriſh writers reported of Turgeſius a Norwegian, whether he did reygne before the ſuppoſed tyme of Gurmond, or whether that hee came thyther as Lieutenant tenaunt to him, whiche if it ſhoulde bee true, no doubte the ſame Gurmonde was ſome Kyng of the Danes, or Norweygians, and not of the Affricanes, (as ſome of our countreymen name hym.) Which errour is ſoone committed, in takyng one Heatheniſhe nation for an other, as thoſe haue donne that haue named the Hungarians (when they inuaded Gallia before they were Chriſtians) Sarazins: And ſo lykewyſe might that authour (who ſo euer he was) whom Geffrey of Monmouth foloweth, fynding Gurmonde written to be a king of the myſcreantes, miſtake the Norwegians for Affricanes, bicauſe both thoſe nations were Infidels: and therefore ſith haply the Affricanes in the dayes when that Author lyued, bare al the brute aboue other Heatheniſhe nations then, as the Turkes do nowe, he named them Africanes.

Gurmonde.

Howe ſoeuer it was, certayne it is, that the Danes or Norwegians made ſundrie inuaſions into Irelande, and that at ſeuerall tymes. But for Turgeſius, whether hee were an abſolute Kyng, or but a Lieutenant of ſome armye, vnder ſome other king named Gurmonde, or peraduenture Gormo, (as ſuche names are ſoone corrupted,) I can not affirme, bycauſe that no certayne tyme is ſette downe in the Chronicles, whyche are written of thoſe Nations, whereby they maye bee ſo reconciled together, as ſuffiſeth to warrant any lykely coniecture in this behalfe.

But if I ſhoulde ſaye, (with the Readers licence) what I thinke, this Gurmonde what ſo euer he was, made no ſuche conqueſt of Irelande nor of this our Iſle of Britayn (as by ſome writers is ſuppoſed:) but yet myght he peraduenture lande in Wales, and eyther in fauoure of the Saxons, then enimyes to the Britons, or in hatred of the Chriſtian name, perſecute by cruell warres the Brytiſhe nation, and vſe ſuche crueltie as the Heatheniſhe nations then were accuſtomed to practiſe agaynſt the Chriſtians, in all places where they came, and chaunced to haue the vpper hande. The chiefeſt cauſe that moueth me to doubte therof, is for that I fynd not in any of our approued auncient Engliſhe writers, as Bede, Malmeſburye, Huntingdon, Houeden, or ſuche lyke, anye playne mention made of hym, whereby I may be throughly induced to credite that whyche I fynde in Geffrey Monmouth and others, recorded of hym, except his name be miſtaken, and ſo therby ſome errour crept in, which I am not able to reſolue.

But ſith we are entred to ſpeake thus farre of the Norwegians, heere by the waye I haue thoughte it not impertinente to the purpoſe of thys Iriſhe hiſtorie to write what wee fynde recorded in the Chronicles of thoſe northernlye Regions Denmarke, Norwey, and Sweden, written by Saxo Grammaticus, Albertus Crantz, and others, concernyng the ſundry inuaſions made by the Danes, Norweygians or Normans, (whether we lyſt to cal them) into Irelande.

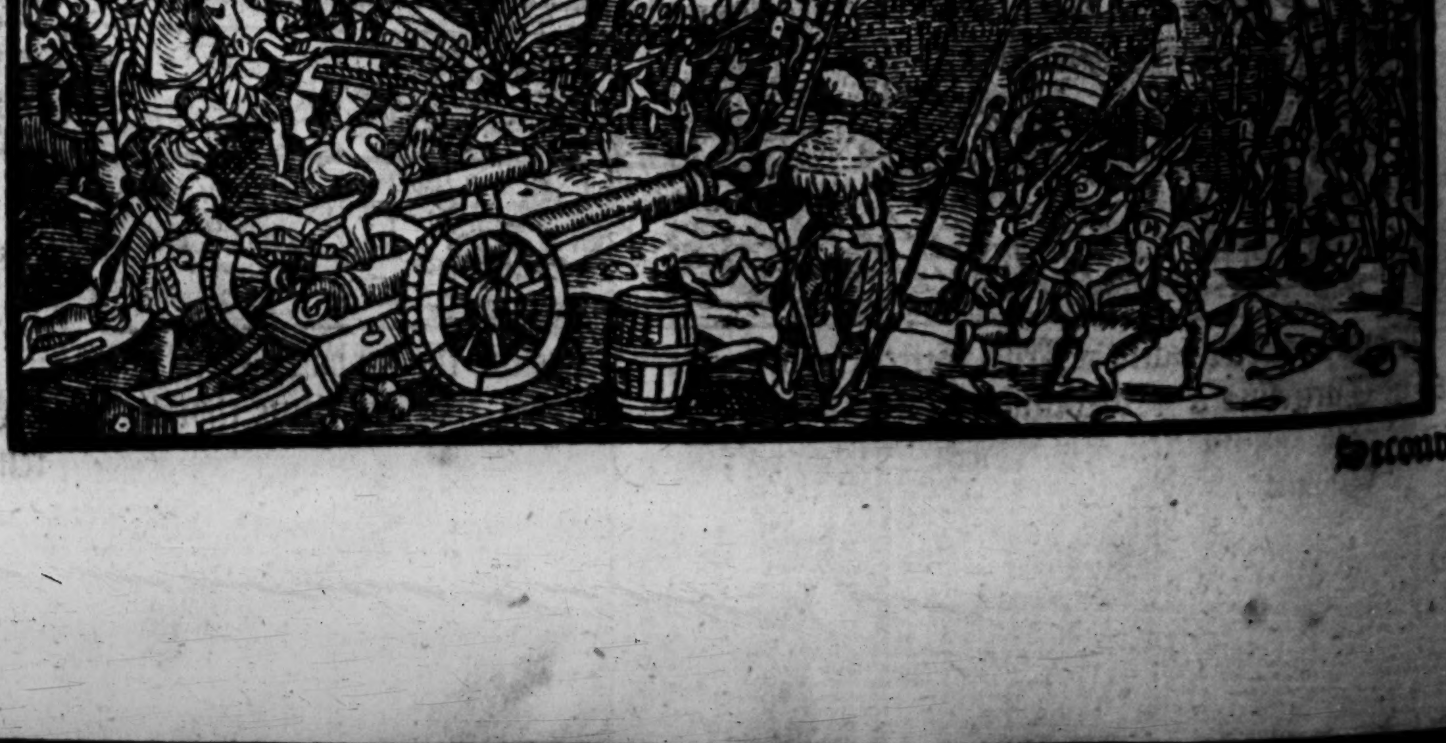
Alber. Crantz, Saxo Gram.

Fridley or Fridleuus king of Denmarke, that ſucceded Dan the thirde of that name, ſurnamed the ſwift, arriuing in Irelande, beſieged the citie of Dublyn, and perceyuing by the ſtrength of the walles, that it wold be an hard matter to wynne it by playne force of hand without ſome cunning policie, he deuiſed to catche a ſorte of ſwallowes that had made their neſtes in the houſes within the towne, tyed wylde fire to their wyngs, and therwith caſte them vp, and ſuffered them to flye their wayes, wherupon they comming to theyr neſtes, ſet the houſes on fire, whiche whyles the citizens went aboute to quenche, the Danes entred the citie, and wanne it.

Fridleus.

Dublyn beſieged.

Dublyn ſet on fyre, and vvon by the Danes.



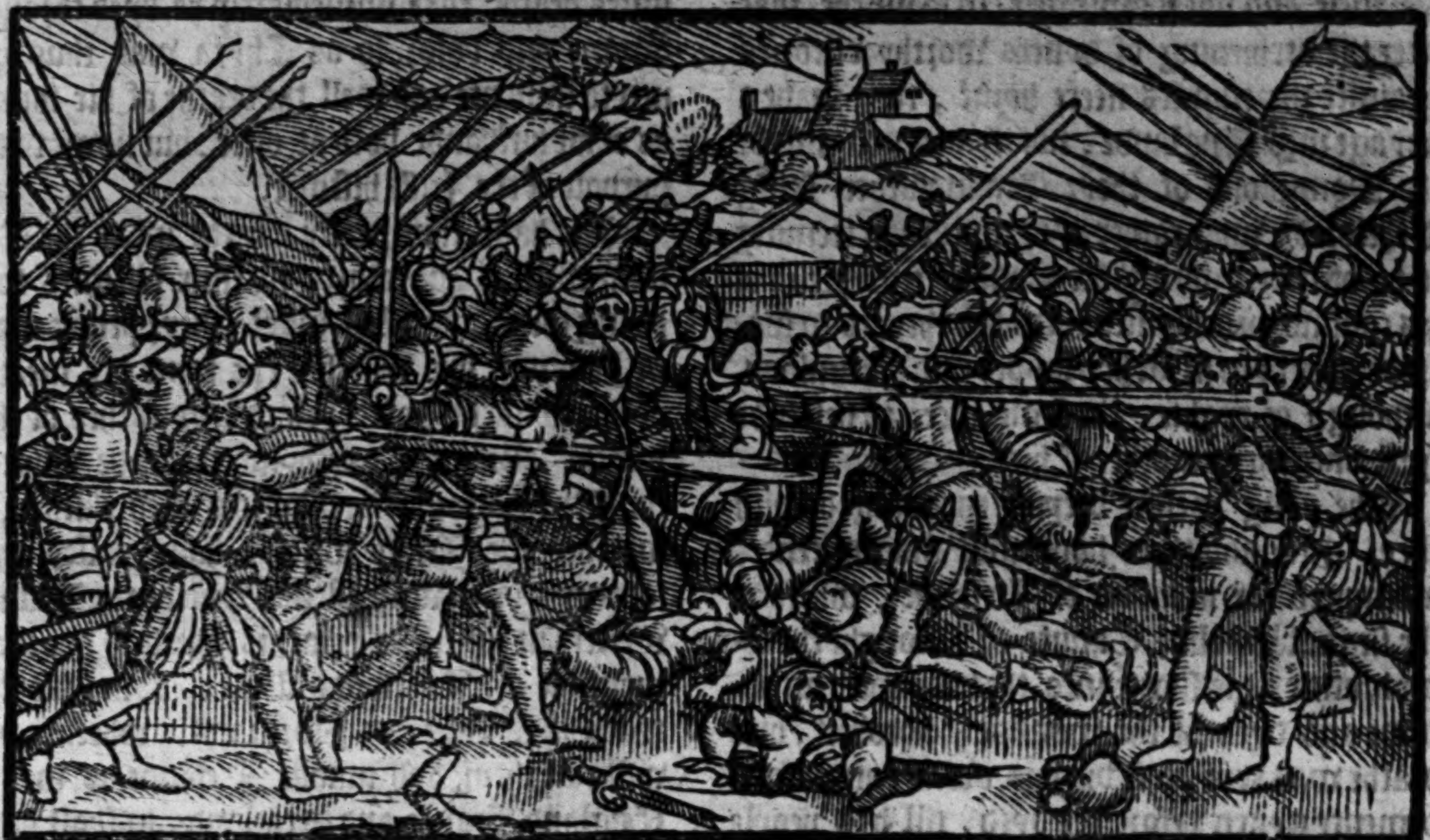
Secondly

Frotho the thirde.

Caltrops ſtrawed by the Iriſh to anoy the Danes.

Keruil gouernor of the Iriſhmē ſlayne.

Secondly, Frotho King of Denmarke, the thirde of that name, after he had ſubdued the Britons here in this Iſle, made a voyage into Ireland alſo, where hee landed with ſome daunger, for the Iriſhmen had ſtrawed all alongſt yͤ ſhore a great number of Caltroppes of iron, with ſharp prickes ſtanding vp to wounde the Danes in the feete as they ſhoulde come forth of theyr Ships to follow them, for they meant to flee of a pretenſed policie for that purpoſe. But Frotho perceyuing their deceytfull craft, followed them more aduiſedly than raſhly, and ſo put their Captayne named Kerull to flighte, and ſlewe him in the fielde, whoſe brother remayning in life, and miſtruſting his owne puiſſance, yeelded hymſelfe to Frotho, who deuiding yͤ pray amōgſt his Souldiers and men of warre, ſhewed thereby, that hee only ſought for glory, and not for gayne, reſeruing not a peny of all the ſpoyle to his owne vſe.



Frotho the fourth.
Starcater a Giant.
Huglet King of Irelande.

Gegathus and Suibdanus.

Haco wōded.
Starcather wounded.

Huglet ſlaine.

After this, in the dayes of king Frotho the fourth of that name, which raigned ouer the Danes, one Starcater a Giant, in cōpany of Haco a Daniſh Captaine, made a iourney likewiſe into Ireland, where in the ſame ſeaſon, one Huglet raigned as Monarke ouer that Iſle, who hauing plentie of treaſure, was yet ſo giuen to couetouſneſſe, that by ſuch vnprincely partes as he played, to ſatiſfie his gredy deſire to fill his cofers, he became ryght odible, and farre out of all fauor with his ſubiects, yet there were of his nobles, very valiaunte and worthy men, namely two, Gegathus, and Suibdanus: wherevpon, when it came to paſſe that he ſhoulde ioyne in battell with his enimies the Danes. the moſt parte of all his people fledde out of the fielde, ſo that Gegath and Suibdane were in maner left alone: for they regarding their honors and dutie that apperteyned to menne of their calling, woulde not flee, but manfully dyd what lay in theyr powers, to beate backe the enimies, in ſo much, that Gegathus raught Haco ſuch a wound, that the vpper part of his liuer appeared bare. Hee alſo wounded Starcather in the head righte ſore, ſo that in all his life days, he had not before that time receyued the like hurt, in the ende yet Huglet the Monarke of Irelande was ſlayne, and Starcather obteyning the victory, made greate ſlaughter of the Iriſhe ſubiectes the which had followed their King to this battell, being menne through his corrupt example and ſlouthfull trade of lyfe, degenerate from all warlike order and vſe of manlike exerciſe.

Dublin wonne

After this, the Danes went to Dublin, which towne they eaſily tooke, and founde ſuche ſtore of riches and treaſure therein, that euery man hadde ſomuche as hee coulde wiſhe or deſire, ſo as they needed not to fall out among themſelues for the partition, ſith there was ſo muche for each mans ſhare as hee coulde conueniently carrie away.

Thus hath Saxo Grammaticus written in effect of Starcaters comming into Irelande, of whome the Daniſh writers make ſuch mention, both for his huge ſtature and greate manhoode. Some haue thoughte, that Starcater was the very ſame man whiche the Scottes name Finmackcole, of whome in the Scottiſhe Hiſtorie we haue made mention: but where as the Scottiſh writers affirme that he was a Scottiſhman borne, the Daniſh writers reporte that hee was borne in Eaſtlande, among the people called Eſtones.

Reignirus.

Melbrick K. of Irelande ſlayne.

Reignirus the ſonne of Siwardus, the ſecond King of Denmarke, hauyng atchieued ſundry victories in Englande and Scotlande, and ſubdued the Iſles of Orkney, hee paſſed likewiſe into Irelande, ſlewe Melbricke King of that lande, and tooke the Citie of Dublin by ſiege, where hee remayned the whole tearme of twelue moneths before he departed from thence.

Gurmo the third of that name king of Denmarke.

He marieth Thira daughter to Etheldred King of Englande. Canute and Harolde.

After this, Gurmo the third of that name king of Denmarke, although an Infidell hymſelfe, and a cruell perſecuter of the Chriſtian Religion, yet tooke to wife a Chriſtian Ladie named Thyra, daughter to Etheldred King of Englãd, who had iſſue by him two ſonnes Knaught, or Canute, and Harold, prouing men of high valiancie and notable prowes, in ſo muche, that after the atchieuing of dyuers worthy victories againſte the enimies neere home, they made a voyage into Englande, not ſparing to inuade the Dominions of theyr Graundfather King Etheldred, who rather reioycing, than ſeeming to be offended with thoſe manlike enterpriſes of his couſins, proclaymed them hys heyres to ſucceede after hym in all hys landes and dominions, although of ryghte, the ſame were to deſcende fyrſt vnto theyr mother Thira.

They inuade Irelande. Canute is ſlayne.

The yong menne beeyng encouraged with theyr Graundfathers bountifull magnificence, attempted the inuaſion of Irelande, where at the ſiege of Dublin, Canute or Knought the elder brother was ſhotte into the body with an arrowe and dyed of the wounde, howbeit, hys deathe was kept cloſe by hys owne commaundemente gyuen before hee dyed, till hys people hadde gote the Citie into their poſſeſſion. But the gayne was ſmall in reſpect of the loſſe whiche was thoughte to redounde vnto the whole Daniſhe nation by the deathe of that noble yong Gentleman Canute, who for hys hygh prowеſſe and valiancie was moſt tenderly beloued of all menne, but namely, of his father King Gormo, in ſo muche, that hee ſware to kill hym with hys owne handes who ſo euer ſhoulde firſt tell hym newes of hys deathe.

The policie of Thira to ſignifie to hir husband the death of theyr ſonne Canute.

Gurmo dyeth of ſorowe.

This Gormo was nowe a man farre ſtriken in age, and blinde, hauyng ſmall ioy of anye worldly pleaſures otherwiſe, than to heare of the welfare & proſperous proceedings of his ſonnes. When therefore hys wife Queene Thira hadde perfect aduertiſemente of hir ſonnes deathe, and that neyther ſhe nor any other durſt breake the matter vnto hir huſbande, ſhe deuiſed a ſhifte how to ſignifie that to hym by outwarde ſignes, whyche by worde of mouth ſhe was afrayde to expreſſe, as thus, She cauſed moorning apparell to be made for hir huſbande, and putting off hys royall robes, cladde hym therewith, and other thyngs apperteyning to moorners ſhe alſo put about hym, and prepared all ſuche furniture and neceſſaries as were vſed for funerall exequies, witneſſing the lamentable griefe conceyued for the loſſe of ſome friende, with that kinde of mourning weede and funerall ceremonies. Whiche when Gurmo perceyued: Woe is mee (ſaith hee) you then ſignifie the death of my ſonne Canute. Whereunto ſhee made aunſwere, that hee and not ſhee dyd diſcouer the trueth of that whiche was meante by thoſe moorning garmentes, and with that ſpeeche miniſtred cauſe of hir huſbandes deathe, whereby ſhee became preſently a Widdowe, not openly moorning for hir ſonne, before ſhee mourned likewiſe for hir huſbande: for hee tooke ſuche griefe for Canutes deathe, that immediately he dyed through ſorowe and dolor, ſo as Thyra was thus driuen to lamente, as well the deathe of hir ſonne, as of hir huſbande both at once: but nowe to the purpoſe of the Iriſh hiſtorie.

Yee haue thus partly hearde what the Daniſhe writers doe recorde in their hiſtories touchyng the Conqueſtes whych theyr people made in Irelande, but whether the ſame bee meante of that whyche goeth before, or rather of that whiche followeth, touchyng the trade whyche the Norwegian Merchauntes vſed thither, or whether the Iriſhe writers haue paſſed theſe iourneys ouer with ſilence whiche the Daniſhe writers in forme (as before is touched) doe make mention of, I cannot affirme: But lyke it is that the Danes, or Normans, whether you will call them, dyd inuade Irelande as well as England, France, and Scotlande, in thoſe days, according to the reporte of theyr writers, and that by way of open warre, as well to conquere the countrey, as to take prayes, priſoners and booties, and not for trade of Merchandiſe onely, albeit that they myghte peraduenture ſo get entrie at the firſte, as by the Iriſh hiſtories it ſhould ſeeme they dyd ſhortly after the ſlaughter of Turgeſius, and afterwards when they ſaw thẽſelues ſetled, and perceyued that they beganne to growe to be enuyed of their Iriſhe neybors, who thereupon woulde not ſticke to moleſt them as occaſions ſerued, they ſaw no better meane to aſſure themſelues againſt their aduerſaries, than to ſend vnto their cõtreymen, which in thoſe dayes roued abrode (as before I haue ſaid) in euery quarter of this our weſt Ocean, wayting for oportunitie to aduance their conqueſts in each countrey where any thing might be gottẽ: and ſo this may agree very well with the Iriſhe writers, whome as I do not take vppon me to controll, but rather to report the hiſtorie as I find it by them writtẽ, I will proceede with the order whiche they followe. After the countrey was deliuered of the tyrannie wherewith it was oppreſſed by the ſame Turgeſius and his people Danes or Norwegiãs whether they were (for ſo Cambrenſis eſteemeth them) the Iriſhe deliuered of ſeruile bondage, fell to their old wonted vomit, in perſecuting each other: and hauing lately defaced theyr fortifyed Townes and Caſtels, as receptacles & couertes for the enimie, all ſides lay more open to receyue harme.

This beeing perceyued and throughly conſidered, the Princes that in ẏ late rule of Turgeſius, had eſpied ſome towardneſſe to wealth & eaſe, fell in hand to diſcourſe the madneſſe and folly of their aunceſtors, whiche ſawe not the vſe of that which their enimies abuſed, they begunne to loth their vnquiet trade of life, to wiſh eyther leſſe diſcord, or more ſtrẽgth in each mans dominion, to caſt the danger of naked countreys, ready to call in the enimies, as the ſtrength of fortes and Caſtels was a meane to preſerue them from loſſe. Fayne would they haue prouided remedie in this caſe, if they had knowne how.

The former ſubiection, though it ſeemed intollerable, yet they felt therein proceeding ſteppes towards peace. The gayne that roſe of Merchãdiſe, reſt and ſuretie to the whole eſtate of the Countrey. For the differẽce was great betwixt the endeuors of the two nations, Norwegians and Iriſh.

The firſt knew the way to thriue, might they get ſome commodious ſeates and ſoyle. The other had commodities plentie, and cared not for them.

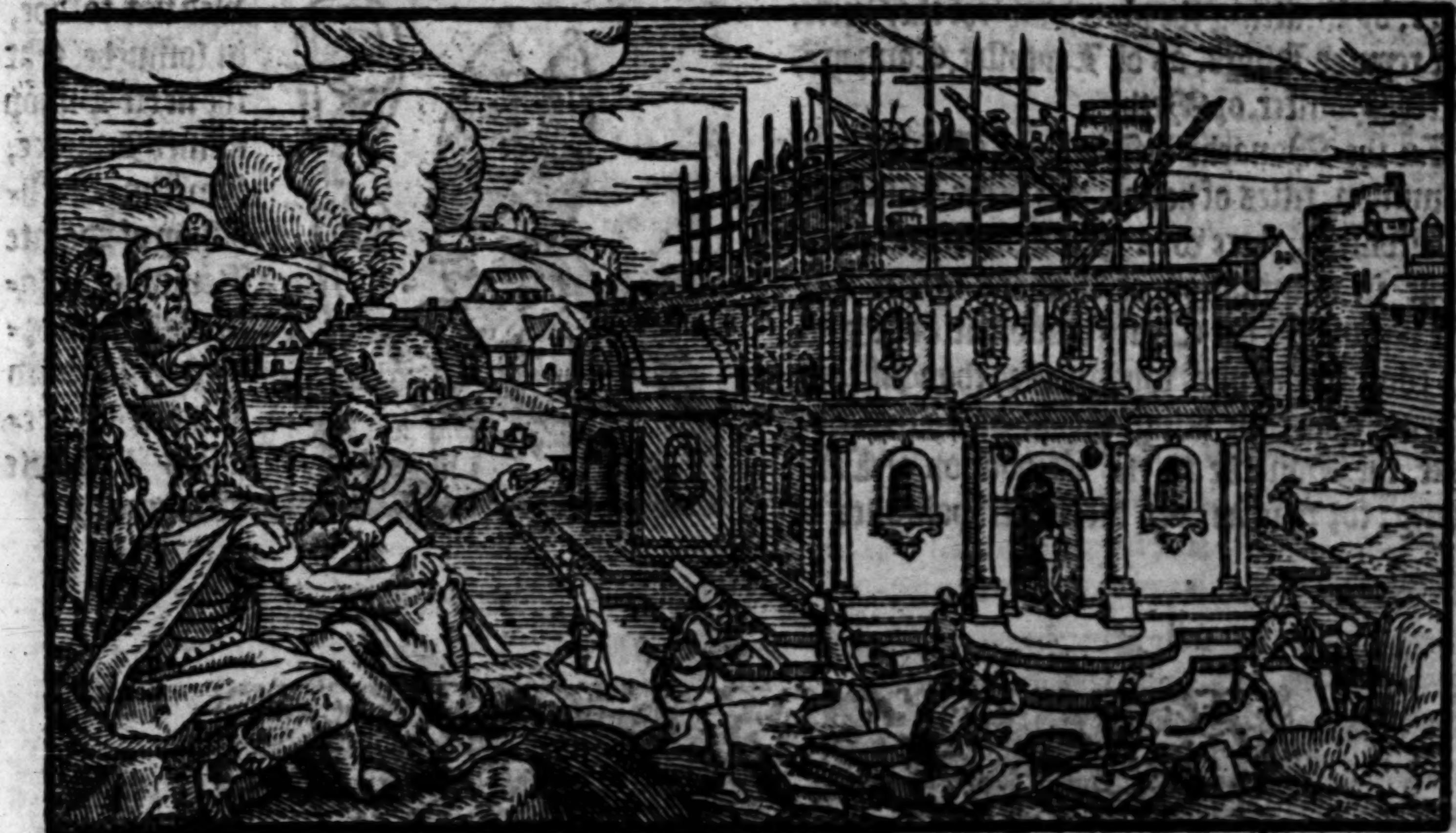
While the Princes and Potentates ſtayed vpon ſuche a good conſideration, certayne Merchants of Norway, Denmarke, & of other thoſe parties, called *Oſtomanni*, (or as in our vulgar lãguage wee tearme them Eaſterlings) bycauſe they lie Eaſt in reſpect of vs, although indeede they are by other named properly Normans, and partly Saxons, obteyned licence ſafely to arriue here in Ireland with their wares, and to vtter the ſame.

Eaſterlings began to trade into Irelande.

Hereupon, the Iriſh, through traffike and bartering with theſe Normans or Danes, (for ſo are they called alſo) in our Engliſh Chronicle (by exchanging of wares and money) finding them ciuill and tractable, and deliting alſo with gay concepts, brought in to them by thoſe Merchãts, (ſuch, as till they ſawe them) they neuer eſteemed needefull, they began to enter into a deſire, that a trade might be open betwixt them, and the other nations, whereupon, to allure other, they licenced theſe Merchãt ſtrangers to build, if they thought good, hauen Townes in places moſt commodious: this was no ſooner graunted, than begunne, and with ſpeede finiſhed.

They builde townes on the Sea coaſts.

Amilanus founded Waterforde, Sutaricus, Limerick, Iuorus, Dublin: & ſo by others diuers other townes were built as leaſure ſerued.



Waterforde, Lymerike, Dublin.

Then by the help and counſell of theſe men, many Caſtels, Fortes, Steeples, and Churches euery where were repaired. And thus are the Iriſhe mingled alſo with the bloud of the Danes, Norwegians or Normans, who from thenceforth continuelly flocked into Irelande, to the greate commoditie of the inhabitants, liuing amongſt them obediently, till welth pricked and moued them to ryſe rebellion, but they could not haue holden out, had not the conqueſt enſuing determined both their quarrels. In the meane while they became Lordes of the hauens and burrowe townes, planted men of warre in the ſame, and oftentimes ſkirmiſhed with their aduerſaries, but yet meaſured their fortune with indifferent gain, and crept no higher than the ſame woulde gyue them leaue, onely a memorie is left of their fielde in Clontars, where diuers of the Iriſhe nobilitie were ſlayne, that lie buried before the Croſſe of Kylmaynã. Theſe are by our author not without good iudgemẽt reported to be Danes, which people then beeing Paganes, ſore afflicted Englande, and after that France, from whence they came again into England with William Conqueror, ſo that thoſe people called *Oſtomanni*, Eſterlings, Normãs, Danes, Norwegiãs, & Suedeners, are in effect al one nation, borne in ẏ huge

The Merchant ſtrãgers moue Rebellion.

The fielde of Clontars.

The ſeuerall names of the ſtrangers whiche in theſe dayes afflicted France, England, Scotland and Irelande.

1095

region called Scandinauia, and as it appeareth by conference of times and Chronicles, muchwhat about one ſeaſon, vexed the Frenchmen, afflicted Scotland, ſubdued Englande, and multiplyed in Irelande. But in the yeere of Chriſt 1095. perceyuing greate enuie to remayne and lurke in the diſtinction of the names Eaſterlings and Iriſhe, that were altogither Weſterne, and the Eaſterlings not Eaſterne indeede, but rather ſimplye Northren: in conſideration whereof, and bycauſe they magnifyed themſelues in the late conqueſt of theyr countreymen, who from Normandie comming ouer into Englande ruled there at their pleaſure, theſe ſtrangers in Ireland would algate nowe bee alſo called and accompted Normans.

The Eaſterlings will be called Normans.

Long before this tyme (as ye haue heard) Irelande was beſtowed into two principall kingdomes, and ſometime into more, whereof one was euer elected and reputed to be chiefe, and as it were a Monarke, whome in their Hiſtories they name *Maximum Regem*, that is, the greateſt King, or elſe without addition, *Regem Hiberniæ*, the King of Ireland, the other they name *Reguli* or *Reges*, that is to witte, ſmall Kings, or elſe kings, by limitting the places wherof they were, to be reputed Kings, as of Leyniſter, Connagh, Vlſter, Monſter, or Meth.

Maximus Rex The great king or Monarke of Irelande.

To the Monarke beſides hys allowance of Dominion, titles of honor, and other priuileges in iuriſdiction, there was graunted to him a negatiue in nomination of Biſhops when they were vacant: for the Cleargie and laitie of the dioces commended one, whome they thought conueniente vnto their King, the King to the Monarke, the Monarke to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury: for that as yet the Metropolitanes of Ireland had not receyued their palles.

The power of the Monarke in election of Biſhops.

In this ſorte was nominated to the Biſhoprike of Dublin then voyde, in the yeere of Chriſt 1074. at the petition of Goderius King of Leyniſter by ſufferance of the Cleargie and people there, with the aſſente of Terdienatus the Monarke, a learned Prelate called Patricius, whome Lanfranke of Canterbury conſecrated in Paules Churche at London, and ſware hym to obedience after the manner of his anceſtors.

Goderius king of Leyniſter.

Terdienatus the Monarke. Patricius conſecrated Biſhop of Dublin by Lanfranke.

1152

Chriſtian Biſhop of Liſmore legate to Eugenius the thirde, ſummoned a prouinciall councell in Irelande, wherein were authoriſed foure Metropolitane Seas, Ardmach, Dublin, Caſſel, and Tuen, of the whiche places were Biſhops at that preſente, Gaclatius, Gregorius, Donatus, Edonius, for hitherto though they yelded a primacie to the Biſhop of Ardmach in reuerence of Saint Patricke the firſte Biſhop there, yet the ſame was but of good will, and confirmed rather by cuſtome than by ſufficient decree, neyther dyd that Archbiſhop take vppon him to inueſt other Biſhops, but ſente them to Canterbury (as before is mentioned) whiche from henceforth they vſed not to doe, in ſomuche, that the nexte Biſhop named Laurẽce, ſometime Archbiſhop of Sainte Keuins in Golãdilah, was ordered & inſtalled at home by Gelaſius Primate of Ardmach.

Chriſtian Biſhop of Liſmore.

Foure Metropolitane Seas in Irelande.

The Biſhop of Ardmach.

Laurence Archbiſhop of Saint Keuins.

1162

* * *

The ſeconde Booke of the Hiſtories of Irelande, in which the conqueſt made by Henry the ſecond of that name, King of Englande, is comprehended.

Anno. 1167.

Dermote Macmurche.

Dermucius or Dermote Macmurche Kyng of Leyniſter, and gouernor of the fifte parte of Irelande, poſſeſſed all yͤ Eaſt partes of the Iſle alōgſt by yͤ Sea coaſt, an oppreſſor of the nobilitie, vſing much crueltie towardes the Lords and great men of his countrey. To ſerue his lecherous luſt, hee ſecretely made ſute in diſhoneſt wiſe vnto the Queene of Meth, the daughter of Amalachelmus, and wife vnto Morice King of Meth, which Morice going vpon a iourney into farre parts forth of his countrey, left his Queene in a certayne ile in Meth, but before his returne, ſhee condiſcending vnto Dermotes deſire, was voluntarily ſtolne away by the ſame Dermucius. King Morice of Meth hir huſband ſore moued heerewith, determineth to bee reuenged, and the better to bring his purpoſe to paſſe, he maketh complaynte of the whole iniurie vnto Rotherick Ochonor King of Connagh, that was in thoſe dayes Monarke of Ireland, beſeeching him of aſſiſtance in that enterpriſe, which he meant to take in hand againſt that vile adulterer Kyng Dermote. The people of Leyniſter deteſting the quarell, and hauing long agoe conceyued no ſmal hatred againſt theyr K. for his outragious crueltie vſed againſt his ſubiects, forſooke hym in his greateſt neceſſitie, ſo that hee being left deſolate of all comforte, with muche difficultie gote a veſſell, and fledde for ſuccour vnto Henry the ſecond King of Englande then remaynyng in Aquitayne, where hee was occupied in warres againſt the Frenchmen.

Amalachelmus Morice K. of Meth.

Dermote abuſeth the wife of King Morice.

Rotherick Ochonor Monarke of Irelande.

Dermucius fleeth out of Irelande. He commeth to the King of Englande Henry the ſeconde.

Somewhat before this preſente ſeaſon it chaunced, that Adrian, the fourth of that name, then Pope of Rome, an Engliſhman borne, in the towne of Saint Albons, who before time had bin ſente into Norway, to inſtruct that lande in the Chriſtian religion, where he learned perfectly the ſtate of Ireland, & how that although Chriſt was there taught and beleeued, yet the multitude being a furious and ſauage generation, were growen to ſuche a licentious and ſhamefull kinde of libertie, making no accounte of the neceſſarie pointes of doctrine, more than ſerued their ſenſuall and wilfull luſtes, that it was greatly to bee doubted, leaſt they would at length vtterly abandon Chriſtianitie, and giue themſelues ouer to a beaſtly order of liuing, nothing agreeable with the lawes and rites of other people that profeſſed Chriſtes Religion.

Adrian the fourth Biſhop of Rome an Engliſhman borne.

Hereto Henry the ſecond, preſuming vpon the Popes fauour, that was his borne ſubiect in the very firſt yeere of his raigne, had ſente Ambaſſadors to Rome for licence, to attempt the conqueſt of Irelande. Pope Adrian wiſhing that a reformation of the abuſes in that people might be had, granted his Bull for proofe of his conſent to king Henries requeſt, which Alexander that ſucceeded him confirmed and ratifyed with like conditions, as his predeceſſor Adrian had giuē forth yͤ ſame.

Henry the ſecond of that name King of England.

Now when Dermote was come in the nicke to further by occaſion this enterpriſe thus pretended by Henry aforehand, hee preſented his complaint, proferring the intereſt of his Crowne, with condition hee mighte be reſtored to ſome parte of his lands.

The offer of Dermucius to king Henry.

This matter beeyng thus broched, although King Henry had his handes full of warres with the Frenchmen, yet hee receyued Dermote into his protectiō, taking of him both his bond of ſubiection and othe of fidelitie: and where the Kyng coulde not then attende to goe with hym ouer into Irelande, yet, bycauſe of the earneſt ſuite that Dermote made, for ſpeede of aſſiſtaunce hee ſente him into Englande, honorably attended and furniſhed with hys letters patents, the tenor whereof enſueth.

See more here in England.

Henry King of Englande, Duke of Normandy, and Aquitaine, and Earle of Aniou, to all our faithfull ſubiects Engliſhmen, Normās, Welchmen, and Scottes, and to all other nations whatſoeuer ſubiecte to our Dominion, ſendeth greeting.

The tenor of King Henries letters with the whiche Dermote returneth into England.

When theſe letters ſhall come to your handes know ye that we haue receyued Dermot, Prince of Leyniſter, into yͤ boſome of our grace and beneuolence. Wherefore, whiche of you ſoeuer oure louing ſubiects within the limits of our dominions, will imploy your aids to help him foreward, and reſtore him as our liege man and faithfull ſubiect, be you aſſured by theſe preſentes, to haue not only in that behalfe our licence, but alſo fauour and thankes at our handes. With theſe letters and many further promiſes, hee arriued at Briſtow, where he remayned for a time, that by ſuche as came forthe of Irelande by Sea and landed there, hee mighte learne and vnderſtande in what ſtate thyngs ſtoode in hys countrey.

He commeth to Briſtowe.

While he continued thus at Briſtowe, procuring by all meanes to get ſome ayde, it chanced, that vppon conference hadde with Richarde Strangbowe Earle of Penbroke, ſonne to Gilbert Earle of Penbroke, to whome he couenanted to giue to him his daughter and heire in mariage, vppon promiſe, that the nexte Spring hee ſhoulde helpe to bring hym home into his countrey, and place hym agayne in hys Kingdome, whyche in remaynder was, to diſtend vnto the ſayde Earle, by the marriage promiſed to him of Dermots daughter.

Richard Strangbowe Earle of Penbroke.

Dermucius or Dermotes couenants with him.

When all the couenauntes and agreementes were concluded vpon in order, whyche were neceſſary to paſſe betwixte them, Dermote departed from Briſtowe, and wente into the parties of South Wales towardes Sainte Dauies, that hee myght bee the neerer vnto hys Countrey.

The ſame tyme, there were planted in Wales two Gentlemen, the one named Roberte Fitz Stephens, and Maurice Fitz Geralde, brethren of one Mother, alied to Riſe ap Griffin then Prince of Wales, whoſe Grandfather was ſurnamed Riſe the greate, whoſe daughter named Veſta, was Mother to the ſayd Fitz Stephans, and Fitz Gerald.

Robert Fitz Stephans and Maurice Fitz Geralde.

Rice ap Griffin Prince of Wales.

The Lady Veſta mother to Fitz Stephans and Fitz Geralde.

Aberteiui.

Fitz Stephãs dwelled at Aberteiui in Southwales, and had bin high Conneſtable there vnder the King of England, and for his rigorous dealing againſt the Prince of Wales his ſeruantes, hee was layde for, and through treaſon of hys owne menne taken, and kepte in priſon three yeeres by the Prince, and woulde neyther raunſome nor accept libertie promiſed him, but with ſuche conditions as ſtoode with his honor, and ſo as his loyaltie to the Crowne myghte in each behalfe remayne vnſpotted. At length, by the mediation of Dauid Biſhop of Sainte Dauid (that was brother vnto the ſaid Fitz Stephans) and of his other brother Fitz Gerald, and alſo at the inſtante ſuite of Dermote (whome the Prince of Wales fauored in his enterpriſe for recouerie of his Kingdome,) Fitz Stephans was conditionally deliuered, that hee and his brother Maurice ſhould the next Spring (while the Earle of Penbroke prouided his army) aſſiſt Dermote to make entrie into his countrey, who in conſideration thereof, aſſured them of an eſtate for euer in the towne of Wexforde, with two cantredes adioyning. Thus muche firmely concluded on eache ſide, King Dormote came to the towne of Saint Dauid about the Kalendes of Auguſt, and watching till a fauorable winde blewe, when the ſame came once about, hee ſtale ouer into Irelande and at Fernes wintered in ſecrete wiſe amongſt the Cleargie there, that receyued hym with as muche fauour as coulde bee deuiſed, keeping hym cloſe withoute making any greate bruite of his there being, till the next ſpring, that Robert Fitz Stephans with thirtie Knightes of his bloud, threeſcore Eſquires or men at armes (as wee may tearme them) and three hundred archers footemen, according to couenaunte, embarqued in three Shippes, paſſed ouer, and landed at Bannian aboute the kalendes of May.

Fitz Stephans taken and committed to priſon

Fitz Stephans deliuered.

Promiſe of reward to Fitz Stephans and Fitz Geralde.

Fitz Stephans paſſeth ouer into Irelande.

1169

Maurice de Prendelgaſt.

The morrowe after their arriuall, a righte valiaunte Captayne, one Maurice de Prendelgaſt, following Fitz Stephans to the ayde of King Dermote, landed there alſo with a tenne Knightes, and a good bande of Archers, whome hee hadde Shipped at Milleforde Hauen in Wales in two veſſels prouided for that purpoſe.

Dermote aduertiſed of their landing, forthwith ſente one of his baſe ſonnes named Dunwalde with fiue hundred menne to ayde them, wherevpon they marched forth toward the town of Wexforde.

Dunwald baſtard ſonne to Dermote.

The Towneſmen vnderſtanding that they were comming towardes them, iſſued forthe againſt them: but after they were aware of ſuche a power of armed menne, ſet in order of battell, diuerſly arrayed and weaponed, with barded Horſes, and all other furniture of warre neceſſarie, they began to ſhrinke, and loſing courage, retired backe to their Towne, brenning the Villages rounde aboute them, and all the prouiſion of vitayles which they could not conuey with them, they made themſelues within ſo ſtrong as they coulde deuiſe, and ſtoode manfully at defence of theyr gates and walles agaynſte theyr enimies.

They were ſharply aſſayled for the ſpace of three dayes togither.

On the fourth day, by mediation of a certaine Biſhop that lay in that Towne, the Towneſmen were perſwaded to yeeld themſelues to their King, ſo that they rendred the Towne into hys handes.

Wexforde yeelded.

King Dermote hauing ſeene the prowſe of the Welchmens prowes, meante not to deale with them otherwiſe than promiſe, and therefore deliuered forthwith the poſſeſſion of the towne of Wexforde, with the appurtenances, vnto Fitz Stephan and to hys brother Maurice Fitz Geralde.

It is giuen to Fitz Stephan.

To Heruie de Monte Mauriſco, he gaue two Canthredes that lie betwixt yͤ townes of Wexford and Waterfourde, alongſt by the Sea ſide, to hold the ſame in fee.

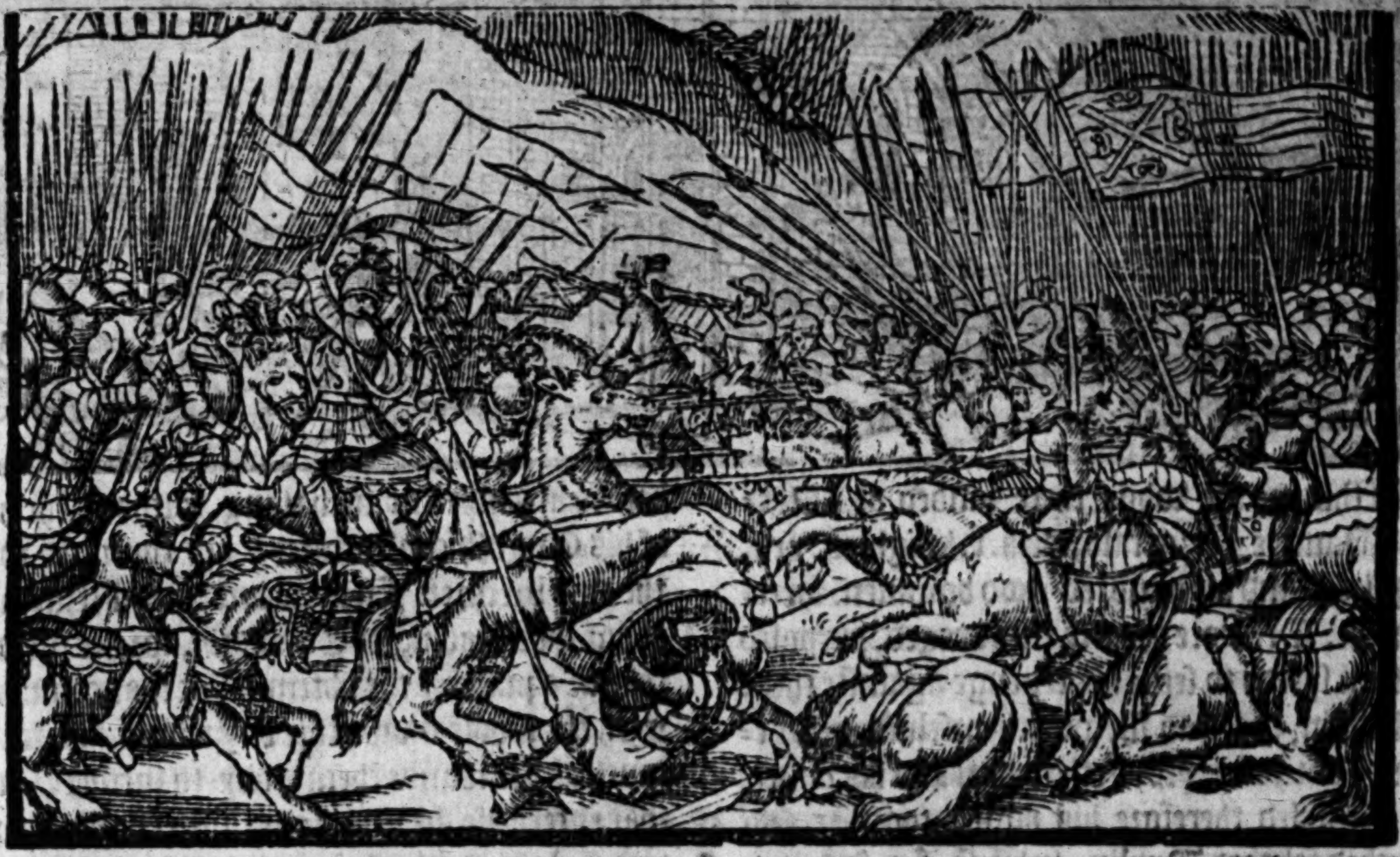
Heruie de Monte Mauriſco.

After this, they gote togither to the number of three thouſand mẽ, with the ſupply of yͤ towneſmen of Wexforde, and marched forth towardes the vpper Oſſorie, to be reuenged of the Lordes there, that had ſhewed themſelues moſt cruell and ſpitefull of all other towards the king in time of his troubles and baniſhment.

Duneuald a prince of the vpper Oſſorie.

The valiancie of Robert de Barre, and Meiller, Nephewes to Fitz Stephan.

The chiefe gouernour of that quarter named Duneuald, gathering togither the people to defende their countrey, was trayned forth into the playnes and harde grounde, where with a violent charge of the horſemen, his army was eaſily diſcomfited and broken in peeces, ſo that the Iriſhe footemen following, and comming in among them, ſlew thoſe that they found borne downe by the horſemen, and brought two hundred of theyr heads whiche they had cut off, and threw them downe at Dermote his foote. The valiancie of two yong Gentlemen appeared greatly in thys exployt, the one called Robert de Barre, and the other Meiller, both Nephewes to Fitz Stephan, the one by hys brother, and the other by hys ſiſter.



The Lords of vpper Oſſorie reduced to ſubiection.

Rodericke the Monarke.

Meſſengers ſent to Fitz Stephans.

Fitz Stephans anſwere.

To be ſhorte, thoſe Lordes of vpper Oſſorie, were cōpelled to returne to their olde ſubiection, & ſweare fealtie. Roderike the Monarke appalled with the brute hereof, reyſed all the vnder Kings to defend the land from this inuaſiō of ſtrangers, fearing leaſt all woulde goe to naughte, if timely prouiſion were not had. But yet firſt they ſent to Fitz Stephan certaine perſonages of credite, with courteous wordes and riche preſentes, requiring him to depart the land quietly, and not to moleſt them by warre without cauſe. His anſwer was, that he maruelled much at yͤ follie of thoſe Princes, who to ſatiſfie their diſpleaſure and malice, had opened ſuch a gappe to their owne deſtructiō, not conſidering howe the ſubiectes whome they had ſchooled to breake their allegaunce ageynſt theyr naturall Prince the King of Leyniſter, would not be as ready to rebell againſt the King of Connagh. But for his owne parte, althoughe hee myghte with better reaſon inuade ſtraungers, than they mighte expell theyr neyghbours, and one that was their paire, yet if they would ſuffer the Kyng of Leyniſter to repoſſeſſe and enioy hys righte, they ſhoulde not fynde hym vnreaſonable. Otherwiſe, they ſhoulde well perceyue, that the Welchmen wanted neyther habilitie nor faithe to mayneteyne theyr worde.

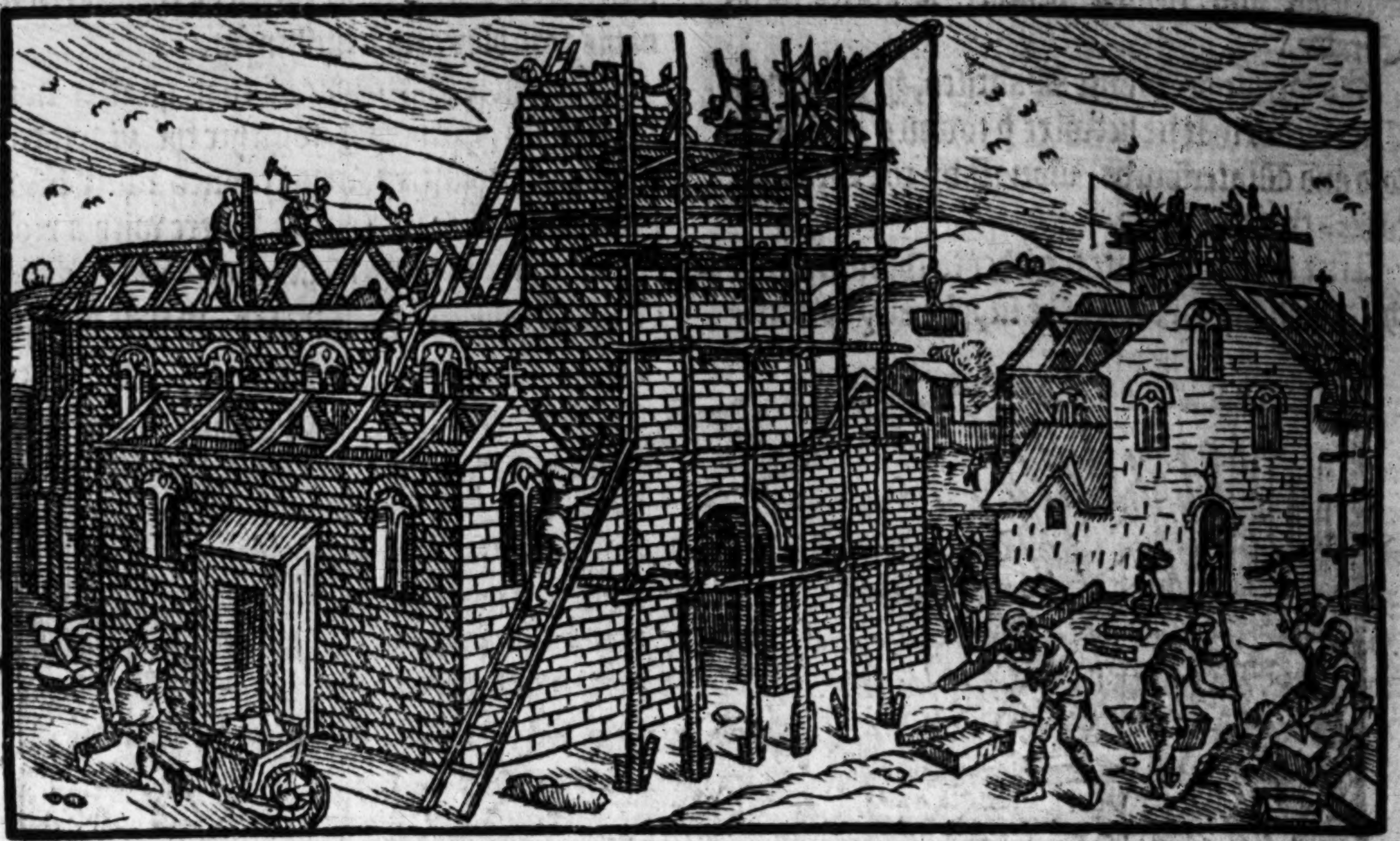
Welchmen.

The agreemente betwixt Roderike and Dermote.

Rodericke perceyuing it was no boote to ſtriue againſte the ſtreame, reſolued to growe vnto ſome agreemente, whiche at length was concluded, with theſe conditions. Firſte, that Dermote Macmourche, receyuing a newe othe of allegeance to the Monarchie, ſhould quietly repoſſeſſe thoſe partes of the Kingdome of Leyniſter, whyche Rodericke withhelde by ſuſpenſion.

Secondly, that for aſſuraunce thereof, hee ſhoulde pledge hys deereſt baſe begotten ſonne Conthurus, to whome Rodericke promiſed hys daughter if this peace continued effectuall.

Thirdlye, that beeyng eſtabliſhed in hys Kingdome, hee ſhoulde diſcharge the Welche Armye, and from thenceforthe, ſhoulde at no time call them ouer againe in his defence. About the ſame time, the King of Arglas founded the Abbey of Melleſunt, the eldeſt that is recorded ſince the arriuall of the Danes, excepte Sainte Mary Abbey beſyde Dublin erected. Anno.948.



Maurice Fitz Gerald landed at Wexforde.

In this meane while, there landed at Wexford, Maurice Fitzgerald, with. x. knightes. xxx. Eſquires, and an hundred good bowmen. Hereupon K. Dermote greatly encouraged, purpoſed with all ſpeede to ſeeke his reuenge againſte them of Dublin, that had ſhewed themſelues great enimies diuers wayes, both to him and his father. He aſſembled therefore his power togither, and marched toward Dublin, whileſt Fitz Stephen remayned two miles from Wexforde, where on the height of a Rocke called Karreck, hee built a Caſtell. But Fitzgerald with the Engliſh army went forth with King Dermote againſte Dublin, hauing the chiefe conduct of all the whole enterpriſe. They ſo beſturred them, that all the territorie about the Citie, and the countreys adioyning, were in manner brought to vtter ruine, with ſpoyle, ſlaughter, and fire, in ſomuche, that the towneſmen of Dublin, perceyuing in what daunger they ſtoode, ſubmitted them ſelues, and put in good ſuretie for their loyall demeanor in time to come.

Dublin ſubdued.

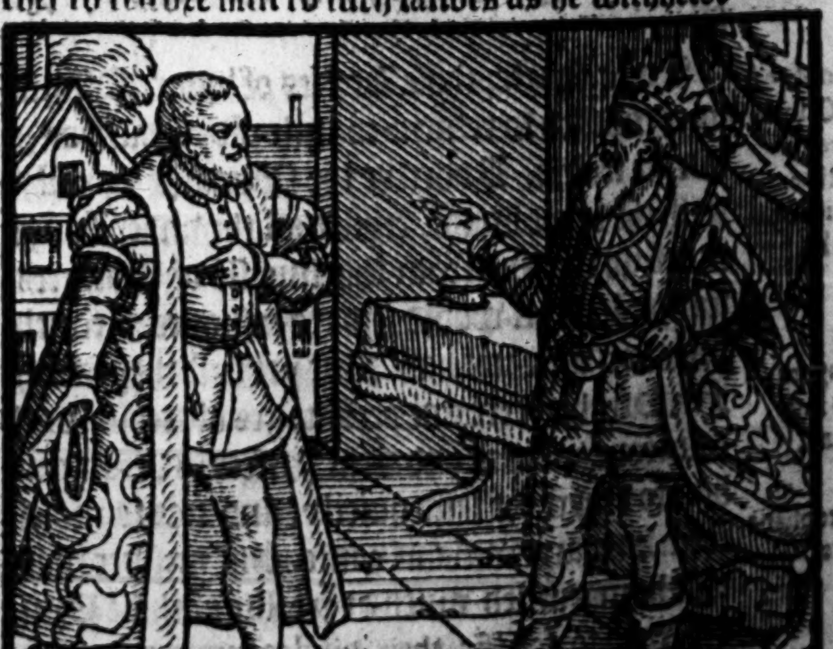
When Dublin and the Countrey about were thus recouered and reduced to their former ſubiection, there fell out variance betwixt Rodorike the Monarke, and Dunenald King of Limerik. To whoſe ayde his father in lawe Dermote ſent Fitz Stephans with his power, by whoſe high prowes, Roderike in diuers conflictes was put to the worſt, and forced to withdrawe home into his countrey with diſhonor.

Variance betwixt the Monark and the king of Lymerike.

Nowe was Dermote growen into ſome fauor and liking of his people, inſomuche that hee began to fancie a further conqueſt, hauing already recouered his whole kingdome of Leymſter. And bycauſe he knewe it ſhoulde be to ſmall purpoſe to attempt any ſuch thing, without the help of his Engliſh confederates, hee conſulted with the two brethren Fitzſtephans, and Fitzgerald, about the inuading of Connagh, for hee meante to giue a puſh for the obteining of that countrey, with the whole monarchie of Ireland, and for as much as hee founde them ready to further him in that enterpriſe, he wrote ouer into England vnto yͤ Erle of Penbroke, requiring his aſſiſtãce, in renuing yͤ former couenants paſſed betwixt thẽ.

Dermucius ſendeth to the Earle of Penbroke,

This Erles anceſtors came into this Realme of Englãd with William Conqueror, but now eyther through riotous prodigalitie, or diſfauor of the Kings, they were runne farre behinde hand with the world, and therefore this man gaue the more willing eare vnto Dermotz letters, & thereupon paſſed ouer to the King, beſeeching him eyther to reſtore him to ſuch landes as he withhelde of his, or elſe licẽce him in forraigne parts to trie his fortune. The King as one yͭ ſpake in ſkorne,



hade

bade him go forward in the name of God ſo farre as his feete woulde beare him.

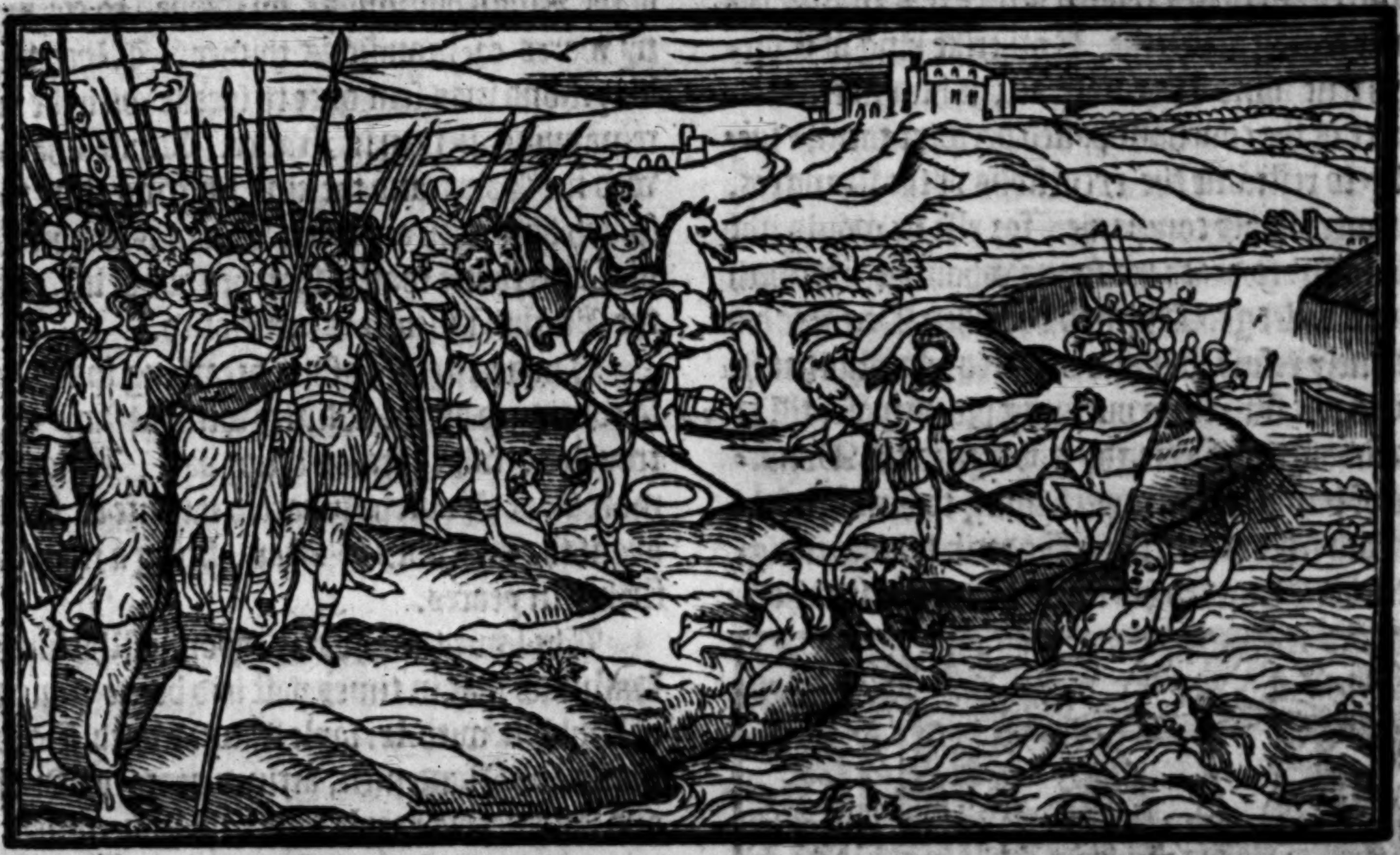
Reymond le Grace is ſent ouer from the Erle of Pembroke into Irelande.
1170

The Earle diſſembling to vnderſtand the hollowneſſe of the Kings heart and good will towardes his preferment, firſt furniſhed forth hys couſin Reymond le Grace, nephew by an elder brother vnto Fitz Stephans, and Fitz Geralde, with .x. knightes and .lxx. Archars about the Kalendes of May, appoynting him to paſſe ouer before him into Irelande. Who landing neare to a rocke by the Sea ſide called Dundenolfe (foure myles from Waterforde, towarde Wexforde by ſouth) began there on the ſayde rocke to buylde a Fort of earth and fagots.

The Citizins of Waterford ſeeke to reſiſt Reymond.

The Citizins of Waterforde, and with them Machlachelin Ophelan hauing in a iealouſie the neighborhood of ſtraungers, aſſembled togither three thouſand men and paſſed ouer the ryuer that deuideth the Countrey of Deſmound from Leyniſter vnder their towne walles towardes the Eaſt, and deuiding themſelues into three battails marched forth, and valliantly approched to the ditches where Reymonde with his companie was intrenched. Reymonde perceyuing them thus to approche, boldly iſſued forth agaynſt them with ſuch ſmall companie as he had there with him. Howbeit not able to make his partie good, he was forced to retyre vnto hys ſtrength, but beyng purſued vnto the very gates by the Iriſhe, thinking to enter with the Engliſhe men, Reymond at the very entring of the gate turned backe vppon them, and thruſt his ſworde through the firſt of his enimies that preſſed next to follow him at the heeles, and calling to his people to turne vpon the aduerſarie, he ſo encouraged his companye, and ſtroke ſuche a feare into the Iriſh mens heartes, that they tooke themſelues to flight, and were ſo egrely followed of their aduerſaries, that aboue fiue hundred of thẽ were ſlaine, beſide a great number that were dryuẽ to take the ſea, where they were loſt & drowned.

The Iriſh men diſcomfited.



William Ferrando.

The valiancie of one William Ferrando a knight was much noted in this conflict. Seuenty townſmen of Waterford were taken, and afterwardes (contrarie to the minde of Raymond) caſt into the ſea and drowned, through the perſwaſion of Heruie de Monte Mauriſco, in which doing the Engliſh men did great hurt to themſelues, for the aduauncement of their proceedings in Ireland.

The Earle of Pembroke paſſeth into Irelande.

In the meane time the Erle of Pembrooke hauing made all his prouiſion readie, tooke the ſea in Mylforde hauen with two hundred knightes, and a thouſand other men of warre, and arriued at Waterforde on Bartholmewe euen, and the morow after Bartholmew day, being Tueſday, they aſſaulted the Citie, and were twiſe repulſed, but yet at length breaking downe an houſe that ioyned to the wall, they entred by force, and ſleaſing the Citizins, obteyned a bloudie victorie.

Shortly after came king Dermote thither with Fitz Stephans and Reymonde, and there according to couenant, gaue vnto Erle Strangbow, his daughter Eue in mariage, with the ſucceſſion of his kingdome. When Waterford was thus gotten, and Leyniſter pacified, and the princes of Oſſorie tamed, and a choſen power of men of warre placed in gariſon, King Dermote was become ſo terrible that none durſt ſtyrre agaynſt him.

Dermote not yet ſatiſfyed in his moode agaynſt them of Dublin, got his army on foote, and drew towardes that Citie by the bending coaſtes of the Mountaynes of Glindelachan, auoyding the wayes that lay through the woddes, bycauſe hee knew ẏ ſame to be beſet with his enimies. Therfore hauing ſtill in remembrance the iniurie done to his father, kept him out of the woods, hating the Citizins of Dublin chiefly bycauſe they had trayterouſly ſlaine his father in tyme paſt, in the

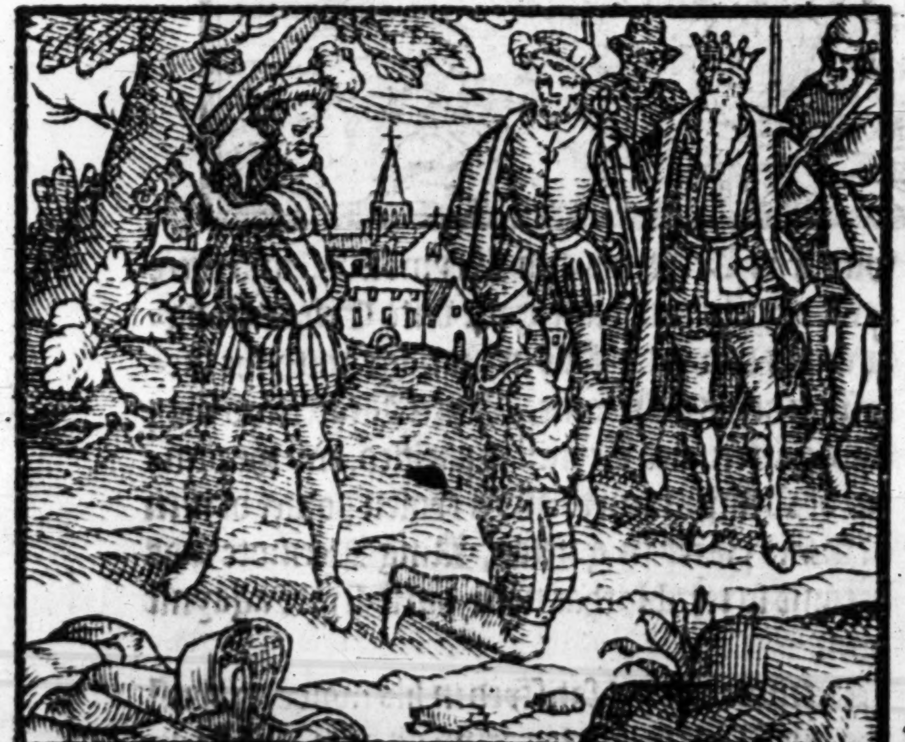
Dublin taken.

Miles Cogan left in Dublyn to keepe the Citie.

Rotherike ſendeth meſſengers to Dermote.

Roderike cauſeth the heade of Dermot his ſonne to be ſtriken off.

middeſt of a great houſe, whither they were wont to repayre as to a place where cauſes were vſually heard : and to adde a reproche to their cruell murthering of their Prince, they buried him togither with a dog. At the kings approch to the city, whileſt Ambaſſadors were ſent, and that by mediation of the Archbiſhoppe of that Citie named Laurence, a treatie of peace was in hande, while Reymond on the one ſide, and Myles Cogan a right valiant knight on the other, with their companies of yong luſtie ſoldiers aſſaulting yͤ walles forthwith obteined the victorie, not without great ſlaughter of the Citizens, the better part of them yet with Captaine Haſtulf got them to ſhipboord with their beſt goods, & haſted thẽce vnto yͤ north Iles. Dermote hauing thus wonne the Citie of Dublyn, & ſet things in order there, he left Miles Cogan to gouern the ſame, & marched forth togither with the Erle of Pẽbroke, & the reſt of the army into Methe, & entred into the confines of that countrey, waſted & ſpoiled with fire & ſworde the whole region of Methe. Rotherike king of Conagh ſent vnto Dermote to put him in remembrance of the couenant paſſed betwixt them, & ſpecially to reſtraine the excurſions of the ſtrangers, that were in his companie, for elſe he would not faile to put to death his ſonne whom he had with him as a pledge. Which to do, when Dermote did not onely refuſe, but alſo declared plainly that he would not ſtay from purſuing his purpoſe, till he had ſubdued al Cõnagh, & obteyned the Monarchie of yͤ whole Ile apperteining to him by right diſcẽded frõ his anceſters: Roderik taking indignatiõ hereat, cauſed his ſõnes head to be ſtrikẽ off.



The Iriſh Clergie perceyuing in what danger the countrey ſtood, aſſembled thẽſelues togither at Ardmagh, and with one accord proteſted, that for their ſinnes, & ſpecially for their barbarous kind of tyrannie which they vſed in buying and ſelling, and vilely abuſing ſuch Engliſh captiues as they bought, aſwel of Merchants as Pirates, the land was now like to be tranſlated to that nation whõ they had ſo cruelly intreated. Therfore to appeaſe the wrath of God, they decreed that all the Engliſh people whereſoeuer any of them remayned in ſeruitude within the Ile, ſhoulde forthwith be releaſed, and if it pleaſed God to lay his ſcourge vpon them, they determined to ſuffer the ſame paciently, as a puniſhment a great way beneath the fulneſſe of their deſertes.

King Henrie miſtruſteth the increaſing ſtate of the Erle of Pembroke.

King Henry although he was well contented to ſo, beare the preſence of the Erle of Pembroke, yet he liked nothing at all to ſee him thus aduanced in Irelande, ſith he might in time atteyne to ſuch power there, that the ſame adioyned to hys faction in Wales, he ſhould be able to cõuntenance the Crowne of Englande. An Edict therfore was made and publiſhed, charging all ſubiects to returne home into Englande before Eaſter next, vpon perill to forfeyt landes and goodes, and to be baniſhed the Realme for euer. Alſo that none ſhoulde preſume to paſſe into Irelande from any of the Kings dominions by ſhippe, to conuey any wares or prouiſions thither. Wherevppon Reymond was ſent ouer to ſpeake with the king, remayning as then in France. Whileſt he followed the Court, and the king lingring time to deſpatch him with anſwere, Thomas Archebiſhop of Canterburie was diſpatched out of life, as in the Engliſh Hiſtorie is mentioned.

An Edict ſet forth to reuoke the Engliſhmen forth of Irelande.

Reymond is ſent to king Henrie.

1171

The deceaſe of Dermote Mac Mourchie.

Thus had the Iriſhe a breathing ſpace, and ſo continued all the Winter without any greate troubles, which ſeaſon being paſt, King Dermote Mac Mourche departed this life at Fernes, about the Kalendes of May, being a man well ſtriken in yeares.

Haſtulfus.

Iohãnes Inlanus.

The Norwegians aſſault Dublin.

They are diſconfited.

The ſame time, that is, about Whitſuntide, Haſtulfus that in times paſt had beene gouernor of Dublyn, with .lx. ſayle fraught with Norwegians and Iland men, arriued neare to Dublin, and landing his people vnder the gouernment of one that had the leding of thẽ, named John Henuode, a forwarde men of warre, they prepared themſelues to aſſault the Citie. They were well appoynted for the warre, clad in long habergeons or plate cotes cunningly wrought, with rounde targettes coloured redde, and bound about with a ring of yron, ſo that both themſelues and theyr weapons were couered with yron. They aſſaulted the Citie at the Eaſt gate, but Miles Cogan then captain of that Citie manfully made a ſally forth vpon the enimies, but not able to abyde the impreſſion of ſuche an huge multitude, hauing loſt part of his ſmall number, he was conſtrayned to retyre backe into the Citie, till his brother Richard Cogã iſſuing forth wͭ a few at the poſterne of the ſouthſide, ſet vpõ the enimies behind, raiſing ſuch a noiſe & hobub, yͤ ſtriken vpon a ſodain with a maruellous feare, they toke themſelues to flight, ſo that being fiercely purſued, yͤ moſt part of them

were

Johannes Inſanus.

were ſlaine togither with John Henuode theyr Captaine.

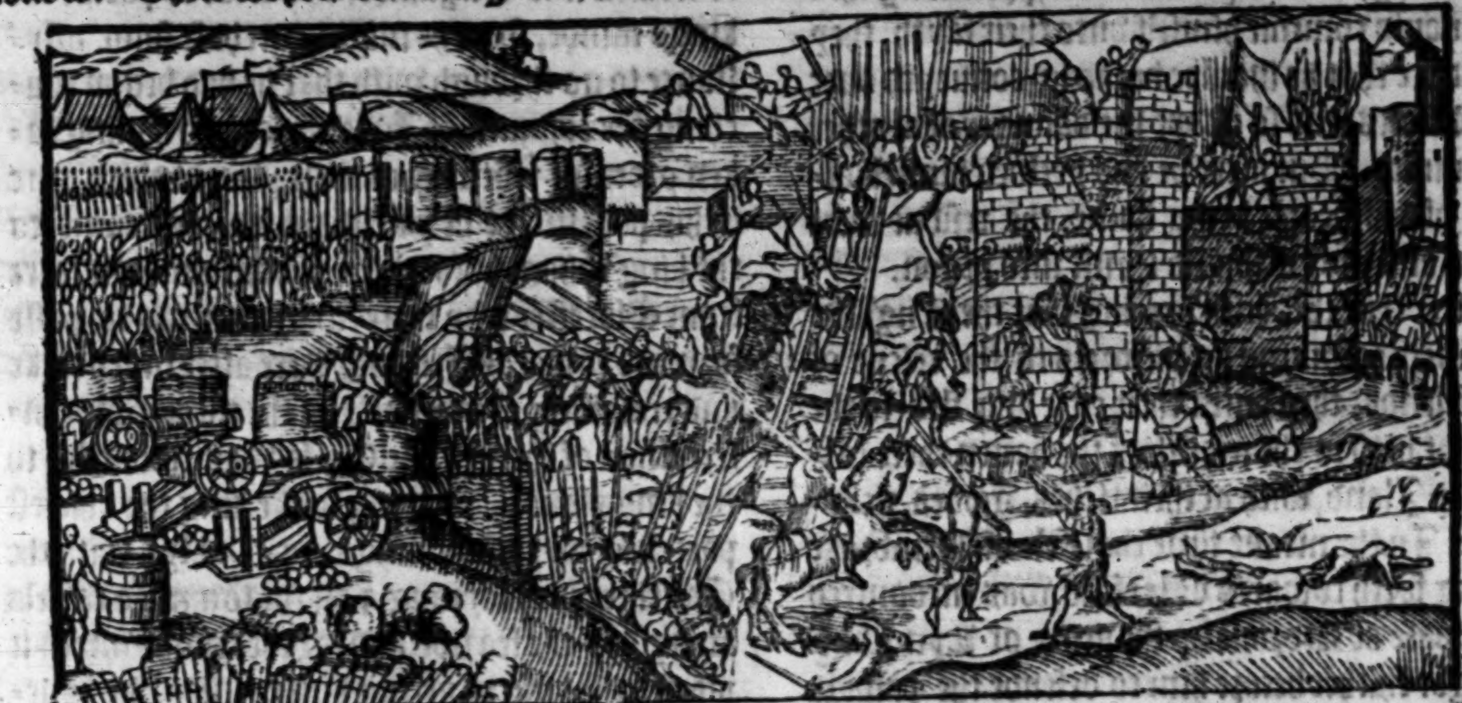
Haſtulf taken priſoner.

Haſthulf alſo as he woulde haue fledde to the ſhips, was ouertaken by one Marine Gliſi, and brought priſoner into the Citie. He was at the firſt courteouſly vſed, but when he began arrogantly to forget himſelfe, vttering certaine preſumptuous ſpeeches, ſaying, well, we came now but with a ſmall power to trie what might bee done, this is but a beginning of a proufe made, for if God ſpare me life, greater attemptes ſhall follow. Theſe wordes comming to the knowledge of Myles Cogan, hee commaunded that he ſhould forthwith be brought to a blocke, where he was puſht downe and had his head ſwapped off: and ſo for his vntemperate tongue hee loſt his life, that otherwiſe with great curteſie had bin preſerued.

His intempe-rate talke coſt him his liſe.

Dublin beſieged.

After this the Iriſhmen aſſembled theyr powers togyther on eche hande, ſo that with an infinit number of men they came and beſieged Dublin, at the procuring of Laurence Archbiſhop of that Citie, who vpon a zeale to his Countreymẽ trauayled earneſtly therein.



Gothred king of Man.

Gothredus king of Man being writtẽ vnto, as well by the Archbiſhop, as by Rotherike king of Connagh, came to further this enterpriſe with other Iland men embarked in. xxx. ſhips fraught full of warlike people, and aryuing in the hauen of Hauenliph, came forwarde to cloſe vp the hauen of Dublin.

Duneualde Mac Dermitius.

After that the Earle of Pembrooke being ſhut vp within the walles of Dublin, had abyd the ſiege for the ſpace of two Monethes togither, and coulde recouer no vytayles for the reliefe of hys people, ſo that famine began ſore to annoy them within: The malice of theyr enimies was not thus contented to moleſt the Engliſh men with keping them beſieged within Dublin, but Duneualde, Mac Dermicius or Dermote, alſo comming forth of the confines of Kencelie, got togither an armie (what of ſuche as he brought with him forth of Kencelie, and of the townesmen of Wexford) in all to the number of three thouſand, with which power hee enuironed Fitz Stephan that with a few lay within his Caſtel of Karrec, and conſtrayned him ſo ſore, that he wrote vnto the Earle, aduertiſing him, that if he were not reſcued within three dayes, all ſuccour would come to late. There were beſieged within Dublyn in company of the Erle, Maurice Fitz Geralde and Reymonde that was lately returned from King Henrie: the one brother, and the other nephew to Fitz Stephan: wherevpon when aduertiſement was come in what daunger he ſtood, being ſo beſet of enimies that he might by no meanes eſcape without preſent reſcue, they vſed ſuch perſwaſion with the Earle, that it was reſolutely determined to make a ſally forth vpon the enimies, and to trie the hazarde of battaile, ſo to delyuer themſelues and other from inſtant perill: eyther with victorie or death, ſithe otherwiſe they knewe not howe to prouide remedie in ſuch deſperate ſtate of things.

The beſieged determin to ſally forth vpõ their enimies.

A notable victorie gotten by a fewe agaynſt a great number.

Herevpon they choſe forth a conuenient number to leaue behinde them in the Citie for the gard thereof, and with the reſidue marched forth, deuided into three troupes, the firſt being led by Reymonde accompanied with. xx. knightes. The ſeconde was gouerned by Myles, who had wyth him. xxx. knightes: and laſtly in the rerewarde went the Erle himſelfe, and Fitz Geralde, hauing with them. xl. knightes beſide other horſmen, and a fewe Citizens that were ioyned with them in eche of thoſe three wardes ſome: with ſo ſmall a cõpanie they manfully ſet vpon the whole campe of theyr enimies, being fewe leſſe than. xxx. thouſand, and ſo beſtyrred themſelues, that with great ſlaughter they obteyned a glorious victorie, chaſing their enimies, and ſleaing them as they ouertooke them, till the euening came vpon them, and cauſed them to returne into the Citie wyth ſuch vytayles and other ſpoyles as they founde in the enimies campe. Rotherike being in his bane when the fight firſt began, got away as well as he might, and ſo eſcaped.

The Engliſh men hauing thus got the victory and deliuered the citie quite from the ſiege on eche ſide, the next day leauing a competent gariſon within Dublin, they marched forth with theyr victorious enſignes towards Wexford to the ſuccor of Fitz Stephan, but before their comming he had yelded himſelf to the enimies: for cauſing him to beleeue by the aſſured report of the Biſhops of Wexford and Kildare, that Dublin was taken, ⁊ all the Engliſh men put to the ſworde, they perſwaded with him to yeelde before that the armies of Connagh and Leynſter came, promiſing that if he would commit himſelf vnto their fayth, they would ſee that he ſhoulde be ſafely conueyed ouer into Wales, and ſo eſcape the daunger of al other his enimies. But after he had yeelded himſelf diuerſe of his people being ſlaine, the reſidue were beaten and maymed, and thruſt into priſon.

Fitz Stephan yeeldeth himſelfe to the enimies.

After this, the Iriſh hearing that the Engliſhe men were comming as victorers to the reſcue of their friends, they burnt their citie and fled to the Ile that lieth in the mouth of the hauen there called holy Iland, with al their riches, goodes, ⁊ captiues. In the meane time the Erle of Pembroke paſſing forth towards Wexford, was encountred at the paſe of Odrone by the army of Lymrike yͭ was got thither before him to defende the paſſage there againſt him. But ſuch was the force of the Engliſh power (though but a handfull in cōpariſon to the number of their aduerſaries, that with ſlaughter of a great number of the Iriſh, they got through into the plaines without any loſſe at all, except of one yong gentleman. In this cōflict the accuſtomed prowes of Meiller was ſufficiently apparāt. The Engliſhmē then drawing towards Wexford, ⁊ hearing what had chaūced vnto Fitz Stephans, they were highly diſpleaſed ⁊ troubled in mind, and forthwith turning on the right hand toward Waterford, where they foūd Heruey that was come from the king of Englād, to whom he had bin ſent, and now vpon his returne, brought letters, by the tenor whereof he was authoriſed to perſwade the Erle to returne home into Englād, who not only ſhewed the letters, but alſo in ſpeech vſed what perſwaſions he might to induce yͤ Erle to accompliſh the kings pleaſure. The Erle perceyuing the kings iealouſie ſtill to continue, ⁊ again how no ſmal part of his army was decayed through ſickneſs, ⁊ in defēce of diuerſe good towns which king Roderik had aſſaulted, he determined to returne into Englande, ⁊ to ſeeke to pacifie the kings minde, ſo as he might purchaſe ſome aſſyſtance to go through with that he had begon touching the conqueſt of Ireland, and ſo hauing taken order for yͤ defence of thoſe places which were in his poſſeſſion, he paſſeth the ſea, and came to the king whom he found at Miwcham, not farre from Gloceſter redy there with an army to paſſe forward towards Ireland. Here after much talke and reaſoning of matters, by the mediation ⁊ interceſſion of Heruey, the Earle was reconciled to the kings fauor, yeelding to the king the chiefeſt parcels of all his winnings, as Dublyn with the Canthredes adioyning, ⁊ all the townes ⁊ caſtels alongſt by the ſea ſide, and for the reſidue which it pleaſed the king to permit him to inioy, he couenanted to acknowledge that he helde the ſame of the king ⁊ his heyres for euer. Theſe things thus accorded, the K. toke his iourney directly towards Milford hauen, where he rigged a goodly nauy of ſhippes. About this time the Abbay *de caſtro dei* was founded. In the meane time Ororike ſurnamed *Monoculus*, that is with the one eie, King of Methe, taking occaſion by the abſence of the Erle ⁊ alſo of Reymond that remained as yet at Waterforde about the kalendes of September, came to Dublin with a great multitude of men, and finding in the Citie but a few to defende it a-

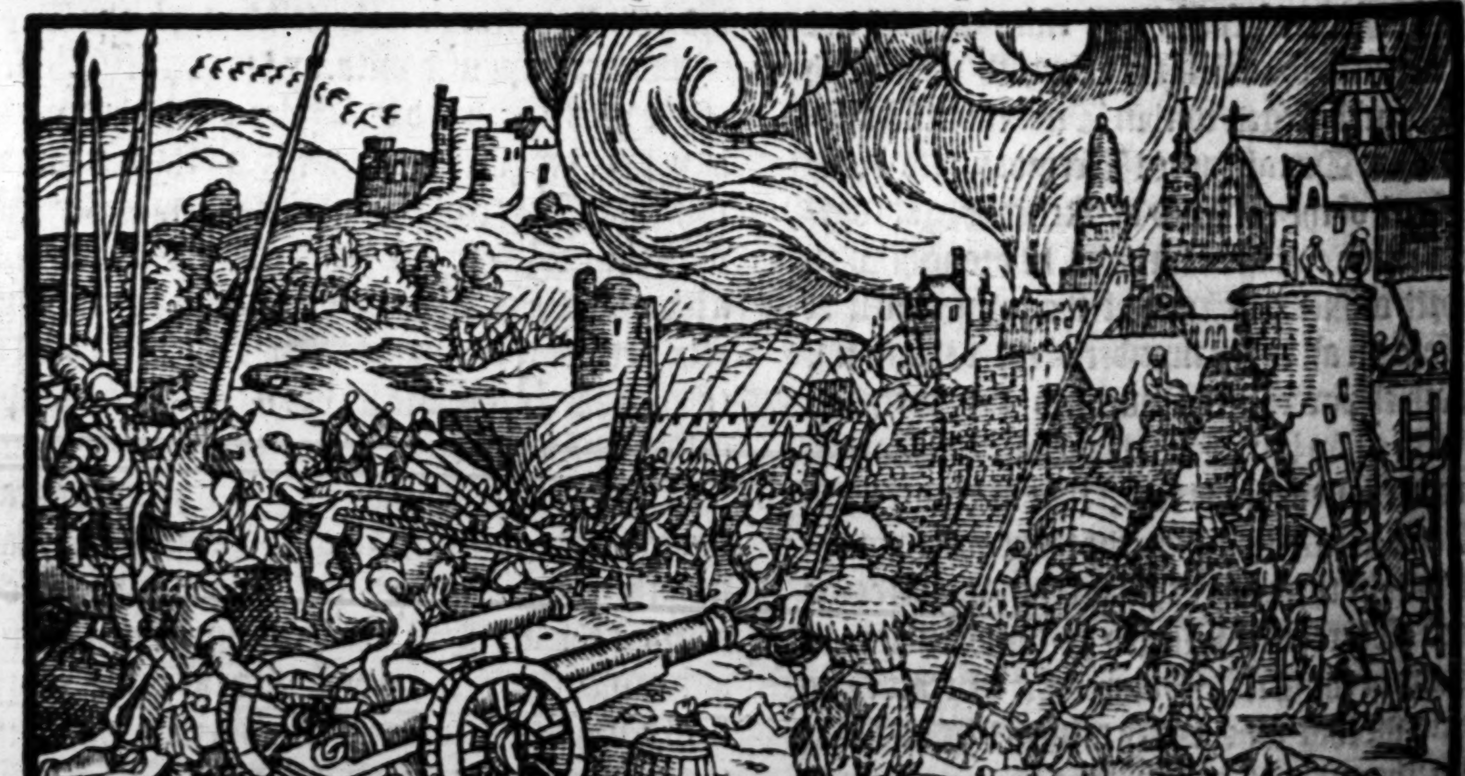
Meiller.

Heruie returneth from the king of Englande.

The Earle of Pembrocke receyued into the kings fauor againe.

1171

Ororike king of Meth commeth to aſſaile Dublin.



gaynſt him with great noyſe and violence aſſayled the walles and rampyres, in hope to haue entred by fine force at the firſt aſſault: but Myles Cogan gouernour of the Citie, although he had no great number to make account of about him at that preſent, yet knowing that thoſe few which he had, were men of approued manhoode, ſallyed forth, and ſetting vpon the enimies on the ſodain, made ſuch ſlaughter amongſt thē, that the whole number beeing vtterly diſcomfited, he returned backe into the Citie with a glorious victorie. Among other of the Iriſh that were ſlaine, a ſonne of king Morice a iolly luſtie yong Gentleman was one.

Miles Cogan diſcomfiteth the enimies.

Whileſt theſe things were a doing in Ireland king Henrie was buſie to prouide all things readie to paſſe ouer, and ſo taking the Sea, landed at Waterford about Saint Lukes day, with fiue hundred knightes, beſide other horſemen, and a great number of Archers. This was in the .xvij. yeare of his raigne. and .xlj. of his age. Whileſt he remayned for a fewe dayes ſpace in Waterford, thither came vnto him the towneſmen of Werford to make their way for pardon and fauour at his handes, and for a policie to nouriſh the ſuſpition which was entred the kings minde againſt thoſe gentlemen that firſt had attempted the inuaſion of Irelande, they preſented vnto him Fitz Stephans in Irons, as it were to gratifie him, for that contrarie to his aſſent he had bene the firſt that came thither, and occaſioned al the other that after followed to do the like.

The arriual of king Henrie in Ireland.

1172

Fitz Stephans preſented to the king of England by his takers.

The king for that cauſe ſeeming highly offended agaynſt him at the firſt, dealt verie ſtraitly with him, and ſent him back togither with one of his fellowes to be kept bounde and chained in fetters within Reighnaldes tower.

Immediatly hereupon, Dermote or Dermucius king of Corke, came to the king of England, and ſubmitting himſelfe to his obeyſance, made his othe of fidelitie, and deliuering pledges for further aſſurance thereof, couenanted to pay a certaine yearely tribute.

The king of England departing from Waterford, went to Liſmore, and ſtayed there but two dayes, and frō thence went to Caſſill where Donalde the Prince of Limerike the morrow after came to him at the Water of Suir, and couenanting for a tribute to holde his landes of king Henrie, became his liegeman, vpon good aſſurance by ſolemne oth, and deliuering ſufficient pledges. Theſe and other the Princes of the South partes of Ireland, as Donalde, and Omalaghlen, right puiſſant Lordes, and as they were termed kings of Oſſorie, hauing ſubmitted themſelues to king Henrie, and eche of thē being ſent home into their countreys with honourable giftes and good entertaynment, he returned to Waterford, cauſing Fitz Stephan to be brought vnto him, and cōſidering the high manhood of that noble Gentleman, and what daungers he had paſſed in aduenturing about the conqueſt of that Countrey, he reſtored him to libertie, and through the earneſt ſuyte of diuerſe noble men, receyued him into fauor, confirmed the grauntes made to him by king Dermote, of Werforde and the Canthredes adioyning, taking from him onely the towne of Waterford, and the appurtenances.

The king departeth from Waterford.

Donald prince of Limerike ſubmitteth

The kings of Oſſorie ſubmit themſelues.

King Henrie returneth to Waterford.

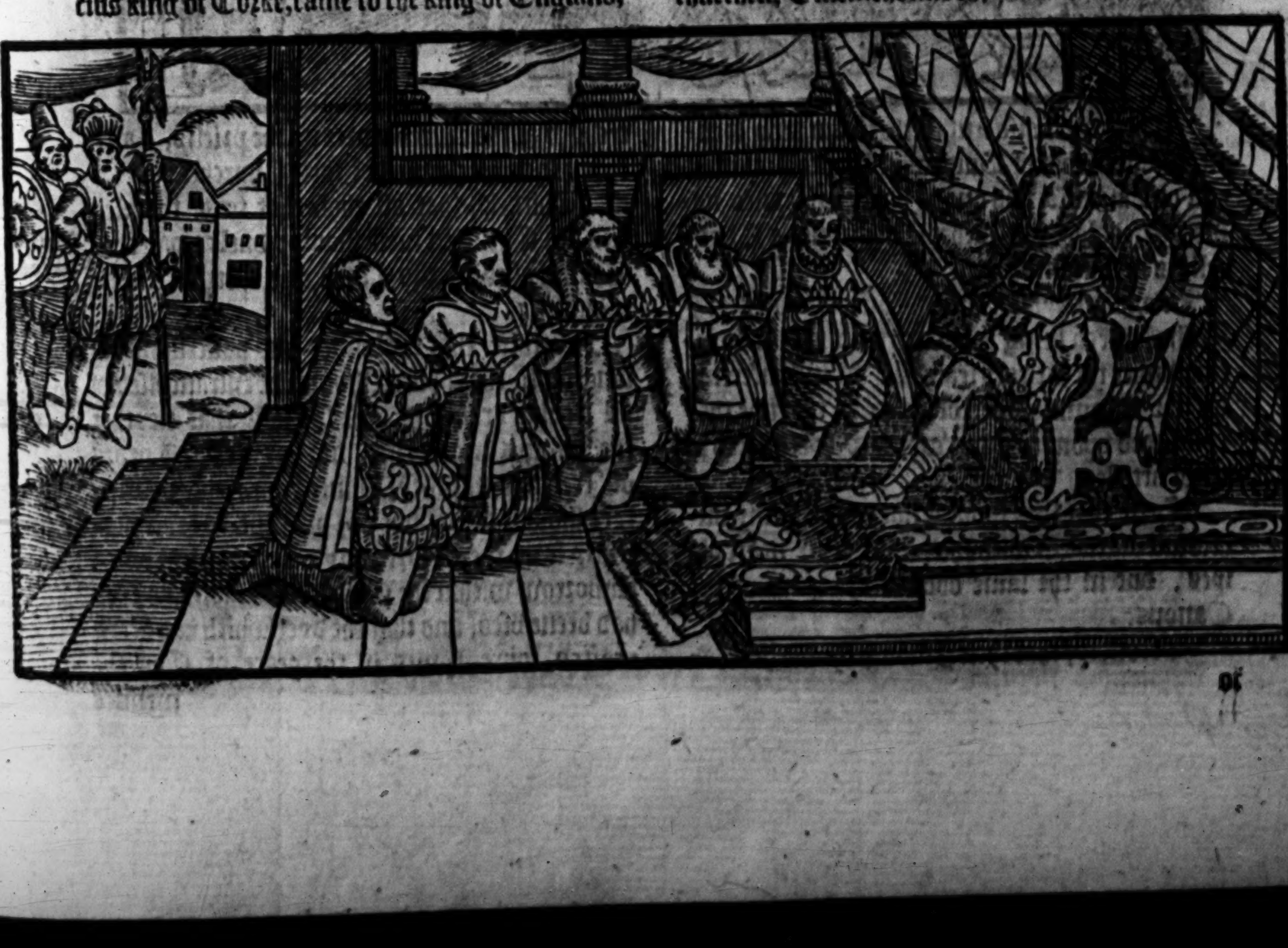
Fitz Stephans reſtored to libertie.

The king leauing in Waterford Robert Fitz Bernard for the ſafe keeping of that towne, departed from thence towardes Dublyn through Oſſorie, and comming thither, remayned there for a time, during the whiche, all the Princes of thoſe parties, came in and humbly ſubmitting thēſelues to his obeyſaunce beſought him to graunt them peace, and to receyue them into his protection, as Machelan, Ophelan, Omachcalewy, Othuethell, Gillemeholmoch, Otadheſſ, Ocaruell

Robert Fitz Barnard.

The king goeth to Dublin.

Princes that ſubmitted thēſelues to the king of Englande.



of Vriell, and Drorick of Methe.

Roderik king of Connagh the Monark of Ireland ſubmitted himſelf

Roderike king of Connagh, mette the kings Ambaſſadours, Hugh Lacie, and William Fitz Aldelme at the water of Shenyn, which deuideth Meth & Connagh aſunder: where the ſayde Roderike obteyning likewiſe the kings peace and appointing what tribute he ſhould pay, aſſured hys fidelitie with firme bounds of ſubiection.

King Henrie acknowledged to be ſupreme Prince of all Irelande.

Thus all the Princes of the whole Iland, and ſpecially this Roderike King of Connagh that was reputed Monarke of Irelande for himſelfe and al other, acknowledged king Henrie for the ſupreme Lorde and ſoueraigne Prince of all the Ilande, ſo that there was not one of any name or accompt within the boundes thereof (thoſe of Vlſter onely excepted) that refuſed to exhibite due reuerence vnto hys royall Maieſtie. And ſo was the prophecie of Merlyn fulfilled (as ſome tooke it.)

The Prophecy of Merlin.

The ſixt ſhall ouerthrow the Walles of Irelande, and againe fiue portions ſhall be brought into one.

This ſixt they conſtrued now to be this king Henrie in whome the fiue vnderkingdomes were vnited.

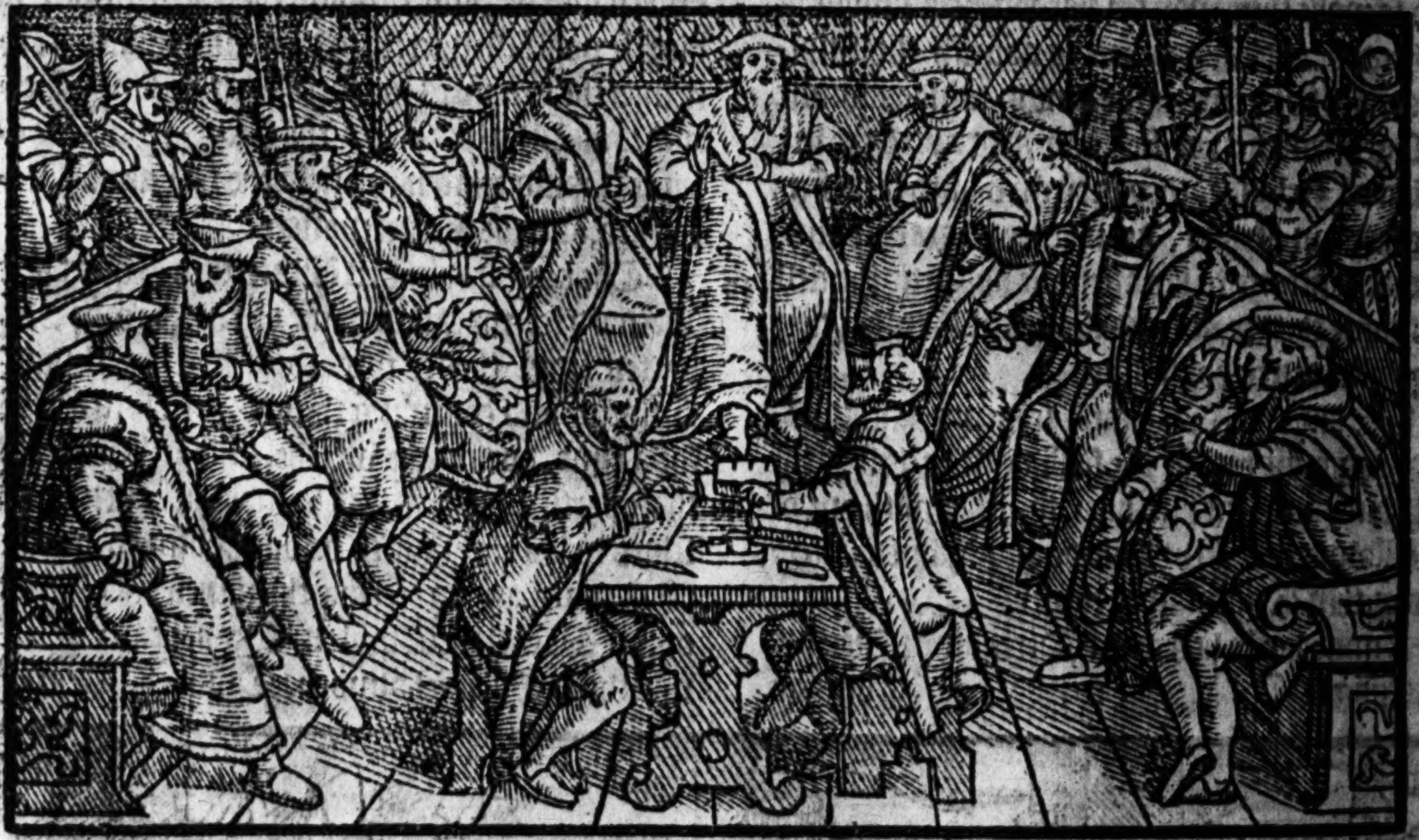
Of the ſame conqueſt prophecied their foure notable Saints, Patrike, Brachan, Colme, and Moling.

King Henry feaſted the Iriſh Princes. Cranes fleſh not in vſe in Ireland till the comming of the Engliſh.

In Chriſtmaſſe hee called all theſe Princes that were thus become his ſubiects vnto Dublyn where he made them a royall dinner. Here they began firſt to feed on Cranes fleſh, a foule til that ſeaſon vtterly abhorred of the Iriſh. The ſumptuous ſeruice, and noble traine of thoſe that wayted at this feaſt, was marueylous in the eyes of thoſe cou̅trime̅ that had neuer ſene the like before.

A Sinode or Counſell of the Cleargie holden at Caſhill.

King Henrie not vnmyndfull of his charge enioyned him by the Popes Adrian and Alexander, for a reformation to bee had in matters of the Iriſh Churche, called a Synode of all the Iriſhe Clergie at Caſhell, whither came as chiefe the biſhop of Liſmore, Legate of the ſea of Rome, Donate of Caſſhell, Laurence of Dublyn, & Catholicus of Thomond, Archbiſhops with their Suffraganes & felow Biſhops, Abbots Archdeacons, Priors, Deanes, and other prelates of the land.



There were alſo ſent thither from king Henrie, Rauſe Abbot of Buldewis, Rauſe Archdeacon of Landaffe, and one of his Chapleynes named Nicholas, with other Chapleynes & Counſellors of the ſame king.

Articles agreed vpon in this counſell.

In which Synode the enormious abuſes of ẏ Iriſh Church being proponed and put in wryting vnder the Legats ſeale, they fel in conference for the reforming thereof, and in the ende they concluded vpon the ſame, which were regiſtred in eight articles.

Mariages.

Fyrſt, that they ſhoulde not contract any vnlawfull mariages with their couſins or neare allyes, but in the ſame obſerue the rules of the Canons.

Infantes baptized.

Secondly, that their Infants ſhould be Catechiſed at the church doores by the prieſts, & after baptized in the Fontes of their Churches.

Tythes to be payed.

Thirdely, that all thoſe that tooke themſelues for Chriſtian men ſhoulde duelye pay their Tythes of corne and Catell, and other increaſing things.

Liberties of the Church.

Fourthly, that the landes and poſſeſſions belonging to the Church, ſhoulde be enfranchiſed of all ſecular exactions, and ſpecially that neyther the Kinges nor Erles, nor anye other Lordes of Irelande nor theyr ſonnes, with theyr familyes ſhoulde demaunde nor preſume to exact violently from thence forth any meate or drinke, or harborrow within the Church poſſeſſions, as they had beene vſed, and that the dyet which had beene exacted foure tymes in the yeare of Churche mennes fermes ſhould not any more be demaunded nor anſwered.

Murthers.

Fiftly, that for murthers committed when the offender compoũded with the kinſmen of the partie dead, Churchmen that were couſins to the offender ſhould not be forced to beare any part of the fine, except they were acceſſaries to the offence.

Teſtaments how they ſhoulde be made.

Sixtly, that the ſicke ſhould cauſe his teſtamẽt to bee made and read in preſence of credible perſons, and if they had wyues, theyr debts and ſeruantes wages deducted, the reſidue of theyr goods ſhould be deuided into three parts, whereof yͤ wife was to haue one, the children another, and the thirde to be employed about his funerals, and otherwiſe as he ſhould appoynt. If he had no lawfull iſſue, then his goodes to bee deuided betwixt him and his wife, and if he had children and hys wife deceaſſed, then the ſame to bee deuided betwixt him and his children.

Funerals.

Seuenthly, that the funerals of the dead be deuoutly and ſolemnly kept and executed.

Vniformitie in Church ſeruice with the Engliſh church.

Eightly, for as much as it had pleaſed God to deliuer them vniuerſally into the gouernment of the Engliſhe Nation, it was decreed that in all poyntes, rytes and ceremonies, they ſhould agree in forme with the Church of England.

Thus where in many things before the king of Englands comming into Irelande, many inordinate and heynous cuſtomes were crept into the gouernment, as well eccleſiaſticall as ciuil, by his good diligence and politike meanes, the ſame were in part reformed, ſo that what good orders either for maintenance of peace or increace of religion, remayned afterwardes among them, was to bee aſcribed to him.

The Articles before rehearſed were eſtabliſhed and confyrmed with conſent of all the Synode.

Galas Primate of Ardmagh.

A tempeſtuous winter.

Galas the Primate of Ardmagh was not there by reaſon of infirmitie and great age, but yet he came afterwardes to the King at Dublyn, and gaue his conſent in all things, fauoring the kings order and diſpoſition herein. He dyed two yeares after, ſo aged a man, that his onely ſuſtenaunce was the mylke of a white Cowe, which he tooke with him whither ſoeuer he trauayled. The winter was ſo tempeſtuous, that vneth any ſhip durſt venter to paſſe either to or fro betwixt Englande and Irelande, ſo that aduertiſements were verye geaſon both with the king in Irelande, and with his counſell at home here in Englande, not hearing (but very ſeldom) they frõ him, or he frõ them. Thus whileſt he lay for the moſt part of yͤ winter ſeaſon in Waterford, longing dayly to here forth of Englãd, he practiſed to procure certain knights that ſerued vnder the Erle of Pembrook, as Reymond, Miles Cogan, Williã Maſkarel, & others being mẽ of right approued valiancie & experience in warlike exploytes to forſake the Erles ſeruice, & to ſerue him, taking it to be no ſmal policie ſo to make his part the ſtrõger, & the Erles the weaker, for he had the Erle ſtil in a iealouſie, & miſtruſted leaſt his puiſſance might in time breed danger to his eſtate.

Cardinals ſent to the king.

After midlent ſhips arriued there, both forth of England and Aquitaine, by whõ it was ſignified that there were come into Normandie two Cardinals frõ Pope Alexander the third, menacing to put the K. & his whole dominions vnder the ſentence of interditing, if he came not the ſooner to meete them, & to excuſe himſelf of things they had to charge him with, touching the death of the Archbiſhop Thomas: & herevnto an other miſchief appeared, for it was informed him yͭ hys ſonne Henry whõ his father had for good purpoſe crowned king, was through euil aduice ſo miſled, that he ment to thruſt himſelf into the actuall poſſeſſion of the crown, in his fathers life time. Theſe newes ſore troubled the king, bycauſe he muſt nedes returne home & leaue Irelande for that time, where he ment to haue remayned til in that ſommer following, he might aſwell with building caſtels & fortreſſes haue made himſelf ſtrong, as alſo eſtabliſhed the cuntry in perfect peace, whiche he much deſired. But ſith there was no helpe but yͤ vrgent occaſiõ of buſineſſe (as ye haue heard) called him thence, he took order for the ſafe keeping of the cuntry in his abſence, & appoynted captaines with cõpetent numbers of men of warre to lie in gariſon within ſundrie townes where he thought neceſſarie.

Hugh Lacie.

In Dublin he left Hugh Lacy (to whõ he had giuen the cuntry of Meth to hold of him in fee) & with him .xx. knights: Robert Fitz Stephã, and Maurice Fitz Gerald with .xx. other knights were alſo appoynted to the gard of the ſame citie. Humfrey de Bohun, Rober Fitzbernard, & Hugh de Gundeuile with .xl. knights were left in Waterford. Williã Fitz Aldelme, Philip de Haſtings & Philip de Brewſe wͭ .xx. knights had the charge of Wexford cõmitted to them.

The king returneth forth of Irelande.

The king hauing thus prouided for the ſafe keeping of theſe townes & other places, & leauing order for the gouernmẽt of the cuntry in the beſt wiſe he might, he toke the ſea at Wexford on Eaſter Monday in the morning, & with proſperous wind and weather paſſed the ſeas, & landed in Southwales in an hauẽ there not paſt .xij. miles diſtãt frõ Hauerford weſt, & ſo haſted forward, not ſtaying much till he got ouer into Normandy, where he met the Cardinals at Conſtance (as in the Engliſh hyſtorie you may read more at large.)

Ororiek king of Meth.

Maurice Fitz Geralde.

After that the king was thus departed forth of Ireland, Ororick king of Meth ſurnamed Monoculus, that is, with the one eye, made ſuite to come to a Parley with Hugh de Lacie, but Ororick had deuyſed to murther the ſayde Lacie, and had brought hys purpoſe to paſſe, if a Knight that was Nephewe to Maurice Fitz Geralde named Griffyne admoniſhed by a dreame had not deliuered him from that daunger.

This Griffin (geſſing by interpretation of his dreame, that ſome ſuch thing would come to paſſe as followed in deede) in tyme of the parley with ſeuen knightes of his lynage, whom he had choſen forth of purpoſe to that effect, withdrewe a part to the backe ſide of the hill (on the whiche they were appoyntid to meete and talke togyther) were furniſhed with ſhieldes and ſpeares, the ſaid Griffyn and his mates mounted on horſebacke, exerciſed themſelues in running and turneying, after the maner of Fraunce, in whiche meane while Ororike (after they could not agree in talke, but that they grewe to open defiance,) he gaue ſigne to ſuch as he had layde in ambuſh for that purpoſe, to come forth and help to worke the feate which he had determined before hande to accompliſh. And he himſelfe being withdrawen by a certaine ſpace from the ground where they had talked, after his companie was once come forth vnto him, he with his Axe maketh againe towardes the place where Hugh Lacie ſtoode, and had ſlaine him vpon the ſodaine, if Maurice Fitz Gerald drawing forth his ſworde had not warned him to take heede and to looke about him: and yet ſuch was the violent rage of the traytor, that ſtryking at Lacie, he cut off the arme of one that was interpretour betwixt them, who faythfully thruſt himſelfe betwixt Lacie and the blow. Beſide this, ſo fierce were the Iriſh vpon Hugh Lacie, that twice by reaſon of haſt in ſtepping backe he fell, and vneth eſcaped by the helpe of Fitz Gerald, who manfully layde about him to beate back the enimies. Herewith no ſmall number of thoſe that brake out of the Ambuſhe came with an hideous noiſe, running to the place, that they might make an ende of Lacie and Fitz Geralde, which vndoubtedly they had eaſily done (for by appointment they came to the grounde where they thus talked but with a fewe about them and thoſe vnarmed) if Griffyn with his companions hearing the noyſe and clamour, had not come to the ayde of theyr friendes. But they perceyuing how the game went, came gallopping in vpon the ſpurres with ſuch violẽce that they diſperſed the enimies, and Griffyn with his ſpeare running at Ororike as he was about to haue mounted on horſebacke, ſtroke through both horſe and man, and ſo the diſloyall wretch ended his life. Three of his ſeruants alſo that brought him his horſe, were there ſlaine. The reſidue of the Iriſhe were ſlaine, as they coulde bee ouertaken, being followed by the Engliſh men euen vnto the entrie of the Woods, to the which (being a good way of) they fled ſo faſt as their feete might beare them.

A trayterous practiſe.

Ororike ſlain.

The head of the king of Methe was ſent ouer into Englande vnto king Henrie, for a witneſſe of that which had chaunced.

Orórikes head ſent to king Henrie.

Among other, deſeruing great commendation for their manhoode ſhewed in this bickering, one of Fitz Stephans ſonnes named Raufe, was highly commended.

The Engliſh men perceyuing ſuch diſloyall practiſes to bee dayly attempted agaynſt them, tooke from the Iriſh (as farre as they might) all truſt of gouernment, fenced themſelues with gariſons, placed Captaynes, Gouernours, and Coneſtables euerie where within the compaſſe of theyr conqueſtes.

But king Henrie was troubled with the rebellion of his ſonnes, which brake forth in Aprill next after his returne forth of Ireland, that he had no leyſure to attend greatly to the doings in Irelande. But ſtill yet his iealouſie increaſed towardes Earle Strangbow, whom he miſtruſted as one eaſie to be caried away by any light occaſion of chaunge of fortune.

King Henries iealouſie towardes Earle Strangbow.

The Earle was a man of great byrth, but (as ye haue partly heard) as well by his aunceſters diſfauour with their Princes, as his owne, and likewiſe his ryotous expences in his youth, hee bare no great name, till the good happe of his mariage had aduaunced him, and euen after alſo knowing himſelfe neyther brooked in ſight, nor truſted in abſence, kept ſtill one rate in all his doings, bare a low ſaile, fed no quarels, and ſhunned all ſuſpitious conference.

Earle Strangbow his wiſe dealing.

Thus whileſt the king was diſquieted at home, and doubting of the ſtate of Ireland, bycauſe letters came dayly ouer, how faintly the Princes in Ireland performed their obedience, for (except in Leyniſter, all other partes reteyned theyr auncient kinde of gouernment, and onely acknowledged a tribute) it was thought expedient by king Henries Counſell, to eaſe his mynde of that care, and ſeeing there was buſineſſe more than ynough on all ſides, and that it was harde to prouide remedie eche way forth at once, they determined to venter the keeping of Irelande to the fidelitie of Strangbow, who was like for his owne wealth and aſſuraunce to procure all poſſible meanes to brydle and keepe vnder the Iriſh, with a kinde of ſome conſtrayned obedience, for otherwiſe it woulde not be.

The Erle therfore being about the ſame time come ouer to the king into Normandie, who remayned as then in the Citie of Rouen, he was made gouernor, (or Lorde Deputie as we call him) of Ireland, hauing Reymond le Grace ioyned with him in commiſſion, for otherwiſe the Erle refuſed to take the charge vpon him.

Earle Strangbow made the kings lieutenant in Ireland hauing Reymond le Grace ioyned with him.

The King alſo the ſame time gaue to the Earle the Citie of Wexforde, with the Caſtell of Guikalone.

The Earle thus with his commiſſion retur-

ning

Heruey taketh vpon him to lead the ſouldiers.

They require to be led by Reymond.

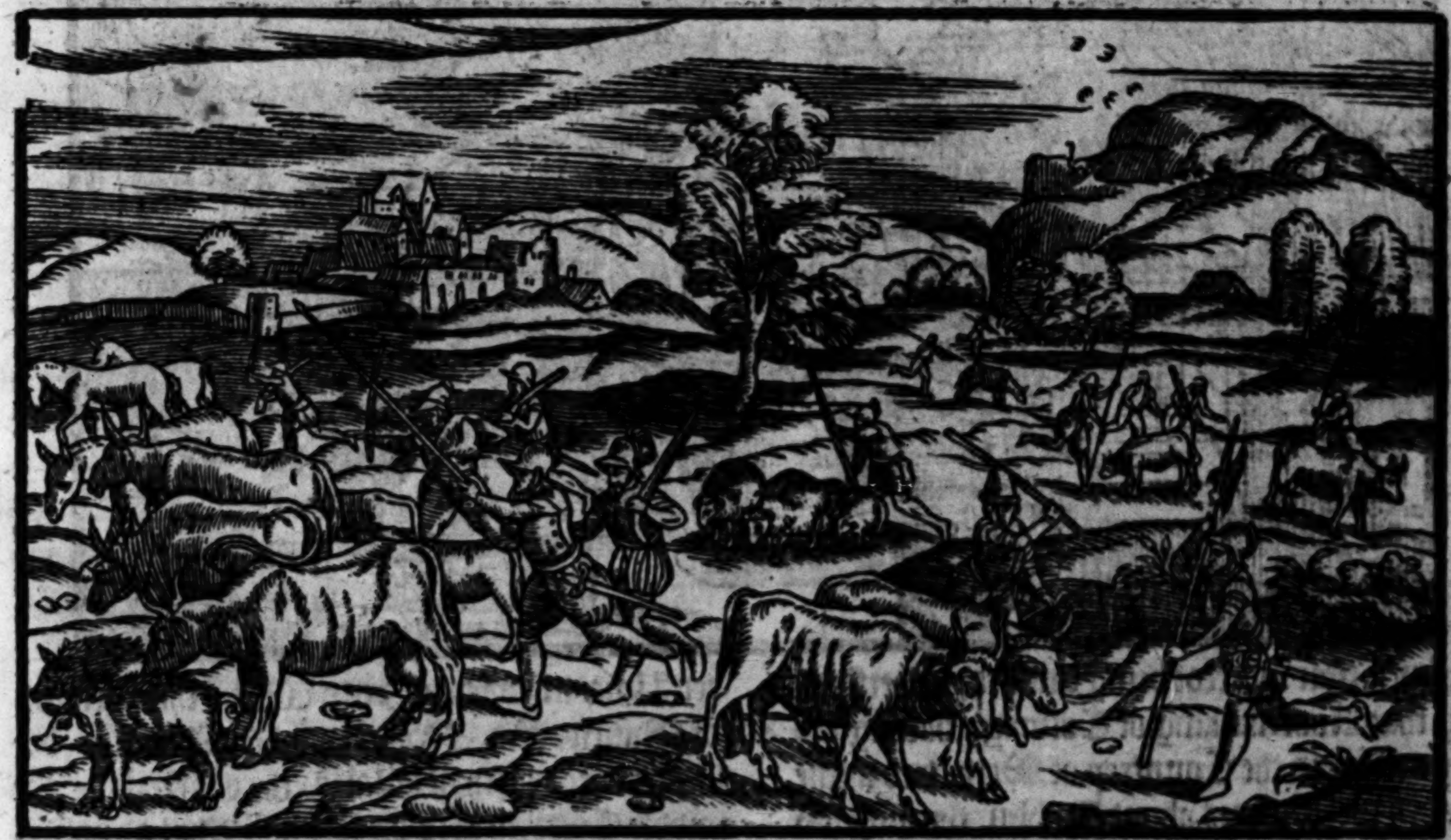
ning into Irelande appointed Lord Lieutenant, found the countrey farre out of order, for in maner all the princes were become rebelles, ſo that within ſhort time hee had ſpent all the treaſure which he brought ouer with him, and nowe that he wanted to pay his men of warre their wages, they began to mutine, finding themſelues grieued againſt Heruey, that in Reymonds place had taken vpon him as quarter maſter to lead them: and bycauſe alſo they were now kept ſhort, ſo as they profited not by gayning of booties as they were woont to do, they came to the Earle and told him flatly, that if Reymonde were not appointed to lead them againe, they would ſurely forſake him, and eyther returne into Englande, or elſe withdrawe to the aduerſaryes, and ſerue amongeſt thẽ. Herevpon Reymond being appoynted to gouerne them, forth they went agaynſt certaine rebelles, and wanne great plentie of booties to refreſh their wantes, and furniſhed themſelues with horſe and armor.

Liſmore ſpoyled.

Adam de Hereforde.

Reymonde diſcomfiteth the king of Deſmond.

The citie and prouince of Liſmore, they ſpoyled, and meaning to returne vnto Waterforde by water, they fraught with ſpoyle .xiij. ſhippes, of the which ſome they founde there in the hauen, and the reſidue were come thither from Waterforde. Whileſt they ſtayed for a proſperous wind, there came .xxxij. ſhippes, which they of Corke had made forth, well appoynted and throughly manned, the which aſſayled the Engliſh men in their ſhips with great fury, ſo that the battail was right dangerous, whileſt the one part with ſtones and Axes, and the other with arrowes and other weapons, enforced to bring eche other to deſtruction. At lẽgth yet the Iriſh were vanquiſhed, and their captain ſlain, ſo that the Engliſh men with their captaine Adam de Hereforde, hauing encreaſed the number of their ſhips with thoſe which they toke from their enimies, returned with honor vnto Waterford. Reymond that was aduertiſed of this victory, marching thitherwards alõgſt the ſhore with .xx. knights, & .lx. other horſmen, met with Dermote K. of Deſmond cõming towards Liſmore with a great power to ayd thẽ of Corke, but Reymõd putting him to flight, got & brought wͭ him to Waterf. a booty of .4000. head of cattel.



William Fitz Gerald father of Reymond departeth this life.

Donald of Lymerike diſcõfiteth foure hundred men of Dublyn.

Rotherike king of Connagh.

About the ſame time, William Fitz Geralde, father to Reymond, departed this life, and therefore Reymond returned home into Wales, & in the meane time Heruey eftſoones toke vpon him to gouerne the men of warre, & brought the Erle with his houſhold vnto Caſſhell. The Citizens of Dublin by appoyntment comming to theyr ayde, and lodging one night in Oſſorie, Donald of Lymerike a prince in that nation not improuident about his buſineſſe, early in the morning aſſayling them that thus were come from Dublyn in their lodging, toke them ſo at vnwares, that he ſlue foure hundred of them, togither wyth foure knights that had the leading of them. By reaſon of this chance, the reſidue of the Iriſh princes toke ſuch courage and boldneſſe, that vp they ſtart in euery corner, tagge and ragge, in purpoſe to expell the Engliſhmen out of the whole Countrey, ſo that the Erle being returned vnto Waterford, was kept ſo ſhort, that he durſt vneth peepe out. Rotherike king of Connagh paſſing ouer the ryuer of Sheynyn, with a mightie power inuaded Meth, and finding the caſtels in that Countrey voyde without garde, he brought into aſhes and layd flat with the ground all that he met with by the way, euen hard to the walles of Dublyn.

Earle Strangbow ſendeth for Reymond promiſing him his ſiſter in mariage.

The Erle remẽbring how Reymond had bin an earneſt ſuter to his ſiſter Baſil, to haue hir in mariage, & that there was no ſtay but the graunt of his good will, to bring him ouer againe wyth more ſpeede to his ayde, he wrote to him louing letters, with promiſe that if hee woulde make haſt to come, and bring with him ſome power to ſtrengthen his parte agaynſt the Rebelles, hee ſhoulde haue hys ſyſter and all things at hys pleaſure.

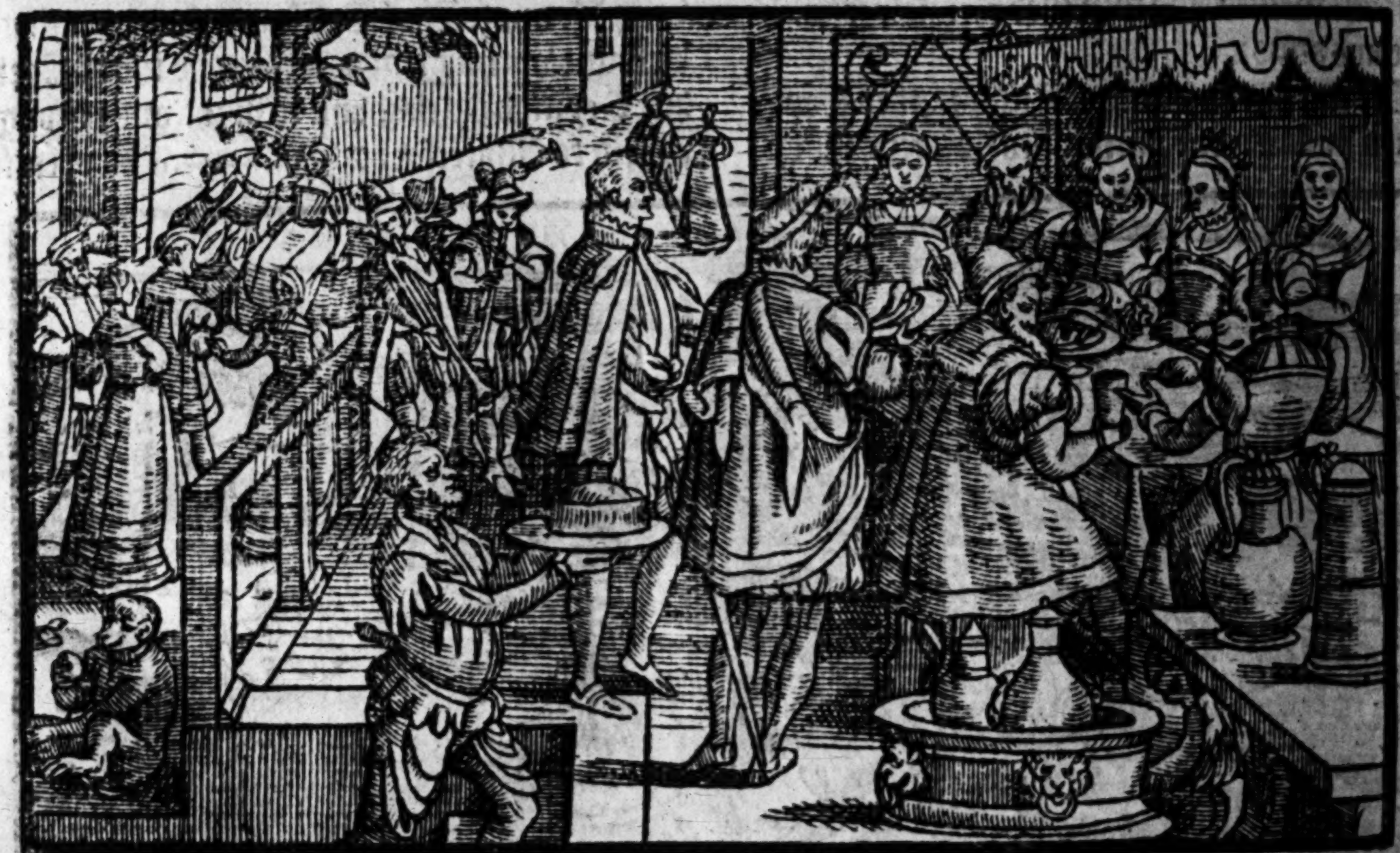
Reymonde vnderſtanding in what diſtreſſe the Earle and other his friendes ſtoode in Irelande, and deſirous withall to enioy the Ladie Baſill whome he entirely loued, hee communed with his couſin Meiller, and other worthie Gentlemen of his lynage, whome he perſwaded eaſily to goe ouer with hym: ſo that hauing aſſembled thirtie luſtie Knightes, with an hundred other horſemen, and three hundred Archers footemen, choſen forth of the Welche Nation, he embarked them in .xv. ſhippes, paſſed ouer with them and landed at Waterford, where the Citizens the ſame time rayſing a tumult, were about to haue ſlain the Engliſh men, but by the arriual of Reymond which chaunced ſo in the nicke, the vprore was pacified, and all things brought to quiet. This done, Reymõd brought the Erle to Wexford, and as Frecell gouernor of Waterford was about to follow the Erle in a veſſell by the water of Suire, he with diuerſe of his companie were ſlaine by thoſe mariners that vndertooke to paſſe him ouer, which murther committed, the murtherers returning to the Citie, ſlue all ſuch Engliſhe people as they mette with, either in the ſtreetes or houſes, not ſparing either ſexe or age. But they miſſed yet of winning the full poſſeſſiõ of the city. For an Engliſh gẽtleman yͭ remayned in charge with keeping it, ſo handled yͤ matter, that the traitors were ſubdued and brought to quiet, with worſe opinion and ſtate than they were in before.

Reymond landeth at Waterford.

Frecell gouernor of Waterford ſlaine by the Mariners that vndertook to conuey him ouer the water there.

Reymond not forgetting the Earles promiſe conteined in his letters, would not depart forth of Wexford, till the Ladie Baſill was fetched from Dublyn, and coupled with him in mariage. The ſolemnization whereof being finiſhed, vnderſtanding that Roderike king of Connagh, hauing vtterly deſtroyed the Countrey of Meth, had nowe inuaded the confines about Dublin, the morrow after his maryage feaſt, Reymonde with his bandes of men of warre, iſſued forth and marched towardes thoſe parties, wherof Roderike hauing knowledge, withdrew backe into his Conntrey.

Reymonde marieth the Ladie Baſill, ſiſter to Erle Strangbow.



Thoſe parties then once reformed, and the caſtels of Trim, and Duuels being eftſoones repayred, that had beene forſaken of Hugh Tirell theyr keeper and deſtroyed, the whole Iſle for a time reſted in meetly good quiet. So that the Engliſhe Nobilitie that lay there, had tyme the better to ſettle themſelues, and for more increaſe of ſtedfaſt amity, to match themſelues in mariage according to their degrees. Heruey maried Reymonds ſiſters daughter, whiche Ladie was the daughter of Maurice Fitz Geralde, and by procurement of Reymond, the Erle gaue his daughter Alma in mariage vnto Williã the eldeſt ſon of Maurice Fitz Gerald, to which Maurice (being ſente for forth of Wales) the Earle gaue the middle Candred of Ophelan (which he had poſſeſſed before by the kings aſſignment) togither with the caſtel of Guikinlou, to holde the ſame in fee.

The Caſtels of Trim and Duuels.

Mariages.

Wicklowe.

Ye muſt here note, that the king of Englãd to aſſure his title to Ireland with a color of further right, procured of Pope Adriã that was an Engliſh man borne (as before ye haue heard) bulles of confirmation, to the ende (as the tenor of thoſe bulles ſignified) that he ſhould root out ſuch abuſes & euill cuſtomes as were commonly practiſed there among the people, cõtrarie to the order of all Chriſtianitie. And ſo in reforming the ſtate of religion, and reducing the people to liue within the compaſſe of honeſt lawes & more ciuill ordinances, he graunted to him the ſupreme dominion of that land, commanding all the inhabitants therof to receiue him for their ſouerain lord & gouernor.

The Clergie therfore now of late hauing peruſed thoſe Bulles, and perceyuing that vnder ſtreight paynes they were commaunded to owe their allegiance vnto the king of Englande, they buſily did their diligence to repreſſe the furie of their Countrey men, and by authoritie aſwell of the Bulles of Pope Adrian, as Pope Alexander, which had beene publikely read in the Counſel at Caſſhell, they denounced all thoſe accurſed that maliciouſly ſhoulde withſtande or ſeeke to make fruſtrat the ſame. By ſuch meanes ye land reſting from any great troubleſome rebelliõs for a while, the firſt that began to ſtyrre, was Donalde king of Lymerike, who leaping out, renounced his allegiance to the king of Englãd, wherevpon Reymond aſſembling togither an army of .C. and .xx. knights wt .CCC. other horſmẽ, & .CCCC. archers on foot, about the Kalends of October marched boldly towards Lymerike, & cõming to the water that runneth round about that towne, paſſeth the ſame, notwithſtanding the aduerſaryes were readie there to keepe him off. One of Reymonds nephewes, a yong ſtripling called Dauid, and ſurnamed Welch, bycauſe he was borne in Wales, though not of the Welch linage, was the firſt that lept into the riuer, & led the way to giue example to others. The ſecond (ſaue one knight that was drowned) was Meiller, and Reymond the third that entred the water. When the whole army was once got ouer with ye loſſe only of that one knight that hight Guy, & two other horſmen, they folowed their enimies, and making of them great ſlaughter, ceaſſed not til they brake into the citie, and wan the ſame with great riches which they founde within it. Here is to be noted, that Lymerik was taken vpon a Tueſday, and Waterford likewiſe was taken vpon a Tueſday, and alſo Dublyn. Neither came this to paſſe of any purpoſe, but fell out euen ſo as chaunce gaue it.

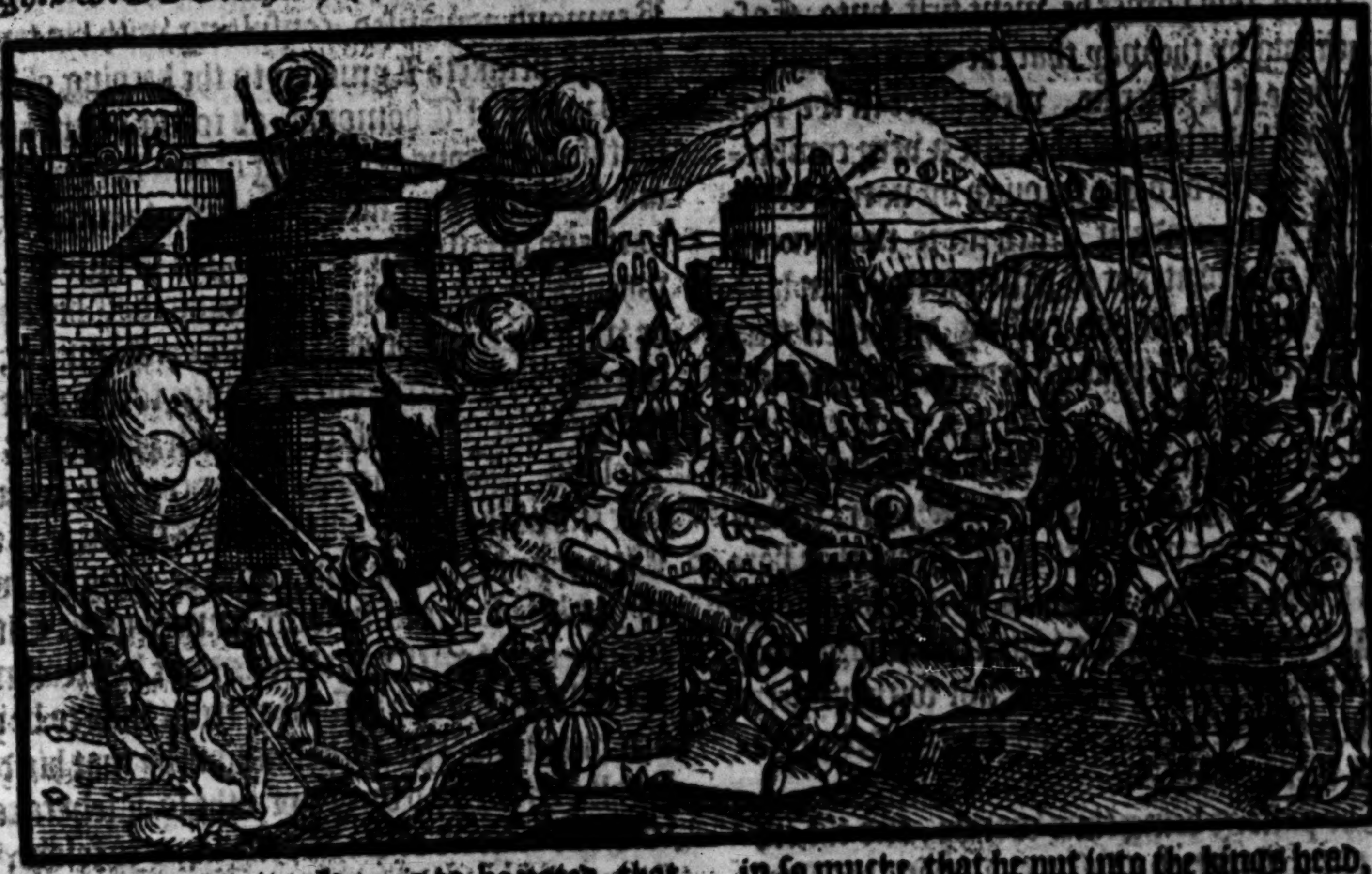
Curſing.

Reymonde marcheth toward Limerik.

They paſſe the riuer.

Limerike wonne.

Tueſday fortunate to the Conquerers of Ireland.



Reymond diſpoſing things in order for the ſure gard of that citie, cauſed vitails from ech ſide to be brought into it, and leauing there .l. knights two hundred horſmen, and .CC. archers, vnder the gouernment of Miles of S. Dauid hys couſin that was appoynted captaine of that citie, he returned and drew into Leyniſter with the reſidue of his people in ſafetie, hauing thus obteyned a notable victorie. But as enuie is euer a companion to welldoing, though not to further, but readie ſtill to hinder the ſame, ſo Heruie bearing a continuall ſecrete grudge agaynſt Reymondes glorie, that neyther reſpect of affinitie, nor other reaſonable conſideration coulde cauſe him to forget it, ſticked not to ſende Meſſengers to the King, with ſiniſter informations agaynſt Reymonde, wrongly interpreting all hys doings, in ſo muche that he put into the kings head, how he went about as one fully determined therevpon, not onely to vſurpe to hymſelfe and his, the Citie of Lymerike, but alſo all Irelande, greatly agaynſt the kings honour and his owne promiſed fidelitie.

Miles of Saint Dauid.

Heruey enuyeth Reymondes glorie.

The king crediting ſuch reports, ſent ouer foure commiſſioners into Ireland to examine the matters, & to make a true certificat of the ſtate of that land. The names of thoſe commiſſioners were theſe, Robert Poer, Oſbert de Herloter, Adam de Gernemuth, and William de Bendenges. Two of them he appoynted to returne backe, & to bring Reymonde with them: the other two hee commaunded to remaine there with the Erle.

Foure Commiſſioners ſent into Irelãd to enquire of Reymondes demeanor.

As Reymond then was readie to paſſe the ſea to come ouer, ſtaying only for a proſperous wind, there came meſſengers from them that lay in Lymerike, bringing word ye Donald prince of Thomond had beſieged thẽ with an infinit multitude of people, and bycauſe they had ſpent all their prouiſiõ of vitails, there was no remedie but to ſuccor

Donald Prince of Thomond.

them with ſpeed, for otherwiſe they could not endure agaynſt the force of their aduerſaries.

The Earle carefull to ſend ayde to relieue his men thus brought into that extremitie, vpon mouing the matter to his men of warre, whome he ment to ſent forward about that enterpriſe, hee found them ſo diſmayd for the departing of Reymonde, that with one generall voyce they flatly denied to go on that iourney without him.

The loue which the ſoldiers bare to Reymond.

The Erle conferring vpon this refuſall of his men of warre with the Commiſſioners, it was agreed by their conſents, that Reymonde ſhoulde haue the leading of the army vnto Lymerike, and ſo ſetting forward with. lxxx. knightes, two. C. other horſemen, and three hundred archers, beſide ſuch Iriſhe men as he tooke with him, vnder the conduct of Murchard Kenceili, & Dunald of Oſſorie, with this power he went firſt vnto Caſſhell, hearing by the way that the enimies hauing left the ſiege of Lymerike, were layde in the paſe of Caſſhell, which being of it ſelfe a very comberſom ſtrayt, & hard to get through by nature of the place, they had made it much more noyſome to thoſe that ſhould attẽpt to paſſe that way, in laying trees ouerthwart and caſting ditches a trauerſe, which they fẽced with hedges plaſhed aloft vpon the rampire.

Murcharde Kenceili.

The Engliſhmẽ deuided their army into three wards, the vantgard being led by Meiller, ruſhed forth to the hedge with ſuch violẽce, that they bare down & tore the ſame in peeces, as it had bin ſome ſtrange tempeſt of wind, & with their ſwords they made way & opened yͤ paſſage, not without great ſlaughter of them that ſtood there at defence agaynſt them.

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The paſſage being thus wonne, and the enimies put to flight on Eaſter euẽ, vpon the Tueſday in Eaſter weeke they came through like victorers vnto Lymerike, and as it was wonne vpõ a Tueſday (as before ye haue heard) ſo nowe it was likewiſe reſcued vpon a Tueſday.

After this, the king of Connagh, and the king of Thomond came to a parley with Reymonde about. xvj. myles diſtant from Lymerike beyond Kellcleonyne in one ſelfe day, though not togyther, nor in one ſelfe place. They grew in both the places to this effect in their talk, that either prince deliuering hoſtages, renued their othes of fidelitie vnto the king of Englande, and ſo in louing wiſe they departed eche from other.

The kings of Connagh, and Thomond come to a parley with Reymond.

The ſame time Dermote or Dermucius Macharthy, prince of Deſmond, was by his eldeſt ſon Kormac Oletham in maner expulſed out of his countrey, wherevpon he ſued vnto Reymond for ayde againſt his vnnaturall ſon. Reymond moued aſwel at the erneſt prayer, as promiſe of large entertainment, toke vpon him that enterpriſe, and turning his victorious enſignes towards Cork, he ſo vſed the matter that his armye was in ſhort ſpace greatly enriched, what with ſpoile & wages, & plenty of vitailes, which they recouered in thoſe parties, in ſuch wiſe that they ſent great abũdance vnto Limerik, for Dermote Macharthy by yͤ help of Reymond reſtored now wholy again vnto his dominion, ſought to pleaſure him and his cõpany in all things he might. But yet Kormac vnder colour of peace, led forth his father Dermote craftily with fayre wordes, till he got him into his hands, & committed him to priſon, but within a while after, the father recõpenſing his ſonne with like curteſie, practiſed his ſonnes death, whileſt he ſo remayned in priſon, and bringing his purpoſe to paſſe, was ſo deliuered.

Dermucius Marcharthy prince of Deſmond vexed by his ſonne Kormac Olecham.

The crafty diſſimulation of the ſonne to intrappe the father.

To what ende it came.

About the kalends of Iune, Richard Strangbow Erle of Pembroke departed this life, wherof Reymond aduertiſed, conſulting with his truſtie friends, betaketh Lymerike to the keeping of Donald prince of Thomonde, as to one of the kings faythfull Barons, receyuing of him both pledges, and ſwearing him alſo to preſerue that Citie frõ hurt, and to reſtore it to the king of Englands vſe whenſoeuer he was thervnto required. This done, he with the army departed towards Leynſter, to defend that countrie and the hauen townes there, for the more ſuretie of the Engliſh poſſeſſions in Ireland. But he was no ſooner come to the further end of the bridge, but the other end next to the Citie was broken downe, and the Engliſh men might behold fire ſet in foure corners of the Citie, to their great grief, which was done by treaſon of Donald, ſhewing a taſt what credit was to be giuen vnto the people of that nation by that his diſloyall periurie and breach of othe ſo lately taken, without all feare of Gods vengeance to folow, or ſhame of the world that might be imputed to him amongſt men of honeſt reſpect.

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The treaſon of Donalde.

At Reymonds comming to Dublin, the bodie of the Earle was buried in Chriſtes Church within that Citie, the Archebiſhop Laurence doing the office of the funerals. For the Earle in his life time had commaunded that his bodie ſhoulde be kept aboue grounde till Reymond were come, and till his comming the Earles death in deede was kept ſecrete, ſo that fewe vnderſtood thereof.

Earle Strangbow buried.

This Earle was of colour ruddye and freckled, with great eyes, of a feminine vyſage, ſmall voyce, ſhorte necke, of ſtature tall, and a goodly perſonage, lyberall and curteous, and where ſubſtaunce wanted to ſhewe his franke heart, hee ſupplyed it with gentle wordes, more readie to obey than to commaunde. At home more lyke a Souldier than a Captayne, but abrode in the warres he ſhewed himſelfe a Captayne, and not a Souldier. Although he neuer would enterpriſe any exployt of himſelfe without the aduice of other, being once ioyned in fight with his enimies;

he ſtode as an aſſured ſtandard for his people to haue recourſe to, for their ſafetie. And howſoeuer the chance of battail turned he was euer conſtant and ſtable, neyther drowping as one in diſpayre whē fortune ſeemed to frowne, nor too ioyful whē ſhe was diſpoſed to fawne. He left no iſſue behind him in life but one daughter named Iſabell, maried after .xiiij. yeares to William Earle Marſhall.

William Marſhall marieth the daughter of Erle Strangbow.

After this, the king of Englands Commiſſioners perceyuing what eſtimation and opinion the ſouldiers & men of warre had conceyued of Reymonde, they authoriſed him lieutenaunt, tyll the kings pleaſure therein might be further knowne: and herewith they returned into Englande to informe him of the chaunge of things in Irelande by the Earles death. The king throughly informed how things ſtode, ſent William Fitz Aldelme, one of his truſtie ſeruants as his lieutenāt into Ireland with .xx. knights, ioyning with him in commiſſion John de Curcy, with other tenne knights, alſo Fitz Stephans & Miles Cogā, with .xx. knights, which two laſt remembred captaines had ſerued the king right valiauntly in thoſe late ciuil warres, which his ſonnes had reyſed againſt him. Reymond vnderſtāding that they were arriued, met them with a braue number of knights, in the borders of Wexford, deliuering all the Cities, townes, & caſtels togither with ſuch hoſtages as he had into Aldelmes hands as the kings lieutenant of that kingdome. Fitz Aldelme moued with enuie, to ſee Reymond furniſhed with ſuch a traine of luſtie youthes, he threatned to abate ſuch pride, and to make a ſcatter of thoſe ſhieldes. Frō that time forth, aſwell he as other lieutenāts of Irelād that ſucceeded him, ceaſed not (as it had bene by ſome purpoſed conſpiracie) to hinder the good fortune of Reymond, Meiller, Fitz Morice, Fitz Gerald. Fitz Stephans, & all that whole generation, although no cankred enuy was able to roote out the plants of ſo plentifull an offſpring.

Reymond cōſtituted the kings lieutenant.

William Fitz Aldelme lieutenant of Irelande.
John Curcy.
Williā Cogan

The kinred of Reymond enuyed.

Now foraſmuch as we haue to make ſo often mention of Reymond, Meiller, Heruie, Fitz Aldelme, & Fitz Stephans, being chiefe doers in the reducing of Irelād vnder the Engliſh ſubiection, we haue thought it not impertinent to ſhew what maner of men in perſonages and qualities they were, as Giraldus Cambrenſis doth deſcribe thē.

The diſcription of Reymond.

Reymond therefore was of a large & mightie ſtature, with yellow heares a little curling, great eies, gray and round, his noſe ſomewhat in height rayſed, well coloured of viſage, with a pleaſant & merrie countenance. And although he was verie corpulent, yet with a liuelineſſe of ſpirit he recompenced the vnweldineſſe of his fleſhe, and ſo ouermatched the groſſenes of his bodie with the vertue of his mind. He would paſſe the nights without ſleep, to ſee to the ſafetie of his army, and as a ſurueyer of the watch, he would go vp and down about the campe with maruey lous care and diligence, ſo that ſuche bandes as were vnder hys charge, ſeldome or neuer attempted anye thing raſhly, or through negligēce came to hinderance, neither delicate in his feeding, nor fine in his apparell. He would endure both heate and cold alike, yelding to neither of them both, able to brydle wrath, & to abide al maner of painful trauails. He ſeemed rather to profite than to rule ouer thē that were vnder his gouernment, rather as a ſeruant than a maiſter: and to conclude, he was bountifull, curteous, and wiſe. And although he was right vertuous, and readie to bidde battaill, yet he excelled moſte in prudent policie and prouident foreſight, ſo as he iuſtly deſerued to be cōmended, both for a valiant ſouldiour, and a circumſpect Captaine. Thus much for Reymond.

The deſcriptiō of Meiller.

Meiller was browne of colour, with black eies, and of countenaunce grim and ſterne, of ſtature ſomewhat leſſe than the common ſort, but yet of paſſing ſtrēgth for the quantitie of his body, with a brode breaſt, and ſlender waſt, his armes and other limmes being greater of bone and ſinewes than filled with fleſh, a right hardy knight & ready to attēpt any enterpriſe ỹ was to be atchieued either alone or accōpanied: the firſt to giue the onſet in euery battel, & the laſt ỹ ſhould depart forth of ỹ field, & nothing in him might be diſpraiſed, but ỹ he was giuen ouer much to ſpilling of bloud, and ſo deſirous of praiſe, that he eſteemed honor more than life. This with more doth Giraldus Cambrenſis report of the foreſayd Meiller.

The diſcriptiō of Heruey.

Now as cōcerning Heruey, he was of perſon beautiful, with gray eies, & ſomwhat ſtāding outward, or (as we terme it) bol eied, a round vpright neck, crump ſhoulders, with lōg armes & handes, brode breſted, but in ỹ waſt ſlēder with due proportiō, thighes, legs, & feet anſwerable to ỹ ſame, in height not much exceeding the cōmon ſtature. But as nature had garniſhed the outward partes of the man with ſundry graces, ſo had ſhe diſgraced the inner parts with ſundry vices, for euen frō his youth he was giuē to ſenſuall luſt, not caring with what womā he delt, ſo he might ſatiſfie hys liking, not ſparing kinſwoman nor other. Beſide this, he was enuious, ſlanderous, a ſower of ſiniſter reports, & double in all his dealings. crafty, fair ſpokē, & deceitful: in incōſtancy only cōſtant, ſomtime ſet aloft through fortunes fauor, & after caſt downe without hope of recouery. In the French warres he had ſhewed good prouf of his valiancy, but after his cōming into Ireland, his praiſe wonderfully decayed. As by Giral. Cam. it ſhould appere. At length he becam a Monk at Canterbury, as in another place is ſpecified.

Giral. ſeemeth to ſpeake enuiouſly of this man.

The diſcription of Fitz Aldelme.

Now as cōcerning Fitz Aldelm, he was of ſtature ſomwhat bigger thā ỹ mean ſort, of hādſom proportion, a man liberall and pleaſant, but ſubtill and deceytfull ynough, in outwarde countenaunce curteous, friendly, and gentle, but inwardly conteyning more gall than honie, hys wordes were as ſoft as Oyle, but they proued pearcing Dartes: whom this day he honoured, to morow he would ſpoyle, oppreſſing the weake and bearing with the rebell: harde to thoſe that were ouercome, and eaſie to them that helde good agaynſt him, giuen to wine and women, and as he was Courtly, ſo was he couetous.

Fitz Stephans was a man of a large and ſound body, of a right ſeemely countenance, of ſtature ſomwhat exceeding the common ſort, bountifull, liberall, and pleaſant, but giuen to wine and women aboue all meaſure.

Thus much of theſe gentlemen, being accounted among the chiefe of thoſe Captaynes that cõquered Ireland. Of Earle Strangbow hath bene ſayde before, of Curcy and Lacie ye ſhall heare partly hereafter.

But now to returne where we left: The firſt attempt that Fitz Aldelme made to the hynderance of that progenie, was agaynſt the ſonnes of Maurice Fitz Gerald, taking occaſion by the deceaſſe of the ſame Maurice, who departed this life about the Calendes of September.

Maurice Fitz Gerald departeth this life.
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After whoſe death Fitz Aldelme tooke from his ſonnes the Caſtelles of Guikinlo by a craft, aſſigning to them as it were by exchaunge, the towne of Ferue, where although it ſtoode in the myddeſt of the enimies Countrey, they had buylded a ſtrong Caſtell.

Walter Almain alſo Aldelmes nephew tooke from Reymond ſuch lands as he was ſeyſed of in Dublin dale, and aboute Wexford.

Walter Almaine.

Moreouer, where Aldelme had in commaundement from the king, to reſtore vnto Fitz Stephans the Canthred of Ophelan, being brybed to the contrarie, he did not as he was commaunded, but ſtill remoued thoſe captaines yͭ were knowne to be of any approued valiancie into places farre within the Countrey, and where moſt daunger was ſuſpected: ſpecially he ſought by all wayes & meanes to keepe vnder thoſe of the lynage of Fitz Gerald, deuiſing how to bring them out of credit, and to depriue them of ſuch liuings, rowmthes, and offices as they helde, and had bene gyuen to them in recompence of their good ſeruice.

But whileſt Fitz Aldelme went about only to eſtabliſh himſelfe and his friendes in the beſt and moſt quiet partes of Irelande, his aſſociate that valiant knight John de Curcy victoriouſly conquered the countrey of Vlſter, which hitherto had not bene ſubiect to the king of England.

We reade in Giraldus Cambrenſis, that he fought fiue times with the enimies before he could eſtabliſh his conqueſt there in any ſuretie, twiſe at Doune, as firſt ſhortly after Candlemaſſe, ſecondly about Mydſommer, where with a ſmall power of men he diſcomfited .xv. thouſand of his enimies.

The third conflict chaunced at Ferly in taking a bootie, where by reaſon of the ſtraytes & narrow paſſages, his people were put to the worſe, ſome ſlaine, and ſome ſcattered and diſperſed here and there among the Woodes, ſo that he had vneth .xj. knightes left with him, and yet through hys high valiancie and manhood, with thoſe few he retyred ſtill in keeping off the enimies, paſſing by the ſpace of .xxx. myles a foote (for they had loſt theyr horſes) and at length got home to his caſtell, after he had bene purſued by his enimies for the ſpace of two dayes and two nightes, not once ſuffred to reſt, nor to take any refection in all that time. A thing ſtraunge and worthy to be had in memory.

The fourth battayle which he fought wyth his aduerſaryes, was at Vrcell, where alſo hee loſt many of his men, and the reſidue were put to flight.

The fifth encounter was at the bridge of Iuory, vpon his returne forth of England, in which place he went away with the victorie. And thus in three battayles he had the vpper hande, and in two taſted the chaungeable fortune of warre, although with no leſſe domage redounding to the enimie than to him ſelfe at both thoſe times when he was ſo foyled at their handes.

John de Curcy conquereth Vlſter.

To eſtabliſh the conqueſt of Vlſter, and other the parties of Irelande before enioyed, Alexander the thirde of that name Biſhop of Rome, ſent a Cardinall named Viuianus to ſignifie the tytle that king Henrie had to the ſoueraigne gouernement of that lande, with a reſeruation of Peter pens to be payde to the Church of Rome, and beſide to denounce them accurſed that woulde not yeeld and ſubmit themſelues vnto the ſayd king, but ſhew themſelues rebels contrarie to their dutifull allegiance, who being as they were deſpiſers and breakers of the eccleſiaſticall Canons, yet for a colour to mainteine their vnruly miſdemeanors they had deuiſed to make Churches their barnes, filling the ſame full of their corne & graynes, that the vitaylers and purueyours of the kings campe ſhould not in any wiſe meddle with the ſame, for feare to run into the offence of ſacrilege. Therfore he licenced the kings officers in this behalf, in curteous wiſe & diſcretly to cõmune with ſuch perſõs as made the Church a ſanctuarie for their graine, and in time of neede to take thereof at reaſonable pryces. Little good did Fitz Aldelme, and leſſe was he like to do, bycauſe he went about to croſſe his Peeres, and was therewith croſſed agayne in his courſe of gouernment, wherevpon Hugh Lacie was made generall lieutenant ouer the whole Ile, vnder whõ Miles Cogan, Philip de Brewſe

Peter pens.

Churches made Barnes.

Hugh Lacie made lieutenant of Ireland

He buyldeth fortreſſes.

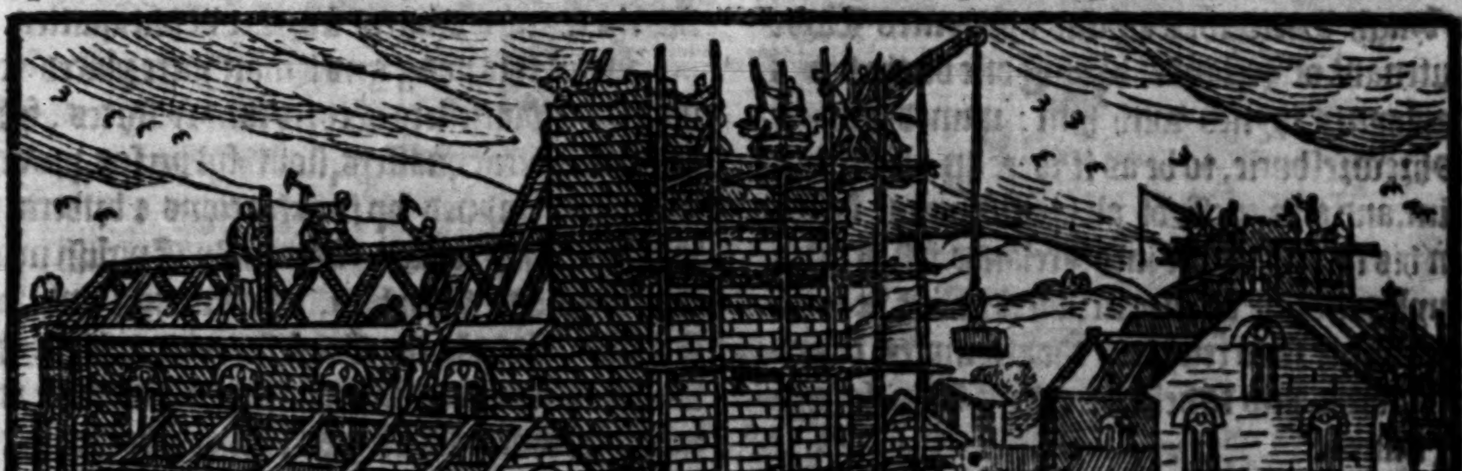
Miles Cogan and Raufe Fitz Stephans ſlayne.

Richard Cogā.

Philip de Barre.

Giraldus cambrenſis goeth into Ireland.

Fitz Stephans, Powert and diuers other were appointed to the rule of diuerſe countreys ſeuerally & apart by themſelues. Lacy builded diuerſe caſtels and fortreſſes through the cou̅treys of Leyniſter & Meth. The ſame yeare Miles Cogan & his ſonne in law Rauf Fitz Stephans, the ſonne of Robert Fitz Stephans, were ſlaine betwixt Waterforde and Liſmore by a traytor named Machtire, as they ſat abrode in the fieldes togither, ſtaying for the men of Waterforde, with whom they ſhoulde haue talked: but the traytor with other in his cōpanie came behinde them, & with their Axes ſlue them out of hand. They were appoynted to haue lodged with the ſayde Machtire the night following, as with him whome they toke to be theyr aſſured friend. And immediately hereupon, al the countreys of Deſmond and other there about, beganne to reuolte from the Engliſhe obedience after that the ſame had continued in meetely good quiet vnder the gouernment of Robert Fitz Stephans, and Miles Cogan, for the ſpace of .v. yeres but togither nowe the rebels ſtarting vp in euery corner, ſet all in a broyle, and droue Fitz Stephans to that extremitie, that he was glad to kepe him within the Citie of Corg, beſet on eche ſide by his enimies that lay rounde about him, till hys couſin Reymond came by water from Wexford with .xx. Knightes, and diuers other men of armes and archers to his ayde, by whoſe aſſyſtance the enimies were in ſundrie conflictes ouerthrowne, and partly driuen out of the Countrey, and partly reduced to their former obedience: and ſo that tempeſtuous ſtorme within a while was well calmed, and all things brought into quiet: for ſhortly after, Richard Cogan, brother to Miles Cogan, was ſent from the king of Englande, to ſucceede in rule of the Countrey in his brothers place. And ſhortly after there arriued Philip de Barre, the nephew of Fitz Stephans, aſwell to ayde his vncle as to defende his poſſeſſions of Olethan giuen to him by Fitz Stephans, and after iniuriouſly taken frō Raufe the ſon of Fitz Stephans. The ſame time Giraldus Cambrenſis, brother to the ſame Philip de Barre, and Nephewe likewyſe to Fitz Stephan, came ouer in companie with his brother to ſuruey the Countrey, the deſcription whereof, with the Hiſtorie, he afterwardes wrote, out of whom we haue gathered the moſt part of that whiche we haue written here in the beginning of this Iriſhe hiſtorie, the whiche for want of getting ſight of his booke in time, we haue bene conſtrayned to inſert confuſedly, for yͤ leyſure hath not ſerued vs to write out the copy again after we had firſt writtē it, as firſt we found it briefly cōpiled by Campion, who gathering forth brief notes, hath handſomely ioyned them togither, but omitted many things likewiſe for haſt, where otherwiſe that which he hath done in this behalf, deſerueth vndoubtedly ſingular cōmendation. But now to the matter. In this ſeaſon diuers caſtels, abbeys, & bridges were erected, & builded in Ireland. For the Engliſh & Welch nobilitie now ſetled there, ſtudied both to reduce yͤ people to ciuilitie, & likewiſe to beautify the cūtrey wͭ buildings, ſeruing both for defēce & cōmoditie.



1179 Heruey becometh a Monke.

The Abbey of Roſglas was founded about the ſame time. And the Welchman Heruey, one of the ſpeciall conquerors of Irelande, founded the Abbey of Donbrothy. And afterwards about this ſeaſon, to wit, in the yeare .1179. he renounced the world, & became a Monke in Trinity Abbey at Canterbury. In this meane while, Hugh Lacie had fenced the countreys of Meth & Leyniſter wͭ diuers caſtelles & fortreſſes which he had built, the better to bridle the Iriſh from their rebellions attempts, and with ſuch politike gouernment as he vſed to bring the people in loue with lawes, and to like of reſt and quietneſſe. The ſtate of thoſe

Countreyes whereof he had the rule, was in ſhort time brought to a perfite frame of a well ordered Prouince, for he behaued himſelfe ſo courteouſly among them that ſhewed themſelues duetifull, and hampered the other that woulde abyde no order, ſo as he was both greatly loued and feared, inſomuche at length ſome ſuſpition grewe, leaſt hee woulde haue vſurped a Kingdome to himſelfe, whereuppon John Lacie the Coneſtable of Cheſter, and Rycharde de Peche were ſent ouer into Irelande from king Henrie to take vppon them the gouernment in Hugh Lacyes rowmth, who was commaunded to returne into England to the king.

1182

They arryued in Irelande aboute the latter ende of Aprill, remayning there all the Sommer following: diuerſe Caſtelles were by them builded with the aduiſe of Hugh Lacie before he departed homewardes, as at Fothred, Dualan, at Treſteldermot, at Collacht, and ſundrye other.

Where as Meiller enioyed the Countrey of Kildare giuen to him by Earle Srangbow, they remoued him from thence into the Countrey of Leys, exchaunging with him in the Kings behalfe to haue the one for the other. And this was done of purpoſe, that he being a warrelyke perſonage, ſhoulde poſſeſſe a Countrey wylde and full of enimies, whereby to bring the rebels into ſome conformitie by force, ſith otherwiſe they were not to be tamed.

In the Winter following, the Coneſtable of Cheſter and his aſſociate returned into England, and Hugh Lacie was againe appoynted Lorde Lieutenant of Irelande, hauing one of the kings Chaplaynes ioyned with him, named Robert de Shrewreſburie, to be as it were an aſſyſtaunt to him, and a witneſſe of all his dealings. Who vpon his returne nowe into Irelande, fell in hand to buylde more Caſtelles in places where he ſawe it expedient, ſo to reſtrayne the attemptes of vnruly perſons, and to defende others from ſuſteyning iniurie.

The deſcription of Hugh Lacie.

This Hugh Lacie was a man right diligent in his buſineſſe, and carefull, and as he was an expert warriour, ſo yet was he not verie fortunate in iourneys nowe and then which he made vpon the enimyes. He was of vyſage browne, blacke eyed and hollowe, flat noſed, with his cheeke on the right ſyde diſfigured, by reaſon hee had beene burnt by chaunce in his youth, ſhort necked, his bodie hearie, but ſtrong ſinewed. And to conclude, of ſtature ſmall, and of ſhape deformed.

After the deceaſſe of his wife, he was noted to be verie diſſolute of lyfe, vſing the companie not of one but of manye Concubines, couetous to heape vppe ryches, and ambicious beyonde meaſure.

But nowe to the Hyſtorie. In the yeare laſt paſt, to witte, 1182. (or as others haue) in the yeare. 1180. dyed Laurence Archbiſhop of Dublyn, after whõ ſucceeded John Cumyn an Engliſh man, that was brought vp in the Abbey of Eueſham founder of Saint Patrikes in Dublyn, which before that time was a pariſh Church, and by him conuerted into a Colledge, with ſufficient reuenues aſſigned for the maintenaunce of parſons, vicars, clearkes and choriſters.

Contention betwixt Churches for preeminence of antiquitie.

There hath riſen great contention betwixt this and chriſts Church for antiquitie, wherin doubteleſſe (ſayth our Author) Saint Patrike ought to giue place. They are in deed both written cathedrall Churches, and both reputed the Biſhops Chapiter, in whoſe electiõ they ought to come togither in the Church of the Trinitie, commonly called Chriſts Church, which in all recordes hath the preeminẽce of place. The party diſturbing this order of election, forfeyteth to the Archebiſhop of Dublyn. 200. li. The foundation of S. Patrikes was greatly aduaunced by king John.

1183

The death of king Henrie the ſonne.

In the yeare. 1183. died king Henrie the ſonne reconciled to his father, but preparing a new war agaynſt his brother Richard Duke of Aquitaine. And ſhortly after died another of king Henries ſonnes named Geffrey Erle of Brytaine. And ſo were left Richard, and John that was after Erle of Glouceſter, ſurnamed without land, to whome the father conueyed all his intereſt and Lordeſhip of Irelande, and ſent him thither honourably accompanied, being then but. xij. yeares olde, & with him in eſpecial truſt Geraldus Cambrenſis a lerned man, and a diligent ſearcher of antiquities.

Ireland giuen to Iohn the ſonne of king Henrie.

1185

Counſellers about the lord Iohn the kings ſonne.

About this yong gentleman were placed ſeruants & Counſellers of three ſundry ſortes, fyrſt Normãs great quaffers, ſlouthful perſõs, prowd, gluttons, trayned vp in extorcions & briberie, to whom he moſt leaned. Secondly Engliſh men, that went ouer with him, bad ynough and vnſkilfull. Thirdly the Engliſhe men whiche hee founde in the land, whom being beſt worthy and moſte forwarde in all good ſeruice, hee leaſt regarded.

Hereof ſprung factions and diſdaine, ſo that the knightes whiche were moſte valiant and readieſt to doe their duetyes, were greatly diſcouraged, and the enimies in hope highly recomforted.

With the bruite of his arriual at Waterforde, the kings of Thomond, Deſmõd, and Connagh, put themſelues in order after the braueſt maner they could to meete him, and to ſubmitte theyr Countreys to his grace. Before they came the Iriſh franklins with rich preſents (and as they are verie kynde hearted where they are willing to ſhew obedience) made vnto the childe their ſoueraine Lorde, the moſt ioy and gladneſſe that might bee, and though rudely, yet louingly, and

after

The lacke of diſcretion in two of his gardo.

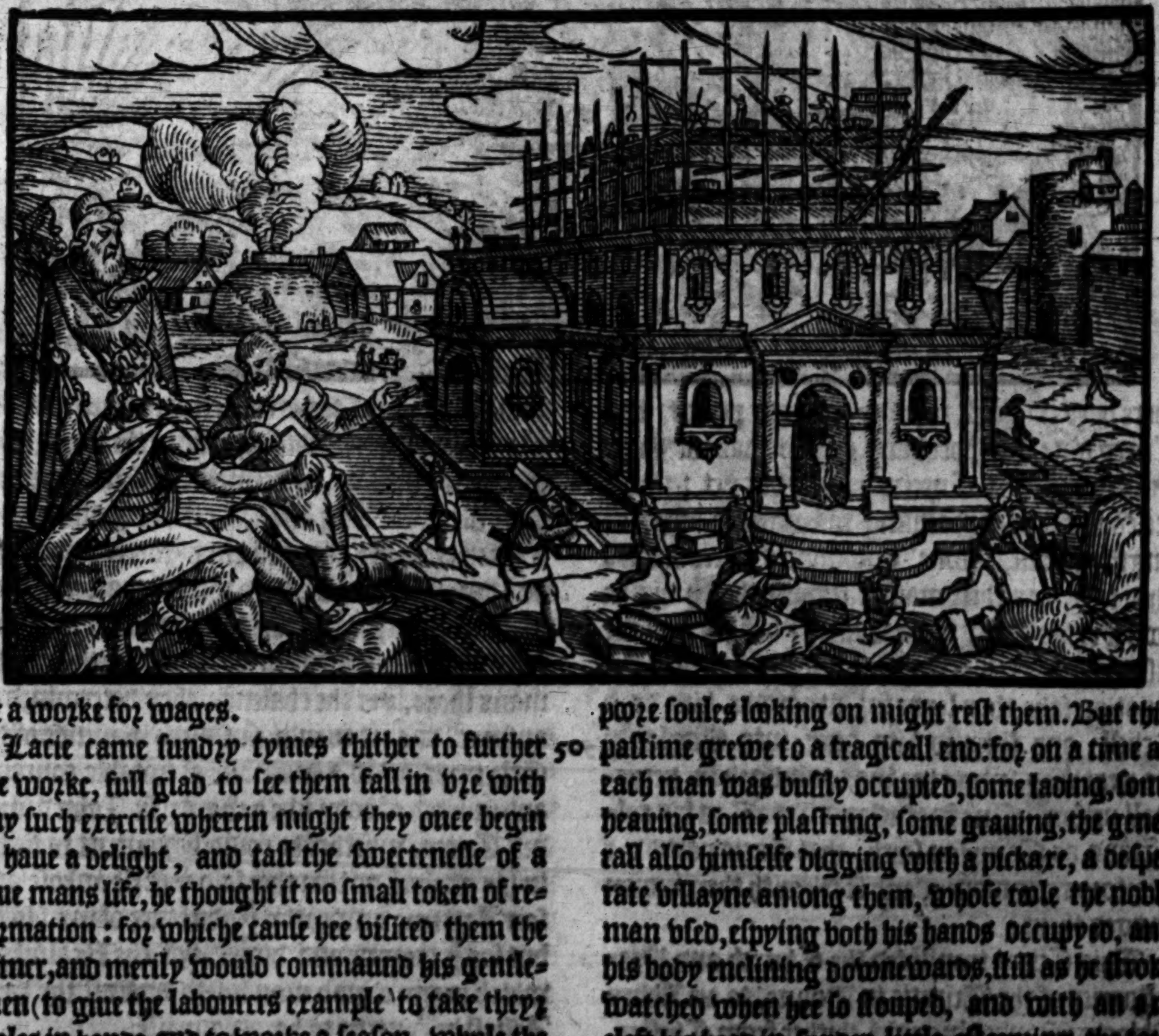
Commotious reyſed.

The Lorde Iohn returneth into Englande.

Giraldus Cambrenſis endeth his Chronicle.

A Caſtel built at Derwath.

after the vſage of their countrey offered to kiſſe him after ſuch a friendly familiaritie as they were accuſtomed to ſhewe towardes their Princes at home. Two Normans that were of the garde pikethankes, and diſdaynefull clawbackes ſhooke and put backe the Clownes very roughly, tearing them by their clibbe heads and beardes churliſhly and vnmannerly, thruſting them out of preſence, whome they ſhoulde rather haue borne with, and curteouſly inſtructed. The Iriſhmen thus miſuſed, went againſt the forenamed kings, ſhewed the rebukes and villanies done to them in recompence of their humbleneſſe and meeke demeanor, declaring playnely, that their Lorde to whome they were going to do honor, was but a boy, peeuiſh and inſolente, gouerned by a ſorte of yong flattering bribers, that ſith to them whyche were buxome and tractable, ſuch deſpite and diſhonor (for that tearme they vſed, hauing borrowed it of the Spanyardes) little good mighte the ſtates of Irelande looke for in continuance, when the Engliſh once had yoked thẽ and pawed them in their clouches. This reporte lightly alienated the mindes of thoſe princes, not yet very reſolute, and turned them with greate othes and leagues concluded among them ſelues, and cauſed alſo the mightieſt Captaynes elſewhere to ſticke togither, couenanting not to giue ouer whileſt their liues laſted for any manner earthly thing, but manfully to ſtande in defence of their auncient liberties. Immediately herevpõ, ſeditious ſturres, mutinies, and commotions were reyſed in ſundry partes, ſo that the yong gentleman and hys company were glad to referre the quieting of ſuch broyles vnto Lacie, Brews, Curcy, Fitz Gerald and others, he himſelfe returned backe into England the ſame yeere he came, leauing the Realme by a great deale in worſe plight than he found it. Thus farre Cambrenſis, and now for that which followeth: Our Authour (as he himſelfe writeth) vſed ſuche notes as were written by one Philip Flatſburie, out of a certayne nameleſſe authour, from this place vnto the yeere. 1370. and wee hauing none other helpe beſide (except only Henry of Marlebourrow,) do ſet downe that whiche wee finde in our oftmentioned authour, and in ẏ ſame Marleburgh in all the whole diſcourſe that followeth, excepte in ſome certayne particuler places, where we ſhew from whence we haue drawẽ that whiche we write as occaſion ſerueth. To proceede then with the matter where we left, Lacie the rather to meete with ſuche hurlyburlies as were like to put the ſtate of the countrey in danger if the ſame were not the ſooner broughte to quiet, erected and built a number of Caſtels in places conuenient, well and ſufficiently garniſhed with men munitions and vitayles, as one at Derwath, where diuers of the Iriſh prayed to be ſet a worke for wages.



1186

Lacy is trayterouſly ſlayn

Lacie came ſundry tymes thither to further the worke, full glad to ſee them fall in vre with any ſuch exerciſe wherein might they once begin to haue a delight, and taſt the ſweeteneſſe of a true mans life, he thought it no ſmall token of reformation: for whiche cauſe hee viſited them the oftner, and merily would commaund his gentlemen (to giue the labourers example to take theyr tooles in hande, and to worke a ſeaſon, whyle the poore ſoules looking on might reſt them. But this paſtime grewe to a tragicall end: for on a time as each man was buſily occupied, ſome lading, ſome heauing, ſome plaſtring, ſome grauing, the generall alſo himſelfe digging with a pickaxe, a deſperate villayne among them, whoſe toole the noble man vſed, eſpying both his hands occupyed, and his body enclining downewardes, ſtill as he ſtroke watched when hee ſo ſtouped, and with an axe clefte his head in ſunder, little eſteeming the torments that for this trayterous acte enſued. This Lacie was reputed to be the conqueror of Meth, for that hee was the firſte that broughte it to any due order of obedience to the Engliſhe power. His body the two Archbiſhops, Iohn of Dublin, and Mathew of Caſſeill buried in the Monaſterie of Bectie, and his head in Sainte Thomas Abbey at Dublin.

Curcy and Hugh Lacy the yonger keepe the Realme in quiet.

1199

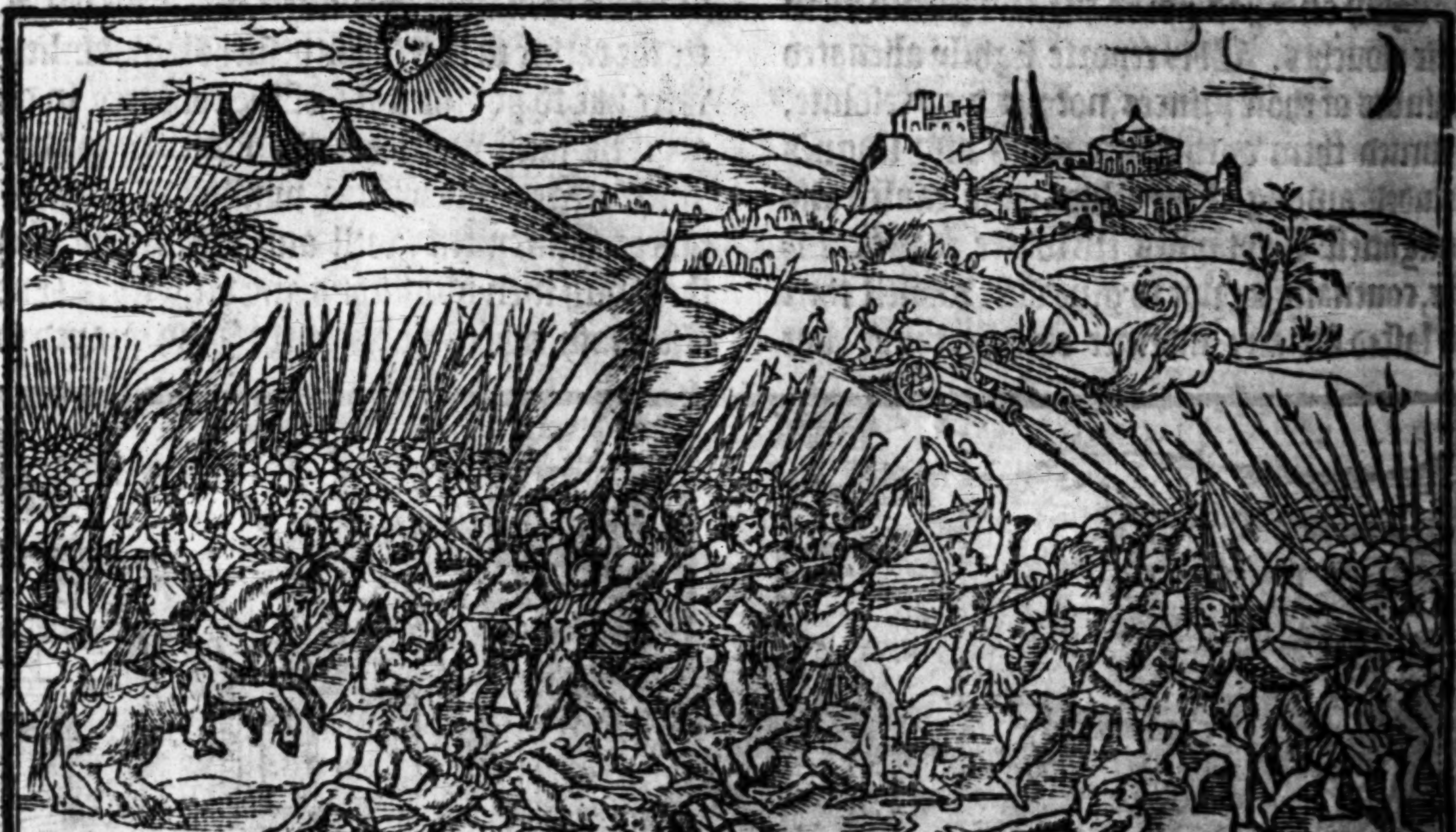
King Iohn ſlayeth his nephew Arthur.

Curcy vttereth diſpleaſant words againſt King Iohn.

He is accuſed.

He is proclaymed traytor.

By occaſion of this murder committed on the perſon of Hugh Lacie, Iohn Curcy and Hugh Lacie the yōger, with their aſſiſtants, did ſtraight execution vpon the Rebels, and preuenting euery miſchiefe ere it fell, ſtayed the Realm from vprores. Thus they knitting themſelues togither in friendſhip, continued in wealth and honor vntill the firſt yeere of King Iohns raigne, who ſucceeding his brother King Richard, tooke his nephew Arthur, ſonne to his brother Geffrey Earle of Britaine, and diſpatched him, ſome ſayde with his owne handes, bycauſe he knew what clayme he made to the Crowne, as diſcended of the elder brother, and therefore not only the French King, but alſo certayne Lordes of Englande and Ireland fauored his title, and when they vnderſtoode that he was made away, they tooke it in maruellous euil part. And Curcy either of zeale to the truth, or parcialitie, abhorring ſuch barbarous crueltie, whereof al mens eares were full, ſpake bloudy words againſt K. Iohn, whiche his lurking aduerſaries (yͭ lay ready to vndermine him) caught by yͤ end, & vſed yͤ ſame as a mean to lift him out of credit, which they did not only bring to paſſe, but alſo procured a commiſſion to attach his body, & to ſend him ouer into England. Erle Curcy miſtruſting his part, & by like getting ſome inckling of their drift, kepte himſelfe aloofe, till Hugh Lacy lorde Iuſtice was fayne to leuie an army & to inuade Ulſter, from whence he was oftētimes put backe: wherevpō he proclaimed Curcy traytor & hired ſundry gētlemē with promiſe of great recōpence, to bring him in, eyther quicke or dead. They fought once at Doune, in whiche battell, there dyed no ſmall number on both partes, but Curcy gote the vpper hand, and ſo was the Lord Iuſtice foyled at Curcies hands, but yet ſo long hee continued in practiſing to haue him, that at length Curcies owne Captaynes were inueyghed to betray their maiſter, inſomuche, yͭ vppon good Friday, whileſt the Earle out of his armour viſited barefooted certayne Religious houſes for deuotion ſake, they leyde for him, tooke him as a Rebell, and ſhipped him ouer into Englande the next way, where hee was adiudged to perpetuall priſon. One Saintleger addeth in his collections, as Campion ſaith, that Lacie payed the traytors their money, and forthwith there vppon hanged them.



He is taken.

Tranſlation of Prebendaries to Mōks.

A chalenge for a combate made by certayne French Knightes.

Curcies anſwer to king Iohn.

He taketh vpon him to defende the chalenge.

This Curcy tranſlated the Church and Prebendaries of the Trinitie in Doune, to an Abbey of blacke Monkes brought thither from Cheſter, & cauſed the ſame to be conſecrated vnto S. Patrick: for which alteration, taking the name from God to a creature, he deemed himſelfe worthily puniſhed. Not long after (as ſay the Iriſh) certain French knightes came to king Iohns court, and one among them required the combate for triall of the right to the Duchie of Normandy. It was not thought expedient to ieoperd the title vpō one mans lucke, yet the chalenge they determined to anſwer. Some friende put them in minde of the Erle impriſoned, a warriour of notable courage, and in pitch of body like a Giant. K. Iohn demāded Curcy, whether he could be content to fighte in his quarrel, not for thee ſaid yͤ Erle, whoſe perſon I eſteme vnworthy yͤ aduēture of my bloud, but for yͤ crowne and dignitie of the Realme, in which many a good man liueth againſt thy will, I ſhall be content to hazard my life.

These wordes were not conſtrued in the worſt part as proceeding from an offended mind of him that was therein eſteemed, more playne thā wiſe. Therefore being cheriſhed and muche made of, he was fedde ſo wōderfully (nowe he came to large allowaunce in dyet after harde keeping) that the Frenche chalenger tooke him for a Monſter, and fearing to deale with him, priuily ſtale away into Spayne. It is further reported, that the French King, being deſirous to ſee Curcy, requeſted K. Iohn that he might come before them, and ſhewe of what ſtrength hee was by ſtriking a blowe at an helmet. Herevpon forth he was broughte, and preſented before the Kings, where was an Helmet ſet vpon a blocke. Curcy taking a ſwoorde in his hande, and with a ſterne frowning countenance caſt vpon the Kings, gaue ſuch a ſtroke to the helmet, that cleauing it in ſunder, the ſwoorde ſticked ſo faſt in the logge, that no mā there was able to plucke it foorthe, excepte Curcy him ſelfe. When he therefore had plucked foorth the ſword, the Kings aſked him what he meant to looke vpon them with ſuch a grimme and froward coūtenance before he gaue the blowe to the helmet, he aunſwered, that if he had miſſed in his ſtroke, he would haue killed all the whole company, as well the Kings as other. Then was he releaſed of bondes, and croſſing the Seas towards Ireland whether he was bounne, was fifteene times beaten backe agayne to the Engliſhe ſhore: and going into France to change the coaſt dyed there. This Curcy was whyte of colour, mightie of limmes, with large bones and ſtrong of ſynewes, tall and broade in proportion of body, ſo as hys ſtrength was thought to exceede, of boldneſſe incomparable, and a warriour euen from his youth, the formoſt in the front of euery battell where hee came, and euer ready to hazard himſelfe in place of moſt daunger, ſo foreward in fight, that oftentimes forgetting the office of a Captaine, he toke in hande the part of a Souldiour, preſſing foorthe with the formoſt, ſo that with his ouer raſh violence, and deſire of victory, he might ſeeme to put all in daunger. But although he was thus haſtie and hote in the field againſt his enimies, yet was hee in conuerſation modeſt and ſober, and very religious, hauing Churchmen in great reuerence, aſcribing all to the goodneſſe of God, when he had atchieued any prayſeworthy enterpriſe, yeelding thankes to his diuine Maieſtie accordingly. But as ſeldome times any one man is founde perfecte in all things, ſo theſe vertues were ſpotted with ſome vices, namely too much nigardneſſe in ſparing, and inconſtancie. He maried the daughter of Godred King of Man, and after many conflictes and battayles had againſt the Iriſhe, he conquered (as before ye haue heard) the countrey of Vlſter, and building diuers ſtrong Caſtels therein, he eſtabliſhed the ſame vnder his quiet rule, and gouernement, till he and Lacy fell out as before is expreſſed.

Curcy departeth this life. The deſcription of Curcy.

After Curcies deceſſe, bicauſe he left no heires, the Earledome of Vlſter was giuen vnto Hugh Lacie, in recompence of his good ſeruice. There was one of the Curcies remayning in Irelande, that was Lorde of Rathenny and Kilbarrocke, whome (as an eſpiall of all their practiſes, and informer thereof to the Kyng Walter and Hugh, the ſonnes of Hugh Lacy ſlew, by reaſon wherof, great trouble and diſquietneſſe enſued, thoſe Lacies bearing themſelues (nowe after the deceſſe of their father) for gouernors out of checke. To ſet the Realme in quiet, King Iohn was fayne to paſſe thither himſelfe in perſon with a mayne army, baniſhed the Lacies, ſubdued the reſidue of the countrey, yet not conquered, tooke pledges, puniſhed malefactors, eſtabliſhed the execution of Engliſh lawes, coyned money of like valew currant ſterling in both Realmes.

king Iohn wēt into Ireland.

See more here of in England.

The two Lacies repenting their miſdemeanors, fledde into Fraunce diſguiſed in poore apparell, and ſerued there in an Abbey as gardiners, vntill the Abbot by their countenaunce and behauiour began to geſſe their eſtates, and apposed them ſo farre, that they diſcloſed what they were, beſeeching the Abbot to keepe their counſels, who commending their repentant humbleneſſe, aduiſed thē yet to make ſute for their princes fauor, if it mighte be hadde, promiſing to doe what he could in the matter, and ſo tooke vppon him to bee a ſutor for them vnto the King, that was his godcept and well acquainted with him. He trauelled ſo earneſtly herein, that at length he obteyned their pardons. But yet they were fined, Walter at four thouſand, and Hugh at fiue and twentie hundred markes, and herevpon, Walter was reſtored vnto yͤ Lordſhip of Meth, & Hugh, to the Earledome of Vlſter.

They fled into Fraunce.

They are pardoned and put to their fynes.

King Iohn appoynted his Lieutenauntes in Ireland, and returning home, ſubdued yͤ Welchmen, ruen, and ſoone after, with Pandulfus the Legate of Pope Innocentius the thirde, who came to releaſſe hym of the cenſure, wherein hee ſtode excommunicate, to whome as to the Popes Legate he made a perſonal ſurrēder of both Realms in way of ſubmiſſion, and after hee was once aſſoyled, he receyued them againe. Some adde, that he gaue away his kingdomes to yͤ Sea of Rome for him and his ſucceſſors, recogniſing to holde the ſame of the Popes in fee, paying yeerely therefore one thouſand markes, as ſeuen hundred for England, and three hundred for Ireland. Blondus ſaith *Centum pro vtroque auri marchias.* Sir Thomas More (as Campion ſaith) a man both in calling and office, likely to ſound the matter to the depth writeth preciſely, that neither ſuch writing the Pope can ſhew, neyther were it effectuall if he could. How farre forth, and with what limitation a Prince maye, or maye not addict hys realm feodarie to an other. John Maior a Scottiſh Chronicler, and a Sorboniſt, not vnlearned, partly ſcanneth, who thinketh. 300. markes for Ireland no very hard penyworth? The inſtrumēt (as Campion thinketh,) which our Engliſhe writers rehearſe, might haply bee mocioned and drawen, and yet not confirmed with any ſeale nor ratifyed: but though the copie of this writing remayne in record, yet certaine it is, King Johns ſucceſſors neuer payed it. After John Comin Archbiſhop of Dublin, & founder of S. Patricks Church, ſucceded Hēry Loūdoris in yͤ See, who builded yͤ Kings Caſtell there, being lord chiefe Juſtice of Ireland, him they niknamed (as the Iriſhe doe commonly giue additions to their gouernors in reſpecte of ſome fact or quality) Scorch Willein, that is, burne bill, bycauſe hee required to peruſe the writings of his tenantes, colorably pretending to learne the kinde of eache mans ſeuerall tenure, and brent the ſame before their faces, cauſing them eyther to renue their takings, or to hold at will.

An hundred markes of gold. Blondus.

John Bale in his Apologie againſt vowes.

In the yeere. 1216. King John departed thys life. In his dayes, diuers monaſteries were builte in Ireland as (beſide thoſe that before are mentioned) in the fourth yeere of his raigne, the Abbey of Dowiſh was founded, in the ſixt the Abbey of Wetherham in yͤ countie of Limerike, by Theobald le Butler Lorde of Carracky, and in the twelfth yeere, Richard Duke builded the Monaſterie of Grenard. In the dayes of Henry yͤ thirde that ſucceeded his father K. John, great warres were reyſed in Ireland betwixt Hugh Lacy and William Marſhal, ſo that the countrey of Meth was greeuouſly afflicted.

Henry the third.

Warres betwixt Lacy and Marſhall.

1228

In the yeere. 1228. after the death of Loundoris Archbiſhop of Dublin, that was Lord chiefe Juſtice, King Henry the third vnderſtanding the good ſeruice done by the Giraldines euer ſith their firſt comming into Irelande, though by wrong reportes the ſame had bin to their preiudice for a time ſiniſterly miſconſtrued, ſo as the Gentlemē had ſtill bin kept backe, and not rewarded according to their good deſertes: The King nowe enformed of the troth, made Morice Fitz Geralde, the ſonne of Morice aforeſaid, Lord chiefe iuſtice of Ireland. Lucas ſucceeded Loundoris in the Archbiſhops See, and was cōſecrated in the yere 1230.

The Geraldines.

Morice Fitz Geralde.

Lucas Archbiſhop.

1230

1234

Richarde Marſhall was taken priſoner in battell at Kildare. Some write, yͭ he was wounded there, and within fewe dayes after died of the hurt at Kilkenny, and was buried there in the quier of the Churche of the Friars Preachers, neere to the place where his brother William was enterred, who departed this life in the yeere 1231.

1241

In the yeere. 1241. Walter Lacy Lorde of Meth departed this life in Englande, he left two daughters behinde hym that were hys heires, Margaret maried to the Lord Verdon, and Mathild wife to Geffrey Genneuille. King Henry in the. xxxvj. yeere of his raigne, gaue to Edward his eldeſt ſonne, Gaſcoigne, Irelande, and the county of Cheſter.

The Lorde Verdon.

Geffrey Gēneuille.

1252

1253

In the yeere following, Hugh Lacy Earle of Vlſter departed this life, & was buried at Cragfergus, in the Church of the Friers Minors, leauing a daughter behind him, that was his heire, whome Walter de Burgh or Bourke married, and in right of hir, was created Earle of Vlſter, as after ſhall appeare.

Morice Fitz Gerald Lord Juſtice of Ireland, being requeſted by this Prince to come and aſſiſt him with a power of men againſte the Welche Rebels, left a ſufficiente garriſon of menne in the Caſtell of Scligath, which he had lately builded, and then came ouer with Phelin Ochonher, and a luſty bande of Souldiers, and meeting the Prince at Chepſtow, behaued themſelues ſo valiantly, that returning with victory, they greatly encreaſed the fauoure of the Kyng and Prince towardes them: and vppon theyr returne into Irelande, they ioyned with Cormacke Mack Dermote Mack Rory, and made a notable iourney againſte Odonil the Iriſhe enimie, that when

The Caſtell of Scligath.

Odonil.

when Lacie was once dead, inuaded and ſore anoyed the Kings ſubiectes of Vlſter. Odonil being vanquiſhed, the Lord Iuſtice forced pledges and tribute of Oneale to keepe the Kings peace, and diuers other exploytes prayſeworthy dyd he, during the time of his gouernement, as Flatſbery hath gathered in his notes, for the Lorde Gerald, Fitz Gerald, Earle of Kildare in the yeere 1517. After Morice, Fitz Gerald ſucceeded in office of Lord Iuſtice, Iohn Fitz Geffrey Knight, and after him Alayne de la Zouch, whome the Earle of Surrey Fitz Warren ſlew. And after de la Zouch, in the yeere. 1258. being the. 42. of Henry the third his raigne, was Stephan de lōg Eſpee ſent to ſupply that roome, who ſlew Oneil with. 352. of his men in the ſtreetes of Doune, & ſhortly after departed this life, then Williā Dene was made Lorde Iuſtice, & Greene Caſtell was deſtroyed. Alſo Mac Carey played the Deuill in Deſmonde.

Iohn Fitz Geffrey Lorde Iuſtice.
Alayne de la Zouch Lorde Iuſtice.
Stephan de long Eſpee.
William Dene Lord Iuſtice.
Greene Caſtel deſtroyed.
Mac Carey.

1261
Sir Richarde Capell Lorde iuſtice.
Lord Iohn Fitz Thomas ſlayne.

In the yeere. 1261. Sir William Dene Lord Iuſtice of Irelande deceaſſed, and Sir Richarde Rochell (or Capell as ſome copies haue) was ſent to be Lord Iuſtice after him, who greatly enuyed the familie of the Giraldines, during his gouernemente, the Lorde Iohn Fitz Thomas, and the Lord Morice his ſonne were ſlayne.

The Lorde iuſtice taken.

In the yere. 1264. Walter de burgh was made Earle of Vlſter, and Morice Fitz Morice tooke yͤ Lord Iuſtice of Irelād togither with Theobald Butler, Miles Cogan, and diuers other greate Lordes at Triſtildermot, on S. Nicholas day. And ſo was Irelande full of warres, betwixt the Burghes and Giraldines.

1266

In the yeere. 1266. there chanced an Earthquake in Ireland.

1267
Dauid Barry Lord iuſtice.

In the yeere following, King Henry tooke vp the variance that was in Ireland betwixt yͤ parties, and diſcharging Dene, appoyntes Dauid Barry Lord Iuſtice in his place, who tamed the inſolent dealings of Morice Fitz Morice, couſin Germane to Fitz Gerald.

1268
Robert Vffert
Richard de Exceter.
1270
1271

In the yeere. 1268. Conhur Obren was ſlaine by Dermote Mack Monerd, and Morice Fitz Gerald Earle of Deſmond, was drowned in the Sea, betwixt Wales and Ireland. And Roberte Vffort was ſente ouer to remayne Lord Iuſtice of Ireland, and Barry was diſcharged, who cōtinued till the yeere. 1269. and then was Richarde de Exciter made Lord Iuſtice. And in the yeere following, was the Lorde Iames Audley made Lord Iuſtice. Richard Verdon, and Iohn Verdon were ſlayne, and Fulke Archbiſhop of Dublin deceaſſed. Alſo the Caſtels of Aloleck, Roſcoman, and Scheligagh, were deſtroyed. The ſame yeere was a greate dearth and mortalitie in Irelande.

The Lord Audley.
Randon.

In the yere. 1272. the Lorde Iames Audley was ſlayne by a fal from his horſe in Thomond, and then was Morice Fitz Morice made Lorde Iuſtice of Irelande, and the Caſtell of Randon was deſtroyed.

The deceſſe of king Henry the thirde.
1272
Walter Genuille.

In the yeere. 1272. King Henry the thirde departed this life, and the Lorde Walter Genuille lately returned home from his iourney into the holy land, was ſent into Ireland, and made Lord Iuſtice there.

1275

In the yeere. 1275. the Caſtell of Roſcoman was eftſoones repaired and fortifyed.

1276
An ouerthrow at Glenburry.

In the yeere. 1276. there was an ouerthrowe giuen at Glenbury, where William Fitz Roger, Prior of the Knightes Hoſpitallers, & many other with him, were taken priſoners, and a greate number of other were ſlayne.

The ſame yere, Iohn de Verdon departed this world, and Thomas de Clare, married yͤ daughter of Morice Fitz Morice.

In the yeere following, Robert Vffort was appointed to ſupply yͤ roomth of Genuille, being called home, and ſo was this Vffort the ſeconde time ordeyned Lord Iuſtice of Irelande. He hauing occaſion to paſſe into Englande, made hys ſubſtitute Fulborne Biſhop of Waterford til his returne, and then reſumed the gouernemente into his owne handes agayne.

1277

In the yeere. 1277. Thomas de Clare ſlewe Obrenroth King of Tholethmund, and yet after this, the Iriſh cloſed him vp in Slewbani, togither with Maurice Fitz Maurice, ſo that they gaue hoſtages to eſcape, and the Caſtell of Roſcoman was wonne.

1278

In the yeere next enſuing, was Iohn de Derlington cōſecrated Archbiſhop of Dublin. There was alſo a Councell holden at Grenok, & Macke Dermot ſlewe Cathgur O Conthir King of Connagh.

In the yeere. 1279. Robert Vffort vpon occaſion of buſineſſe, came ouer into Englande, and left Friar Fulborne Biſhoppe of Waterforde to ſupply his roomth, and Rauſe Piphard, and O Haulan chaſed Oneil in a battell.

In the yeere. 1280. Roberte Vffort came the third time to occupie the roomth of Lorde chiefe Iuſtice in Irelande, reſuming that roomth into his hands againe.

1281

In the yeere following, the Biſhop of Waterford was eſtabliſhed by the King of England Lord Iuſtice of Irelande. Adam Cuſack yͤ yonger ſlewe William Barret, and many other in Connagh. And in the nexte yeere to witte. 1282. Penquelt ſlew Murertagh, and his brother Arte Mac Murch at Athlone. Alſo the Lorde Iames de Brimingham, and Peers de Tuyt departed this life. Alſo the Archbiſhop Derlington deceaſſed. And about the ſame time, the Citie of Dublin was defaced by fire, & the Steeple of Chriſts

Church

Chriſt Church repaired.

Donat Biſhop of Dublin.

Church vtterly deſtroyed. The Citizens before they wente about to repaire their owne priuate buildings, agreed togither to make a collection, for repayring the ruines of that auntient building firſt begun by the Danes, and continued by Citrius Prince of Dublin at the inſtaunce of Donate ſometime Biſhop of that Citie, and dedicated to the bleſſed Trinitie. At length Strangbow Erle of Pembroke, Fitz Stephans, and Laurēce, that for his vertue was called S. Laurēce Archbiſhop of Dublin, and his foure ſucceſſors, John of Eueſham, Henry Scorchbill, and Lucas, and laſt of all, John de Saint Pauls finiſhed it. This notable building, ſith the time that it was thus defaced by fire, hath bin beautifyed in diuers ſorts by many zealous Citizens. Strangbowes tombe defaced by the fall of the roofe of the Church, Sir Henry Sidney when he was Lord Deputy, reſtored, and likewiſe did coſt vpon the Earle of Kildares Chappell for an ornament to the quier, ouer the which he left alſo a monumente of Captayne Randolfe, late Coronell of the Engliſhe bandes of footemen in Vlſter that dyed there valiantly, fighting in his Princes ſeruice as after ſhall appeare.

Strangbowes tombe reſtored by Henry Sidney.

Captayne Randol.

In the yeere. 1283. Furmund, Chancellor of Ireland, and Richarde Tute departed this life, and Friar Stephan Fulborne was made Lorde Juſtice of Irelande.

1285

In the yeere. 1285. the Lorde Theobald butler fled from Dublin, and died ſhortly after, and the lord Theobald Verdon loſt his men and horſes as he went towards Offali, and the next daye Gerald Fitz Maurice was taken, and John Sāford was conſecrated Archbiſhop of Dublin.

John Samford conſecrated Archbiſhop of Dublin.

An ouerthrow at Rothode.

Norwagh and Ardſcol brent.

1286

Moreouer at Rathode, the Lord Geffrey Geneuille fled, and ſir Gerard Doget, and Rauſe Petit were ſlayne, with a great number of other.

The Norwagh & Ardſcoll with other townes and villages were brente by Philip Stanton the xvj day of Nouember, in the yeere. 1286. Alſo Calwagh was taken at Kildare.

In the yeere. 1287. diuers nobles in Irelande deceaſſed, as Richard Decetér, Gerald Fitz Morice, Thomas de Clare, Richard Taffy, and Nicolas Teling Knightes.

1288

Samfort Archbiſhop of Dublin Lorde Iuſtice.

The yeere next enſuing, deceaſſed Friar Fulborne Lord Juſtice of Ireland, and John Sāfort Archbiſhop of Dublin, was aduaunced to the roomth of Lorde Juſtice. Alſo Richard Burgh Erle of Vlſter beſieged Theobald Verdon in the Caſtell of Athlone, and came with a great power vnto Trim, by the working of Walter Lacie.

1290

In the yeere. 1290. was the chaſe or diſcomfiture of Offali, and diuers Engliſhmen ſlayne.

Alſo Mack Coghlan ſlewe O Molaghelin King of Meth, and William Burgh was diſcōfited at Deluin by Mac Coghlan.

William Veſcy Lorde Iuſtice.

The ſame yeere. 1290. William Veſcy was made Lord Juſtice of Irelande, and entred into that office on Saint Martins daye. Vnto this Juſtice, Edward Balioll King of Scotland did homage for an Erledome which he helde in Ireland, in like manner as he did to king Edwarde for the Crowne of Scotland.

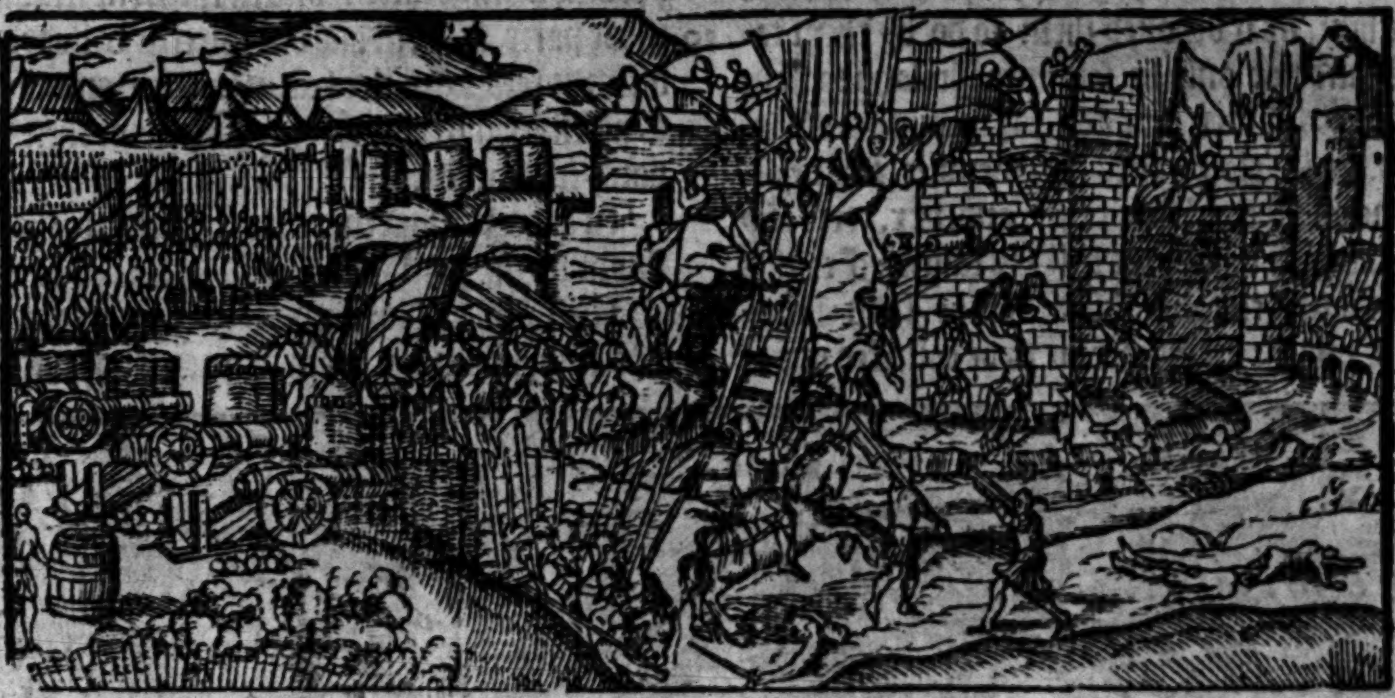
In the yere. 1292. a fiftenth was graunted to the King, of all the temporall goodes in Ireland, whileſt Veſcy was as yet Lord Juſtice.

1294

This Veſcy was a ſterne manne and full of courage, he called John Earle of Kildare before him, charging him with riots foule & miſdemeanors, for that he ranged abroade, and ſoughte reuenge vpon priuate diſpleaſures out of all order, and not for any aduauncemente of the publike wealth or ſeruice of his ſoueraigne.

The Earle of Kildare.

The Earle as impaciente to heare himſelfe touched as the Juſtice to ſuffer euill doing, anſwered thus, By your honor and mine my Lord, and by King Edwardes hand (for that was accompted no ſmall oth in thoſe dayes among the Iriſh) you would if you durſt appech me in plain tearmes of treaſon or felonie: for where I haue the title, & you the fleece of Kildare, I wote well how great an eye ſore I am in your ſight, ſo that if I might be handſomly truſſed vp for a fellone, then mighte my maſter youre ſonne become a Gentleman: a Gentlemã quoth the Iuſtice, thou proude Erle, I tell thee, the Veſcies were Gẽtlemen before Kildare was an Earledome, & before that Welch bãkrupt thy couſin, fethered hys neſt in Leyniſter. But ſeeing thou dareſt me, I will ſurely breake thy hart, and therewith he called the Earle a notorious theefe and a murderer. Then followed facing and bracing among the Souldiers, with high words, and terrible ſwearing on both ſides, vntil either parte appeaſed his owne.



The Lord Iuſtice ſhortly after, leauing his deputie William Hay, toke the ſea, and haſted ouer to yͤ King. The Earle immediatly followed, and as heynouſly as the Lorde Iuſtice accuſed him of felony, Kildare no leſſe appealed hym of treaſon. For triall hereof, yͤ Erle aſked yͤ cõbate, & Veſcy refuſed not: but yet when the liſtes were prouided, Veſcy was ſlipt away into Fraunce, & ſo diſenherited of all his lãds in yͤ countie of Kildare, which wer beſtowed vpõ yͤ Erle & his heires for euer. The Erle waxing loftie of mind in ſuch proſperous ſucceſſe, ſquared with diuers nobles, Engliſh & Iriſh of yͤ land. The ſame yeere dyed Iohn Samford Archb. of Dublin, & Iohn Fitz Thomas Earle of Kildare, & Iohn de la Mare toke priſoners, Richard Burgh Erle of Vlſter, & William Burgh within yͤ countrey of Meth, & the Caſtell of Kildare was taken, and all yͤ countrey waſted by the Engliſh on the one ſide, and the Iriſh on the other, and Calwagh brent al the Rolles and tailes concerning the recordes and accomptes of that countie. Greate dearth and death raigned in Ireland this yeere, and the two yeeres nexte enſuing. The Earle of Kildare deteyned the Earle of Vlſter priſoner, vntill by authoritie of a Parliamente holden at Kilkenny, he was deliuered out of the Caſtell of Ley, for hys two ſonnes, and for the inuaſion which the Erle of Kildare had made into Meth, and other hys vnruly and miſordred partes was diſſeyſed of the Caſtell of Sligagh, and of all his lands in Conagh.

1294

The death of the Archbiſhop Samford. The Earle of Vlſter taken priſoner.

Great dearth and death.

William Dodingſels being this yere made Lord Iuſtice of Irelande, after Veſcy dyed, in the yeere next following, that is. 1295. and. 21. of King Edwarde the firſte. After hym ſucceeded in that roomth the Lorde Thomas Fitz Maurice. In the yeere. 1296. Friar William de Bothum was conſecrated Archbiſhop of Dublin.

William Dodingſels Lord Iuſtice.

1295

Thomas Fitz Morice Lorde Iuſtice.

1296

In the yeere. 1298. and. xxvj. of Edwarde the firſt, the Lorde Thomas Fitz Maurice departed this life, and an agreement was made, betwixte the Earle of Vlſter, and the Lorde Iohn Fitz Thomas, Earle of Kildare, by Iohn Wogan that was ordeyned Lorde Iuſtice of Irelande.

1298

Record Turris.

In the yeere. 1299. William Archbiſhop of Dublin departed thys life, and Richarde de Fringis was conſecrated Archbiſhop in hys place. The King wente vnto Iohn Wogan Lorde Iuſtice, commaunding hym to gyue commonaunce vnto the nobles of Irelande, to prepare themſelues with Horſe and armour to come in theyr beſt aray, for the warre, to ſerue hym againſte the Scottes: and withall, wrote vnto the ſame Nobles, as to Richarde de Burgh Earle of Vlſter, Geffrey de Genuill, Iohn Fitz Thomas, Thomas Fitz Maurice, Theobalde Lorde Butler, Theobalde Lorde Verdon, Piers Lorde Brimingham of Thetemoy, Euſtace Lorde Power, Hugh Lorde Purcel, Iohn de Cogan, Iohn de Barry, William de Barry, Walter de Laſtice, Richarde de Exeter, Iohn Pipard, Walter Lenfante, Iohn of Oxforde, Adam de Stantoun, Symon de

Pheybe,

1299

Phepbe, William Cadell, Iohn de Uale, Maurice de Carre, George de la Roche, Maurice de Rochford, and Maurice Fitz Thomas de Kerto, commaunding them to bee with him at Withwelaun the firſt of March. Such a precept I remember I haue redde, regiſtred in a cloſe rolle among yͤ recordes of the Tower, but where Marleburrow ſayeth, that the ſayde Iohn Wogan Lord Iuſtice of Irelād, and the Lord Iohn Fitz. Thomas, with many other, came to King Edward into Scotland in the. xxix. yeare of Kyng Edwards raigne, Campion noteth it to be in the yeare.1299. which fell in the.xxvij.of the raigne of King Edward, and if my remembrance fayle me not, the cloſe rolle aforementioned beareth date of the.xxiiij.yere of King Edwards raygne: all which notes may bee true, for it is very lyke, that in thoſe warres againſt the Scottes, yͤ King ſent diuers times to the Iriſh Lordes to come to ſerue him, as it behoued them to do by theyr tenures: and not only he ſent into Ireland to haue the ſeruices of men, but alſo for prouiſion of vittayles, as in cloſe rolles I remember I haue alſo ſeene recorded of the. xxvij. and.xxx.yeere of yͤ ſayd King Edward the firſt his raigne. For this we finde in a certaine abſtract of the Iriſh Chronicles, whiche ſhoulde ſeeme to be collected out of Flatſburie, whome Campion ſo much followed, that in the yeere. 1301. the Lorde Iohn Wogan Lorde Iuſtice, Iohn Fitz Thomas, Peter Bermingham, and diuers other went into Scotland in ayde of King Edward, in whiche yeere alſo a great part of yͤ Citie of Dublin, with the Church of Saint Werburgh was brente in the nighte of the feaſt daye of Sainte Colme. Alſo the Lorde Genuille married the daughter of Iohn de Mōtfert, and the Lorde Iohn Mortimer married the daughter and heire of Peter Genuille, alſo the Lord Theobald de Uerdon, married the daughter of the Lorde Roger Mortimer. The ſame yeere in the winter ſeaſon, the Iriſhe of Leyniſter reyſed warre againſt yͤ townes of Wicklow, and Rathdon, doing muche hurte by brenning in the countrey all about, but they were chaſtiſed for their wickedneſſe, loſing the moſt part of their prouiſion and Cattell, and in the Lent ſeaſon the more parte of them had bin vtterly deſtroyed, if diſcorde and variance had not riſen among the Engliſhmen to the impeachmente of their purpoſed enterpriſes.

Chr. Pembrig.

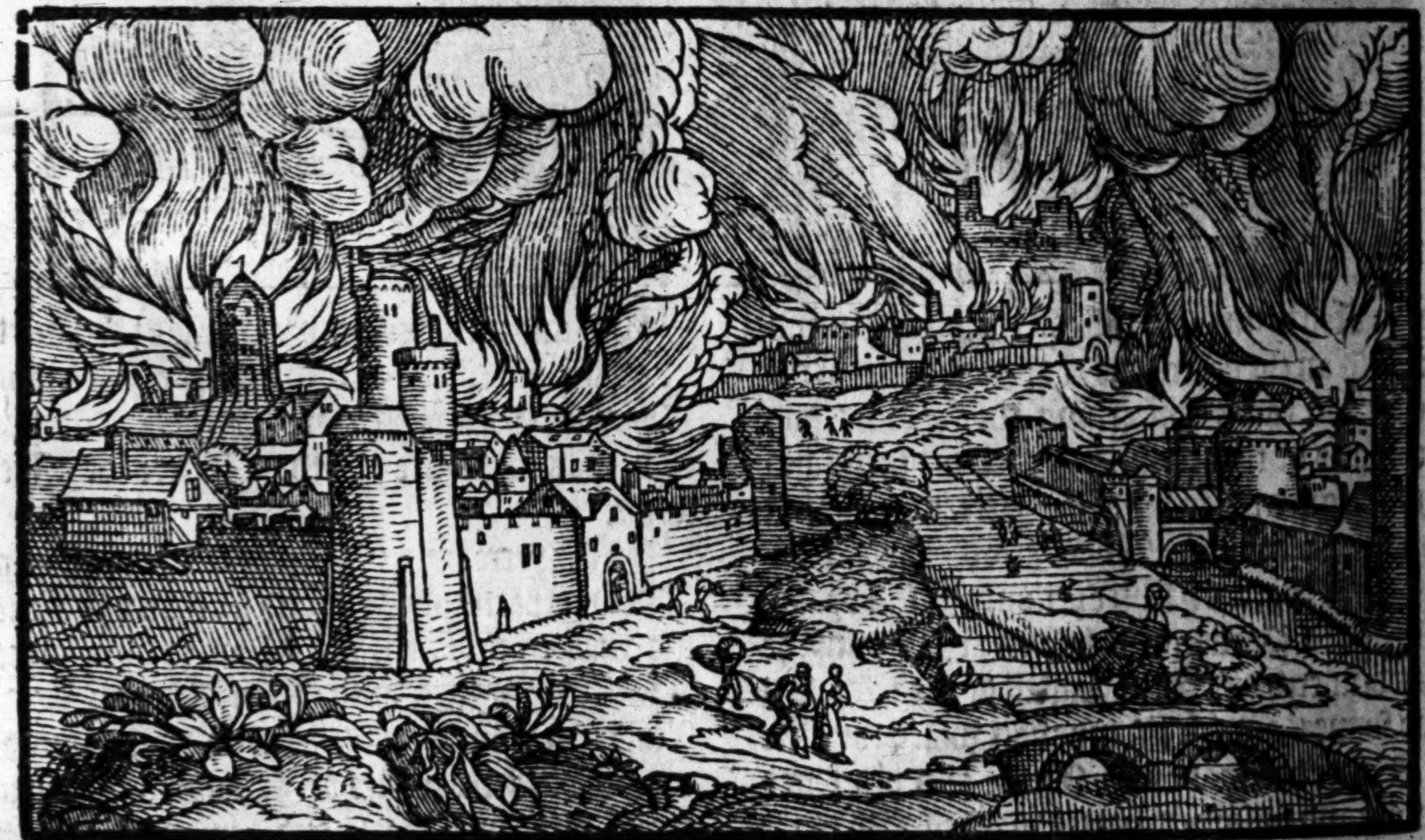
1301

Iriſhmen inuade Scotland

In harueſt, there were three hundred theeues ſlayne by the Phelanes.

Walter Power.

Alſo Walter Powir waſted a greate parte of Monſter, brenning many fermes and places in



that countrey.

1302

In the yeere.1302.Pope Boniface demaunded a tenth of all the ſpirituall liuings in Englande and Ireland, for the ſpace of three yeres, to maintaine warres in defence of the Church of Rome, againſt the King of Arragone.

1303

The Erle of Vlſter.

In the yeere.1303.the Earle of Vlſter, and Richard Burgh, and ſir Euſtace le Power, with a puiſſant Army entred Scotlād. The Earle made xxxiij.knightes at Dublin, before he ſet forward. The ſame yeere Geralde, ſonne and heire to the Lord Iohn Fitz Thomas, departed this life, and likewiſe the counteſſe of Vlſter. William de Welliſley, and Sir Roberte de Perciuall were ſlayne the.xxij.of October.

1304

In the yeere.1304.a great parte of the Citie of Dublin was brent by caſuall fire.

In the yeere next enſuing, Iordayne Comin with his complices, ſlew Maritagh Oconghuir King of Offalie, and his brother Calwagh, with diuers other within the Courte of Peeres de Birmingham at Carrick in Carbrie. Alſo, Sir Gilberte Sutton, Stewarde of Wexforde, was ſlayne by the Iriſhmen, neere to the Ferme of

Raymond

Haymond de Grace, which Haymond bare himſelfe right valiantly in that fight, and in the ende through his great manhoode eſcaped.

1306

A diſcōfiture at Ofalie.

In the yeere.1306.a great ſlaughter was made in Offalie neere to the Caſtell of Geſchil, the thirteenth day of Aprill vpon Oconchur and his friends by the Odempcies, in whiche place were ſlayne a great number of men. Alſo Obren king of Thomond was ſlayne. Moreouer, Donalde Oge Maccarthy ſlewe Donald Ruſſe King of Deſſemond, and vpon the twelfth of May in the confines of Meth, a great ouerthrow chanced to ẏ ſide of the Lord Peers Butler, and Balymore in Leyniſter was brent by the Iriſh, where Henry Calfe was ſlayne at that preſent time.

Balimore brent.

Warres in Leyniſter.

Hereof folowed great warres betwixt ẏ Engliſh and Iriſh in Leyniſter, ſo that a great army was called togither forth of diuers partes of Ireland, to reſtrayne the malice of the Iriſh in Leyniſter, in which iourney, Sir Thomas Mandeuill Knight entred into a conflict with the Iriſh neere to Glenfell, in the whiche he bare hymſelfe right manfully, till his Horſe was ſlayne vnder him, and yet then to his greate prayſe and hyghe commendation, he ſaued both himſelfe and many of his company

The Lorde Chancellor conſecrated Biſhop of Imaley.

The Lord Chancellor of Irelande, Thomas Caucocke, was conſecrated Biſhop of Imaley, within the Trinitie Churche at Dublin, and kept ſuch a feaſt, as the like had not lightly bene ſeene, nor heard of before that time in Ireland, firſt to the Rich, and after to the poore.

The Archbiſhop of Dublin deceaſſed

Richarde Flerings Archbiſhop of Dublin deceaſſed on the euen of Saint Luke the Euangeliſt, to whom ſucceeded Richard de Haucrings, who after he had continued in that Sea about a fiue yeeres, reſigned it ouer by diſpenſation obteined from Rome, and then his Nephewe John Leech was admitted Archbiſhop there.

1307

In the yeere.1307. the firſt of Aprill Murcod Ballagh was beheaded neere to Merton by Sir Dauid Caunton Knight, and ſhortly after was Adam Daun ſlaine.

A diſcomfiture in Connagh.

Alſo, a greate diſcomfiture and ſlaughter fell vpon ẏ Engliſhmen in Connagh by ẏ Oſcheles the firſt day of May, and the robbers that dwelte in ẏ parties of Offaili, raſed ẏ Caſtel of Geiſchell, and in the vigil of the tranſlatiō of Thomas Becket, being ẏ ſixth of July, they brent ẏ towne of Ley, and beſieged the Caſtell: but they were conſtreyned to depart from thēce ſhortly after, by John Fitz Thomas & Edmond Butler ẏ came to remoue that ſiege.

1308

In the yere.1308. King Edward ẏ firſt departed this life the ſeueth of July.

¶ Edwarde the ſeconde.

1308

The order of the Templers ſuppreſſed.

RIchard Archbiſhop of Dublin, after he hadde gouerned that Sea the ſpace of fiue yeeres, by reaſon of a viſion that he ſawe in his ſleepe, feeling himſelfe troubled in conſcience, with conſideration of that dreame, reſigned the nexte morrow al his title to the Archbiſhops dignitie (as before ye haue hearde) and contented himſelfe with other eccleſiaſticall benefices, as ſeemed conuenient to his eſtate. This yeere by vertue of letters directed from the Pope to the K. of England, hee cauſed al the templers as wel in Englãd as Ireland, to be apprehended, & committed to ſafekeeping. The profeſſion of theſe templers beganne at Ieruſalem, by certayn Gentlemen yͭ remained in an Hoſtell neere to the Temple, who til yͤ counſel of Trois in France, were not increaſed aboue the number of. 9. but frõ that time forth, in little more than fiftie yeeres, by the zealous contributiõ of al Chriſtian Realmes, they had houſes erected euery where, with liuings bountifully aſſigned to yͤ ſame for their maintenance, in ſo much, as they were augmented vnto the number of three hundred, that were Knightes of that order, beſide inferiour brethrẽ innumerable: but now with welth they ſo forgot themſelues, that they nothing leſſe regarded, than the purpoſe of their foundatiõ: and withal being accuſed of horrible hereſies (whether in all things iuſtly or otherwiſe the Lorde knoweth) they were in the counſel at Lions in Frãce condemned, and their liuings tranſpoſed to the knights Hoſpitalers, otherwiſe called yͤ Knights of the Rodes, and nowe of Malta. The manner of their apprehenſion and committing was ſuddayne, and ſo generally in all places vppon one day, that they had no time to ſhift for thẽſelues. For firſt, the King ſente forth a precept to euery Sherife within the Realme of Englande, commaunding them within each of their rowmths to cauſe a preſcribed number of Knightes, or rather ſuch men of credite, on whoſe fidelities he mighte aſſure himſelfe, to aſſemble at a certayne towne, named in the ſame writte, the Sunday next after the Epiphany, and that each of the ſame Sherifes failed not to bee there the ſame day to execute all that ſhoulde be enioyned them by any other writte, then and there to be deliuered. The Sherife of Yorke was commaunded to gyue ſommonance to. 24. ſuch Knightes, or other ſufficient men, to meete him at Yorke. The Sherife of Norfolke and Suffolke, was appoynted to ſommone twentie to meete him at Thetford, the other Sherifes were appoynted to call to them ſome tenne, ſome twelue, or ſome fourteene, to meete them at ſuch Townes as in their writtes were named. The date of this writte was, from Weſtminſter the fifteenth of December, in the firſte yeere of thys King Edwarde the ſecondes raigne: the other writte was ſent by a Chapleyne authorized both to deliuer the ſame writte, and to take an othe of the Sherife, that he ſhould not diſcloſe the contentes, till he had put the ſame in execution, which was, to attache by aſſiſtance of thoſe aforementioned Knightes, or as many of them as he thought expedient to vſe, al the templers within the precinct of hys rowmth, and to ſeaze all their landes, goodes, and Cattells, into the Kings handes, and to cauſe an Inuentarie of the ſame indented be made in preſence of the Warden of the place, whether he were Knighte of the order, or any other, and in preſence of other honeſt men neyghbours thereaboutes, keeping the one counterpane with himſelfe, ſealed with hys ſeale that made the ſeazure, and leauing the other in the hands of the ſayde Warden: and further to ſee the ſame goodes and Cattels to bee put in ſafekeeping, and to prouide that the quicke goodes mighte be well kept and looked vnto, and the groundes manured to the moſt profit, and to cauſe the bodies of the templers attached, to be ſo deteyned in al ſafetie, as that they be not yet cõmitted to Irons nor to ſtreyght priſon, but to remayne in ſome conuenient place other than their owne houſes, and to be found of the goods ſo ſeazed, accordingly as falleth for their eſtates, till he haue otherwiſe in commaundemente from the King: and what is done herein, to certifie into the Eſcheker the morrowe after the Purification. The date of this ſeconde writte was, from Biſlet the twentith of December. There was lykewiſe a writte directed to Iohn Wogan, Lorde Iuſtice of Irelande, ſignifying vnto him what ſhould be done in England, touching the apprehẽſion of the Templers, and ſeazure of their lãds and goodes, commaunding him to proceede in ſemblable manner againſt them in Irelande: but the day and place when the Sherifes ſhould there aſſemble, was lefte to the diſcretion of the ſayde Iuſtice and Treaſorer of the Eſcheker there, but ſo as the ſame might be done, before any rumour of this thing coulde be brought ouer out of England thither. Alſo a like commaundemente was ſent vnto Iohn de Britaigne Erle of Richmõd, Lorde Warden of Scotlande, and to Euſtace Coteſbache Chamberlayne of Scotland: Alſo to Walter de Pederton Lorde Iuſtice of Weſt Wales, to Hugh Aldigheleygh, Alias Audeley Lord Iuſtice of North Wales, and to Roberte Holland Lord Iuſtice of Cheſter. Thus muche for the Templers. But now to other doings in Irelande. In the yeere. 1308. the. xij. of April, deceaſſed Peter de Birmingham a noble warriour, and one that had bin no ſmall ſcourge to the Iriſh. The eleuenth of May, the Caſtell of Kennun was brente, and dyuers of them that hadde it in keeping were ſlayne by William

1308

This Macbalther was after hanged at Dublin. The Lord Iuſtice diſconfited. 1308

Macbalther, and other of the Iriſhe, and likewiſe the towne of Courcouly was brente by the ſame malefactors. And the ſixth of June, John Lorde Wogan Lorde Juſtice was diſcomfited neere to Glindelorie, where John de Saint Hogelin, John Morton, John Breton, and many other were ſlayne.

The ſixteenth of June, Dunlouan, Tobir, and many other Townes were brent by the Iriſh Rebels.

John Decer Maior of Dublin.

About thys ſeaſon, John Decer Maior of Dublin builded the highe Pipe there, and the bridge ouer the Liffie towardes Saint Wlſtons, and a Chappell of our Ladie at the Friers Minors, where he was buried, repaired the Churche of the Friers Preachers, and euery Friday tabled the Friers at his owne coaſtes.

Burgh.

Piers Gaueſton ſent into Irelande.

John Wogan hauing occaſion to paſſe into England, William Burgh ſupplied his roomth, vnto whome Kyng Edwarde recommended Peers de Gaueſton, when contrary to the kings minde he was baniſhed by the Lordes of Englande, and about the Natiuitie of oure Lady, hee came ouer into Irelande, beeyng ſente thyther by the King with many Jewels, and beſide the letters which he brought of recommendation from the King, he had aſſigned to him the commodities royall of that Realme, whiche bredde ſome trouble and bickerings there, betwixte Richarde Burgh Earle of Ulſter, and the ſayd Gaueſton, who notwithſtanding bought the good willes of the Souldiers with his liberalitie, ſlew Dermot Odempcy, ſubdued Obren, edifyed ſundry Caſtels, Cauſeys, and bridges, but the next yeere, he was reuoked home by the King, as in the hiſtory of England it may appeare.

Lord Roger Mortimer.

In the vigill of Simon and Jude, the Lorde Roger Mortimer landed in Irelande with hys wife, righte heire to the Seigneurie of Meth, as daughter to Piers Geniuille, that was ſonne vnto the Lord Geffrey Geniuille, whiche Geffrey became a Frier at Trym of the order of ẏ Preachers: by reaſon whereof, the Lorde Mortimer and his wife entred into poſſeſſion of the landes of Meth. In the yeere. 1309. on Candlemas day, the Lorde John Bonneuill was ſlayne neere to the towne of Ardſcoll, by the Lorde Arnold Power, and his complices, his body was buried at Athy in the Church of the Friers Preachers. In the yeere following, at a Parliamente holden at Kildare, the Lord Arnold Power was acquit of that ſlaughter, for that it was prooued it was done in his owne defence.

1309

Lord John Bonneuille ſlayne.

1310

1311

A Parliament at Kelkenny.

In the yeere. 1311. or (as ſome bookes haue) the yeere. 1209. John Wogan Lord Juſtice ſummoned a Parliamente at Kilkenny, where dyuers wholeſome lawes were ordeyned, but neuer executed. There fell the Biſhops in contention about their iuriſdictions, namely, the Biſhop of Dublin forbade the Primate of Ardmagh to reyſe his croſier within the prouince of Leynſter.

Campion.

Shortly after, Rowland Joice the Primate ſtele by night in his Pontificals, from Howthe, to the Priory of Grace dieu, where the Biſhops ſeruants met him, and with force chaſed him out of the dioceſſe. This Biſhop was named John Leckes, and was conſecrated not long before hee kept this ſturre.

Sir Richarde de Clare.

John Lacy ſlayne.

Richard Earle of Ulſter with a greate armie came to Bonrath in Thotmond, where Sir Roberte or rather ſir Richard de Clare diſcomfited his power, tooke Sir William de Burgh priſoner, or (as ſome bookes haue) the Earle himſelfe. John Lacie the ſonne of Walter Lacie, & diuers other were ſlayne. The .xj. of Nouember this yeere Richard de Clare ſlewe .600. of the Galagheghes, & John Macgoghtan was ſlaine by

Omolmoy. Alſo Donat Obrene was murthered by his owne men in Tothemonde.

1312

Robert Verdō reyſeth a riotous tumulte.

Iohn Wogan Lord iuſtice.

The one and twentie of Februarie, beganne a riot in Vrgile, by Roberte Verdon, for the appeaſing whereof, an Army was ledde thither by Iohn Wogan Lord chiefe Iuſtice, in the beginning of Iuly, but the ſame was diſcomfited, and diuers men of accompt ſlayne, as Sir Nicholas Auenell, Patricke de Roch, and other. At length, yet the ſayde Roberte Verdon, and many of hys complices came, and ſubmitted themſelues to priſon, within the Caſtell of Dublin, abidyng there the Kings mercie.

The Lord Edmond Butler was made deputie Iuſtice vnder the Lorde Iohn Wogan, who in the lent next enſuing, beſieged the Obrenes in Glindelowe, and compelled them to yeelde themſelues to the Kings peace.

Alſo in the yeere aboueſayde. 1312. Maurice Fitz Thomas married the Ladye Katherine, daughter to the Earle of Vlſter, at Greene Caſtell, and Thomas Fitz Iohn married an other of the ſayd Earles daughters in the ſame place, but not on the ſame day: for the firſt of thoſe two marriages was celebrated the morrow after S. Dominikes day, and this ſeconde marriage was kept the morrow after the feaſt of the aſſumption of our Lady.

Alſo Robert de Bruce ouerthrew the Caſtell of Man, and tooke the Lorde Donegan Odowil on Saint Barnabies day.

1313

Campion.

In the yeere. 1313. Iohn a Leekes Archbiſhop of Dublin departed this life. After whoſe deceaſe were elected in ſciſme and deuiſion of ſides two Succeſſors, Walter Thorneburie Lord Chancellor, and Alexander Bignor Treſurer of Ireland. The Chancellor to ſtrengthen his election, haſtily went to ſea, and togither with. 156. other perſons periſhed by Shipwracke.

The other ſubmitting his cauſe to the proces of lawe, tarried at home and ſpedde.

The Earle of Vlſters ſonne and heire deceaſſeth.

Moreouer, the Lorde Iohn de Burgh, ſonne and heire vnto the Earle of Vlſter, deceaſſed at Galby on the feaſt day of Sainte Marcell and Marcellian.

1314

Alſo the Lord Edmond Butler created. xxx. Knightes in the Caſtell of Dublin, on Sainte Michaels day, being Sunday. The Knightes Hoſpitallers or of Sainte Iohns as they were called, were inueſted in the lãds of the Templers in Ireland.

The ſame yeere was the Lorde Theobalde Verdon ſent Lord Iuſtice into Irelande.

1315

Edward Bruce inuadeth Irelande.

Captaynes of name with Bruce.

Dundalke taken and brent

Edmonde Butler Lord iuſtice.

In the ninth yeere of King Edwards raigne, Edward Bruce, brother to Robert Bruce King of Scottes, entred the Northe part of Irelande with ſixe thouſand men. There were with hym diuers Captaynes of high renowne among the Scottiſhe Nation, of whome the chiefe were theſe, the Earles of Murrey and Menteth, the Lord Iohn Stewarde, the Lord Iohn Cambell, the Lorde Thomas Randolfe, Fergus de Andreſſan, Iohn Wood, and Iohn Biſſet. They landed neere to Crag Fergus in Vlſter the fiue and twentith of May, and ioyning with the Iriſh, conquered the Earledome of Vlſter, and gaue yͤ Engliſh there diuers great ouerthrowes, tooke the towne of Dundalke, ſpoyled and brente it, with a greate parte of Vrgile: they brente Churches and Abbeyes, with the people whome they founde in the ſame, ſparing neyther manne, woman nor childe. Then was the Lord Edmonde Butler choſen Lorde Iuſtice, who made the Earle of Vlſter and yͤ Giraldines friends, and reconciled himſelfe with Sir Iohn Mandeuill, thus ſeeking to preſerue the reſidue of the Realme which Edwarde Bruce meant wholly to conquere, hauing cauſed himſelfe to be crowned K. of Ireland. The Lord Juſtice aſſembled a great power out of Mounſter and Leyniſter, and other parties thereaboutes, and the Earle of Ulſter with an other armie came vnto him neere vnto Dundalke, where they conſulted togyther how to deale in defending the countrey agaynſte the enimies: but hearing the Scottes were withdrawen backe, the Erle of Ulſter followed them, and fighting with them at Coyners, hee loſt the fielde.

There were many ſlayne on both partes, and William de Burgh the Earles brother, Sir John Mandeuill, and Sir Alane Fitz Alane were taken priſoners. Heerewith the Iriſhe of Connagh and Meth began forthwith to rebell againſt the Engliſhmen, and brente the Caſtell of Athlon and Randon. And the Bruce comming forwarde, brente Kenlis in Meth, and Granard, alſo Finnagh and New Caſtell, and kept his Chriſtmas at Loghſudy. From thence he went through the Countrey vnto Rathymegan and Kildare, to the parties about Triſteldermot and Athie, then to Raban and Sketlier nere to Ardſcoll in Leyniſter, where the Lord Juſtice Butler, the Lord John Fitz Thomas, the Lorde Arnold Power and other the Lords and Gentlemen of Leyniſter and Mounſter came to encoũter the Bruce: but through diſcorde that roſe among them, they left the field vnto the enimies, Sir William Prendergaſt Knighte, and Haymond le Grace a righte valiaunte Eſquire were ſlayne there. And on the Scottiſhe ſide, Sir Fergus Andreſſan, and Sir Walter Morrey, with diuers other that were buried in the Churche of the Friers Preachers at Athy. After this, the Bruce in his returne towardes Meth, brente the Caſtell of Ley, and ſo paſſed forthe till hee came to Kenlys in Meth. In which meane time, Roger Lorde Mortimer, truſting to winne hymſelf fame if he might ouerthrow the enimies, called forthe fifteene M. men, and vnderſtanding ẏ the Scottes were come to Kenlys, made thytherwards, and there encountring with them, was put to the worſe, his men (as was ſuppoſed) wilfully ſhrinking from him, as thoſe that bare him hollow hartes. With the newes of this ouerthrowe, vpſtart the Iriſh of Monſter, the Otowlies, Obriencs, Omores, and with fire & ſworde waſted all from Arclowe to Leix. With them coped the Lorde Juſtice, and made of them a great ſlaughter. 80. of their heades were ſente to the Caſtell of Dublin.

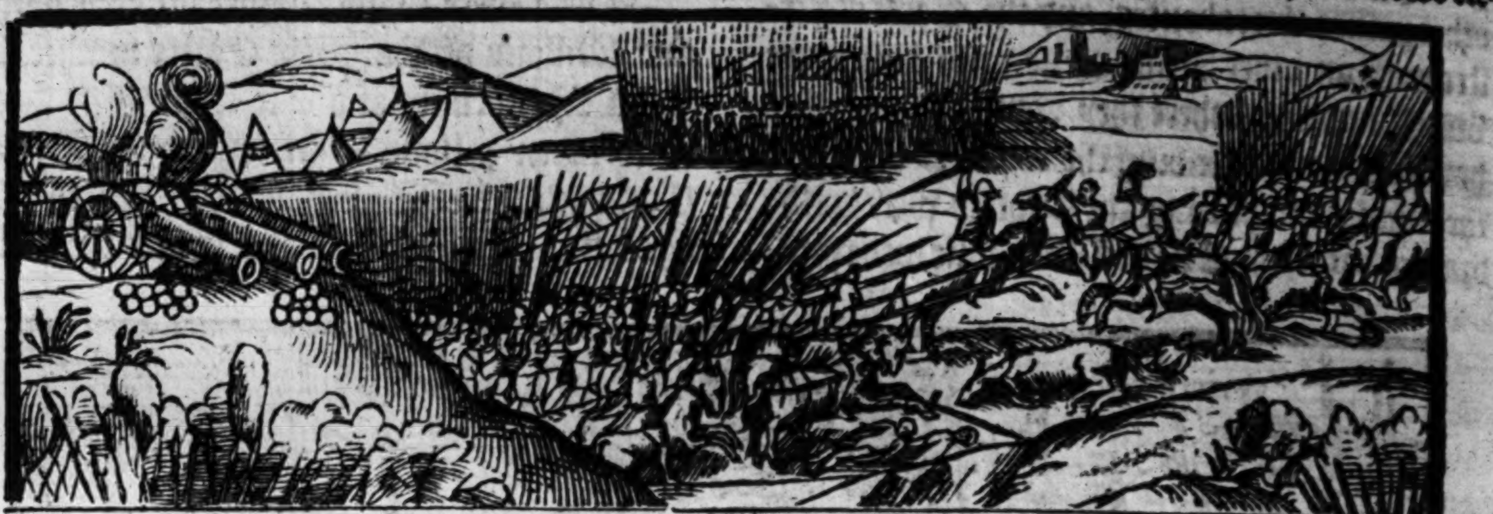
The Lorde Mortimer diſcomfited by the Scots.

In time of theſe troubles and warres in Irelande by the inuaſion thus of the Scottes, certayne Iriſhe Lordes, faithfull men and true ſubiects to the King of England, did not only promiſe to continue in their loyall obeyſance towards him, beeing their ſoueraigne Prince, but alſo for more aſſurance, deliuered hoſtages to bee kept within the Caſtell of Dublin. The names of whiche Lordes that were ſo contented to aſſure their allegiance were theſe, John Fitz Thomas Lord of Offalie, Richard de Clare, Morice Fitz Thomas, Thomas Fitz John le Power Baron of Donoille, Arnolde le Power, Morice de Rochfort, Dauid de la Roche, and Miles de la Roche. Theſe and dyuers other reſiſted with all their might and mayne the iniurious attempts of the Scottes, although the Scots had drawen to their ſide, the moſt parte of the wilde Iriſh, and no ſmall number alſo of the Engliſhe Iriſhe, as well Lordes, as other of meaner calling, ſo that the countrey was miſerably afflicted, what by the Scottes on the one parte, and the Iriſh Rebels on the other, which Rebels notwithſtandyng were ouerthrowen in diuers par-

Aſſurance giuen by the Lords of Irelande for their loyaltie.

ticuler conflicts. But yet to the further ſcattering of the Engliſh forces in Irelande, there roſe foure Princes of Connagh, but the Burghes and Birminghams diſcomfyted them, and ſlewe ele-

A great ouerthrowe.



uen M. of thē beſide Athenri. Amōgſt other were ſlayne in this battell Fedelmicus, Oconghur King of Connagh, Okelly, & diuers other greate Lordes and Captaynes of Connagh and Meth.

The King of Connagh ſlayne.

The Lord Richarde Birmingham had an Eſquire that belonged to him called John Huſey, whome by commaundemente of his maiſter, went forthe to take view of the dead bodies, and to bring him worde, whether Okelli his mortall foe were ſlayne among the reſidue. Huſſey comming into the fielde with one man to turne vp and ſuruey the dead carcaſſes, was ſtraight eſpyed by Okelli, that lay lurking in a brake buſhe thereby, who hauing had good proofe of Huſſey his valiancie afore that time, lōged ſore to traine him from his Captayne, and preſuming nowe vpon this good oportunitie, diſcouered hymſelfe, not doubting, but eyther to winne him with curteous perſwaſions, or by force to worke hys will of hym, and ſo comming to him, ſayde: Huſſey, thou ſeeſt I am at all poyntes armed, and haue my Squire here likewiſe furniſhed with Armour and weapon, ready at myne elbow, thou arte naked with thy Page, a yongling, and not to bee accōpted of, ſo that if I loued not thee, and ment to ſpare thee for thyne owne ſake, I might nowe do with thee what I would, and ſlea thee for thy maſters ſake, but come and ſerue me vpon thys requeſt heere made to thee, and I promiſe thee by Sainte Patricks ſtaffe, to make thee a Lorde in Connagh of more poſſeſſions, than thy maiſter hath in Irelande. When theſe wordes mighte nothing way him, his owne man (a great ſtoute lubber) beganne to reproue hym of follie, for not conſenting to ſo large an offer, which was aſſured with an oth, whereupon he durſt guage hys ſoule for performance. Now had Huſſey three enimies, and firſt therefore turning to his knaue, he diſpatched him, next he raught vnto Okellyes Eſquire ſuch a knocke vnder the pitte of the eare, that downe he came to the grounde, and there hee laye. Thirdly, he layd ſo about hym, that ere any help coulde be looked for, he had alſo ſlaine Okelly, and perceyuing the Eſquire to be but aſtonied he recouered him, and holp him vp againe, and after he was ſomewhat come to hymſelfe, he forced hym vpō a troncheō, to beare his Lords head into the high towne before him, who did ſo, and Huſſey preſented it to Brimingham, who after the circumſtaunces declared, hee dubbed Huſſey Knight, aduauncing him to many preferments. The ſucceſſors of that familie afterwardes were Barons of Galtrim. Sir Thomas Mandeuill and other in this meane while made oftentymes enterpriſes againſt the Scottes, and ſlew diuers of them in ſundry conflictes. But howſoeuer it chanced, wee fynde recorded by Henry Marlebugh, that eyther the ſayd Sir Thomas Mandeuill (that thus valiantly behaued hymſelfe againſt the Scottes) or ſome other bearing the ſame name, and his brother alſo called John Mandeuill were both ſlayne ſhortly after at Downe vppon their comming forthe of Englande, by the Scottes that were readye there to aſſayle them.

Okelly ſlaine.

Sir Thomas Mandeuill ſlayne.

Thus may wee ſee, that thoſe Lordes and Knightes, whiche had giuen pledges for theyr loyaltie to the King of Englande, ſought by all wayes and meanes howe to beate backe the enimies, whiche they mighte haue done with more eaſe, if the Iriſh had not aſſiſted the Scottes, and preſuming of theyr ayde, rebelled in ſundry parts of the countrey, who neuertheleſſe, were oftentimes well chaſtiſed for their diſloyall dealings, as partly we haue touched, although wee omitte diuers ſmall ouerthrowes and other particuler matters, ſith otherwiſe wee ſhould encreaſe thys Booke further than our firſte purpoſed intente woulde permitte.

Campion. 1316

Whileſt the Scottes were thus holden vp in Irelande that they could not in all things worke theyr willes, Roberte le Brews King of Scots came ouer himſelfe, landed at Cragfergus to the ayde of his brother, whoſe Souldiers moſt wickedly entred into Churches, ſpoyling and defacing the ſame of all ſuche tombes, monumentes, plate, Copes, and other ornamentes whiche they founde, and myghte lay handes vppon.

The King of Scottes in Irelande.

The Caſtell of Cragfergus, after it had bene ſtraightly

Cragfergus deliuered vp to the Scottes.

ſtraightly beſeeged a long time, was ſurrendred to the Scottes, by them that had kept it, till they for want of other vittayles were driuen to eate lether, and eyght Scottes (as ſome write) whiche they had taken priſoners.

Men eaten.

The Lorde Thomas, ſonne to the Earle of Vlſter departed this life.

John Fitz Thomas the firſt, Earle of Kildare deceaſſeth.

And on the Sunday next after yͤ Natiuitie of our Lady, yͤ Lord John Fitz Thomas deceaſſed at Laragh Brine neere to Maynoth, & was buried at Kildare, in the Church of yͤ Friers Preachers. This John Fitz Thomas, a little before his deathe, was created Earle of Kildare, after whome ſucceded his ſonne Thomas Fitz John a right wiſe and prudent perſonage.

The fourteenth of September, Conhor Mackele, and fiue hundred Iriſhmen were ſlayne by the Lord William de Burgh, and Lord Richard Birmingham in Connagh. Alſo on yͤ Monday after the feaſt of all Saintes, John Loggan and Sir Hugh Biſſet ſlewe a great nũber of Scots, among the whiche were. 100. with double armours, and. 200. with ſingle armours: ſo that of their men of armes, there dyed three hundred beſide footemen.

Scottes ouerthrowen.

The fifteenth of Nouember chanced a mighty tempeſt of wynde and rayne, whiche threwe downe many houſes, with the Steeple of the Trinitie Church in Dublin, and did much other hurt both by land and water.

A great tẽpeſt.

The fifth of December, Sir Alane Stewarde that had bin taken priſoner in Vlſter by John Loggan, and Sir John Sandale, was brought to the Caſtell of Dublin.

1317

After Candlemas, the Lacies came to Dublin, and procured an inqueſt to be impanelled to inquire of their demeanor, for that they were accuſed to haue procured the Scottes to come into Irelande: but by that inqueſt they were diſcharged, and therewith tooke an oth to keepe the kings peace, and to deſtroy the Scots to the vttermoſt of theyr power.

In the beginning of Lent, the Scottes came in ſecret wiſe vnto Slane, with twẽtie thouſand armed mẽ: and with them came the army of Vlſter, deſtroying all the countrey before them.

Moreouer, on Monday before the Feaſt of S. Mathias the Apoſtle, the Earle of Vlſter lying in the Abbey of Sainte Mary neere to Dublin, Robert Notingham Maire of that Citie, with the communaltie of the ſame went thither, tooke the Earle, and put him in priſon within the Caſtell of Dublin, ſlew. vij. of his men, and ſpoyled the Abbey.

The Earle of Vlſter apprehended.

The ſame weeke, Edwarde Bruce marched towardes Dublin, but heerewith, turning to the Caſtell of Cnocke, he entred the ſame, and tooke Hugh Tyrrell the Lorde therof, togither with his wife, and raunſommed them for a ſumme of money. The Citizens of Dublin brent all theyr ſuburbes for feare of a ſiege, and made the beſt purueyance they coulde to defende their Citie, if the Bruce had come to haue beſieged them: but he turning another way, went vnto the towne of Naas, and was guided thither by the Lacies, cõtrary to their othe.

Hugh Tyrrell taken by the Scottes.

From thence, he paſſed vnto Triſteldermot, and ſo to Baliganam, and to Callan, at length he came to Lymerike, and there remayned till after Eaſter.

They of Vlſter ſent to the Lorde Iuſtice lamentable informations of ſuche crueltie as the enimies practiſed in thoſe partes, beſecching hym to take ſome order for their reliefe in that theyr ſo miſerable eſtate. The Lorde Iuſtice deliuered to them the Kings power with his ſtanderd, wherewith vnder pretence to expell the Scottes, they gote vp in armour, and raunging through the countrey, did more vexe and moleſt the ſubiectes, than did the ſtrangers. The Scots proceeded and ſpoyled Caſſhels, and whereſoeuer they lyghte vpon the Butlers lands, they brente and ſpoyled them vnmercifully.

The Kings ſtanderd deliuered to them of Vlſter.

In this meane while, had the Lord Iuſtice, and Thomas Fitz John Earle of Kildare, Richard de Clare, and Arnold le Power, Baron of Donnoill, leuied an armie of thirtie thouſande men, readie to goe againſte the enimies, and to giue them battayle, but no good was done, for about the ſame time, the Lord Roger Mortimer was ſent into Irelande as Lord Iuſtice, and lãding at Yoghall, wrote his letters vnto the Lord Butler, and to the other Captaynes, willing thẽ not to fighte, till he came with ſuch power as he had brought ouer with him. Whereof the Bruce being warned, retired firſt towardes Kildare: but yet after this he came wͭin four miles of Trym, where he lay in a wood, and loſt many of his men through famine, and ſo at length about the beginning of May, he returned into Vlſter.

Roger Mortimer iuſtice of Irelande.

The Lorde Edmonde Butler made greate ſlaughter of the Iriſhe neere to Triſtledermot, and likewiſe at Balitehan, hee hadde a good hande of Omorche, and ſlewe manye of hys men. The Lorde Mortimer pacifyed the diſpleaſure and variance betwixt Richarde Earle of Vlſter, and the Nobles that had put the ſayde Earle vnder ſafekeping within yͤ Caſtell of Dublin, accuſing him of certaine riots committed to the preiudice and loſſe of the Kings ſubiectes, whereby the Scottes increaſed in ſtrength and courage, whoſe ſpoyling of the countrey cauſed ſuch horrible ſcarcitie in Vlſter, that the Souldiers which the yeere before abuſed the Kings authoritie to puruay themſelues of ouer fine diet, ſurfetted with fleſhe and Aqua vite all the Lent

Slaughter of Iriſhmen.

1317

The Earle of Vlſter deliuered out of priſon.

Scarcitie of vittayles in Vlſter.

long, prolled & pilled inſatiably, whereſoeuer they came without neede, and withoute regarde of the pore people, whoſe onely prouiſion they deuoured.

Theſe people nowe liuing in ſlauerie vnder the Bruce, ſterued for hunger, hauing fyrſt experienced many lamentable ſhiftes, euen to the eating of dead carcaſſes.

The Earle of Vlſter deliuered.

The Earle of Vlſter was deliuered by maine price, and vpon his oth, by the whiche hee vndertooke neuer to ſeeke reuenge of hys apprehenſion otherwiſe, than by order of lawe, and ſo had daye giuen him vnto the feaſt of Natiuitie of Sainte John Baptiſt, but he kept not his day, whether for that hee miſtruſted to ſtande in triall of hys cauſe, or through ſome other reaſonable let, I can not tell.

Great dearth.

A great dearth this yeere afflicted the Iriſhe people, for a meaſure of Wheate called a chronecke was ſold at foure and twentie Shillings, and a cronecke of otes at ſixteene Shillings, and all other vittayles likewiſe were ſolde, accordyng to the ſame rate, for all the whole countrey was ſore waſted by the Scottes and them of Vlſter, in ſo muche that no ſmall number of people periſhed through famine.

About the feaſt of Pentecoſt, the Lord Juſtice Mortimer tooke his iourney towards Droghda, and ſent to the Lacies, commaunding them to come vnto him: but they refuſed ſo to do: wherevppon he ſente Sir Hugh Croftes vnto them to talke with them about ſome agreement of peace, but they ſlew the meſſenger, for whome greate lamentation was made, for that he was reputed and knowne to be a right worthy knighte.

Sir Hugh Croſts ſlayne.

The Lord Juſtice ſore offended herewith, gathereth an army, and goeth againſte the Lacies, whome he chaſed out of Connagh, ſo that Hugh Lacie, withdrewe into Vlſter, and there ioyned himſelfe with Edward Bruce. Wherevpon, on the Thurſday nexte before the feaſt of Sainte Margaret, the ſaid Hugh Lacie, and alſo Walter Lacie, were proclaymed Traytours.

The Lacyes reuolt to the Scottes.

This yeere paſſed very troubleſome vnto the whole Realm of Irelãd, as wel through ſlaughter betwixt the parties enimies one to another, as by dearth and other miſfortunes.

1318

Hugh Cannon the Kyngs Juſtice of hys bench was ſlayne by Andrew Bermingham, betwixt the towne of Naas and Caſtell Martin.

Alſo in the feaſt of the purification, the Popes Bulles were publiſhed, wherby Alexander Bignore was conſecrated Archbiſhop of Dublin. About the ſame time was great ſlaughter made of Iriſhmen, through a quarrell betwixt two greate Lordes in Connagh, ſo that there dyed in fighte to the number of foure thouſande men on bothe parties.

Bignore conſecrated Archbiſhop of Dublin.

Walter Iſlep treaſorer of Irelande.

After Eaſter, Walter Iſlep Treaſurer of Ireland, was ſent ouer into ỹ Realme, who brought letters to the Lorde Mortimer, commaundyng hym to returne into England vnto ỹ king: which he dyd, and departing forth of Ireland, remayned indebted to ỹ Citizens of Dublin for his prouiſiõ of vittayles, in the ſumme of a thouſand pounds, wherof he payde not one farthing, ſo that many a bitter curſe he carried with him to the ſea, leauing William Archbiſhop of Caſhell Lord Chancellor, gouernor of the lande in his place: & ſo by this meane was the ſayd Archbiſhop both Chancellor and Juſtice, and ſo continued till the feaſt of S. Michael, at what time Alexander Bignor Archbiſhop of Dublin arriued at Yoghall, beeing conſtituted Lorde Juſtice, and came to Dublin on Saint Dioniſe day, being ỹ ſeuenth of October.

The Lord Richard de Clare ſlayne.

But here is to be remembred, ỹ a little before the departure of the Lord Mortimer forth of Ireland, to witte the fifth of May, the Lord Richard de Clare with foure Knightes, ſir Henry Capell, Sir Thomas de Naas, Sir James Caunton, and Sir John Caunton.

Alſo Adam Apilgard and other, to the number of fourescore perſons, were ſlayne by Obrine and Maccarthy.

It was ſayde, that the enimies in deſpite, cauſed the Lorde Richardes bodie to bee cut in peeces, ſo to ſatiſfye their malicious ſtomackes: but the ſame peeces were yet afterwardes buried in the Churche of the Friers Minors at Limerike.

Alſo before the Lorde Mortimers returne into Englande, John Lacye was hadde forthe of the Caſtell of Dublin, and carryed to Trim, where hee was arreygned and adiudged

iudged to be preſſed to death, and ſo he died in priſon.

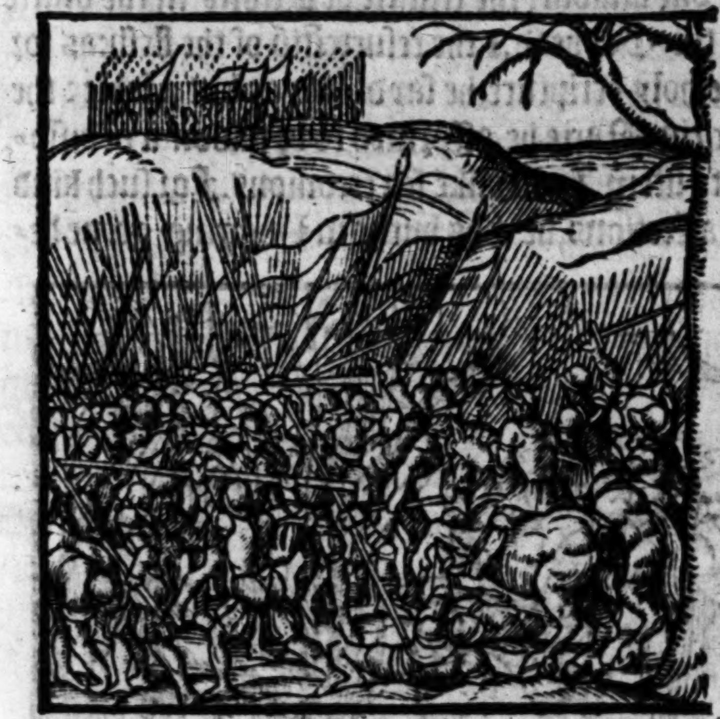
The Lord Birmingham and other captaines agaynſt the Scottes.

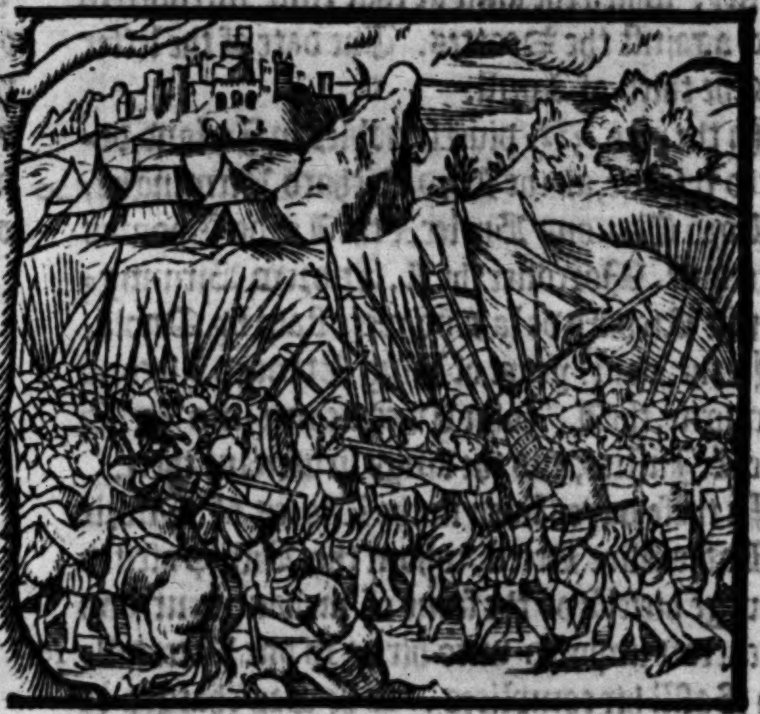
But now to returne vnto the doings in time of Bignors gouernment. Immediatly vpon his arriuall the Lorde John Birmingham being generall of the fielde, and hauing with him diuerſe Captaines of worthie fame, namely ſir Richarde Tute, ſir Miles Verdon, ſir Hugh Trippetton, ſir Herbert Sutton, ſir John Cuſacke, ſir Edmōd Birmingham, ſir William Birmingham, Walter Birmingham the primate of Ardmagh, ſir Walter de la Pulle, and John Maupas, ledde forth the kings power to the number of .1324. able men againſt Edward Bruce, who being accompanied with the Lord Philip Mowbray, the lord Walter de Soules, the Lorde Alaine Stewarde, with his three brethren, ſir Walter, and ſir Hugh, ſir Robert, and ſir Aymeric Lacies, and others, was encamped not paſt two miles from Dundalke with three thouſande men there abyding the Engliſhmen, to fight with them if they came forward, which they did with all conuenient ſpeed, being as deſirous to giue battaile as the Scottes were to receyue it.

The Primate of Ardmagh.

The battaile of Ardmagh. The Scottes vanquiſhed.

The Primate of Ardmagh perſonally accompanying the Engliſh power, and bleſſing their enterpriſe, gaue them ſuch comfortable exhortation as he thought ſerued the time, ere they began to encounter. And here with buckling togither, at length the Scots fully and wholy were vanquiſhed, and two thouſande of them ſlaine, togither with their captaine Edward Bruce. Mawpas that preſſed into the throng to encoūter with Bruce hande to hande, was founde in the ſearche deade aloft vpon the ſlaine bodie of Bruce.





Edward Bruce ſlaine.

The victorie thus obteyned vpon Saint Calixtus day, made an end of the Scottiſh kingdom in Irelande, and Lorde Birmingham ſending the head of Bruce into Englande, or as Marleburgh hath, being the meſſenger himſelfe, preſented it to king Edwarde, who in recompence gaue to him and his heyres Males, the Earledome of Louth, and the Baronie of Ardich and Athenrie to him and his heyres generall for euer.

Birmingham made Erle of Louth.

Sir Richard de Clare ſlaine.

1319

Shortly after ſir Richard de Clare with foure other knightes of name, and many other men of warre were ſlaine in Thomond, the Lord Roger Mortimer came againe into Ireland to gouerne as Lorde iuſtice there nowe the ſecond time, and the townes of Atheſſell and Plebs were brent by the Lorde Fitz Thomas, brother to the Lorde Maurice Fitz Thomas. And about this ſeaſon the bridge of Kilcolyn was buylded by Maurice Jakis.

1320

The Earle of Kildare Lord Iuſtice.

In the yeare following, to wit. 1320. which was the .xiiij. of king Edwards raigne, Thomas Fitz John Erle of Kildare was made Lord Juſtice of Irelande.

An Vniuerſitie erected at Dublyn.

Here is to be remembred, that about this time alſo, Alexander Bignore Archbiſhop of Dublyn, ſent to Pope John the .xxij. for a priuiledge to inſtitute an Uniuerſitie within the citie of Dublyn, and his ſuite tooke effect. And the firſt three Doctors of Diuinitie did the ſayde Archbiſhop himſelfe create, William Hardity a Frier preacher, Henrie Cogie a Frier minor, and Frier Edmond Bernerden: and beſide theſe one Doctor of Canon, to wit, Richard Archdeacon of S. Patrikes, that was Chauncellor of the ſame Uniuerſitie, who kept their termes and Cōmencements ſolemnly: neyther was this vniuerſitie at any time ſince diſfranchiſed, but onely through chaunge of tymes diſcontinued, and now ſince the diſſoluing of Monaſteries vtterly decayed.

A motion was made (as Campion hath noted) in a Parliament holden there whileſt ſir Henrie Sidney was the Queenes Lieutenant to haue it againe erected, by way of contributions to be layd togyther, the ſayde ſir Henry offring .xx. pounde landes, and an hundred pound in money: Other there were alſo, that according to their abilities and deuotions followed with their offers. The name was deuiſed, A worthie Plantation of Plantagenet and Bulleigne. But while they diſputed of a cõuenient place for it, & of other circumſtances, they let fall the principall.

1321

In the yeare.1321. there was a great ſlaughter made of the Oconhurs at Balibagan, by yͤ Engliſh of Leyniſter & Meth. And Iohn Birminghã Earle of Louth was made L. iuſtice of Irelande.

Rec. Turris.

Vnto this man whileſt he was Lord iuſtice, the king wrote, cõmaunding him to be with him at Carleil in the Octaues of the Trinitie, in the.xv. yeare of his raigne, with.three. C. men of armes, one. M. hobellares, and ſixe. M footemen, eche of them armed with an aketon, a ſallet, and gloues of Male, which number was to be leuied in that land, beſide three. C. mẽ of armes which the Erle of Vlſter was appoynted to ſerue with in that iourney, which the king at that time intended to make againſt the Scottes. The date of the letter was the third of April.

1322

In the yere.1322. diuerſe nobles in Ireland departed this life, as the Lord Richard Birminghã, the Lord Edmond Butler, & the Lorde Thomas Perceuale. Moreouer the L. Andrew Birminghã, & ſir Richard de la Lõd were ſlain by Onolã.

1323

Iohn Darcie Lord iuſtice.

In the.xviij. yeare of King Edward yͤ ſecond his raigne, the L. Iohn Darcie came into Irlãd to be L. Iuſtice, and the kings lieutenant there.

The Ladie Alice Kettle accuſed of ſorcerie.

In theſe dayes liued in the Dioces of Oſſorie the Ladie Alice Ketell, whom the Biſhop aſcited to purge hirſelfe of the fame of inchantment and witchcraft impoſed vnto hir, & to one Petronille and Baſill hir complices. She was charged to haue nightly cõference with a ſpirit called Robin Artiſſon, to whõ ſhe ſacrificed in the high way.ix. red cockes, & .ix. peacocks eies. Alſo that ſhe ſwept the ſtreetes of Kilkenny betwene Cõpleine & twilight, raking al the filth towardes the dores of hir ſon William Outlaw, murmuring theſe wordes:

To the houſe of VVilliam my ſonne,
Hie all the wealth of Kilkenny towne.

At the firſt conuiction they abiured and did penance, but ſhortly after they were found in relapſe, and then was Petronille burnt at Kilkenny, the other twaine might not be heard of.

She at the houre of hir death accuſed the ſayd William as priuie to their ſorceries, whome the Biſhop helde in duraunce. ix. weekes, forbidding his keepers to eate or to drinke with him, or to ſpeake to him more than once in the day. But at length through the ſuite and inſtance of Arnold le Poer then Seneſhall of Kilkenny, he was delyuered, and after corrupted with brybes the Seneſhal to perſecute the Biſhop, ſo that he thruſt him into priſon for three Monethes. In rifeling the cloſet of the ladie, they found a Wafer of ſacramentall bread, hauing the diuels name ſtamped thereon in ſtead of Ieſus Chriſt, and a Pipe of oyntment, wherewith ſhe greaſed a ſtaffe, vpõ the which ſhe ambled and galloped through thick and thin, when and in what maner ſhe liſted.

This buſineſſe about theſe witches troubled al the ſtate of Ireland, the more, for that the Ladie was ſupported by certaine of the nobilitie, & laſtly conueyed ouer into England, ſince which time it could neuer be vnderſtood what became of hir.

In the yeare.1326. and laſt of king Edwarde the ſecondes raigne, Richard Burgh Erle of Vlſter departed this life.

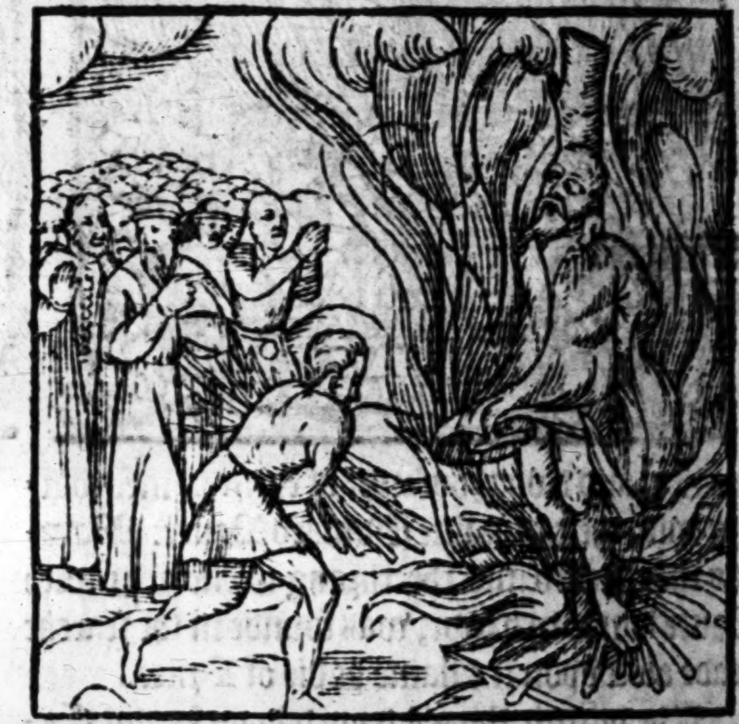
Edward the third.

1326

1327

Adam Duffe an heretike.

VNneth was the buſineſſe about the Witches at an ende, when it was ſignified that a gentleman of the familie of the Otoolies in Leyniſter named Adam Duffe, poſſeſſed by ſome wicked ſpirit of error, denyed obſtinately the incarnation of our ſauiour, the trinitie of perſons in the vnitie of the Godhead, & the reſurrectiõ of the fleſh: as for the holy ſcripture, he ſayde it was but a fable: the virgin Marie he affyrmed to be a womã of diſſolute life: yͤ Apoſtolike ſea erronious. For ſuch kind of aſſertions, he was burnt in Hogging grene beſide Dublin. About the ſame time, Fitz ark Macmorch, & ſir Henry Trahern were takẽ priſoners.



The Prior of Kilmaynam Lord iuſtice.

In the yeare folowing, the lord Thomas Fitz Iohn Earle of Kildare, and the Lorde Arnolde Poer, and William Erle of Vlſter, wer ſent ouer into Ireland, and Roger Outlaw prior of ſaint Iohns of Ieruſalem in Ireland, commonly called the prior of Kilmaynam, was made Lorde Iuſtice. This man by reaſon of variaunce that chaunced to riſe betwixt the Giraldines, the Butlers, and Birminghams, on the one ſide, and the Poers and Burghes on the other, for terming the Earle of Kildare a rimor, to pacifie the parties called a Parliament, wherin he himſelfe was fain to make his purgation of a ſlaunder impoſed to him, as ſuſpected of Hereſie.

Arnald Poer accuſed of hereſie.

The Biſhop of Oſſorie had giuen an informatiõ agaynſte Arnalde le Poer conuented and conuicted in his Conſiſtorie of certaine hereticall opinions, but bycauſe the beginning of Poers accuſation concerned the Iuſtices kinſman, and the Biſhop was miſtruſted to proſecute his own wrong, and the perſon of the man rather than the fault: a day was limitted for the iuſtifying of the byll, the partie being apprehended and reſpited therevnto.

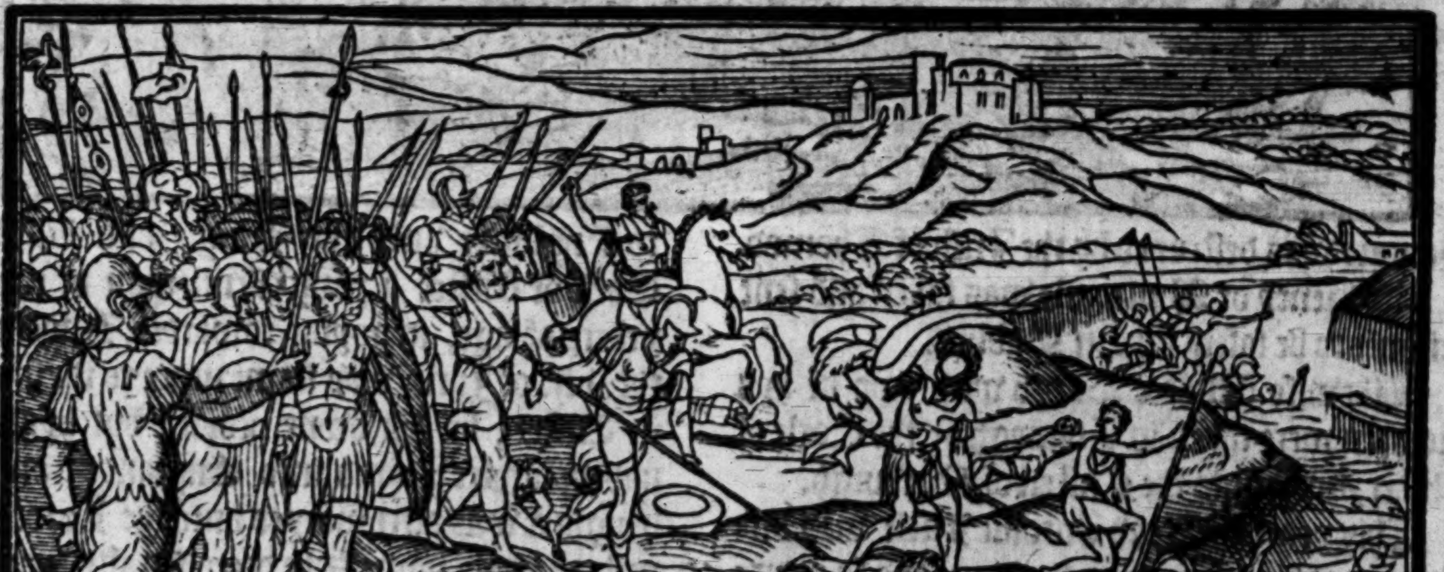
This dealing the Biſhop (who durſt not ſtyrre out of Kilkenny to proſecute his accuſation) was reputed partiall, and when by meanes hereof the matter hanged in ſuſpence, he infamed the ſayde Prior as an abettor and fauourer of Arnolds hereſie. The Prior ſubmitted himſelfe to the tryal, and therupon were ſeueral Proclamations made in Court, that it ſhoulde bee lawfull to any man to coime into the Court, and to inferre, accuſe, and declare what euidence he coulde, agaynſt the Lorde Iuſtice, but none came. Then paſſed a decree by the Counſaille, commaunding all Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, & the Maiors of Dublyn Corke, Lymerike, Waterford, and Droghdagh, the Shirifes, Knightes, and Seneſhals of euerie ſhire, to appeare at Dublin. From amongſt all theſe, they appointed .vj. inquiſitors, which examining the biſhops & other perſons aforeſayd ſingularly one by one, found that with an vniuerſal cõſent they depoſed for the Prior, affyrming that to their iudgments he was a zealous and a faithfull childe of the Catholike Church. In the meane time, Arnold le Poer the priſoner deceaſed in the Caſtel, and bycauſe he ſtoode vnpurged, long hee lay vnburied.

1329

The Earle of Louth ſlaine.

In the yeare.1329. Iohn de Birmingham Erle of Louth, and his brother Peter, with many other of that ſurname, and Richard Talbot of Malahide were ſlain on Whitſon euen at Balibragan by men of the Countrey. Alſo the Lord Thomas Butler, and diuerſe other noble men were ſlaine by Mac Gogoghdan and other Iriſh mẽ neare to Molinger, for the Iriſh aſwell in Leyniſter as in Meth, made inſurrections in that ſeaſon, and ſo likewiſe did they in Moũſter vnder the leading of Obren, whom William Erle of Vlſter, and Iames Erle of Ormond vanquiſhed. So outragious were the Leyniſter Iriſh, that in one Church they brunt foure ſcore innocent ſoules, aſking no more but the life of their prieſt thẽ at Maſſe, whõ they notwithſtãding ſticked with their Iauelins, ſpurned the hoſt, & waſted al with fire, neither forced they of yͤ Popes interdictiõ, nor any eccleſiaſticall cenſures denoũced againſt thẽ (matters of no ſmal cõſideratiõ amõg thẽ namely in thoſe days) but maliciouſly perſeuered in yͤ courſe of their furious rage, till the citizens of Wexford ſomwhat tamed thẽ, & ſlue .400. of thẽ in one ſkirmiſh, yͤ reſt fleeing were all drenched in the water of Slane.

The Lorde Butler ſlaine.



1330

The Prior of Kilmaynam Lord Iuſtice.

In the yeare.1330. the Earle of Vlſter with a great army made a iourney agaynſt Obren, and the prior of Kilmaynã Lord iuſtice put Maurice Fitz Thomas Erle of Deſmond in priſon in the Marſhalſee, out of the which he freely eſcaped, and the Lord Hugh Lacie returned into Ireland, and obteyned the kings peace and fauour.

1331

In the yeare. 1331. the Earle of Vlſter paſſed ouer into Englande, and great ſlaughter was made vpon the Iriſh in Okenſly. Alſo the caſtell of Arclo was taken by the Iriſh men, and great ſlaughter made of the Engliſhe in the. Cowlagh by Otothell and other.

Anthony Lucy Lord Iuſtice.

Alſo the Lorde Anthonie Lucie was ſent ouer Lorde Iuſtice into Irelande, and great ſlaughter was made of the Iriſh at Thurlis by the knightes of the Countrey, and at Finnath in Meth, there were manye of them ſlaine by the Engliſh, but yet was the Caſtell of Fernis taken and burnt by the Iriſh.

The Earle of Deſmond apprehended.

On the feaſt day of the Aſſumption of our Ladie, which falleth on the. xv. of Auguſt, Maurice Fitz Thomas Erle of Deſmond was apprehended at Limerike by the Lorde Iuſtice, and ſent vnto the Caſtell of Dublyn.

Moreouer the Lord Iuſtice tooke ſir William Birmingham at Clomell by a wile, whileſt hee was ſicke in his bed, and ſent him togither with his ſonne Walter Birmingham vnto the Caſtel of Dublyn, the. xxx. of Aprill.

1332

William Birmingham executed.

In the yeare. 1332. the ſayde ſir William was hanged at Dublin, but Walter was deliuered by reaſon he was within orders.

Campion.

Campion following ſuche notes as he hath ſeene, writeth that the death of this William Birmingham chaunced in time of the gouernment of William Outlaw Prior of Kilmaynã, being lieutenant vnto John Lorde Darcie, that was made Lorde Iuſtice (as the ſayd Campion hath noted) in the yeare. 1329. Although Marleburgh affyrmeth that hee came thither to beare that office, in the yeare. 1332. after the Lord Lucie was diſcharged, as hereafter ſhall be recyted. But whenſoeuer, or vnder whom ſoeuer Birmingham was executed, hee was accounted an odde Knight, and ſuche one as for his valiancie, hys matche was not lyghtly to bee any where founde.

The Caſtell of Clonmore was taken the ſame yeare by the Engliſhmen, and the caſtell of Bonrate was deſtroyed by the Iriſh of Thomõd.

Alſo Henry de Mandeuile was taken and ſent priſoner to be ſafely kept in Dublyn.

Likewiſe Walter Burgh with two of hys brethren were taken in Connagh by the Earle of Vlſter, and ſent to the Caſtell of Norburgh.

This yeare the Lord Antonie Lucie was diſcharged of his rowmth by the king, and ſo returned with his wife and children into Englande, and the Lorde John Darcie was ſent ouer Lord Iuſtice in Lucies place, and great ſlaughter was made vpon Bren Obren, and Mac Carthi, in Mounſter, by the Engliſh of that Countrey.

The Lorde Darcie iuſtice.

This John Darcie (as ſhoulde appeare by gyftes beſtowed vpon him by the King) was in ſingular fauour wyth him. Amongeſt other things which hee had of the kings gyft, we fynde that hee had the Manours of Louth, and Baliogarie, and other landes in Irelande which belonged to the Earle of Ew, and for that the ſayd Earle was a French man, and tooke part wyth Philip de Valois the kings enimie, they were ſeyſed into the kings hande.

The Earle of Ew.

1333

A Parliament.

The Earle of Deſmonde vpon ſureties was ſet at libertie, and by the Parliament holden at Dublyn in this yeare. 1333. was ſent ouer into Englande vnto the King, and William Earle of Vlſter a yong Gentleman of twentie yeares of age, in goyng towardes Knocfergus the. vij. of June, was ſlaine neare to the fourdes in Vlſter, by his owne people: but hys wyfe and daughter eſcaped into Englande: and the daughter was after maryed vnto the Lorde Lionell the kings ſonne. She deceaſſed afterwards at Dublyn, and left a daughter behind hir that was hir heyre, maryed to Roger Mortimer Earle of March, and Lorde of Trym.

The Earle of Vlſter ſlaine.

This murther was procured by Robert Fitz Martine Mandeuile, who was the firſt that preſumed to giue to the Earle any wounde.

To reuenge the death of this Erle of Vlſter (ſlaine as ye haue heard beſide Knocfergus) the Lorde Iuſtice Darcie with a great power went into Vlſter, to purſue thoſe that through Mandeuiles ſeditious tumultes had ſo trayterouſly murthered their Lord. At his ſetting forward, the ſaide Iuſtice Darcie appoynted ſir Tho. Burgh Treaſurer, to gouerne as lieutenant to him in his abſence. When the Lorde Iuſtice had puniſhed the trayters in Vlſter, hee paſſed ouer into Scotlande, there to make warre agaynſte the Scottes that were enimies at that preſent to the king

Sir Thomas Burgh.

The Lorde Iuſtice inuadeth Scotland.

king of England, and on the feaſt day of Saint Margaret, greate ſlaughter was made of the Scots by the Iriſh men, and ſo what by the king in one part, and the Lorde Iuſtice of Irelande in another, Scotland was in maner wholy conquered, and Edwarde Ballioll was eſtabliſhed king of Scotland. The Lord Iuſtice might haue poſſeſſed the Iles if they had bene worth the keeping. into the which Iles, except the ſayd Darcy & the Earle of Suſſex late Lieutenant of Irelande, no gouernor at any time yet aduentured.

At Darcyes comming backe into Irelande, and exerciſing the office of Lorde Iuſtice, he deliuered Walter Birmingham out of the Caſtell of Dublin.

1336

In the yeare. 1336. and tenth of Edward the thirdes raigne, on Saint Laurence day, the Iriſh of Connagh were diſcomfited and put to flight by the Engliſh men of the Countrey there, with the loſſe of one Engliſh man, and ten thouſande

of the enimies. The Lord Iohn Charleton baro came into Irelande to be Lord Iuſtice, and with him his brother Thomas Biſhop of Herforde Lord Chancelor, & Iohn Rice Lorde Treaſorer, and two hundred Welchmen ſouldiers. The Biſhop was ordeyned afterward Lorde Iuſtice, in whoſe time all the Iriſh of Ireland were at defiance with the Engliſh, & ſhortly brought againe into quiet by the Erles of Kildare and Deſmond.

1337

Sir Iohn Charleton Iuſtice.

1338

The Biſhop of Hereford lorde Iuſtice.

The Lorde Iohn Darcy by the kings letters patents, was during life ordeyned Lorde Iuſtice of Irelande, in the. xiiij. yeare of king Edwarde the thirds raigne, which king abuſed by euill counſell and ſiniſter informers, called in vnder his ſignet royall, the franchiſes, liberties and grants, whatſoeuer had bin deuiſed, made & ratified to ẏ realm of Ireland, and to euery eche perſon thereof. This reuoking of liberties was diſpleaſantly takē. The Engliſh of byrth, and the Engliſh of bloud falling at wordes, were deuided into factions about it, for which contention the Iriſh ſtill wayted, ſo as the realme was euen vpon the point to giue ouer all and to rebel. For redreſſe whereof the lorde Iuſtice called a Parliament at Dublin, to the which the nobles refuſed to come, & in quiet wiſe aſſembled thēſelues togither at Kilkenny, where they with the commons agreed vpon certain queſtions to be demaūded of the king by way of ſupplication, ſignifying in the ſame partlye their griefs. Which queſtiōs were in effect as foloweth.

1340

Iohn Darcie Lorde iuſtice during life.

Calling in of liberties.

Howe a Realme of warre might bee gouerned by one both vnſkilfull and vnable in all warlike ſeruice.

Articles or queſtions.

How an officer vnder the king that entred very poore, might in one yeare grow to more exceſſiue wealth, than men of great patrimonie and liuelode in many yeares.

Howe it chaunced, that ſithe they were all called Lordes of theyr owne, that the soueraigne Lord of them all, was not a pennie the rycher for them.

The chiefe of them that thus ſeemed to repine with the preſent gouernment, was Thomas Fitz Maurice Erle of Deſmonde, through whoſe maintenance and bearing out of the matter, the Countrey was in great trouble, ſo as it had not lightly beene ſeene, that ſuche contrarietie in myndes and diſlyking had appeared amongeſt thoſe of the Engliſh race in that realme at any time before.

1343

Rauſe Vfforт Lord iuſtice.

Herewith Rauſe Vffort was ſent ouer Lord Iuſtice, who bringing hys wyfe wyth him, the Counteſſe of Vlſter arryued about the. xiij. of Iulie.

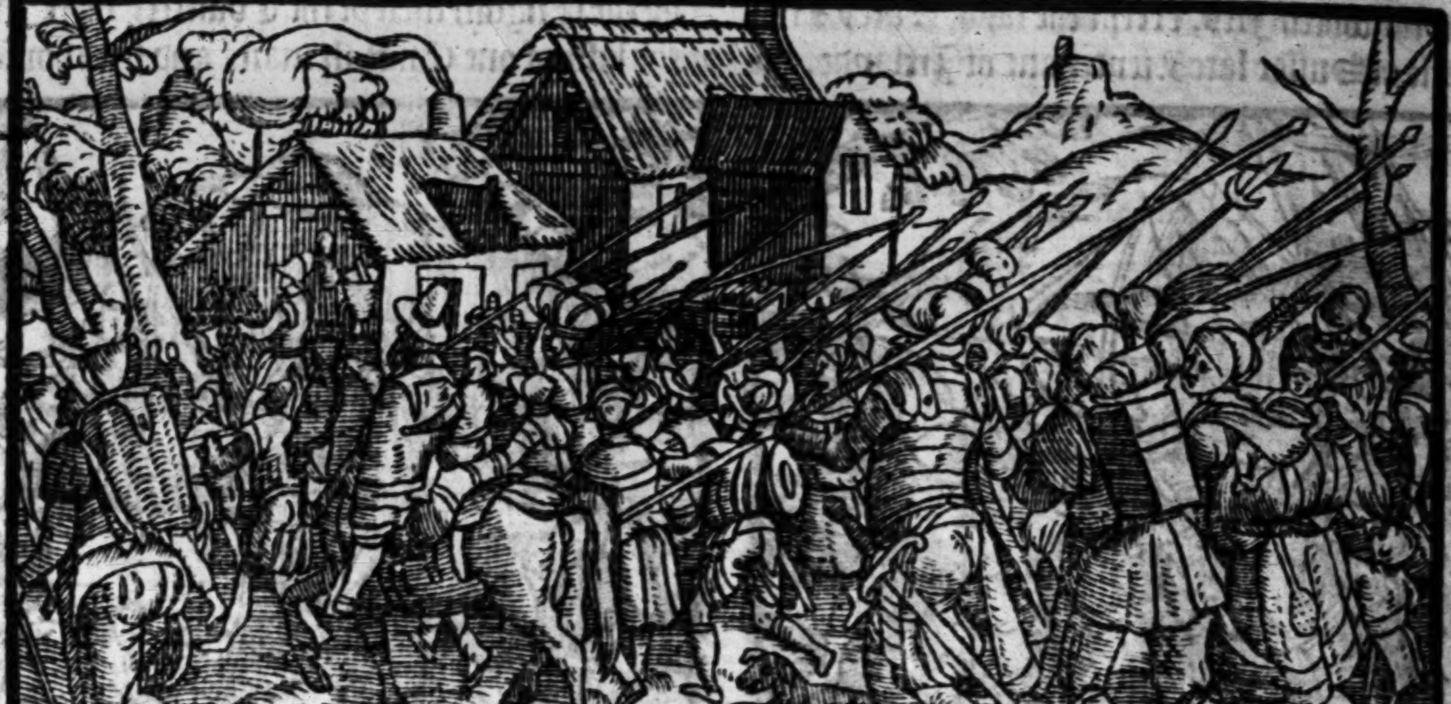
Thys man was verye rygorous, and through perſwaſion (as was ſayde) of his wyfe, he was more extreeme and couetous than otherwyſe hee woulde haue beene, a matter not to bee forgotten: for if thys Ladie had beene as readie to moue hir huſbande to haue ſhewed hymſelfe gentle

The Counteſſe of Vlſter.

gentle and mylde in his gouernment, as ſhe was bent to pricke him forwarde vnto ſharpe dealing and rygorous proceedings, ſhee had beene nowe aſwell reported of, as ſhee is infamed by theyr pennes that haue regyſtred the doyngs of thoſe tymes.

But to yͤ purpoſe. This Vffort Lord iuſtice in paine of forfeyture of all his lands commaunded the Erle of Deſmonde to make his perſonall appearance at a Parliament which he called to bee holden at Dublin, there to begin the .vij. of June, and bycauſe the Erle refuſed to come (according to the ſummonance, he rayſed the kings Standard, and with an army marched into Mounſter,

The Earle of Deſmonde.



and there ſeyſed the Earles poſſeſſions into the kings handes, letting them forth to ferme for an annuall rent vnto other perſons.

And whileſt hee yet remayned in Mounſter, he deuiſed wayes how to haue the Earle of Deſmonde apprehended, whiche being brought to paſſe, hee afterwarde deliuered him vpon mainpriſe of theſe ſureties whoſe names enſue: William de Burgh Earle of Vlſter, James Butler Earle of Ormonde, Rycharde Tuyt, Nicholas Verdon, Maurice Rochefort, Euſtace le Power, Geralde de Rochefort, John Fitz Robert Power, Robert Barry, Maurice Fitz Girald, John Welleſley, Walter le Fant, Richard Rokelley, Henrie Traherne, Roger Power, John Lenfaunt, Roger Power, Mathew Fitz Henrie, Richarde Walleys, Edmonde Burgh ſonne to the Earle of Vlſter, knightes: Dauid Barry, William Fitz Gerald, Foulke de Frarinus, Robert Fitz Maurice, Henry Fitz Berkley, John Fitz George de Roche, Thomas de Lees de Burgh.

Sureties for the Earle of Deſmonde.

Theſe (as ye haue heard) were bounde for the Earle, and bycauſe hee made default, the Lorde Juſtice verily tooke the aduauntage of the bonde agaynſt the mainpernours, foure of them onely excepted, the two Earles, and two knightes.

The lord Juſtice is charged with ſtrayte dealing by wryters in this behalfe, for that the ſame perſons had aſſiſted him in his warres agaynſte Deſmond: but truly if we ſhal conſider the matter with indifferencie, he did no more than law & reaſon required. For if euery ſurety vpo forfeyture of his bonde ſhoulde be forborne, that otherwyſe doth his ductie, what care woulde men haue eyther to procure ſureties, or to become ſuretyes themſelues?

Vffort euill ſpoken of.

But ſuch is the affection of wryters, ſpecially when they haue conceyued any miſlyking towardes thoſe of whome they take occaſion to ſpeake, ſo as many a worthie man hath bene defamed, and with ſlaunder greatly defaced in things wherein he rather hath deſerued ſingular commendation. But howſoeuer this matter was handled touching the Earle of Deſmonde, vpon the death of the Lord Juſtice, whiche enſued the nexte yeare, Bonfyres were made, and greate ioye ſhewed through all the Realme of Irelande.

Ioy conceyued for the death of the lord Iuſtice Vffort.

His Ladie verily (as ſhoulde appeare) was but a miſerable woman, procuring him to extortion and bryberie. Much he abridged the prerogatiues of the Churche, and was ſo hated, that euen in the ſight of the Countrey he was robbed without reſcue by Mac Cartie, notwithſtanding he gathered power, and diſperſed thoſe Rebels of Vlſter.

1346

Robert Darcy was ordeyned Juſtice by the Counſell, till the kings letters came to ſir John Fitz Morice, who releaſed Fitz Thomas Earle of Kildare left in durance by Vfford at his death.

Robert Darcie Lord iuſtice.

Fitz Morice continued not long, but was diſcharged, and the Lorde Walter Birmingham elect to ſucceede in that roomth, who procured

Iohn Fitz Morice Iuſtice.

Lord Birmingham Iuſtice.

a ſafeconduct for Deſmonde to pleade his cauſe before the King, by whome he was liberally entreated, and allowed towarde his expences there twentie ſhillings a day at the Princes charge, in conſideration of whiche curteſie ſhewed to hys Kinneſman, the Earle of Kildare, accompanied with dyuerſe Lordes, Knightes, and choſen Horſemen, ſerued the King at Calyce, a towne thought impregnable, and returned after the winning thereof in greate pompe and ioylitie

1347
Record Tur.

Wee finde that Thomas Lorde Berkeley, and Reignalde Lord Cobham, and Sir Morice Berckley became mainpernours for the ſayde Earle of Deſmonde, that hee ſhoulde come into England and abide ſuch tryall as the law would awarde.

1348
The Prior of Kilmaynam.
Baron Carew Iuſtice.
Sir Thomas Rokesby Iuſtice.
Record Tur.

Iohn Archer Prior of Kylmaynam was ſubſtituted Lieutenaunt to the Lorde Iuſtice. To whome ſucceeded Baron Carew, and after Carewe followed Sir Thomas Rokeſbye Knight, vnto whome was aſſigned aboue his ordinarie retinew of twentie men of armes, a ſupplie of tenne men of armes, and twentie Archers on Horſebacke, ſo long as it ſhould bee thought needfull.

Greate mortalitie chaunced this yeare, as in other partes of the worlde, ſo eſpecially in places aboute the Sea coaſtes of Englande and Irelande.

1349
Iohn de Saint Paule Archbiſhop of Dublin.

In the yeare following, departed this life Alexander Bignor Archbiſhop of Dublin. And the ſame yeare was Iohn de Saint Paule conſecrated Archbiſhop of that ſea.

1350
Kenwrike Shereman.

This yeare deceaſed Kemworyke Shereman ſometime Maior of Dublin, a great benefactor to euery Churche and religious houſe within .xx. myles rounde aboute the Citie. His legacies to the poore and other, beſides his liberalitie ſhewed in his lyfe tyme, amounted to three thouſande Markes.

Sir Robert Sauage.

In this ſeaſon dwelled in Vlſter a wealthie knight, one ſir Robert Sauage, who the rather to preſerue his owne, began to wall and fortifie his Manor houſes with Caſtelles and pyles againſt the Iriſh enimie, exhorting his heyre Henrie Sauage to applie that worke ſo beneficiall for himſelfe and his poſteritie. Father (quoth yong Sauage) I remember the prouerbe, *Better a Caſtell of bones than of ſtones*: where ſtrẽgth & courage of valiant men are preſt to helpe vs, neuer will I (by the grace of God) comber my ſelfe with dead walles. My fort ſhall bee where ſoeuer yong bloudes be ſtyrring, and where I finde rowmth to fight.

The father in a fume let lie the buylding, and forſware to goe any further forwarde in it. But yet the want therof and ſuch like, hath beene the decay as well of the Sauages, as of all the Engliſhe Gentlemen in Vlſter: as the lacke alſo of walled Townes is one of the principall occaſions of the rude wildeneſſe in other partes of Irelande.

This Sauage hauing prepared an armie agaynſt the Iriſhe, allowed to euerie Souldier before they ſhould buckle with the enimie, a mighty draught of Aqua vite, Wine, or olde Ale, and killed in prouiſion for their returne, Biefe, Veneſon, and fowle, great plentie: which doing diuers of his captaines miſliked, bycauſe they conſidered the ſucceſſe of warre to be vncertaine, and therefore eſteemed it better policie to poyſon the cates, or to do them away, than to keepe the ſame, and happely to feed a ſort of rogues with ſuch princely foode, if ought ſhoulde happen to themſelues, in this aduenture of ſo fewe agaynſte ſo manye. Hereat ſmyled the Gentleman and ſayde, Tuſhe, ye are too full of enuie: This worlde is but an Inne, to the which ye haue no ſpeciall intereſt, but are onely tenants at will of the Lorde. If it pleaſe him to commaunde vs from it, as it were from our lodging, and to ſet other good felowes in our rowmthes, what hurt ſhall it be for vs to leaue them ſome meate for their ſuppers, let them hardly winne it and weare it. If they enter our dwellings, good maner woulde no leſſe but to welcome them with ſuch fare as the Countrey breedeth, and with all my heart much good may it do them. Notwithſtanding I preſume ſo farre vpõ your noble corages, that verily my mind giueth me we ſhal returne at night, & bãket our ſelues with our owne ſtore, and ſo they did, hauing ſlain three .M. Iriſhmen.

1355
The Earle of Deſmond lord iuſtice deceaſſeth.

In the yere .1355 deceaſed Maurice Fitz Thomas Erle of Deſmond L. iuſtice of Ireland, that had that office of the kings grant for terme of life.

Thomas Rokesby Lorde Iuſtice. His ſaying.

After him ſucceeded in yͤ rowmth Thomas de Rokeſby, a knight ſincere & vpright of conſcience, who being cõtrolled for ſuffring himſelf to be ſerued in treen cups, anſwered: thoſe homely cups & diſhes pay truly for that they cõtein: I had rather drinke out of treen cups, & pay gold & ſiluer, than drink out of golde and make wodden payment.

1357
Diſſention betwixt the Primate of Ardmagh, and the foure orders of Friers.

This yeare began great controuerſie betwixt Richard Rauſe Primate of Ardmagh, and the foure orders of begging Friers, which ended at length by the deaths of the ſayd Richarde Rauſe, and Richarde Kilminton, in the yeare .1360. Rauſe deceaſſing in the Popes Court, and Kilminton in England.

Three Lorde Iuſtices.

Almerike de Saint Amand, Iohn, or as other haue Iames Butler Erle of Ormõd, and Maurice Fitz Thomas Erle of Kildare, were appointed Lord Iuſtices of Ireland by turnes.

Record Tur.

In Ormonds time, and in the .xxxiij. yere of king Edward the thirds raigne, order was taken that the Iriſh Lordes ſhould remaine & dwell in their houſes vpon the marches to defend the ſubiects from inuaſions of enimies. And further, proclamation went forth, that no mere Iriſh borne ſhould be made Maior, Bailife, porter, officer or miniſter, in any towne or place within the Engliſh dominiõs: nor that any Archbiſhop, Biſhop, Abbot, prior, or any other being of the kings allegiance, vpon forfeyture of al that he might forfeit, ſhould aduance any that was mere Iriſh borne to the rowmth of a Canon, or to haue any other eccleſiaſticall benefice that lay among the Engliſhe ſubiects.

The Earle of Kildare Lorde iuſtice.

To Maurice Thomas Erle of Kildare, when he was ordeyned Lord Iuſtice, the kings letters aſſigned in yearely fee for his office fiue hundred poundes, with condition that the ſayde gouernor ſhould find .xx. great horſes to ſerue in the field, he himſelf to be the twentith man in going agaynſt the enimie: whiche alowance and conditions in thoſe dayes (ſo farre as I can geſſe) ſhould ſeeme to be ordinarie to the office.

Lionell Duke of Clarence.

Lionell Duke of Clarence, ſonne to king Edward the third, came ouer into Ireland to be lord Iuſtice there. He was in right of his wife Erle of Vlſter. He publiſhed an inhibition to all of the Iriſh birth, not once to approch his army, nor to be in any wiſe imployed in ſeruice of the warres. He vanquiſhed Obren, but yet ſodenly no man vnderſtãding how, an hundred of his ſouldiers were wanting, as they lay in gariſon, the loſſe of whõ was thought to be occaſioned by that diſpleaſant decree afore rehearſed: wherevpon he tooke better aduiſe, and receiued the Iriſh into like fauor as other lieutenants had them in before that preſent, ſhewing a tender loue towards them all, & ſo euer after proſpered in his affayres. He created diuerſe knights, as Preſton, now knowne by the name of the familie of Gormaunſton, Holywood, Talbot, Cuſac, De la Hide, Patrike, Robert and Iohn de Fraxinis. All theſe being Gentlemen of worthie fame in chiualrie.

The Eſchequer he remoued to Catherlagh, & beſtowed in furniſhyng that towne .v.C. pounds.

1362

In the yeare. 1362. Iohn de Saint Paul Archbiſhop of Dublin departed this life the fifth Ides of September. And in the yeare following was Tho. Minot conſecrated Archbiſhop of yͤ place.

1367

The Lorde Winſorde lieutenant.

Gerald Fitz Maurice Erle of Deſmond was appoynted Lord iuſtice, vntil the comming of the Lord William Winſore, the firſt lieutenant in Ireland, who came ouer in the yeare. 1369.

1369

Record Turris
A Parliament.
A Subſidie.

This Winſore called a Parliament at Kilkenny, in the which was graunted to the king a ſubſedie of three thouſand poundes to be leuyed of the people, ſubiects to the king in that land: and in an other Parliament holden by him at Balydoill they graunted two thouſande poundes to be likewiſe leuyed. Which ſayde ſummes were graunted of the mere and free good willes of the Nobles and Communaltie of the lande, towardes the maintenaunce of the Kings expences in his warres. Yet the King in the .xliij. yeare of hys raigne, directing his letters vnto the ſayde Lorde Wynſore, commaunded him to ſurceaſe from leuying the foreſayde money, although afterwardes he commaunded againe that the arrerages ſhould be leuyed and payde to his lieutenant the ſayde Winſore.

Mortalitie of people.

The third peſtilence in Ireland made away a great number of people in the yeare. 1370.

1370

The Lord Gerald Fitz Morice Earle of Deſmond, and the Lord Iohn Fitz Richard, and the Lorde Iohn Fitz Iohn, and many other noble men, were ſlaine by Obren, and Mac Conmard of Thomond in the moneth of July.

Conhur.

1372

Sir Richarde Aſhton lorde iuſtice.

In the yeare. 1372. ſir Richarde Aſhton was ſent ouer to be Lorde Iuſtice in Irelande.

1373

In the yeare following great warre was reyſed betwixt the Engliſh of Meth, and Offerolle, in the whiche manye vppon both ſydes were ſlaine.

Slaughter.

In May, the Lorde Iohn Huſſey Baron of Galtrim, Iohn Fitz Richarde Shirife of Meth, and William Dalton were ſlain in Kynaleigh.

1375

In the yeare. 1375. Thomas Archbiſhop of Dublyn departed this life, and the ſame yere was Robert de Wikeforde conſecrated Archebyſhop there.

¶ Richard the ſeconde.

1381

The Earle of Marche the kings lieutenant.

EDmonde Mortimer Earle of Marche and Vlſter was made the Kings Lieutenaunt in Irelande.

1383

In the yeare. 1382. a greate mortalitie raigned in that countrey. This was called the fourth peſtilence.

1385

In the yeare. 1385. Dublyn bridge fell. Beſide Edmond Mortimer Erle of March, Campion affyrmeth, that in this Richard the ſeconds dayes, there are Iuſtices and lieutenants of Irelande ſpecially recorded, Roger Mortimer ſonne to the ſayd Edmond, Philip Courtney the kings couſin, Iames Earle of Ormonde, and Robert Vere Erle of Oxford, Marques of Dublyn lorde Chamberlaine, who was alſo created Duke of Irelande by Parliament, and was credited with the whole Dominion of the Realme by graunt for tearme of life, withoute paying anye thing therefore, paſſing all writtes, and placing all officers as Chauncellor, Treaſuret, chiefe Iuſtice, admirall, his owne Lieutenant and other inferiour charges vnder his owne teſte.

1390

In the yeare. 1390. Robert de Wikeforde Archebiſhoppe of Dublyn departed thys lyfe, and the ſame yeare was Robert Waldeby tranſlated vnto the Archebyſhop of Dublyn, an Auguſtine Frier.

In

1394

King Richard goeth ouer into Irelande.

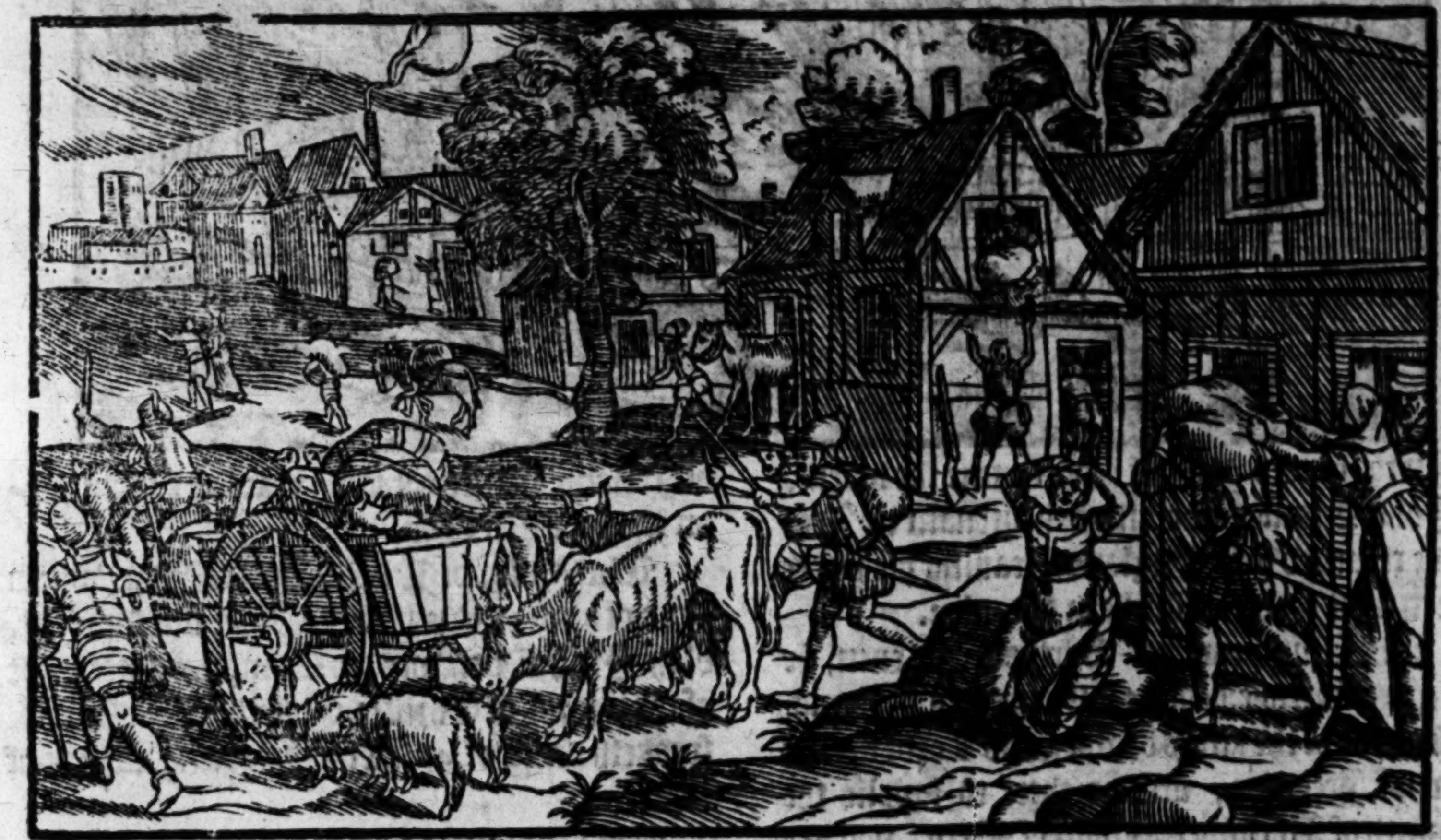
In the yere. 1294. K. Richard ſore afflicted and troubled in minde with ſorrow, for the deceaſe of his wife Queene Anne that departed this life at Whitſuntide laſt paſt, not able without teares to beholde his Palaces and Chambers of eſtate, that repreſented vnto him the ſolace paſt, and doubled his ſorrow, ſought ſome occaſion of buſineſſe: and now about Michaelmaſſe paſſed ouer into Irelande, where dyuerſe Lordes and Princes of Vlſter renued theyr homages, and placing Roger Mortimer Erle of March his Lieutenant, returned about Shroutide.

Roger Mortimer lord lieutenant.
Thom. Walſ.

1397

In the yeare. 1397. Richarde de Northalis Archbiſhop of Dublyn departed this life, that was the ſame yeare from an other Sea remoued thither. He was a Frier of the order of the of the Carmelites.

Six hundred Iriſh mē ſlain.



The ſame yeare Thomas de Crauly was choſen & conſecrated Archbiſhop of Dublyn. Alſo ſir Thomas de Burgh, & ſir Walter de Birmingham ſlue. vj. C. Iriſh men, with their Captaine Macdoun. Morouer, Edmond Erle of March Lorde Deputie of Irelande, with the ayde of the Erle of Ormond, waſted the countrey of an Iriſh Lord called Obren, and at the winning of his chiefe houſe he made. vij. knightes, to wit, ſir Chriſtofer Preſton, ſir Iohn Bedlew, ſir Edmōd Loundris, ſir Iohn Loundris, ſir William Nugent, Walter de la Hide, and Robert Cadel. But after this it chaunced, that on the Aſcention day, certaine Iriſh men ſlue. xl. Engliſh men, and among them theſe were accounted as principall, Iohn Fitz William, Thomas Talbot, & Thomas Cambry. But ſhortly after Roger Mortimer Erle of March and Vlſter the kings Lieutenant was ſlain with diuerſe other, by Obren and other Iriſhmen of Leyniſter at Kenlis. Then was Roger Gray elected Lorde Iuſtice of Ireland. The ſame yere on the feaſt day of S. Marke the Pope, the duke of Surrey landed in Ireland, & with him came ſir Thomas Crauly the Archbiſhop of Dublin. King Richard informed of the vnruly parts and rebellious ſturres of the Iriſhmen, minded to appeaſe the ſame, and ſpecially to reuenge the death of the Erle of March: whereupon with a nauie of two hundred ſayles he paſſed ouer into Irelande, and landed at Waterford on a Sunday being the morrow after S. Petronilla the virgins day.

Roger Gray lord Iuſtice of Ireland.

1398

King Richard paſſeth the ſecōd time ouer into Irelande.

The Fryday after his arriuall at Forde in Kenlis, within the Countie of Kildare, there were ſlaine two. C. Iriſhmen, by Ienicho de Artois a Gaſcoigne, and ſuch Engliſhmen as he had with him: and the morrow after, the Citizens of Dubling brake into the countrey of Obren, ſlue. xxxiij. of the enimies, & tooke. lxxx. men with children.

The King commeth to Dublyn.

The. iiij. Kalends of July, king Richard came to Dublin and remayned there for a time, during the which diuerſe Lordes and Princes of the cou̅trey came in and ſubmitted themſelues vnto him, by whom they were curteouſly vſed, and trayned to honourable demeanor and ciuilitie, as much as the ſhortneſſe of time would permit, as in yͤ Engliſh hiſtorie you may find ſet forth more at large.

See more hereof in England.

Whileſt king Richard thus lay in Dublin to reduce Ireland vnto due ſubiection, he was aduertiſed that Henry duke of Lancaſter, that lately before had bene baniſhed, was returned, and ment to bereaue him of the crown. The ſonne of which Duke, togyther with the Duke of Glouceſters ſonne, the King ſhutte vp wythin the Caſtell of Trim, and then taking the Seas, he returned and landed in Wales, where he founde hys defence ſo weake and vnſure, that finally he came into his aduerſaries handes, and was depoſed by authoritie of Parliament, and then was the ſayd Duke of Lancaſter admytted to raigne in hys place.

¶ Henrie the fourth.

1400

AT Whitſuntide in the yeare. 1400. whiche was the firſt yeare of the raigne of Henry the fourth, the Coneſtable of Dublin Caſtell, and diuerſe other, at Stranford in Ulſter fought by Sea with Scottes, where many Engliſh men were ſlaine and drowned.

1401

Sir Iohn Stanley lord lieutenant.

In the ſecond yeare of king Henrie the fourth, ſir John Stanley the kings lieutenant in Irelande returned into Englande, leauing his vnder lieuetenant there ſir William Stanley.

Sir Stephen Scrope.

The ſame yeare on Bartholmew euen, ſir Stephen Scrope, deputie vnto the lord Thomas of Lancaſter the kings brother, and Lorde lieutenant of Irelande, arriued there to ſupplie the rowmth of Alexander Biſhop of Meth, that exerciſed the ſame office vnder the ſayd Lord Thomas of Lancaſter, before the comming of this ſir Stephen Scrope, which ſir Stephen for his violence and extortion before time vſed in the ſame office vnder king Richard, was ſore cried out vpõ by the voyces of the poore people, inſomuch that the Ladie his wife hearing of ſuch exclamations, would in no wiſe continue with him there, except he would receiue a ſolemne othe on the Bille, that wittingly he ſhoulde wrong no Chriſtian creature in that lande, that truely and duly he ſhoulde ſee payment made for all expenſes, and hereof (ſhee ſayd) ſhee had made a vow to Chriſt ſo determinately, that onleſſe it were on his part firmly promiſed, ſhe could not without peril of ſoul go with him. Hir huſband aſſented, and accõpliſhed hir requeſt effectually, recouered a good opinion for his vpright dealing, reformed his caters & purueyers, enriched the coũtry, maintained a plentiful houſe, remiſſion of great offences, remedies for perſons endaungered to the prince, pardons of landes and liues he graunted ſo charitably, and ſo diſcreetly, that his name was neuer recited amõg thẽ without many bleſſings and prayers, and ſo cheerfully they were redy to ſerue him againſt the Iriſh vpõ all neceſſarie occaſions. The Lord Thomas of Lancaſter the kings ſonne and Lorde lieutenant of Ireland, arriued the ſame yeare at Dublin, vpon Saint Brices day.

The Iriſh ouerthrowne by the Maior of Dublin.

The Maior of Dublin John Drake, with a band of his Citizens neare to Bre, ſlue foure M. of the Iriſh Outlawes (as Campion noteth out of the records of Chriſtes Church:) But Marlb. ſpeaketh onely of. 493. And theſe being all men of warre.

The verie ſame day that this victorie was atchieued, to wit, the. xj. day of Julie, the Church of the Friers Preachers in Dublin was dedicate by the Archbiſhop of that Citie.

The ſame yeare in September, a Parliament was holden at Dublin, during the whiche in Urgile Sir Bartholmew Uerdon Knight, James White, Stephen Gernon, and other theyr complices, ſlue the Shirife of Louth John Dowdall.

In the yeare. 1402. in May, ſir Walter Beterley Stewarde of Ulſter, a right valiant knight was ſlaine, and to the number of. xxx. other with him. The ſame yeare aboute the feaſt of Saint Martin, the L. Thomas of Lancaſter the kings ſonne returned into England, leauing the Lorde Stephen Scrope his Deputie there: who alſo in the beginning of Lent ſayled ouer into England, and then the Lordes of the land choſe the Earle of Ormond to be Lord Juſtice.

Stephen Scrope.

The Erle of Ormond Lor iuſtice.

1404

The Archbiſhop of Ardmagh deceaſed.

In the fift yeare of Henrie the fourth, John Colton Archbiſhop of Ardmagh, the. xxviij. of Aprill departed this life, vnto whome Nicholas Stoning ſucceeded.

The ſame yeare on the day of Saint Uitale the martir, the parliamẽt of Dublin began before the Erle of Ormond then lord Juſtice of Irelã, where the ſtatutes of Kilkenny and Dublin were confirmed, and likewiſe the charter of Ireland.

1405

In the ſixt yeare of Henry the fourth, in the Month of May, three Scottiſh barks were takẽ, two at greene caſtell, and one at Alkey, with captaine Macgolagh.

The ſame yeare the Marchants of Drodagh entred Scotland, and tooke prayes and pledges.

Alſo on the euen of the feaſt day of the .vij. brethren, Oghgard was burnt by the Iriſh.

And in Iune Syr Stephen Scrope that was come again into Ireland, returned eftſones into Englande, leauing the Earle of Ormonde Lorde Iuſtice of Irelande.

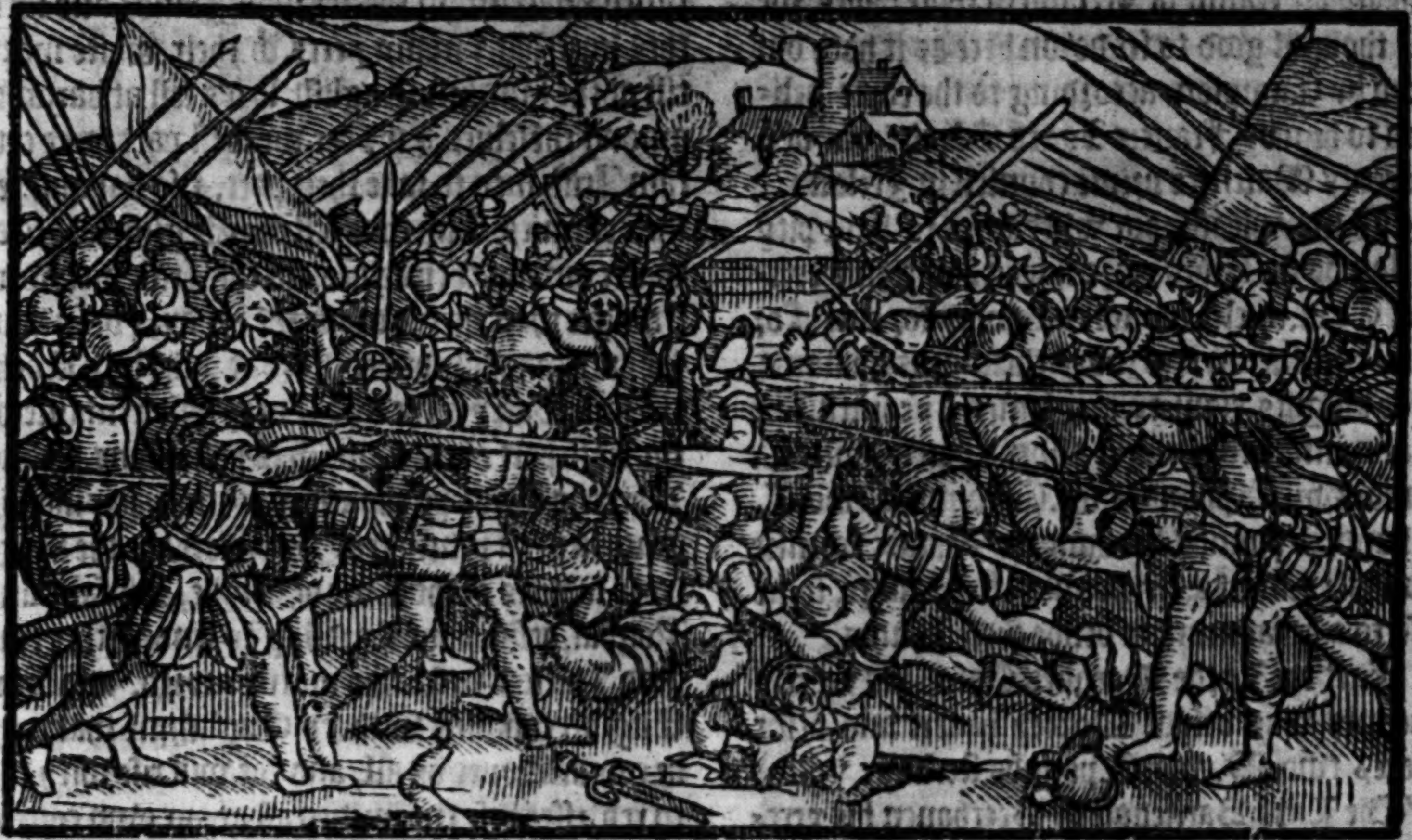
About the ſame time they of Dublin entred Scotland at Saint Ninian, and valiantly behaued themſelues agaynſte the enimies, and after croſſing the Seas, directed theyr courſe into Wales, and did muche hurt to the Welchmen, bringing from thence the ſhrine of Saint Cubins, and placed it in the Churche of the Trinitie in Dublin. James Butler Earle of Ormonde dyed at Baligam, whileſt he was Lorde Iuſtice, vnto whome ſucceded Geralde Earle of Kildare.

The Citizens of Dublin inuade Scotland.

They inuade Wales.

The Erle of Ormond deceaſeth.

In the .vij. yeare of king Henrie, on Corpus Chriſti day, the Citizens of Dublin with the Countrey people about them, manfully vanquiſhed the Iriſh enimies, and ſlue diuerſe of them,



and tooke two enſignes or Standards, bringing with them to Dublyn the heades of thoſe which they had ſlaine.

The ſame yeare the Prior of Conall, in the plaine of Kildare, fought manfully with the Iriſh, and vanquiſhed two hundred that were wel armed, ſleaing part of them, and chaſing the reſidue out of the field, and the Prior had not wyth him paſt the number of .xx. Engliſh men, but god (as ſaith mine Author) aſſiſted thoſe that put their truſt in him.

H. Marl.

The ſame yeare after Michaelmas, Stephen Scrope Deputie Iuſtice, to the Lorde Thomas of Lancaſter the kings ſonne, and his lieutenant of Ireland, came againe ouer into Irelande, and in the feaſt of Saint Hillarie was a Parliament holden at Dublyn, which in Lent after was ended at Trim. And Meiller de Brimmingham ſlue Cathole Oconhur aboute the ende of Februarie.

A Parliament at Dublin.

1407

In the yere. 1407. a certain falſe and heathniſh wretch, an Iriſh man, named Mac Adam Mac Gilmore, that had cauſed .xl. Churches to be deſtroyed, as he that was neuer chriſtened, and therfore called Corbi, chaunced to take priſoner one Patrike Sauage, and receyued for his raunſome two .M. Markes, though afterwardes hee ſlue him togither with his brother Richard.

Corbi what it ſignifieth.

The ſame yere in the feaſt of the exaltation of the Croſſe, Stephen Scrope deputie to the Lorde Thomas of Lancaſter, with the Earles of Ormonde and Deſmond, and the Prior of Kilmaynam, and diuerſe other captaynes and men of warre of Meith, ſet from Dublin, and inuaded the lande of Mac Murche, where the Iriſh came into the field and ſkirmiſhed with them, ſo as in the former part of the day, they put the Engliſh power to the worſe, but at length the Iriſhe were vanquiſhed & chaſed, ſo that Onolan with his ſonne and diuerſe other were taken priſoners. But the Engliſh captaines aduertiſed here ẏ the Burkeyns, & Okerol in the countie of Kilkenny, had for the ſpace of two days togither done much miſchief, they rode with al ſpeed vnto the towne of Callã, & there encountring with the aduerſaries, manfully put thẽ to flight, ſlue Okerol, & .viij. C. others. There went a tale and beleeued of many, that the Sunne ſtood ſtil for a ſpace that day, till the Engliſhmen had ridden ſixe myles, ſo muche was it thoughte that GOD fauoured

Okeroll ſlaine.

the Engliſhe part in this enterpriſe; if wee ſhall beleeue it.

The ſame yeare the Lorde Stephan Scrope paſſed once againe ouer into Englande, and James Butler Erle of Ormonde was elected by the countrey Lord Iuſtice of Ireland.

In the dayes of this king Henry the fourth, the Inhabitants of Corke beeing ſore afflicted with perpetual oppreſſions of their Iriſh neighbors, cõplained themſelues in a generall writing directed to the lord of Rutland & Corke, the kings deputie there, & to the counſell of the realme then aſſembled at Dublin: which letter bycauſe it openeth a window to behold the ſtate of thoſe parties, and of the whole realme of Ireland in thoſe dayes, we haue thought good to ſet down here as it hath bin entred by Campion, according to the copie deliuered to him by Francis Agard Eſquire, one of ẏ Queenes Maieſties priuie counſell in Ireland.

A letter from Corke out of an old recorde that beareth no date.

IT may pleaſe your wiſedomes to haue pity on vs the kings poore ſubiects within ẏ cõtie of Cork, or elſe we are caſt away for euer. For where there are in this cõuty theſe lords by name, beſide knights, eſquiers, gentlemen & yeomen, to a great number that might diſpend yeerly. viij. C. poundes, vj. C. poundes. iiij. C. poundes, two. C. an hundred pounds, an hundred Marks, twentie pounds. xx. marks, ten pounds, ſome more, ſome leſſe, to a great number beſide theſe Lordes.

Firſt the Lorde Marques Caro, his yearely reuenues was beſyde Dorzey hauen and other creekes, two. M. two. C. pounds ſterling.

The Lord Barneuale of Beerhauen his yeerely reuenues was beſide Bodre hauen and other creekes M. vj. C. pounds ſterling.

I thinke rather greene caſtell.

The Lorde Uggan of the great Caſtell hys yearely reuenue beſide his hauens and creekes, xiij. thouſand poundes.

The Lord Balram of Enfort, his yearely reuenues beſide hauens and creekes. M. CCC. pound ſterling.

The Lorde Curcy of Kelbretton, his yearely reuenues beſide hauens and creekes, a thouſande two hundred pound ſterling.

The Lorde Mandeuile of Barenſtelly, his yearely reuenues beſide hauens and creekes, M. two hundred pound ſterling.

The Lorde Arundell of the Strand, his yearely reuenues beſide hauēs and creekes, a thouſand, fiue hundred pounds ſterling.

The Lord Barod of the gard, his yearely reuenue beſide hauēs & creekes. M. C. poũds ſterling.

The Lord Steyney of Baltmore, his yearely reuenue beſides hauens & creekes. viij. C. ℔. ſterl.

The Lord Roch of Poole caſtell, his yearly reuenues beſyde hauens and creekes, ten thouſande poundes ſterling.

The kings Maieſtie hath the landes of the late yong Barry by forfeyture, the yearely reuenue whereof, beſide two riuers and creekes, and al other caſualties, is. M. viij. C. pound ſterling.

And that at the ende of this Parliament, your Lordſhip with the kings moſt noble cõuſell may come to Corke, & call before you al theſe Lords, & other Iriſh men, and bind them in pain of loſſe of life, lands & goods, that neuer one of them do make warre vpon an other, withoute licence or commaundement of you, my lord deputie, & the kings counſel: for the vtter deſtruction of theſe partes, is that only cauſe. And once all the Iriſh men, & the kings enimies were driuẽ into a great valley called Clane onighte betwixt two great mountains called Maccort, or the leprous Iland: and there they liued lõg & many yeers wͭ their white meat, till at the laſt theſe Engliſh lords fell at variance among thẽſelues, & thẽ the weakeſt part tooke certain Iriſh men to take their part, & ſo vanquiſhed their enimies. And thus fell the Engliſh lordes at warre among themſelues, till the Iriſh men were ſtronger than they, & draue thẽ away, & now haue the cuntry whole vnder thẽ, but ẏ the lord Roch, the lord Barry, & the lord Curcy only remaine wͭ the leaſt part of their anceſters poſſeſſions, & yong Barry is there vpõ the kings portion, paying his grace neuer a penny rent: wherfore we the kings poore ſubiects of the Citie of Corke, Kinſale, and Yoghal, deſire your Lordſhip to ſende hither two good Iuſtices to ſee this matter ordred, and ſome Engliſh captains with. xx. Engliſhmẽ that may be captains ouer vs all, and we will riſe with thẽ to redreſſe theſe enormities all at our own coſtes. And if you will not come nor ſend, we will ſende ouer to our liege lorde the king and complaine on you all. Thus farre that letter.

The Citie of Corke.

And as ſaith Campion, at this day the citie of Cork is ſo encombred with vnquiet neighbors of great power, ẏ they are forced to gard their gates continually, & to kepe thẽ ſhut at ſeruice times, at meales, & from ſunne ſetting to ſunne riſing, not ſuffring any ſtranger to enter the towne with his weapõ, but to leaue ẏ ſame at a lodge appointed. They dare vneth at any time walke abrode farre from the towne for their recreation, except at ſeaſons, and then with ſtrength of men furniſhed with armour and weapon for their ſafegarde. They match in wedlocke among themſelues, ſo that well neare the whole Citie is allied and ioyned togither in conſanguinitie.

1408

A Parliament at Dublin.

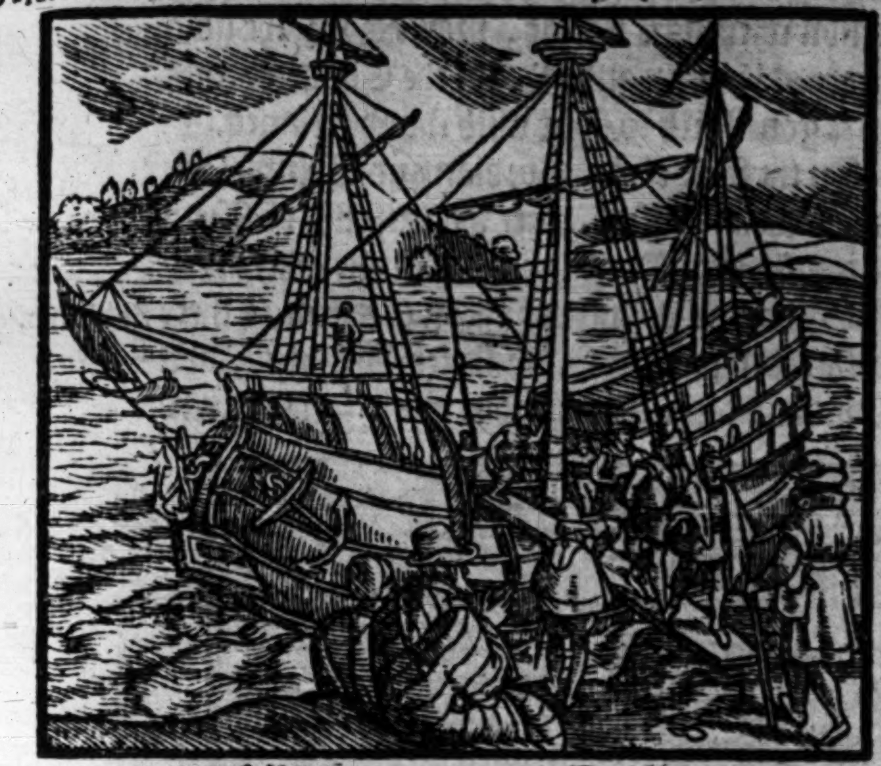
But nowe to returne vnto the doings of the Erle of Ormonde that was placed Lord Iuſtice in Scropes rowmth. We find ẏ in the yere. 1408. he called a Parliament at Dublin, in which the ſtatutes of Kilkenny and Dublin were eftſoones reuiued, and certain ordinances eſtabliſhed vnder the great ſeale of England againſt purueyors.

The ſame yeare, the morrow after Lammas

day

The lord Tho. of Lancaſter commeth ouer into Irelande

day, the Lorde Thomas of Lancaſter ſonne to king Henry the fourth, Lorde Lieutenaunt of Irelande. landed at Carlingforde, and in the weeke following, he came to Dublin, and put the Erle of Kildare vnder arreſt, cōming to him with three of his family. He loſt all his goodes being ſpoyled and rifeled by the Lorde Lieutenants ſeruants, and himſelfe deteyned ſtill in priſon in the Caſtell of Dublin, till hee had payde three hundred markes for a fine.



The Lorde Scrope deceaſeth.

On the the day of S. Marcel the Martyr, deceaſſed ẏ lord Stephā Scrope at Triſteldermot.

The ſame yeare alſo was the Lord Thomas of Lancaſter at Kilmaynam wounded (I knowe not howe,) and vneth eſcaped with life, and after cauſed ſommonance to be giuē by proclamation, that all ſuch as ought by their tenures to ſerue the king, ſhould aſſemble at Roſſe. And after the feaſt of S. Hillarie, he helde a Parliament at Kilkenny for a tallage to be graunted. And after the .xiij. of March, he returned into England, leauing the Prior of Kylmaynam for his Deputie in Irelande.

The lorde Thomas returneth into England.

This yere alſo Hugh Macgilmore was ſleine in Cragfergus within the Church of the Friers Minors, which Church hee had before deſtroyed and broken downe the glaſſe Windowes to haue the Iron barres, through which his enimies the Sauages entred vpon him.

1409

Iames de Artoys.

This yeare, beeing in the tenth of Henrie the fourth, in Iune Ianico de Artoys with the Engliſh men ſlue .80. of the Iriſh in Vlſter.

The ſworde giuen to the citie of Dublin.

This yere king Henrie gaue the ſword to the citie of Dublin, which citie was firſt gouerned as appeareth by their ancient ſeale called *Signū præpoſituræ*, by a Prouoſt. And in the .xiij. of Henrie the thirde by a Maior and two Baylifes, whiche Baylifes were chaunged into Shrifes, by Charter graunted by Edward the ſixt. 1547.

Baylifes changed into Shirifes.

This Maioralitie, both for ſtate and charge of office, and for bountifull hoſpitalitie, exceedeth any citi in England, London excepted.

1410

In the yeare following, the .xxj. day of May, a Parliament beganne at Dublin, whiche laſted three weekes, the Prior of Kilmaynam ſitting as Lorde Juſtice.

The ſame yeare, the .xxij. day of June, the ſame Juſtice tooke the Caſtels of Mibraclide, Oferol, and de la Mare.

Irelande this yeare was ſore afflicted for want of corne.

A Iourney made by the lorde iuſtice.

The Lorde Juſtice entred into the lande of Obren with .1500. Kernes, of which number .800. reuolted to the Iriſh, ſo that if the power of Dublyn had not beene there, it had gone euill with the Lorde Juſtice, and yet he eſcaped not without loſſe, for John Derpatrike was ſlaine there.

1411

Mariages.

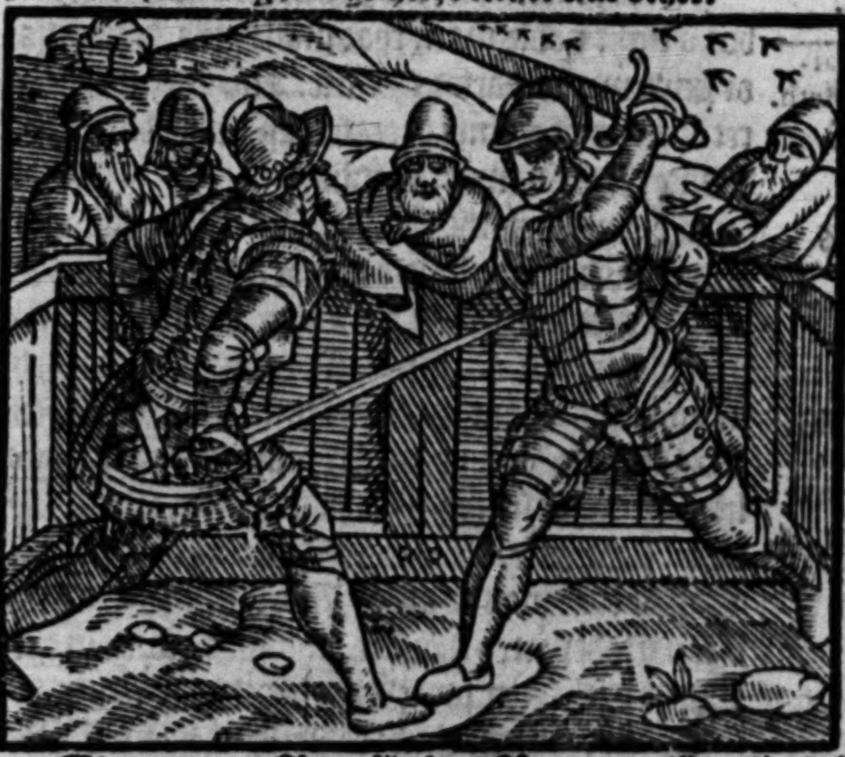
In the yeare .1411. before Shroue Sunday, mariages were celebrated among the nobilitie in Irelande. William Preſton maryed the daughter of Edwarde Paris, and John Wogan matched with the eldeſt daughter of Chriſtofer Preſton, and Walter de la Hide, with the ſeconde daughter of the ſame Chriſtofer.

1412

Oconthir.

In the yeare .1412. about the feaſt of Tiburtius and Valerianus, which falleth on the .x. of April Oconthir did much miſchiefe in Meth, and tooke .160. Engliſh men.

The ſame yeare Odoles a knight, & Thomas Fitz Morice fought togither, & either ſlue other.



The Biſhop of Meth deceaſeth

The .xxiiij. of May, Robert Mountain Biſhop of Meth departed this life, to whom ſucceded Edwarde de Audiſey ſometime Archdeacon of Cornewall. This yeare on Saint Cutberts day king Henry the fourth departed this life.

The death of king Henrie the fourth.

¶ Henrie the fift.

1413

Iohn Stanley the kings lieutenant in Irelande.

IN the firſte yere of this king, the .xxv. of Sept. landed in Irelād at Clawcarf, John Stanley the kings lieutenant of that lande. He departed this life the .xviij. of Januarie next enſuing, at Athirde in Latine called Atrium dei. After his deceaſe, Thomas Cranley Archbiſhop of Dublin was choſen L. iuſtice of Ireland. Janico de Artoys ledde forth a power agaynſte Magynors,

Tho Cranley Archbiſhop of Dublin.

a great Lord of Ireland, but neare to a place called Inor many Engliſhmen were ſlaine.

A Parliament.

The morrow after S. Mathias day, a Parliament began againe at Dublin, which continued for the ſpace of. xv. dayes, in which meane tyme the Iriſhe did muche hurt by inuaſions made into the Engliſh pale, and burning vp all the houſes afore them that ſtoode in theyr way, as their vſuall cuſtome was in tymes of other Parliaments, whereupon a tallage was demaunded, but not graunted.

1414

In the yeare. 1414. the Engliſh men fought with the Iriſh neare to Kilka, and ſlue an hundred of the enimies, whileſt the Archbiſhop being Lord Juſtice in Triſtel Dermote, went in proceſſion with his Cleargie, praying for the good ſpeede of his men and other of the Countrey, that were gone forth to fight with the aduerſaries.

In the feaſt of S. Gordian and Epimachus, to wit, the. x. of May, were the Engliſh of Meth diſcomfited by Oconther & his Iriſh, where they ſlue Thomas Maureuar baron of Serin, & there were taken priſoners, Chriſtofer Fleming, John Dardis, & diuers other, beſide many yͭ were ſlain.

English men ſlaine.

John Lorde Talbot of Sherfield.

On Saint Martins euen, ſir John Talbot of Holomſhire, Lorde Furniuale, landed at Dalkey, the kings lieutenaunt in Irelande, a man of great honour.

1415

Robert Talbot deceaſeth.

In the yeare. 1415. in Nouēber, Robert Talbot a right noble man, that walled the Suburbs of Kilkenny, departed this life. Alſo Patrike Barret Biſhop of Fernis deceaſed, and was buried among the Canons at Kenlis.

1416

This yeare in the feaſt day of Geruaſius and Prothaſius which falleth on the. xix. of June, the Lord lieutenants wife, the Ladie Furniuall was brought to bed at Finglaſſe of a ſonne named Thomas. About the ſame time alſo, Stephen Fleming Archbiſhop of Ardmach departed thys life, after whō ſucceded John Suanig. On yͤ day of S. Laurence, the Lord Furniuals ſonne Tho. Talbot that was borne at Finglaſſe in Nouēber laſt paſt, departed this life, and was buried in the Quier of the frier preachers church in Dublyn.

The Archbiſhop of Ardmagh deceaſeth.

About the ſame time the Iriſh fel vpō yͤ Engliſhmen, and ſlue many of them, among other Thomas Balimore of Baliquelan was one.

The Parliament remoued to Trim.

The Parliament which the laſt yeare had bene called and holden at Dublyn, was this yeare remoued to Trim, and there began the. xj. of May, where it continued for the ſpace of. xj. dayes, in the which was graunted to the lord lieutenant, a ſubſidie in monie.

A ſubſedie.

1417

The Archbiſhop of Dublin deceaſed.

In the yeare following, the Archebiſhop of Dublyn paſſed ouer into England, and deceaſſed at Faringdon, but his bodie was buried in the new Colledge at Oxforde. This man is greatly prayſed for his liberalitie, hee was a good almes man, a great Clearke, a Doctor of Diuinitie, an excellent preacher, a great buylder, beautifull, tall of ſtature, and ſanguine of complexion. He was lxxx. yeares of age when he died, and had gouerned the Church of Dublyn in good quiet by the ſpace of twentie yeares.

His prayſe.

1418

This yeare, ſhortly after Eaſter, the Lord deputie ſpoyled the tenants of Henrie Crus, and Henrie Bethat.

Alſo at Olane on the feaſt day of Saint John and Saint Paule, the Erle of Kildare, ſir Chriſtofer Preſton, and ſir John Bedlow were arreſted and committed to warde within the Caſtell of Trim, bycauſe they ſought to commune wyth the Prior of Kilmaynam.

The xxix. of July, Mathew Huſee Baron of Galtrim deceaſed, and was buried at the Friers preachers of Trim.

1419

A counſell or Parliament holden.

In the yeare. 1419 a counſell royall was holden at Naas, where was graunted to the Lorde Lieutenant a ſubſedie in money.

The ſame yeare vpon Cene Thurſday, Othoel tooke. 400. kine yͭ belonged vnto Balimore, ſo breaking the peace contrarie to his othe.

Mac Murche taken priſoner

The fourth Ides of May, Mac Mourch, chief captain of his nation, and of all the Iriſh in Leyniſter, was taken priſoner, and the ſame day was ſir Hugh Cokeſey made knight.

The laſt of May, the Lord lieutenant, and the Archebiſhop of Dublin with the Maior, razed the Caſtel of Kenini. The morow after the feaſt day of Proceſſus and Martinianus, that is the. xx. of June, the lord William de Burgh, & other Engliſhmen, ſlue. v. C. Iriſh men, and tooke Okelly.

Okelly taken.

On the feaſt of Marie Magdalene, the Lorde lieutenāt Talbot returned into Englād, leauing his deputie there the Archbiſhop of Dublin.

The Prior of Kilmaynam went to ſerue the king in Fraunce.

This yeare about Saint Laurence day, dyuerſe went forth of Irelande to ſerue the king in his warres of Normandie, as Thomas Butler that was Prior of Kilmaynam, and many other. John Fitz Henry ſucceded the ſaid Butler in gouernment of the Priorie of Kilmaynam.

The Archbiſhop of Dublin that remayned as Lorde Deputie, ſlue .xxx. Iriſh men neare vnto Rodiſton. Alſo the .xiij. of Februarie, John Fitz Henry Prior of Kilmaynam departed this life, & Williã Fitz Thomas was choſen to ſucceede in his place, and was confirmed the morrow after Saint Valentines day.

1420

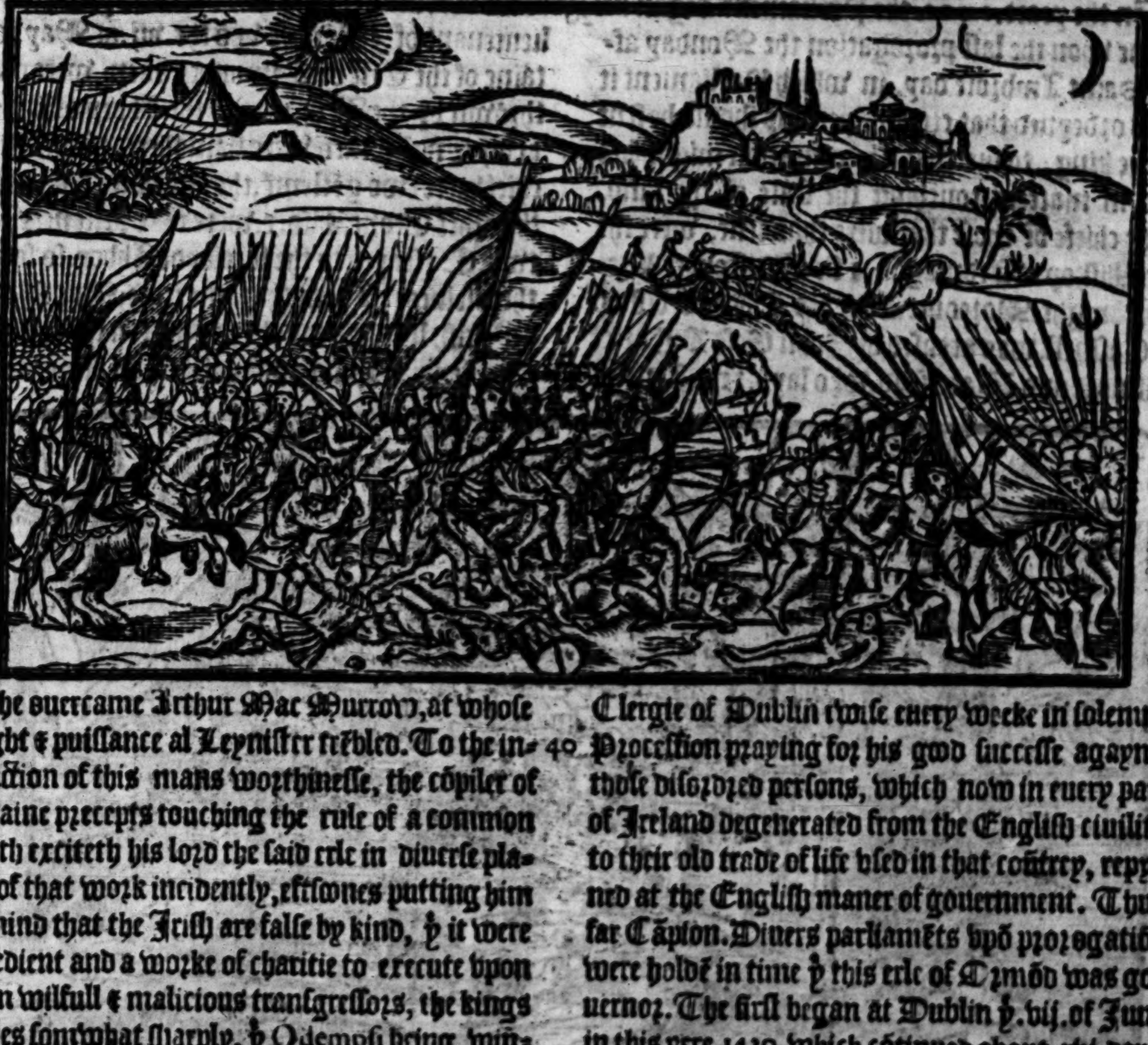
James Butler Earle of Ormond Lorde Lieutenant.

James Butler Erle of Ormond, appointed the kings lieutenant in Ireland in place of John L. Talbot, & Furniual, landed at Waterford about the .iiij. Ides of Aprill, and ſhortly after his comming ouer, cauſed a combat to be fought betwixt twa of his couſins, of whõ the one was ſlain in yͤ place; and the other caried away ſore wounded.

A Parliament ſommoned.

On Saint Georges day, he held a counſell in Dublin, and ſummoned a Parliament to begin there the .vij. of June. In the meane while he fetched great booties out of the Countreys of the Iriſh Lordes Oraly, Mac Mahun, & Magynoys. But firſt ere we go further to ſhew what Marlb. hath noted of the doings whileſt this Erle of Ormond gouerned as the kings lieutenant in Irelande, we haue thought good to ſet downe what Campion alſo writeth thereof, as thus:

James Yong an Author alledged by Campion. The Sunne ſtayeth his courſe.



In the red Moore of Athie (the Sunne almoſt lodged in the weſt, & miraculouſly ſtanding ſtill in his epicicle by the ſpace of three houres till the feat was accompliſhed, and no hole nor quakmire in all that bog annoying either horſe or mã of his part) he vanquiſhed Omore and his terrible army with a few of his owne meiny, & with the like nũber he ouercame Arthur Mac Murrow, at whoſe might & puiſſance al Leyniſter trẽbled. To the inſtruction of this mans worthineſſe, the cõpiler of certaine precepts touching the rule of a common welth exciteth his lord the ſaid erle in diuerſe places of that work incidently, eftſoones putting him in mind that the Iriſh are falſe by kind, yͭ it were expedient and a worke of charitie to execute vpon them wilfull & malicious tranſgreſſors, the kings lawes ſomwhat ſharply, yͭ Odempſi being winked at awhile, abuſed that ſmall time of ſuffrance to the iniurie of the erle of Kildare, intruding vniuſtly vpõ the caſtel of Ley, frõ whence yͤ ſaid deputie had iuſtly expelled him, & put the erle in poſſeſſion therof, that notwithſtanding their othes & pledges, they are yet no longer true than they feel themſelues the weaker. This Deputie tamed the Brenes, the Burghs, Mac Banons, Ogkaghuraght, Mores Mac Mahun, all the captaines of Thomõd, & all this he did in three Moneths, the Clergie of Dublin twiſe euery weeke in ſolemne Proceſſion praying for his good ſucceſſe agaynſt thoſe diſordred perſons, which now in euery part of Ireland degenerated from the Engliſh ciuility to their old trade of life vſed in that cõtrey, repyned at the Engliſh maner of gouernment. Thus far Cãpion. Diuers parliamẽts vpõ prorogatiõs were holdẽ in time yͭ this erle of Ormõd was gouernor. The firſt began at Dublin yͤ .vij. of June in this yere .1420. which cõtinued about .xvj. days. At this parliament was granted to the L. lieutenant a ſubſidie of .vij. C. Marks. At the .xvj. days end, this Parliamẽt was adiourned til the Monday after Saint Andrews day. In yͤ ſame parliament the debts of the L. John Talbot which were due to certain perſons for vitailes and other things takẽ vp whileſt he was L. lieutenãt there, were reconed vp, which L. Talbot verily for that he ſaw not yͤ creditors ſatiſfied before his cõming away, was partly euil ſpoken of in the Countrey.

1420

The Parliamẽt began.

The Caſtell of Colmolin.

The Earle of Ormondes ſon and heyre borne.

The morrow after the feaſt of Simon and Iude, the Caſtell of Colmolyn was taken by Thomas Fitz Geralde. And on Saint Katherins euen, the ſonne and heyre of the Erle of Ormond Lord Lieutenant was borne, for the which there was great reioyſing,

In the Parliament begon againe at Dublin the Monday after Saint Andrews day, an other ſubſidie of. CCC. markes was graunted vnto the Lord Lieutenant. And after they had ſit. xiij. dayes, it was eftſoones adiourned till the Monday after Saint Ambroſe day. Then rumors were ſpred abrode, that Thomas Fitz Iohn Erle of Deſmond was departed this life at Paris vpon Saint Laurence day, after whome ſucceded his vncle Iames Fitz Gerald, whom he had three ſeueral times renoūced, as one that was a waſter of his patrimonie, both in England and Ireland, and not like to come to any good prouſe.

1421

A Parliament.

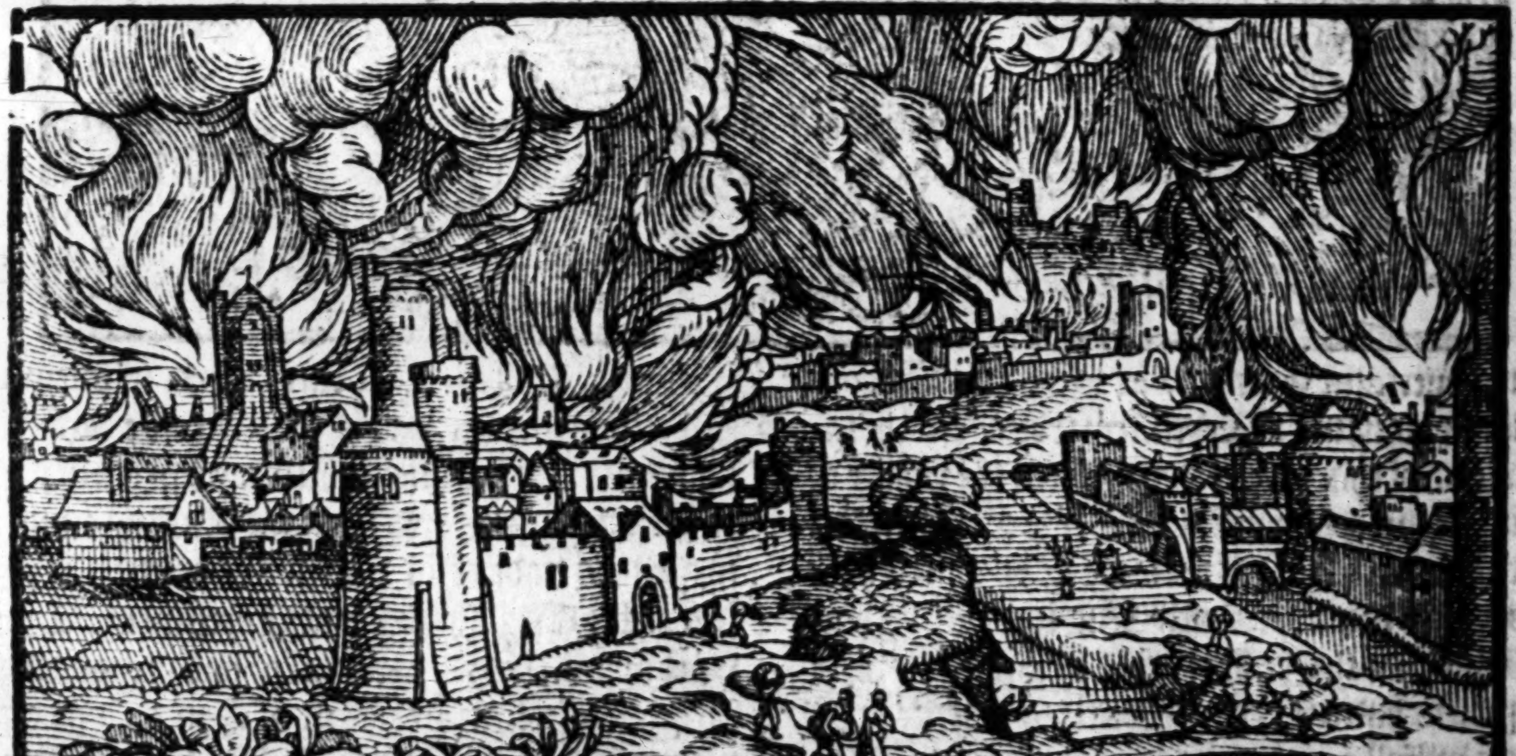
In the yeare. 1421. the Parliament began againe vpon the laſt prorogation the Monday after Saint Ambroſe day, in which Parliament it was ordeyned that certaine perſons ſhould be ſent to the king, to ſue that a reformation might bee had in matters touching the ſtate of the land. The chiefe of thoſe that were thus ſent, were the Archbiſhop of Ardmagh, & ſir Chriſtopher Preſton knight. Moreouer, Richard Ohedian biſhop of Caſhell, was accuſed by Iohn Geſe Biſhop of Liſmore and Waterford, who layd. xxx. Articles to his charge. Amongſt other, one was for that he loued none of the Engliſh nation, and that he beſtowed not one benefice vpon any Engliſh man; and counſelled other biſhops that they ſhould not beſtow any within their Dioces vpon any Engliſh man. Moreouer, an other Article was for counterfeyting the kings ſeale, and an other for that he went about to make himſelf K. of Moūſter, and had taken a ring from the Image of S. Patrike (which the Erle of Deſmond had offred) and giuen it to his lemman. Many other crymes were layd to him, by the ſayd Biſhop of Liſmore and Waterford, which he exhibited in writing.

The Biſhop of Caſhell accuſed.

Alſo in the ſame Parliament, there roſe cōtention betwixt Adam Pain biſhop of Clone, & another prelate whoſe church he would haue annexed vnto his ſee. At length after the Parliament had continued for the ſpace of xviij. days, it brake vp. Herewith came newes of yͤ ſlaughter of the Lord Tho. of Lācaſter duke of Clarence, yͭ had bin L. lieutenant of Ireland, & vpō the. vij. of May, certaine of the Erle of Ormondes men were ouerthrown by the Iriſh, nere to the Abbey of Leys, & xxvij. Engliſh men were ſlain there, of whom the chief were two gētlemē, the one named Purcel, & the other Grant. Alſo. x. were takē priſoners, and two. C. eſcaped to the foreſayde Abbey, ſo ſauing themſelues. About the ſame time, Mac Mahun an Iriſh lord, did much hurt within the coūtry of Vrgile, by burning and waſting all afore him.

The Duke of Clarence ſlaine in Fraunce.

Mac Mahun.



Alſo vpon the morrow after Midſommer day, the Erle of Ormond Lord lieutenant entred into the Countrey about Leys vpon Omordris, & for the ſpace of foure dayes togither did muche hurt in ſleaing and ſpoyling the people, till the Iriſh were glad to ſue for peace.

¶ Henrie the ſixt.

Lieutenants to Henrie the ſixt ouer the realme of Irelande were theſe, Edmonde Earle of March, and Iames Erle of Ormond his deputy. Iohn Sutton Lord Dudley, & ſir Tho. Strange knight his deputie. Sir Thomas Stanley, and ſir Chriſtofer Plunket his deputie. [Thys ſir Thomas Stanley. on Michaelmaſſe day, in the twelfth yeare of King Henrye the ſixth, wyth all the Knightes of Methe and Iriell, fought agaynſte the Iriſhe, ſlue a greate number, and tooke Neill Odonell priſoner.]

Henry. Marle.

Here endeth Marleburgh, and all that foloweth is taken out of Campion.

Lieu

Lion Lord Welles, & the Earle of Ormonde his deputie. Iames Earle of Ormonde by hym ſelfe, Iohn Erle of Shrewesburie, and the Archbiſhop of Dublin Lorde Iuſtice in his abſence. Richard Plantagenet Duke of Yorke, father to King Edwarde the fourth and Earle of Vlſter, had the office of Lieutenaunte by the Kings letters patents, during the tearme of tenne yeeres, who appoynted to rule vnder him as his deputies at ſundry times, the Baron of Deluin, Richarde Fitz Euſtace Knight, Iames Earle of Ormõd, and Thomas Fitz Morice Erle of Kildare. To this Richard Duke of Yorke and Vlſter then reſident in Dublin, was borne within the Caſtell there his ſecõd ſonne the Lord George, that was after Duke of Clarence: his Godfathers at the fonteſtone were the Erles of Ormond and Diſmonde. Whether the commotion of Iacke Cade an Iriſhman borne, naming himſelf Mortimer, and ſo pretending coſinage to diuers noble houſes in this land, proceeded from ſome intelligẽce, with the Dukes friends here in Ireland, it is vncertayne: but ſurely the Duke was vehemently ſuſpected, and immediatly after began the troubles whiche through him were reyſed. Whyche broyles being couched for a time, the Duke helde himſelfe in Ireland, being lately by Parliamente ordeyned protector of the Realme of Englande: he left his agent in the Court, his brother yͤ Erle of Saliſburie, Lord Chancellor, to whom he declared the troth of the troubles then towarde in Ireland: which letter exemplyfyed by Sir Henry Sidney Lorde Deputie, a greate ſearcher and preſeruer of antiquities, as it came to Campions hands, and by hym ſet downe, we haue thoughte good likewiſe to preſent it here to your viewe.

Campion out of the Records of Chriſts Church.

George Duke of Clarence borne at Dublin.

Iacke Cade.

To the right worſhipfull, and with all mine
hart, intierly beloued brother, the
Earle of Saliſburie.

The copie of a letter.

RIght Worſhipfull, and with all my harte, intierly beloued brother, I recommende me vnto you as hartily as I can. And like it you to witte, ſith I wrote laſt vnto the King our Soueraigne Lorde his highneſſe, the Iriſh enemie, yͭ is to ſay Magoghigam, and with him three or foure Iriſhe Captaynes, aſſociate with a greate felowſhip of Engliſh Rebells, notwithſtandyng that they were within the King our Soueraygne Lord his peace of greate malice, and againſte all truth haue maligned againſt their legiance, and vengeably haue brent a great towne of myne inheritance in Meth, called Ramore, and other villages thereaboutes, and murthered and brẽt both men, womẽ and children, withouten mercy: the whiche enimies be yet aſſembled in Woods and fortes, awaighting to do the hurt and greeuance to the Kings ſubiects, that they can thinke or imagine. For which cauſe, I write at this tyme vnto the Kings highneſſe, and beſeche his good Grace for to haſten my payment for this lande, according vnto his letters of warrant nowe late directed vnto the Treaſorer of Englande, to the intent I may wage men in ſufficiente number, for to reſiſt the malice of the ſame enimies, and puniſh them in ſuch wiſe, that other which would do the ſame for lacke of reſiſtance, in time may take example. For doubtleſſe, but if my paymente be had in all haſt, for to haue men of warre in defence and ſafegard of this land, my power cannot ſtretch to keepe it in the kings obeyſance, and very neceſſitie will compell me to come into England to liue there vpon my poore liuelyhood: for I had leuer be dead than any inconuenience ſhoulde fall thereunto in my default: for it ſhall neuer bee chronicled nor remayne in Scripture by yͤ grace of God, that Ireland was loſt by my negligẽce. And therefore I beſeeche you right Worſhipfull brother, that you will holde to your handes inſtantly, that my paymente may bee had at thys time in eſchewing all inconueniences. For I haue example in other places, (more pitie it is) for to dread ſhame, and for to acquit my troth vnto the Kings highneſſe as my duetie is. And thys I pray and exhort you good brother, to ſhewe vnto his good grace, and that you will be ſo good, that this language may bee enacted at this preſente Parliamẽt for mine excuſe in time to come, and that you will be good to my ſeruant Roger Roe the bearer of theſe, and to my other ſeruaunts, in ſuch things as they ſhall purſewe vnto the kings highneſſe, and to giue full faith and credence vnto the report of the ſaid Roger, touching the ſayde matters. Right worſhipful, and with all my hart intierly beloued brother, our bleſſed Lorde God preſerue and keepe you in all honor, proſperous eſtate, and felicitie, and graunte you righte good life & long. Writtẽ at Dublin yͤ.15.day of Iune.

Roger Roe.

Your faithfull true brother
Richarde Yorke.

Of ſuche power was Magoghigam in thoſe dayes, who as he wan and kept it by the ſworde, ſo nowe his ſucceſſors in that ſtate liue but as meane Captaines, yeelding their winnings to yͤ ſtronger. This is the miſerie of lawleſſe people, reſembling the rudeneſſe of the rude world, wherin euery mã was richer and poorer than other, as he was in might & violence more or leſſe enabled. Here began factions of the nobilitie in Irelande, fauoring diuers ſides that ſtroue for the Crowne of England. For the Duke of Yorke in thoſe ten yeeres of his gouernemente, exceedingly wanne the hartes of the noblemen and Gentlemen of that land, of the whiche diuers were ſlayne with

Magoghigam his power.

him at Wakefielde, as the contrary part was the next yeere by his ſonne Edward Erle of Marche at Mortimers Croſſe in Wales. In which mean time the Iriſhe grewe hardy, and vſurped the Engliſhe countreys inſufficiently defended, as they had done by like oportunitie in the latter end of Richard the ſecond. These two ſeaſons ſet thẽ ſo a flote, ỹ hẽceforward they could neuer be caſt out from their forcible poſſeſſions, holding by playne wrong all Vlſter, and by certayne Iriſhe tenures no ſmall portions of Monſter and Conagh, leaſt in Meth and Leyniſter, where the ciuill ſubiects of the Engliſhe bloud did euer moſt preuayle.

Edwarde the fourth,

And Edward the fifth.

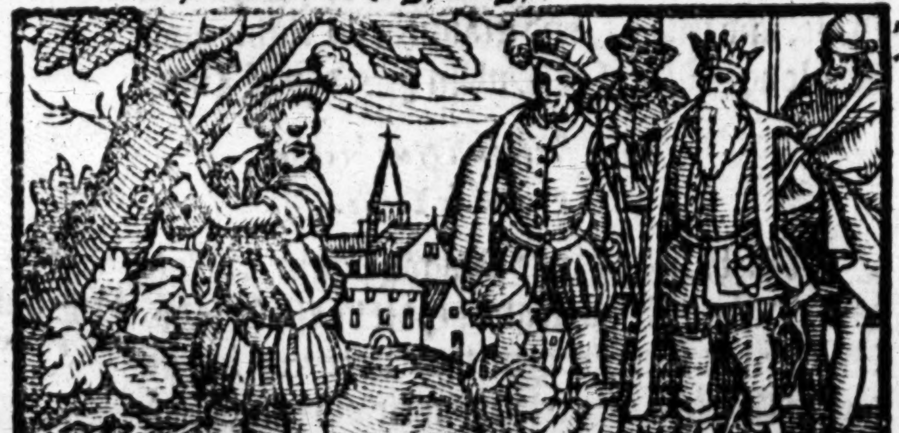
Lieutenaunts and Deputies in king Edward the fourth his dayes.

THomas Fitz Morice Earle of Kildare, Lord Iuſtice vntill the thirde yeere of Edward the fourth, after whiche time the Duke of Clarence, brother to the King, had the office of Lieutenant while he liued, and made his deputies by ſundry turnes, Thomas Erle of Deſmond, Iohn Tiptoft Erle of Wurcetor the Kings couſin, Thomas Earle of Kildare, and Henry Lord Grey of Ruthin. Great was the credit of the Giraldines euer whẽ the houſe of Yorke proſpered, and likewiſe the Butlers thriued vnder the bloud of the Lancaſters: for whiche cauſe the Earle of Deſmond remayned many yeres Deputie to George Duke of Clarence his good brother: but when he had ſpoken certayne diſdaynefull words againſte the late marriage of king Edward with the Lady Elizabeth Gray, the ſayd Lady beeing nowe Queene, cauſed his trade of life after the Iriſhe manner, contrary to ſundry olde ſtatutes enacted in that behalfe, to be ſifted and examined by Iohn Earle of Wurcetor his ſucceſſor, ſo that hee was atteynted of treaſon, cõdemned, and for the ſame beheaded at Droghedagh.

The Butlers.

The Erle of Wurceter.

1467



Campion out of Saint leger in his collections.

Iames the father of this Thomas Earle of Deſmond, being ſuffered and not controlled, during the gouernemẽt of Richard Duke of Yorke his godcept, and of Thomas Erle of Kildare his kinſman, put vpon the Kings ſubiects within the countries of Waterford, Corke, Keary, and Limirike, the Iriſh impoſitions of Quinio and Liuery, Cartings, Cariages, lodings, Coſherings, Bonnaght and ſuch like, which cuſtomes are the very breeders, mayntayners and vpholders of all Iriſhe enormities, wringing from the poore tenantes euerlaſting ceaſſe, allowãce of meate and money, whereby their bodies and goodes were brought in ſeruice and thraldome, ſo that the mẽ of warre, horſes, and their Galloglaghes lye ſtil vpon the fermors, eate them out, begger the coũtrey, foſter a ſort of Idle vagabonds, ready to rebell if their Lord commaund them, euer nouſled in ſtelth and robberies. These euill preſidents giuen by the father, the ſonne did exerciſe, being L. Deputie, to whome the reformation of that diſorder ſpecially belonged. Notwithſtanding the ſame faulte beeing winked at in other, and with ſuch rigor auenged in him, was manifeſtly taken for a quarrell ſought and procured. Two yeeres after, the ſayd Earle of Wurcetor loſt his head, while Henry the ſixt takẽ out of the Tower was ſet vp againe, & king Edward proclaymed vſurper, and then was Kildare enlarged, whom likewiſe atteynted, they thought alſo to haue rydde, and ſhortly both the Earles of Kildare and Deſmond were reſtored to their bloud by Parliamẽt. Sir Rouland Euſtace, ſometime Treaſorer and Lord Chancellor, was laſtly alſo Lord Deputie of Ireland. He founded S. Francis Abbey beſide Kilcollen bridge. King Edwarde a yeere before his death, honored his yonger ſon Richard Duke of Yorke, with the title of Lieutenant ouer thys lande, which he enioyed til his vnnaturall Vncle bereft both him and his brother King Edwarde the fifth of their naturall liues.

Iriſh impoſitions.

1469

Reſtitution to bloud.

1470

Flatsbery.

¶ Richard the third.

Richard the third.

VVHen this Monſter of nature and cruell Tyrant Richard the third had murthered his two yong Nephewes, and taken vpon hym the Crowne and gouernement of England, hee preferred his owne ſonne Edward to the dignitie of Lorde Lieutenante of Ireland, whoſe deputie was Geralde Earle of Kildare that bare that office all the reigne of King Richard, and a while in Henry the ſeuenth his dayes.

¶ Henry the ſeuenth.

Henry the ſeuenth. Sir Richard Simõd Prieſt. Lambert coũterfeyte to be the Erle of Warwicke.

TO the which Earle came the wilie Prieſt, ſir Richard Simond, bringing with him a lad that was his Scholer, named Lambert, whome hee feygned to bee the ſonne of George Earle of Clarence, lately eſcaped forth of the Tower of London. And the boy could reckon vp his pedegree ſo redily, and had learned of the Prieſt ſuche Princely behauiour, that hee lightly moued the ſayde Earle, and many other ỹ nobles of Ireland (tendering as well the lignage royal of Richard Plantagenet Duke of Yorke, and hys ſonne George their Countreymā borne, as alſo maligning the aduauncement of the houſe of Lancaſter in Henry the ſeuenth) eyther to thinke or to faine, yͤ the world might beleeue they thought verily this child to be Edward Earle of Warwike, the Duke of Clarence his lawfull ſonne.

The Lor e Louell. Sir Thomas Broughton.

And although King Henry more than halfe marred their ſporte, in ſhewing the right Earle through all the ſtreetes of London, yet the Lady Margaret, Duches of Burgongne, ſiſter to Edwarde the fourth, hyr Nephewe Iohn de la Poole, yͤ Lord Louell, Sir Thomas Broughton Knighte, and dyuers other Captaynes of this conſpiracy, deuiſed to abuſe the colour of this yong Earles name, for preferring their purpoſe: which if it came to good, they agreed to depoſe Lamberte, and to erect the very Earle indeede, nowe priſoner in the Tower, for whoſe quarrell, had they pretended to fight, they deemed it likely hee ſhoulde haue bin made away. Wherefore it was blazed in Irelande, that the King to mocke hys ſubiectes, had ſcholed a boy, to take vppon hym the Earle of Warwikes name, and hadde ſhewed him about London, to blinde the eyes of the ſimple folke, and to defeate the lawfull inheritour of the good Duke of Clarence theyr countreyman and protector durynge his life, vnto whoſe lignage, they alſo deriued title in right to the Crowne.

imberte owned.

In all haſt, they aſſembled at Dublin, and there in Chriſts Churche, they Crowned thys Idoll, honoring him with titles imperiall, feaſting and triumphing, reyſing myghtie ſhoutes and cryes, carrying him from thence to the Caſtell vpon tall mens ſhoulders, that hee myghte bee ſeene and noted, as hee was ſure an honorable childe to looke vpon.

Heerewith, aſſembling their forces togither, they prouided themſelues of Shippes, and embarquing therein, they tooke the Sea, and landing in Lancaſhire, paſſed forwarde, till they came to Newarke vpon Trent: thereupon enſued the battell of Stoke, commonly called Martin Swartes field, wherein Lambert and hys maiſter were taken, but yet pardoned of life, and were not executed.

The Earle of Lincolne, the Lorde Louell, Martin Swart, the Almayne Captayne, and Maurice Fitz Thomas, Captayne of the Iriſh, were ſlayne, and all their power diſcomfited, as in the Engliſhe hiſtory it may further appeare.

460

Iaſper Duke of Bedford Lieutenant.

Iaſper Duke of Bedford, and Erle of Pembroke Lieutenant, and Walter Archbyſhop of Dublin his Deputie.

In this time, befell another like Iriſhe illuſion, procured by the Duches aforeſayd, and certayne nobles in England, whereby was exalted as rightfull King of Englande, and vndoubted Earle of Vlſter, the counterfeyte Richarde Duke of Yorke, preſerued from kyng Richards crueltie (as the adherentes faced the matter downe) and with thys Maygame Lorde, named indeede Peter (in ſcorne Perkin) Warbecke, they flattered themſelues manye yeares after.

Perkin Warbecke.

1494

Sir Edward Poynings L. Deputy.

Then was Sir Edward Poynings Knight ſente ouer Lorde Deputie, with commiſſion to apprehende Warbeckes principall partners in Irelande: amongſt whome, was named Giralde Fitz Girald Earle of Kildare, whoſe purgation the Kyng (notwithſtandyng dyuers ſurmiſing and auouching the contrarye) dyd accept.

Perkin Warbecke taken.

After muche adoe, Perkin beeing taken, confeſſed by hys owne writing the courſe of hys whole life, and al his proceedings in thys enterpriſe, whereof in the Engliſhe hiſtorie, as wee haue borowed the ſame forthe of Halles Chronicles, yee may reade more, and therefore heere we haue omitted to ſpeake further of that matter;

1501

Henry Duke of Yorke, after King Henry the eyght, L. Lieutenaunt.

In the yeare. 1501. King Henrye made Lieutenant of Ireland his ſecond ſonne Henry, as then Duke of Yorke, who after reigned by the name of Henry the eyght.

The fielde of Knocktowe.

To him was appoynted Deputie, the foreſayd Giralde Earle of Kildare, who accompanyed with Iohn Blake Maior of Dublin, warred vpon William le Burgh, Obrene, and Mack Nemarre, Ocarroul, and foughte wyth the greateſt power of Iriſhmen that hadde bin togither ſince the Conqueſt, vnder the hyll of Knocktowe, in Engliſhe, the hyll of the Axes, ſixe miles from Galoway, and two myles from Belliclare Burghes manour Towne: Mack William and his complices were there taken, hys Souldyers that eſcaped the ſworde were purſued fleeing, for the ſpace of fyue myles, great ſlaughter was made of them, and many Captaynes caughte, without the loſſe of one Engliſhman.

The Earle of Kildare, knight of the Garter.

The Earle of Kildare at hys returne, was made Knighte of the noble order of the Garter, and lyued in worthy eſtimation all hys lyfe long, as well for thys ſeruice, as diuers other his famous exploytes.

The thirde Booke of the Hiſtorie of Ireland, compriſing the raigne of Henry the eyght: continued by Richard Stanihurſt, and vvritten to the right honorable Sir Henrie Sidney Knight, Lord Deputie of Ireland, Lord preſident of VVales,

Knight of the moſt noble order of the Garter, and one of hir Maieſties priue Counſayle within hir Realme of Englande.

NOw comberſome (ryghte honorable) & daungerous a taſke it is, to engroſſe & diuulge the doings of others, eſpecially whē the parties regiſtred or their iſſue are liuing: both common reaſon ſufficiently acknowledgeth, and dayly experience infallibly approueth. For Man by courſe of nature is ſo partially affected to himſelf, and his bloud, as hee will bee more agreeued with the Chronicler for recording a peeuiſh treſpaſſe, than hee will be offended with his friende, for cōmitting an heynons treaſon.

Ouer this, if the hiſtorian be long, hee is accompted a trifler: if he be ſhort, he is taken for a ſummiſter: if he commende, he is twighted for a flatterer: if he reproue, he is holden for a carper: if he be pleaſant, he is noted for a ieſter: if hee bee graue, he is reckened for a drouper: if he miſdate, he is named a falſyfyer: if he once but trippe, hee is tearmed a ſtumbler: ſo that lette hym beare himſelfe in hys Chronicle, as vprightly and as conſcionably as he may poſſible, yet hee ſhall bee ſure, to fynde them that wyll bee more preſt to blabbe forth his peliſh faultes, than they will be ready to blaze out his good deſertes.

Others there bee, that although they are not able to reproue what is written, yet they will bee ſure, to caſt in hys diſhe what is forgotten. Heere, ſaye they, thys exployte is omitted: there that policie is not detected: heere thys ſaying woulde haue beene enterlaced: there that treacherie ſhoulde haue beene diſplayd.

Theſe and the lyke diſcommodities, wyth which Hiſtoriographers are vſually cloyd, haue borne backe diuers and ſundry willing mindes, who taking the way to bee thorny, the credite ſlipperie, the carpers to bee many, woulde in no caſe bee medlers, chooſing rather to ſitte by theyr owne fyre obſcurely at home, than to bee bayted with enuious tongs openly abrode.

Others on the contrary ſide, beeyng reſolute fellowes, and trampling vnder foote theſe curious faultfynders, would not ſticke to put themſelues forthe in preſſe, and maugre all theyr heartes, to buſkle forwarde, and ruſhe through the pykes of theyr quipping nippes, and bityng frumpes.

But I, takyng the meane betweene both theſe extremities, helde it for better, not to bee ſo feynte and peeuiſhe a meacocke, as to ſhrinke and couche myne head, for euery mizeling ſhoure, nor yet to beare my ſelfe ſo high in heart, as to praunce and iette lyke a proude gennet through the ſtreete, not weighing the barking of curriſh bandogges.

And therefore, if I ſhall be founde in my hyſtorie ſometyme too tedious, ſometime too ſpare, ſometime too fawning in commendyng the lyuing, ſometime too flatte in reprouing the dead: I take GOD to witneſſe, that myne offence therein proceedeth of ignorance, and not of ſette wilfulneſſe.

But as for the paſſing ouer in ſilence of dyuers euentes (albeit the lawe or rather the libertie of an hyſtorie requireth, that all ſhoulde bee related, and nothing whuſted) yet I muſt confeſſe, that as I was not able, vppon ſo little leaſure, to knowe all that was ſaid or done, ſo I was not willing, for ſundry reſpectes, to write euery trim tram, that I knew to be ſaid or done. And if any bee ſo ouerthwartly waywarded, as he wil ſooner long for yͭ I haue omitted, than he will be cōtented with that I haue chronicled, I cannot deuiſe in my iudgement a better way, to ſatiſfye his appetie, than wͭ one Doly, a peictour of Oxford, his anſwere: who being appointed to tricke out the tenne commaundementes, omitted one, and pourtrayed but nyne, which faulte eſpied by hys maiſter, yͭ hyred him: Doly aunſwered, that in very deede, he poynted but nine: howbeit, when he vnderſtood, yͭ his maiſter had well obſerued and kepte the nine commaundements,

ments, that already were drawen, hee gaue hys worde at better leyſure throughly to finiſhe the tenth. And truely ſo muſt I ſay: I haue layde downe heere to the Reader his view, a briefe diſcourſe, wherof, I truſt, hee ſhall take no greate ſurfet. And when I am aduertiſed, that hee wyll digeſt the thinne fare, that heere is diſht before hym: it may be, God willing, heereafter, that hee ſhal find my Booke, with ſtore of more licorous deynties farſed and furniſhed, leauing to hys choyſe, eyther nicely to pickle, or greedely to ſwallow, as muche as to his contentation ſhall beſt beſeeme him.

Wherefore, my good Lorde, ſith I may not denye, but that the worke is painefull, and I doe forecaſt, that the miſconſtruction may be perillous: the toyleſomneſſe of the payne, I referre to my priuate knowledge, the abādoning of the perill, I committe to your honorable patronage, not doubting thereby, to be ſhielded agaynſt the ſiniſter gloſing of malitious interpretors.

Thus betaking your Lordſhippe to God, I craue youre attentiuenes, in peruſing a cantell or parcel of the Iriſh Hiſtorie, that here enſueth.

1514

GIrald Fitz Giralde, Earle of Kildare, ſonne to Thomas Fitz Girald, of whom mention was made in the later ende of the ſecond Booke, a mightie man of ſtature, full of honoure and courage, who had bin Deputie, and Lorde Iuſtice of Ireland firſt and laſt, three and thirtie yeares, deceaſſed at Kildare the thirde of September, and lyeth entombed in yͤ chore of Chriſtes Church at Dublin, in a Chappell by hym founded.

The occaſion of the diſſention betweene Kildare and Ormond.

Betweene him and Iames Butler Earle of Ormond (their owne ielouſies fedde with enuy and ambition, kindled with certaine lewde factious abettors of eyther ſide) as generally to all noble men, ſo eſpecially to both theſe houſes very incident, euer ſince the ninth yeare of Henrye the ſeuenth, bred ſome trouble in Irelande. The plot of whiche mutuall grudge, was grounded vpon the factious diſſention, that was rayſed in England, betwene the houſes of Yorke & Lancaſter, Kildare cleauing to Yorke, and Ormond relying to Lancaſter. To the vpholding of whiche diſcord, both theſe noble men laboured, with tooth and nayle, to ouercrowe, and conſequently to ouerthrow one the other: And for aſmuch as they were in honour Peeres, they wroughte by hooke and by crooke to be in authoritie ſuperiours. The gouernement therefore in the reignes of Henry the ſeuenth, being caſt on the houſe of Kildare, Iames Earle of Ormond, a deepe and a farre reaching mā, giuing backe, like a butting Ramme, to ſtrike the harder puſh, deuiſed to inueigle his aduerſarie by ſubmiſſiō and courteſie, being not then able to ouermatch him wᵗ ſtouteneſſe or preheminence. Whereupon, Ormonde addreſſed his letters to the Deputie, ſpecifying a ſlaunder rayſed on hym and his, that hee purpoſed to deface his gouernemente, and to withſtand his authoritie, and for the cleering of himſelfe and of his adherentes, ſo it ſtoode with the Deputie his pleaſure, he woulde make his ſpeedy repayre to Dublin, and there in open audience, woulde purge hymſelfe of all ſuche odious crimes, of whiche he was wrongfully ſuſpected.

To this reaſonable requeſt had the Lorde Deputie no ſooner condiſcended, than Ormond with a puiſſant army marched towardes Dublin, encamping in an Abbey in the ſuburbes of the Citie, named Saint Thomas Court. The approching of ſo greate an army of the Citizens ſuſpected, and alſo of Kildares counſaylours greatly diſliked, laſtly the extortion, that yͤ lawleſſe Souldyours vſed in the pale by ſeuerall cōplaintes detected: theſe three poyntes, with dyuers other ſuſpitious circumſtances laid and put togither, did miniſter occaſion rather of further diſcorde, than of any preſent agreement.

Ormonde marcheth to Dublin.

Ormonde perſiſting ſtill in his humble ſute, ſent hys meſſenger to the Lord Deputie, declaring, that he was preſt and ready to accompliſhe the tenoure of his letters, and there did attende (as became him) his Lordſhip his pleaſure. And as for the company, he brought with him from Mounſter, albeit ſuſpitious braynes did rather of a malitious craftineſſe ſurmiſe the worſt, thā of charitable wiſedome dyd iudge the beſt, yet notwithſtanding, vppon conference had wyth his Lordſhippe, hee woulde not doubt to ſatiſfye hym at full in all poyntes, wherewith hee coulde bee with anye coulour charged, and ſo to ſtoppe vppe the ſpring, from whence, all theſe enuious ſuſpitions guſhed. Kildare with this mild meſſage entreated, appoynted the meeting to bee at S. Patricke his Churche: where, as they were ripping vp one to the other their mutuall quarrels, rather recounting the damages they ſuſteined, than acknowledging the iniuries they offered: the Citizens and Ormond his army, fell at ſome iarre, for yͤ oppreſſion & exaction with whiche yͤ ſouldiers ſurcharged them. With whome, as part of the Citizens bickered, ſo a round knot of archers ruſht into the Churche, meanyng to haue murthered Ormond, as the Captaine and belweather of al theſe lawleſſe rabble. The Erle of Ormond ſuſpecting that he had bin betrayd, fled to the Chapitre houſe, put too the dore, ſparring it with might and mayne. The Citizens in their rage, imagining that euery poſt in the Churche had bin one of yͤ Souldyers, ſhot habbe or nabbe at randon vppe to the Roode lofte, and to the Chancell, leauing ſome of theyr

The Citie in an vprore.

arrowes ſticking in the Images.

Kildare purſuing Ormond to the Chapiter houſe dore, vndertooke on hys honor, that hee ſhould receyue no villanie. Wherevpon, the recluſe crauing his Lordſhips hand to aſſure hym his life, there was a clift in the Chapiter houſe dore, pierced at a trice, to the end both the Erles ſhould haue ſhaken hands, and bee reconciled.

The Earles reconciled.

But Ormond ſurmiſing that this drift was entended for ſome further treacherie, that if hee woulde ſtretche out his hande, it had bin percaſe chopt off, refuſed that proffer, vntill Kildare ſtretcht in his hand to him, and ſo the dore was opened, they both embraced, the ſtorme appeaſed, and all their quarrels for that preſente, rather diſcontinued than ended.

Blanchfielde ſlayne.

In this garboyle, one of the Citizens, ſurnamed Blanchfield, was ſlayne.

This later quarell beeyng lyke a greene wounde, rather bunglerly botcht, than ſoundly cured, in that Kildare ſuſpected, that ſo greate an army (which the other alledged, to be brought for the guarde of his perſon) to haue bin of purpoſe aſſembled, to outface hym and his power in his owne Countrey: and Ormonde miſtruſted, yͭ this treacherous practiſe of the Dublinians, was by Kildare deuiſed. Theſe and the like ſurmiſes lightly by both the noble men miſdeemed, and by the continuall twatling of flyring clawbackes in their eares whiſpered, bred and foſtered a malice betwixte them and theyr poſteritie, many yeares incurable, which cauſed muche ſturre and vnquietneſſe in the Realme, vntill the confuſion of the one houſe, and the noncage of the other, ended and buryed theyr mutuall quarrels.

The deſcription of Ormond

Ormond was nothing inferioure to the other in ſtomacke, and in reach of policy, farre beyond him.

The deſcription of Kildare.

Kildare was in gouernemente milde, to hys enimies ſterne, to the Iriſhe ſuch a ſcourge, that rather for deſpite of him, than for fauoure of anye parte, they relyed for a tyme to Ormond, came vnder hys protection, ſerued at hys call, performed by ſtartes (as theyr manner is) the duetie of good ſubiects.

Ormonde was ſecrete, and of great forecaſt, very ſtayed in ſpeech, daungerous of euery trifle that touched his reputation.

Kildare was open and playne, hardly able to rule hymſelfe when hee were moued, in anger, not ſo ſharp as ſhort, being eaſily diſpleaſed, and ſooner appeaſed.

Boyce.

Being in a rage with certayne of his ſeruāts, for faultes they committed, one of hys horſemē offered maiſter Boyce (a Gentleman that reteyned to him) an Iriſh Hobby, on condition, that hee woulde plucke an heare from the Earle hys berde. Boyce taking the proffer at rebound, ſtept to the Earle (with whoſe good nature hee was throughly acquainted) parching in the heate of his choler, and ſayd: So it is, and if it like youre good Lordſhippe, one of youre Horſemen promiſed mee a choyce Horſe, if I ſnippe one heare from your berde. Well quoth the Earle, I agree thereto, but if thou plucke anye more than one, I promiſe thee to bring my fyſt from thine eare.

The braunche of this good nature hathe bin deriued from him to an Earle of his poſteritie, who beeing in a chafe, for the wrong ſaucing of a Partridge, roſe ſuddaynely from the Table, meanyng to haue reaſoned the matter wyth hys Cooke: hauyng entred into the Kitchen, drownyng in obliuion hys chalenge, hee began to commende the buyldyng of the roome, wherein hee was at no tyme before, and ſo leauyng the Cooke vncontrold, he returned to his gueſts meryly.

Thys olde Earle beeyng, as is aforeſayde, ſoone hote and ſoone colde, was of the Engliſhe well beloued, a good Iuſticier, a ſuppreſſor of the Rebels, a warrioure incomparable, towards the nobles that he fanſyed not, ſomewhat headlong and vnruly: beeyng charged before Henrye the ſeauenth, for burning the Churche of Caſhell, and manye witneſſes prepared, to adnouche agaynſte hym the trouth of that article, hee ſuddaynely confeſſed the fact, to the greate wondering and deteſtation of the counſell: when it was looked how hee woulde iuſtifye the matter: by Ieſus (quoth hee) I woulde neuer haue done it, hadde it not bin tolde me, that the Archebyſhoppe was within: and bycauſe the ſame Archebyſhoppe was one of hys buſyeſt accuſers there preſent, the Kyng merily laughed at the playneſſe of the noble man, to ſee hym alledge that thing for excuſe, whiche moſt of all did aggrauate hys offence.

The laſt article agaynſte hym, they conceiued in theſe tearmes: Finally, all Irelande can not rule thys Earle. No? quoth the Kyng, then in good fayth ſhall this Earle rule all Irelande.

Kildare returneth Lorde Deputie.

Thus was that accuſation turned to a ieſt: the Earle returned to hys Countrey Lord Deputie, who notwithſtanding hys ſimplicitie in peace, was of that valoure and policie in warre, as his name bred a greater terrour to the Iriſh, than other mens armyes.

Kildares policie in warre.

In hys warres hee vſed, for policie, a retchleſſe kynde of diligence, or a headye careleſneſſe, to the ende hys Souldyers ſhoulde not faynte in theyr attemptes, were the enimie neuer of ſo greate power. Beeyng generall in the fielde of Knocktowe, where in effect, all the Iriſh Rebelles of Ireland were gathered againſte the Engliſhe pale, one of the Earle hys Captaines preſented him a bãd of Kearnes, euẽ as they wer ready to ioyne battayle, and withall demaunded of the Earle, in what ſeruice hee would haue them employd? Mary (quoth hee) let them ſtande by and gyue vs the gaze.

Suche was hys courage, that notwithſtanding his enimies were two to one, yet woulde hee ſette ſo good a face on the matter, as hys Souldyers ſhoulde not once ſuſpect, that hee eyther needed, or longed for any further help.

1514

Hauing triumphantly vanquiſhed the Iriſhe in that conflict, hee was ſhortly after, as well for that, as other his valiãt exploytes, made knight of the garter, and in the fifth yeare of Henry the eyght in that renowme and honoure hee dyed, wherein for the ſpace of manye yeares hee lyued.

No maruayle if this ſucceſſe were a corſy to the aduerſe part, which the longer it held alooſe, and bit the bridle, the more egrely it followed the courſe, hauing once gote ſcope and roomth at wyll, as ſhall bee heereafter at full declared.

The Dublinians accuſed.

Ormond bearing in minde the treachery of the Dublinians, procured ſuch as were the graueſt Prelates of his Cleargie, to intimate to the Court of Rome the heatheniſh riot of the Citizens of Dublin in ruſhing into the Churche armed, polluting with ſlaughter the conſecrated place, defacing the Images, proſtrating the reliques, racing downe Aultars, with barbarous outcries, more like miſcreante Sarazens, than Chriſtian Catholiques. Whereuppon, a Legate was poſted to Ireland, bending his courſe to Dublin, where ſoone after, he was ſolemnely receyued by Walter Fitz Simons, Archbyſhop of Dublin, a graue Prelate, for hys learnyng and wiſedome choſen to be one of King Henry the ſeuenth hys Chaplaynes, in which vocation hee continued twelue yeares, and after was aduanced to be Archbyſhop of Dublin.

A Legate ſente from Rome.

Walter Fitz Simons.

The Legate vppon his arriuall, indicted the Citie for his execrable offence: but at length, by the procurement as well of the Archbyſhoppe as of all the Cleargie, hee was weighed to gyue the Citizens abſolutiõ, with this caueat, that in deteſtation of ſo horrible a fact, and *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, the Maior of Dublin ſhould goe barefooted through the Citie in open Proceſſion before the Sacrament, on Corpus Chriſti day, whyche penitente ſatiſfaction was after in euerye ſuche Proceſſion duely accompliſhed.

Penaunce enioyned to the Citizens of Dublin.

The Earle of Kildare Lorde Deputie.

Girald Fitz Girald, ſonne and heire to the aforeſayd Earle of Kildare, was ſhortly after his father his deceaſſe, conſtituted Lorde Deputie of Irelande, before whome, in the ſeuenth yeare of Henry the eyght, there was a Parliamente holden at Dublin, wherein it was eſtabliſhed, that al ſuch, as bring out of England the kings letters of priuate ſeale, for particular cauſes againſt any of the King his ſubiects in Irelande, ſhoulde finde ſufficient ſureties in the King hys Chancerie in Ireland, to bee bound by recogniſance, that the playntife ſhall ſatiſfye the defendante, that purgeth or acquiteth himſelfe of the matter to hym alledged for hys coſtes and damages ſuſteyned by ſuche wrongfull vexation.

A Parliamente holden at Dublin.

This noble man being valiant and well ſpoken, was nothing inferioure to hys father in martiall proweſſe, chaſing in the time of his gouernemẽt the family of the tooles, battering OCarrell his Caſtels, and bringing in awe all the Iriſh of the land.

This Earle of good meaning, to vnite the houſes in friendſhip, matched his ſiſter Margaret Fitz Giralde, with Pierce Butler Earle of Oſſorie, whome he alſo help to recouer yͤ Erledome of Ormond, into the which, after the deceaſſe of the Earle Iames, a Baſterde Butler, had by abatement intruded.

Pierce Butler, and Margaret Fitz Girald eſpouſed.

Greate and manifolde were the miſeries the Lady Margaret ſuſteyned, hir huſband Pierce Butler beeing ſo egrely purſued by the vſurper, as hee durſt not beare vp head, but was forced to houer and lurke in Woodes and Forreſtes.

The noble woman being great with childe, and vppon neceſſitie conſtreyned to vſe a ſpare dyet (for hir onely ſuſtenaunce was milke) ſhe longed ſore for wine, and calling hyr Lorde, and a truſty ſeruaunte of hys, Iames White, vnto hir, ſhee requeſted them both, to helpe hyr to ſome Wyne, for ſhee was not able any longer to endure ſo ſtreight a life.

Iames White.

Truely Margaret, quoth the Earle of Oſſorie, thou ſhalt haue ſtore of Wine within thys foure and twentie houres, or elſe thou ſhalte feede alone on milke for me.

The nexte daye following, Pierce hauyng intelligence, that hys enimie the bace Butler woulde haue trauayled from Donmore to Kilkennie, notwithſtanding hee were accompanyed with ſyxe horſemenne, yet Pierce hauyng none but hys Lackey, did forſtalle hym in the way, and with a couragious charge, gored the Baſterd through with his ſpeare.

The Baſterde Butler ſlayne.

Thys proſperous calme ſucceeding the former boyſterous ſtorme, the Lady Margaret began to take hearte, hir naturall ſtouteneſſe floted, as well by the remembraunce of hir noble birth, as by the intelligence of hir honorable match.

Kildare ſent for into England.

Kildare all this while kept in authoritie, notwithſtanding the puſhes giuen againſte him by ſecrete heauers, that enuyed his fortune, and ſought to nouriſh the olde grudge, was at lẽgth by their priuie packing, fetched vp to the Court of Englande by commiſſion, and cauſed hym to bee examined vppon dyuers interrogatories touching the affayres of Irelande.

Maurice Fitz Thomas Lord Iuſtice.

Surrey Lord Lieutenant of Irelande.

1521

A Parliamente holden at Dublin.

Hee left in hys roomth Maurice Fitz Thomas, of Lackragh Lorde Iuſtice: and ſhortly after came ouer Lorde Lieutenaunt Thomas Howarde Earle of Surrey, who was after Duke of Northfolke, Grandfather to the laſt Duke, accompanyed with two hundred yeomen of the Crowne: before whome, ſhortly after his repaire thither, there was a Parliamente holden at Dublin, in whiche, there paſt an acte, that al wilful burning of corne, as wel in reekes in the fields, as in Villages and Townes, ſhuld be high treaſon.

Item an acte agaynſte lodyng wolles and flore, vppon payne of forfayture of the double valuē of the ſame, the one halfe to the Kyng, and the other halfe to him that will ſue therefore.

Item that any perſon ſeiſed of lands, rentes, or tenementes in poſſeſſion or in vſe, vnto the yerely value of tenne markes aboue the charges, in fee ſimple, fee tayle, or for tearme of lyfe, copy holde, or auanciente demeane, ſhall paſſe in euery attaint.

The Moores in Rebellion.

While the Lord Lieutenante ſate at dynner in the Caſtle of Dublin, hee hearde newes that the Moores with a mayne army were euen at the entrie of the bordures, readye to inuade the Engliſh pale.

Iohn Fitz Simons.

Immediately menne were leuyed by Iohn Fitz Simons, then Maior of Dublin, and the nexte morrowe ioyning them to his bande, the Lieutenant marched towardes the Frontiers of Leixe.

The Moores vppon the Lieutenant hys approche, ſeuered themſelues into ſundry companies, and vnderſtandyng that the carriage was dragging after the army, and ſlenderly mãned, certayne of them charged the Lieutenante hys ſeruauntes, and ſuche of the Citizens as were appoynted to guarde the carriage.

Patricke Fitz Simons.

Patricke Fitz Simons, a ſtrong ſturdy yonker, kept the enimies ſuch tacke, as he ſeazed part of them away, reſcued the carriage, ſlewe two of the Rebelles, and broughte their heads wyth him to maiſter Maior his tent.

The next morning, two of the Lieutenaunte his men, that ſlunke away from Fitz Simons, thinking that the carriage had bin loſt, aduertiſed their Lorde, that Fitz Simons fledde away, and the Moores were ſo many in companie, as it had bin but folly for two to bicker with ſo great a number.

The Lieutenante poſted in a rage to the Maior his pauilion, telling hym, that his man Fitz Simons was a cowardly Traytor in rũning away when hee ſhoulde haue defended the carriage.

What am I, my Lord, quoth Patricke Fitz Simons, ſkipping in his ſhirt out of the tente, with both the heads in his hand. My Lorde, I am no cowarde, I ſtoode to my tacklings, when your men gaue me the ſlippe, I reſcued the carriage, and haue heere ſufficiente tokens of my manhoode, tumbling downe both the heads. Saiſt thou ſo Fitz Simons quoth the Lieutenant? I crie thee mercie, and by this George, I woulde to God it had bin my good hap, to haue bin in thy companie in that ſkirmiſh. So drinking to Fitz Simons in a bolle of wine, and honorably rewarding him for his good ſeruice, he returned to his pauiliõ, where hauing knowledge of Omore his recule, he purſued him with a troupe of horſemen.

A valiant wiſh

The Earle of Surrey in daunger to haue bin ſlain.

The Lieutenant thus paſſing forward, was eſpyed by a gunner of Omores, who lodged cloſe in a woodde ſide, and watching hys time, hee diſcharged his peece at the verye face of the Lieutenante, ſtrake the viſer off hys helmet, and pierced no further as God would.

This did he (retchleſſe in manner what became of himſelfe, ſo hee might amaze the armye for a time) and ſurely hereby he brake the ſwiftnes of their following, and aduantaged the flight of his Captaine, which thing hee wanne with the price of his owne bloud. For the Souldyers would no further, till they hadde ranſackt all the nookes of thys woodde, verily ſuſpecting ſome ambuſh thereabout, and in ſeueral knottes ferretted out thys gunner, whome Fitz Williams and Bedlowe of the Roche, were fayne to mangle and hew in peeces, bycauſe the wretche would neuer yeelde.

Fitz Williams Bedlowe.

1523

Surrey ſent for home.

In the meane whyle, defyance was proclaymed with Fraunce and Scotlande both at once, whiche moued the Kyng to call home Surrey out of Irelande, that hee myghte employ hym in thoſe warres. Hys proweſſe, integritie, good nature, and courſe of gouernement, the Countrey muche commended.

Piers Butler Earle of Oſſorie Lord Deputie.

Piers Butler Earle of Oſſory, was appoynted Lorde Deputie.

In the meane time, Kildare attending the King his pleaſure for his diſpatche, recouered fauoure through the inſtance of the Marques Dorſet, whoſe daughter dame Elizabeth Grey, he eſpouſed, and ſo departed home.

1524

Robert Talbot of Belgard

Now was partaker of all yͤ Deputies counſell, one Roberte Talbot of Belgarde, whome the Giraldines deadly hated: him they procured to keepe a Kalender of all their doings, who incenſed brother againſt brother. In which rage, James Fitz Girald meeting the ſayde Gentleman beſyde Ballimore, ſlew him euen then vpon his iourney towarde the Deputie to keepe his Chriſtmas with him.

Margaret Counteſſe of Oſſorie.

With thys deſpitefull murther, both ſydes brake out into open enmitie, and eſpecially the Counteſſe of Oſſorie, Kildare hys ſiſter, a rare womã, and able for wiſedome to rule a realme, had not hir ſtomacke ouerruled hir knowledge.

Heere began informations of newe treaſons, paſſing too and fro, with complayntes and replyes.

But the Marques Dorſet had wroughte ſo for his ſonne in law, that he was ſuffered to reſt at home, and onely commiſſioners directed into Ireland, with authoritie to examine the roote of their griefes, wherein if they found Kildare any thyng at all purged, theyr inſtructions were to depoſe the plaintife, and to ſweare the other Lord Deputie.

Commiſſioners ſent to Irelande.

Commiſſioners were theſe, Sir Rauſe Egerton, a Knighte of Cheſhire, Anthony Fitz Herbert, ſeconde Juſtice of the common place, & James Dẽtõ, Deane of Liechfield, who hauing examined theſe accuſatiõs, ſuddaynely tooke the ſworde from the Earle of Oſſorie, ſware Kildare Lorde Deputie, before whome, Con Oneale bare the ſword that day.

Kildare ſworn L. Deputie.

Concerning the murtherer whome they myght haue hanged, they brought him priſoner into Englande, preſented him to the Cardinall Wolſey, who was ſayde to hate Kildare hys bloud: and the Cardinall intending to haue put him to execution, with more reproche and diſhonour to the name, cauſed him to bee ledde about the ſtreetes of London haltred, and hauing a taper in hys hande, which aſked ſo long time, that the Deane of Liechefielde ſtepped to the King, and begged the Gentleman hys pardon.

Cardinall Wolſey enimie to the Giraldines.

Pardon granted.

The Cardinall was ſore inflamed heerewith, and the malice not hitherto ſo ranke, was throughly ripened, and therefore hence forewarde, Oſſorie broughte forthe diuers profes of the Deputie his diſorder, for that (as hee alledged) the Deputie ſhoulde winke at the Earle of Deſmonde, whome by vertue of the King hys letters, he ought to haue attached.

Kildare acuſed
The Articles

Alſo, that he ſought for acquaintance and affinitie with meere Iriſh enimies, that hee hadde armed them againſt him, then beeing the Kyng his Deputie, hee hanged and headed good ſubiects, whome he miſtruſted to leane to the Butlers friendſhip. Kildare was therefore preſently commaunded to appeare, which he did, leauing in his roomth his brother Fitz Girald of Lexlip, whome they ſhortly depoſed, and choſe the Baron of Deluin, whome Oconor tooke priſoner, and then the Earle of Oſſorie (to ſhewe his habilitie of ſeruice) brought to Dublin an army of Iriſhmen, hauing captaines ouer them Oconnor, Omore, and Ocarrol, and at Saint Mary Abbey, was choſen Deputy by the King hys counſell. In whiche office being himſelfe (ſaue only in feates of armes) a ſimple Gentleman, hee bare out his honoure, and the charge of gouernement very worthely, through the ſingular wiſedome of his Counteſſe: a Lady of ſuche a port, that all eſtates of the Realme crouched vnto hir: ſo politique, that nothing was thought ſubſtantially debated without hir aduice: manlike and tall of ſtature: very liberall and bountifull: a ſure friende, a bitter enimie, hardly diſliking where ſhe fanſied, not eaſily fanſying wher ſhe diſliked: the only meane at thoſe days whereby hir huſbande his Countrey was reclaymed from ſluttiſhnes and ſlouenry, to cleane bedding and ciuilitie. But to theſe vertues was lynked ſuche a ſelfe liking, ſuche an ouerweening, and ſuche a maieſtie aboue the tenure of a Subiect, that for aſſurance thereof, ſhee ſticked not to abuſe hir huſbands honoure agaynſt hir brothers folly.

Fitz Girald Lord iuſtice.

The Earle of Oſſorie choſen L. Deputie.

The Countes of Oſſorie.

Notwithſtandyng I learne not that ſhee practiſed his vndoyng (whiche enſued, and was to hir vndoubtedly greate heauineſſe, as vppon whome, both the blemiſhe thereof, and the ſubſtance of the greater part of that family depended after) but that ſhe by indirect meanes lifted hir brother out of credite, to aduance hir huſbãd, the commõ voice, and the thing it ſelfe ſpeaketh. All this while abode the Earle of Kildare at the Court, and with muche adoe, found ſhift to bee called before the Lords to aunſwere ſuddaynely. They ſate vpon him diuerſly affected, and namely ẏ Cardinall Lord Chancellour miſliking the Erle his cauſe, cõforted his accuſers, & enforced the articles obiected, & what elſe ſo euer could be gathered thereof in theſe words:

Kildare conuented before the Counſell.

The Cardinall L. Chanſellor chargeth Kildare.

I wote well (my Lorde) that I am not the meeteſt at this boorde to charge you with theſe treaſons, bycauſe it hathe pleaſed ſome of youre pewfellowes to report, that I am a profeſſed enimie to all nobilitie, and namely to the Giraldines: but ſeeing euerye curſt boy can ſay as muche when hee is controlled, and ſeeing theſe poyntes are ſo weightie, that they ſhould not bee diſſembled of vs, and ſo apparant, that they cãnot be denyed of you, I muſt haue leaue (notwithſtanding your ſtale ſlaunder) to bee the mouth of theſe honorable at this preſent, and to trumpe your treaſons in youre way, howſoeuer you take me. Firſt you remember, how ẏ lewde

Earle of Deſmond your kinſman (who paſſeth not whome hee ſerueth, mighte hee change hys maſter) ſent his confederates with letters of credence to Frauncis the Frenche Kyng: and hauyng but colde comfort there, went to Charles the Emperoure, profering the help of Mounſter and Connaght, toward the conqueſt of Irelãd, if either of them woulde helpe to winne it from our King. Howe many letters, what preceptes, what meſſages, what threats haue bin ſent you to apprehende him, and yet not done? Why ſo? forſooth I could not catch him: nay nay Earle, forſooth you would not watche him. If hee bee iuſtly ſuſpected, why are you partiall in ſo great a charge? if not, why are you fearefull to haue him tryed? yea for it will be ſworne and depoſed to your face, that for feare of meeting him, you haue winked wilfully, ſhunned his ſighte, altered youre courſe, warned hys friendes, ſtopped both eares and eyes againſte his detectors, and when ſo euer you tooke vppon you to hunte him out, then was hee ſure before hande to bee out of your walke. Surely, this iugling and falſe play little became either an honeſt man called to ſuch honour, or a noble man putte in ſo greate truſt. Had you loſt but a Cowe or an Horſe of youre owne, two hundred of youre reteyners woulde haue come at your whiſtle to reſcue the pray frõ the vttermoſt edge of Vlſter: all the Iriſhe in Ireland muſt haue giuen you the way. But in purſuing ſo needeful a matter as this was, mercifull God, howe nice, how daungerous, howe wayward haue you bin? One while he is from home, another while he kepeth home, ſometimes fledde, ſometimes in the bordures, where you dare not venter. Iwiſſe my Lorde, there bee ſhrewde bugges in the bordures for the Earle of Kildare to feare, the Earle, nay the Kyng of Kildare: for when you are diſpoſed, you raigne more lyke than rule in the land: where you are malitious, the trueſt ſubiects ſtand for Iriſhe enimies: where you are pleaſed, the Iriſh enimie ſtandeth for a duetifull ſubiect: harts and hands, liues and landes, are all at your courteſie: who fawneth not thereon, he cannot reſt within your ſmell, and youre ſmel is ſo ranke, that you trake them out at pleaſure.

Whileſt the Cardinall was ſpeaking, the Earle chaufed and changed coloure, and ſundry profers made to aunſwere euery ſentence as it came: at laſt hee brake out, and interrupted hym thus.

Kildare interrupteth the Cardinals tale

My Lord Chancellor, I beſeech you pardon me, I am ſhort witted, and you I perceyue intende a long tale: if you proceede in this order, halfe my purgation will be loſt for lacke of cariage. I haue no ſchoole trickes, nor arte of memorie: excepte you heare me while I remember your wordes, your ſecond proceſſe will hammer out the former.

The Lordes tender Kildare.

The Lords aſſociate, who for the moſt parte tenderly loued him, and knew the Cardinall his manner of tauntes ſo lothſome, as wherewith they were inured many yeares agone, humbly beſought his grace, to charge him directly with particulars, and to dwell in ſome one matter, vntill it were examined throughly· that graunted, it is good reaſon (quoth the Earle) that youre grace beare the mouth of thys borde, but my Lorde, thoſe mouthes that put theſe things into your mouth, are verye wyde mouthes, ſuche in deede as haue gaped long for my wracke, and nowe at length, for wante of better ſtuffe, are fayne to fill their mouthes with ſmoke. What my couſin Deſmonde hathe compaſſed, as I knowe not, ſo I beſhrew his naked hearte, for holding out ſo long. If hee can bee taken by my agents, that preſently waite for him, then haue mine aduerſaries bewrayed their malice, and this heape of heynous wordes ſhall reſemble a ſcarcrowe, or a man of ſtrawe, that ſeemeth at a bluſhe to carrie ſome proportion, but when it is felt and peyſed, diſcouereth a vanitie, ſeruyng only to feare Crowes: and I verily truſt, youre honours ſhall ſee the proofe by the thing it ſelfe, within theſe few dayes. But go too: ſuppoſe hee neuer be hadde, what is Kildare too blame for it more than my good brother of Oſſorie? who notwithſtanding his high promiſes, hauing alſo the King his power, is yet content to bring him in at leyſure. Cannot the Earle of Deſmonde ſhift, but I muſt be of counſell? cannot hee hyde him, except I winke? if hee bee cloſe, am I hys mate? if he be friended, am I a Traytour? This is a doughty kynde of accuſation, whiche they vrge agaynſte me, wherein they are ſtabled and mired at my firſte deniall. You woulde not ſee him (ſay they) who made them ſo familiar with mine eyeſight? or when was the Earle within my viewe? or who ſtoode by, when I let hym ſlippe? or where are the tokens of my wilfull hudwinke? but you ſente him worde to beware of you: who was the meſſenger? where are the letters? conuince my negatiues, ſee how looſely this idle geare hangeth togither. Deſmonde is not taken. Well, you are in fault, why? bycauſe you are: who proueth it? no body: what coniectures? ſo it ſeemeth: to whome? to your enimies: who tolde it them? they will ſweare it. What other groũd? none: wil they ſweare it my Lord? why then of like they know it, eyther they haue mine hãd to ſhewe, or can bring forth yͤ meſſenger, or were preſent at a conference, or priuie to Deſmonde, or ſome body bewrayed it to them, or they themſelues were my carriers or vicegerentes therein: whiche of theſe partes wyll

He anſwereth the Cardinals obiection.

‘ they chooſe, for I know them too well. To recken
‘ my ſelfe conuict by their bare wordes or headleſſe
‘ ſayings, or frantike othes, were but a mere mockerie.
‘ My Letter were ſoone read, were any ſuch
‘ wryting extant, my ſeruants and friends are readie
‘ to be ſifted: of my couſin of Deſmonde they
‘ may lie lewdly, ſince no man here can well contrarie
‘ them. Touching my ſelfe, I neuer noted
‘ in them eyther ſo much wit, or ſo faſt fayth, that
‘ I would haue gaged vpon their ſilence the life of
‘ a good hounde, much leſſe mine owne. I doubt
‘ not, may it lyke your honours, to appoſe them,
‘ how they came to the knowledge of thoſe matters,
‘ which they are ſo readie to depoſe: but you
‘ ſhall finde their tongues chayned to an other man
‘ his trencher, and as it were knightes of the poſt,
‘ ſuborned to ſay, ſweare, and ſtare the vttermoſte
‘ they can, as thoſe that paſſe not what they ſay,
‘ nor wyth what face they ſay it, ſo they ſaye no
‘ truth. But of an other ſide it grieueth mee, that
‘ your good grace whom I take to be wiſe & ſharpe,
‘ & who of your bleſſed diſpoſition wiſheth me well,
‘ ſhoulde be ſo farre gone in crediting theſe corrupt
‘ informers, that abuſe the ignorance of your ſtate
‘ and Countrey to my perill. Little knowe you,
‘ my Lorde, how neceſſarie it is, not onely for the
‘ gouernour, but alſo for euery Noble man in Irelande
‘ to hamper his vnciuil neighbours at diſcretion,
‘ wherein if they wayted for proceſſe of lawe,
‘ and had not thoſe lyues and landes you ſpeake of
‘ within theyr reach, they might happe to loſe their
‘ owne liues and landes, without lawe. You heare
‘ of a caſe as it were in a dreame, and feele not the
‘ ſmart that vexeth vs. In Englande there is not
‘ a meane ſubiect, that dare extend his hande to fillippe
‘ a peere of the Realme. In Irelande except
‘ the Lord haue cunning to his ſtrength, & ſtrength
‘ to ſaue his crowne, and ſufficient authoritie to
‘ take theeues and varlets when they ſturre, he ſhal
‘ finde them ſwarme ſo faſt, that it will be to late
‘ to call for iuſtice. If you wil haue our ſeruice take
‘ effect, you muſt not tie vs alwayes to theſe iudiciall
‘ proceedings, wherewith your realme (thanked
‘ be God) is inured. Touching my kingdome
‘ I know not what your Lordſhip ſhoulde meane
‘ thereby. If your Grace imagin, that a kingdom
‘ conſiſteth in ſeruing God, in obeying the prince,
‘ in gouerning with loue the common wealth, in
‘ ſhouldering ſubiects, in ſuppreſſing Rebelles, in
‘ executing iuſtice, in brideling blind affections, I
‘ would be willing to be inueſted with ſo vertuous
‘ and royall a name. But if therefore you terme
‘ me a king, in that you are perſwaded that I repine
‘ at the gouernment of my ſoueraigne, or
‘ winke at malefactors, or oppreſſe ciuill liuers, I
‘ vtterly diſclayme in that odious tearme, maruelling
‘ greatly, that one of your Grace his profound
‘ wiſdome, woulde ſeeme to appropriate ſo ſacred
a name to ſo wicked a thing. But howſoeuer it ’
be, my Lorde, I woulde you and I had chaunged ’
Kingdomes but for one Moneth, I woulde ’
truſt to gather vp more crummes in that ſpace, ’
than twiſe the reuenues of my poore Earledome: ’
but you are well and warme, and ſo holde you, ’
and vpbrayde not me with ſuch an odious terme. ’
I ſlumber in an hard Cabyn, whē you ſleepe in ’
a ſoft bed of downe: I ſerue vnder the Kyng hys ’
Cope of heauen, when you are ſerued vnder a canapie: ’
I drinke water out of my ſkull, when you ’
drinke wine out of golden cuppes: my courſer is ’
trayned to the fielde, when your Genet is taught ’
to amble: when you are begraced and belorded, ’
and crouched and kneeled vnto, then find I ſmall ’
grace with our Iriſh borderers, excepte I cut thē ’
off by the knees.

In what caſe ſtand the noble men of Irelād with rebels.

The Cardinall not beloued.

At theſe gyrdes the Counſayle woulde haue ſmyled, if they durſt, but eche man bit his lippe, and held his countenaunce: for howſoeuer ſome of them inclined to the Erle of Oſſorie, they hated all the Cardinall, who perceyuing that Kildare was no babe, roſe in a fume from the Counſayle table, commytted the Earle, and deferred the matter, till more direct probations came out of Irelande.

The Duke of Norffolke bounde for Kildare.

The Duke of Norffolke who was late Lieutenant in Ireland, perceyuing the Cardinal to be ſore bent agaynſt the noble man, rather for the deadly hatred hee bare his houſe, than for anye great matter he had wherwith to charge his perſon, ſtept to the king, & craued Kildare to be his priſoner, offring to be bound for his forth cōming, ouer and aboue all his landes, bodie for bodie. Wherevpon to the Cardinall his great griefe, the priſoner was bayled, and honourably by the duke enterteyned.

1528

The Iriſh in rebellion.

During his abode in the duke his houſe, Oneyle, and Oconor, and all their friendes and alyes, watching their time to annoy the pale, made open inſurrection agaynſt the Earle of Oſſorie then Lord Deputie of Irelande, inſomuche that the nobleman miſtruſting the fickleneſſe of Deſmond on the one ſide, and the force of theſe newe ſtart vp Rebels on the other ſide, ſtood halfe amazed, as it were betwene fire and water. For remedie wherof, letters thicke and three folde were addreſſed to the Counſaile of Englande, purporting that all theſe late hurly burlies were of purpoſe rayſed by the meanes of Kyldare, to the blemiſhing and ſteyning of his brother Oſſorie his gouernment. And to put the matter out of doubt, it was further added, that Kildare commaunded his daughter Elice Fitz Gerald, wife to the baron of Slane, to excite in his name the aforeſaid traitours to this open rebellion.

Kildare a freſh impeached.

The Cardinall hereupon cauſed Kildare to be examined before the counſaile, where he preſſed him ſo deepely with this late diſloyaltie, that the preſumption being, as the Cardinall did force it, vehement, the treaſon odious, the king ſuſpicious, the enimie egre, the friendes faint, (which were ſufficient grounds to ouerthrow an innocent perſon) the Earle was repriued into the tower.

The Earle of Kildare committed.

The noble man betooke himſelfe to God, and the king, he was heartily beloued of the Lieutenant, pitied in all the Court, and ſtanding in ſo harde a caſe, altered little of his accuſtomed hue, comforted other noble men priſoners with him, diſſembling his owne ſorrow.

A mandatum to execute Kildare.

One night when the Lieutenant and he for their diſport were playing at ſlidegrote or ſhoffleborde, ſodainly commeth from the Cardinall a *Mandatum*, to execute Kyldare on the Morrow. The Earle marking the Lieutenants deepe ſigh, by S. Bryde, Lieutenant (quoth he) there is ſome madde game in that ſcrole: but fall how it will, this throwe is for an huddle. When the worſt was tolde him, nowe I pray thee (quoth he) do no more but learne aſſuredly from the king his owne mouth, whether his highneſſe be witting thereto, or not. Sore doubted the Lieutenant to diſpleaſe the Cardinall: yet of verie pure loue to his friend, he poſteth to the king at midnight, and deliuered his errand: for at all houres of the night the Lieutenant hath acceſſe to the Prince vpon occaſions. The king controlling the ſaucineſſe of the Prieſt (for thoſe were his termes) deliuered to the Lieutenant his Signet in token of countermaunde, which when the Cardinall had ſeene, he beganne to breathe out vnſeaſoned language, which the Lieutenant was lothe to heare, and ſo left him pattring and chaunting the Deuill his *Pater noſter*.

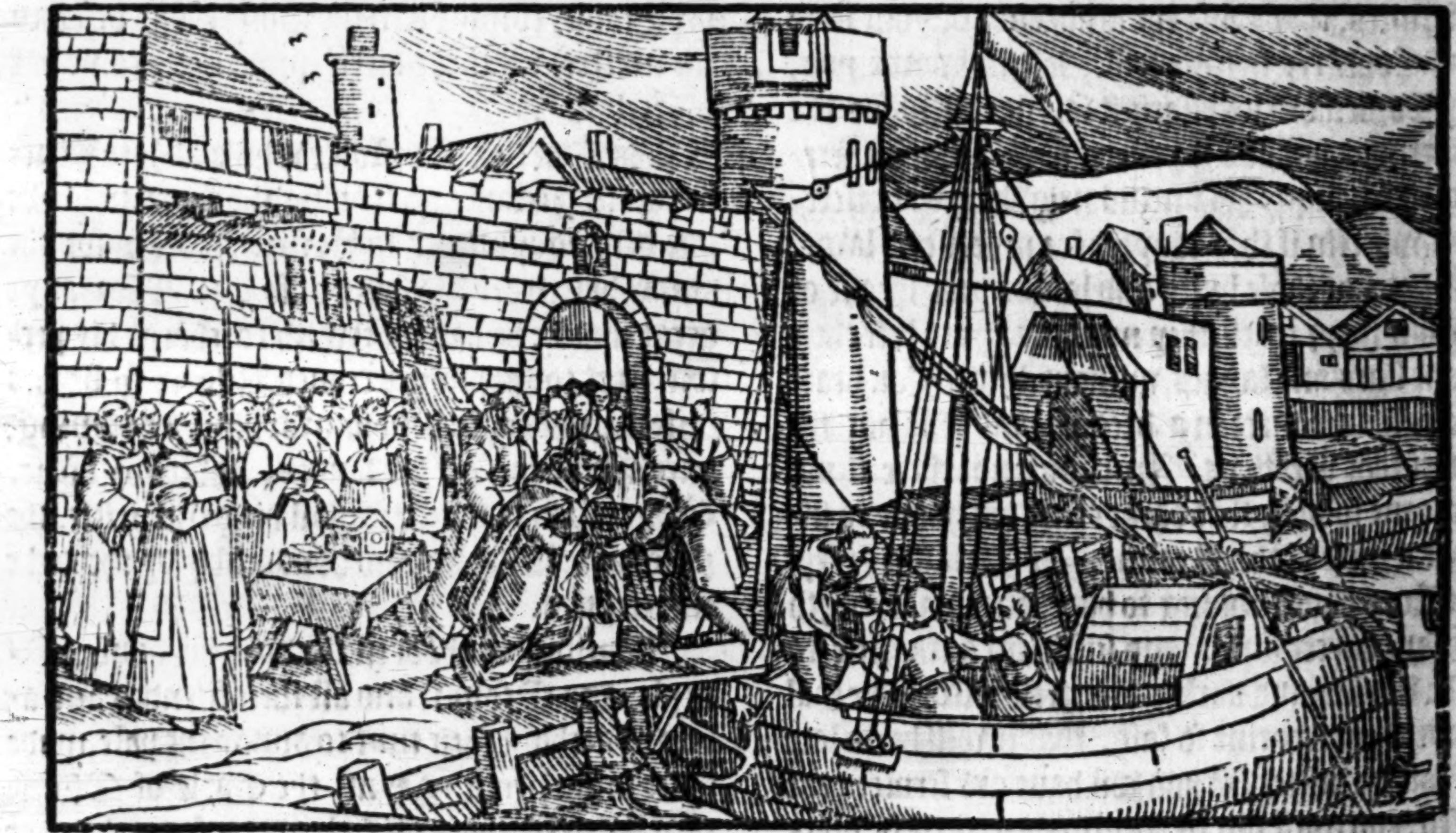
The Cardinal his preſumptuouſneſſe blamed of the king.

1529

Thus broke vp the ſtorme for that time, and the next yeare Woolſey was caſt out of fauour, and within few yeares, ſir William Skeffington was ſent ouer L. Deputie, and brought with him the Erle pardoned and ryd from all his troubles.

Sir William Skeffington Deputie of Irelande.

When it was bruted, that Skeffington, the Earle of Kildare, and Edward Staples Biſhop of Meth landed neare Dublyn, the Maior and Citizens mette him with a ſolemne Proceſſion on Saint Marie Abbayes greene. Where maiſter Thomas Fitz Simons recorder of Dublyn made a pithie Oration to congratulate the Gouernour and the Earle his proſperous arryuall, to whom Skeffington ſhaped an anſwere in this wiſe.



Edward Staples Biſhop of Meeth.

Thomas Fitz Simons.

Skeffington his anſwere.

Maſter Maior, and maiſter Recorder, you haue at length this noble man here preſent, for whom you ſore longed, whyleſt he was abſent. And after many ſtormes by him ſuſteyned, hee hath nowe to the comfort of his friendes, to the confuſion of his foes, ſubdued violence with pacience, iniuries with ſufferance, and malice with obedience: and ſuch Butchers as of hatred thyrſted after his bloud, are nowe taken for outcaſte Maſtiues, littred in curriſh bloud. How well my maiſter the king hath beene of his gracious inclination affected to the Earle of Kildare, (his backe friende being by his iuſt deſert from his Maieſtie weeded) the credit wherein this noble man at this preſent reſteth, manifeſtly declareth. Wherefore it reſteth, that you thanke God and the King for his ſafe arriuall. As for his welcome, maiſter Recorder his courteous diſcourſe, your great aſſemblies, your cheerfull countenaunces, your willing meetings, your ſolemne Proceſſions, doe ſo ferre ſhewe it, as you miniſter mee occaſion on hys Lordſhip his behalf, rather to thanke you for your courteſie, than to exhort you to any further ceremonie.

He glaunceth at the Cardinal who was taken to be a butcher his ſonne.

Hauing ended his Oration, they road all into the Citie, where ſhortlye after the Earle of

Oſſorie ſurrendred the ſworde to ſir William Skeffington.

ldare inuadeth the Tooles.

During the time that Kildare was in Englande, the ſept of the Tooles making his abſence their harueſt, ceaſed not to moleſt and ſpoyle his tenants, and therefore the Earle meaning not to wrap vp ſo lightly their manifold iniuries, was determined preſently vpon his arriuall to crie thẽ quittance: to the ſpedineſſe of which ſeruice he requeſted the aide of the Citizens of Dublyn: and expecting in Chriſtes Church their anſwere touching thys motion, the Maior and his brethren promiſed to aſſyſt him with two C. Archers.

Meth his queſtion.

The late come Biſhop of Meth being then preſent, moued queſtion, whether the Citizens were pardoned, for crowning Lambert contrarie to theyr duetie of allegeance, and if they were not pardoned, he thought they might aduantage the king thereby. Whereat one of their ſageſt and experteſt Aldermen, named John Fitz Simons, ſtept forth and ſayde:

John Fitz Simons anſwereth Meth.

“ My Lorde of Meth, may I be ſo bolde as to
“ craue what Countrey man you are? Mary ſir
“ (quoth the Biſhop) I woulde you ſhoulde knowe
“ it, I am a Gentleman, and an Engliſhe man.
“ My Lorde (quoth Fitz Simons) my meaning
“ is to learne, in what ſhire of Englande you were
“ borne? In Lyncolnſhyre, good ſir, quoth Staples.
“ Why then my Lorde, quoth Fitz Simons,
“ we are no traytors, bycauſe it was the Earle of
“ Lincolne, and the Lorde Louell that crowned
“ him, and therefore if you be a Gentleman of Lincolnſhyre,
“ ſee that you be pardoned, for God and
“ our King be thanked, we haue need of none.

At this anſwere Meth was ſet, and ſuche as were preſent were forced to ſmyle, to ſee what a round fall he caught in his owne turne.

Henry White rayſed an vprore in Dublin

In the ſeconde yeare of Skeffington his gouernment, it happened that one Henrie White, ſeruant to Benet a Marchant of Dublyn, was pitching of a Cart of hay in the high ſtreete, and hauing offred boyes play to paſſengers that walked to and fro, he let a bottle of his hay fall on a ſouldiers Bonet, as he paſt by his Cart: the ſouldiour taking this knauiſhe knacke in dudgeon, hurled his Dagger at him, and hauing narowly miſt the princocks, he ſticked it in a poſt not farre off. White leapt downe from the Cart, and thruſt the ſouldiour through the ſhoulder wyth hys pyke. Whereupon there was a great vprore in the Citie, betwene the Souldiours and the apprentiſes, inſomuch as Thomas Barby beyng the Maior, hauing the King his ſworde drawne, was hardly able to appeaſe the fray, in which dyuerſe were wounded, and none ſlaine.

Thomas Barby Maior.

The Lorde Deputie iſſued out of the Caſtel, and came as farre as the Pyllorie, to whome the Maior poſted through the preaſe with the ſworde naked vnder his arme, and preſented White that was yͤ brewer of all this garboyl to his Lordſhip, whom the Gouernour pardoned, as well for hys courage in bickering, as for his retchles ſimplicity and pleaſantneſſe in telling the whole diſcourſe. Wherby a man may ſee how many bloudie quarels, a brawling ſwaſhbuckler may pyke out of a bottle of hay, namely when his braynes are forebitten with a bottle of nappie Ale.

White pardoned.

About this time ther was a great ſturre reiſed in Englãd, about the king his diuorſe, who thinking it expedient in ſo fickle a worlde to haue a ſure poſt in Irelande, made Kildare Lorde Deputie, Crommer, the Primate of Armach, Lorde Chancellour, and ſir James Butler Lord Treaſorer.

Kildare Lorde Deputie.
Croommer.
Butler.

Skeffington ſuppoſing, that he was put beſide the quiſhion by the ſecrete canuaſſing of Kildare his friendes, conceyued thereof a great iealouſie, being therein the deeper drenched, bycauſe that Kildare hauing receyued the ſworde, woulde permit Skeffington, who was late gouernour, now like a meane priuate perſon, to daunce attendance among other ſuiters in his houſe at Dublyn, named the Carbry.

Skeffington offended with Kildare.

Skeffington playing thus on the bit, ſhortly after ſayled into England, vpon whoſe departure the Lorde Deputie ſummoned a Parliament at Dublin, where there paſt an Act agaynſt leazers of corne: Item, for the vniting and appropriation of the perſonage of Ealtrim, to the Priorie of Saint Peters by Trim.

He ſayleth into Englande.

1532

A Parliament ſummoned at Dublin.

In the Parliament tyme, Oneale on a ſodaine inuaded the Countrey of Vriell, ryfling and ſpoyling the king his ſubiects, at which tyme alſo was the Earle of Oſſorie greatly vexed by the Giraldines, by reaſon of the olde quarelles of either ſide a freſh reuiued.

Vriell inuaded by Oneale.

The next yeare, the Lorde Deputie going agaynſt Ocarroule, was pitifully hurt in the ſide, with a Gunne at the Caſtell of Byrre, ſo that he neuer after enioyed his lymmes, nor deliuered his wordes in good plight, otherwiſe like ynough to haue bene longer forborne, in conſideration of his many noble qualities, great good ſeruices, and the ſtate of thoſe tymes.

Kildare hurt.

Streight wayes complayntes were addreſſed to the king of theſe enormities, and that in moſt heynous maner that could be deuyſed, boulting out his doings as it were to the leaſt brake of ſiniſter ſurmiſes, turning euerie priuate iniurie to be the king his quarell, and making euerie Puddings pricke as huge in ſhewe as Sampſom hys Piller. Whereupon Kildare was commaunded by ſharpe letters to repayre into Englande, leauing ſuch a perſon for the furniture of that realm, and the gouernance of the lande in his abſence, for whoſe doings he would anſwere.

Kildare accuſed.

He is ſent for to Englande.

Being

Thomas Fitz Girald.

Being vpon the ſight of this letter prepared to ſayle into England, he ſate in counſaile at Dublyn, and hauing ſent for his ſonne and heyre the Lorde Thomas Fitz Giralde (a yong ſtripling of xxj. yeares of age, borne in England, ſonne to the Lorde Souch his daughter, the Erle of Kyldare his firſte wife) in the hearing of the whole borde thus he ſpake.

Kildare his exhortation to his ſonne the L. Thomas.

Sonne Thomas, I doubt not, but you know that my ſoueraigne Lord the King, hath ſent for me to Englande, and what ſhall betyde me, God knoweth, for I know not. But howſoeuer it falleth, both you and I know, that I am well ſtept in yeares: and as I may ſhortly die, for that I am mortal, ſo I muſt in haſt deceaſe, bicauſe I am olde. Wherefore in as much as my Wynter is well neare ended, and the Spring of your age nowe buddeth, my will is that you behaue your ſelfe ſo wiſely in theſe your greene yeares, as that to the comfort of your friendes, you may enioy the pleaſure of your Sommer, gleane and reape the fruite of your Harueſt, that with honour you may growe to the catching of that hoarie Winter, on whiche you ſee me your father faſt pricking.

And whereas it pleaſeth the king his Maieſtie, that vpon my departure here hence, I ſhoulde ſubſtitute in my rowme ſuch one, for whoſe gouernment I woulde anſwere: albeit I knowe, that your yeares are tender, your wit not ſettled, your iudgement not fully rectified, and therefore I myght bee with good cauſe reclaymed, from putting a naked ſworde in a yong mans hande: yet notwithſtanding, foraſmuch as I am your father, and you my ſonne, I am well aſſured to beare that ſtroke with you in ſteering your ſhip, as that vpon any information I may commaunde you as your father, and correct you as my ſonne for the wrong handling of your helme.

There be here that ſit at this bourd, far more ſufficient perſonages for ſo great a charge than you are. But what then? If I ſhoulde caſt this burthen on their ſhoulders, it might bee, that hereafter they woulde bee ſo farre with enuie caryed, as they woulde percaſe hazard the loſſe of one of their owne eyes, to be aſſured, that I ſhould be depriued of both mine eyes. But foraſmuche as the caſe toucheth your ſkinne as neare as mine, and in one reſpect nigher than mine, bycauſe (as I ſayde before) I reſt in the Winter, and you in the Spring of your yeares, and nowe I am reſolued day by day to learne, rather howe to die in the feare of god, than to liue in the pompe of the worlde, I thinke you will not be ſo braineſicke, as to ſtabbe your ſelfe through the body, only to ſkarrifie my ſkinne with the poynt of your blade. Wherefore, my ſonne, conſider, that it is eaſie to raze, and harde to buylde, and in all your affayres be ſchooled by this borde, that for wiſedome is able, and for the intier affection it beareth your houſe will be founde willing, to leſſon you with ſounde and ſage aduiſe. For albeit in authoritie you rule them, yet in counſaile they muſt rule you.

My ſonne, you know that my late maimes ſticketh my talke: otherwiſe I would haue grated longer on this matter. For a good tale may be twiſe tolde, and a ſounde aduiſe eftſoones iterated, taketh the deeper impreſſion in the attentiue hearer his minde. But although my fatherly affection requireth my diſcourſe to be longer, yet I truſt your good inclination aſketh it to be ſhorter, and vpon that aſſurance, here in the preſence of this honourable aſſembly, I delyuer you thys ſworde.

Kildare ſayleth into Eng lande.

Thus he ſpake for his laſt farewell with trickling teares, and hauing ended, he ſtoode, embraced the Counſaile, committed them to God, and immediately after he was embarked.

His oration miſconſtrue

But although with his graue exhortation the frozen heartes of his aduerſaries for a ſhort ſpirt thawed, yet notwithſtanding they turned ſoone after all this gay *Gloria patri*, to a further fetche, ſaying that this was nothing elſe but to dazell their eyes with ſome iugling knacke, to the ende they ſhoulde aduertiſe the king of his loyall ſpeeches, adding further, that he was too too euill, that coulde not ſpeake well. And to force the prepenſed treaſons, they layde to his charge, with further ſurmiſes, they certified the counſaile of Englande, that the Erle before his departure, furniſhed his owne Piles and fortes with the King his Artillerie and Munition taken forth of the Caſtel of Dublin.

He is accuſed for taking th king his artillerie,

The Erle being examined vpon that article before the Counſaile, although he anſwered that the fewe potte Gunnes and Chambers hee tooke from thence, were placed in his Caſtell to ſtrengthen the borders ageynſt the inroades of the Iriſh enimie, and that if he intẽded any treaſon, he was not ſo fooliſh, as to fortifie walles and ſtones, and to commit his naked bones into their hands, yet notwithſtanding he deliuered his ſpeeches by reaſon of his Palſey, in ſuch ſtaggering and maffling wiſe, that ſuch of the Counſaile as were not his friends, perſwading the reſt that he had ſunke in his owne tale, by imputing his liſping and dragging anſwere, rather to the guilt of conſcience, than to the infirmitie of his late maime, had him committed, vntill the king his pleaſure were further knowne.

Kildare committed.

Kildare his chiefe enimies

But before we wade any further in this matter, for the better opening of the whole ground, it woulde be noted, that the Earle of Kildare among diuerſe hidden aduerſaries, had in theſe his later troubles foure principall enimies, that were the chiefe meanes and cauſes of his ouerthrowe as in thoſe dayes it was commonly bruted.

hn Alen
rchbiſhop
Dublin.

The firſt was John Alen Archebiſhoppe of Dublin, a Gentleman of a good houſe, Chaplayne to Cardinall Woolſey, and after by the Cardinall his meanes conſtituted Archbiſhop of Dublin, a learned Prelate, a ſingular good Canoniſt, a good houſeholder, of the people indifferently beloued, and more woulde haue beene, had he not ouerbuſied himſelf in ſupplanting the houſe of Kildare.

And although it were knowne, that his firſt grudge towards the Giraldines, proceeded from the great affection he bare his Lord and maiſter the Cardinall, inſomuch as he would not ſticke, were he able, for the pleaſuring of the one to vndoe the other, yet ſuche occaſions of greater hatred after enſued (namely for that hee was diſplaced from beeyng Lorde Chauncellour, and Croomer the Primate of Armache by Kildare his driftes ſetled in the office) as notwithſtanding the Cardinal his combe were cut in England, yet did he perſiſt in purſuing his woonted malice toward that ſeate.

Sir John Alē
Knight.

The ſecond that was lynked to this confederacie, was ſir John Alen Knight, firſt Secretarie to this Archbiſhop, after became maiſter of the Rolles, laſtly Lorde Chauncellour. And although ſir John Alen were not of kinne to the Archebiſhop, but onely of the name, yet notwithſtanding the Archebiſhoppe made ſo greate reckoning of him, as well for his forecaſt in matters of weight, as for his faithfulneſſe in affayres of truſt, as whatſoeuer exploite were executed by the one, was foorthwith deemed to haue beene diuiſed by the other.

omas Ca-
on,

The thirde of this crewe was Thomas Canon, Secretarie to Skeffington, who thinking to be reuenged on Kildare for putting his Lorde and maiſter beſide the Cuſhen, as hee ſurmyſed, was very willing to haue an Oare in that Boate.

Robert
Cowly.

The fourth that was ſuſpected to make vp the muſter, was Robert Cowly, firſt Bailyfe in Dublin, after ſeruaunt to the Ladie Margaret Fitz Giralde Counteſſe of Ormonde and Oſſorie, laſtly maiſter of the Rolles in Ireland, and finally he deceaſſed at London.

This Gentleman for his wiſedome and policie was well eſteemed with the Lady Margaret Counteſſe of Oſſory, as one by whoſe aduiſe ſhee was in all her affaires directed. Wherevpon ſome ſuſpicious perſons were perſwaded and thought in mynde, that hee was the ſower of all the diſcorde that reſted betweene the two brethren, Kildare, and Oſſory, as though hee coulde not bee rooted in the fauour of the one, but yᵗ he muſt haue profeſſed open hatred to the other.

Theſe foure as byrdes of one feather, were ſuppoſed to bee open enimies to the houſe of Kyldare, bearing that ſwaye in the common wealth, as they were not occaſioned, as they thought, eyther to craue the friendſhippe of the Giraldines, or greatly to feare their hatred and enmitie.

There were beſide them diuerſe other ſecret vnderminers, who wrought ſo cunningly vnder the thumbe, by holding with the Hare, and running with the Hounde, as if Kyldare had proſpered, they were aſſured, their malice would not haue beene in maner ſuſpected; but if he had bene in his affayres ſtalled, than their fine deuiſes for their further credite ſhoulde haue been apparented. Wherefore the heauing of his backe friendes not onely ſurmiſed, but alſo manifeſted, by Kyldare, the Lorde Thomas being Lord Juſtice, or vice Deputie, in his father his abſence, fetcht both the Alens ſo roundly ouer the hippes, as well by ſecrete driftes as open tauntes, as they were the more egarly ſpurred to compaſſe his confuſion. For the Lord Juſtice and the Counſayle, with diuers of the Nobilitie at a ſolemne banquet, diſcourſing of the auncientie of houſes, and of their armes, ſir John Alen ſpake to the Lorde Juſtice theſe wordes.

The L. Thomas enkindleth the Alens against him

My Lorde, your houſe giueth the Marmoſet, whoſe propertie is to eate his owne tayle. Meaning thereby as the Lorde Thomas ſuppoſed, that Kyldare did vſe to pill and poll his friendes, tenaunts and retayners. Theſe wordes were no ſooner ſpoken, than the Lord Thomas ſtriking the ball to Alen againe, anſweared, as one that was ſomewhat ſlipper tongued, in this wiſe.

The property of the Marm.

You ſay truth ſir, indeede I hearde ſome ſay, that the Marmoſet eateth his owne tayle. But although you haue beene fedde by your tayle, yet I would aduiſe you to beware, that your tayle eate not you.

Shortly after this quipping gamegall, the Lord Juſtice and the Counſaile road to Drogheda, where hauing for the ſpace of three or foure daies ſoiourned, it happened that the Counſaylours awayted in the Counſayle Chamber the Gouernour his comming, vntil it was hard vpon the ſtroke of xii. The Archbiſhop of Dublyn rawly digeſting the Vicedeputie his long abſence, ſayde:

My Lordes, is it not a pretie matter, that all wee ſhall ſtay thus long for a boy? As hee vttered theſe ſpeeches, the Lorde Iuſtice vnluckily was comming vp the Stayres, and at his entrie taking the wordes hoate from the Biſhop his mouth, and iterating them very coldely hee ſayde:

The Archbiſhop his tant.

My Lordes, I am heartily ſory, that you ſtayed thus long for a boy. Whereat the Prelate was appalled, to ſee howe vnhapily he was gald with his owne caltrop.

The enemies conſpire the ouerthrow of the giraldines

The occaſion of Thomas Fitz Giralde his rebellion.

Theſe and the like cutting ſpeeches, enkindled ſuch coales in both their ſtomackes, as the flame coulde not any longer be ſmouldred, but at one clift or other muſt haue fumed. The enimies therefore hauing well nighe knedded the dough that ſhoulde haue been baked for the Geraldines bane, deuiſed that ſecret rumors ſhould ſprinckle to and fro, that the Earle of Kildare his execution was intended in Englande, and that vpon his death the Lorde Thomas and all his blood ſhould haue been apprehended in Irelande.

As this falſe muttering flewe abroade, it was holpen forwarde by Thomas Cannon, and other of Skeffington his ſeruauntes, who ſticked not to write to certayne of their friendes, as it were, very ſecrete letters, howe that the Earle of Kyldare their maiſter his ſecrete enemie (ſo they tooke him, becauſe he gotte the gouernement ouer his head) was alreadie cutte ſhorter, as his iſſue preſently ſhoulde bee, and nowe they truſted to ſee their maiſter in his gouernment, after which they ſore longed, as for a preferment, that woulde in ſhorte ſpace aduauntage them. Suche a letter came to the handes a ſimple Prieſt, no perfect Engliſhman, who for haſte hurled it amongſt other Papers in the Chymneys ende of his Chaumber, meaning to peruſe it better at more leaſure. The ſame very night, a Gentleman retaining to the Lord Thomas, the Lorde Iuſtice or Vicedeputie, as is before ſpecified, tooke vp his lodging with the Prieſt, and raught in the morning when he roſe for ſome paper, to drawe on his ſtraite ſtockinges, and as the Diuell would, he hit vpon the letter, bare it away in the heele of his ſtocke, no earthly thing miſdeeming. At night againe he founde the Paper vnfretted, and muſing thereof he beganne to poare on the writing, which notified the earle his death, and the apprehenſion of the Lorde Thomas. To horſe goeth he in all haſt, brought the letter to Iames Delahide, who was a principall counſaylour to the Lorde Thomas in all his doings. Delahide hauing ſcantly ouerread the letter, making more haſt than good ſpeede, poſted to the Lorde Thomas, imparted him that letter, and withall putting fire to flaxe, before he diued to the bottome of this treacherie, hee was contented to ſwim on the ſkum and froth thereof, as well by ſoothing vp the tenour of the letter, as by inciting the Lorde Thomas to open rebellion, cloaking the odious name of treaſon, with the zealous reuengement of his fathers wrongfull execution, and with the warie defence of his owne perſon.

Iames Delahide.

The Lorde Thomas being youthfull, raſhe, and headlong, and aſſuring him ſelfe, that the knot of all the force of Ireland was twiſted vnder his girdle, was by Delahide his Counſayle ſo farre caried, as hee was reſolued to caſt all on ſixe and ſeuen. Wherefore hauing confedered with Oneale, Oconor, and other Iriſh Potentates, he road on Saint Barnabies day, accompanied with ſeuenſcore horſemen in their ſhirtes of Maile, through the Citie of Dublin, to the Dam his gate, croſt ouer the water to Saint Marie Abbey, where the Counſayle according to appoyntment, awayted his comming, not being priuie to his intent, onely Croommer the Lord Chauncellour excepted, who was ſecretly aduertiſed of his reuolt, and therefore was very well prouided for him, as hereafter ſhall bee declared.

Crommer L. Chancellor.

This Croommer was a graue Prelate, and a learned, well ſpoken, milde of nature, nothing wedded to factions, yet a well willer of the Geraldines, as thoſe by whoſe meanes hee was aduaunced to that dignitie.

When the Lorde Thomas was ſet in counſaile, his horſemen and ſeruantes ruſht in to the counſaile Chaumber armed and weaponed, turning their ſecrete conference to an open parlee. The Counſaile hereof amazed, and ſilence with ſecuritie commaunded, the Lorde Thomas in this wiſe ſpake.

Thomas Fitz Girald his rebellious Oration

Howeſoeuer iniuriouſly we bee handled and forced to defēd our ſelues in armes, whē neither our ſeruice nor our good meaning towardes our prince his Crowne auayleth, yet ſay not hereafter, but in this open hoſtilitie which here we profeſſe and proclayme, we haue ſhewed our ſelues no villaynes, nor churles, but warriours and Gentlemen. This ſwoorde of eſtate is yours, and not mine, I receyued it with an othe, and haue vſed it to your benefite. I ſhould deſteyne mine honour, if I turned the ſame to your annoyance. Nowe haue I neede of mine owne ſworde, which I dare truſt. As for the common ſworde it flattereth me with a painted ſcabberde, but hath in deed a peſtilent edge, already bathed in the Giraldines bloud, & now is newly whetted in hope of a further deſtruction. Therefore ſaue your ſelues from vs, as from open enimies, I am none of Henrie his Deputie, I am his fo. I haue more mind to conquer, than to gouerne, to meete him in the field, than to ſerue him in office. If al the hearts of England and Ireland, that haue cauſe thereto, would ioine in this quarell (as I hope they wil) then ſhould he ſoone aby (as I truſt he ſhal) for his crueltie and tyranny, for which the age to come may lawfully ſcore him vp among the auncient Tyrants of moſt abhominable and hatefull memorie.

Hauing added to this ſhamefull Oration many other ſlaunderous & foule tearmes, which for diuerſe reſpects I ſpare to pen, he would haue ſurrendered the ſworde to the Lord Chancellor, who, as I ſayd before, being armed for the Lord Thomas his cõming, and alſo being loath, that his ſlackneſſe ſhould ſeeme diſloyall. in refuſing the ſworde, or his frowardneſſe ouer cruell in ſnatching it vpon the firſt proffer, tooke the Lord Thomas by the wreſt of the hand, and requeſted him for the loue of God, the teares trilling downe his cheekes, to giue him for two or three wordes the hearing, which graunted, the reuerend father ſpake as enſueth.

The Chancellor his oration.

My Lorde, although hatred be commonly the handmayden of truth, bycauſe we ſee hym, that plainely expreſſeth his minde, to be for the more part of moſt men diſliked: yet notwithſtãding I am ſo well aſſured of your Lordſhip his good inclination towardes me, and your Lordſhip ſo certaine of mine entire affection towardes you, as I am emboldned, notwithſtanding this companie of armed men, freely and franckly to vtter that, which by me declared, and by youre Lordſhip folowed, wil turne God willing, to the auayle of you, your friends, alies, & this cõuntrey.

I doubt not, my Lord, but you know, that it is wiſdome for any man to looke before he leape, and to ſownde the water before his ſhip hul theron, and namely where the matter is of weight, there it behoueth to follow ſounde, ſage and mature aduiſe. Wherefore, my Lorde, ſithe it is no Maygame, for a ſubiect to leuie an armye againſt his prince: it lyeth your Lordſhip in hand to breath longer on the matter, as well by forecaſting the hurt whereby you may fall, as by reuoluing the hope wherewith you are fed. What ſhould moue your Lordſhip to this ſodaine attempt, I know not. If it be the death of your father, it is as yet but ſecretly muttered, not manifeſtly publiſhed. And if I ſhould graunt you, that your zeale in reuenging your father his execution were in ſome reſpect to be commended: yet reaſon would you ſhould ſuſpend the reuẽge vntil the certaintie were knowne. And were it, that the report were true, yet it ſtandeth with the dutie and allegeance of a good ſubiect (from whom I hope in God, you meane not to diſſeuer your ſelfe) not to ſpurne and kicke againſt his prince, but contrariewiſe, if his ſoueraigne be mightie, to feare him: if he be profitable to his ſubiects, to honour him: if he commaunde, to obey him: if he be kinde, to loue him: if he bee vicious, to pitie him: if he be a Tyrant, to beare with him, conſidering that in ſuche caſe it is better wyth pacience to bowe, than with ſtubburnneſſe to breake. For ſacred is the name of a king, and odious is the name of a rebellion: the one from heauen deriued, and by God ſhielded, the other in hell forged, and by the Diuell executed. And therefore who ſo wyll obſerue the courſe of Hyſtories, or weigh the Iuſtice of God in puniſhing malefactours, ſhall eaſily ſee, that albeit the Sunne ſhyneth for a tyme on them that are in Rebellion, yet ſuche ſweete beginnings are at length claſped vp with ſharpe and ſowre endes.

The ſubiects dutie towards his King.

The name of a king ſacred.

Rebellion his whence it ſpringeth.

Now that it appeareth, that you ought not to beare armoure agaynſt your King, it reſteth to diſcuſſe whether you bee able, although you were willing to annoy your King. For if among meane and priuate foes it be reckened for a folly in a ſecrete grudge to profeſſe open hatred, and where hee is not able to hynder, there to ſhewe a willing mynde to hurte: muche more ought your Lordſhippe in ſo generall a quarell as thys, that concerneth the King, that toucheth the Nobilitie, that apperteyneth to the whole common wealth, to foreſee the King his power on the one ſide, and your force on the other, and then to iudge if you bee able to cocke with him, and to put hym beſide the Cuſhion, and not whyleſt you ſtriue to ſit in the Saddle, to loſe to your owne vndoyng, both the Horſe and the Saddle.

King Henrie is knowne to bee in theſe our dayes ſo puiſſant a Prince, and ſo victorious a worthie, that he is able to conquere foreyne dominions: and thinke you, that he cannot defend his owne? He tameth kings, and iudge you that he may not rule his owne ſubiectes? Suppoſe you conquere the lande, doe you ymagine that hee will not recouer it? Therefore my Lorde, flatter not your ſelfe ouer muche, repoſe not ſo great affiance either in your troupe of horſmen, or in your bande of footmen, or in the multitude of your partakers. What face ſoeuer they put now on the matter, or what ſucceſſe ſoeuer for a ſeaſon they haue, bycauſe it is eaſie for an army to vanquiſh them that doe not reſiſt, yet hereafter when the king ſhall ſend his power into this Countrey, you ſhall ſee your adherents like ſlipper chaungelings plucke in theyr hornes, and ſuch as were cõtent, to beare you vp by the chin, as long as you coulde ſwim, when they eſpie you ſinke, they will by little and little ſhrinke from you, and percaſe will ducke you ouer head and eares. As long as the gale puffeth full in your ſayles, doubt not but diuerſe wil anerre vnto you, and feede on you, as Crowes on carion. But if any ſtorme happen to bluſter, then will they be ſure to leaue you poſt alone ſticking in the myre or ſands, hauing leaſt helpe, when you haue moſt neede. And what will then enſue of this. The braunches will be pardoned, the roote apprehended, your honour diſteyned, your houſe attainted, your armes reuerſed, your Manours razed, your doings examined, at whiche time God knoweth, what an heartburning it will be, when that with no colour may bee denied, which without ſhame cannot be confeſſed. My Lorde I poure not out Oracles as a ſoothſayer, for I am neyther a Prophet, nor the ſonne of a Prophete. But it may be, that I am ſome frãtique Caſſandra being partner of hir ſpirit in foretelling the truth, and partaker of hir miſfortune, in that I am not when I tell the truth beleeued of your Lordſhip, whome God defende from being Priamus.

Caſſandraes prophecie.

Weigh therefore, my Lord, the nobilitie of your aunceſters, remember your father his late exhortation, forgette not your duetie to your Prince, conſider the eſtate of this poore Countrey, with what heapes of curſes you ſhall bee loden, when your ſouldiours ſhall rifle the poore Subiectes, and ſo farre endamage the whole Realme, as they are not yet borne, that ſhall hereafter feele the ſmart of this vprore. You haue not gone ſo farre, but you may turne home, the king is mercifull, your offence as yet not ouerheynous, cleaue to his clemencie, abandon this headlong folly. Which I craue in moſt humble wiſe of your Lordſhip, for the loue of God, for the duetie you owe your Prince, for the affection you beare the Countrey, and for the reſpecte you haue to youre owne ſafetie, whome God defende from all trayterous and wicked attempts.

Hauing ended his Oration, which hee ſette forth with ſuche a lamentable action, as his cheekes were all beblubbered with teares, the horſemen, namely ſuch as vnderſtoode not Engliſhe, began to diuine what the Lorde Chauncellour ment with all this long circumſtance, ſome of them reporting that hee was preaching a Sermon, others ſayd, that he ſtoode making of ſome Heroicall Poetrie in the prayſe of the Lorde Thomas. And thus as euery Idiot ſhot his fooliſhe bolt at the wiſe Counſalour his diſcourſe, who in effect did nought elſe but drop precious ſtones before Hogges, one Bard de Nelan, an Iriſhe rithmour, and a rotten ſheepe able to infect an whole flocke, was chatting of Iriſh verſes, as though his tongue had runne on pattens, in commendation of the Lorde Thomas, inueſting him with the tytle of ſilken Thomas, bycauſe his horſemens iacks were gorgeouſly embrodered with ſilke: and in the ende he tolde him that hee lingred there ouerlong. Whereat the Lorde Thomas being quickned, did caſt hys eye towardes the Lorde Chauncellour, and ſayde:

Bard de Nelan

Silken Thomas.

My Lorde Chauncellour, I come not hither to take aduice what I ſhoulde doe, but to giue you to vnderſtande what I minde to doe. It is eaſie for the ſounde to counſaile the ſicke: But if the ſore had ſmarted you as much as it feſtereth me, you woulde bee percaſe as impacient as I am. As you woulde wiſhe me to honour my Prince, ſo duetie willeth mee to reuerence my father. Wherefore he that will wyth ſuch tyrannie execute mine innocent parent, and withall threaten my deſtruction, I may not, nor will not hold him for my king. And yet in truth he was neuer our king, but our lord, as his progenitours haue beene before him. But if it bee my hap to miſcarie, as you ſeeme to prognoſticate, catche that catche maye, I will take the Market as it ryſeth, and will chooſe rather to die, with valiantneſſe and libertie, than to liue vnder king Henrie in bondage and villanie. And yet it may be, that as ſtrong as hee is, and as weake as I am, I ſhal be able like a fleſh worme to itch the bodie of his Kingdome, and force him to ſcratch deepely before he be able to pike me out of my ſeame. Wherefore my Lorde, I thanke you for your good counſaile, and were it not that I am too crabbed a note in deſcant to bee nowe tuned, it might be, that I woulde haue warbled ſweeter harmonie than at this inſtaunt I mean to ſing.

He replyeth.

Henrie Lorde of Irelande.

With theſe wordes he rendred vp the ſworde, and flung away like a bedlem, beeing gawded wyth hys brutiſhe drone of brainſicke Rebelles.

Thomas rendreth vp the ſworde.

The Counſaile ſent ſecretely vpon his departure to maiſter Maior and his brethren, to apprehende, if they conueniently might, Thomas Fitz Giralde, and his confederates. But the warning was ſo ſkarborow, the enimie ſo ſtrong, the Citie by reaſon of the plague that raunged in towne and in country, ſo diſpeopled, as their attempt therein would ſeeme but vaine and friuolous.

Ouer this, the weaker parte of the Rebelles would not penne vp themſelues within the Citie walles, but ſtood houering alooſe off towards Oſtmantowne greene, on the toppe of the hyll where the gallouſe ſtoode (a fitte center for ſuche a circle) till tyme they were aduertiſed of theyr Captayne Thomas his returne.

Alen.
Finglaſſe.

Iohan White.

This open Rebellio͂ in this wiſe denounced, parte of the Counſell, namely Alen Archbyſhop of Dublin, Finglaſſe chiefe Baron, hyed wyth bagge and baggage to the Caſtell of Dublin, whereof Ioan White was Conſtable, who after was dubbed Knight by the Kyng in England, for hys worthy ſeruice done in that vprore.

Thomas and his crew, ſuppoſing that in ouerrunning the whole land, they ſhould finde no blocke to ſtumble at ſauing the Earle of Oſſorie, agreed to trie, if by any allurements he could be trayned to their co͂federacy. And for as much as the Lorde Iames Butler was linckt with Thomas Fitz Girald in great amitie and frie͂dſhippe, it was thought beſt to giue him the onſette, who if he were wonne to ſway with them, they woulde not weigh two chippes the force of his father, the Earle of Oſſory.

Thomas forthwith ſent his meſſengers and letters to his couſin the Lord Butler, couenanting to deuide wyth hym halfe the Kingdome, would he aſſociate him in this enterpriſe, wherevpon, the Lorde Butler returned Thomas hys brokers with this letter.

The Lorde Butler his letter to Thomas Fitz Girald.

TAking penne in hand, to write you my reſolute aunſwere, I muſe in the very firſte line, by what name to call you, my Lord, or my Couſin: ſeeing your notorious treaſon hath diſteyned your honour, and your deſperate lewdeneſſe ſhamed youre kinred: you are ſo liberall in parting ſtakes with mee, that a man woulde weene, you had no right to the game: ſo importunat in crauing my company, as if you would perſwade me to hang with you for good fellowſhip. Do you thinke that Iames was ſo madde, as to gape for Gogions, or ſo vngracious, as to ſell his trueth for a peece of Ireland? Were it ſo (as it cannot bee) that the chickens you recken, were both hatched and feathered, yet bee thou ſure, I had rather in this quarrell dye thine enimie, than liue thy partner: for the kindneſſe you proffer me, and good loue in the ende of your letter, the beſt way I can, I purpoſe to requite, that is, in aduiſing you, though you haue fetched your feaze, yet to looke well ere you leape. Ignorance and errour wyth a certayne opinion of duetie, haue carried you vnawares to this follie, not yet ſo ranke, but it may be cured. The King is a veſſell of bounty and mercy, youre wordes agaynſte his Maieſtie ſhall not be accompted malitious, but rather belched out for heate and impotency, except your ſelfe, by heaping offences, diſcouer a miſcheuous and wilfull meaning. Farewell.

Thomas Fitz Girald netled with this round aunſwere, was determined to inuade the Cou͂trey of Kilkenny, firſte forcing an othe vpon the Gentlemen of the pale: and ſuche as woulde not agree thereto, he tooke priſoners.

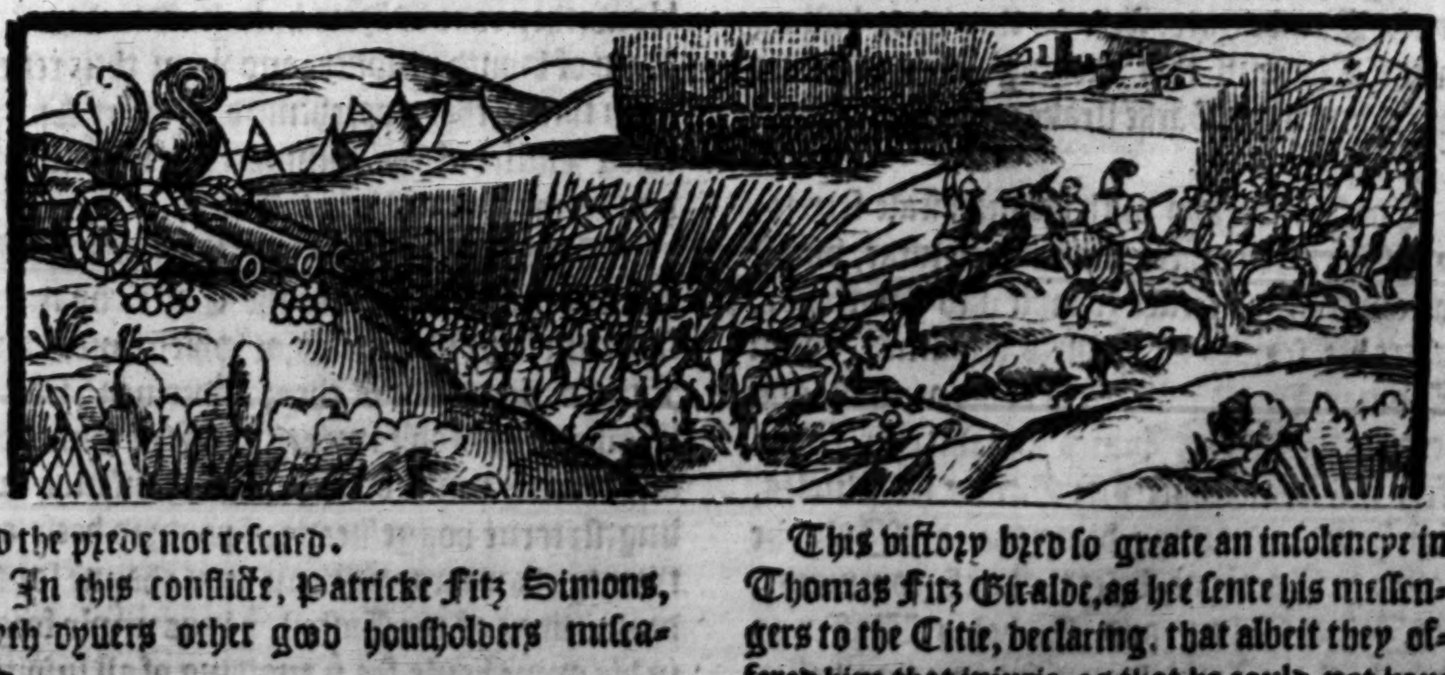
Fingall ſpoyled.

Fingall whiche was not before acquainted with the recourſe of the Iriſhe enimie, was lefte open, to bee preded and ſpoyled by the Tooles, who were therein aſſiſted by Iohan Burnell of Balgriffen, a Gentleman of a faire liuing, ſettled in a good battle ſoile of Fingall, taken for one not deuoyde of witte, were it not that hee were ouertaken with this treaſon.

Iohan Burnell of Balgriffen.

The Dublinians diſcomfited.

The Dublinians hauing notice, that the enimie made hauocke of their neighbors of Fingal, iſſued out of the Citie, meaning to haue intercepted them at the bridge of Kilmaynan, and hauing encountred wyth the Iriſhe, neere the woodde of Salcock, what for the number of the Rebelles, and the lacke of an experte Captayne to leade the army of Dublin in battayle araye, there were fourescore of the Citizens ſlayne, and the prede not reſcued.



Patrick Fitz Simons ſlaine.

In this conflicte, Patricke Fitz Simons, wyth dyuers other good houſholders miſcaried.

Meſſengers ſente from Thomas to Dublin.

This victory bred ſo greate an inſolencye in Thomas Fitz Giralde, as hee ſente his meſſengers to the Citie, declaring, that albeit they offered him that iniurie, as that he could not haue free paſſage with hys companye too and fro in the pale, and therefore would he vſe the benefyte of his late ſkirmiſhe, or bee aunſwerable in iuſt reuenge to their due deſerte, he mought by lawe of armes put their Citie to fire and ſword: yet this notwithſtanding, if they would but permit his men to lay ſiege to the Caſtell of Dublin, he would enter in league with them, and would vndertake to backe them in ſuch fauorable wiſe, as the ſtouteſt Champion in his army ſhoulde not be ſo hardy, as to offer the baſeſt in their Citie ſo much as a fillip.

The Citizens conſidering that the Towne, by reaſon of the ſickneſſe, was weakened, and by this late ouerthrowe greatly diſcouraged, were forced to make a vertue of neceſſitie, by lighting a candle before the Deuill, til tyme the Kyng hys pleaſure were knowen, to whome wyth letters they poſted one of their Aldermen, named Francis Herbert, whome ſhortly after, yͤ King for his ſeruice dubbed knight, enfeoffing him with parte of Chriſtopher Euſtace of Balintlan his landes, who had vnaduiſedly a foote in this Rebellion. But before yͤ Citizens would returne aunſwere to Thomas, as touching this meſſage, they ſecretly aduertiſed maiſter Iohan White, Conneſtable of the Caſtell, of this vnlawfull demaunde.

Francis Herbert ſent into England.
Euſtace of Balicutlan.

The Conneſtable weighing the ſecuritie of the Citie, and little regarding the force of the enimie, agreed willingly thereto, ſo that he might be ſufficiently ſtored with men and vittayles.

The Archbyſhop of Dublin meaneth to ſayle into England.
Bartholmew Fitz Girald.

Iohan Alen Archbyſhop of Dublin, fearyng that all would haue gone to wracke in Ireland, being then in the Caſtell, brake his minde touching hys ſayling into Englande to one of hys ſeruauntes named Bartholmewe Fitz Giralde, whome, notwithſtanding hee were a Giraldine, hee helde for hys truſtieſt and inwardeſt counſaylour.

Bartholmew vndertaking to be the Archbyſhop his Pilot, vntill he were paſt the barre, encouraged his maiſter to embarke himſelfe harde by the Dames gate. And as they were hulling in the Channell that euening, they were not ware, vntill the Barke ſtrake on the ſands neere Clontarfe.

The Archbyſhop with his man ſtale ſecretely to Tartayne, there meaning to lurke, vntyll the wind hadde ſerued to ſayle into Englande, where hee ſcantly fiue houres ſoiourned, when Thomas Fitz Girald knew of his arriuall, and accompanyed with Iames Delahide, ſir Iohan Fitz Giralde, Oliuer Fitz Giralde his Vncles, timely in the morning, being the 28. of Iuly, he poſted to Tartayne, beſet the houſe, commaunded Iohan Teling, and Nicholas Waffer to apprehend the Archbiſhoppe, whome they halled out of his bedde, brought him naked in his ſhirt, barefooted and bare headed, to their Captayne, whome when the Archbyſhop eſpyed, incontinẽtly he kneeled, and with a pitiful countenãce, and lamentable voice, he beſought him for yͤ loue of God not to remember former iniuries, but to weigh his preſent calamitie, and what malice ſo euer he bare his perſon, yet to reſpect his calling and vocation, in that his enimie was a Chriſtian, and hee among Chriſtians an Archbiſhop. As he ſpake thus, bequeathing his ſoule to God, his body to the enimies mercy. Thomas being ſtriken with ſome compaſſion, and withall inflamed with deſire of reuenge, turned hys horſe aſide, ſaying in Iriſh (*Bir wem è boddeagh*) which is as muche in Engliſhe, as awaye with the Churle, or take the Churle from mee, whyche doubtles he ſpake, as after he declared, meaning the Archbiſhop ſhould bee deteyned as priſoner. But yͤ caitiffes that were preſent, rather of malice than of ignorance, miſcõſtruing his wordes, murthered yͤ Archbiſhop without further delay, brayned and hackt hym in gobbets, hys bloud with Abell crying to God for reuenge, whiche after befell to all ſuch as were principals to this horrible murther. The place is euer ſince hedged and embayed on euery ſide, ouergrowen and vnfrequented, for deteſtation of the fact. This Alen as before is declared, was in ſeruice with Cardinall Wolſey, of deepe iudgement in the lawe Canon, the onely match of Stephan Gardiner, an other of Wolſeys Chaplaynes, for auoiding of which emulation, he was preferred in Irelãd, rough and rigorous in iuſtice, deadly behated of yͤ Giraldins, for his maiſters ſake and his owne, as he that croſſed them diuers times, and muche bridled both father and ſonne in their gouernements, not vnlike to haue promoted their accuſations, and to haue bin a forger of the letter before mentioned, whiche turned to his finall deſtruction.

1534

Teling.
Waffer.

Alen Archbyſhop of Dublin, murthered at Tartayne.

The Rebelles hauing in this execrable wiſe embrued their handes in the Archbiſhoppe hys bloud, they rode to Houth, tooke Sir Chriſtofer Lord of Houth priſoner, and vpon their returne from thence, they apprehended Maiſter Luttrel, chiefe Iuſtice of the common place, conueying him with them as their priſoner.

The Lord of Houth taken priſoner.
Iuſtice Luttell taken.

The Dublinians during this ſpace, hauing reſpite to pauſe, ſent into the Caſtell by nyghte ſufficient ſtore of victuals, at which time, Iohan Fitz Simons, one of theyr Aldermen, ſente to Maiſter Cunſtable twenty tunne of wine, four and twenty tunne of beere, two thouſande drye ling, ſixteene hoggeſheads of poudred beefe, and twenty chambers, with an iron chayne for the drawbridge of the Caſtell, yͤ was newly forged in his owne houſe, for yͤ auoiding of all ſuſpitiõ.

Iohan Fitz Simons.

The Caſtell of Dublin beſieged.

Field. Waſſer. Teling. Roukes.

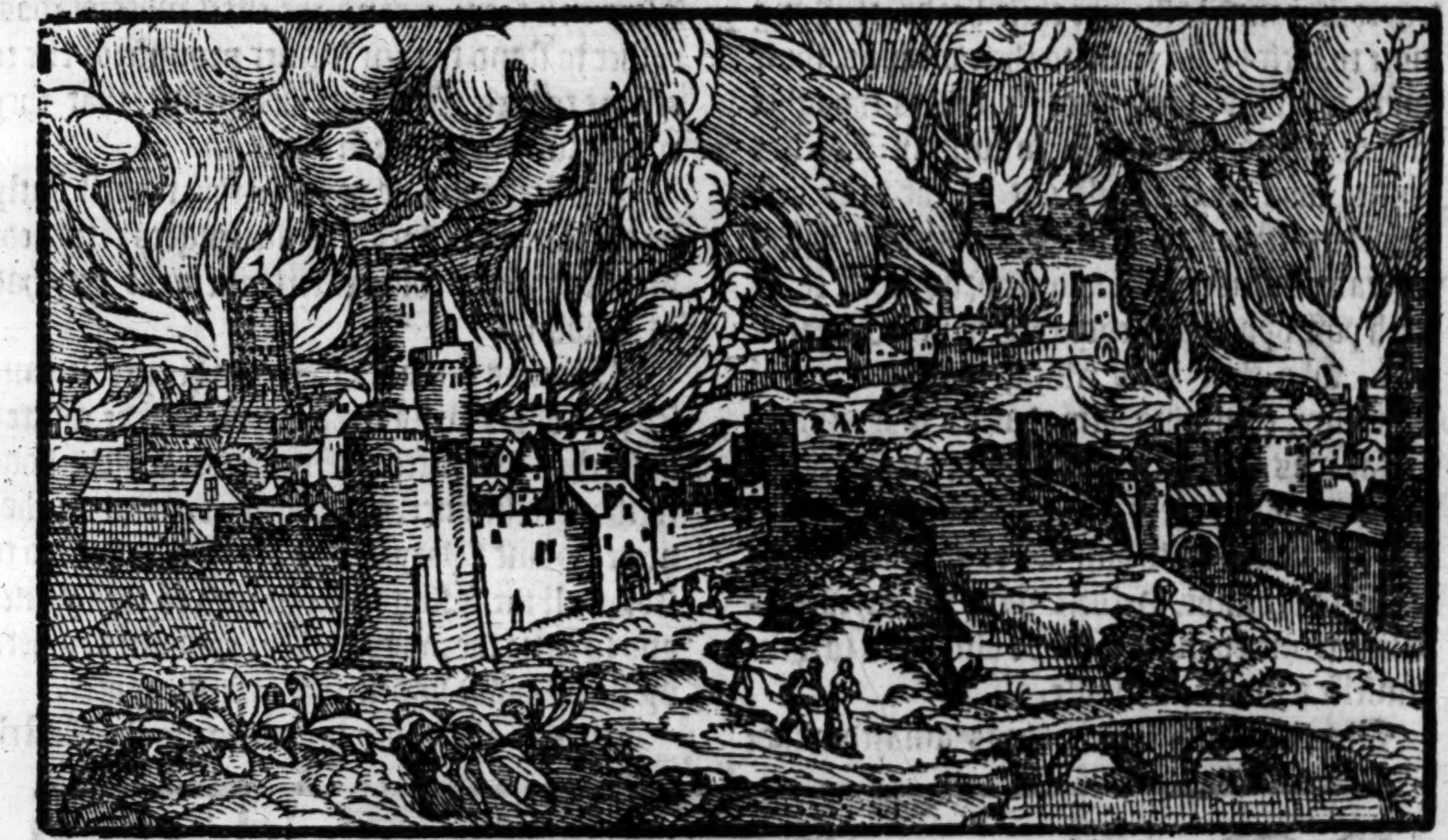
The Caſtell beeyng wyth men, munition, and vittayles, abundantly furniſhed, aunſwere was returned to Thomas Fitz Girald, purporting a conſent for ẏ receyuing of his Souldiers, which graunted, he ſent thither Iames Field of Luſke, Nicholas Waſſer, Iohan Teling, Edward Roukes (who was likewiſe a Pirat, ſcouring the coaſt, and greatly annoying all paſſengers) Broade and Purſel with an hũdred ſouldiers attendant on thẽ, as on their Captaynes. Theſe valiant ruttrekinnes planted neere Preſton his Innes, right ouer againſte the Caſtell gate two or three Falcons, hauyng with ſuche ſtrong rampiers entrenched their company, as they little weighed the ſhot of the Caſtell, and to withdrawe the Conneſtable from diſcharging ẏ ordinance, they threatned to take the youth of ẏ Citie, and place them on the toppe of theyr trẽches for maiſter Conſtable to ſhoote at, as at a marke he would be loath to hitte.

The Engliſh pale in this wiſe weakened, the Citizens appeaſed, and the Caſtell beſieged, Thomas Fitz Girald and his confederates were reſolued to trie if the Lord Butler would ſtand to his doughty letter, and ſith he woulde not by faire meanes be allured, he ſhould be maugre his head by foule meanes compelled to aſſiſt them in this their generall attempt.

Thomas Fitz Girald inuadeth the Countrey of Kilkenny.

The Earle of Oſsory fleeth. The Lorde Butler wounded.

Thomas vpon this determination, being accompanyed wyth O Neale, dyuers Scottes, Iames Delahide, his principall Counſaylour, Iohan Delahide, Edw. Fitz Girald his vncle, Sir Richarde Welſhe, perſon of Loughſewdy, Iohan Burnel of Balgriffen, Iames Gernon, Walter Walſh, Rob. Walſh, Maurice Walſh with a mayne army, inuaded the Earle of Oſſorie, and the Lord Butler his landes, brenned & waſted ẏ Cõtrey of Kilkennie to Thomas Towne, the poore inhabitants being conſtreined to ſhunne hys force, rather than to withſtande his power. Fitz Girald his approch towardes theſe confines bruted, the Earle of Oſſory, and his ſon the L. Butler, with all the Gentlemen of the Cuntrey of Kilkẽny, aſſembled neere Ieripõ, to determine what order they myght take, in withſtanding the inuaſion of the Rebelles. And as they were thus in parley, a Gentleman of ẏ Butlers accompanyed with ſixteene horſemen, departed ſecretely from the Falckmote, and made towardes Thomas Fitz Girald and hys army, who was then ready to incamp himſelfe at Thomas Towne. Whẽ the challenger was eſcried, and the certayne number knowen, ſixteene of Fitz Giralde his Horſemen dyd charge him, and preſently followed them ſeuen ſcore Horſemen, with two or three banners diſplaid, purſuing them, vntil they came to the hil, where all the Gentlemen were aſſembled, who beeyng ſo ſuddaynely taken, coulde not ſtand to bicker, but ſome fledde this way, ſome that way, the Earle was ſcattered from his company, and the Lord Butler vnawares was hurte, whome when ſuche of the Rebelles knewe, as fauoured him, they purſued him, but coldly, and lette hym eſcape on Horſebacke, taking hys way to Downemore (neere Kilkennie) where hee lay at Chirurgerie.



Frances Herbert returneth from England.

Shillingforth.

Thomas Fitz Simons.

During the tyme that Thomas with his army was ranſacking the Earle of Oſſory hys lands, Francis Herbert returned from Englãd to Dublin with the Kyng and Counſells letters to Maiſter Shillingforth then Maior, and his brethren, with letters likewiſe to maiſter White the Conſtable, to withſtande (as theyr ductie of allegiance bound them) the traytrous practiſes of Thomas and hys complices, & that with al ſpeede they ſhould be ſuccoured vpon the ſight of theſe letters. M. Thomas Fitz Simons

Recorder of the Citie, a Gentleman that ſhewed himſelfe a politique and a cõfortable Cõſayler in theſe troubles, paraphraſing the Kyng his gratious letters, with diuers good and ſound conſtructions, emboldned the Citizens to breake their new made league, which with no Traytor was to be kept.

No league to be kept with Traytors.

The Dublinians breake with Thomas Fitz Girald

The Aldermen and communaltie, wyth thys pithie perſwaſion eaſily weighed, gaue forthwith order, that the gates ſhould be ſhutte, their perculliſſes diſmounted, the Traitors that beſieged the Caſtell apprehended, flagges of defyance vpon their walles placed, and an opẽ breach of truce proclaymed. Field and his companyes (who did not all this while batter aught of the Caſtell, but only one hole that was bored through the gate with a pellet, which lighted in the mouth of a demy Canon, planted within the Caſtell) vnderſtanding that they were betrayed, beganne to ſhrinke their heads, truſtyng more to their heeles than to their weapõs, ſome ranne one way, ſome another, diuers thoughte to haue bin houſed, and ſo to lurke in Lorelles denne, who were thruſt out by the head and ſhoulders: few of them ſwamme ouer the Liffy, yͤ greater number takẽ and empriſoned. Forthwith poſt vppon poſt rode to Thomas Fitz Girald, who then was rifling the Countrey of Kilkenny, certifying him that all was marde, the fat was in the fire, he brought an olde houſe about his owne eares, the Paltockes of Dublin kept not touche with him, the engliſh army was ready to bee ſhipt, Herbert with the Kyng hys letters returned, now it ſtoode him vpon to ſhew himſelfe a man or a mouſe.

Field and his company taken.

Thomas with theſe tidings amazed, made ſpeedy repaire to Dublin, ſending his Purſeuãts before hym, to commaunde the Gentlemen of the Engliſhe pale to meete hym with all theyr power neere Dublin. And in his way towards the Citie, hys company tooke diuers children of the Dublinians, that kepte in the Countrey, (by reaſon of the contagion that then was in the Towne) namely Michaell Fitz Simons, Patricke Fitz Simons, William Fitz Simõs, all ſonnes to Walter Fitz Simons late Maior, at whiche tyme was alſo taken James Stanihurſt, with diuers other yonglings of the Citie.

The youth of Dublin taken priſoners.

Hauing marched neere Dublin, hee ſente Doctor Trauerſe, Peter Lince of the Knocke, and Oliuer Grace, as meſſengers (for I maye not rightly tearme them Ambaſſadors) to the Citizẽs, who croſſing the Liffy from the blacke Friers to the key, explayned to the Maior and Aldermen theyr errand, the effect whereof was, eyther to ſtand to their former promiſe, or elſe to reſtore to their Captayne his menne, that they wrongfully deteyned in goale.

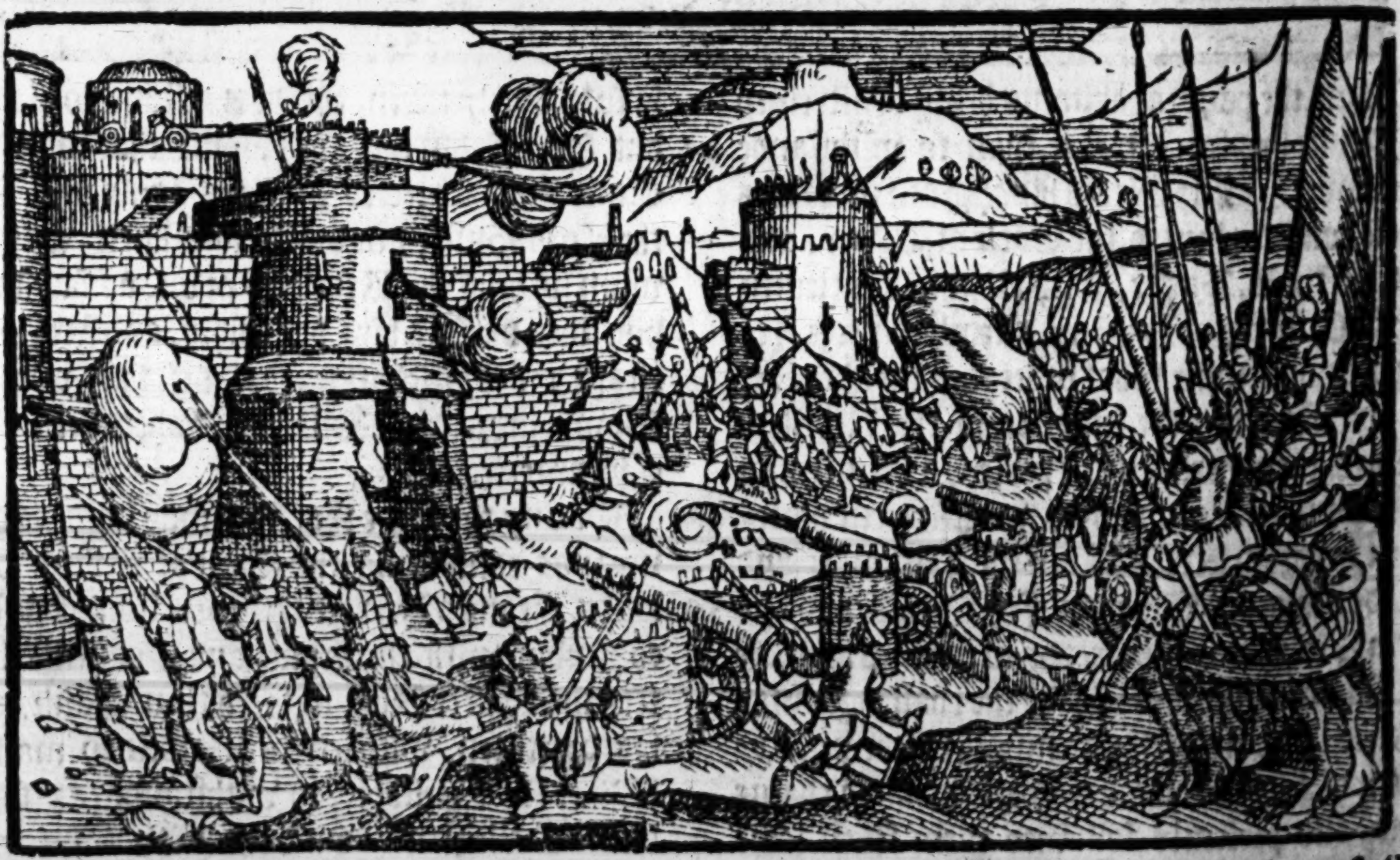
Meſſengers ſent to Dubli Trauerſe, Lince. Grace.

The firſt and laſt poynt of this requeſt flatly by the Citizẽs denyed, the meſſengers returned, declaring what colde enterteynement they had in Dublin.

Thomas herewith frying in his greaſe, cauſed part of his army to burne the Barke wherein Herbert ſayled from Englande, whiche done without reſiſtance, the veſſell roade at anchor neere Saint Mary Abbey, they endeuoured to ſtoppe all the ſprings that flowed to the towne, and to cutte the pypes of theyr conduites, whereby they ſhoulde be deſtitute of freſhe water.

Dublin beſieged.

Shortly after, they layde ſiege to the Caſtell in the Shipſtreete, from whence they were haſtily by the ordinence feazed, and all the thatche houſes of the Streete were burnt with wildefire, whych maiſter White deuiſed, bycauſe the enimie ſhould not be there reſcued.



The Shipſtrete fired.

When no butter coulde ſticke on their bread in that parte of the Citie, the greater number of the Rebelles aſſembled to Thomas court, and marched to Sainte Thomas his ſtreete, razing downe the partitions of the rewe of houſes before them on both ſides of the ſtreete, findyng none to withſtande them, for the inhabitantes fledde into the Citie, ſo that they made a long lane on both the ſides like a gallerie, couered all ouer head, to ſhield as well their horſemen, as their footemen from gunſhot.

This done, they brent the newe ſtreete, planted a falcon right againſte the newe gate, and it diſcharged, pierced the gate, and kild an apprentice of Thomas Steeuens Alderman, as hee wente to bring a baſon of water from the hygh pipe, whiche by reaſon the ſprings were damde vp, was at that time drie.

Richarde Stanton.

Richard Stanton, commonly called Dicke Stanton, then gaylour of the new gate, a good ſeruitoure, an excellente markman, as his valiant ſeruice that time dyd approue. For beſides that hee galde dyuers of the Rebelles as they woulde ſkippe from houſe to houſe, by cauſing ſome of them with hys peece, to carrie theyr erraundes in their buttockes, hee perceyued one of the enimies, leueling at the windowe or ſpike at which he ſtoode: but whether it were, that the Rebell his pouder faylde him, or ſome gimbol or other was out of frame, Stanton tooke hym ſo truely for his marke, as hee ſtrake him with hys bullet full in the forehead vnder yͤ brimme of hys ſcull, and withall, turned vp his heeles.

Stanton not ſatiſfyed with his death, iſſued out at the wicket, ſtripte the varlet mother naked, and broughte in his peece and hys attire.

The deſperateneſſe of thys facte diſlyked of the Citizẽs, and greately ſtomacked by the Rebelles, before Stanton returned to his ſtanding, the enimies broughte faggottes and fyers to the new gate, and incontinently fyred them.

Faggottes layd to the new gate.

The Townesmen perceyuing that if yͤ gate were brent, the enimies woulde bee encouraged vpon hope of the ſpoyle, to venter more fiercely, than if they wer encountred without yͤ walles, thoughte it expedient preſently to charge them: to this exployte they were the more egrely moued, bycauſe that notwithſtanding Thomas his Souldyers were many in number, yet they knewe that the better parte of his company bare but hollowe hartes to the quarrell: for the number of the wiſe Gentlemen of the pale did little or nothing encline to his purpoſe. And therefore when hee beſieged the Citie, the moſt parte of thoſe arrowes, which were ſhot ouer the walles, were vnheaded, and nothyng annoyed them: ſome ſhotte in letters, and foretolde them of all the treacherous ſtratagemes that were in hammering.

The Citizens bicker with the Rebelles.

That eſpyed the Citizens, and gathering the faintneſſe of his Souldyers thereby, blazed abrode vppon the walles triumphante newes, that the King hys army was arriued, and as it hadde bin ſo in deede, ſuddaynely to the number of foure hundred, ruſhed out at the newe gate through flame and fyre vppon the Rebelles, who at the firſt ſighte of armed men, weening no leſſe, but the trueth was ſo, otherwiſe aſſured, that the Citie woulde neuer dare to reencounter them, gaue grounde, forſooke theyr Captaynes, diſperſed and ſcattered into dyuers corners, theyr Falcon taken, an hundred of their ſtouteſt galloglaſſes ſlayne.

Thomas Fitz Girald fleeth.

Thomas Fitz Giralde fledde to the grey Friers in Sainte Frauncis his ſtreete, there coucht that nyghte, vnknowen to the Citie, vntyll the next morning, hee ſtale priuily to his armye not farre off, who ſtoode in wonderfull feare, that he was apprehended.

Thomas hys courage by thys late ouerthrowe, ſomewhat cooled, and alſo beeyng aſſuredly tolde, that a fleete was eſpyed a farre off, bearyng full ſayle towardes the coaſt of Irelande, hee was ſoone entreated, hauyng ſo manye irons in the fyre, to take egges for hys money: and wythall, hauyng no forrayne ſuccoure, eyther from *Paulus tertius*, or Charles the fyft, whyche dayly hee expected, hee was ſore quayled, beeyng of hymſelfe, though ſtrong in number of Souldyers, yet vnfurniſhed of ſufficiente munition and artillerie, to ſtande and wythſtande the Kyng hys army in a pitcht fielde, or a mayne battaile.

Vppon thys and other conſiderations, to make as fayre weather as hee coulde, hee ſente James Delahyde, Lime of the knocke, William Bath of Dollardeſtowne, Doctor Trauerſe, Thomas Fielde of Payneſtowne, as meſſengers to the Citizens, to treate with them of a truce, who beeyng let in at the newe gate, repayred to William Kelly his houſe, where maiſter Maior and hys brethren were aſſembled.

Delahide.
Lime.
Bath.
Trauerſe field.

The Articles propounded to the Citizens.

The Articles propounded by them to the Citizens, were theſe.

In primis, that Thomas Fitz Girald hys men, who were deteyned in priſon, ſhould be redeliuered.

2 Item, that the Citizens ſhoulde incontinently deliuer him at one paynment, a thouſande poundes in money.

3 Item, that they ſhoulde delyuer him fyue hundred pounds in wares.

4 Item, to furniſh him with munition and artillery.

5 Item, to addreſſe their fauorable letters to

the King for their Captaine his pardon, and all his confederates.

The Citizens aunſwer theſe articles.

The Maior and Aldermen hauing ripely debated the tenour of theſe Articles, agreed, that maiſter Fitz Simons their Recorder, ſhould anſwere to the firſte, that they would not ſticke, to ſet his ſeruaunts at libertie, ſo he woulde redeliuer them the youth of the Citie, which was nothing elſe in effect, but tit for tat.

As for the ſeconde and thirde demaunde, they were ſo greatly by his warres empoueriſhed, as they myght hardly ſpare money or wares: and as touching implementes for warre, they were neuer ſuch fond niddicockes, as to offer any mā a rodde to beate their owne tayles, or to betake their maſtiues to the cuſtodie of the Wolues, maruelling much, that their Captayne woulde ſo farre ouerſhoote himſelfe, as to bee taken with ſuch apparant repugnancie. For if hee intended to ſubmitte himſelfe to the King his mercy, and to make them humble meanes to his highneſſe for the obteining of his pardon, he ought rather to make ſute for ſome good vellam parchmente for the ingroſſing thereof, than for munitiō and artillerie to withſtande his Prince: wherefore that three vnlawfull demaundes reiected, they would willingly condiſcend to the firſt and laſt, as well requeſting hym to deliuer them the youth of the Citie, as to ſubmitte himſelfe and his company to the King his mercy, promiſing not only with their fauourable letters, but alſo with their perſonall preſences to further, as far as in them lay, hys humble ſute to the King and Counſell.

William Bath

As they parled thus too and fro, William Bath of Dollardeſtowne, a Student of the cō mon lawes ſpake: My maiſters, what needeth all thys long circumſtance, lette vs all drynke of one cuppe, whiche wordes were ſhortly after vpon Skeffington his arriuall, ſo crookedly glozed, as by drinking of a ſoure cuppe, hee loſt the beſt ioynte of hys body. For albeit vpon his tryall, hee conſtrued his wordes to importe an vniforme conſente, towardes the obteyning of Fitz Giralde hys pardon, yet all this coulde not couloure hys matter in ſuche wiſe, but that hee and Euſtace of Balicutlan, wer executed at the Caſtell of Dublin.

Euſtace of Balicutlan.

Hoſtages taken.

The meſſengers knowing their Captaine to bee at a lowe ebbe, were agreed to take the offers of the firſt and laſt conditions, and that to the accompliſhing of theſe Articles, hoſtages ſhoulde bee gyuen of eyther parte.

Doctor Trauerſe.
Talbot.
Rochforde
Rery.

The meſſengers deliuered to the Citizens Doctor Trauerſe and others, the Citizens deliuered them Richard Talbot, Alderman, Rochford and Rery.

Dauid Sutton.

Theſe were committed to the cuſtody of Dauid Sutton of Rabride, who redeliuered thē to the Citizens, immediately after vpon the certayne rumour of Skeffington his repaire.

Thomas growen to thys poynte with the Dublinians, rayſed his ſiege, cauſed his artillerie to be cōneyd to Howeth, marching after with his army, to the ende he might well as bulche the Engliſh Shippes, if they durſt auerre the coaſt, as to bicker with the Souldiers vpon their arriuall. But before he toke his iourney to Howeth, he rode to Maynoth, to ſee that the Caſtell ſhuld be of all ſides fortifyed, where being done to vnderſtand, that a companye of white cotes, with redde croſſes, landed at Dublin ſecretely in the dead of the night, and alſo that another band arriued at Howeth, and were ready to marche towardes Dublin, hee poſted incontinently wyth two hundred Horſemen towardes the water ſyde, encountred neere Clontarfe, the Hamertons, two valiant and couragious Gentlemen, hauing in theyr company foureſcore Souldyers, where they foughte ſo valiantly for theyr liues, as ſo fewe footemen coulde haue done againſte ſo greate a troupe of Horſemen: for they did not onely mangle and hacke dyuers of the Rebelles, but alſo one of the Hamertones woūded Thomas Fitz Girald in the forehead.

The white coates land at Dublin.

The Hamertones ſlayne.

Thomas Fitz Girald wounded.

Mooſgraue.

Some reporte, that one of the Mooſgraues, who was of kinne to Fitz Giralde, was ſlayne in this conflict, whoſe deathe hee is ſaid to haue taken greately to hearte. The Rebelles fleſht with the ſlaughter of the Engliſhe, hyed with al ſpeede to Howeth, ſhotte at the Shyppes that rode at anchor, cauſed them to flie from thēce, and to make towardes Skerriſh, where landed both the Eglebees, and the Dakers with theyr horſemen. Roukes, Fitz Girald his Pirat, was ſent to ſcoure the coaſt, who toke an Engliſhe barke laden with very faire geldings, and ſente them to hys Captayne.

Eglebees.
Dakers.

Engliſh geldings taken.

After that Thomas hadde returned with this booty, and the ſpoyle of ſuche as were ſlayne to Maynoth, Sir William Brereton Knyghte, with hys ſonne Iohn Brereton, was enſhoared at Howeth with two hundred and fiftie Souldyers, very well appoynted, and maiſter Saliſbury with two hundred archers.

Sir William Brereton
Iohn Brereton

Salisbury.

Sir William Skeffington Lord Deputy landeth.

Laſtly landed at the ſlippe neere the bridge of Dublin, Sir William Skeffington knight, Lorde Deputie, whome the Iriſhe call the Gunner, bycauſe hee was preferred from that office of the King hys maiſter Gunner, to gouerne them, and that they can euill brooke to bee ruled of anye that is but meanely borne.

The Maior and Aldermen receyued the gouernor wyth ſhot, & great ſolemnity, who yeelding them heartye thankes, for theyr true and

loyall

Letters of thankes from the King to the Dubliniãs.

loyall ſeruice, deliuered them the King & Counſell his letters, purporting the ſame effect in writing, that he before expreſt in words.

The Lord of Trimleſtowne ſurrendreth the ſworde.

Barnewell Lord of Trinleſtowne, who had the cuſtody of the ſword, dyd ſurrender it to Sir William Skeffington, according to the meaning of the King his letters patents on that behalfe.

Thomas Fitz Girald goeth towards Connaght.

Thomas Fitz Giralde hauing intelligence that the whole army was arriued, warded the Caſtel of Maynoth ſo ſtrongly, as he tooke it to be impregnable. And to the ende he mighte gyue the gouernoure battayle, he rode towards Connaght, to leuie all ſuch power of the Iriſh, as either for wages, or for good will he could winne, to aſſiſt him. The Lord Deputie forewarned of his drift, marched with the Engliſhe army, and the power of the pale to Maynoth, and layde ſiege to the Caſtell on the North ſide, towardes the parke. But before any peece was diſcharged, Sir William Brereton, by the Deputie his appoyntment, did ſommone the Caſtell, offering ſuche as kepte it, to depart with bagge and baggage, and beſides their pardon, to bee liberally rewarded for their good and loyall ſeruice. But ſuch as warded the Caſtell, ſcornefully ſcoffing the Knight his offer, gaue him heartie thankes for his kindneſſe, which they ſayd, proceeded rather of his gentleneſſe, than of their deſeruing, wiſhing him to keepe vp in ſtore ſuch liberall offers for a deere yeare, and to write his commendations home to his friends, and withal, to keepe his head warme, for at their hands he was lyke to haue but a colde ſute: finally not to take ſuche keepe of their ſafetie, in that they were aſſured, that he and his fellowes ſhoulde bee ſooner from the ſiege razed, than they from the holde remoued. Upon this round aunſwere, the ordinances were planted on the North ſide of the Caſtell, whiche made no great batterie for the ſpace of a fortnight, yet the Caſtell ſo warely of eache ſide enuironed, as the Rebelles were imbard from al egreſſe and regreſſe. Chriſtopher Pareſe, foſter brother to Thomas Fitz Girald, to whome of eſpeciall truſt the charge of yͤ Caſtel was chiefely committed, proffering his voluntarie ſeruice, (which for the more part is ſo thankeleſſe & vnſauory, as it ſtinketh) determined to goe an aſſe beyond his fellowes, in betraying the Caſtell to the gouernoure. In this reſolution, he ſhot out a letter endorzed to the Lorde Deputie, the effect whereof was, that hee would deuiſe the meanes the Caſtell ſhoulde be taken, ſo that hee myghte haue a ſumme of money for hys paynes, and a competent ſtay during his life. This motion by letters too & fro agreed vpon, Pareſe cauſed ſuch as kept the warde, to ſwill and boll ſo much, as they ſnorted al the night like grunting Hogges, little miſdeeming that whileſt they ſlepte, anye Iudas had bin waking within the Caſtel. The occaſion of this extraordinary exceeding, was coulоured, for ſnatching into the Caſtell a field peece the day before, from the army, for whiche, they kept ſuch pot reuels, and triumphãt carouſing, as none of them coulde diſcerne his beddes head, from the beddes feete.

The Caſtell of Maynoth beſieged.

Sir William Brereton ſommoneth the Caſtell.

Criſtopher Pareſe betrayeth the Caſtell of Maynoth.

Profered ſeruice ſtinketh.

Holland, Petit Captaine to Saliſburie.

The Caſtell taken.

Brereton ſcaleth the walles

Pareſe taking his tide and time, made ſigne to the army, betwene the twilight and dawning of the day, who hauing ſkaling ladders in a readineſſe, wolde not ouerſlip the oportunitie offered. Holland, petite captaine to Saliſbury, was one of the forewardeſt in this exploite, who leaping downe from the wall, fell by miſhap into a pipe of feathers, where he was vp to the arme pittes, ſo ſtiffely ſticking therein, & alſo ſo vnwealdy in his armour, as there could not helpe himſelfe neither in or out. Sir William Brereton and his bande hauing ſkaled the walles cried on a ſodaine, S. George, S. George. Three drunken ſwaddes that kepte the caſtell thought that this ſhoute was noughte elſe but a dreame, til time they eſpied the walles full of armed mẽ, & one of thẽ withal perceiuyng Hollãd thus entangled in yͤ pype, beſtowed an arrow vpõ him, which by good hap did miſſe him. Hollãd forthwith reſcued by his fellowes, ſhot at the other, & ſtrake him ſo full vnder the ſkull, as he left him ſprauling. The reſiſtance was faint, when the Souldyers entred, ſome yeelding themſelues, others that withſtood them ſlayne. Sir William Brereton ranne vp to the higheſt turret of the Caſtel, and aduaunced his Standerd on the top thereof, notifying to the Deputie, yͭ the fort was wonne. Great and rich was the ſpoile, ſuch ſtore of beddes, ſo many goodly hangings, ſo riche a Wardrob, ſuch braue furniture, as truely it was accompted for houſholde ſtuffe and vtenſiles, one of the richeſt Earle his houſes, vnder the Crowne of Englande. The L. Deputie entred yͤ Caſtell in the after noone, vpon whoſe repaire, Iames Delahyde, and Hayward, two ſinging men of the Earle his Chappell, that were taken priſoners, proſtrated themſelues on the ground, pitifully warbling a ſong, named *Dulcis amica.*

Brereton aduaunceth hys Standerd.

The Lorde Deputie entreth the Caſtell.

Iames Delahide.

Haywarde.

Dulcis amica.

The gouernour rauiſhed with the ſweete and delicate voyces, at the inſtaunce of Girald Aylemer chiefe Iuſtice, and others of the counſell, pardoned them. Chriſtopher Pareſe not miſdoubting but yͭ he ſhould haue bin dubd knight for his ſeruice done that day, preſented hymſelfe before the Gouernoure, with a cheerefull and familiar countenance, as who ſhould ſay, heere is he that did yͤ deede. The Deputie very coldly & halfe ſternely caſting an eye towards him ſaid: Pareſe, I am to thank thee on my maſter yͤ K. his behalfe, for this thy profered ſeruice, which I

Girald Aylmer.

Pareſe commeth before the Gouernoure.

acknowledge to haue bin a ſparing of greate charges, and a ſauing of many valiant Souldyers liues to his highneſſe, and when his Maieſtie ſhall bee thereof aduertiſed, I dare be bolde to ſay that hee will not ſee thee lacke during thy life.

And bycauſe I may be the better inſtructed how to reward thee during my gouernement, I would gladly learne, what thy Lorde and maiſter beſtowed on thee. Pareſe ſet a gogge with theſe milde ſpeeches, and ſuppoſing the more he recited, the better hee ſhoulde bee rewarded, lefte not vntolde the meaneſt good turne, that euer he receyued at his Lords hands.

Why Pareſe, quoth the Deputie, couldeſt thou finde in thine hearte to betray his Caſtell, that hath bin ſo good Lord vnto thee? truly, thou that art ſo hollow to him, wilt neuer be true to vs, and therewithall, turning his talke to his officers, he gaue them commaundement, to delyuer Pareſe the ſumme of money that was promiſed him vpon the ſurrender of the Caſtel, and after, to choppe off his head. Pareſe at this colde ſalutation of farewell and behangd, turning his ſimpring to wimpring, ſayd:

A notable iudgement.

My Lord, had I wiſt you would haue dealte ſo ſtraitely with me, your Lordſhip ſhoulde not haue wonne this fort with as little bloudſhed, as you dyd.

Whereat, M. Boice, a Gentleman of worſhip, and one that reteyned to that olde Earle of Kildare, ſtanding in the preaſſe, ſaide in Iriſhe, *Antragh*, whiche is aſmuch in Engliſh, as too late, whereof grewe the Iriſh prouerbe, to thys day in yͤ language vſed, Too late quoth Boice, as we ſay, beware of had I wiſt, or after meate muſtard, or you come a day after yͤ faire, or better done than ſayde. The Deputie demaunded them that ſtoode by what was that he ſpake, M. Boyce willing to expounde his owne wordes, ſtept forth and anſwered, my Lord, I ſaid nothing, but that Pareſe is ſeized of a towne neere the water ſyde named Baltra, and I woulde gladly know how he wil diſpoſe it before hee bee executed. The gouernoure not miſtruſting, that M. Boice had glozed (for if he had vnderſtood yͤ true ſignification of the tearme, it was very like that too late had not bin ſo ſharp to Pareſe, but too ſoone had bin as ſoure to him) willed the money to bee tolde to Pareſe, and preſently cauſed him to be cut ſhorter by the head: declaring thereby, that although for the time he embraced the benefyte of the treaſon, yet after he could not digeſt the treacherie of the Traytor.

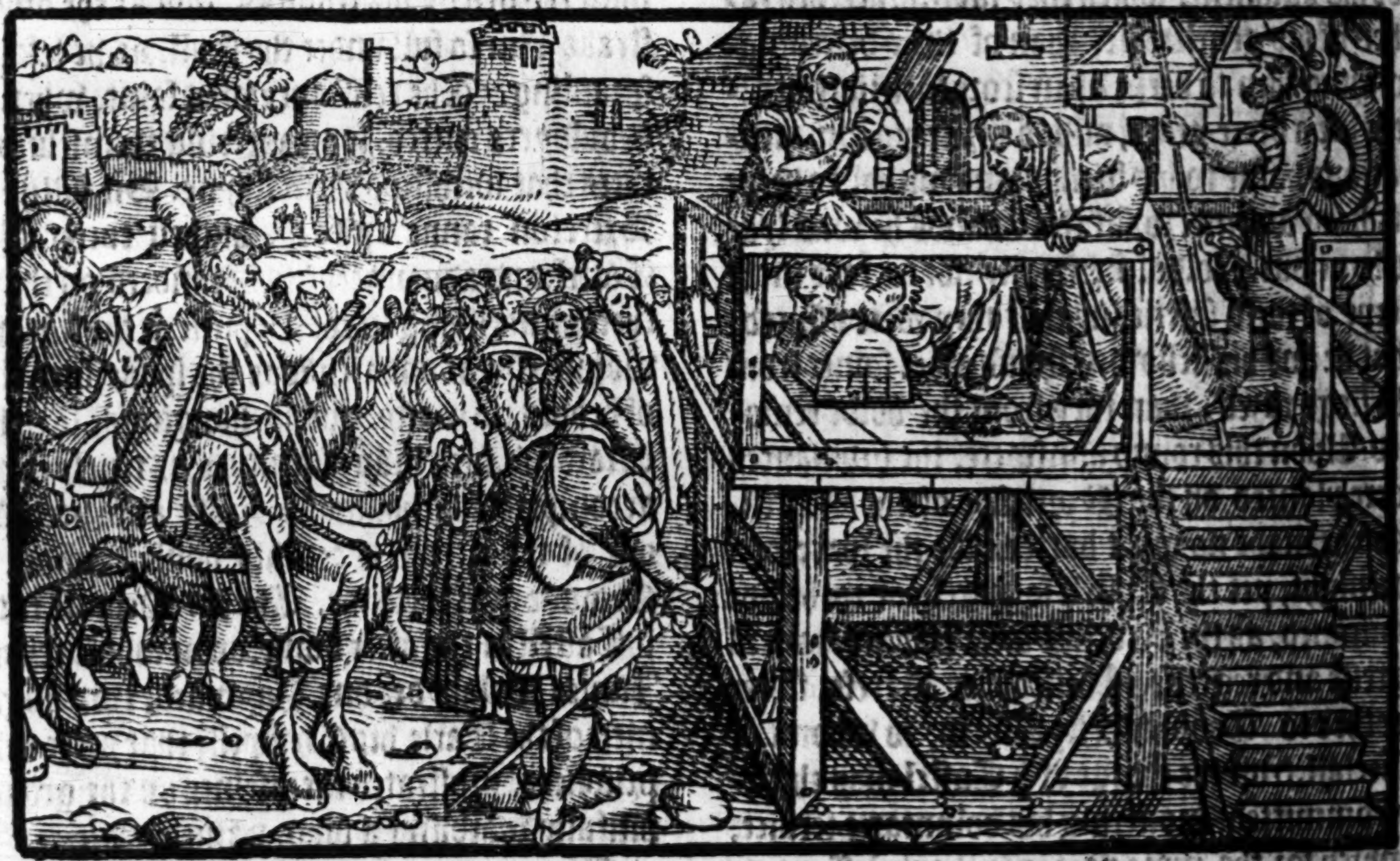
Boice.

Antragh.

The Prouerb, Too late quoth Boyce.

Baltra.

Pareſe beheaced.



The Deputie returneth to Dublin.

The Deputie hauing left a garriſon in yͤ Caſtell, returned with the army triumphantly to Dublin. Thomas Fitz Girald not miſdoubting but ſuche as hee left in the Caſtell were able to ſtand to their tacklings, leuied an huge army in Oconoure his Countrey, and in Connaght, to the number of ſeuen thouſande, marching with them towards Maynoth, minding to haue remoued the king his army from the ſiege, but being certified, that Pareſe his foſter brother, yelded vppe the Caſtell to the Deputie, the better part of his company gaue him the ſlippe. Al this notwithſtanding he made with ſuch as woulde ſticke to him to Clane.

Thomas Fitz Girald marcheth towards Maynoth.

The Lord Deputie hauing intelligence of his approch, left Sir William Brereton at Dublin to defende the Citie, and marched with the army to the Naas, where he tooke ſeauen ſcore of Thomas his galloglaſſes, and led them all vnarmed toward Ioneſtowne. The ſkoutewatch eſpying Thomas to march neere, imparted it to the gouernour, who incontinently commaunded eache man to kyll hys priſoner before the charge, whyche was diſpatcht, only Edmond

Brereton lefte to defende Dublin.

Galloglaſſes taken and ſlayne.

Edmõd Oleyn eſcapeth.

Oleyn eſcaping mother naked by flight to Thomas his companie, leauing his ſhyrt in his kepers hande. Both the armies aduaunced themſelues one agaynſt the other, but the horſemen of eyther ſyde coulde not charge, by reaſon of a mariſh or quakemyre that parted thẽ. Wherfore the Deputie cauſed two or three field peeces to be diſcharged, which ſkattered Thomas and his rablement, inſomuch as he neuer in ſuch open wiſe durſt after beare vp head in the Engliſh pale, but rather by ſtartes and ſodaine ſtratagemes, would now and then gal the Engliſh. As when the Caſtell of Rathimgan was won, whiche was ſone after the ſurrender of Maynoth, hee cauſed a droue of Cattell to appeare timely in the morning hard by the towne. Such as kept the Fort ſuſpecting it to be a bootie, were trayned for the more part out of the Caſtel, who were ſurpriſed by Thomas, that lay hard by in Ambuſhe, and the greater number of them ſlaine.

Thomas and his companie fleeth.

Fitz Girald his ſtratagems.

An other tyme hee fired a Village harde by Trim, and deuiſed ſuch of his horſemen that coulde ſpeake Engliſh, beeing clad and horſed like Northerne men, to ryde to Trim, where a garniſon lay, with hue and crie, ſaying that they were Captaine Saliſburie his ſouldiours, and that the traytour Thomas Fitz Giralde was burning a village harde by. The ſouldiours ſuſpecting no coſinage, iſſued out of the towne, who were by his men charged, and a great number of them ſlaine, ſome chaſed to the towne, and forced to take Sanctuarie in the Church yarde, which thoſe dayes was highly reuerenced.

Theſe and the like knackes vſed Thomas, being for his owne perſon ſo well garded, and for defect of a maine armie ſo naked, as neyther he was occaſioned to feare the Engliſh, nor the Engliſh forced to weigh him.

William Sentlo, Rice Manſwel Edward Griffeth.

During this tyme, there arriued with a freſh ſupplie of horſemen and Archers, ſir William Sentlo knight, and his ſonne, ſir Rice Manſwell knight, ſir Edward Griffeth knight, who were diſperſed to ſundrie partes of the Pale, to defende the Countrey from the enimyes inuaſion.

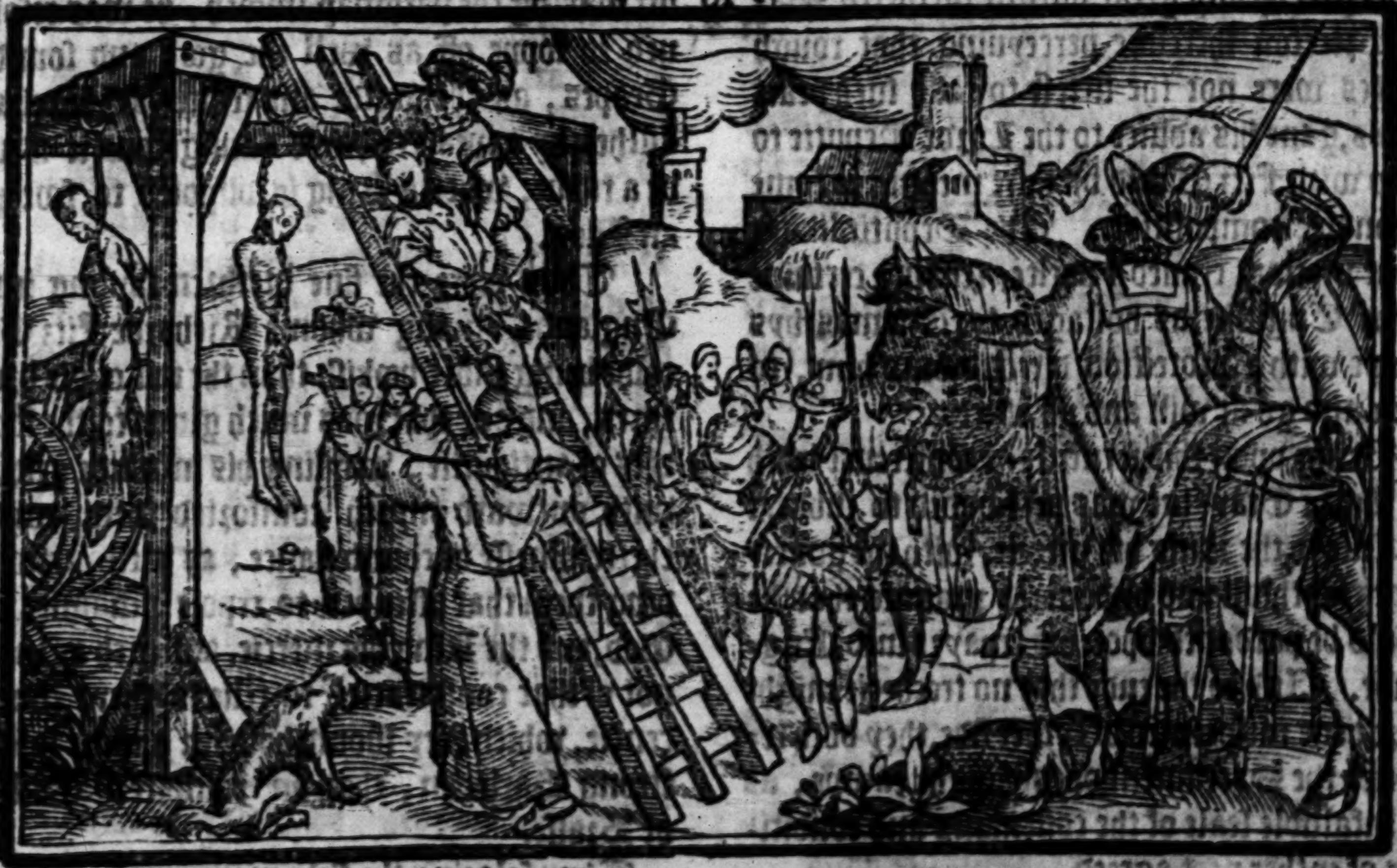
When the heate of this Rebellion was in this wiſe aſſwaged, the Lorde Deputie finding out no deuice to apprehende the Captaine, employed his induſtrie to intrap his confederates.

Burnell of Balgriffen taken and executed.

Trauerſe executed.

Roukes executed.

Burnel of Balgriffen ſeeing all go to wrack, fled to Mounſter, where hee was taken by the Lorde Butler Vicecount Thurles, and being conueied to England was executed at Tiburn. Doctor Trauerſe, who was left as hoſtage with the Citizens, was by them deliuered to the Lord Deputie, and after with Roukes the Pirate executed at the gallowes on Oſtmantowne greene.



Walter Delahide and his Ladie Gennet Euſtace apprehended.

Sir Walter Delahyde knight and his wife the Ladie Gennet Euſtace, were apprehended, and brought as priſoners by maiſter Brabſon Vicetreaſorer from their towne of Moyclare to the Caſtell of Dublin, bycauſe theyr ſonne and heyre James Delahyde was the onely bruer of all this rebellion, who as the gouernour ſuſpected, was ſet on by his parents, and namely by his mother.

The knight and his wife, lying in dureſſe for the ſpace of twelue Monethes, were at ſeuerall tymes examined, and notwithſtanding all preſumptions and ſurmiſes that coulde bee gathered, they were in the ende founde guiltleſſe of their ſonne his folly. But the Ladie was had in examination apart, and intyced by fayre meanes, to charge hir huſbande with hir ſonne hys rebellion, who being not wonne thereto with al the meanes that coulde be wrought, was menaced to be put to death, or to be rackt, and ſo with extremitie to be compelled, whereas with gentleneſſe ſhe could not be allured to acknowledge theſe apparant treaſons, that neyther hir huſbande nor ſhe coulde without great ſhew of impudencie denie.

Gennet Euſtace dieth.

The gentlewoman with theſe continuall ſtormes heartbroken, deceaſſed in the Caſtell: from thence hir bodie was remoued to the gray Friers with the Deputie his commaundement, that it ſhould not be enterred, vntill his pleaſure were further knowne, adding withall, that the carkaſſe of one who was the mother of ſo atrant an Archtraytor, ought rather to be caſt out on a Dunghill to be carion for Rauens and Dogs to gnaw vpon, than to be layd in any Chriſtian graue. The corps lying foure or fiue dayes in this plight, at the requeſt of the Ladie Gennet Golding, wife to ſir John White knight, the gouernour licenced, that it ſhould be buried.

Skeſſington deceaſed.

Leonard Gray Lord deputie.

Sir William Skeſſington a ſeuere and vpright Gouernour dyed ſhortly after at Kilmaynan: to whome ſucceeded Lorde Deputie the Lorde Leonard Gray, who immediately vpon the taking of his othe, marched with his power towardes the confines of Mounſter, where Thomas Fitz Girald, at that tyme remayned.

Breerton ſkirmiſheth with Fitz Girald.

With Fitz Giralde ſir William Brerton ſkirmiſhed ſo fiercely, as both the ſides were rather for the great ſlaughter diſaduantaged, than eyther part by any great victorie furthered. Maſter Brerton therefore perceyuing that rough Nettes were not the fitteſt to take ſuch peart byrdes, gaue his aduice to the Lorde Deputie to grow with Fitz Girald by faire meanes to ſome reaſonable compoſition. The Deputie liking of the motion, craued a parlee, ſending certaine of the Engliſhe as hoſtages to Thomas hys campe with a protection directed vnto him, to come and go at will and pleaſure.

Thomas Fitz Girald ſubmitteth himſelfe to the deputy.

The ſacrament receyued.

Being vpon this ſecuritie in conference with the Lorde Gray, hee was perſwaded to ſubmyt himſelfe to the King his mercie, with the gouernours faythfull and vndoubted promiſe that he ſhould be pardoned vpon his repayre into Englande. And to the ende that no trecherie might haue bene miſdeemed of eyther ſide, they both receyued the Sacrament openly in the campe, as an infallible ſeale of the couenants and conditions of eyther part agreed.

Thomas ſayleth into England.

1535

He is committed to the Tower.

Thomas his vncles taken.

Herevpon Thomas Fitz Giralde ſore agaynſt the willes of his Counſaylours diſmiſt his armie, and roade with the Deputie to Dublyn, where he made ſhort abode when hee ſayled to Englande with the fauourable letters of the gouernour and the Counſayle. And as hee woulde haue taken his iourney to Windſore where the Court lay, he was intercepted contrarie to his expectation in London way, and conueyed with haſt to the Tower. And before his impriſonment were bruted, letters were poſted into Irelande, ſtraytly commaunding the Deputie vpon ſight of them, to apprehend Thomas Fitz Girald his vncles, and to ſee them with all ſpeede conuenient ſhipt into England. Which the Lorde Deputie did not ſlacke. For hauing feaſted three of the Gentlemen at Kylmaynan, immediately after their banquet (as it is nowe and then ſeene, that ſweete meate will haue ſowre ſauce) he cauſed them to be manacled, and led as priſoners to the Caſtell of Dublin: and the other two were ſo roundly ſnatcht vp in villages hard by, as they ſooner felt theyr owne captiuitie, than they had notice of theyr brethrens calamitie.

The next winde that ſerued into Englande theſe fiue brethren were embarked, to wit James Fitz Giralde, Walter Fitz Girald, Oliuer Fitz Girald, John Fitz Girald, & Richard Fitz Girald. Three of theſe Gentlemen, James, Walter, and Richarde, were knowne to haue croſſed their Nephew Thomas to their power in his Rebellion, and therefore were not occaſioned to miſdoubt any daunger. But ſuch as in thoſe dayes were enimies to the houſe, incenſed the king ſo ſore agaynſt it, perſwading him, that he ſhould neuer conquer Irelande, as long as any Giraldine breathed in the Countrey, as for making the pathway ſmooth, he was reſolued to loppe off as well the good and ſounde Grapes, as the wilde and fruiteleſſe Beries. Whereby appeareth howe daungerous it is to be a rubbe, when a King is diſpoſed to ſweepe an Alley.

Innocencie a ſtrong fort.

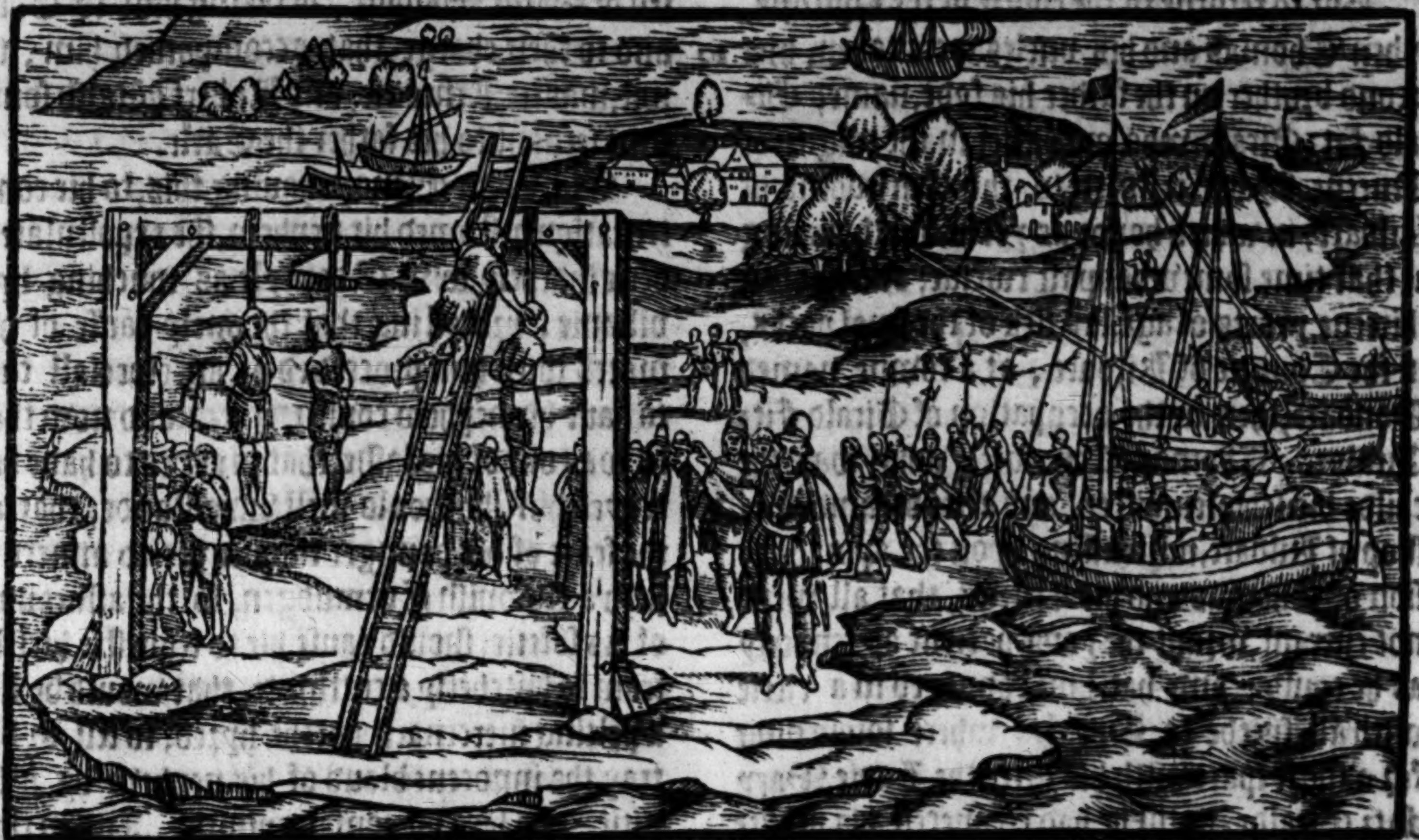
Thus were the fiue brethren ſayling into Englande, among whome Richarde Fitz Giralde being more bookiſh than the reſt of his brethren, and one that was much giuen to the ſtudies of antiquitie, wayling his inwarde griefe, with outward myrth comforted them wyth cheerefulneſſe of countenance, as well perſwading them that offended to repoſe affiaunce in God, and the King his mercie, and ſuch as were not of that conſpiracie, to relie to theyr innocencie, which they ſhould hold for a more ſafe & ſtrong Barbican, than any rampire or Caſtell of Braſſe.

The Cow.

Thus ſolacing the ſiely mourners ſometyme with ſmiling, ſomtime with ſinging, ſometyme with graue & pithie Apophthegmes, he craued of the owner the name of the Barcke, who hauing anſwered, that it was called the Cow, the gentleman ſore appalled thereat ſayd.

Now good brethren I am in vtter diſpaire ,
of our returne to Ireland, for I beare in mynde ,
an olde prophecie, that fiue Earles brethren ,
ſhould be caryed in a Cowes bellie to England, ,
and

and from thence neuer to returne.



1536

Thomas Fitz Girald and his vncles executed.

Dominick Power.

Charles Reynolde.

Whereat the reſt began a freſh to houle and lament, which doubtleſſe was pitifull, to beholde fiue valiant Gentlemen that durſt meete in the fielde fiue as ſturdie Champions as coulde bee picked out in a realme; to bee ſo ſodainly terrified with the bare name of a wodden Cow, or to ſcare lyke Lions a ſilly Cocke his combe, being moued, as commonly the whole Countrey is, with a vaine and fabulous old wiues dreame. But what blinde prophecie ſoeuer hee read or heard of any ſuperſtitious Beldame touching a Cowe his belly, that which hee foretolde them was found true. For Thomas Fitz Giralde the thirde of Februarie, and theſe fiue brethren hys vncles, were drawne, hanged, and quartered at Tiburne, whiche was incontinently bruted as well in Englande and Irelande, as in forayne ſoyles. For Dominicke Power, that was ſent from Thomas to Charles the fift, to craue hys ayde towardes the conqueſt of Irelande (lyke as Chale in Grauil, otherwiſe called Charles Reinolde, was directed to *Paulus tertius*) preſenting the Emperour with twelue great Haukes and fourtene fayre Hobbies, was aduertiſed by hys Maieſtie, that he came too late, for his Lord and maiſter, and fiue of his Vncles were executed at London the thirde of Februarie: How be it the Emperour procured King Henrie to pardon Dominicke Power, which notwithſtanding he obteyned, yet woulde he not returne to Irelande, but continued in Portugall, hauing a ducket a day of the Emperour during his life, which he ended at Liſborne,

James Delahyde.

James Delahyde, the chiefe Counſaylour of Thomas Fitz Giralde, fled into Scotlande and there deceaſſed.

To this miſerable end grew this lewd rebellion, which turned to ẏ vtter vndoing of diuerſe auncient Gentlemen, who trayned with fayre wordes into a fooles Paradice, were not onely diſpoſſeſſed of theyr landes, but alſo depriued of theyr lyues, or elſe forced to forſake theyr countreys.

Thomas Fitz Girald was not Earle of Kildare.

Stow. Pa. 434.

No Earle of Kildare bare armour at any time agaynſt his prince.

As for Thomas Fitz Giralde, who (as I wrote before) was executed at Tyburne, I would wiſh the carefull Reader, to vnderſtand that he was neuer Earle of Kildare, although ſome wryters, rather of error than of malice, tearme him by that name. For it is knowne that his father lyued in the Towre, when hee was in open Rebellion, where for thought of the yong man his follye hee dyed, and therefore Thomas was attaynted in a Parliament holden at Dublyn, as one that was deemed, reputed, and taken for a traytour before his fathers deceaſſe, by the bare name of Thomas Fitz Giralde. For this hath beene obſerued by the Iriſh Hyſtoriographers euer ſince the conqueſt, that notwithſtanding all the preſumptions of treaſon wherewith any Earle of Kyldare coulde eyther faintly be ſuſpected, or vehemently charged, yet there was neuer any Erle of that houſe read or heard of, that bare armour in the fielde agaynſt his Prince. Which I write not as a barriſter hyred to pleade theyr cauſe, but as a Chronicler moued to declare the truth.

The deſcription of Thomas Fitz Giralde.

This Thomas Fitz Giralde, as before is ſpecified, was borne in Englande, vpon whom nature poured beautie, and fortune by byrth beſtowed Nobilitie, which had it beene well employed, and were it not, that his rare gyftes had bene blemiſhed by his later euill qualities, hee would haue proued an ympe worthie to bee engraft in ſo honourable a ſtocke. Hee was of ſtature tall and perſonable, in countenance amiable, a white face, and withall ſomewhat ruddie, delicately in eche lymme featured, a rolling tongue and a riche vtterance, of nature flexible and kinde, verie ſoone caryed where hee fanſied, eaſily with ſubmiſſion appeaſed, hardly wyth ſtubbornneſſe weyed, in matters of importance an headlong hoteſpurre, yet nathleſſe taken for a yong man not deuoyde of witte, were it not, as it fell out in the ende, that a foole had the keeping thereof.

The aduentures of the yong Fitz Girald, ſonne to the Lady Gray Counteſſe of Kildare.

But to returne to the courſe of the Hyſtorie, when Thomas and his vncles were taken, hys ſecond brother on the father his ſyde, named Girald Fitz Girald (who was after in the raigne of Queene Marie reſtored to the Earledome of Kildare, in which honor as yet he liueth, beeing at that time ſomewhat paſt twelue, and not full thirteene yeares of age, lay ſick of the ſmal pocks, in the Countie of Kildare, at a towne named Donoare, then in the occupation of Girald Fitz Giralde. Thomas Lenrouſe, who was the childe his ſchoolemaiſter, and after became Biſhop of Kildare, miſtruſting vpon the apprehenſion of Thomas and his Vncles, that all went not currant, wrapt the yong pacient as tenderly as he could, and had him conueyed in a cleefe with all ſpeede to Ophaly, where ſoiourning for a ſhort ſpace with his ſiſter the Ladie Mary Fitz Giralde, vntill he had recouered his perfite health, his ſchoolemaſter caryed him to Odoon his Countrey, where making his aboade for a quarter of a yeare, he trauayled to Obrene hys Countrey in Mounſter, and hauing there remayned for halfe a yeare, hee repayred to hys aunte the Ladie Elenore Fitz Giralde, who then kept in Mack Carty Reagh, hir late huſband his territories.

Donoare.

Thomas Lenrouſe.

Elenore Fitz Giralde.

This noble woman was at that time a widow, alwayes knowne and accounted of eche man, that was acquainted with hir conuerſation of life, for a paragon of liberalitie and kindneſſe, in all hir actions vertuous and godly, and alſo in a good quarell rather ſtout than ſtiffe. To hir was Odoneyl an importunate ſuyter, and although at ſundrie tymes before ſhe ſeemed to ſhake him off, yet conſidering the diſtreſſe of hir yong innocent nephew, how hee was forced to wander in Pilgrimwiſe from houſe to houſe, eſchuing the puniſhment that others deſerued, ſmarted in his tender yeares with aduerſitie, before he was of diſcretion to enioy any proſperitie, ſhe began to encline to hir wooer his requeſt, to the ende hir nephew ſhould haue bene the better by his countenaunce ſhouldered, and in fine indeted to eſpouſe him, with this caueat or prouiſo, that he ſhoulde ſafely ſhield and protect the ſayde yong Gentleman in this his calamitie. This condition agreed vpon, ſhee road with hir nephew to Odoneyl his countrey, and there had him ſafely kept for the ſpace of a yeare.

But ſhortly after, the Gentlewoman either by ſome ſecrete friend enformed, or of wiſedome gathering, that hir late maryed huſbande intended ſome trecherie, had hir nephew diſguiſed, ſtoring him like a liberall and bountifull Iunt, with ſeuen ſcore Porteguſes, not onely in valoure, but alſo in the ſelfe ſame coyne, incontinently ſhipped him ſecretly in a Brytons veſſell of Saint Malouſe, betaking him to God, and to their charge that accompanied him, to wit, maiſter Lenrouſe, and Robert Walſh ſomtime ſeruant to his father the Earle.

The Ladie Elenors liberalitie.

Fitz Giralde ſayleth to Fraunce.

The Ladie Elenore hauing this, to hir contentation beſtowed hir nephew, ſhe expoſtulated verie ſharpely with Odoneyle as touching hys villanie, proteſting that the onely cauſe of hir match with him proceeded of an eſpeciall care to haue hir nephew countenanced: and now that he was out of his laſhe, that mynded to haue betrayed him, he ſhould well vnderſtande, that as the feare of his daunger moued hir to annexe to ſuch a clowniſh Curmudgen, ſo the aſſuraunce of his ſafetie, ſhould cauſe hir to ſequeſter hirſelfe from ſo butcherly a cutthrote, that would be like a pelting mercenarie patche hyred, to ſell or betray the innocent bloud of his nephew by affinitie, and hirs by conſanguinitie. And in thys wiſe truſſing vp bag and baggage, ſhe forſooke Odoneyle, and returned to hir countrey.

The paſſengers with a proſperous gale arriued at Saint Malouſe, which notified to the gouernour of Brytayne, named Monſieur de Chaſteau Brian; he ſent for the yong Fitz Giralde, gaue him verie heartie entertaynment during one Monethes ſpace.

Chaſteau Briã.

In the meane ſeaſon the gouernor poſted a Meſſenger to the Court of Fraunce, aduertiſing the King of the arriuall of this Gentleman, who preſently cauſed him to be ſent for, and had him put to the Dolphyn named Henrie, who after became king of France.

Sir Iohn Wallop demaundeth Fitz Giralde.

Sir Iohn Wallop (who was then the Engliſh Ambaſſadour) vnderſtanding the cauſe of the Iriſh fugitiue his repayre to Fraunce, demaunded him of the French king, according to the newe made league betwene both the princes, which was, that none ſhoulde keepe the other his ſubiect within his dominion, contrarie to eyther of their willes, adding further, that the boy was brother to one, who of late notorious for his rebellion in Ireland, was executed at London.

The king denyeth him.

To this anſwered the King, firſt, that the Ambaſſadour had no Commiſſion from hys Prince to demaunde him, and vppon his Maieſtie his letter he ſhoulde knowe more of his mynde: ſecondly that hee did not deteyne him, but the Dolphyn ſtayed him: laſtly, that howe grieuouſly ſoeuer his brother offended, hee was well aſſured, that the ſilly boy neither was nor coulde be a traytour, and therfore there reſted no cauſe why the Ambaſſadour ſhoulde in ſuche wiſe craue him, not doubting that although hee were deliuered to his king, yet he woulde not ſo farre ſwarue from the extreeme rigour of Iuſtice, as to embrew his handes in the innocent his bloud, for the offence that his brother had perpetrated.

Maiſter Wallop hereuppon addreſſed his Letters to Englande, ſpecifying to the Counſaile the French kings anſwere, and in the mean tyme the yong Fitz Girald hauing an ynckling of the Ambaſſadour his motion, fledde ſecretely to Flaunders, ſcantly reaching to Valencie, when Iames Sherlocke, one of Maiſter Wallop his men, did not onely purſue him, but alſo did ouertake him, as he ſoiourned in the ſayd towne.

Fitz Giralde flieth to Flanders.

Iames Sherlocke purſueth Fitz Giralde.

Whereupon maiſter Leurouſe, and ſuch as accompanied the childe, ſtept to the Gouernour of Valencie, complayning that one Sherelocke a ſneaking ſpie, lyke a pykethanke promoting Varlet, did dogge their maiſter from place to place, and preſently purſued him to the towne; and therefore they beſought the gouernour, not to leaue ſuch apparant villaynie vnpuniſhed, in that he was willing to betray not onely a guiltleſſe child, but alſo his owne Countryman, who rather ought for his innocencie to bee pityed, than for the deſerte of others ſo eagerly to bee purſued.

The Gouernour vpon this complaint ſore incenſed, ſent in all haſt for Sherlocke, had him ſodainly examined, and finding him vnable to colour his lewde practiſe with any warrantable defence, he layd him vp by the heeles, rewarding his hote purſute with colde interteynment, and ſo remained in gaole, vntill the yong Fitz Giralde requiting the priſoner his vnnaturall crueltie with vndeſerued curteſey, humbly beſought the gouernor to ſet him at libertie.

Sherlocke impriſoned.

Crueltie requited with curteſie.

This brunt eſcaped, Fitz Giralde trauayled to Bruxelles, where the Emperour kept his Court.

Doctour Pates being Ambaſſatour in the low Countreys, demaunded Fitz Giralde of the Emperour on his maiſter the King of Englandes behalfe. The Emperour hauing anſwered that he had not to deale with the boy, and for ought that he knewe, was not mynded to make any great abode in that Countrey, ſent hym to the Biſhop of Liege, allowing him for his penſion an hundred Crownes Monethly. The Biſhop enterteyned him very honourably, had him placed in an Abbey of Monks, and was ſo carefull of his ſafetie, that if any perſon ſuſpected, had trauayled within the circuit of his gleebe, hee ſhould be ſtraytly examined, whether he would, or from whence he came, or vpō what occaſion he trauayled that way.

Doctor Pates.

The Emperor beſtoweth a pencion on Fitz Giralde.

Hauing in this wiſe remayned at Liege for halfe a yeare, the Cardinall Pole (Fitz Giralde his kinneſman) ſent for him to Rome, whervpon the Gentleman as well with the Emperour his licence, as with ſurrendring his penſion, trauayled to Italy, where the Cardinall woulde not admit him to his companie, vntill he had atteyned to ſome knowledge in the Italian tong. Wherefore allowing him an annuitie of three C. crownes, he placed him with the Biſhop of Verona, and the Cardinall of Mantua, and after with the duke of Mantua.

Cardinal Pole ſendeth for Fitz Giralde.

Leurouſe in the meane while was admitted through the Cardinall Pole his procurement to be one of the Engliſhe houſe in Rome, called Saint Thomas his Hoſpitall.

Leurouſe placed in the Engliſh Hoſpitall.

Robert Walſhe, vpon his maiſters repayre to Italy, returned to Ireland.

Robert Walſh returneth to Irelande.

Fitz Girald hauing continued with the Cardinall, and the Duke of Mantua, a yeare and an halfe, was ſent for by the Cardinall Pole to Rome, at which tyme the Duke of Mantua gaue him for an annuall penſion three hundred Crownes.

The Cardinall greatly ioyed in his kinneſman, had him carefully trayned vp in his houſe, interlacing with ſuch diſcretion his learning and ſtudies, with exerciſes of actiuitie, as he ſhoulde not be after accounted of the learned for an ignorant idiot, nor taken of actiue Gentlemen for a deade and dumpiſh meacocke. If he had committed any fault, the Cardinall would ſecretly commaund his Tutors to correct him, and all that notwithſtanding, hee woulde in preſence dandle the boy, as though he were not priuie to his puniſhment: and vpon any complaint made he vſed to checke Fitz Giralde hys maiſter openly for chaſtiſing ſo ſeuerely his pretie darling.

Cardinal Pole his order in trayning yong Fitz Girald.

In this wiſe hee reſted three yeares togither in the Cardinall his houſe, and by that tyme hauing ſtept ſo farre in yeares (for hee was pricking faſt vpon nineteene) as he began to knowe himſelfe, the Cardinall put to his choyſe, eyther to continue his learning, or by trauayling to ſeeke his aduentures abroade. The yong ſtripling (as vſually kinde doth creepe) rather of nature addicted to valiantneſſe, than wedded to bookiſhneſſe, choſed to be a trauaylour: and preſently with the Cardinall his licence, repayred to Naples: where falling in acquaintance with Knightes of the Rhodes, he accompanied them to Malta, from thence he ſayled to Tripoly (a Fort apperteyning to the aforeſayde order, coaſting vpon Barbarie) and there he aboade ſixe

Fitz Giralde trauayleth to Naples.

Tripoly.

weekes

Mounbriſon.

weekes with Mounbryſon, a commaunder of the Rhodes, who had the charge of that holde.

At that tyme the knightes ſerued valiantly agaynſt the Turkes and Miſcreants, ſpoyled and ſacked their villages and townes, that lay neare the water ſyde, tooke diuerſe of them pryſoners, and after ſolde them to the Chriſtians for bond ſlaues.

Fitz Girald returneth to Rome.

The yong Fitz Giralde returned with a rich bootie to Malta, from thence to Rome, hauing ſpent in thys voyage, not fully one yeare.

The Cardinall enhaunceth Fitz Giraldes penſion.

Proude was the Cardinall to heare of hys proſperous exploytes, and for his further aduauncement, he enhaunced his pencion of three hundred Crownes, to three hundred poundes, ouer and aboue three hundred crownes, that the Duke of Mantua allowed him.

He is Maſter of the horſe to the Duke of Florence.

Shortly after he preferred him to the ſeruice of the Duke of Florence, named Coſmo, wyth whom he continued maiſter of his horſes three yeares, hauing alſo of the Duke three hundred Duckets for a yearely penſion during life, or vntill he were reſtored, in like maner as the Cardinall Poole and the duke of Mantua in their annuities had graunted him.

He falleth into a deepe pit.

His Greyhoũd findeth him out.

During the time that he was in ſeruice with the Duke of Florence, he trauayled to Rome a ſhrouing, of ſet purpoſe to be merie: and as hee road an hunting with Cardinall Ferneiſe the Pope his nephew, it happened that in chaſing the Bucke, he fel into a pitte .xxix. fatham deepe, and in the fall forſaking his horſe within two fathams of the bottom, he tooke holde by two or three rootes, grypping them faſt, vntill his armes were ſo wearie, as he coulde hang no longer in that paine. Wherefore betaking himſelfe to God, he let goe his gripe by little and little, and fell ſoftly on his horſe, that in the bottome of the pit lay ſtarke dead, and there he ſtoode vp to the Anckles in water, for the ſpace of three houres. When the chaſe was ended, an exceeding good Greyhoũd of his named Grifhound, not finding his maiſter in the companie, followed his tracke vntill hee came to the pitte, and from thence woulde not depart, but ſtoode at the brimme inceſſauntly houling. The Cardinall Ferneiſe and his traine miſſing Fitz Girald, made towardes the dogge, and ſurueying the place, they were verily perſwaded that the Gentleman was ſquiſed to death.

Trecappan.

Hauing therefore poſted his ſeruauntes in haſt to a village harde by Rome (named Trecappan) for Ropes and other neceſſaries, he cauſed one of the companie to glide in a Baſket, downe to the bottom of the hole. Fitz Giralde reuiued with his preſence, and willing to bee remoued from ſo darkſome a dungeon to the open ayre, beſought the other to lende him his roome, whereupon he was haled vp in the Baſket, as well to the generall admiration of the whole companie, as to the ſingular gratulation of the Cardinall and all his friends, rendring moſt heartie thankes to God his diuine Maieſtie, for protecting the Gentleman with his gracious guerdon.

And thus ſurceaſſing to treate any further of his aduentures, vntill the date of time trayne my penne to a longer diſcourſe, I will returne to the inhabitants of the Engliſh Pale, who after the death of Thomas Fitz Giralde, through rigour of iuſtice, and the due execution of lawes, were greatly moleſted. For ouer this, that ſuch as were knowne for open and apparant traytours in the commotion, were for the more part executed, or with rounde ſummes fined, or from the realme exiled: certaine gentlemen of worſhip were ſent from Englande, with Commiſſion to examine eche perſon ſuſpected wyth Thomas his treaſon, and ſo according to theyr diſcretion, eyther with equitie to execute, or with clemencie to pardon all ſuch as they could proue to haue furthered hym in his diſloyall Commotion.

Commiſſioners ſent to Ireland.

Their names.

Commiſſioners were theſe, ſir Anthonie Sentleger knight, ſir George Paulet knight, maiſter Moyle and maiſter Barnes.

A Parliament.

1539

Much aboute this tyme was there a Parliament holden at Dublin before the Lord Leonarde Gray Lorde Deputie, beginning the firſt of May, in the .xxviij. yeare of the raigne of Henrie the eight. In this Parliament there paſt

An Act

- For the attainder of the Erle of Kildare, and Thomas Fitz Giralde, with others.
- For the ſucceſſion of the King and Queene Anne.
- Of abſenties, wherein was graunted to the king the inheritance of ſuch landes in Irelande, whereof the Duke of Norffolke, and George Talbot Earle of Waterford and Solop were ſeyſed, with the inheritances of diuerſe other corporations and couents demurrant in England.
- For the repeale of Ponings Act.
- Authoriſing the king, his heyres and ſucceſſours to be ſupreme heade of the Church of Irelande.
- That no ſubiects or reſiants of Irelande ſhall purſue or commence, vſe, or execute any maner of prouocations, appeales or other proceſſe from the Sea of Rome, vpon paine of incurring the premunire.

Agaynſt

An Act
- Agaynſt ſuch as ſlaunder the King, or his heyres apparant.
- For the firſt fruites.
- Of ſir Walter Delahyde knight his landes in Carbery granted to the king.
- How perſons robbed ſhall bee reſtored to theyr goodes.
- Reſtrayning trybutes to be graunted to Iriſhmen.
- Agaynſt Proctors to be any member of the Parliament.
- Agaynſt marying or foſtering with or to Iriſhmen.
- Agaynſt the authoritie of the Sea of Rome.
- For the twentith part.
- For the Engliſh order, habite, and language.
- For the ſuppreſſing of Abbayes.
- For the lading of Wooll and flockes.
- For the prouſe of Teſtaments.
- Of faculties.
- Declaring the effect of Ponings Act.
- Of penall ſtatutes.
- For the weres vpon Barrou, and other waters in the Countrey of Kilkenny.
- For the perſonage of Dongaran.
- For leazers of corne.

The olde Erle of Kildare his wiſhe before his death.

As for the olde Earle of Kildare, who in this Parliament was attainted for diuerſe preſumptions in the preamble of the ſayde Act rehearſed, certaine it is, that the reuolt of his ſonne Thomas Fitz Giralde, ſmote him ſo deepely to the heart, as vpon the report thereof hee deceaſſed in the Tower, wiſhing in his death bed, that eyther he had died before he had heard of the rebellion, or that his brainleſſe boy, had neuer liued to rayſe the like commotion.

His ſeruice.

This Earle, of ſuch as did not ſtomacke his proceedings, was taken for one that bare hymſelfe in all his affayres verie honourably, a wiſe, deepe, and farre retching man: in warre valyant without raſhneſſe, and politique wythoute treacherie. Such a ſuppreſſour of rebelles in his gouernment, as they durſt not beare armour to the annoyance of any ſubiect, wherby he heaped no ſmall reuenues to the crowne, enryched the king his treaſure, garded with ſecuritie the pale, continued the honour of his houſe, and purchaſed enuie to his perſon.

His hoſpitalitie and deuotion.

His great hoſpitalitie is to this day rather of eche man commended, than of any one followed. He was ſo religiouſly addicted to the ſeruing of God, as what tyme ſoeuer he trauayled to any part of the Countrey, ſuch as were of his Chapell, ſhould be ſure to accompanie him. Among other rare gyftes, hee was with one ſingular qualitie endued which were it put in practiſe by ſuch as are of his calling, might miniſter great occaſion as well to the abandoning of flattring cary tales, as to the ſtayed quietneſſe of noble potentates.

For if any whiſpered vnder *Benedicite* a ſiniſter report or ſecrete practiſe, that tended to the diſteyning of his honour, or to the perill of hys perſon, he woulde ſtraytly examine the informer, whether the matter he reported were paſt, or to come. If it were ſayde or done, he was accuſtomed to lay ſore to his charge, where, and of whom he heard it, or how he could iuſtifie it. If he found him to halte in the prouſe, he woulde puniſh him as a pikethanke makebate, for being ſo maliciouſly caried, as for currying fauour to himſelfe, he woulde labour to purchaſe hatred to another: But if the practiſe were future, and hereafter to be put in execution, then woulde hee ſuſpende the credite, vſing withall ſuch wary ſecrecie, as vntill the matter came to the pinche, the aduerſarie ſhould thinke that hee was moſte ignorant, when he was beſt prouided. As being in Dublyn forewarned, that Iohn Olurckan with certaine deſperate Varlets conſpired his deſtruction, and that they were determined to aſſault him vpon his returne to Maynoth, hee had one of his ſeruants named Iames Graunt, that was much of his pitche, and at a bluſh did ſomewhat reſemble him, attyred in his ryding apparaile, and namely in a ſkarlet Cloake, wherewith he vſed to be clad. Graunt in thys wiſe maſking in his Lordes attyre, roade as hee was commaunded in the beaten highe way towardes Mainoth, with ſixe of the Earle his ſeruantes attending vpon him. The Conſpiratours awayting towards Lucan the comming of the Earle, encounterd the diſguiſed Lorde, and not doubting but it had beene Kildare, they began to charge him, but the other amazed therwith, cryed that they tooke theyr marke amiſſe, for the Earle roade to Mainoth on the further ſide of Liffie. Wherewith the murtherers appalled fled away, but incontinently were by the Earle apprehended, ſuſteyning the puniſhment that ſuch caytifes deſerued.

The olde Erle of Kildare hys policie when his death was conſpired.

Iohn Olurckā, Iames Graunt.

The Ladie Grayes kindneſſe to hir husband.

This noble man was ſo well affected to his wife the Ladie Gray, as he woulde not at any tyme buy a ſute of apparell for himſelfe, but hee woulde ſute hir with the ſame ſtuffe. Whiche gentleneſſe ſhe recompenced with equall kindeneſſe. For after that he deceaſſed in the Tower, ſhe did not onely euer after liue as a chaſt and honourable Widowe, but alſo nightly before ſhee went to bed, ſhe would reſort to his picture, and there with a ſolemne congee, ſhe woulde bid hir

Lorde goodnight. Whereby may bee gathered with howe great loue ſhee affected his perſon, that had in ſuch price his bare picture.

In other Act that did paſſe in this Parliament touching abſenties, proceeded of this occaſion.

Giralde Aylmer.

Maiſter Girald Aylmer, who firſt was chief Baron of the Exchequer, after chiefe Juſtice of the Common place, was occaſioned, for certain his affayres, to repaire to the Court of Englãd. Where being for his good ſeruice greatly countenanced by ſuch as were in thoſe dayes taken for the pillers of the weale publike, namely of the Lorde Crumwell it happened that through his Lordſhip his earneſt meanes, the king made maiſter Aylemer chiefe Juſtice of his Bench in Irelande. This aduauncement diſliked by certaine of Waterford and Weiſeforde, that were not friended to the Gentleman, they debaced him in ſuche diſpitefull wiſe, as the Earle of Shrewſburie, who then was likewiſe Earle of Waterforde, was by theyr lewde reportes caryed to chalenge the king, ſo farre as with his duetie of allegeance he durſt, for beſtowing ſo weightie an office vpon ſo light a perſon, beyng ſuch a ſimple John at Stile as he tearmed him, no wiſer than Patche, the late Lord Cardinall his foole. The king herevpon expoſtulated with the Lorde Cromwell, who being throughly acquainted with the Gentleman his rare wiſedome, aunſwered, that if it woulde ſtande with his Maieſties pleaſure to enter into conference with him, hee ſhoulde bee ſure to finde him no babe, notwithſtanding the wrong informations of ſuche as laboured to thwart or croſſe hym. Whereto the King vpon further leyſure agreed, and ſhortly after according to his promiſe, beſtowed two or three houres with maiſter Aylemer, who vpon the Lorde Cromwell his forewarning, was ſo wel armed for his highneſſe, as he ſhewed himſelfe in his diſcourſe, by anſwering *ad omnia quare*, to be a man worthie to ſupplie an office of ſo great credite.

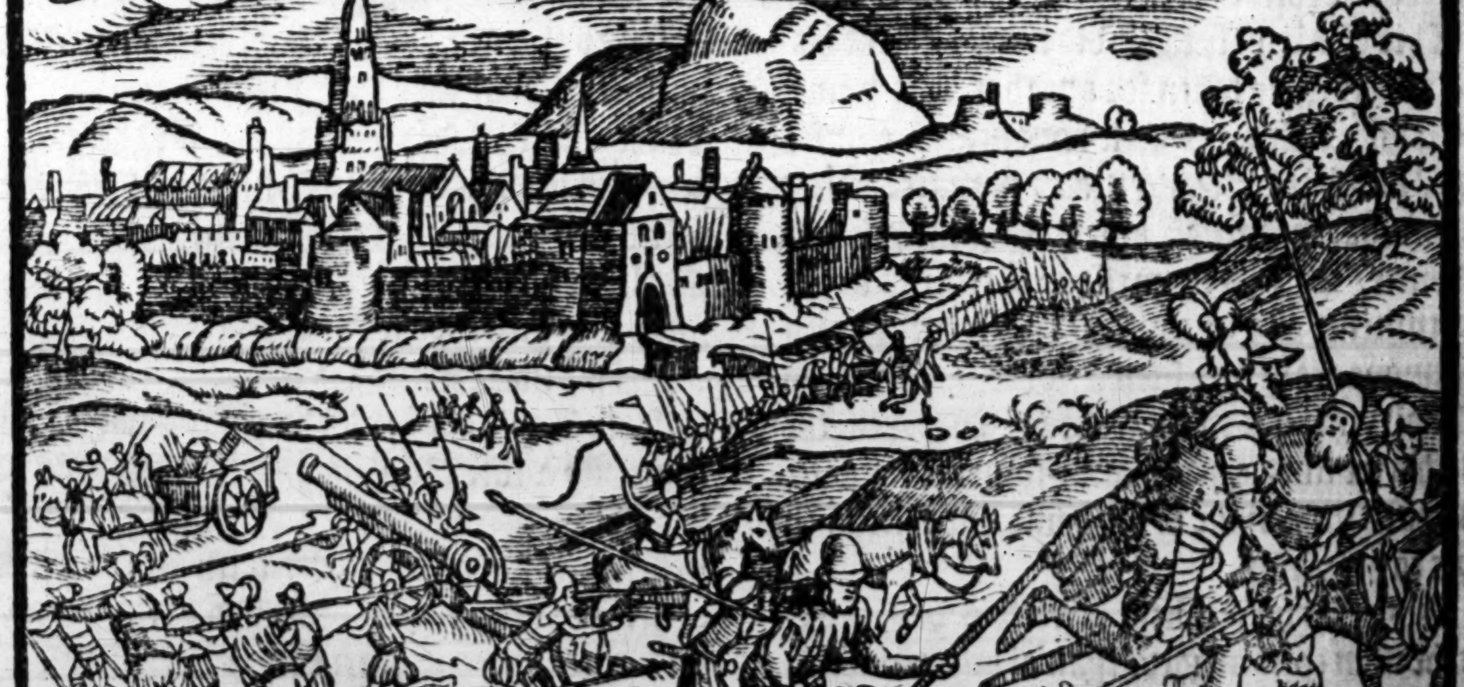
In this conference the King demaunded him, what he tooke to be the chiefe occaſion of diſorder of Irelande, and howe hee thought it might beſt be reformed?

Truly and it like your Maieſtie (quoth Aylmer) among ſundrie reaſons that might be probably alledged for the decay of that your Kingdome, one chiefe occaſion is, that certaine of your Nobilitie of this your realme of England are ſeyſed of the better part of your Dominion in Irelande, whereof they haue ſo little keepe, as for lacke of theyr preſence, they ſuffer the ſayde landes to be ouerrunne by Rebelles and traytours. Wherefore if your highneſſe would prouide by Acte of Parliament, that all ſuche landes which by reaſon of their abſence may not be defended, ſhould be to your highneſſe by the conſent of the Nobilitie and Communaltie graunted, you might therby enrich your crown, repreſſe rebels, and defend your ſubiects from all trayterous inuaſion.

The king tickled with this plauſible deuiſe, yeelded maiſter Aylemer heartie thankes for his good counſaile, and in this Parliament had the tenour thereof put in effect. Which redowned chiefly to the Lorde of Shrewſburie hys diſaduauntage, as one that was poſſeſt of dyuerſe auncient Lordſhippes and Manours in that countrey.

Oneale rebelleth.

Soone after this Parliament, Oneale ymagining that he was able to make hys partie good agaynſt the Engliſh Pale, conſpyred with Odoneyle Maggadneſh, Ocaghan, Mack Kwylen, Ohanlan, and other Iriſh Lords, and on a ſodain inuaded the Pale, came to the Na-



uan, burnt all the townes of eche ſide confining, after marched to Taraghe, muſtering wyth great pride hys armie vpon the toppe of the hill: and hauing gathered togither the ſpoyle of the Pale without reſiſtance, hee beganne to recule Northwarde, making his full account to haue gone ſcot free.

Sr VVilliam Brereton ſent for into Irelād.

The Lord Leonard Gray bring then Lord Deputie forecaſting the worſt, certified the king and counſaile of Oneal his rebellion, and withall humbly beſought a freſh ſupply of ſouldiors to aſſiſt the pale in reſiſting the enimie, and that ſir William Brereton (who was diſcharged & returned into Englande) ſhoulde bee ſent into Irelande, as one that for his late ſeruice was highly commended of the Countrey.

Sr VVilliam Brereton ſent into Ireland.

The King and Counſaile condiſcending to the Deputie his requeſt, appoynted ſir William Brereton to hie thither with ſpeede, hauing the charge of two hundred and fiftie Souldiours of Cheſſhire men. In which ſeruice the Gentleman was founde ſo preſt and readie, that notwithſtanding in muſtering his bande, he fell by miſhap off his horſe, and therewithall brake his thigh in two places, yet rather than hee woulde retire homeward, he appointed the Mariners to hale him vp to theyr Barke by Pulleyes, and in ſuch impotent wiſe arriued in Irelande, ſuppreſſing the feebleneſſe of his bodie, with the couragious valour of his minde.

The foord of Bellahoa.

The Lorde Deputie in the meane while marched wyth the force of the Pale, the Maior and the Citizens of Dublin to Drogheda, from thence likewiſe accōpanied with the Maior and Townesmen, he marched Northward to Bellahoa, where Oneale and his companie on the furtherſide of the water, laye encamped with the ſpoyle of the Pale.

The Deputie by Spyes and ſecrete Meſſengers hereof certified, cauſed the armie to trauaile the better part of the nyght, in ſo muche as by the dawning of the day, they were neare the Ryuer ſyde: where hauing eſcried the enimies, namely Magannoſſhe, and the Galloglaſſes, that were placed there to keepe the ſtraytes, (for Oneale wyth the mayne armye lurked in a Groue not farre off,) they beganne to ſette themſelues in battayle array, as menne that were reſolued wyth all haſte and good ſpeede to ſurpriſe the enimye wyth a ſodayne charge.

James Fleming Baron of Slane.

At which tyme James Flemming Baron of Slane (commonlye called blacke James) garded wyth a rounde companye, as well of horſmen as footmen, humbly beſought the Deputie, to graunt him that day the honour of the onſette. Whereto when the Lorde Gray had agreed, the Baron of Slane wyth cheerefull countenaunce, imparted the obteyning of hys ſuyte, as pleaſant tydings to Robert Halfepenie, who wyth his aunceſtours was Standert bearer to the houſe of Slane. But Halfepennie ſeeing the further ſyde of the water ſo beſet with armed Galloglaſſes, as he tooke it, as likely an attempt to raze downe the ſtrongeſt Fort in Irelande wyth a fillippe, as to ruſhe through ſuche quicke Iron walles, flatlye aunſwered the Baron, that hee woulde rather diſclayme in his office, than there to gyue the onſette, where there reſted no hope of lyfe, but an aſſured certaintie of death. And therefore hee was not as yet ſo wearie of the worlde, as lyke an headlong hoteſpurre voluntarilye to runne to hys vtter and vndoubted deſtruction. Wherefore hee beſought his Lordſhip, to ſet his heart at reſt, and not to impute his denyall to baſeneſſe of courage, but to waryneſſe of ſafetie, althoughe hee knewe none of anye ſtayed mynde, but woulde ſooner chooſe to ſleepe in an hole ſheepe hys pelte, than to walke in a torne Lyon hys ſkinne, namely when all hope of lyfe was abandoned, and the certaintie of death aſſuredly promiſed.

Robert Halfpennie.

Robert Betoa.

The Baron with this anſwere at his wittes ende, roade to Robert Betoa of Downeore, brake with him as touching Halfepennie hys determination, and withall requeſted hym (as he did tender hys honour) nowe at a pinche to ſupply the rowme of that daſtardly cowarde, as he did terme him.

Betoa to thys aunſwered, that although it ſtoode wyth good reaſon, that ſuche as heretofore taſted the ſweete in peace, ſhoulde nowe be contented to ſippe of the ſowre in warre: yet notwythſtanding, rather than the matter ſhoulde to hys honour lye in the duſt, he promiſed to breake through them, or elſe to lye in the water: and withall beeing ſurpaſſinglye mounted, for the Baron gaue hym a choyſe horſe, hee tooke the Standarde, and wyth a ſodayne ſhowte, hauing wyth him in the forerancke Mabe of Mabeſtowne (who at the firſt brunt was ſlaine) hee flung into the water, and charged the Iriſhe that ſtoode on the further ſhore.

Mabe of Mabeſtovvne ſlain.

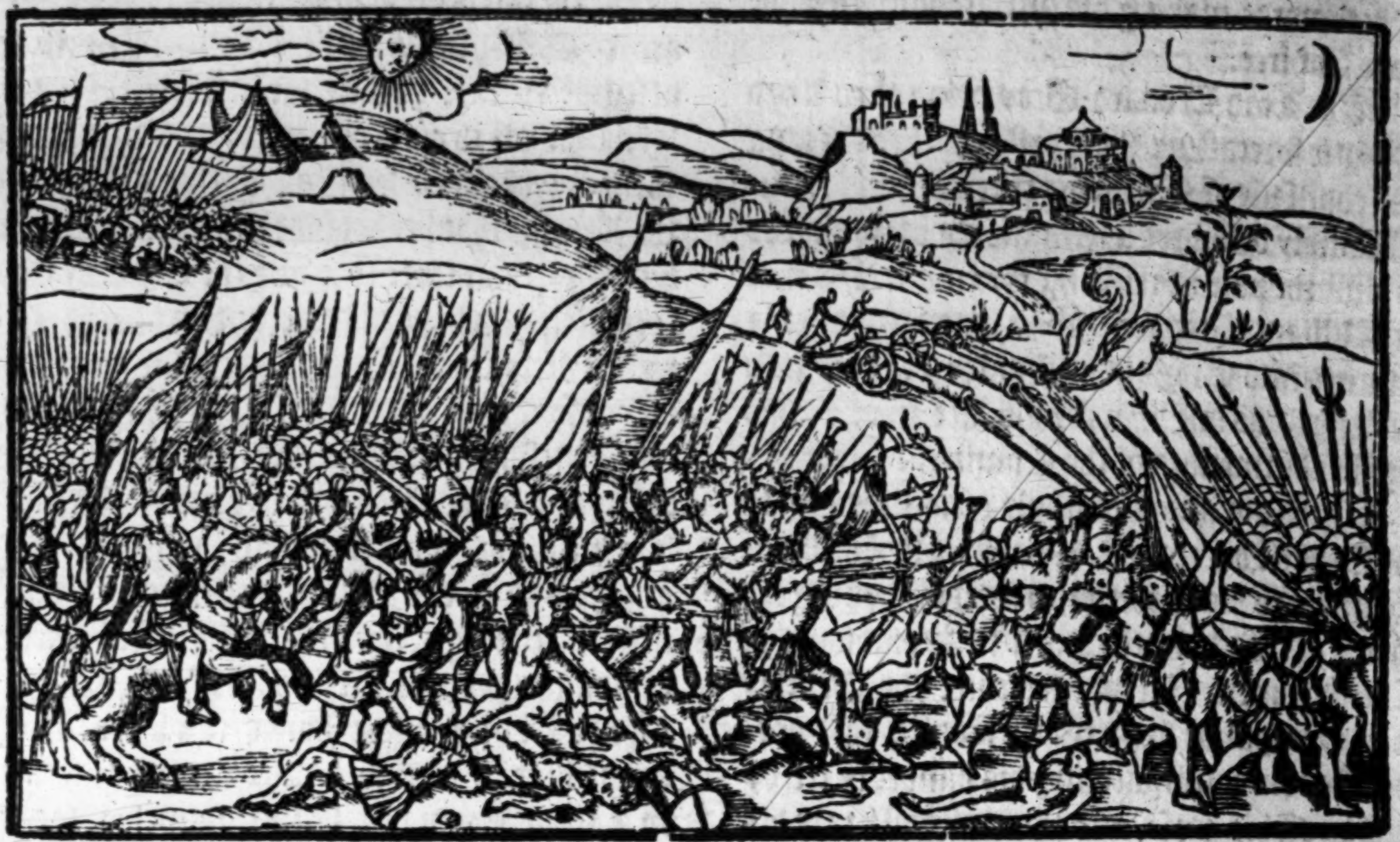
After followed the Gentlemen and Yeomen of the Pale, that wyth as great manhood charged the enimies, as the enimies with courage reſiſted their aſſault.

To this ſtouteneſſe were the enimies more boldly prickte, in that they had the aduauntage of the ſhore, and the gentlemen of the Pale were conſtrayned to bickre in the water.

But the longer the Iriſh cōtinued, the more they were diſaduauntaged, by reaſon that the Engliſh were ſo aſſiſted with freſh ſupplyes, as their enimies coulde not any longer withſtande them, but were compelled to beare backe, to forſake the banke, and to giue the armie free paſſage.

The Irish diſcomfited. Oneale put to flight.

The Engliſhe taking heart vpon theyr fayntneſſe, brake through the Galloglaſſes, ſlue Magganouſe theyr Captaine, purſued Oneal with the remnaunt of his Lordes, leauing behinde them for lacke of ſafe cariage the ſpoyle of the Pale, ſcantly able to eſcape wyth hys owne life, being egrely purſued by the army vntill it was Sun ſet.



King. Barnevvall. Baſnet. Fitz Simons.

In this conflict Mathew King, Patricke Barnewall of Kylmahyocke, Sir Edwarde Baſnet Prieſt, who after became Deane of Saint Patrickes in Dublin, and was ſworne one of the priuie Counſaile, and Thomas Fitz Simons of Curduffe, were reported to haue ſerued verie valiantly.

The Maiors of Dublin and Drogheda dubt knightes. Aylmer. Talbot.

Moreouer Iames Fitz Simons Maior of Dublin, Michael Curſey Maior of Drogheda, Girald Ailmer chiefe Iuſtice, & Thomas Talbot of Malahide, were dubbed knights in ẏ field.

The valiantneſſe of the Lord Gray.

But of all others, the Lord Gray then Lord Deputie, as hee was in authoritie ſuperiour to them all, ſo in courage and manlyneſſe hee was inferiour to none. He was noted by the armye to haue endured greate toyle and paine before the ſkirmiſhe, by poſting bareheaded from one bande to another, debacing the ſtrength of the enimies, enhauncing the power of the Pale, depreſſing the reuolt of rebellious traitours, extolling the good quarell of loyall ſubiectes, offring large rewardes, which with as great conſtancie he perfourmed, as with liberalitie he promiſed. Ouer this he bare himſelfe ſo affable to his ſouldiours, in vſing them like friendes and fellowes, and terming thē with curteous names, and mouing laughter with pleaſant conceypts, as they were incenſed as well for the loue of the perſon, as for the hatred of the enimie, wyth reſolute mindes to bicker with the Iriſhe. In whiche conflict the Deputie was as forwarde as the moſte, and bequitte himſelfe as valiaunt a Seruitour as the beſt.

The Gouernour turning the oportunitie of this ſkirmiſhe to his aduauntage, ſhortly after roade to the Northe, preding and ſpoyling Oneale with his confederates, who by reaſon of the late ouerthrow, were able to make but little reſiſtance.

In this iourney he razed Saint Patricke his Churche in Downe, an olde auncient Citie of Vlſter, and burnt the monuments of Patricke, Briged, and Colme, who are ſayd to haue bene there entumbed, as before is expreſſed in the deſcription of Ireland.

The Lord Gray accuſed.

This fact loſt him ſundrie heartes in that cōtrey, alwayes after deteſting and abhorring his prophane tyrannie, as they did name it. Wherevpon conſpyring wyth ſuch of Mounſter as were enimyes to his gouernment, they booked vp diuerſe complaintes agaynſte him, which they did exhibit to the king and counſell. The Articles of greateſt importaunce layde to his charge were theſe.

The articles that vvere lyd to his charge.

In primis, that notwithſtanding hee were ſtraitly commaunded by the king his Maieſtie, to apprehend his kinneſman, the yong Fitz Girald, yet did he not onely diſobey the kings letters, as touching that point, by playing boapepe, but alſo had priuie conference with the ſaid Fitz Girald, and lay with him two or three ſeuerall nights before he departed into France.

Item, that the chiefe cauſe that moued him to inueigle Thomas Fitz Giralde wyth ſuche fayre promyſes proceeded of ſette purpoſe to haue him cutte off, to the ende there ſhoulde be a gap ſet open for the yong Fitz Girald, to aſpire to the Earledome of Kildare.

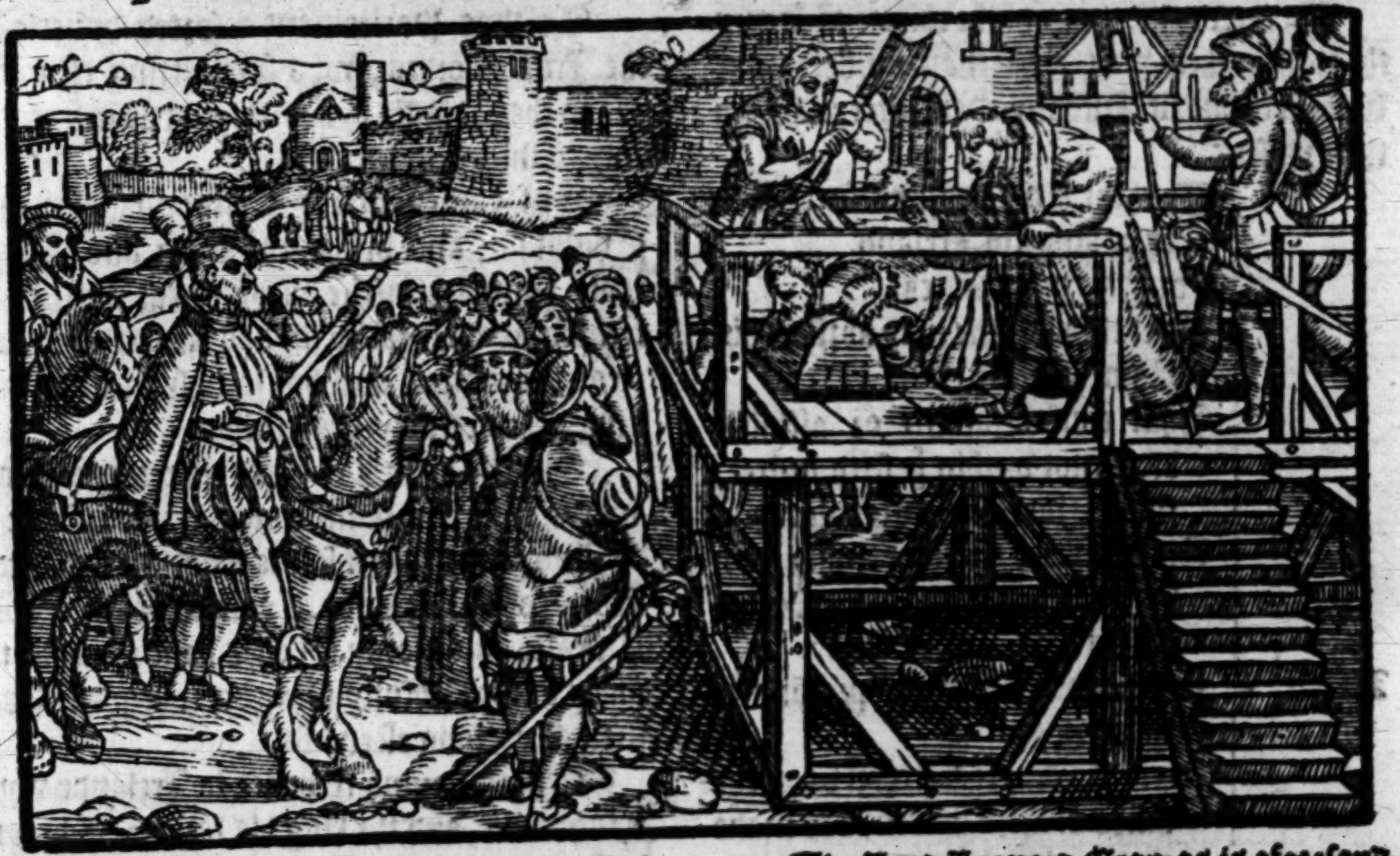
Item, that hee was ſo greedily addicted to the pilling and polling of the King his Subiectes, namelye of ſuche as were reſiaunt in Mounſter, as the beddes he lay in, the cuppes he dranke in, the plate with which he was ſerued in any gentlemans houſe, were by his ſeruants agaynſt right and reaſon packt vp, and caried with great extortion away.

Item, that without any warrant from the King or Counſaile, he prophaned the Church of Saint Patrickes in Doune, turning it to a Stable, after plucked it downe, and ſhipt the notable ring of belles that did hang in the Steple, meaning to haue ſent them to Englande, hadde not God of his iuſtice preuented hys iniquitie, by ſinking the Veſſell and paſſengers, wherein the ſayde Belles ſhould haue bene conueyed.

These and the lyke Artycles, were wyth ſuch odious preſumptions coloured by his accuſers, as the King and Counſayle remembring his late faultes, and forgetting hys former ſeruices (for commonly all men are of ſo harde happe, that they ſhall bee ſooner for one treſpaſſe condemned, than for a thouſande good deſertes commended) gaue commaundement that the Lorde Gray ſhoulde not onely bee remoued from the gouernment of the Countrey, but alſo had him beheaded on the Tower hil the xxviij. of Iune.

The Lord Gray beheaded.

1541



The Lorde Gray guiltleſſe of the firſt Article.

But as touching the firſt Article, that brought him moſt of all out of conceyte wyth the King, I moued queſtion to the Earle of Kyldare, whether the tenour thereof were true or falſe? His Lordſhip thereto anſwered *bona fide*, that hee neuer ſpake with the Lorde Gray, neuer ſent meſſenger to him, nor receyued meſſage or letter from him.

The daungers that happen to gouernours of Prouinces.

Whereby may bee gathered, with how many daungers they are inwrapped that gouerne Prouinces, wherein diligence is thwackt with hatred, negligence is loaden with tauntes, ſeueritie with perilles menaced, liberalitie with thankeleſſe vnkindneſſe contemned, conference to vndermining framed, flatterie to deſtruction forged, eche in countenaunce ſmyling, diuerſe in heart pouting, open fawning, ſecrete grudging, gaping for ſuche as ſhall ſucceede in gouernment, honouring Magiſtrates with cappe and knee, as long as they are preſent, and carping them with tongue and penne, as ſoone as they are abſent.

Sir VVilliam Brereton Lorde Iuſtice.

The Lord Leonard Gray, as is aforeſayd, diſcharged, Sir William Brereton was conſtituted Lorde Iuſtice, whoſe ſhort gouernment was intangled with no little trouble. For albeit he and Oneale fell to a reaſonable compoſition, yet other of the Iriſhe Lordings, namely Oconour and his adherents, that are content to liue as ſubiectes, as long as they are not able to holde out as rebelles, conſpired togither, and determined to aſſemble their power at the hyll of Fowre in weſt Methe, and ſo on a ſodaine to ranſacke the Pale.

The Lorde Iuſtice forthwith accompanied with the armie, and with two thouſand of the Pale, of which no ſmall number were eccleſiaſticall perſons, made towardes the rebelles, who vpon the approche of ſo greate an armie gaue ground and diſperſed themſelues in woods and marriſhes. The Lorde Iuſtice this notwithſtanding inuaded Oconour his Country, burnt his tenements, and made all his trenches with the multitude of Pioners ſo paſſable, as foure hundred Cartes, beſide light cariage, were led without let through the Countrey. Oconnour ſoone after ſubmitted himſelfe, and ſent his ſonne Cormacke to the Lorde Iuſtice as hoſtage for his future obedience and loyaltie to the king his highneſſe.

Oconour ſubmitteth himſelfe to the Lorde Iuſtice.

After this iourney was ended, ſir Anthonie Sentleger knight of the order was conſtituted Lord Deputie, and ſir William Brereton lord high Marſhal, who within one halfe yeare after he was preferred to be Marſhall, trauayling by the Lord Deputie his appointment to Limmerick to bring in Iames Erle of Deſmond, who ſtood vpon certaine tickle poyntes with the gouernor, ended his life in that iourney, and lyeth entumbed at Kilkenny in the Chore of Saint Kenny his Church.

Sir Anthonie Sentleger Lord deputie
Sir VVilliam Brerecton Lord high Marſhall.

He dyeth.

1542

In the .xxxiij. yeare of the raigne of Henry the eight, there was a Parliament holden at Dublin before ſir Anthony Sentleger, in which there paſſed:

An Act
- That the king and hys ſucceſſors to be kings of Ireland.
- For gray marchantes.
- That the plaintife may abridge his plaint in aſſiſe.
- That conſanguinitie or affinitie being not within yͤ fifth degree, ſhall be no principall chalenge.
- That maketh it felony to any man to run away with his maſter his casket.
- For the adnihilating of precōtracts in mariage.
- For al Lordes to diſtreyn vpon the lands of them holden, & to make their auowrie not naming the tenant but their land.
- For capacities.
- For ſeruants wages.
- For Iointenantes.
- For recouerie in auoyding leaſes.
- For Tythes.
- For attournements.

This Parliament was proroged vntill the xv. of Feb. & after was continued at Limmerick before the ſaid deputie, at which time there paſt.

An Act
- For the adiournement of the Parliament, and the place to holde the ſame, and what perſons ſhall bee choſen Knightes and Burgeſes.
- For the election of the L. Iuſtice.
- Touching miſpleading and ieoyfailes.
- For landes giuen by the king.
- For the ſuppreſſion of Kilmainam and other religious houſes.

This Parliament was likewiſe proroged, and after was continued and holden before the ſayde gouernour at Dublin, the ſixthe daye of Nouember, in the .xxxiiij. yeare of the raigne of king Henry the eight, wherein there paſſed:

1543

An Act
- For the deuiſion of Meth into two ſhires.
- For perſons ſtanding bounde in any Court for theyr apparaunce, and being in ſeruice, to bee diſcharged by writ.

This Parliament was further proroged vntill the .xvij. of Aprill, and at that time before the ſayd Gouernour it was holden and ended, in which there paſſed an Act touching the manour and Caſtle of Dongaruan to be vnited and annexed to the crowne for euer.

To thys Parliament reſorted dyuerſe of the Iriſhe Lordes, who ſubmytting themſelues to the Deputie hys mercy, returned peaceably to their Countreyes.

But Iames Erle of Deſmond ſayled into Englande, and before the King and Counſayle purged himſelfe of all ſuche Articles of treaſon, as were falſly layd to his charge, whoſe cleare purgation and humble ſubmiſſion the king accepted very gratefully.

Iames Earle of Deſmonde.

Shortly after Deſmond his returne homewarde, the great Oneale was created Earle of Tyron, and his baſe ſonne Mathewe Oneale Baron of Dongaruan. For in thoſe days Iohn Oneale, commonly called Shane Oneale, the onely ſonne lawfully of his bodie begotten, was little or nothing eſteemed.

Oneale Erle of Tyron.

Oneale hauing returned to Irelande wyth this honour, and the king his fauour, Obreyne with certaine other Iriſhe Lordes ſayled into Englande, ſubmitting theyr lyues and landes to the king his mercie.

This Obreyne was at that tyme created Earle of Clincare, in which honour his poſteritie hitherto reſteth.

Obreyne created Earle of Clincare.

Shortly after the returne of theſe Lordes to their Countrey, King Henrie being fully reſolued to beſiege Bollongne, gaue commaundement to ſir Anthonie Sentleger deputie, to leuie an armie of Iriſh men, and with all expedition to ſende them to England.

1544

The Iriſh ſent for to the ſiege of Bollongne.

To theſe were appoynted Captaynes the Lord Power, who after was dubt knight, Surlock, and Finglaſſe with diuerſe others. They muſtred in Saint Iames his Parke ſeuen hundred.

In the ſiege of Bollongne they ſtoode the armye in verye good ſteade. For they were not onely contented to burne and ſpoyle all the villages thereto adioyning, but alſo they would raunge twentie or thirtie miles into the maine lande, Their policie in purueying for the armie.

lande, and hauing taken a Bull, they vſed to tie him to a ſtake, and ſcorching hym wyth fagottes, they woulde force him to roare, ſo as all the Cattell in the Countrey woulde make towardes the Bull, all which they woulde lightly leade away, and furniſh the campe with ſtore of biefe.

If they tooke anye Frenche man pryſoner, leaſt they ſhoulde bee accounted couetous in ſnatching wyth them hys intyre bodye, hys onelye raunſome ſhoulde bee no more but hys heade.

The French wyth this extraordinarie kind of warfarring aſtonyed, ſent an Imbaſſadour to King Henrie, to learne whether he brought menne wyth hym or Diuelles, that coulde neyther bee wonne wyth rewardes, nor pacifyed by pitie: whiche when the King had turned to a ieaſt, the French menne euer after, if they coulde take anye of the Iriſhe ſcattering from the companie, vſed fyrſt to cutte off theyr genitours, and after to tormente them with as greate and as lingring paine as they could deuiſe.

A French chalenger vanquiſhed.

After that Bollongne was ſurrendred to the King, there encamped on the Weſt ſyde of the Towne beyonde the Hauen an armye of Frenchmenne, among whome there was a Thraſonicall Golias, that departed from the armye, and came to the brinke of the Hauen, and there in ietting and daring wiſe chalenged anye one of the Engliſhe armye that durſt be ſo hardie, as to bicker with him hand to hande.

Nichol Welſh.

And albeit the diſtaunce of the place, the depth of the Hauen, the nearneſſe of hys companie emboldned him to thys chalenge, more than any great valour or pithe that reſted in him to indure a combate, yet all this notwithſtanding, an Iriſhe manne named Nicholl Welſhe, who after reteyned to the Earle of Kyldare, loathing and diſdeyning his prowde bragges, flung into the water, and ſwamme ouer the Ryuer, fought wyth the chalenger, ſtrake him for dead, and returned backe to Bollongne wyth the Frenchman his heade in hys mouth, before the armie coulde ouertake hym. For which exployte, as hee was of all his companie highly commended, ſo by the Lieutenant he was bountifully rewarded.

1545

The Earle of Lennox aſſiſted by king Henrie.

Much aboute this tyme the Earle of Lennox, verie wrongfully inquieted in Scotlande, and forced to forſake his Countrey, became humble peticioner to King Henrie, as well to relieue him in his diſtreſſed calamitie, as to cõpaſſe the meanes, how he might bee reſtored to his landes and liuing.

The King his highneſſe moued wyth compaſſion, poſted the Earle ouer to Irelande, with letters of eſpeciall truſt, commaunding ſir Anthonie Sentleger then Deputie, to aſſiſt and further the Scottiſh outcaſt, with as puiſſant an armie, as to his contentation ſhould ſeeme good.

Iames Butler Earle of Ormond.

The Deputie vpon the receyte of theſe letters, ſente for Iames Butler Earle of Ormonde and Oſſerie, a noble manne, no leſſe politique in peace, than valiaunt in warre, made hym priuye to the Kyng hys pleaſure, and wythall in his Maieſties name dyd caſte the charge hereof vppon the ſayde Earle, as one that for hys tryed loyaltie was willing, and for his honour and valour able to attempt and atchieue ſo rare and famous an exployte.

The Lorde of Ormonde as wylling to obey, as the Gouernour was to commaunde, leuyed of hys Tenauntes and Reteynours, ſixe hundred Galloglaſſes, foure hũdred Kearnes, three ſcore Horſemen, and foure hundred and fortie ſhot: ſo in the whole he muſtered on Oſmantowne greene neare Dublyn, fiftene hundred ſouldiours

The Lorde Deputie yeelding hys honour ſuche thankes in wordes, as hee deſerued in deede, leuyed in the Pale fifteene hundred Souldiours more, to bee annexed to the Earle hys companye. Ouer them he conſtituted Sir Iohn Trauerſe Capitayne, but the Earle of Ormonde was made Generall of the whole armie.

Sir Iohn Trauerſe knight.

When the Souldiours were wyth Munition and victualles aboundauntlye furnyſhed, the Earle of Ormonde and the Earle of Lennox tooke ſhypping at Skeriſh, hauing in theyr companie twentie and eight Shippes well rigged, ſufficiently manned, and ſtronglye appoynted.

From thence they ſayled Northwarde, and roade at anchor without the hauen of Oldfleete beyond Karregfergus.

The Earle of Ormonde and the Earle of Lennox in danger to bee drovvned.

Where hauing remayned hulling wythoute the mouth of the Hauen contrarye to the aduiſe of the Maiſters of theyr Shippes (who prognoſticated the ſpeedie approche of a ſtorme, and therefore did wiſhe them to take a good harborrowe) it happened, that the ſayde nyght there aroſe ſo boyſterous a Tempeſt, that the whole fleete was lyke to haue beene ouerwhelmed.

The Maryners betaking theyr paſſengers and themſelues to the mercye of God, dyd cutte theyr mayne Maſtes, lette ſlippe theyr Anchors, and were weather driuen to the hauen of Dunbrytaine in Scotlande, where as they were like to runne their ſhippes on ground, and conſequently they all ſhoulde either haue beene plunged in the water, or elſe haue beene ſlaine on the lande by a greate number of Scottes that awayted theyr approche, God with hys gracious clemencye preuenting theyr imminent calamitie, ſent them not onely a wiſhed calme, but alſo a proſperous gale of wynde, that blewe them backe in ſafetie to the Iriſhe coaſt, from whence they were ſcattered.

The Earle of Lennox aduertiſed by certain of his friendes that met with him on the Sea, that the Scottes contrarie to theyr promiſe, dealt verie doubly with him (for although they gaue theyr worde to ſurrender vppe to hym the Caſtell of Dunbrytaine, yet they did not onelye fortifie that holde, but alſo were readie to encounter wyth his Souldiours vppon theyr arryuals) he concluded to returne to Irelande.

The Earle of Ormonde verie loath, that ſo greate an attempt ſhoulde take ſo little effecte, dealt wyth him verie earneſtly, notwithſtanding his counſayle were bewrayed, to inuade his enimies, and his Lordſhippe ſhould be ſure to finde the armie ſo forwarde in aſſiſting hym in ſo famous an enterpriſe, as they would ſhew themſelues more willing to bicker wyth hys foes in Scotlande, than without ſkirmiſhing to returne to Irelande. For the Earle of Ormonde was of this nature, that as hee woulde not beginne any martiall broyle raſhly or vnaduiſedly, ſo he woulde not ſeeme to put it vppe lightly or eaſily.

The Earle of Ormonde his propertie.

Further whereas the Earle of Lennox ſtood in hope, that the Lorde of the out Iſles would ayde hym, it was thought by Ormonde not to be amyſſe, to expect his comming, and ſo ioyning his company to the armie, there reſted no doubt, but that the Scottiſhe enimies woulde bee forced to plucke in theyr hornes, although at the firſt bluſh they ſeeme to put a good face on the matter.

Lennox ſomwhat with this perſwaſion carryed, gaue his conſent to expect the Lorde of the oute Iſle his determination, who notwithſtanding all the fetche of the enterprice were diſcried, would not ſlip from his word but perſonally ſayled to the Iriſh fleete, with three Gallies verie well appoynted.

The Lorde of the out Iles ſayleth to the Erle of Lennox.

The noble man was with ſuch martiall triumphes receyued, as warlike ſouldiours coulde on the ſea afoord him. But of al others, both the Earles gaue him heartie interteynment for his true and honourable dealing, that to bee as good as his worde, woulde not ſeeme to ſhrinke from his friend in this his aduerſitie.

And ſhortly after as they craued his aduiſe, what were beſt to bee done, eyther to lande in Scotlande, or elſe to returne homewarde, hys flatte reſolution was, at that tyme to retyre, bycauſe theyr drift was detected, theyr feyned friendes fainted, the Caſtels were fortified, and the Shoares on all partes wyth ſwarmes of Scottes peopled. Wherefore he thought it better policie, to giue out in open rumours, that they meant not at any hande to inuade Scotlande, but to retire to their Countrey.

And after that the Scottiſhe Souldiours ſhoulde be diſmyſt, which woulde bee incontinent vpon theyr returne, by reaſon of the exceſſiue charges, then myght the Earle of Lennox with leſſe preparation, and more ſecrecye gyue a freſhe onſette, that the enimyes ſhoulde ſooner feele his force, than heare of his arriuall.

Ormonde and Lennox land.

Ormonde and Lennox vpon this determination landed with the greater parte of the armie, and appoynted the Shippes to bende theyr courſe to Dublyn.

The Lorde of the out Iſles, and his three Gallyes ſayled with the Fleete, for he was not able by reaſon of the feebleneſſe of his bodie to trauaile by lande, or ſcantly further to prolong his life, whiche hee ended at Howeth preſently vppon hys arriuall, and was with greate ſolemnitie buryed in Saint Patricke his Church at Dublyn, vppon whoſe death this Epitaph was framed:

The Lord of the out Iles dyeth.

His Epitaph.

Vix manuq; mea patriæ dum redditur exſul,
Exſul in externa cogor & ipſe mori.

Both the Earles marched wyth the armye on foote to Carregfergus, where they brake company. For Lennox and ſir Iohn Trauerſe taking as hee thought the ſhorter, but not the ſafer way, trauayled through the Ardes, with the number of fiue hundred Souldiours, where the Iriſhe inhabitantes ſkyrmiſhed with them, and put them to ſuche ſtrayte plunges (for they woulde gladly haue ſeene what a clocke it was in theyr Budgets) as they wiſhed they had not parted from the reſt of the army.

The Iriſh ſkirmiſh vvith the Erle of Lennox.

The Earle of Ormonde with his Souldiours (which were a thouſande fiue hundred, as before is expreſſed) marched on foot to Belefaſt, which is an arme of the ſea, a quarter of a mile broade, or little leſſe, and albeeit their weather were bitter and ouer nipping, and no ſmall parcell of the water were congealed with froſt, yet the Earle and his armie waded ouer on foote, to the great daunger as well of his perſon, as of the whole companie, whiche doubtleſſe was a valiaunt enterpriſe of ſo honourable a perſonage.

The Earle of Ormonde his toylſome trauaile.

From thence hee paſſed to Strangforde, and through Lecale to Dondalke, where he diſcharged his Souldiours, and hauing preſented himſelfe to the Gouernour at Dublyn, he roade homewarde to the Countie of Kilkenny.

Shortly

The Deputie and Ormond at debate.

Shortly after, ſir Anthonie Sentleger lorde Deputie, and the Earle of Ormonde fell at debate, inſomuch as eyther of them layde articles of treaſon one to the others charge.

The chiefe occaſion of their mutuall grudge, proceeded of certaine newe and extraordinarie impoſitions, wherewith the Deputie woulde haue charged the Subiectes. Whereat the Erle of Ormonde as a zealous defender of his countrey, beganne to kicke, and in no ſort coulde bee wonne to agree to any ſuch vnreaſonable demaunde.

Ormonde his letters intercepted.

Herevpon Ormonde perceyuing, that the Gouernour perſiſted in his purpoſe, addreſſed Letters of complaynte to ſuche as were of the priuie Counſayle in Englande, whiche letters were by one of Sir Anthonie his friendes intercepted at Sea, and preſented to him to bee peruſed.

Sir Anthonie hauing ouerread the wrytings, ſent Maiſter Baſnet in poſt haſt with the packet to Kylkenny, where the Earle of Ormonde kept his Chriſtmaſſe, requeſting hys Lordſhippe to take in good parte the opening of hys Letters, which was done rather to learne the effect of his complaynte, than in any ſort to inbar his wrytings from comming to the counſaile his handes.

The Earle anſwered that his quarell was ſo good, his dealing ſo opẽ, as he little weighed, who tooke a view of his letters. And for hys part, what he wrote hee ment not to vnwryte, but in ſuch ſort as they came from the Gouernour, they ſhould be ſent to the Counſaile, and if theyr honours woulde allow any Subiect to bee ſo hardie, as to entercepte and open Letters that were to them indorced, hee coulde not but dygeſt any ſuch iniurie, that they woulde ſeeme to beare.

The Lord Deputie and Ormond ſent for to England.

With this aunſwere Baſnet returned, and the Earle perfourmed his promiſe. Wherevpon the Gouernour and he were commaunded, to appeare before the priuie Counſaile in Englande, where they were ſundrie tymes examined, and their accuſations ripely debated. In fine, the Counſaile equallye to bothe partes in theyr complaints affected, and weighing withall rather the due deſert of both their loyall ſeruices, than the vaine preſumption of their mutuall accuſations, wrapped vp theyr quarelles,

They are made friends.

and made them both friendes, wyth ſuch indifferencie, as neyther part ſhould bee eyther with anye conqueſt exalted, or wyth anye foyle debaced.

Sir Iohn Alen Lord Chancellour committed to the Fleete.

And for ſo muche as ſir Iohn Alen knight, then Lorde Chauncellour of Irelande, was founde to limpe in this controuerſie, by playing as it was ſuppoſed, more craftily than wiſelye, with both the handes, in that hee ſeemed to bee rather a foſterer of theyr malice, than an appeaſer of theyr quarelles, hee was likewiſe ſent for into Englande, and being tript by the Counſaile in his tale, was committed to the Fleete, wherein he remayned a long tyme.

Sir VVilliam VViſe knight.

In this trouble the Earle of Ormond was greatly ayded by ſir William Wiſe Knight, a worſhipfull Gentleman, borne in the Citie of Waterforde, who deſeruing in deede the prayſe of that vertue, whereof he bare the name, grewe to bee of great credite in the Court, and ſtoode highly in king Henrie his grace, whiche hee wholy vſed to the furtherance of his friends, and neuer abuſed to the annoyance of his foes.

This Gentleman was verye well ſpoken, mylde of nature, wyth diſcretion ſtoute, as one that in an vpright quarel would beare no coles, ſeldome in an intricate matter grauelled, being found at all aſſayes to be of a pleaſant and preſent wit.

Hauing lente to the King his Signet to ſeale a Letter, who hauing powdred Ermites engrayled in the Seale, why howe now Wiſe quoth the King, what? haſt thou Liſe here? And if it like your Maieſtie, quoth ſir Williã, a louſe is a riche Coate, for by giuing the Louſe, I part Armes with the French King, in that he gyueth the Floure de Lice. Whereat the king heartily laughed, to heare how pretily ſo byting a taunt (namely proceeding from a Prince) was ſodaynly turned to ſo pleaſaunte a conceyte.

The Earle of Ormonde deceaſeth.

Anon after the agreement made betweene Ormonde and Sentleger, the Earle his Seruants (which hee kept at that time in his lyuerey to the number of fiftie) beſought his Lordſhip to take at the Lymehouſe his part of a ſupper, which they prouided for him. The noble man wyth honour accepting their dutifull offer, ſupped at theyr requeſt, but not to their contentation at the place appoynted. For whether it were that one caytife or other did poyſon the meate, or that ſome other falſe meaſures were vſed (the certaintie with the reuenge whereof to God is to bee referred) the noble man wyth thirtie and fiue of his ſeruaunts preſently that night ſickned, one Iames White, the Earle his Stewarde, with ſixtene of his fellowes died, the remnant of the ſeruauntes recouered, but theyr Lorde, whoſe health was chiefly to bee wiſhed, in the floure of his age deceaſſed of that ſickneſſe, at Elie houſe in Holborne, muche aboute the.xxviij.of October, and was buried in Saint Thomas of Acres his Churche, whoſe death bred ſorrow to his friendes, little comfort to his aduerſaries, great loſſe to his Countrey, and no ſmall griefe to all good men.

1548

This

His deſcription.

This Earle was a goodly and perſonable noble man, full of honour, which was not onely lodged inwardly in his mynde, but alſo hee bare it outwardly in countenaunce. As franke and as liberall as his calling required. A deepe and a farre reaching head. In a good quarell rather ſtout than ſtubborne, bearing himſelfe with no leſſe courage, when he reſiſted, than with honourable diſcretion, where he yeelded. A fauourer of peace, no furtherer of warre, as one that preferred vnlawfull quietneſſe before vpright troubles, beeing notwithſtanding of as greate wiſedome in the one, as of valour in the other. An earneſt and a zealous vpholder of his countrey, in all attemptes rather reſpecting the publique weale, than his priuate gaine. Whereby he bounde his Countrey ſo greatlye vnto him, that Irelande might with good cauſe wiſh, that eyther he had neuer beene borne, or elſe that hee had neuer deceaſſed, ſo it were lawfull to craue him to bee immortall, that by courſe of nature was framed mortall. And to giue ſufficient proufe of the entyre affection he bare his Countrey, and of the zealous care he did caſt thereon, he betooke in his death bed his ſoule to God, his carkaſſe to Chriſtian buriall, and his heart to his Countrey, declaring thereby, that where his minde was ſetled in his life, his heart ſhoulde be there entombed after his death. Which was according to his will accompliſhed. For his heart was conueyed to Irelande, and lyeth engraued in the Chore of the Cathedrall Church in Kilkennie, where his aunceſters for the more part are buried. Vpon which kinde legacie this Epitaph was deuiſed.

His Epitaph.

Cor patriæ fixum viuens, iam redditur illi,
Poſt mortem, patriæ quæ peracerba venit.
Non ſine corde valet mortalis viuere quiſq̄,
Vix tua gens vita permanet abſq; tua.
Quæ licet infœlix extincto corde fruatur,
Attamen optato viuere corde nequit.
Ergo quid hæc faciat? quem re non poſſit amorem
Cordi vt tam charo reddere corde velit.

The effect of which Epitaph is thus Engliſhed.

The liuing heart where lay engrauen
the care of Countrey deere,
To Countrey liueleſſe is reſtorde
and lies engrauen heere.
None heartleſſe liues: his countrey then
alas what ioy is left,
Whoſe hope, whoſe hap, whoſe hart he was,
till death his life bereft.
And though the ſoyle here ſhrowdes the heart,
which moſt it wiſht tenioy,
Yet of the change from nobler ſeate,
the cauſe doth it annoy.
What honour then is due to him,
for him what worthie rite?
But that eche heart with heartieſt loue,
his worthieſt heart may quite.

This Earle was of ſo noble a diſpoſition, as he woulde ſooner countenaunce and ſupport his poore well willer in his aduerſitie, than hee woulde make or fawne vpon his welthie friend in proſperitie.

The kindneſſe of Iames Earle of Ormonde to his friendes.

Hauing bid at London, not long before his death, the Ladie Gray Counteſſe of Kildare to dinner, it happened that a ſouldiour, ſurnamed Power, who lately returned freſh from the Emperour his warres, came to take his repaſt with the Earle before the meſſenger. When the Erle and the Counteſſe were ſet, this royſting rutterkin, wholy then ſtanding on the Soldado hoigh, placed himſelfe right ouer agaynſt the Counteſſe of Kildare, hard at the Earle of Ormonde his elbow, as though hee were haile fellow, well met. The noble man appalled at the impudent ſaucineſſe of the malapert ſouldiour, (who notwithſtanding might be borne withal, bycauſe an vnbidden gueſt knoweth not where to ſit) beſought him courteouſly to giue place. The Earle when the other roſe, taking vppon him the office of a Gentleman Vſher, placed in Power his ſeate, his couſin Edwarde Fitz Giralde, now Lieutenant of hir Maieſties Penciòners, who at that time being a yong ſtripling, attended vpon his mother the Counteſſe, and ſo in order he ſet euery Gentleman in his degree, to the number of fifteene or ſixteene, and laſt of all the companie, he licenced Power, if he woulde, to ſit at the lower ende of the Table, where hee had ſcantly elbow roome.

Edvvard Fitz Girald,

The Counteſſe of Kildare perceyuing the noble man greatly to ſtomacke the Souldiour his preſumptuous boldneſſe, nipt him at the elbow, and whiſpering ſoftly, beſought his Lordſhip not to take the matter ſo hote, bycauſe the Gentleman (ſhe ment Power) knewe, that the houſe of Kildare was of late attainted, and that hir children were not in this their calamitie in ſuch wiſe to be regarded.

No Ladie, quoth the Earle, with a lowde voyce, and the teares trilling downe his leeres, ſay not ſo, I truſt to ſee the day, when my yong couſin Edwarde, and the remnant of your children (as little reckning as hee maketh of them) ſhall diſdain the cõpanie of any ſuch ſkip Iack. Which prophecie fell out as truly as he foretold it, only ſauing that it ſtoode with God his pleaſure, to call him to his mercie before he could ſee that day, after which doubtleſſe he longed and looked, I meane the reſtitution of the houſe of Kildare.

Sir Anthonie Sentleger returneth Lorde Deputie.

After this noble Earle his vntimely deceaſe, ſir Anthony Sentleger was returned into Irelande Lorde Deputie, who was a wiſe and a wary Gentleman, a valiant ſeruitour in warre, and a good Iuſticer in peace, properly learned, a good maker in the Engliſhe, hauing grauitie ſo enterlaced with pleaſantneſſe, as with an exceeding good grace he would attaine the one without pouting dumpiſhneſſe, and exerciſe the other without loathfull lightneſſe.

There fell in his time a fat benefice, of which he as Lord deputie had the preſentation. When diuerſe made ſuyte to him for the benefice, and offred with diſhoneſtie to buy that which with ſafetie of conſcience he could not ſell, hee anſwered merily, that he was reſolued not to commit Simonie: yet notwithſtanding he had a nagge in his Stable that was worth fortie ſhillings, and he that woulde giue him fortie poundes for the nagge, ſhoulde bee preferred to the benefice. Which he rather of pleaſure vttered, than of any vnconſcionable meaning purpoſed to haue done.

Sentleger his Simonie.

His gouernment had beene of the Countrey very well lyked, were it not, that in his time he began to aſſeſſe the Pale with certaine new impoſitions, not ſo profitable (as it was thought) to the Gouernours, as it was noyſome to the ſubiectes. The debating of which I purpoſe to referre to them, who are diſcourſers of publique eſtates, and the reformers of the cõmon wealth, praying to God, that hee with his grace direct them ſo faythfully to accompliſh the duties of good Magiſtrates, that they gouerne that poore battred Iland, to his diuine honour, to hir maieſties contentation, to the ſuppreſſing of Rebels, to the vpholding of ſubiectes, and rather to the publique weale of the whole countrey, than to the priuate gaine of a few perſons.

Thus farre (gentle reader) as mine inſtructions directed me, and my leyſure ſerued mee, haue I continued a parcell of the Iriſh hiſtorie, and haue ſtretched it to the raigne of Edwarde the ſixth, Whereupon I am forced to craue at thyne handes pardon and tollerance: pardon for any errour I ſhal be found to haue committed, which vpon friendly admonition I am ready to reforme: tollerance, for that part of the hiſtorie which is not continued, till time I be ſo furniſhed and fraught with matter, as that I may employ my trauaile to ſerue thy contentation. And albeit I might with ſome enquirie, tumble vp theſe latter yeares, and ſo make the booke to beare a ſhewe of a complete Hiſtorie, yet notwithſtanding, I am ſo preciſely ſet vpon ſo tickle a taſke, and ſo fickle a grounde, that rather concerneth the liuing, than apperteyneth to the deade, as I woulde be lothe to be taken in anye part thereof, not onely to ſtumble, but alſo once to trippe. For as the Philoſopher reproued the aſtronomer, which was ſo buſie in gazing on the ſkie, as that he tumbled headlong in a pitte that was digged at his feete, ſuppoſing that hee which was ignorant of ſo neare a marke, was not like to prognoſticate future euentes by Planets and Starres, that were ſo farre diſtant of: ſo if a Chronicler ſhoulde miſreport exploytes that were enterpriſed but yeſtern day, the reader might probably ſurmiſe, that hee which is rawe in theſe latter yeares, were like to bee verie vnripe in rehearſing matters that happened many yeares paſt. Theſe and the like reaſons, reclaymed mee from perfecting at this preſent the Iriſh Hiſtorie, requeſting thee, gentle Reader, friendly to accepte, what is alreadie written, which I craue, as one that wiſheth thee rather pleaſure in the reading, than regardeth hys owne payne in the pennyng of the ſayde Treatiſe.

FINIS.

The names of the Gouernors, Lieutenants, Lord Iuſtices, *and Deputies of Ireland, ſince the conqueſt thereof* by king Henrie the ſecond.

The yeares of our Lorde.	
1174	Richard Strangbow Erle of Pembroke gouernor, hauing Reymond le Grace ioyned in commiſſion with him.
	Reymond le Grace Lieutenant by himſelfe.
1177	William Fitz Aldelme lieutenant, hauing John de Curcy, Robert Fitz Stephans, and Miles Cogan ioyned in commiſſion with him.
	Hugh Lacie Lieutenant.
1182	John Lacy Coneſtable of Cheſter, Richard de Peche } Gouernors
	Hugh Lacie againe Lieutenant.
	Hugh Lacie the yonger Lorde Juſtice.
1227	Henry Loandoris Archb. of Dublin L. Juſtice.
1228	Morice Fitz Girald Lord chiefe Juſtice.
1253	John Fitz Geoffrey knight, Lorde Juſtice.
	Alain de la Zouch Lorde Juſtice.
1258	Stephen de Long Elye Lord Juſtice.
	William Deane Lorde Juſtice.
1261	Sir Richard Rochell or Capell Lord Juſtice.
1267	Dauid Barry Lorde Juſtice.
1268	Robert Vfforde Lord Juſtice.
1269	Richarde de Exeter Lord Juſtice.
1270	James Lorde Audley Lorde Juſtice.
1272	Morice Fitz Morice Lorde Juſtice.
	Walter Lorde Genuille Lord Juſtice.
	Robert Vfforde againe Lord Juſtice.
1281	Fulborne Biſhop of Waterford Lord Juſtice.
	John Samford Archbiſhop of Dublin L. Juſtice
	William Veſci Lorde Juſtice.
1295	William Dodingſels Lorde Juſtice.
	Thomas Fitz Morice Lorde Juſtice.
1298	John Wogan Lorde Juſtice.
1314	Theobald Verdon Lorde Juſtice.
1315	Edmond Butler Lorde Juſtice.
1317	Roger Lorde Mortimer Lorde Juſtice.
	Alexander Bignor Archb. of Dublin L. Juſtice.
1319	Roger Lord Mortimer ſecond tyme L. Juſtice.
1320	Thomas Fitz John Erle of Kildare L. Juſtice.
1321	John Birmingham Erle of Louth L. Juſtice.
1323	John lorde Darcie Lord Juſtice.
1327	Roger Outlaw Prior of Kilmaynan L. Juſtice.
	Anthonie Lord Lucie Lord Juſtice.
1332	John Lord Darcy ſecond time Lord Juſtice.
1337	John Lord Charleton Lord Juſtice.
1338	Thomas Biſhop of Hereford Lord Juſtice.
1339	John lord Darcy ordeyned Lord Juſtice by patent during his life by Edward the thirde.
	Raufe Vfford Lord Juſtice.
1346	Robert Darcy Lord Juſtice.
	John Fitz Morice Lorde Juſtice.
	Walter lord Bermingham Lord Juſtice, his deputies were John Archer prior of Kilmaynan, Baron Carew, and ſir Thomas Rokeſby.
	Maurice Fitz Thomas Earle of Deſmond had the office of Lorde Juſtice for terme of his life, of king Edward the third his graunt.
1355	Thomas Rokeſby knight Lord Juſtice.
1357	Almerick de Saint Amand John Butler Erle of Ormond Maurice Fitz Th. erle of Kild. } appointed L. J. by turnes.
1361	Lionel duke of Clarence Lord Juſtice.
1367	Gerald Fitzmaurice Erle of Deſmond L. J.
1369	Williã L. Winſor the firſt lieutenant in Ireland
1772	Richard Aſhton Lord Juſtice.
1381	Roger Mortimer Philip Courtney James erle of Orm } Juſtices & lieutenãts ſpecially recorded in Richard the ſeconds dayes.
	Robert Vere Earle of Oxforde Marques of Dublin, created duke of Irelande.
1394	Roger Mortimer Erle of March Lieutenant.
	Roger Mortimer erle of March & Ulſter lieut.
	Roger Gray Lorde Juſtice.
	John Stanley knight Lorde Lieutenant.
1401	Thomas of Lancaſter brother to king Henry the fourth Lord Lieutenant, whoſe Deputies at ſundrie tymes were, Alexander Bi. of Meth, Stephen Scrope knight, and the Prior of Kilmaynam.
1403	James Butler Erle of Ormond Lord Juſtice.
	Girald Erle of Kildare Lord Juſtice.
1407	James Butler Erle of Ormonde, ſonne to the foreſayd James Lord Juſtice.
1413	John Stanley againe Lord Lieutenant.
	Thomas Crauley Arch. of Dublin lord Juſtice.
1414	John Lord Talbot of Shieyfield Lieutenant.
1420	James Butler erle of Ormond, the ſecond time Lieutenant.
	Edmond Erle of March, James Erle of Ormond his deputie.
	John Sutton L. Dudley, ſir Th. Straunge knight his deputie. Sir Thomas Stanley, ſir Chriſtopher Plunket his deputie. Lion Lorde Welles the Earle of Ormond his deputie. James erle of Ormõd by himſelf John Earle of Shrewſburie, the Archbiſhop of Dublin in his abſence Lorde Juſtice. } Lieutenãtes to king H. the ſixt.
	Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, father to king Edwarde the fourth, had the office of Lieutenant by king Henrie the ſixt his letters patents for ten yeares. His deputies at ſundry times were. The Baron of Deluin, Richard FitzEuſtace knight, James erle of Ormond, & Thomas FitzMorice erle of Kildare.
	Thomas FitzMorice Erle of Kildare Lord Juſtice in king Edward the fourth his dayes, vntill the third yeare of his raigne. After which George duke of Clarence brother to the king had the office of Lieutenant during his life, & made his deputies by ſundrie tymes theſe.
	Thomas Erle of Deſmonde, John Tiptoft erle of Worceter, Thomas Erle of Kildare, Henry Lord Gray of Ruthine. } Deputies to the duke of Clarence.
	Sir Rouland Euſtace Lord Deputie.
1470	Richard duke of Yorke yonger ſon to king Edward the fourth Lieutenant.
	Edward ſon to Richarde the third Lieutenant, his deputie was Gerald Erle of Kildare.
	Jaſper duke of Bedford and Erle of Pembroke Lieut. his deputy was Walter Archb. of Du.
1494	Edward Poynings knight, Lord deputie.
1501	Henrie duke of Yorke, after king by the name of Henrie the eight, Lieutenant, his deputie Girald Erle of Kildare.
	Girald Fitz Girald Erle of Kildare L. deputie.
1520	Thomas Howard Earle of Surrey, after duke of Norfolke, Lieutenant.
1523	Piers Butler Earle of Oſſorie Lord deputie.
	Girald Fitz Girald erle of Kildare again L. dep.
	The Baron of Deluin Lord deputie.
1529	Piers Butler Erle of Oſſorie again L. deputie.
	William Skeffington knight Lord deputie.
	Girald Fitz Girald erle of Kildare again L. dep.
	William Skeffington again Lord deputie.
1534	Leonard Lord Gray, Lord deputie.
1540	Sir William Brereton knight, Lord Juſtice.
1541	Sir Anthonie Sentleger knight, Lord deputie.

A TABLE EXACTLY DRAVVEN for the Hiſtorie of Irelande.

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